

**The implications of rural-urban migration on employment and household income with
particular reference to Lesotho**

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DECLARATION

Except for the references specifically indicated in the text and such help as I have acknowledged, this thesis is wholly my own work and has not been submitted for degree purposes at any other university.

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ABSTRACT

The research investigates the impact of internal rural – urban migration in Lesotho on household income and employment. Using data gathered from the 2002/03 household survey, the 2006 nationwide census and a questionnaire on rural – urban migration in Lesotho administered to 500 respondents in Maseru and Leribe, we estimate a logit model of the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008 given a set of independent variables. The independent variables are respondent's work experience; years of education completed; employment status in 2004; employment status in 2008; gender; job skill level; place of residence in 2004 and a categorical variable that measures whether or not the respondent is a rural – urban migrant. The results suggest that migration and work experience have no significant impact on an individual's likelihood of being employed in the country's formal sector. Also, it was found that the higher the level of education an individual has, the less likely are their chances of employment in the country's formal sector because of the lack of formal jobs in the urban areas. Over 50% of Lesotho's workforce employed in the urban areas was discovered to work in the informal sector. The study concludes that there is a lack of jobs in Lesotho's urban formal sector that results in a thriving informal sector. The advantages of informal sector jobs to the rural – urban migrant include an increase in their standard of living as well as that of their family members left behind in the rural areas but the disadvantages include low levels of investor confidence that lead to a decrease in overall economic development and growth in the country.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

National Geographic (2005), Zohry (2005), Vissicaro (2009), Natali (2009) and IOM (2004), define human migration as the movement of migratory units¹ from one place to another for the purpose of establishing a new residence. It is important to note that this migratory movement might be of a temporary or permanent nature and that there are generally two types of human migration, namely; internal migration and international migration. In the case of international migration, migratory units leave their country of origin to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country (e.g. migration from Lesotho to South Africa). On the other hand, in the case of internal migration, migratory units migrate but remain within the country of origin (e.g. rural – urban migration or urban – rural migration).

The rural areas comprise of agrarian forms of economic activity that mostly make use of traditional methods of production. Due to problems such as unavailability of arable land that leads to a difficulty in farming and an increase the prevalence of rural poverty and unemployment, rural dwellers often find themselves having to migrate to the urban areas in search of a better standard of living. Among numerous factors that encourage the rural dweller to migrate, none are as profound as the wage differential between the rural and urban areas and the fact that the urban areas boast the country's developments and achievements in fields such as technology and infrastructure.

Cornwell and Inder (2004: 2) and Byerlee (1974: 543) point out that for a long time it has been the belief of academics that urbanisation resulting from rural – urban migration goes hand in hand with economic growth. What is important to note is that although there is a general consensus among academics on the existence of a relationship between economic growth and urbanisation resulting from rural – urban migration, opinion among them differs as far as the nature of the relationship between the two phenomena is concerned with regard to less developed countries (LDCs). Some scholars believe that the relationship between

¹ A migratory unit can either be an individual or household.

economic growth and rural – urban migration is negative in that rural – urban migration leads to a decline in economic growth, whereas other scholars believe in the existence of a positive relationship between the two with rural – urban migration contributing towards economic growth.

This chapter is divided into six sections as follows: Section 1.2 presents the context of the research; Section 1.3 states the goals of the research; Section 1.4 puts forward the methods of the research; Section 1.5 is an organisation of the study, and lastly, Section 1.6 gives a list of abbreviations used in the research.

1.2 THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

According to Riadh (1998: 2), from as early as the 1950s, academics were interested in finding out the kind of relationship that exists between economic development in the LDCs and the rate of population growth due to rural – urban migration. In order to properly study and understand how the two concepts affected each other, it was important to study the phenomenon of migration. It is therefore not surprising that according to Mangalam and Schwarzeller (1968: 5), the debate on how population growth due to migration affects economic development and the theoretical work on migration has grown and continues to flourish since the early 1950s. According to the United Nations Population Information Network (1992), in 1986, a report by the U.S National Academy of Sciences documented that population growth due to rural – urban migration could in fact cause problems for developing countries in as far as the efficient distribution of a country's wealth and basic social services such as health and education to its people were concerned. Suffice it to say, not everyone shared this inimical outlook on the relationship between economic development and population growth.

A country has within it both rural and urban areas. More often than not, the rural areas are categorised by an agrarian or farming community that survives mostly by having farming produce for subsistence only or for both sale and subsistence (Tacoli, 2006: 4). The urban areas on the other hand boast most of the country's developments and advancements in various fields, be it in technology or infrastructure, where economic activities are mostly based on manufacturing. Although the two regions differ in terms of economic activity, they are usually intertwined. According to Tacoli (2006: 3), since a farmer's livelihood in the rural area regularly relies heavily on the demand for his or her produce by the urban consumer; he

or she will thus need the assistance of the urban enterprises to sell his or her produce to the urban dweller. In turn, to stay in business, the urban enterprises need the farmer's produce, thus forming a symbiotic relationship.

Tacoli (2006), Nagi (1974), Abu-Lughod (1965), Zohry (2005) and McCormick and Wahba (2005) indicate that a large number of people migrate from the rural areas towards the urban areas often because of the inability to farm, a problem caused mostly by "push factors" such as drought, increased rural population that leads to a scarcity of arable land, as well as recurring declines in commodity prices brought about by, among other things, globalisation policies.

Academics have over the years developed models to explain the reasons behind rural – urban migration and among them are models such as the Lewis two sector model of development, the Harris and Todaro model, the relative deprivation model and the New Economics on Labour Migration (NELM).

The Lewis two sector model of development focuses on the structural transformation of economies that are primarily of a subsistence nature. The model attempts to understand how and for what reasons surplus labour from the rural agrarian economy would be transferred to the urban area and by so doing facilitate growth of output and creation of jobs for the economy's people. The Harris and Todaro model of migration much like the Lewis two sector model of development believes that individuals are encouraged to migrate from their rural areas of settlement to the urban areas by higher wage levels in the urban areas. However, the model differs from the Lewis model in that it does not only look at the migrant worker's decision to migrate as being influenced solely by the wage differential between the urban and the rural areas but as equally dictated also by the migrant's probability of unemployment in the urban areas if the decision to migrate is undertaken. The relative deprivation model is used to model social behaviour and the motives behind migration in the prevalence of economic or social inequality.

When the NELM is considered, the primary deciding factor in the choice of whether or not to migrate is remittances and the direct gains the rural family can get from them. Migration is undertaken as a household decision not only to maximise household income but also to hedge

against risk created by a variety of market failures such as missing or incomplete capital, insurance and labour markets.

Given the above discussion, it is clear that although the models differ in their respective approaches when explaining rural – urban migration, there is a similarity between them. No matter what the motive for the exodus from the rural areas to the urban areas may be, the ultimate reason is an urgent need by people to search for the proverbial greener pasture. According to Tacoli (2008) and Hanson (2007), in the period 1950 - 2000, the level of urbanisation in Africa saw a dramatic increase, something that could perhaps be seen as an indication of increased opportunities for the rural migrant. The obvious questions thus are: is rural-urban migration advantageous or detrimental to a country's economic growth and development? Does it alleviate or exacerbate poverty?

Studying both the advantages and disadvantages of rural-urban migration using Bolivia as a case study, Andersen (2002) concludes that the disadvantages of migration come in various forms, one of which is the 'bad migrant'. Bad migrants are those that cannot in any way contribute to the economic advancement of the country because either they are too old to be economically active or illiterate and as such pose communication problems if hired by an employer (Andersen, 2002: 12). The problem that therefore arises is that of unemployment. Cornwell and Inder (2004) concur. In their study of migration and its relationship to employment in South Africa in the period 1993/94 using the 1993/94 October household Surveys they observed that rural-urban migrants suffered the highest rate of unemployment in 1993 when compared to urban-rural migrants as well as urban-urban migrants. This was due to their having inadequate information regarding the formal urban job market and their lack of skills necessary to qualify them for formal employment in the urban areas.

Cornwell and Inder (2004) however came across a startling nonconformity with theory on rural-urban migration, that it is not always the case that the rural-urban migrant will be a victim of unemployment once he or she is in the urban area. Employment comes in many forms for the rural - urban migrant but mostly it is of an informal nature. Thus, the levels of unemployment for the rural-urban migrant need not necessarily be higher than the average (Cornwell and Inder, 2004: 17).

With such divergent views on unemployment and rural-urban migration, more research can still be done to ascertain whether or not unemployment levels and levels of poverty are made worse by the rural-urban migrant and whether or not the rural-urban migrant indeed plays a vital role in the economic growth of an economy.

1.3 THE GOALS OF THE RESEARCH

The research proposes to study the effects of internal rural-urban migration on employment and household income in Lesotho. The study proposes to answer the following questions:

- Can rural – urban migration result in poverty alleviation?
- What are the major reasons for rural – urban migration in Lesotho?
- What role should the government play to promote rural – urban migration?

1.4 METHODS OF RESEARCH

As highlighted well by Kurosaki, *et al* (2007: 6) when attempting to understand the profile or the causes of rural-urban migration, a survey tends to be the best way of getting first hand information from respondents who themselves are migrants and have settled in the urban areas. In addition, relevant information can be obtained from urban dwellers who themselves do not hail from the rural areas but often find themselves competing for jobs with the rural-urban migrants.

According to Van der Berg, *et al* (2002) and Cornwell and Inder (2004), household surveys tend to be the best way of estimating urban and rural employment probability models for a labour market, and as such, this study partially adopts the logit model of estimating the probability of employment used originally by Cooke and Bailey (1996). Cooke and Bailey (1996) used this model to investigate the probability of employment among married women in midwestern United States in 1980. The general form of the logit model they used is presented in Equation 1.1 below.

$$\Pr (EMP_{80} = 1) = \frac{e^{BX}}{(1 + e^{BX})} \dots\dots\dots [1.1]$$

Where: Pr(EMP80 = 1) is the probability that an individual in the sample is employed in the week prior to the 1980 U.S. census

B is a vector of parameters, and

X is a vector of independent variables.

The Cooke and Bailey (1996) model is advantageous in the sense that, among other variables, it includes a categorical variable² that indicates whether the individual is a migrant or a non-migrant. Household surveys undertaken in Lesotho will be sought from the Bureau of Statistics in Maseru as well as branch offices in Leribe.

1.4.1 Population and sample selection

All the ten provincial districts in Lesotho will be treated as the population. The study acknowledges that statistical theory recommends that usually a third of the population should be treated as the sample. However, for this particular study, the sample population on which inference on the population as a whole will be made will be selected from two districts, i.e. Maseru and Leribe out of the ten districts in Lesotho. The main reason behind the choice of the two districts is that these districts house the country’s clothing and textile industries, which are the industries that contribute significantly towards the economic growth of Lesotho and thus attract most rural – urban migrants.

The sample is thus limited to persons working in the clothing and textile industries in Maseru and Leribe and persons who work as street vendors near these textiles industries. As a result, the study made use of the 2008 integrated labour force survey conducted by BOS as a sampling frame from which information on the size and composition of Lesotho’s clothing and textile industries located in the two districts was obtained. It is important to note that in Leribe, the sample was selected in Maputsoe since all of Leribe’s clothing and textile firms are located there. In Maseru, the sample was selected in Ha Hoohlo and in Thetsane for the same reason. Using systematic sampling, a sample population of 500 respondents was

² The categorical variable is MIG, and it can have two possible values, i.e. 1 if the respondent is a migrant and 0 if the respondent is not a migrant.

selected, with each of the two locations; Maseru and Maputsoe accounting for 250 respondents.

1.4.2 Data collection techniques

A questionnaire was administered face to face by the researcher to 500 migrants in Maseru and Leribe to avoid the possibility of non-response given that the respondent is illiterate, and a copy of the questionnaire is given in Table A-2 (Appendix 2). The questionnaire obtained information on the characteristics of migrants³ and their family members left behind in the rural areas (the controls of the study). The questions in the questionnaire ascertain, among other things, an array of the respondent's personal characteristics⁴, household attributes⁵, the job description of the bread winners⁶, the relationship between those who have migrated and those who have stayed behind in the rural areas, as well as the improvements, if any, in the individual's or family's standard of living following the decision to migrate. The questions that investigate the reasons why people choose to migrate look into issues relating to the presence of arable land, the availability of basic services such as health and education and the basic livelihood of people in the rural areas. The questions also seek to find out if the decision to migrate is of a circular or permanent nature and if upon finding employment in the urban areas, the migrants remit any of their earnings to help supplement the income of family members left behind in the rural areas.

In order to address the third research question (see Section 1.3), interviews with government officials who work in the Ministry of Home Affairs as well as the Lesotho Institute of Public Administration and Management (LIPAM) were conducted so as to understand the government's views on rural – urban migration in Lesotho. Table A-3 (Appendix 2) presents a copy of the interview schedule used by the researcher in the study. The questions in the

³ Migrants are defined in the study as individuals who have changed their usual place of residence in the rural areas between 2004 and 2008, either by crossing an international border or moving within their country of origin to another region, district or municipality.

⁴ Personal attributes such as sex, age, years of completed schooling, status in the village household as either a household head or a son or daughter of the household head, and whether they would have migrated before 2008 to the urban areas.

⁵ Household attributes such as household size, age composition, landholdings (rural or urban) and migration networks (represented by the presence of family members outside the village).

⁶ Data being gathered on all labour activities in which each individual of the household participated in and on each household member's contributions to household income in 2008.

government interview schedule try to ascertain the costs and benefits of rural – urban labour migration within Lesotho as seen by the government. If rural – urban migration is seen as a drawback, what then are the measures put in place by the government to remedy its inherent disadvantages? Conversely, if it is seen as an advantage to employment and household income, what then are the policies adopted by the government to encourage this sort of migration in Lesotho?

1.4.3 Analysis and interpretation of data

The data will be analysed using a logit model of the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008. Interpretation of the results will be in the context of the Harris and Todaro model of migration, the Lewis two sector model of development, the relative deprivation model, models under the structural approach to labour migration and the NELM (all of which are discussed in Chapter 2 of the research).

1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study is organised as follows: Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical foundations underlying the process of migration. This chapter is divided into three main sections, namely the functional approach to labour migration, the structural approach to labour migration and the NELM. Chapter 3 presents case studies on rural – urban migration in Botswana, Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt with the purpose of finding out the causes and effects of rural – urban migration in these countries as well as policy recommendations on how to eradicate any problems, if any, associated with the rural – urban migration phenomenon. Chapter 4 presents an economic overview of Lesotho and a history of its migration patterns. The aim is to better understand the performance of the country’s economic sectors, as well as the extent of poverty and income inequality in the country. Chapter 5 presents the methodology of the study, where discussions relating to appropriate model selection, application of the logit model to the case of Lesotho, data collection instruments as well as sampling techniques are presented. The results of the study are presented and discussed in Chapter 6, while Chapter 7 presents the summary of findings, conclusions, as well as, policy recommendations.

1.6 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations which are used in this thesis are as follows:

ADP	Agricultural development programme
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BOS	Bureau of Statistics
CBL	Central Bank of Lesotho
EOI	Export orientated industrialisation
FDI	Foreign direct investment
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNI	Gross national income
HBS	Household budget survey
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IATC	International Agreement on Textiles
IMF	International Monetary fund
IMR	Inverse Mills Ratio
ISI	Import substitution industrialisation
LDC	Less developed country
LFCD	Lesotho Fund for Community Development
LHDA	Lesotho Highlands Development Authority
LHWP	Lesotho Highlands Water Project
LIPAM	Lesotho Institute of Public Administration and Management
LPB	Lesotho Post Bank
MFA	Multi Fibre Agreement
MLE	Maximum likelihood estimation
MNCs	Multi-national corporations
NELM	New Economic theory of Labour Migration
NGOs	Non Governmental organisations
NMS	National migration study
ODA	Official Development Aid
OLS	Ordinary least squares
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PMTCT	Prevention of Mother-To-Child Transmission
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PSIRP	Public Sector Improvement and Reform Programme
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project

SAP	Structural adjustment programmes
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
WHO	World Health Organization
WWII	World War Two

CHAPTER 2

THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS UNDERLYING THE PROCESS OF MIGRATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

When researchers investigate the effects of immigration on a country's economy, their interest normally revolves around three specific questions; 1) what determines the size and skill composition of the immigrant flows into the host country? 2) how do the immigrants adapt to the host country's economy? and 3) how do the immigrants impact on the host country's economy? According to Borjas (1989: 458), there is yet to be a single consolidated theory that deals adequately with all the three questions together. It is thus not surprising that according to Taylor and Martin (1999), theory on labour migration is divided into two broad approaches; the functional approach and the structural approach. However, as Haas (2007: 45) explains, theories of migration under both approaches have recently been challenged by another theory, the new economic theory on labour migration (NELM).

This chapter is going to focus on five theories relating to labour migration so as to get a better understanding of how the process of migration has been explained and understood throughout history by the various schools of economic thought such as the classical school, the neoclassical school and the neo-Marxist school, just to name a few. Section 2.2 will discuss the functional approach to labour migration with due attention to the Lewis two sector model, the Harris and Todaro model and the relative deprivation model. Section 2.3 on the other hand will be an analysis of the structural approach to labour migration. Section 2.4 will be an analysis of the NELM and Section 2.5 will conclude the chapter.

2.2 THE FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO LABOUR MIGRATION

Haas (2007: 6), Vandererf (1996: 96), Koser (1997: 593), Lindquist and Goss (1995: 317) as well as Taylor and Martin (1999: 5) indicate that the functional approach to labour migration is based on theories of classical and neoclassical theories of development. It advocates factor price equalisation, assumes that economic forces converge towards equilibrium and ignores the prevalence of market failures and other structural constraints on development. Furthermore, the approach is more concerned with the microeconomic analysis of internal and external migration, focusing more on the decisions of the individual as these have effects

on the welfare of the economy. The functional approach assumes that if the decision to migrate is brought about by real or perceived inequalities in the distribution of economic opportunity, the flow of migration itself will only be slowed down if the aggregate effects from migration bring about a reduction in the spatial inequalities that motivated the decision to migrate in the first place.

Borjas (1989: 460) observes that according to neoclassical theory, a migratory unit (be it an individual or household or family) will move from its place of origin with the paramount intent to maximise its socio-economical or economical utility upon arrival in the host region. Zhang and Song (2003: 391), Todaro and Smith (2006: 110) as well as Vandererf (1996: 96) reiterate this point, noting that the migrant's need for a better standard of living facilitated by a better wage is more often than not the main motivation behind the decision to migrate. From this basic premise of neoclassical thinking, a handful of models on labour migration have since been formulated. Under the functional approach, migration phenomenon is generally explained by two models, firstly; the wage-driven neoclassical explanation presented in the Lewis two sector model of development, and secondly, the microeconomic model of migration grounded on the seminal work of Todaro (1969). The sections that follow will address each of these models.

2.2.1 The Lewis two sector model of development

The Lewis two sector model of development is a functional approach to labour migration based on the principles of classical economics as opposed to neoclassical economics. This is because, as Lewis (1954, in Stolyarov, 2007) notes, neoclassical economics does not correctly represent the conditions prevalent in the economically less developed countries (LDCs) as it assumes a shortage of labour supply therein. Taylor and Martin (1999: 4) concur; noting that the Lewis model adheres to the orthodox classical economic theories of wage equalisation and utility maximisation, which are two principles that have significant bearing on the formulation of the entire model.

Todaro and Smith (2006: 110) as well as Taylor and Martin (1999: 4) explain that the Lewis two sector model of development segments a country's economy into two sectors, the traditional (agricultural) sector and the modern (industrial) sector. According to Nafziger (2006: 138) and Stolyarov (2007), the modern sector is small in comparison to the traditional sector and is highly capital-intensive while the traditional sector is labour-intensive. The

traditional sector has little or no reproducible capital; the capital therein is outdated and is often the result of technologies passed from one generation to the other. The industrial sector on the other hand produces for the market, uses reproducible capital and new technology and hires labour commercially from areas where the marginal productivity of labour is less than the wage. According to Nafziger (2006: 103) and Taylor and Martin (1999: 4), the most important characteristic of the traditional sector is that it has a low marginal productivity of labour, meaning that the level of output from an additional hour of labour is less than the subsistence wage. As a consequence of this characteristic, labour from the traditional sector is assumed to be available to the modern sector at unlimited quantities at a fixed real wage. How is it then that the model explains the motives behind migration from the rural subsistence sector to the modern industrial sector?

A rudimentary explanation is provided by Zhong and Song (2003: 391) who stress that the rural migrant is motivated to move from the rural to urban area because of the wage differential between the two areas with the real wage in the urban areas being higher than that of the rural area. Nafziger (2006: 138) agrees, explaining that workers from the rural areas are attracted to come and look for employment in the urban areas primarily because of the wage rate in the urban areas that exceeds those in the rural agricultural sector with the urban wage consisting of the subsistence wage in the rural areas plus an additional 30% inducement, an inducement that Stolyarov (2007) calls an added premium. At this rate, the urban employer can expect to have an unlimited supply of labour due to the fact that the wage rate in the rural areas is at equilibrium at a level below that of the urban area. Furthermore, the rural wage rate is governed by the classical mechanism of the *iron law of wages*, where higher wages are an inverse function of population growth, such that increases in population growth would lead to a fall in the higher wages and lower wages are raised when output is distributed among a smaller population due to such things as an increase in the rate of mortality.

The Lewis two sector model of development essentially asserts that labour will migrate from industries that are highly labour intensive (in the traditional sector) to those that are more capital intensive (in the industrial sector) inspired by the wage differential between the two regions. Taylor and Martin (1999: 5) and Lewis (1954, in Stolyarov, 2007) agree and point out that the result will be increases in labour in the industrial sector followed by accumulation of capital, and shortly after, increases in total output and income up to a point where marginal

products of the two sectors are equal and the neoclassical theory of wages determined by marginal products will dominate, resulting in the integration of the two sectors and increased levels of development for the country as a whole.

Ranis (2004: 714) comes to the same conclusion about the Lewis model, noting that the model is concerned more with the reallocation of labour up until such a point when organisational duality is transformed into organisational homogeneity, a turn of events that would lead to the complete commercialisation of the entire economy, a process known as the *Lewis turning point*. In other words, as is observed by Nafziger (2006: 139), the Lewis model puts emphasis on growth because of structural change, the focus moves from producing merely for subsistence (as the case is in the traditional sector) to producing enough to meet both local and international market demand (as the case is in the modern sector). From this, the size of the industrial sector grows and with it the ratio of profits and other components of national income.

As comprehensive as the model might appear to be, Stolyarov (2007) indicates that through time, it has fallen victim to intense scrutiny and discredit. Nafziger (2006: 139) points out that out of the many criticisms of the Lewis model, the one that sticks out the most is the theoretical assumption of an unlimited supply of labour in LDCs, and this assumption although it serves the model well is otherwise implausible. Furthermore, staying true to the classical mechanism of the iron law of wages, as more and more people migrate from the rural areas to the urban areas in search of employment, it is logical to conclude that fewer people will be left in the rural areas to share in the output therein. The result is obviously a higher wage rate for the subsistence sector, meaning that to attract more labourers to the urban areas; urban employers would have to increase the level of industrial wages, a point that never comes across and is not discussed in the Lewis model. Moreover, as has been shown above, the basic premise of the model is development sighting capital investment as a necessary and sufficient condition to ensure growth of the modern sector and the economy as a whole. Easterly (2002, in Stolyarov, 2007), expresses that there is no evidence of any statistical links between increased investment in a country and increases in the economic growth therein.

Lucas (1987) argues that when the southern African case is examined, the Lewis model is open to even more criticism. During the mid 20th century when migrant surplus labour from

countries such as Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland came to South Africa in search of employment in the country’s mining sector, at first glance their movement from rural and agricultural parts of their respective countries into South Africa could seemingly be explained in accordance to the exact layout of the Lewis model. From there on, what was expected to happen of course was the materialisation of the Lewis turning point, a stimulated economic growth within the respective migrant labour countries and elimination of spatial inequality, as well as, wage differentiation on the account of migrant competition for jobs and remittances sent home. However, that was not the case.

2.2.2 The Harris and Todaro model

Following the limitations of the Lewis two sector model of migration, it became obvious that another explanation was needed to provide for a better understanding of the phenomenon of migration. According to Taylor and Martin (1999: 5 – 6), Riadh (1998: 2) and Nafziger (2006: 317), the primary motivation for Todaro’s (1969) model on migration and later Harris and Todaro (1970) model on migration was an attempt to explain why rural out-migration was continuing in LDCs despite increases in the level of unemployment and underdevelopment in the urban industrial sector.

Amano (1983: 311) observes that like the Lewis model before it, the Harris and Todaro model believes that individuals are encouraged to migrate from their rural areas of settlement to the urban areas by higher wage levels in the urban areas as opposed to those in the rural areas. This relationship can be elaborated using equation 2.1, below as developed by Harris and Todaro (1970).

$$M_t = f(W_u - W_r) \dots\dots\dots [2.1]$$

Where: M_t is the number of rural – urban migrants in time t

W_u is the urban wage

W_r is the rural wage

Nafziger (2006: 317) however points out that the Harris and Todaro model differs primarily from the Lewis model in that it does not only look at the migrant worker’s decision to migrate as being influenced solely by the wage differential between the urban and the rural areas but as equally dictated also by the migrant’s probability of employment in the urban

areas if the decision to migrate is undertaken. What this means is that with the Harris and Todaro model, the migrant's decision to migrate is influenced by the expected level of earnings rather than the actual level of earnings in the urban area. Equation 2.2 below is a representation of the expected urban wage; which is defined as the actual wage times the probability of finding a job.

$$W^* U = pW_u \dots\dots\dots [2.2]$$

Where: $W^* U$ is the expected urban wage and p is the probability of finding a job and p can be defined as equation 2.3 below.

$$p = \frac{E_u}{E_u + U_u} \dots\dots\dots [2.3]$$

Where E_u is the urban employment and U_u is the urban unemployment

The individual would first have to bring into play the probability of firstly finding a job in the urban area upon migration before deciding to migrate. If the probability of employment is high enough, this will translate into a higher present value of expected earnings and thus encourage migration. The opposite is of course true in the case of the probability of employment being low. Nafziger (2006: 319) concurs, noting further that the decision by the rural inhabitant to migrate is also determined by numerous other day to day necessities that factor into the life of the would be urban dweller such as housing costs, transportation costs, schooling costs (in the case of family migration) and hospital costs in the urban areas, just to name a few.

Amano (1983: 311) indicates that if the level of rural wages is not increased or growth therein is not encouraged, the high urban wages will continue to attract migrants and thus lead to an increase in unemployment in the urban areas since the high supply of labour from the rural areas will outstrip the urban demand.

Lucas (1985: 358) points out that although the Harris – Todaro model presents a description of the motives behind rural – urban migration that have been widely accepted by development economists as doctrine, it must still be highlighted that much like in the Lewis model that came before it, rural – urban migration in the Harris – Todaro model still persists despite increased levels of urban unemployment. Rozenzweig (1988, in Leavy and White

2003: 17) points out that the model can be criticised for its inability to explain remittances as well as seasonal or temporary migration. Haas (2007: 6) indicates that the Harris – Todaro model can further be extended to allow interpretation of the motives behind migration within the human capital context where migration is seen as an investment decision where skills, education and physical abilities are unique to the individual and are “capitals” with the potential of boosting economic production. These “capitals” differ from individual to individual and as such their expected gains from migrating would have to differ as well, thus affecting and influencing the decision to migrate differently from person to person.

2.2.3 The relative deprivation model

According to Stark and Yitzhaki (1988: 57 - 58) and Nafziger (2006: 213), the theory of relative deprivation can be used to model social behaviour in the prevalence of inequality. Such things as a country’s economic stagnation and decline as well as political violence can worsen the feeling of relative deprivation and in most cases result in a conscious decision by either the individual or household to migrate from one region to the next in search of a better life. How then does the relative deprivation model differ from the other two models of migration theory discussed so far in explaining people’s decisions to migrate?

Stark and Taylor (1991: 1163) note that almost all the studies conducted on rural – urban migration emphasise the need by the migratory unit (be it an individual, a household or a family) to improve their absolute income as the main motive for migrating. Stark and Taylor (1989) as well as Stark and Yitzhaki (1988: 58) in presenting yet another explanation for the migratory process argue that migration decisions are influenced by relative as well as absolute income considerations. Over and above migration being influenced by the likelihood of increased absolute income following the move, household utility is another factor that can influence a migratory unit’s decision to migrate and it is not only a function of absolute income but is also a function of the household’s income position relative to other households in the relevant reference group (for example a village).

Using an example of two villages A1 and A2 with a given number of households in each one, Stark and Taylor (1989: 1) give an illustration of which household in both villages would have a higher incline to migrate and who would have a lesser one.

Suppose that there are six households in each village whose respective incomes are as follows: village A1 = (20, 30, 40, 50 and 60) and village A2 = (20, 60, 65, 70, 75 and 80). The configuration of these income distributions is such that an income of 60 places household 6 in village A1 at the top of its village income distribution. By contrast, in village A2 this same absolute income places a household within one rank of the bottom income distribution. Suppose that by reallocating some of its labour to international migration, the household earning an income of 60 in each village can expect to receive 20% (12 units) increase in absolute income. An expected income model of migration would predict that the two households have the same propensity to participate in international migration. Assume, however, that the nature of the reallocation is such that when a household member is assigned to a foreign labour market, the household together with the member continue to consider their respective villages A1 and A2 as the relevant reference distribution. If household utility is a function not only of absolute income but also of income position vis-à-vis other households in the village, the intuition could lead us to expect that the household whose income is 60 in village A2 will have a stronger motivation to participate in migration than the one in village A1 (Stark and Taylor, 1989: 1).

What this illustration emphasises is that a migratory unit will not only migrate on the basis of increasing its absolute income but migration will ensue ultimately as the result of a belief in a favourable absolute as well as relative income gain.

Stark and Taylor (1989) indicate that under the relative deprivation model, migratory units choose whether to migrate internally or internationally depending on their levels of relative deprivation. They note that when an individual migrates from their relevant reference group into another economy in another country, they get absorbed by that economy, presumably find employment and succeed in increasing their income levels and those of the family unit they left back home because the incomes will be pooled together. The result is of course a higher level of satisfaction for the entire family. However, if the migratory unit chooses to migrate internally, chances are they will be absorbed by a host region that shares some social and economical similarities to their previous reference group and as such could stimulate higher levels of relative deprivation and in turn motivate the need to migrate again.

Stark and Taylor (1989: 2), note that this leads to international migration as people inspired initially to migrate because of relative deprivation find it more beneficial to migrate to other

countries all together and not to regions or districts within the same country. The belief is that in the new country, or host community, the characteristics of the migrant (i.e. the culture, language, and so forth) are distinct and hence no comparison to income levels can spur on deprivation and encourage further migration. This means that the original reference group remains the home village. International migration thus provides for a built-in protection against *reference group substitution*.

According to Walker and Smith (2002: 1 - 2), the relative deprivation model has a great disadvantage in that there is no universally accepted definition for relative deprivation and as such the model fails to be precise in its applicability.

2.3 THE STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO LABOUR MIGRATION

Over the years, there have been numerous development policies propagated by organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These policies, whether it is import substitution industrialisation (ISI), export orientated industrialisation (EOI) or any other structural adjustment programmes (SAP), assert that economic growth and development in LDCs will only be realised through the expansion of productivity in the industrial sectors, much to the neglect of the agricultural sectors. The transformation of the structure of production causes people to migrate from the rural areas where employment on the farms is dwindling to seek jobs in the urban industrial sector.

Ledent (1982: 507) explains that structural transformation, a prerequisite of industrialisation and the first step towards the subsequent economic development of an LDC, is bound to result in urbanisation. The reason is that more and more people will migrate to the urban areas from the rural areas because when the two are compared, the urban areas appear to offer better opportunities of getting higher paying jobs than the rural areas. Furthermore, the urban areas compared to the rural areas are often well endowed with basic social amenities such as health care, electricity, running water, sanitation and institutions of higher learning.

Harrison (1998: 457) and Gurung (2000: 142) explain that the structural approach to migration looks at migration from the perspective of capitalist development and the relationship between modes of production under the capitalist and pre-capitalist economies. Under the approach, rural – urban migration ensues as the result of increasing capitalist influence into the rural or pre-capitalist society as labour that was once self-employed in the

rural areas on a subsistence basis is attracted to migrate to the urban areas where it is employed for wages.

Bradshaw (1987: 224) indicates that the structural approach is usually explained by three theories; the theory of modernisation, the theory of urban bias and the theory of dependency. According to Zhang (1994), under the theory of modernisation, the organisational nature of a country's government experiences a structural change as power becomes centralised. Administrative headquarters, basic public services and public sector jobs become predominantly located in the urban areas. Moreover, there is a structural change in the economy's mode of production from what was once for mere subsistence on the rural farms to a more industrial form of production for export purposes in the urban firms. With this structural transformation of production comes the inevitable movement of people from the rural areas towards the cities in search of jobs and public services.

Under the theory of urban bias, Bradshaw (1987: 225) notes that policies enacted in favour of the urban areas over the rural areas create a disparity between the two regions. The consequence of such a disparity is seen in e.g. the pattern of consumption, the level of wages and the level of production. The rural agricultural sector experiences a decline in production levels primarily due to a lack of investment and lack of labour force as more and more people move inward to the urban areas where the basic services such as health and education are centralised and the standard of living is relatively high. Roberts (1989: 672) draws our attention to a practical depiction of the urban bias theory through the import substitution industrialisation (ISI) policy of the 1930s to 1970s that required the state to assume the role of an active agent in the urban development of a country and create economic infrastructure. ISI policy was skewed and structured in favour of the urban areas as opposed to the rural areas resulting in the destruction of the economic basis for peasant agriculture in the rural areas. Self and family employment declined sharply, directly influencing the migration of a large number of people from small towns and villages to large cities in search of work and lodging.

When the theory of urban dependency is considered, Bradshaw (1987: 226) and Roberts (1989: 671 – 672) discuss the “bright lights theory”, noting that because of the increased level of industrial activity in the urban areas brought about by increased foreign investment in the region, among other things, the rural dweller perceives this to be an indication of a higher

quality of life and an opportunity for better employment in the region. This acts as motivation for migration and leads people to leave the rural areas for the urban areas in search of this “good life”. However, it must be pointed out that the injection of foreign funds into an LDC does not always translate into an increase in the level of urban employment. As a result, migrants might find themselves struggling to find formal employment and would thus resort to seek employment in the informal sector.

Given the above discussion, one can conclude that just as the case is under the functional approach (see Section 2.2); economical and social disparities between the rural and urban areas are also the main causes of rural – urban migration under the structural approach to migration.

2.4 THE NEW ECONOMIC THEORY ON LABOUR MIGRATION (NELM)

Haas (2007: 45), Stark and Bloom (1985: 174), Taylor *et al* (2003: 76) as well as Taylor and Martin (1999: 9) explain that advancement made in the empirical and theoretical study of migration has given rise to a new theory that challenges both the structural and functional approaches to labour migration. This new theory is known as the NELM. Contrary to the neo-classical theories of migration that view migration as an individual decision, NELM postulates that the decision to migrate is made jointly by the migrant and a group of non-migrants (often the family left behind). In the NELM, the focus is more on the effects of migration on source communities. The primary deciding factor in the choice of whether or not to migrate under this theory is remittances and the direct gains the rural family can get from them. Migration is undertaken as a household decision not only to maximise household income but also to hedge against risk created by a variety of market failures such as missing or incomplete capital, insurance and labour markets. The decision to migrate then appears to be a rationally motivated activity, one that takes into account the potential loss of labour in the rural areas given out – migration to the urban areas. Stark and Bloom (1985: 175) and Taylor and Martin (1999: 13) concur and explain that rural households will rationally decide to send out migrants even if the short-run utility gains from the act are negative but the discounted future gains are positive and large.

Kapur (2003: 2) explains that remittances have come to be accepted as an important source of external development finance and are also a form of social insurance. Weeks (1995, in Leavy and White 2003: 17) agrees and criticises neo-classical models such as the Harris – Todaro

model (Section 2.2.2) on the grounds that temporary migration from the rural to urban areas, that isn't captured by such models is often a form of hedge mechanism for the rural households as increased remittances from jobs sourced in the urban areas will serve to supplement declining real incomes in the rural areas. Taylor and Martin (1999: 10) agree and point out that if a farm household wishes to expand its productivity through an investment in new capital stock but lacks access to both credit and income insurance, it can choose to place one of its members in a migrant labour market. Initially, the migrant's costs of living will be taken care of by the rural family while they look for a job. As soon as the migrant finds a stable job and income, they can, through remittances provide the rural household with the much needed liquidity to expand on rural production.

Stark and Lucas (1988: 465) explain that remittances usually amount to 10% - 30% of migrants' income. Kagochi *et al* (2010: 117), Jadotte (2009: 2), Campbell (2010: 151) and Whande (2009: 2) indicate that when migration in developing countries is examined, the role of remittances cannot be ignored since they provide the migrant's family left behind in the rural areas with a means to afford access to land, natural resources and a way to meet their housing, health, education and direct food needs. Worldwide remittance flows are estimated to have exceeded US \$ 318 billion in 2007, of which US \$ 240 billion went to developing countries.

It is important to note that although the NELM emerged as a theoretical explanation of migration in the wake of criticism levied against the functional and structural approaches to migration, (discussed in Sections 2.2 and 2.3, respectively); it has not been without its fair share of criticism. Haas (2007: 47) and Rempel and Lobdell (1978: 333) argue that micro-evidence on the often positive effects of migration and remittances in households is often misconstrued as evidence of the general and macro effects of the activity when in actual fact very little of the migrant's remittances are used for rural development as the majority is often used for food purchases on a household level. Taylor (1999: 74) reiterates this point by arguing that in places where skilled labour is low (such as the rural areas) remittances cannot stimulate economic growth since there is often absence of a financial system concise enough to mobilise small amounts of savings from a wide variety of sources and channel them into businesses capable of meeting a rising demand for their output.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter gave an overview of the various theories on labour migration as presented under the functional and structural approaches to labour migration as well as the NELM, with the purpose of understanding how these theories explain the phenomenon of rural – urban migration.

The functional approach to labour migration consists of the Lewis two sector model, the Harris and Todaro model as well as the relative deprivation model. Each of these three models assumes that a migratory unit will decide to migrate from the rural – urban areas as a direct result of either the real or perceived inequalities in the distribution of economic opportunity in the rural areas.

The Lewis two-sector model is governed by principles of classical economics and as such adheres to the classical economic theories of wage equalisation and utility maximisation in its explanation of rural – urban migration. According to the model, labour will migrate from the traditional or rural agrarian sector (where production is labour intensive) to the modern or urban industrial sector (where production is capital intensive) motivated by the urban – rural wage differential. Under the Lewis two-sector model, labour supply from the rural – urban areas is assumed to be available at unlimited quantities at a fixed wage rate due to the prevalence of low marginal productivity of labour in the rural areas. Furthermore, migration of labour from the rural – urban areas is postulated to continue only up to a point where the marginal products and in turn, the wage rates of the two sectors are equal. The result will be an integration of the two economic sectors, efficient productivity and higher levels of national income and development.

The Harris-Todaro model of migration was developed to explain the continued prevalence of rural – urban migration in LDCs despite high levels of unemployment and underdevelopment in the urban industrial sector. Unlike the Lewis two-sector model, the Harris-Todaro model asserts that before the decision to migrate is undertaken, the rural migrant does not only consider the urban – rural wage differential but also takes into consideration the likelihood of finding employment in the urban areas.

The relative deprivation model of migration highlights that when choosing to migrate from the rural – urban areas, the migratory unit is not only motivated to migrate by the need to

improve on their absolute income but also by the utility derived from improving their household income relative to other households in the relevant reference group (for example a village).

The structural approach to labour migration is usually explained by three theories; the theory of modernisation, the theory of urban bias and the theory of dependency. The approach looks at migration from the perspective of capitalist development and the relationship between modes of production under the capitalist and pre-capitalist economies. Under the approach, the motive behind rural – urban migration is explained by the disparities between the rural and urban areas, with the urban areas being the more endowed in modern forms of production, service delivery and job opportunities.

The NELM was developed to challenge both the functional and structural approaches to labour migration. The primary deciding factor in the choice of whether or not to migrate under this theory is remittances and the direct gains the rural family can get from them. Migration is undertaken as a household decision not only to maximise household income but also to hedge against risk created by a variety of market failures such as missing or incomplete capital, insurance and labour markets. The decision to migrate then appears to be a rationally motivated activity, one that takes into account the potential loss of labour in the rural areas given out – migration to the urban areas.

CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDIES ON RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Economic development issues and initiatives aimed at developing a country's economic potential have always been of interest to economic institutions and development economists. Dating from as early as the end of World War Two (WWII), development economics has gained notoriety as a discipline that often speaks of and champions the cause of economic development with the same vigour and gusto as the ever-pressing need to understand the phenomenon of rural-urban migration.

Migration in its holistic form, whether it is rural – urban, urban – urban or rural – rural has been part of human life for a very long time. Schrover (2004) puts forward evidence chronicling the long history of migration, one that stretches as far back as the origins of man, all in an attempt to show that certain aspects of people's lives, be it their culture or language have been moulded and made what they are today by patterns of migration that have ensued throughout their history. Thovaldsen (2004) agrees and presents a periodical segmentation of migration throughout man's history in his review of acclaimed scholar Leslie Page Moch's (1992) book "Moving Europeans, Migration in Western Europe since 1650". Even when the subject of inter-regional migration is broached, Crush and Peberdy (2005) provide history of migration within the southern African region dating as far back as the nineteenth century and highlight that during this time, labour migration between the various colonies and countries of the region was the single most important factor in unifying them.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate rural – urban migration using case studies of four countries; Botswana, Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt. These countries have been chosen because over the years, each has been exposed to various policies on development that have seen them experience a mass exodus of people from the rural areas to the urban areas. Botswana and South Africa in particular are chosen because of their cultural and socio-economic similarities coupled with their historic economic relationships with Lesotho.

The chapter will investigate the cause, the nature⁷, the duration⁸, as well as the challenges posed by rural-urban migration in each of the countries. Section 3.2 gives an overview of rural-urban migration in Botswana; Section 3.3 gives an overview of rural – urban migration in Nigeria while Sections 3.4 and 3.5 will be an overview of rural – urban migration in South Africa and Egypt, respectively. Section 3.6 concludes the chapter. It is pertinent to note that from all the sections, an understanding of the phenomenon of rural-urban migration and its patterns from a country specific perspective will emerge. This will enable a thorough comparison of the factual illustration of the migration phenomenon and the assertions made by economic theories on the subject, as discussed in Sections 2.2 to 2.4.

3.2 BOTSWANA

Botswana is a land – locked, semi – arid country in southern Africa that is approximately the size of Texas or France. When it got its independence in 1966, it only had three modernised towns with a combined population of twenty thousand people. According to Campbell (2010), it has the fastest urbanisation rate in Sub-Saharan Africa. When compared to the rest of the countries on the continent, (South Africa excluded), who have on average one third of their population living in the urban areas, it has on average just over half of its population living in towns and cities.

From Table 3.1 below, Botswana’s GNI per capita stood at US \$6, 470 in 2008 and its population size in 2009 stood at 1.9 million. Life expectancy between men and women is noticeably similar and low standing at only 55 years of age. This could be attributed to the high prevalence of HIV cases in the country, for example, when HIV surveillance was done on a sub-population of Botswana for the years 2001 – 2008, approximately 25% of the country’s population aged between 15 and 49 years were HIV positive (UNAIDS/WHO, 2009: 19). Botswana’s major languages are English (official) and Setswana. Its main exports are diamonds, copper, nickel and beef.

⁷ By looking into the “nature” of rural – urban migration in each country the research will endeavour to ascertain exactly who among each country’s people migrated from the rural to the urban areas; e.g. Was it the able-bodied youths of the country both male and female or was it only the able-bodied men or perhaps on the women (etc)?

⁸ By looking into the “duration” of rural – urban migration in each country, the research aligns itself with a particular time in each country’s history when rural – urban migration was most profound.

Table 3.1: Profile of Botswana

Full name	The Republic of Botswana
Population*	1.9 Million (2009)
Capital	Gaborone
Area	581,730 sq km (224,607 sq miles)
Major languages	English (official), Setswana
Major religions	Christianity, indigenous beliefs
Life expectancy*	55 years (men), 55 years (women)
Monetary unit	1 Pula = 100 thebe
Main exports	Diamonds, copper, nickel, beef
GNI per capita**	US \$6,470 (2008)
Internet domain	.bw
International dialling code	+267

Source: BBC NEWS Africa (2009).

Notes: *UN data

**World Bank data

Oucho *et al* (2000: 6), Akinboade and Lekwape (1997: 238) and Lucas (1985: 360) describe Botswana's rainfall as generally low, erratic and unevenly distributed while the semi-arid climate makes it difficult to practice crop husbandry on a consistent basis, and consequently, agricultural activities are not the major economic activity in the rural areas. Oucho *et al* (2000: 7) note that before 1963, approximately 1.0% of Botswana's population resided in the urban areas. In 1971, the proportion of the country's population dwelling in the urban areas increased to 9.3%, and in 1991, it stood at 17.7% of the total population. It is thus not surprising that Lucas (1985: 360) and Brown (1963: 370) indicate that since it got its independence, employment for wages in Botswana has grown, with the majority of the country's household incomes being derived from urban based economic activities such as working in the diamond and copper mines, in parastatal organisations such as the Botswana Meat Commission or working as domestic servants.

Oucho *et al* (2000: 7) and Campbell (2010: 152) point out that much of Botswana's urbanisation has been the result of natural population increases in the rapidly urbanised settlements and most importantly it has been due to the country's economic and settlement policies since 1966 that served not only to increase the chances of employment in the urban areas but also promoted rural – urban migration. In Botswana's 1991 census, seven areas were identified as urban centres and these were Gaborone (the national capital), Francistown, Selebi Phikwe (a mining town), Lobatse (a commercial centre in the south), Jwaneng, Orapa

and Sowa. Evidence from the 1991 census suggests that Gaborone experienced the highest level of urbanisation among all seven urban centres.

By reviewing five scholarly papers, some insight will be given on the nature of rural – urban migration in Botswana, the causes; the problems that have resulted if any and the possible policy recommendations. The papers reviewed are case studies by (i) Bell (1980) who investigates the influence of formal training on the propensity to migrate and the resultant occupational status achieved by individual members of the Tswana households; (ii) Kossoudji and Mueller (1985) who analyse the economic and demographic status of female headed households in rural Botswana; (iii) Campbell (2010) who examines the internal labour migration of Botswana citizens and their remittance behaviour; (iv) Gwebu (2006) who investigates the extent to which the differential urbanisation model⁹ can be used to explain urbanisation and migration in Botswana, and lastly (v) Akinboade and Lekwape (1997) who investigate the relationship between rural – urban migration and formal employment in Gaborone.

3.2.1 Rural – urban migration in Botswana

According to Lucas (1985: 359), the history of urbanisation among the Batswana¹⁰ was such that in the beginning, villages were the focal point of tribal life. All tribal households resided in the village practicing subsistence farming and animal husbandry on adjacent lands. Gwebu (2006: 425) concurs describing these types of settlements as “agrotowns” for they constitute an element of settlement, with each village being at the functional core and immediately surrounding it, arable “lands” or “masimo” with cattle posts or “meraka” located at the periphery. An increase in the population density led to a shortage of arable land and the situation forced tribal chiefs to allocate outlying land, the “masimo”, for cultivation and land further afield was designated as “cattle posts” used for herding activities. During this time, migration was such that families would move back and forth between lands allocated for cultivation and the village at the authorisation of the chief, during the agricultural season.

⁹ The concept of differential urbanisation links the process of urbanisation, polarisation reversal and counter urbanisation across the development spectrum in the first and third worlds (Geyer 1995 in Gwebu, 2006:421).

¹⁰ The preferred form for references to the people and language of Botswana are as follows: Motswana-one person from Botswana, Batswana-the people of Botswana, and Setswana -the language of Botswana.

Bell (1980: 405 - 406) and Ouchou *et al* (2000: 37) explain that upon independence, the government of Botswana made it a priority to invest more in human capital through the increased expansion of educational opportunities. This was borne out of the necessity to inject more skilled and local manpower into the country's public sector. As a result, between 1979 and 1989 the primary school enrolment in the country increased by 66% while the secondary school and University of Botswana enrolment increased by 247% and 335%, respectively. Moreover, between 1991 and 1997 approximately P379 million was spent on human capital development with yearly increments of 9%. In light of the success inherent in the country's education policies, there has since been a sharp increase in the demand for skilled¹¹ local employees to add to Botswana's workforce.

Akinboade and Lekwape (1997: 240), Kossoudji and Mueller (1983: 832) and Bell (1980: 409) indicate that in Botswana, rural – urban migration is predominantly undertaken by young able-bodied and relatively well educated men between the ages of 14 to 44 years as opposed to women of the same age group. Within the portion of the migrating population that is women; single women are more likely to migrate to the urban areas than married women. This is because married women with family responsibility in the rural areas are culturally expected to rely more on their husbands who in turn are tasked with having to migrate in search of work to supplement the rural household income.

3.2.2 Causes of rural – urban migration

Campbell (2010: 152), Gwebu (2006: 427), Bell (1980: 405 – 406) and Akinboade and Lekwape (1997: 237) indicate that economic and settlement policies adopted in Botswana upon the country's independence in 1966 played a major role in creating employment opportunities that encouraged internal labour migration. The early 1960s were the contemporary phase of Botswana's urbanisation as they ushered in the growth of the country's central government, relocating the nation's administrative capital from Mafikeng in South Africa to Gaborone¹² in Botswana. A direct consequence of this transition was the

¹¹ Skilled individuals are defined in Botswana as those with three years junior secondary certificate (J.C) training or more (constituted by a Cambridge School Certificate of Education or a university degree). It is thus worth noting that an individual with a J.C or higher qualification stands a far better chance of getting a well-paying job in the public sector as opposed to one with only a primary school qualification (Bell, 1980: 405).

¹² Akinboade and Lekwape (1997: 237) as well as Gwebu (2006: 422) point out that due to its status as the economic centre of Botswana; Gaborone is the ideal destination of choice for the country's rural migrants.

expansion of the commercial, industrial and administrative functions in already existing towns which would mean an increase in government jobs and government provided settlements to cater for the growing influx of rural – urban migrants.

According to Bell (1980: 407), the rural inhabitant when contemplating whether or not to migrate is not completely oblivious to the job situation in the urban areas and educational qualifications needed in order to secure formal employment therein. Some migrants would have come to the urban areas earlier either as students to further their studies in the capital city or as part of the entire rural family that migrated in close connection to the father's occupation.

Campbell (2010: 156), Gwebu (2006: 427) and Akinboade and Lekwape (1997: 248) point out that poverty and unemployment are major concerns throughout Botswana, more so in the rural areas than it is in the urban areas. When mineral resources were first discovered and exploited in the country around 1971 to 1981, the result was a huge shift from agricultural production as people migrated to towns in search of work in the mines. Therefore, in addition to migrating for reasons of marriage, to pursue one's education¹³ and for fosterage¹⁴, migration was also due to the desire to escape poverty and find good paying jobs in such fields as mining and construction, a motive highlighted in the Lewis two sector model of migration as well as the Harris and Todaro model (see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively). It is however important to note that among the older migrants, those that are married, joint migration among spouses only occurs when employment has been secured by either one or both of them.

Bell (1980: 407) explains that if an individual is educated and resides in the rural areas, he or she is more likely to migrate to the urban areas and take advantage of the formal job prospects therein rather than seek employment in the rural agrarian sector. Campbell (2010: 152 – 153) concurs, pointing out that once in the urban areas, a higher level of education will increase the migrant's chances of getting a better paying job and consequently afford the

¹³ Campbell (2010: 155) indicates that the urban areas of Botswana have a far greater number of secondary and tertiary institutions.

¹⁴ Fostering is a social security mechanism used by Africans to maximise the quality of life of children whose parents do not have the ability to do so. The children are brought up by relatives or adults known to the parents (Campbell, 2010: 153)

family left in the rural areas a better standard of living through increased remittances. The rural – urban wage differential highlighted by the Lewis two sector model as well as the Harris – Todaro model (see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively), therefore appears to be one motive for rural – urban migration in Botswana.

Bell (1980: 408) indicates that upon arrival in the urban areas, young job seekers from the rural areas are provided with shelter and security, be it with a friend or a relative that already resides in the urban areas while they seek employment. The ease of entry into Botswana's formal job market hinges on an individual's educational standing such that the higher one's level of education, the quicker it is for them to attain formal employment in the urban areas. Moreover, while individuals with an educational qualification higher than a J.C (Junior Certificate) are quickly absorbed into the formal job market due to their possession of first hand information¹⁵ of the urban job market, those with a J.C. face the same problems of having to actively search for a job as individuals with little or no formal training. What this implies is that for individuals with a J.C. qualification or less, their movement to the urban areas represents a response to the perceived opportunities in the urban areas rather than the actual ones, a motive for migration that conforms to the theoretical underpinnings of the Harris-Todaro model (see Section 2.2.2). The consequence, as Akinboade and Lekwape (1997: 240) point out is that more and more of the less or uneducated migrants end up having to take up jobs in the informal sector to sustain their livelihoods.

Campbell (2010: 151) indicates that as much as rural – urban migration in Botswana is motivated by the rural – urban income differential, as is postulated by the Lewis two sector model of migration as well as the Harris and Todaro model (see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively), it is important to note that another powerful motivational force for rural – urban migration in the country is remittances as pointed out by the NELM discussed in Section 2.4. The hope is that through migration, the migrant's standard of living as well as that of his or her family members left behind in the rural areas will improve as a direct result of money sent back in the form of remittances.

¹⁵ This information was sourced during the migrant's time furthering his or her studies in the country's capital where upon job opportunities had come through careers guidance followed by direct application to specific government ministries after which employment had been secured almost immediately (Bell, 1980: 408).

3.2.3 Policy recommendations on rural - urban migration

Mitchell and Shaul (1965 in Bell, 1980: 408) point out that skilled urban – orientated employment more often than not requires the rural migrant to set up permanent residency in the urban areas. Bearing in mind that the majority of Botswana’s rural migrants are able-bodied men, their temporary stay in the urban areas leaves the responsibility of the agricultural economy to fall squarely on the shoulders of their wives. Bell (1980: 413 – 414) and Gwebu (2006: 428) explain that the move from the rural to urban areas inversely affects productivity in the rural areas as family members left behind are often unskilled or too old to be economically active, and in the case of women, they often face supervisory problems when having to hire help around the farm. According to Akinboade and Lekwape (1997: 251), one possible solution for this is to encourage circular forms of migration whereby migrants will plough land prior to their out migration and by thus doing, minimise migration risks that could arise from lack of manpower.

Kossoudji and Mueller (1983: 832) as well as Bell (1980: 410) point out that rural – urban migration in Botswana leads to an imbalance in the rural sex ratio as an increasing number of rural women are left without male counterparts. This affects rural marriages negatively and at times may result in divorce leaving the woman to take up the role of sole provider and head of the household. This reoccurring scenario creates an environment of mistrust between men and women in the rural areas, so much so that the social significance of marriage is often frowned upon by single women, who opt rather to hold off marriage and leave the rural areas for life in the urban areas. According to Gwebu (2006: 432) and Bell (1980: 415), such problems could be solved through the economic development of the rural areas and the creation of rural employment. Development can either be through government led investments that will enhance the region’s physical infrastructure and social services or investment through migrant remittances. The policy’s success hinges on maintaining a strong cultural and economic connection between rural – urban migrants and their family members left in the rural areas.

Gwebu (2006: 428) and Bell (1980: 410) explain that due to the large influx of rural – urban migration in the country, problems of congestion, shortage of housing, rising land values, soaring labour costs and overall high costs of living emerge. Bell (1980: 411 – 412) notes that integration into the urban areas is particularly hard for the uneducated portion of the rural migrants since they have to contend with the lack of readily available accommodation and the

high standards of living once in town. Gwebu (2006: 432) and Akinboade and Lekwape (1997: 253) conclude that there is a need to encourage return migration through the development of physical infrastructure and social services such as education in the rural areas. This will mean better paying jobs and cheaper housing for the rural dweller, coupled with less congestion, less crime and policing in the urban areas. The government ought to encourage private sector development in the rural areas to reduce reliance on government employment. Moreover, government administration ought to be decentralised to other parts of the country so as to prevent urban centred government jobs.

3.3 NIGERIA

Nigeria gained its independence from British colonial rule on October 1, 1960. In 1963, it became part of the Commonwealth Nations and was recognised as a Republic. From Table 3.2 below, Nigeria's GNI per capita in 2009 stood at US \$1, 140.00 and the population size in 2010 was 158.2 million, making it the most populated country in Africa. Its major languages are English (official language), Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa. Islam and Christianity are the major religious beliefs. Its main exports are petroleum, petroleum products, cocoa and rubber.

Table 3.2: Profile of Nigeria

Full name	The Federal Republic of Nigeria
Population*	158.2 million (2010)
Capital	Abuja
Area	923,768 sq km (356,669 sq miles)
Major languages	English (official), Yoruba, Ibo, Hausa
Major religions	Islam, Christianity, indigenous beliefs
Life expectancy*	49 years (men), 50 years (women) (2010)
Monetary unit	1 Nigerian naira = 100 kobo
Main exports	Petroleum, petroleum products, cocoa, rubber
GNI per capita**	US \$1, 140 (2009)
Internet domain	.ng
International dialling code	+234

Source: BBC NEWS Africa (2010a).

Notes: *UN data,

**World Bank data

Nwokocha (2007) describes Nigeria as a melting pot of cultural diversity, a country well endowed in both human and natural resources, but it is still amongst the poorest countries of the world, with approximately 54% of its people living below the nation's poverty line. A

multiplicity of factors have led to Nigeria's underdevelopment, and these range from the environmental, political, religious as well as the cultural factors. With the level of underdevelopment prevalent in the country, the result has been unprecedented levels of poverty and unemployment, more in the rural areas than in the urban.

Afolabi (2007: 7 - 8) indicates that in 1971, Nigeria was incorporated into the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and by this time, it was the seventh largest exporter of petroleum in the world, with oil exports accounting for approximately 95% of the country's GDP in 1979. The Nigerian oil boom of the 1970s saw massive infrastructural and industrial developments in the urban areas at the expense of the agricultural sector. Much attention and large portions of the country's resources were syphoned into the development of the urban areas, leaving the country's small farm holders and traditional farmers with no access to modern means of production and even lesser access to international markets. According to NBS (2010) and Afolabi (2007: 7 - 8), agriculture used to be the mainstay of the economy accounting for approximately 55% of GDP in 1965 but fell to 33.08% in 2009. Therefore, with such a bias towards developing urban areas, a situation of urban bias (see Section 2.3) ensued in Nigeria, with much of the rural communities perceiving the urban areas as places with greater social opportunities and favourable government policies. This led to increased levels of rural – urban migration.

Okpara (1985: 68) and Akiyode (2010) explain that the level of industrialisation in Nigeria grows at a much slower rate than the level of urbanisation, making it difficult for the urban formal sector to absorb the rapid influx of unskilled and illiterate migrants coming in from the rural areas. This situation, which is prevalent in the LDCs, commands a country specific approach when studying rural – urban migration.

By reviewing five scholarly papers, some insight will be given on the nature of rural – urban migration in Nigeria, the causes; the problems that have resulted if any and the possible policy recommendations. The papers reviewed are case studies by (i) Okpara (1985) who investigates the relationship between the rates of growth of Nigeria's industrialisation and urbanisation; (ii) Nwosu and Igben (1986) who investigate the relationship between rural-urban migration in Nigeria and the country's policies on rural development; (iii) Nwokocho (2007) who investigate the impact of rural – urban migration in Nigeria on the country's urban population; (iv) Afolabi (2007) who investigates the impact of Nigeria's heavy reliance

on oil after the 1970s on the country's agricultural sector, and lastly (v) Chukwuezi (2001) who focuses on the rural – urban migration habits of one of Nigeria's largest ethnic groups, the Igbo, who are often regarded as the most entrepreneurial ethnic group in the country.

3.3.1 Rural – urban migration in Nigeria

By using a sample of 511 traders, all of whom were urban based and operated predominantly in the tertiary service centres of the Imo state in Nigeria, Okpara (1985: 69) notes that most potential migrants were aware of the unfavourable job situation in the urban areas prior to their decision to migrate, i.e. information on the availability of jobs in the formal sector and the credentials one has to possess if there is any hope of securing such jobs. Thus, there are vast lines of communication between rural dwellers (who are ill qualified for white collar jobs) and their kinfolk as well as friends that are already dwelling in the urban areas. The information relayed makes it evident to the rural dweller that the necessity for education and the required skills ideal for working in a formal economic setting in the urban areas, pose heavy constraints to the unskilled and uneducated rural migrant if formal urban employment is indeed what they seek. For the less educated migrants, the alternative is often seeking employment in the urban informal sector within businesses already set up by friends or relatives. Chukwuezi (2001: 59) concurs, noting that migration into the urban areas creates a safety net against rural unemployment and the income generated by rural migrants while employed in the urban areas helps sustain them and their family members remaining in the rural areas.

According to Okpara (1985: 69) and Chukwuezi (2001: 56), once the immigrants have settled and properly established themselves, they encourage their kin whom they left behind in the rural areas to come and join them. The new arrivals take up apprenticeship positions with their family members or close friends and proceed to learn the ins and outs of the business and help with the buying and selling of the same product or one that relates to it. The intention is to grow the family business and establish its dominance in a particular line of merchandise. The immigrants specialise in a wide array of merchandise ranging from the sale of car parts, building material and timber, bread, the meat, second hand clothing to pharmaceuticals. After serving the apprenticeship programme, the graduate is given capital and a portion of the trading goods to start up their own business. They will in turn procure apprentices of their own and the cycle continues.

3.3.2 Causes for rural-urban migration

Okpara (1985: 69) and Chukwuezi (2001: 56) assert that the career paths of rural Nigerian youths, more specifically those of the Igbo tribe, are determined from an early age. Rural people migrate to the urban areas not with the intention of seeking formal employment in the manufacturing sector, but to take up informal employment in the urban area's tertiary activities, most of which involve trading in specific merchandise. This form of rural – urban migration is known as “trader-migration”¹⁶. The Igbo¹⁷ inhabit the southern and midwestern parts of Nigeria, and Chukwuezi (2001: 55-56) indicates that the Igbo territory is characterised by rapidly increasing population as well as land shortages. These factors, coupled with unavailability of arable land that arises from overuse, soil erosion and general degradation; make farming and other agricultural activities difficult and unprofitable. As a result, agricultural activities are viewed with contempt by the educated rural youths who see them as having no sustainable future. This has led to rural – urban migration with the intent to search for employment in non-farming activities. Another factor is the belief that in the urban areas, migrants will attain better financial prospects, a notion that conforms to the migration theories of Lewis (1954) and Harris and Todaro (1970) (see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively).

Okpara (1985), Chukwuezi (2001), Nwosu and Igben (1986), as well as Nwokocha (2007), conclude that rural – urban migration in Nigeria occurs with the intent to search for employment in non-farming activities. The level of poverty, lack of employment opportunities and less social amenities in the rural areas force able-bodied boys and men to migrate from the rural to urban areas. The belief is that in the urban areas, the migrant will attain better financial prospects and this conforms to migration theories of Lewis (1954), and Harris and Todaro (1970) (see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively).

Despite attempts by the Nigerian government to develop rural areas using development programmes such as the Agricultural Development Programme (ADP)¹⁸, there continued to

¹⁶ The expression is used to refer to migrants who before leaving his rural area for an urban area identify trading as an ultimate occupation in the urban environment.

¹⁷ The Igbo are a tribe in Nigeria; it is not similar to “Ibo”, a language in Nigeria (see Table 3.2).

¹⁸ Due to the past mistakes of colonialism, the rural areas were denied access to social amenities that are essential for rural development. It was therefore the intention of the post independent government of Nigeria to rectify this mistake by making available the much – needed social amenities (food, nutrition, health, education,

be an increasing migration of able-bodied youths from the rural areas to the urban areas. It is argued by Nwosu and Igben (1986: 208) that Nigeria's rural development programmes are lopsided in the sense that they hinge too much on the provision of social amenities and paid little attention to the need to invest also in activities that generate income and job creation.

Table 3.3 below provides evidence of the lopsided nature of Nigeria's rural development plans and what is clear is that in the period 1975 – 1980 most of the government's resources were distributed towards urban development in the form of major development activities such as manufacturing and crafts, commerce and finance, housing etc. These are economic activities that involve great opportunities for employment. The rural areas on the other hand, got funding primarily towards the provision of social amenities such as development of water supply and social welfare but nothing considerable in the form of employment creation. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that according to Yakubu and Aderonmu (2010: 191) very little has been achieved by Nigeria's policies on poverty eradication as the country's rural areas continue to be marred by dilapidated roads, poor educational facilities, ill equipped health centres and lack of employment opportunities.

Nwosu and Igben (1986: 210) and Afolabi (2007: 9) indicate that another cause for rural – urban migration in Nigeria is the seasonal nature of the rural agricultural sector. As such, it is often difficult for a newly married man to take care of himself and his family solely on the sale of surplus crops seeing that income from this economic base is seasonal. Moreover, as has been indicated above, since there is little attention given, in terms of resources to the non-agricultural sectors in the rural areas, alternative forms of employment are only found in the urban areas of the country, hence the migration inwards.

Given the observations by Nwosu and Igben (1986), Afolabi (2007), Nwokocha (2007) and Chukwuezi (2001), the unskilled migrant from the rural areas will migrate to the urban areas in search of manual work while his more skilled counterpart from the rural areas will migrate to the urban areas in search of a better paying formal job.

housing and the like) to the rural poor. One programme enacted for this purpose was the ADP (Nwosu and Igben, 1986: 209).

Table 3.3: Summary of allocation to projects by sector in the Imo State Programme (1975 – 1980)

	Rural sector capital estimates		Urban sector capital estimates	
	Amount (N* million)	% of total sectoral estimates	Amount (N millions)	% of total sectoral estimates
Agriculture				
a. Crops	57.68	89.6	6.78	10.5
b. Livestock	4.67	64.8	2.54	35.2
c. Forestry	1.07	81.1	0.25	18.9
d. Fisheries	0.84	100.84	-	-
Total Agriculture	64.26	87.0	9.57	13.0
Manufacturing & crafts	2.50	8.3	27.45	91.7
Rural electrification	10.00	100.00	-	-
Road transport	104.69	100.00	-	-
Education	30.67	46.62	35.13	53.38
Health	18.66	46.365	21.59	53.64
Information	1.07	10.51	9.20	89.49
Social welfare & sports	4.12	69.66	3.23	30.34
Water supplies	30.78	52.72	27.60	47.28
Coop & comm.	8.40	89.36	1.00	10.64
Development	14.90	33.79	29.20	66.21
General administration	-	-	14.55	100.00
Commerce & finance	-	-	5.32	100.00
Sewage & drainage	-	-	15.00	100.00
Housing	-	-	107.16	100.00
Town & country planning	-	-		
Grand Total	290.05	48.66	306.00	52.34

Source: Adapted from Nwosu and Igben (1986).

Notes: *Naira, the Nigerian monetary unit.

3.3.3 Policy recommendations on rural-urban migration

Nwosu and Igben (1986: 209, 214) place great emphasis on the need for rural development programmes in Nigeria to be much more than just making social amenities available to the rural community. Most importantly, the rural development programme must ensure that rural development is self-sustaining by involving the rural community in the inception, the implementation and maintenance of the rural projects and programmes. Rural development programmes must also take care to address problems of poverty and unemployment prevalent in rural Nigeria. One way of doing this is by creating jobs through the establishment of food processing industries in the rural areas since the majority of raw materials necessary for processing are located predominantly in the rural areas. The building of industries in the rural areas means closer access to the raw materials and hence lower costs of production for the

entrepreneur. Furthermore, they indicate that the promotion of public works programmes could also be used to enhance employment and income opportunities in the rural community. The result will be an increase in rural earning and spending power, making it possible to spur on other economic activities and create jobs, be it in the agricultural or the non-agricultural sector of the rural areas.

Nwokocha (2007: 3) and Afolabi (2007: 11) highlight that a large influx of the rural population into the urban areas increases the urban population density resulting in problems of housing, poor sanitary conditions, infrastructural decay and frequent road accidents. In light of these problems, Nwokocha (2007: 5) advocates for a regulatory system for internal migration that is properly implemented and monitored. He maintains that in the absence of a system that regulates rural-urban migration in the country, the increases and actual size of the urban population will more often than not be underestimated resulting in a miscalculation of the actual amount of resources needed to provide adequate social amenities.

Nwokocha (2007: 4) indicates that as rural – urban migration ensues, the rural areas fall at a disadvantage as they lose the necessary work force for agricultural activities and production. Migration of able-bodied farm hands from the rural areas to the urban areas leads to sharp decreases in rural agricultural production, the consequence of which is an increase in the price of food. Increases in the price of food will mean that the average household will find it more difficult to have any savings after purchasing the meagre bundle of food for a high price. Thus, Nwokocha (2007) and Afolabi (2007) conclude that there is a need for policies that discourage migration of people from the rural areas to the urban areas and in turn encourage the migration of people back to the rural areas. The policies must be aimed at increasing the availability of credit polices to women who remain behind to head farms in the absence of their husbands and sons. This will lessen the burden of the farm operation costs and stimulate production and income. Inevitably, the urban male population originally from the rural areas would be encouraged to migrate back to the rural areas, as they will have less reason to stay in the urban areas. As a result, the urban areas will have less congestion, less infrastructural decay, as well as, better policing and less crime.

3.4 SOUTH AFRICA

Until 1994, South Africa was ruled by a white minority government that came into power in 1948. From Table 3.4 below, South Africa's surface area is 1. 22 million square kilometres

and its total population size as recorded in 2010 stood at 50, 5 million people. It has 11 official languages, of which English, Sesotho, Setswana and Zulu are some. This is a testament of its vast cultural diversity. The country’s main exports are gold, diamonds, metals and minerals, cars and machinery. In 2009, its GNI per capita was US \$5,770.00 and life expectancy in 2008 was 52 and 54 years for men and women, respectively.

Table 3.4: Profile of South Africa

Full name	Republic of South Africa
Population*	50,5 million (2010)
Capital	Pretoria
Area	1.22 million sq km (470,693 sq miles)
Major languages	11 official languages including English, Sesotho, Setswana and Zulu
Major religions	Christianity, Islam, indigenous beliefs
Life expectancy*	52 years (men), 54 years (women) (2008)
Monetary unit	1 Rand = 100 cents
Main exports	Gold, diamonds, metals and minerals, cars, machinery
GNI per capita**	US \$5, 770 (2009)
Internet domain	.za
International dialling code	+27

Source: BBC NEWS Africa (2010b).

Notes: *UN data,

**World Bank data

According to Collinson *et al* (2005: 1 – 2) and Kok *et al* (2003: 3), the patterns of population settlement and mobility in South Africa have, since the days of apartheid, been affected by two features of the country’s political economy. Firstly, the high demand for labour to work in the country’s mining and industrial centres resulted in vast numbers of labour migrants, both from the rural areas and from neighbouring countries. Secondly, after the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, it enacted the infamous Influx Control and Group Areas Acts, introducing restrictions against the urbanisation process of the country’s black population.

Collinson *et al* (2005: 2) notes that the consequences of these policies for both the urban and rural areas were dire. In the urban areas, the result was inadequate urban planning and the emergence of peri-urban areas within commuting distance of the cities. In the rural areas poverty became rampant as people were assigned to live in “homeland” areas where there was severe restrictions on the access to land leading to the abandonment of crucial

agricultural practices in favour of more capital based economic activities that the rural inhabitants were not skilled in.

By reviewing five scholarly papers, some insight will be given on the nature of rural – urban migration in South Africa, the causes; the problems that have resulted if any and the possible policy recommendations. The papers reviewed are case studies by (i) Posel and Casale (2003) who investigate temporary labour migration at a national level in South Africa from 1993 – 1999; (ii) Rogan *et al* (2009) who present a provincial level analysis of migration and poverty in Kwazulu-Natal using available censuses, labour force surveys and panel data; (iii) Kok *et al* (2003) who present a comprehensive overview of internal migration in South Africa based on recent census and other secondary data; (iv) Cornwell and Inder (2004) who investigate the connection between internal migration and unemployment in South Africa, and lastly (v) Collinson *et al* (2005) who investigate the effects of circular migration on the rural sending communities in South Africa.

3.4.1 Rural – urban migration South Africa

Collinson *et al* (2005: 1 - 2), Posel and Casale (2003: 3) and Choe and Chrite (2009: 4 - 5) indicate that the economic development of South Africa has historically relied on migrant labour. During Apartheid (1948 – 1991), labour would move from the rural – urban areas on a circular and temporary basis due to tight movement controls enforced by the then administration. However, between 1993 and 1999 following the end of Apartheid, the level of migrant labour from the rural areas into the urban areas of South Africa increased as movement controls were lifted in the late 1980s.

According to Posel and Casale (2003: 5 - 6), Collinson *et al* (2005: 9) as well as Kok *et al* (2003: 55), rural – urban migration in South Africa is predominantly undertaken by young able-bodied males between the ages of 15 – 44 years. However, it is interesting to note that from the 1990s the percentage contribution of females between the age of 25 and 44 years to the total rural – urban migration population increased from about 30% in 1993 to about 34% in 1999 since prior to this (during Apartheid) men were the only ones allowed to legally migrate to the cities.

Rogan *et al* (2009: 10), Collinson *et al* (2005: 10) as well as Kok *et al* (2003: 34) indicate that the destination of choice for the majority of rural out-migrants is the Gauteng province (the

country's main industrial province), comprising of the cities; Johannesburg, Pretoria and Mpumalanga (which is the focus of farm and game farm employment). In 1996 the Gauteng province accounted for approximately 97% of the country's urban population with 35.5% of it being from the other 8 provinces in the country. According to Rogan *et al* (2009: 11 – 12) and Kok *et al* (2003: 57), the existence of migrant social networks is essential in encouraging, facilitating and channelling rural – urban migration in South Africa. Upon migration, the rural inhabitant enjoys the benefits of having a family member or friend already in the urban areas to stay with while looking for a job. The existence of these social networks provide the rural migrant with information on the availability of jobs in the urban areas as well as the required educational qualifications in order to get into such jobs if the decision to migrate is undertaken.

3.4.2 Causes for rural – urban migration

Rogan *et al* (2009: 11), Kok *et al* (2003: 44), Cornwell and Inder (2004), Collinson *et al* (2005: 9) and Posel and Casale (2003: 6) indicate that rural-urban migration in South Africa is primarily undertaken for reasons of finding better paying employment as the urban areas are seen as places with greater economic opportunities. The motive conforms to migration theories of Lewis (1954), and Harris and Todaro (1970) (see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively). Furthermore, poor education and health services coupled with poor housing in the rural areas also contribute to the migrant's decision to migrate from the rural areas into the urban areas.

Posel and Casale (2003: 10 - 11), Collinson *et al* (2005: 12) and Rogan *et al* (2009: 14) point towards remittances as noted in the NELM (see Section 2.4) as being another important motive for rural – urban migration since income from migrant remittances constitutes a significant part of rural income and aids in the purchasing of food and other day to day necessities. Moreover, out-migration, especially among women is pursued in order to join their husbands who have found work in the urban areas or to seek work in the farms and informal sectors.

3.4.3 Policy recommendations on rural-urban migration

According to Kok *et al* (2003: 57) and Cornwell and Inder (2004: 11) industrialisation in South Africa grows at a rate slower than that of urbanisation, and as a result, formal sector employment opportunities are inadequate to accommodate the ever growing urban

population. This leads to an increase in urban unemployment levels as well as an increase in the informal sector¹⁹ as migrants seek alternative forms of employment. Furthermore, there is an increase in informal settlements in response to the lack of urban housing, a problem that goes hand in hand with congestion and poor sanitation. Thus, there is a need for policies that will regulate migration flows from the rural – urban areas to better aid in the proper planning of urban centres and enable better delivery of basic services such as housing, health care, electricity and sanitation.

According to Posel and Casale (2003: 8 – 9) as well as Kok *et al* (2003: 57), rural – urban migration among women has increased but to the detriment of the rural social structure as this signals an increase in the number of female headed households²⁰ and a decline of marital rates in the rural areas²¹. There is a need for policies that discourage migration of people from the rural areas to the urban areas and in turn encourage the migration of people back to the rural areas. Such policies could aim at rejuvenating agrarian economic activities through increasing the availability of credit polices to women who remain behind to head households. This would lessen the burden of the farm operation costs and stimulate production and income.

3.5 EGYPT

Egypt gained its independence from British colonial rule on February 22, 1922. From Table 3.5 below, it has a surface area of 1 million square kilometres and in 2010 had a population of 84.5 million people. Its major language is Arabic with its major religions being Islam and Christianity. Egypt had a GNI per capita of US \$2,070 in 2009 with its main exports being petroleum, petroleum products and cotton.

¹⁹ The informal sector is defined as a sector which comprises of occupations requiring minimal technology and minimal levels of education, as well as some in certain types of self-employed work (Cornwell and Inder: 2004: 18).

²⁰ Female headed households in the rural areas are often highly vulnerable to poverty as the absence of a male counterpart tends to lead to bottlenecks in farm activities (Kok *et al*, 2003: 57).

²¹ Traditionally, female migration from the rural areas was a rare occurrence since the mobility of women was restricted by the village Chief, the woman's father or her husband.

Table 3.5: Profile of Egypt

Full name	Arab Republic of Egypt
Population*	84.5 million (2010)
Capital	Cairo
Area	1 million sq km (386,874 sq miles)
Major languages	Arabic
Major religions	Islam, Christianity
Life expectancy*	69 years (men), 73 years (women)
Monetary unit	1 Egyptian Pound = 100 piastres
Main exports	Petroleum, petroleum products and cotton
GNI per capita**	US \$2,070 (2009)
Internet domain	.eg
International dialling code	+20

Source: BBC NEWS Africa (2010c).

Notes: *UN data,

**World Bank data

Zohry (2002: 2) points out that in rural Egypt, agriculture is the main economic activity and when it comes to employment and job seeking, the urban population is at an advantage since there are more economic opportunities and hence a wider variety of jobs to choose from. Egypt is characterised by a rapid but uneven level of development and urbanisation the result of which is high levels of economic growth centred in the capital Cairo at the expense of the rural areas.

McCormick and Wahba (2005: 43) and Abu-Lughod (1965: 313) indicate that with approximately 45% of the population living in towns and cities, Egypt is comparatively an urbanised LDC. In 1947 when 38% of Egypt's working males were occupied in other forms of employment other than farming, approximately 30% of the country's population resided in urban communities. In the 1950s, when only 13% of the world's population and 9% of the population in the less industrialised regions of the world lived in cities, almost one-fifth of Egypt's population lived in cities. According to the Egyptian population census of 1986 and 1996, the population of the country's three largest cities (Cairo, Alexandria and Giza) increased in absolute terms from 11.14 to 12.71 million.

According to CAPMAS (2011), approximately 30, 949, 689 of Egypt's population reside in the urban areas, a 40.22% increase from what it was in 1996. Moreover, reports from the

2006 census show Cairo as having a 10.7% increase in population growth, the largest urban population growth out of the country's three largest cities since 1996.

By reviewing five scholarly papers, some insight will be given on the nature of rural – urban migration in Egypt, the causes; the problems that have resulted if any and the possible policy recommendations. The papers reviewed are case studies by (i) Zohry (2002) who investigates the characteristics of the unskilled temporary labour migrant from upper Egypt to Cairo; (ii) Nagi (1974) who examines the patterns and trends of internal migration in Egypt between the years 1937 and 1965 and looks into the determinants of rural – urban migration and ascertains the effects of population movement on urbanisation and labour force changes; (iii) McCormick and Wahba (2005) who are interested in finding out what attracts the young and educated from the rural areas to the cities in LDCs; (iv) Abu-Lughod (1965) discusses the concept of over-urbanisation in Egypt and investigates whether there is any factual grounding to its existence in the country; and (v) Zohry (2005) who studied the interrelationships between internal and international migration in Egypt with his focus being the rural community of upper Egypt as well as the urban dwellers of Cairo.

3.5.1 Rural – urban migration in Egypt

The rural – urban migration phenomenon of Egypt can be segmented into two phases, i.e. the pre-modernisation phase and post modernisation phase. The rural – urban migrant of the pre-modernisation era was different from that of the post-modernisation era since they were each affected by different push and pull factors, thus migration from the rural areas to the urban areas were for different reasons. Zohry (2002), Zohry (2005) and Nagi (1974) indicate that among the population of able-bodied youths that make up Egypt's rural migrants, males are the most dominant.

Zohry (2005: 11) points out that of all the internal migration streams in Egypt, whether it is from the southern part of the country to the northern part or from the southern part and northern part to the Suez Canal Zone, the biggest point of convergence among them all remains the Greater Cairo region, a region which includes the three governorates of Cairo, Giza and Qalyoubyya.

Nagi (1974), Abu-Lughod (1965) and Zohry (2002) note that some of the challenges a rural – urban migrant faces upon arrival in the urban areas is the problem of accommodation while

seeking employment. This creates a problem of “urban ruralisation” and transference of rural problems to the urban areas as the newly migrated individuals will opt to live together in a cheaper and less developed part of the urban areas, leading to overcrowding and overurbanisation (see Section 2.3). With over-urbanisation comes an increase in the per capita costs of providing municipal and individual services such as housing, healthcare, education, clean water and electricity. In addition, the level of unemployment, crime and pollution in the urban areas also increases.

3.5.2 Causes for rural – urban migration

Zohry (2002: 3 - 4) recognises that rural Egypt is faced with low levels of economic opportunity and job availability due to the seasonal nature of its agricultural sector which is the main source of income and employment in that region. During the pre-modernisation phase, rural – urban migration in Egypt was predominantly from upper Egypt to the capital city Cairo. Rural inhabitants would migrate in search of better social amenities such as health care and education for their children. Furthermore, before the construction of the Aswan Dam in the 1960s, rural inhabitants would work seasonally in the agricultural sector and then “circulate” for the rest of the year to work in the urban public works and civil engineering schemes that included the paving of roads as well as the cleaning and digging of new canals. The system that made use of the circulatory nature of labour in Egypt began with the building of the Suez Canal in the 1980s.

Furthermore, Zohry (2002: 4) notes that after the 1952 Egyptian revolution, the country was transformed from a predominantly agricultural society to a more industrial one. Around this time, a vast number of industries were established in and around the capital city Cairo. In line with the theory of modernisation discussed in Section 2.3, the bulk of the country’s economic activity was centred in the urban areas of Egypt, more specifically in the capital city, with very little work opportunities being available in the rural areas. The lack of rural employment thus became a motivation for rural – urban migration in the country. According to Adams (1986, in Zohry, 2005: 14), during the winter months (December to March) when agricultural yield is low and so is the demand for labour, the poor of Egypt’s rural areas would migrate temporarily to Cairo to search for work in the country’s booming construction industry as brick-carriers, cement mixers and labourers. Around the 1980s, Egypt experienced its building boom, which was central to Cairo and was fuelled by remittances from Egyptian workers in the Gulf and the emergence of satellite towns around the capital city itself. This

made it possible for circulatory migrant labourers from the rural areas to migrate to the urban areas and take up work in public service schemes like the ones prevalent in the pre-modernisation era.

Nagi (1974), Abu-Lughod (1965), Zohry (2005) and McCormick and Wahba (2005) point out that in Egypt, rural – urban migration is best explained by the economic conditions that prevail in the rural areas. In rural Egypt, land is the only major resource and is often only cultivated once a year. Rural Egypt is also faced with a rapidly expanding population that leads to an acute scarcity of land necessary for cultivation, settlement and employment. With decreased ability to produce food for sustenance, the rural Egyptian is forced to migrate to the urban areas with intentions of finding employment, food, shelter and a better life. In addition to this, the less than adequate social amenities in the rural areas also exert “push pressure” and further force people to migrate into the cities in search of a better life and higher standards of living. This conforms to migration theories of Lewis (1954) and Harris and Todaro (1970) (see Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively).

McCormick and Wahba (2005: 61) indicate that when it comes to the migration of high skilled labour or educated labour, both the supply side as well as the demand side of the phenomenon must be taken into consideration. Focusing more on the supply side, they point out that rural – urban migration is attractive to an educated migrant because in the large cities the proportion of skilled to unskilled workers is very high. Young educated individuals find it beneficial to migrate from the rural areas to the urban where they will work and live in similar environments as others with higher skill levels than them. By so doing they gain more experience and become more efficient at what they do.

3.5.3 Policy recommendations on rural-urban migration

Nagi (1974: 282) indicates that because of rural – urban migration, the able-bodied agricultural workforce is depleted and as a result, there is a decline in the level of agricultural productivity that leads to unemployment. Thus, there is a need for the creation of rural non-agricultural employment in Egypt’s rural areas. Such policies would reduce rural-urban migration directly by creating off-farm jobs for rural people and indirectly by reducing the urban-rural wage differentials and thereby the incentive to migrate to urban areas.

Nagi (1974), Abu-Lughod (1965), Zohry (2002), as well as McCormick and Wahba (2005) note that policies of rural and urban development need to be co-ordinated since the problems of each region although geographically separate, have interdependent solutions. In light of this, they advocate consolidated and coordinated rural and urban policies of development. By adopting a coordinated policy of rural and urban development, funds are channelled efficiently towards making available rural education, training for rural farmers on the use of modern means of production, making available the much – needed social amenities to the rural community and at the same time channelling some of the funds towards urban industrial growth.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter gave an overview of the rural-urban migration phenomenon in Botswana, Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt with the purpose of understanding its nature and pattern from a country specific perspective.

Rural – urban migration in the four countries is undertaken by young able-bodied males and females with males being more dominant due to the traditional African belief that a woman's place is at home and men are the primary providers of the household. Rural – urban migration in the countries ensues because of socio-economic and economic reasons. Some people migrate at one point because of the decision to join relatives in the urban areas, for marriage, education or because of the seasonal nature of the agricultural sector that renders the rural inhabitant temporarily unemployed and in need of employment to supplement their income and thus maintain their standard of living. It is worthy of note that the common thread in all the motives for rural –urban migration in Botswana, Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt is the need for a better life and a higher standard of living, thus conforming to the Lewis two sector model of migration, the Harris and Todaro model as well as the NELM discussed in Sections 2.2.1, 2.2.2 and 2.4, respectively.

The level of industrialisation in the four developing countries grows at a slower rate than the level of urbanisation. One can therefore rightfully conclude that the problems associated with rural – urban migration in developing countries differ to an extent from those in the more developed parts of the world. One of the most pressing problems that arise because of rural – urban migration is over-urbanisation. With the large influx of rural migrants in these areas, it comes as no surprise that, more often than not, the urban areas are incapable of absorbing all

of the migrants into the urban job market. As a result, the same problems that led to the rural inhabitant's migration outward into the urban areas begin to plague the urban areas as well. An increase in the level of urban unemployment, pollution, crime and congestion become issues of concern.

The rural areas also share in the disadvantages brought about by rural – urban migration because as more and more able-bodied farm workers migrate from the rural areas to the urban areas, the level of rural agricultural productivity is left to dwindle and as a result leads to increases in rural poverty and unemployment. Moreover, with more of the state's funds being channelled toward urban development and the remedy of urban problems caused by rural – urban migration, the rural areas are neglected and the standard of life therein is left to decline, leading to a perpetuated vicious cycle of rural – urban migration.

Various authors agree that policies on rural and urban development need to be co-ordinated since the problems of each region although geographically separate have interdependent solutions. Great emphasis is placed on the need for rural development programmes to be much more than just responsible for making social amenities available to the rural community. They must ensure that rural development is self-sustaining by involving the rural community in the inception, the implementation and maintenance of the rural projects and programmes. Attention must be given to making available resources for rural education, small-scale labour intensive industries, microcredit schemes and funding for labour intensive activities and handicrafts. Support should also be given to the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in their efforts to develop training schemes for rural farmers. This will not only manage the labour migration to the urban areas but will also manage urban crime, unemployment and over population while at the same time managing rural unemployment and poverty levels.

CHAPTER 4

AN ECONOMIC OVERVIEW OF LESOTHO AND A HISTORY OF ITS MIGRATION PATTERNS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

ILO (2006), IMF (2010) and WTO (2009) note that Lesotho's economy is predominantly agrarian with approximately 70% of its people living in the rural and mountainous areas and engaging in subsistence agriculture. It is classified as a food deficit country, which imports about 50% of its staple grain needs. Within Lesotho, poverty and the prevalence of HIV are profoundly intertwined.

The chapter is divided into five sections as follows: Section 4.2 gives a brief overview of the economy of Lesotho identifying which sectors are the main growth generators, main employer and most vital for the country's development. Section 4.3 analyses the history of labour migration in Lesotho from the early 1820s to the present. Section 4.4 analyses poverty and inequality in Lesotho to get a clear picture of the country's standard of living and to understand how this might be a contributing factor to the phenomenon of rural – urban migration. Section 4.5 concludes the chapter.

All the statistical data used in this chapter were collected from secondary sources, i.e. (i) the United Nations; (ii) the World Bank; (iii) Lesotho National Bureau of Statistics (BOS); (iv) the Central Bank of Lesotho and (v) Southern African Migration Project (SAMP).

4.2 AN OVERVIEW OF LESOTHO'S ECONOMIC SECTORS

Lesotho gained its independence from British colonial rule on October 4, 1966. The country's GNI per capita in 2009 stood at US \$1030.00 with its chief exports including water, diamonds and clothing. The population size in 2010 was 2 million and its major languages are Sesotho and English. Christianity is the major religious belief (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Profile of Lesotho

Full name	The kingdom of Lesotho
Population*	2 million (2010)
Capital	Maseru
Area	30,355 sq km (11, 720 sq miles)
Major languages	Sesotho, English
Major religions	Christianity
Life expectancy*	47 years (men), 47 years (women)
Monetary unit	1 loti (L) = 100 lisente
Main exports	Water, diamonds, clothing, wool, mohair, food, livestock
GNI per capita**	US \$1030 (2009)
Internet domain	.ls
International dialling code	+266

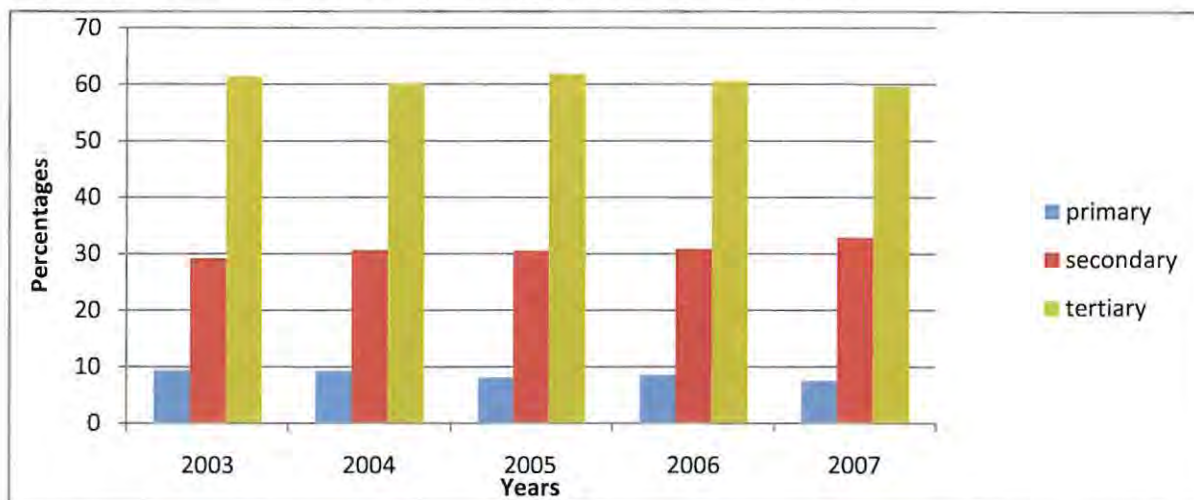
Source: BBC NEWS Africa (2010d).

Notes: *UN data

**World Bank data.

Figure 4.1 below indicates the average percentage share of GDP by the various economic sectors in Lesotho for the period 2003 – 2007. The tertiary sector was by far the largest percentage contributor to GDP, followed by the secondary sector and then the primary sector. The primary sector's percentage contribution to GDP was consistent for 2003 and 2004 before showing a continuous decline. According to IMF (2010: 6), the primary sector's bad performance during the period 2005 – 2007 could be explained by dwindling productivity within the agricultural industry because of adverse weather conditions. The secondary sector's percentage contribution to GDP increased from 2003 to 2004 followed by a minor decline in 2005 before a continuous increase. According to IMF (2010: 6) and BOS (2009a: 38), the decline in the secondary sector's percentage contribution to GDP in 2005 was the result of increased competition brought about by strong exchange rates and the end of quotas under the International Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (IATC). The tertiary sector's percentage contribution to GDP exhibited a decline from 2003 to 2004 followed by an increase in 2005 before continuously declining. According to CBL (2008: 12), the decline in the tertiary sector's percentage contribution to GDP in the period 2006 – 2007 was due to a decline in wholesale and retail trade driven by a reduction in consumer demand as interest rates increased during that period.

Figure 4.1: Annual average share (percentage) of GDP by economic sectors



Source: Own figures derived from IMF (2010).

Notes: Most recent statistical data pertaining to a comprehensive economic sector contribution to GDP in Lesotho runs only up to 2007 (BOS, 2009b).

Given the larger level of productivity in the tertiary sector as compared to the other two sectors, one could be tempted to conclude that the sector was responsible for employing the highest number of the country's workforce but this is not the case. According to CBL (2009a: 2), the primary sector is the country's largest employer with approximately 62.8% of the economically active employed in its subsistence farming sector in 2008. This was followed by employment in the secondary sector with the key industry being the clothing and textile firms that accounted for 30% of the workforce in 2008.

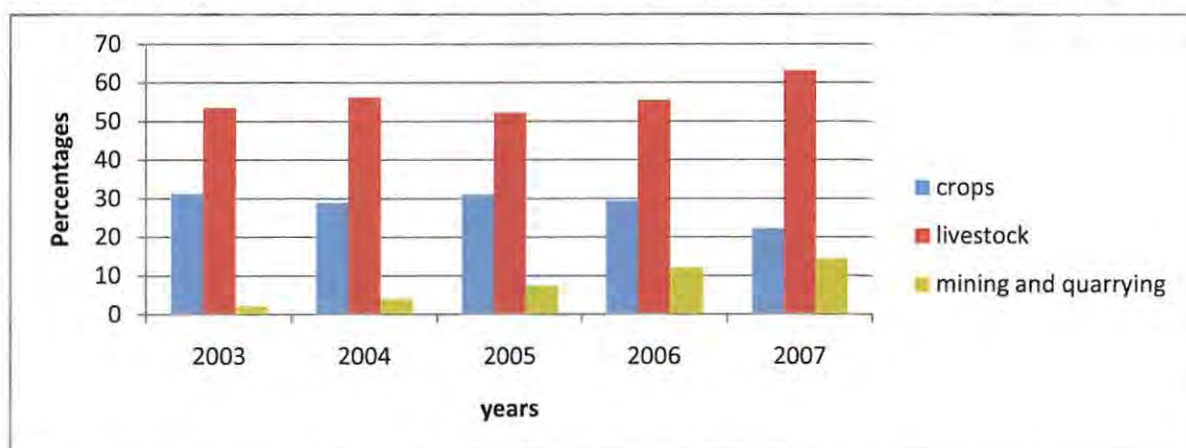
To appreciate the reasons behind the trends in individual sectors, an analysis of the components of each sector is necessary and this is addressed in Sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.3 below.

4.2.1 The primary sector

Figure 4.2 below gives the components of the primary sector and their respective contributions to GDP for the period 2003 - 2007. Lesotho's primary sector is made up of agriculture (which entails crops and livestock) as well as mining and quarrying. Agriculture contributes much more than the mining and quarrying sector to Lesotho's GDP, with livestock being its strongest sub-sector. The average contribution to GDP of crops in the period 2003 - 2007 was 28.63% while that of livestock as well as mining and quarrying for the same period was 56.11% and 8%, respectively. The contribution of crops to GDP fell in

2004 but rose slightly in 2005 before falling continuously. According to BOS (2009a: 19), the drop in crop productivity in 2006 to 2007 was partly due to unavailability of quality arable land.

Figure 4.2: Composition of GDP by the components of the primary sector (Percentage distribution)



Source: Own figure derived from IMF (2010).

The percentage contribution of livestock to GDP fluctuated before rising continuously after 2005. According to BOS (2009a: 20), a reason for the rise in livestock's contribution to GDP in the period after 2005 is the increased demand for wool and mohair (see Figure A-1 in Appendix 1).

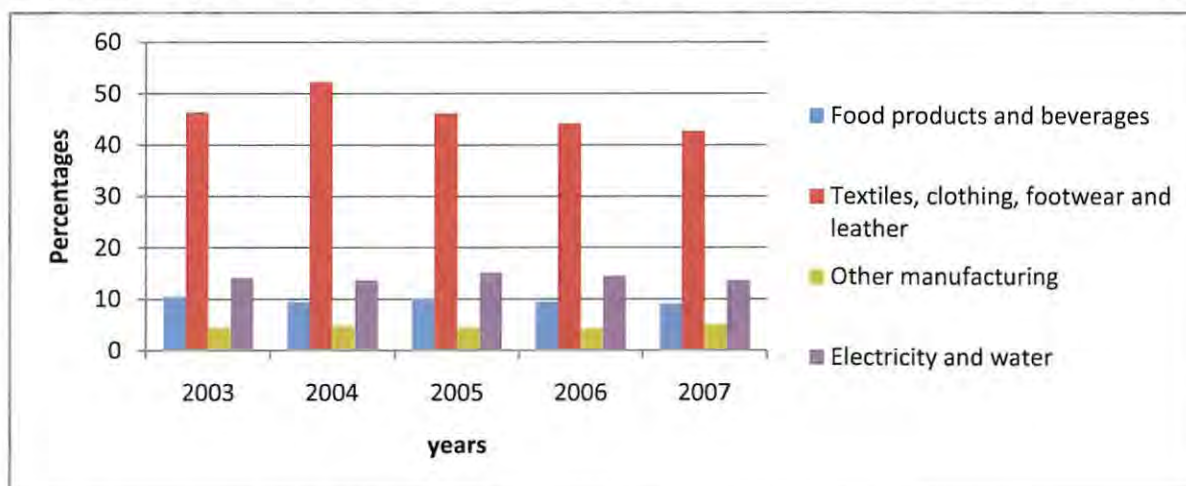
Mining and quarrying contribution to GDP rose continuously throughout the period. According to CBL (2007a: 17), in 2004 two of Lesotho's diamond mines (Lets'eng and Lihobong diamond mines) were reopened and this enhanced prospects for the country's economic growth and thus the sector's contribution to GDP.

4.2.2 The secondary sector

Figure 4.4 below gives the components of Lesotho's secondary sector and their respective contributions to GDP for the period 2003 – 2007. Lesotho's secondary sector is made up of

the manufacturing (which entails food products and beverages; textiles, clothing and footwear and leather; other manufacturing²²), electricity and water.

Figure 4.4: Composition of GDP by the components of the secondary sector (Percentage distribution)

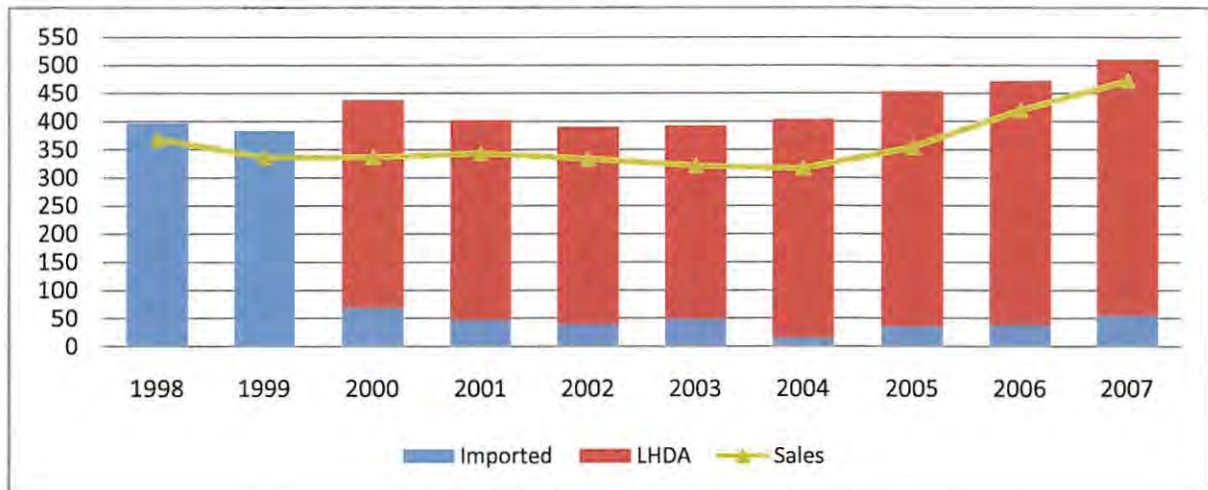


Source: Own figure derived from Central IMF (2010)

The clothing, textiles, footwear and leather industry is the strongest contributor to productivity in the manufacturing sector. Its contribution to GDP experienced a sharp increase in 2004 before declining continuously thereafter. According to CBL (2010: 1), the increase in the industry's contribution to GDP in 2004 was in response to the enactment of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). The Act offers tangible incentives for Sub Saharan Africa in the form of preferential market access for imports into the United States. According to BOS (2009a: 27) and CBL (2010: 1), the fall in the industry's percentage contribution to GDP in the period 2005 - 2007 was due to the expiration of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) in 2004. The system allowed for allocation of quotas and guaranteed LDCs like Lesotho with US market access. The consequence was an increased level of competition from external markets and thus, a decrease in the level of local and foreign demand, resulting in a reduction in the level of productivity. From Table A-1 (Appendix 1), the level of employment in the clothing, textile, footwear, and leather industry increased slightly from 1997 to 2008. It is interesting to note that although the industry's contribution to

²² Other manufacturing activity involves production of pharmaceutical products, umbrellas, furniture, books and other printed matter, brooms and basketworks, energy saving bulbs, electronics and others (CBL 2010: 4).

Figure 4.5: Sales and purchases of electricity, in Giga watt-hours (GWh)



Source: Bureau of statistics (2009a)

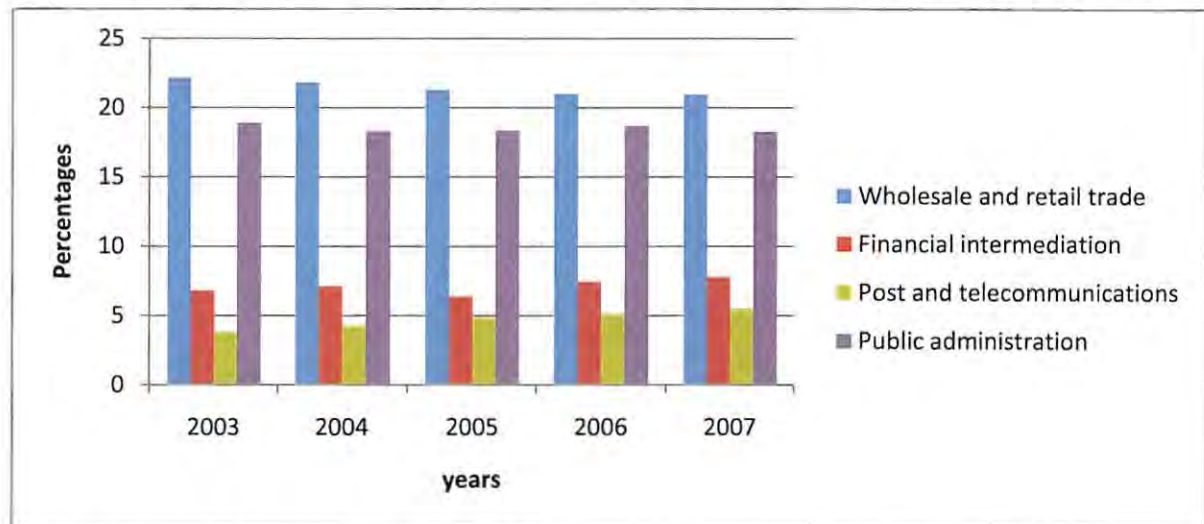
4.2.3 The tertiary sector

Figure 4.6 below gives the components of Lesotho's tertiary sector and their respective contributions to GDP for the period 2003 – 2007. Lesotho's tertiary sector is made up of wholesale and retail trade; financial intermediation; post and telecommunications; public administration and education.

Wholesale and retail trade contributes most of the tertiary sector's GDP. According to CBL (2008), the impressive growth of Lesotho's wholesale and retail sector is because the majority of companies engaged in the wholesale and retail trade in Lesotho operate under the advantage of economies of scale. This allows them to import and buy goods at competitively cheaper prices than the individual importer thus, putting them in a position to hire more workers and produce a higher level of output.

The GDP contribution of wholesale and retail experienced a moderate but continuous decline in the period 2003 – 2006 before rising slightly in 2007. Most of the sector's food products, e.g. maize, are sourced locally from the agricultural sector, thus implying forward and backward linkages between the two sectors. According to BOS (2009a: 19), although there was an increase in the total land planted with crops in the period 2005 – 2007, the drought of 2006 – 2007 meant that the level of crop yield and consequently the contribution of the wholesale and retail sector to GDP would be low in the same period.

Figure 4.6: Composition of GDP by the components of the tertiary sector (Percentage distribution)



Source: Own figure derived from IMF (2010).

With regard to financial intermediation, Figure 4.6 shows that its contribution to GDP fluctuated throughout the period. According to CBL (2009b), the establishment of the Lesotho Post Bank (LPB) in 2003, which led to a flourishing financial intermediation sector leading to a favourable credit deposit ratio. This meant that more bank deposits were mobilised and channelled towards making loans available for small businesses and thus create an increased level of investment necessary for the increased job creation and a higher level of productivity.

When post and telecommunications is considered, Figure 4.6 shows a continuous increase in the sector's contribution to GDP for the whole period, at an average of 4.71%. According to BOS (2009a: 31) the growth in GDP contribution by the sector is due to an increase in Lesotho's cellular telephone traffic with calls from fixed telephones to cellular networks increasing from approximately 5500 in the second quarter of 2003 to approximately 7500 in the first quarter of 2007.

From Figure 4.6, the contribution to GDP by the public administration sector fluctuated. According to BOS (2009a: 51), there is inefficient public services delivery as fewer resources were channelled towards the development of the nation's public sector.

GDP in 2005 - 2007 declined (see Figure 4.4), the level of employment in the clothing and textile sector as well as the footwear and leather industry maintained a continuous increase in the same period.

From Figure 4.4, the percentage contribution of food and beverages to GDP fluctuated in the period. CBL (2007b: 3) attributes the decline to forward and backward linkages that exist between the primary and secondary sectors of the economy. They note that this was due to a reduction in the level of agricultural productivity in Lesotho brought about by an inaccessibility of quality arable land. Consequently, as is evident from Table A-1 (Appendix 1), the employment rates also decline in the food products and beverages industry after 2005.

The percentage contribution to GDP by “other manufacturing” increased in 2004 but declined in 2005 – 2006 before rising sharply in 2007. According to World Bank (2006b: 4), the impressive performance of the “other manufacturing” sector in 2004 could be attributed to the increased levels of FDI inflows into Lesotho’s manufacturing sector. Consequently, the level of employment in this sector increased as shown in Table A-1 (Appendix 1) although it declined in 2007, despite the increase in the sector’s contribution to GDP. One can thus conclude that with the increased level of FDI inflows into Lesotho’s manufacturing sector, more resources were now available to purchase machinery for production thus improving the sector’s productivity.

The contribution of electricity and water to GDP fluctuated in the period. According to BOS (2009a: 27), the increase experienced from 2005 is due to the fact that in 2000 Lesotho began to generate electricity on a large scale through the operation of the Muela plant. The plant was constructed as part of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) overseen by the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority. As Figure 4.5 shows, prior to the construction of the Muela plant in 2000, Lesotho imported all its electricity but since the plant’s construction, more electricity has been domestically produced than imported with sales peaking in the period 2005 - 2007. This has had a bearing on employment levels as well as economic growth. According to LHDA (2005), due to LHWP and the construction of the Muela hydro powered dam, more clean water has been provided to the rural and urban communities alike. Furthermore, more jobs have been created for rural masons and carpenters.

4.3 HISTORY OF LABOUR MIGRATION SINCE 1824

Cobbe (1982: 846) points out that three quarters of Lesotho is mountainous “highlands” with the majority of its population living in the “low lands” between 5000 and 6000 feet above sea level. The country is a small enclave, surrounded by South Africa and only 13% of its land can be used for crops. Although crop and livestock raising are the main economic activities in the rural areas, such agrarian practices are not relied upon as the major sources of household income.

Plath *et al* (1987: 161), Johnston (1996: 119 - 120), Crush *et al* (2010: 4), as well as, CBL and BOS (1995) note that Lesotho is one of the most labour migration dependent countries in the world. The origins of labour migration amongst the Basotho²³ can be traced as far back as the formation of the Basotho nation (circa 1824). During this time, and indeed up to the early 1860s, Basotho labour migration was of an international nature and was undertaken by households who would migrate from the country into neighbouring South Africa to seek work in the agricultural sector. Labour relations between Lesotho and South Africa throughout this time were semi-feudal in nature and were represented by labour tenancy and squatting.

Cobbe (2004: 2), Cobbe (1982: 847 - 848), CBL and BOS (1995), Crush *et al* (2010: 7) and Plath *et al* (1987: 160) note that around the 1870s, Lesotho was hailed as the “granary” of southern Africa since it had developed prosperity as an exporter of agricultural produce. Migration of labour in the 1870s amongst the Basotho (be it of an internal or international kind) was temporary, cyclical in nature and was predominantly undertaken by able-bodied males, the majority of whom were between the ages of 20 and 39 years. During the 1870s income from migrant labour in the form of remittances contributed to national income but not as much as agriculture did. The primary motive behind rural out - migration was to seek work in the South African gold mines on contract and work as novices only until they could save up money for such things as bride price or “bohali” (as it is known in Sesotho) before migrating back home to a life of farming in the rural areas.

²³ The preferred form of references to the people and language of Lesotho are as follows: Mosotho-one person from Lesotho, Basotho-the people of Lesotho, and Sesotho -the language of Lesotho.

According to Cobbe (1982: 847), by the 1920s, Lesotho lost its comparative advantage as a leading exporter of agricultural products in southern Africa. The reasons included loss of arable land to the Orange Free State, increasing population densities on limited land, South African discrimination against its products, erosion of soils, inconsistency of rainfall and almost total neglect of agricultural innovation by the then British administration. Throughout this time, the country experienced large and widespread increases in the level of unemployment, more so in the rural areas where agricultural productivity was the main source of employment and household income.

Furthermore, Cobbe (1982: 848) points out that in the three-year period 1972 - 1975, there was a huge increase (approximately 165%) in the South African mining sector's real wage. This development coupled with Lesotho's loss of comparative advantage in the agrarian sector as well as cases of unemployment in the rural areas, led to a much more profound increase in the rural out - migration rates from Lesotho to South Africa than ever before. Rural - urban migration in Lesotho around the 1970s could thus be explained in terms of the Lewis two sector model of development (see Section 2.2.1).

Plath (1987: 160 - 161), Crush *et al* (2010: 7) as well as Ulicki and Crush (2000: 68) indicate that in the late 1970s, roughly 50% of households in Lesotho had at least one member working as a migrant in South African mines. Furthermore, about 10% of migration from the rural areas in the 1970s was by women, the rest was by men, an obvious majority since only men could work in the mines during that time. Women and men migrated primarily for economic reasons of securing a job. However, as men went to work in the mines, women often worked informally and not on contract either on farms or as domestic servants.

According to Mueller (1977: 163), Plath *et al* (1987: 161) and Cobbe (1982: 850), soil erosion and loss of arable land in the agricultural sector of Lesotho, coupled with the absence of a large portion of adult males in the rural areas due to labour migration to South African mines, led to a significant decline in the production capabilities of those left behind in the rural areas. However, what is interesting to note is that despite the loss of agricultural capability in Lesotho's rural areas, a new income stream was created from migration to South African mines. CBL and BOS (1995) and Nunez (2009: 17) indicate that migrant remittances not only became the most important source of income for the rural households but also for the

government of Lesotho given the large increases in real wages for mineworkers plus a large demand for labour in the mines.

Table 4.2 below gives the sector contribution to Lesotho's GNP for the period 1970 – 1980. From the table, the contribution to GNP of agriculture although much more significant than that of the other sectors in the economy, was progressively surpassed by the contribution of migrant mine wages, over the 10 year period. Moreover, according to Plath *et al* (1987: 161), in the fiscal year 1979 to 1980 migrant earnings accounted for 73% of total government earnings, an increase from the 60% earnings record in the fiscal year 1972 to 1973.

Table 4.2: Sector contribution to Lesotho's Gross National Product (GNP) in percentages (1970 – 1980)

Sector	Fiscal year				
	1970 - 1971	1974 - 1975	1975 - 1976	1977 - 1978	1978 - 1980
Mine wages*	32.0	38.2	47.3	44.1	41.1
Agriculture	22.4	20.1	14.7	16.5	14.5
Mining	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.4	2.9
manufacturing	2.8	3.1	2.7	2.1	2.2
Trade	13.9	8.3	7.6	5.8	5.3
Construction	1.9	3.1	2.8	6.7	4.4
Services, private	16.4	14.7	14.6	13.1	13.5
Services, government	5.8	3.3	3.7	3.7	4.6
Other	4.0	8.6	7.6	7.6	11.5
Total GNP**	74.8	158.1	212.0	331.4	445.0

Source: IMTF (1983).

Notes: *Repatriated earnings from mine wage employment.

**Million maloti. One maloti equals one South African rand.

Crush *et al* (2010: 12) and Cobbe (2004: 3) indicate that total employment in South Africa's mining sector peaked in 1987, at approximately 673, 000 with foreign labour from sending countries Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe accounting for around 340, 000 of that total. In 1990, there was stagnation in the price of gold, which led to a decline in mining productivity. The drop in production meant a decline in employment in South African mines from around 376, 000 in 1990 to about 230, 000 in 2004, a job loss of 140, 000 of which approximately 50, 000 of the unemployed were Basotho migrants. Crush *et al* (2010: 7) indicates that Lesotho's share of migrant labour in South African mines fell to 17% in 2006

from 30% in 1995. Such high retrenchment rates had devastating implications for the rural households in Lesotho who relied on migrant remittances from mining as a primary source of income.

Table 4.3 below presents the sector contribution to Lesotho's GNP for the period 1996 – 2005. In the period 1996 – 2003, there was a continuous decline in the percentage contribution of mine wages to GNP with an increase thereafter. It is important to mention that mine wages were still the dominant contributor to GNP. According to CBL (2008: 9), this was due to an increase in the level of mineworker wages in the period.

Table 4.3: Sector percentage contribution to Gross National Product (GNP) (1996 – 2005)

Sector	Fiscal year				
	1996 - 1997	1998 - 1999	2000 - 2001	2002 - 2003	2004 - 2005
Mine wages*	11.41	8.4	6.51	6.39	8.64
Agriculture	0.25	0.86	0.85	1.39	0.70
Mining	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.26
manufacturing	0.99	0.48	1.45	0.79	- 0.84
Trade	0.69	0.17	0.55	1.34	0.52
Construction	0.91	2.13	0.72	1.24	1.14
Services, private	0.02	0.06	- 0.01	0.05	0.05
Services, government	0.14	0.08	0.13	0.16	0.13
Other	0.01	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.01
Total GNP**	14.43	12.79	10.72	11.99	10.61

Source: Own figure derived from Central Bank of Lesotho (2005, 2006, and 2008) and World Bank (2006a).

Notes: *Repatriated earnings from mine wage employment.

**Million maloti. One maloti equals one South African rand.

Ulicki and Crush (2000: 71 – 72) use the 1998 survey data collected in Lesotho by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) and note that over 50% of Lesotho's working age adults interviewed in the survey were found to either be unemployed or seeking a job. Only 17% of men and 10% of women interviewed held formal employment, while the remaining 13% of the respondents were either self employed or working in the informal sector. What is important to note is that, of the unemployed working age population in 1998, 57% of them were men. According to Cobbe (2004: 1), ILO (2006: 19) and Crush *et al* (2010: 13), this is not surprising, especially if one takes into consideration the high retrenchment levels of foreign labour in South Africa's gold mines in the early 90s. Labour

was retrenched primarily due to stagnation in gold mining and the preference for South African labour over foreign labour in the wake of South Africa's post apartheid government in 1994.

Baylies and Wright (1993: 585) and Nunez (2009: 17) point out that the nature of migration in Lesotho changed from what was once an external and a male dominated activity into a more internal and female orientated exercise. The reason for the change was the high levels of retrenched male mine workers in the rural areas. This therefore meant that women had to play a much more significant role in their contribution to household income by leaving the rural areas to seek employment in such industries as the clothing and textile firms situated in the urban areas. Although internal rural - urban migration among women began to dominate in Lesotho, CBL (2008: 9) indicates that the price of gold in Rand terms increased in 2006 from R4, 099.82 per ounce to R4, 618.82 in 2007. The implication of which was an increase in the revenue stream of South Africa's mining sector and consequently an increase in the sector's demand for labour (foreign and domestic). The increase in labour demand meant that rural - urban migration from Lesotho to South Africa among men rose and with it their remittances during this time.

4.4 POVERTY AND INEQUALITY WITHIN LESOTHO

May *et al* (2002: 1) point out that having a clear understanding of how the patterns of poverty within a country change over time is crucial in promoting human development therein. This section analyses the extent of poverty and inequality within Lesotho using information from its macroeconomic and social indicators for selected years as well as its Household Budget Surveys (HBS) conducted by the Bureau of Statistics (BOS) for the years 1986/87, 1994/95 as well as 2002 and 2003²⁴. The HBS provides an ideal measure of poverty and inequality because it is cognisant of the differences in consumption levels that can exist between households that are classified as poor in the country. Lesotho's poverty line is measured using the absolute approach²⁵. Moreover, due to the unreliability of income data,

²⁴ This is the most recent data made available by Lesotho's national Bureau of Statistics (BOS).

²⁵ Under the absolute approach measure of the poverty line, a household is considered poor if its income or consumption level is insufficient to acquire a level of goods and services referred as essential to maintain a minimum standard of living (BOS, 2003: 59).

consumption-based measures of poverty are used to explore the poverty profile²⁶ of Lesotho and the trends in this profile between the four survey periods (1986/87 and 1994/95 as well as 2002 and 2003).

To identify households that are very poor and poor respectively, two poverty lines are used, i.e., the food and non-food poverty lines. Households whose consumption level fall below the food poverty line are considered very poor and those with consumption above the food poverty line but below the overall poverty line²⁷ are considered poor. Table 4.4 below shows the distribution of poverty in Lesotho by incidence, depth and severity for the period 1986/87 and 1994/95.

Table 4.4: Percentage distribution of poverty in Lesotho (1986/87 and 1994/95)

	Overall poverty line		Food poverty line	
	1986/87	1994/95	1986/87	1994/95
Incidence	58.8	58.3	34.7	38.6
Depth*	32.8	35.4	17.7	21.4
Severity	22.8	25.9	11.8	14.9

Source: Own figures derived from BOS and UNICEF (1998).

Notes: * It is also known as the poverty gap, it measures the extent or degree to which a poor individual or household's income falls below the poverty line (BOS, 2003: 62). A higher percentage thus implies a wider gap while a lower percentage implies a smaller gap.

From Table 4.4, the incidence of poverty shows that 58.8% of households in Lesotho lived below the overall poverty line in 1986/87, of which 34.7% were below the food poverty line and thus were categorised as very poor. In 1994/95, there was a slight decrease in the incidence of poverty of 0.6%. However, it is interesting to note that the percentage of very poor households increased by 3.9% in the same period.

The depth of poverty in both poor and very poor households increased between the period 1986/87 and 1994/95. The degree to which the poor fell below the overall poverty line

²⁶ The poverty profile is concerned with showing the extent and trends of poverty within a country. It is constructed based on the geographical distribution of poverty, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the poor as well as access to basic services (May *et al.*, 2002: 2).

²⁷ The overall poverty line is the sum of the food and non-food poverty line.

increased from 32.8% in 1986/87 to 35.4% in 1994/95. Moreover, the degree to which the very poor fell below the food poverty line also increased from 17.7% in 1986/87 to 21.4% in 1994/95.

The severity of poverty increased between 1986/87 and 1994/95 for poor and very poor households. Considering that the depth of poverty for both the poor and very poor households also increased in the same period, one can safely conclude that reliance on the incidence of poverty alone to give a picture of the extent of poverty within a country can be misleading.

Table 4.5 below gives the percentage of Lesotho's population that fell below the food and overall poverty lines between 1994/95 and 2002/03.

Table 4.5: Percentage of Lesotho's population that fell below the poverty lines (2002/03 and 1994/95)

Poverty lines	2002 - 2003		1994 - 1995	
	Maloti (M)	Head Count (%)	Maloti (M)	Head Count (%)
Food poverty line	84.41	29.1	42.92	37.8
Overall poverty line	149.91	50.2	82.13	62.1

Source: Bureau of Statistics (2003)

From Table 4.5, the overall poverty line in the period 2002/03 was M 149.91 and 50.2% of the country's population fell below it with 29.1% of them being the very poor households since they fell below the food poverty line, which was M 84.41. Although this was an improvement from the figures recorded in the period 1994/95, over half of Lesotho's population continues to live below the overall poverty line, a situation that has adverse impacts on the economic growth of the country since it means more of the household's income is spent and not saved thus no investment is created.

According to May *et al* (2002: 10), in order to devise policies efficient enough to tackle poverty and inequality within a country, it is important to assess the magnitude of poverty and inequality within that particular country's geographical distribution. Lesotho's population is spread in four ecological zones, namely mountains, foothills, lowlands and the Senqu (Orange River valley). It has ten administrative districts, namely Butha-Buthe, Leribe, Teya-

Teyaneng, Maseru, Mafeteng, Mohale's Hoek, Quthing, Qacha's Nek, Mokhotlong and Thaba Tseka.

Table 4.6 below shows the Gini-coefficients of Lesotho by district as calculated on the basis of per-adult-equivalent expenditure for the two HBS periods (1994/95 and 2002/03). Lesotho's overall Gini coefficient declined slightly from 0.57 in 1994/95 to 0.52 in 2003/03, which indicates that even though the level of inequality in the country is declining, it is still high. When inequality on the district level is considered, the extent of inequality is highest in Maseru for both survey periods. What is interesting to note is that in the period 2002/03, the five districts (Butha-Buthe, Mafeteng, Qacha's Nek, Leribe and Berea) had Gini coefficients below 0.5 and were thus the closest to achieving income equality.

Table 4.6: Gini coefficient by district (1994/95 and 2002/03)

District	Gini coefficient (per adult equivalent expenditure)	
	1994/95	2002/03
Butha-Buthe	0.49	0.49
Leribe	0.49	0.56
Teya-Teyaneng	0.49	0.54
Maseru	0.55	0.59
Mafeteng	0.48	0.57
Mohale's Hoek	0.53	0.57
Quthing	0.51	0.45
Qacha's Nek	0.48	0.54
Mokhotlong	0.52	0.56
Thaba-Tseka	0.50	0.55
Lesotho	0.52	0.57

Source: BOS (2007)

From the discussion above, there was a decline in both the incidence of poverty and the level of income inequality in Lesotho for the two survey periods 1994/95 and 2002/03. However, according to UNDP (2007: 40) although consumption poverty is an important part of deprivation, the poor within the country are faced with other problems such as lack of access to basic services (clean water, sanitation, quality healthcare and education) as well as lack of employment opportunities.

Table 4.7 shows the Human Development Index²⁸ (HDI) by district for the years 1986, 1996 and 2000/01, respectively.

Table 4.7: Human Development Index (HDI) by district (1986, 1996 and 2000/01)

District	Life expectancy index			Education index			GDP index			HDI		
	1986	1996*	2000/01*	1986	1996	2000/01***	1986	1996	2000/01	1986	1996**	2000/01**
Butha Buthe	0.535	0.478	0.43	0.54	0.531	0.547	0.294	0.22	0.22	0.46	0.399	0.399
Berea	0.528	0.453	0.408	0.846	0.613	0.6	0.32	0.313	0.313	0.57	0.44	0.44
Leribe	0.51	0.476	0.417	0.616	0.592	0.586	0.311	0.298	0.298	0.48	0.434	0.434
Maseru	0.538	0.477	0.423	0.615	0.537	0.56	0.359	0.376	0.376	0.5	0.453	0.453
Mafeteng	0.51	0.453	0.407	0.636	0.651	0.636	0.297	0.269	0.269	0.48	0.437	0.437
Mohale's Hoek	0.5	0.447	0.402	0.617	0.622	0.626	0.279	0.245	0.245	0.47	0.424	0.424
Quthing	0.462	0.403	0.362	0.651	0.654	0.677	0.286	0.241	0.241	0.47	0.427	0.427
Qacha's Nek	0.465	0.405	0.363	0.632	0.639	0.67	0.236	0.247	0.247	0.44	0.427	0.427
Mokhotlong	0.46	0.403	0.367	0.474	0.472	0.533	0.29	0.204	0.204	0.41	0.368	0.368
Thaba Tseka	0.487	0.423	0.383	0.507	0.503	0.603	0.263	0.225	0.225	0.42	0.404	0.404
Lesotho	0.505	0.445	0.403	0.566	0.539	0.585	0.31	0.296	0.296	0.46	0.428	0.428

Source: UNDP (2007)

Notes: The estimates of adult HIV prevalence rate at district level were not available for 1986.

* The life expectancy rates for 1996 and the period 2000/01 were calculated considering the prevalence of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome).

** The HDI rates for 1996 and the period 2000/01 were calculated considering the prevalence of AIDS.

***The education index in the period 2000/01 is based on the 1996 adult literacy rate and the 2000 combined gross enrolment ratio.

In 1986, longevity was highest in the capital Maseru at 0.538, followed by Butha-Buthe at 0.535; and the lowest in the districts of Quthing and Mokhotlong at 0.462 and 0.46 respectively. When educational attainment is considered, Berea had the highest level of educational attainment at 0.846 followed by Quthing at 0.651 with the district of Mokhotlong showing the lowest level of educational attainment at 0.474. The standard of living was highest in Maseru at 0.359 followed by Berea at 0.32, and lowest in Qacha's Nek at 0.236.

In 1996, life expectancy was highest in Butha-Buthe at 0.478 followed by Maseru at 0.474 and lowest in Mokhotlong and Quthing at 0.403. Longevity in Maseru and Butha-Buthe

²⁸ According to UNDP (2007: 40), the HDI is a measure of average achievement in basic human capabilities, calculated based on indicators of longevity, educational attainment and decent standard of living. Longevity is measured using the life expectancy index²⁸ while educational attainment is measured using the education index²⁸ and lastly, the decent standard of living is measured using the GDP index (which is measure using the GNP per capita)

remained the highest in 1996 as it was in 1986, and still lowest in Quthing and Mokhotlong in 1996 as it was in 1986.

In 1996, the overall HDI in Lesotho, taking into account the prevalence of AIDS, was 0.436, which is a 2.4% decline from the HDI in 1986. Longevity decreased by 6% in 1996 from what it was in 1986, a further indication of how debilitating the prevalence of the AIDS epidemic has on the development of the country. On the district level, the life expectancy in 1996 was highest in Butha-Buthe at 0.478 followed by Maseru at 0.477, and lowest in Quthing and Mokhotlong at 0.403. Educational attainment in 1996 was highest in Quthing at 0.654 followed by Mafeteng at 0.651 and lowest in Mokhotlong at 0.472. The standard of living in 1996 was highest in Maseru at 0.402 followed by Berea at 0.339 and lowest in Mokhotlong at 0.231.

In the period 2000/01, the overall HDI in Lesotho was 0.428, which is a 0.8% decline from what it was in 1996. Life expectancy declined to 0.403, which is a 4.2% decline from what it was in 1996. The total educational attainment in the period 2000/01 increased by 4.6% from 1996 to stand at 0.585 while the overall standard of living declined by 2.7% from 1996 to stand at 0.296. On the district level, the life expectancy is highest in Butha-Buthe at 0.43 followed by Maseru at 0.423 and lowest in Quthing and Qacha's Nek at 0.362 and 0.363, respectively. The educational attainment is highest in Quthing at 0.677 followed by Qacha's Nek at 0.67 and lowest in Mokhotlong at 0.533. The standard of living is highest in Maseru at 0.376 followed by Berea at 0.313 and lowest in Mokhotlong at 0.204.

From the above discussion, the standard of living in the rural district of Mokhotlong has remained the lowest throughout the period while it has remained highest in the capital Maseru. According to World Bank (2006b: 3 – 4), poverty in Lesotho is more of a rural than urban phenomenon. It varies with respect to geography, household size, livelihood patterns and access to basic services. Moreover, the major causes of poverty and income inequality in the country are unemployment and underemployment.

According to KOL (2006: 10), female-headed households tend to be poorer than male-headed households because they are often headed by ageing widows unlikely to own agricultural assets such as livestock. Moreover, in 1986/87, women who were single, divorced, widowed or abandoned by their husbands headed approximately 27% of the country's households,

rising to 30% in 1994/95. Consequently, female-headed households had the highest incidence of poverty in 1986/87 and 1994/95 at 65% and 62%, respectively, much higher than the national averages of 58.8% and 58.3% in the same years (see Table 4.4). According to UNDP (2007: 60), high levels of poverty in the rural areas coupled with the country's growing clothing and textile industry act as motivation for rural – urban migration among poor women who leave their rural homes to seek better paying jobs in the urban areas.

From Table 4.7, the national HDI when taking into consideration the prevalence of AIDS in the country declined since 1996, an indication of how serious and detrimental the AIDS epidemic is on the country's development. World Bank (2006b: 3) notes that in 2004 the prevalence of HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) was much greater in the urban areas at 29% than it was in the rural areas at 22%. Moreover, approximately 24% of the adult population were HIV positive in 2004, with the prevalence being highest amongst women at 26% than it was among men at 19%. According to KOL (2006: 98) and World Bank (2006b: 3), HIV and AIDS is a cause of poverty in Lesotho as it often leads to a depletion of assets and resources in order to cover medical and burial costs. Moreover, it can lead to a loss of income as breadwinners and productive members of the household get ill and die.

The discussion thus far reveals a pressing need to combat poverty and inequality within Lesotho, especially in the rural areas. The focus should be on striving to achieve a strong, sustainable and job – creating growth that benefits the poor while tackling the problems associated with the spread of the HIV and AIDS epidemic. According to UNDP (2007: 71) and ILO (2006: 3), in addressing these problems, the government of Lesotho launched a 20-year national development agenda called the *Vision 2020*²⁹ in June 2004. Under *Vision 2020*, a framework is provided through which the country's short to medium term plans are developed and implemented. ILO (2006: 3) indicates that there are two major development frameworks setup by the government to realise the *Vision 2020* mission statement, these being; the poverty reduction strategy (PRS) and the Public Sector Improvement and Reform Programme (PSIRP). According to World Bank (2006b), the PRS places private sector led economic growth at its core, while advocating for the betterment of human conditions as they

²⁹ The major focus of the *Vision 2020* is that by 2020 Lesotho should be a stable democracy, noted and prosperous and at peace with itself and its neighbours. Moreover, it shall have a healthy and well-developed human resource base. Its economy will be strong, its environment well managed and the foundation for its technological advancement well established (ILO, 2006: 3).

relate to HIV and AIDS. UNDP (2007: 52) and ILO (2006: 3) point out that the PRS is built on three inter-connected approaches. The first approach is the rapid employment creation through the facilitation of economic growth. The second is the delivery of poverty-targeted programmes that empower the poor thus enabling them to access income opportunities. The third and last approach is ensuring that policies and legal frameworks are conducive for the full implementation of priorities and public sector improvement. When the PSIRP is considered, ILO (2006: 3) indicates that its main concern is with the improvement of financial management and accountability, the improvement of service delivery through decentralisation and lastly, the improvement of public service management.

Over and above provisions made for government's combat of HIV and AIDS within the PRS, UNDP (2007: 71) advocates for one agreed AIDS action framework. There must also be one national AIDS coordinating authority with multi - sectoral mandate, one agreed country – level monitoring and evaluation system, allocation of resources to health programmes in rural and mountainous areas, decentralisation of the health system and lastly, the scaled up implementation of the Prevention of Mother-To-Child Transmission programme (PMTCT).

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter gave an economic overview of Lesotho with focus on its economic sectors, its history with migration since the early 1820s to the present and the extent of its poverty and inequality levels since the period 1986/87 to 2002/03.

In Lesotho, the tertiary sector is the largest contributor to GDP, followed by the secondary sector and then the primary sector. One would thus be tempted to conclude that the tertiary sector is the biggest employer of the country's workforce; however, the agricultural industry within the primary sector is the country's biggest employer. Productivity within the agricultural sector is labour-intensive and heavily reliant on the availability of quality arable land. This implies that in times of drought, production in the agricultural industry falls and as a result leads to an increase in the levels of rural unemployment. There are forward and backward linkages between Lesotho's primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. Food products sold in the secondary sector's food and beverages industries as well as the tertiary sector's wholesale and retail industry are obtained from the primary sector. This means that in times of low productivity in the primary sector, the level of productivity in the secondary and tertiary sectors will also be affected adversely.

The clothing, textile, footwear and leather industry is the biggest contributor to the secondary sector's contribution to GDP in Lesotho. According to CBL (2008), the main reason behind this is the preferential treatment the sector receives under the AGOA. Under AGOA Lesotho exports its clothing and textile to the United States and generates enough income to expand its level of employment to absorb the rural unemployed in periods of low productivity on the rural farms.

When considering Lesotho's history with migration from the 1970s, it becomes apparent that international migration from Lesotho to South Africa although having been in existence from as far back as the 1820s, only became widespread in the earlier 1970s among able-bodied men with relatively less schooling and less skills. The men would go and seek work in South African mines following high labour demands and explosive increases in real wages in that sector. During this time, Lesotho became a labour reserve to South Africa and developed a high reliance on mineworker remittances following its loss of comparative advantage as southern Africa's leading exporter of agricultural produce.

In the early 1990s, the pattern of migration in Lesotho changed from what was once an international phenomenon dominated by males with limited schooling to a more internal exercise dominated by females with much better educational qualifications. Following South Africa's post-apartheid regime that called for more local mineworkers as opposed to foreign ones and the rampant retrenchment of Basotho men from South African mines, rural – urban migration ensued in Lesotho with women migrating to seek work in the country's booming clothing and textile industry following to support families and escape rural poverty.

There is evidence to suggest that Lesotho's poverty situation has improved slightly over the years, with the level of inequality and the number of poor households as a percentage of total population having declined from 62.1% in the period 1994 – 1995 to 50.2% in the period 2002 - 2003. Even though the incidence of poverty in the country has decreased slightly over time from 58.8% in the period 1986/87 to 58.3% in the period 1994/95, its depth and severity of are still prevalent problems in the rural areas. The main causes of poverty and inequality in Lesotho are unemployment and underemployment. As a result, to escape poverty and unemployment, the unskilled rural inhabitants migrate to the urban areas in search of jobs. However, because of their low skills level, they are not absorbed into the urban formal sector and only serve to exacerbate urban and rural poverty levels. Moreover, rural – urban

migration leads to further exacerbation of the rural poverty situation, as there is a decrease of able-bodied farmhands to till the land and increase productivity. The solution lies in the implementation of efficient means of income distribution, rural development and poverty alleviation as presented in the country's *Vision 2020* to negate the need for rural – urban migration and to also increase the standard of living for all the country's people.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter presents the analytical framework used to address the objectives of this research, which were set out in Chapter 1. The chapter also discusses the data used in estimating the logit model of the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008. According to Kurosaki *et al* (2007), Van der Berg *et al* (2002), Cornwell and Inder (2004), and Cooke and Bailey (1996), qualitative response models such as the logit and probit provide the best way of investigating the phenomenon of migration, be it internal or international.

The chapter is divided into five sections as follows: Section 5.2 discusses the importance of appropriate model selection and presents the probit and logit models. Section 5.3 applies the logit model to the case of Lesotho with discussion of the variables used. Section 5.4 discusses the data and sample used in the study, the description of the survey area, the sampling technique used and the methods of data collection. Section 5.5 concludes the chapter.

5.2 APPROPRIATE MODEL SELECTION

Cobbe (1990: 145) points out that a researcher must be cautious when selecting a model to explain data in a study since a model that might be suitable for one purpose may be inappropriate for another. This study is interested in finding out the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008 given a set of independent variables. The dependent variable is thus binary since it can take on two possible outcomes; i.e. 1 (in the case of them being employed in 2008) or 0 (in the case of them not being employed in 2008).

Kennedy (2003: 259 – 260), Shariff *et al* (2009) and Rodriguez (2007) point out that ordinary linear regression is suitable for analysing the relationship between a dependent variable that assumes only one continuous quantitative value and a set of independent variables that are either quantitative or consist of a quantitative and qualitative combination. However, in the event that the dependent variable is qualitative in nature and is represented by a dummy variable (such as in our study), then the relationship between the dependent variable and a set of independent variables is best explained using a generalised linear model, i.e. either a probit or a logit model.

5.2.1 The Probit and Logit models

According to Kennedy (2003: 260), Gujarati (2003: 608) and Shariff *et al* (2009: 549), if a researcher's interest lies in analysing the relationship between a binary dependent variable and a group of independent variables, there are commonly two types of functions one can use; the cumulative normal function that creates a probit model and the logistic function that creates a logit model. It is important to note that these two models are very similar, equally easy to compute (due to the use of software packages) and the choice of which one to use usually depends on the preference of the researcher. Equation 5.1 below shows the general specification for qualitative response models as presented in Kennedy (2003).

$$prob(y = 1) = f(x) \dots \dots \dots [5.1]$$

Where: $prob(y = 1)$ is the probability that the event of interest occurs

f can represent any functional form, be it a cumulative normal function or a cumulative logistic function.

According to Kennedy (2003: 260 – 261), equation 5.1 is derived from what is known as the *random utility model*.³⁰ The utility is measured by an unmeasured index commonly expressed as a linear function of explanatory variables and an error term, i.e. $(X\beta + \epsilon)$. Assuming that interest is in estimating the probability of migration given a set of independent variables, then the latent index $(X\beta + \epsilon)$ would represent an individual's "migration index" such that if it exceeds zero, (assuming that an intercept appears in $X\beta$) the individual will migrate. The opposite of course is true for values of the migration index less than zero. This relationship can be represented more formally by the cumulative density in equation 5.2 below.

$$prob(y = 1) = prob(X\beta + \epsilon > 0) = prob(\epsilon > -X\beta) \dots \dots \dots [5.2]$$

Where: $prob(y = 1)$ is the probability that an individual migrates

X is the vector of explanatory variables in the model

β is the vector of parameter coefficients in the model

³⁰ Under the random utility model, an individual is assumed to have some utility from choosing $y = 1$ and will make this choice if their utility is greater than a threshold commonly normalised to be zero. (Kennedy 2003: 261).

According to Kennedy (2003: 265), if ε in equation 5.2 is distributed normally, equation 5.2 is the cumulative density of a normal distribution (normalised to have variance one, which scales down coefficients) and thus creates a probit model. However, if ε is distributed such that its cumulative density is a logistic function, it thus creates a logit model. Equation 5.3 below is the formal specification of the logit model.

$$prob(y = 1) = \frac{e^{X_i\beta}}{1 + e^{X_i\beta}} \dots\dots\dots [5.3]$$

Where: $prob(y = 1)$ is the probability that an individual migrates

X is the vector of explanatory variables in the model

β is the vector of parameter coefficients in the model

Equation 5.3 is known as the cumulative logistic distribution function. Noticeably, the relationship between the dependent variable and the explanatory variables is not linear. Kennedy (2003: 261), Vasisht (2009: 56), and Gujarati (2003: 595) indicate that due to the non-linear relationship between the dependent variable and explanatory variables in the qualitative response models, such models are almost always estimated using the method of maximum likelihood³¹. It is important to note that although the logit and probit models can be interpreted using the method of marginal effects, according to Kennedy (2003: 266 – 267), the use of such a method is not advised since it can lead to misleading estimates of probability changes, especially in situations where the independent variable is postulated to change by an amount that is not infinitesimal.

In order to use the method of maximum likelihood estimation, equation 5.3 has to be linearised as follows:

If P_i , the probability of an individual migrating is given by equation 5.3, then it must be true that $(1 - P_i)$ is the probability of not migrating and can be presented by equation 5.4 below:

³¹ Gujarati and Porter (2009: 562) point out that since the method of maximum likelihood estimation is used to estimate qualitative response models with large sample sizes, the estimated standard errors are asymptotic and as such, the (standard normal) Z-statistic instead of the usual t-statistic is used to evaluate the statistical significance of each estimated parameter coefficient.

$$(1 - P_i) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{X_i\beta}} \dots\dots\dots [5.4]$$

Given equations 5.3 and 5.4, it is true that

$$\frac{P_i}{1 - P_i} = \frac{1 + e^{X_i\beta}}{1 + e^{-X_i\beta}} = e^{X_i\beta} \dots\dots\dots [5.5]$$

The left hand side of equation 5.5 is known as the odds ratio in favour of migrating, i.e. the ratio of the probability that an individual will migrate against the probability that he or she will not migrate. To linearise the relationship between P_i and $e^{X_i\beta}$ we take the natural log of equation 5.5 to obtain equation 5.6 below:

$$L_i = \ln\left(\frac{P_i}{1 - P_i}\right) = X_i\beta \dots\dots\dots [5.6]$$

Equation 5.6 is known as the logit model and it gives the log odds ratio in favour of migrating. It can be appreciated that not only is it linearly related to the vector of parameters β , it is also linearly related to the vector of independent variables X .

Equation 5.6 is the model adopted for the study and will be used to estimate the likelihood of employment in the urban areas of Lesotho in 2008 given rural – urban migration. The information obtained will shed light on the effects of rural - urban migration on employment and household income in the country.

5.3 APPLICATION OF LOGIT MODEL TO THE STUDY OF LESOTHO

The study presents an analysis of the effect of migration on the probability of employment amongst men and women in the economically active population of Lesotho by estimating a logit model of the probability of employment among a randomly selected sample living in Maseru and Leribe. Before the logit model is estimated, two crucial steps are followed. Firstly, we estimate a probit model of migration that estimates the probability that the respondent migrated between 2004 and 2008. The aim is to find out how migrants differ from non-migrants and observe how these differences contribute, if at all, to the probability of migration. Equation 5.7 below is the probit model used to estimate the probability that a respondent migrated between 2004 and 2008.

$$Pr(MIG = 1) = F(\beta X) \dots \dots \dots [5.7]$$

Where: $Pr(MIG = 1)$ is the probability that an individual migrated between 2004 and 2008

F is the standard normal cumulative density function

β is a vector of parameters

X is a vector of independent variables

Table 5.1 below gives the names and definitions of the variables included in equation 5.7.

Table 5.1: Variables in the probit model of the probability of migration

Variable	Definition
MIG	Migration. Equals (1) if migrant (0) if not a migrant.
WEXP	Labour market experience. Age less years of education completed.
WEXP2	Labour market experience squared. $WEXP^2$
EDUC	Years of education completed.
METRO04	Metropolitan residence in 2004. Equals (1) if yes (0) if residence is not in a metropolitan area.
PROF	Professional and managerial speciality occupation. Equals (1) if yes (0) if not a manager or professional.
FEM	Female. Equals (1) if female (0) if male

Source: Own table

From Table 5.1, WEXP represents the labour market experience of the respondent as given by their age less the years of education completed. Zhao (2003: 17) justifies the inclusion of WEXP in the model as an explanatory variable pointing out that individuals that have a higher level of labour market quality, such as more education, more training and having more city work experience are more likely to be employed in the urban areas and as such are more likely to migrate from the rural areas. The parameter estimate associated with WEXP gives the change in the probability of migration given a one-year change in the respondent's labour market experience. It is expected that a positive relationship exists between WEXP and the probability of migration such that a one-year increase in the respondent's labour market experience will lead to an increase in the likelihood of migration *ceteris paribus*.

The respondent's completed years of education are represented by EDUC. The parameter estimate associated with this variable gives the change in the probability of migration given a one-year change in the respondent's years of schooling³². Greenwood (1969: 289), Brooks and Redlin (2009: 134) as well as Taylor and Martin (1999: 15) justify inclusion of education (a human capital variable) as an independent variable when investigating the probability of migration by pointing out that the more educated the individual is, the more chances they have at employment opportunities in the urban areas and hence the more likely they are to migrate from the rural areas. The relationship between EDUC and the probability of migration is expected to be positive such that a one-year increase in the respondent's year of schooling will lead to an increase in the likelihood of migration *ceteris paribus*.

METRO04 gives respondent's place of dwelling in 2004. The parameter estimate associated with this variable gives a change in the probability of migration given the respondent's place of residence in 2004. We expect that if the respondent was living in the metropolitan area in 2004, then the probability of them migrating in 2008 increases when everything else is held constant. Section 3.6 discussed this point, noting that rural migrants with prior urban experience when compared to their counterparts who have never been to the urban areas find it less of a problem to find jobs in the urban areas due to established networks between them and their friends or relatives who already reside in the urban areas. This advantage affords them benefits such as places to stay while they look for jobs and first hand information about the urban job market.

PROF represents the job skill level of the respondent and its parameter estimate measures the change in the probability of migration given that the respondent is a manager or not. On *a-priori* grounds, it is expected that if the respondent is a professional or manager, then the likelihood of them migrating increases when everything else is held constant. Therefore, there exists a positive relationship between the probability of migration and positive values of PROF.

³² According to World Bank (2005a: 23) and StateUniversity.com (2009), the Junior Certificate (JC) attained after three years of secondary schooling is the most common entry-level qualification for employment in Lesotho. In addition, over 50% of Basotho leave school after the completion of JC to search for employment. It is for this reason that the study uses the JC as a threshold for educational qualification in the study.

FEM represents the respondent's gender. The parameter estimate associated with this variable gives a change in the probability of migration given that the respondent is a male or female. According to World Bank (2005b: 4), due to a lack of employment opportunities in Lesotho for retrenched mine workers; women have come to be relied upon as the main breadwinners in the country's rural households. Furthermore, BOS (2009c: 2) and Baylies and Wright (1993: 585) indicate that Lesotho's private sector, championed by the clothing and textile companies based in the urban areas is the second largest employer after subsistence farming. In the clothing and textile firms of Lesotho women are much more ideal candidates for employment due to, among other things, their high literacy rates. The study thus expects a positive relationship between the probability of migration and FEM such that if the respondent is a female, their probability of migration will increase *ceteris paribus*.

The second step in the estimation of the probability of employment given migration is the creation of a migration self-selection bias control variable for each individual in the sample based on their respective probabilities of migration. DaVanzo and Hosek (1981: 2-3) as well as Antel (1980: 41- 42) point out that when analysing the effects of migration, it is important to bear in mind that migrants and non-migrants are self-selected samples from a population as opposed to randomly selected samples. Migrants choose to migrate motivated by the belief that their standard of living will improve as a direct result of the move, a rationale consistent with the theories of migration discussed in Chapter 2 of the thesis. Non-migrants on the other hand choose not to migrate because of the belief that their standard of living is improved by not moving. Considering these distinct differences between migrants and non-migrants, it is important to control for self-selection bias when investigating the effects of migration on employment. Equation 5.8 below shows how the migration self-selection control variable (denoted by λ) is calculated.

$$\lambda = \frac{f(\beta X)}{F(\beta X)} \dots \dots \dots [5.8]$$

Where: f is the standard normal probability density function

F is the standard normal cumulative density function

β and X are respectively vectors of parameters and of independent variables taken from equation 5.7.

The self-selectivity bias control variable is calculated for each respondent in the study using the Heckman two part procedure denoted as the Inverse Mills Ratio (IMR) in E-Views, which

is a statistical software package. Once the self-selectivity bias control variable is calculated, it is included as an independent variable in the logit model used in the study (discussed below) to estimate the probability of employment given migration. In the estimated logit model, the parameter estimate that corresponds with the self-selection bias control variable measures the effect of having the characteristics of a migrant/non-migrant (independent of the effect of migrating/not migrating) on the probability of employment. As a consequence, in the logit model of the probability of employment, the parameter estimate that corresponds with the explanatory variable included to capture the respondent's status as migrant or non-migrant (MIG) will be an unbiased estimate of the effects of migration/non-migration on the probability of employment.

As indicated above, a logit model of the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008 is used to analyse the degree to which migration affects employment and in turn household income in the country. The model as adopted for the Lesotho case is specified in equation 5.9 as follows:

$$\Pr(EMP08 = 1) = \frac{e^{\beta X}}{1 + e^{\beta X}} \dots \dots \dots [5.9]$$

Where: Pr (EMP08 =1) is the probability that the individual is employed in 2008

β is a vector of parameter coefficients

X is a vector of independent variables

From equation 5.9, the dependent variable is Pr (EMP08 = 1) and it measures the likelihood of employment in Lesotho in 2008 given a set of independent variables. Much like in the estimation of equation 5.7, the independent variables used in the estimation of equation 5.9 include variables that reflect the migrant's skill experience, educational qualification, recent work experience and the country's labour market opportunities.

As was indicated earlier in Section 5.2.1, it is important that there exists a linear relationship between the dependent variable and the parameter coefficients since a non-linear relationship will render estimation of equation 5.9 by the method of ordinary least squares (OLS) infeasible and any parameter estimates obtained from this method of estimation will be biased. Thus, the next step is to make equation 5.9 linear in parameters. Since this would

mean following the same procedures as in Section 5.2.1, the end result would be equation 5.10 below, the adopted logit model for Lesotho.

$$L_i = \ln \frac{\Pr(EMP08 = 1)}{1 - \Pr(EMP08 = 1)} = \beta X \dots\dots\dots [5.10]$$

From the equation, we can appreciate that L_i (the log odds ratio) is a linear function of the vector of parameter coefficients β . The equation is also linearly related to the vector of independent variables X . The relationship between the dependent variable L_i and the independent variables is such that if L_i is positive, it means that when the value of the regressor(s) included in the model increase, the odds that the regressand equals one or the odds of the migrant getting employed increases. If on the other hand L_i is negative, the odds that the regressand equals one decrease as the value of X increases.

Table 5.2 below gives the names and definitions of the variables included in equation 5.10.

Table 5.2: Variables in the logit model of the probability of employment

Variable	Definition
MIG	Migration. Equals (1) if migrant (0) if not a migrant.
WEXP	Labour market experience. Age less years of education completed.
WEXP2	Labour market experience squared. $WEXP^2$
EDUC	Years of education completed.
METRO04	Metropolitan residence in 2004. Equals (1) if yes (0) if residence is not in a metropolitan area.
METRO08	Metropolitan residence in 2008. Equals (1) if yes (0) if residence is not in a metropolitan area.
PROF	Professional and managerial speciality occupation. Equals (1) if yes (0) if not a manager or professional.
FEM	Female. Equals (1) if female (0) if male
EMP08	Employed in 2008. Equals (1) if yes (0) if not employed in 2008
λ	Migration self-selection bias control variable

Source: Own table

From the Table 5.2, MIG is a categorical variable that indicates whether the individual is a migrant or non-migrant. The parameter estimate associated with it gives indication of how

migration affects the probability of employment. On *a-priori* grounds, it is expected that the probability of employment in 2008 will increase given that the individual is a non-migrant *ceteris paribus*. Non-migrants are assumed to have first hand information about the urban job market that is reliable and recent. This is in contrast of their rural migrant counterparts who when interested in job prospects in the urban areas at best have to rely on second hand information from relatives and friends already residing in the urban areas.

The parameter estimate associated with WEXP gives the change in the probability of employment given a one-year change in the respondent's labour market experience. It is expected that a positive relationship exists between WEXP and the probability of employment such that a one-year increase in the respondent's labour market experience will lead to an increase in the likelihood of employment *ceteris paribus*.

The respondent's completed years of education are represented by EDUC. The parameter estimate associated with this variable gives the change in the probability of employment given a one-year change in the respondent's years of schooling. The relationship between EDUC and the probability of employment is expected to be positive such that a one-year increase in an individual's years of schooling will lead to a positive increase in the probability of employment *ceteris paribus*.

METRO04 and METRO08 give the respondent's place of dwelling in 2004 and 2008 respectively. The parameter estimate associated with these variables gives a change in the probability of employment given the respondent's place of resident in 2004 and 2008 respectively. On *a-priori* grounds, it is expected that if the respondent was living in the metropolitan area in 2004, then the probability of them being employed in 2008 increases *ceteris paribus*. On the same token, it is expected that if the respondent was living in the metropolitan area in 2008, then the probability of them being employed in 2008 increases *ceteris paribus*. A positive relationship is therefore expected to exist between the probability of employment in 2008 and positive values of METRO04 and METRO08, respectively.

PROF represents the job skill level of the respondent. The parameter estimate associated with this variable measures the change in the probability of employment given that the respondent is a manager or not. On *a-priori* grounds, it is expected that if the respondent is a professional or manager, then the likelihood of them being employed increases when everything else is

held constant. Therefore, there exists a positive relationship between the probability of employment and positive values of PROF. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the relationship between PROF and the likelihood of employment could be negative as well as positive. Given that the respondent's professional qualifications are worthy of a managerial position, the likelihood of them being employed might decline since positions of this nature are at times too few and often outstripped by the demand.

FEM represents the respondent's gender. The parameter estimate associated with this variable gives a change in the probability of employment given that the respondent is a male or female. It is expected that if the respondent is female, the likelihood of them being employed increases when everything else is held constant.

It must be highlighted that Cooke and Bailey (1996) (whose model the study partially adopts) included the rate of unemployment in their model as an independent variable and data pertaining to this variable was cross sectional. Our study will not include a rate of unemployment since in Lesotho; the rate of unemployment is recorded only on a nationwide basis and as such is uniform.

5.3.1 Estimation of the model

To estimate equation 5.10 we need to have values of the regressand as obtained from the relevant data. In order to obtain information on whether or not an individual in the sample is a migrant or not, the study makes use of individual or micro data obtained from a survey conducted by the researcher comprising of 500 respondents. Due to the fact that the data is on individual observations, the method of OLS estimation cannot be used. According to Gujarati (2003: 598), in this case the method which is most favourable to estimate equation 5.10 is the method of maximum likelihood estimation (MLE).

The MLE is not only ideal in this case because of the nature of the data but also because of the large size of the sample. Since the sample size is large, that means the Z-statistic and not the t-statistic is an ideal measure of the statistical significance of the parameter estimates. Furthermore, according to Gujarati (2003: 605), in measuring how well the model fits the data, the conventional R^2 is meaningless in binary regressand models and is abandoned for the McFadden R^2 denoted by R^2_{MCF} . The MLE is estimated using the Newton-Raphson algorithm as advocated by Jennrich and Sampson (1976).

5.4 DATA AND SAMPLE

According to Kurosaki, *et al* (2007), Van der Berg, *et al* (2002) and Cornwell and Inder (2004), when attempting to understand the profile or the exact causes of rural-urban migration, a survey tends to be the best way of getting first hand information from respondents who are themselves migrants and have settled in the urban areas. In addition, through a survey, relevant information can be obtained from urban dwellers who themselves do not hail from the rural areas but often find themselves competing for jobs with the rural-urban migrant.

5.4.1 Description of survey area

Figure 5.1 below shows a map of Lesotho with administrative districts. Lesotho is divided into ten administrative districts, which are Butha-Buthe, Leribe, Berea, Maseru³³, Mafeteng, Mohales-Hoek, Quthing, Qacha's-Nek, Mokhotlong and Thaba-Tseka. According to BOS (2009e), BOS (2009a) and BOS (2009f), Lesotho's ten districts differ from one another in terms of size (with Maseru being the biggest then followed by Leribe), climate, topography and level of development.

Figure 5.1: Map of Lesotho showing administrative districts



Source: www.costreams.com/Africa/Lesotho.aspx

³³ Maseru is the capital of Lesotho.

For policy relevance and due to constraints on time and finance, the study is interested in two districts out of Lesotho's ten, these are Maseru and Leribe. The two districts are chosen for three primary reasons; firstly, they are the biggest and most populated districts in the country, secondly, they each have clothing and textile industries³⁴ and lastly, according to IOM (2006: 3) both districts are major routes for Lesotho's migrant workers in general.

5.4.2 Sampling techniques

The study employs the method of stratified sampling to gain information from respective respondents. It must be pointed out that the method of stratified sampling was neither used in a proportionate or disproportionate manner in the research but rather according to the researcher's discretion as firms in the two districts were selected according to their ease of access to the researcher. Through stratified sampling, two firms were selected in each of the three locations and once they were identified, systematic sampling was then used to get a sample of respondents on which inference about the population would be made.

Maseru, Leribe and Mafeteng are the three districts of Lesotho with clothing and textile firms. According to LTEA (2009) and CBL (2010: 5) there are approximately 40 factories specialising in both woven and knit garments in Lesotho. At the end of the 4th quarter of 2008 their combined employment total was approximately 40 000 employees. As was indicated earlier, the study only focuses on rural – urban migration to Maseru and Leribe. Maseru's clothing and textile industries are based in Thetsane and in Ha Hoohlo, while Leribe's are based in Maputsoe. The three locations; Thetsane, Ha Hoohlo and Maputsoe make up the sub-populations or strata on which our sample of respondents is selected. According to Terre Blanch *et al* (2006: 136), in instances where overall populations have distinct sub-populations as it is in our case, the best method of sampling the researcher can use to ensure a greater degree of representativeness is stratified sampling.

Information on the population's educational, migratory and employment status is obtained and analysed. To obtain information on the distribution of household income and expenditure in Lesotho, the 2002/03 household survey (this being the most recent household survey) carried out by BOS is used. The research also makes use of data from the 2008 integrated

³⁴ The clothing and textile industries are a sub-sector of Lesotho's manufacturing sector that is responsible for employing most of the Lesotho's rural - urban migrants (Baylies and Wright, 1993: 585).

labour force survey³⁵ conducted by BOS to obtain information on the size and composition of Lesotho's clothing and textile industries. Furthermore, the 2006 census³⁶ carried out by BOS (this being the most recent census) is used to get information crucial in understanding the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Lesotho's population.

5.4.3 The sample

The sample is limited to persons working in the clothing and textile industries in Maseru and Leribe and persons working near the industries as street vendors. As a result, the study made use of the 2008 integrated labour force survey conducted by BOS as a sampling frame from which information on the size and composition of Lesotho's clothing and textile industries located in the two districts was obtained. It is important to note that in Leribe, the sample was selected in Maputsoe since all of Leribe's clothing and textile firms are located therein. In Maseru, the sample was selected in Ha Hoohlo and in Thetsane for the same reason. Using systematic sampling, a sample population of 500 respondents was selected, with each of the two locations; Maseru and Maputsoe accounting for 250 respondents.

5.4.4 Data collection instruments

A questionnaire administered face to face by the researcher to the 500 respondents to avoid the possibility of non-response given that the respondent is illiterate was used to obtain information on the characteristics of migrants³⁷ and their family members left behind in the rural areas (the controls of the study). Table A-2 in Appendix 2 is a copy of the questionnaire used in the study. The questions in the questionnaire are aimed at ascertaining among other things an array of the respondent's personal characteristics³⁸, household attributes³⁹, the job

³⁵ The 2008 labour force survey was carried out to provide data on the size, composition and location of the labour force; sectors of employment and unemployment rates and is also used as a sampling frame in the research.

³⁶ Lesotho's population census is conducted after every ten years.

³⁷ Migrants are defined in the study as individuals who have changed their usual place of residence in the rural areas between 2004 and 2008, either by crossing an international border or moving within their country of origin to another region, district or municipality.

³⁸ Personal attributes such as sex, age, years of completed schooling, status in the village household as either a household head or a son or daughter of the household head, and whether they would have migrated before 2008 to the urban areas.

³⁹ Household attributes such as household size, age composition, landholdings (rural or urban) and migration networks (represented by the presence of family members outside the village).

description of the bread winners⁴⁰, the relationship between those who have migrated and those who have stayed behind in the rural areas, as well as the improvements, if any, in the individual's or family's standard of living following the decision to migrate. The questions that investigate the reasons why people choose to migrate look into issues relating to the presence of arable land, the availability of basic services such as health and education and the basic livelihood of people in the rural areas. They also seek to find out if the decision to migrate is of a circular or permanent nature and if upon finding employment in the urban areas, the migrants remit any of their earnings to help supplement the income of family members left behind in the rural areas.

In order to address the third aim of the study (see Section 1.3), interviews with government officials who work at the Ministry of Home Affairs as well as the Lesotho Institute of Public Administration and Management (LIPAM) were conducted so as to understand the government's views on rural – urban migration in Lesotho. Table A-3 in Appendix 2 is a copy of the interview schedule used by the researcher in the study. The questions in the government interview schedule try and ascertain the costs and benefits of rural – urban labour migration within Lesotho as seen by the government. If rural – urban migration is seen as a drawback, what then are the measures put in place by the government to remedy its inherent disadvantages? Conversely, if it is seen as an advantage to employment and household income, what then are the policies adopted by the government to encourage this sort of migration in Lesotho?

Data collected through the use of the questionnaires as well as interviews with government officials will be analysed in the context of the theoretical models on labour migration as discussed in Chapter 2. Furthermore, data will also be analysed using a probability model of employment (see Section 5.3).

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the logit model of the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008 as well as a detailed explanation of the respective independent variables associated with the model and justification of their inclusion in the model. The chapter also presented a

⁴⁰ Data being gathered on all labour activities in which each individual of the household participated in and on each household member's contributions to household income in 2008.

description of the data and sample used in the estimation and analysis of the logit model of the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008. The next chapter analyses the data using the logit model of the probability of migration in Lesotho in 2008 and presents the results of the study.

CHAPTER 6
ANALYSIS OF EMPIRICAL RESULTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of the research is to study and interpret the effects of internal rural-urban migration on employment and household income in Lesotho. To achieve this, the chapter applies the logit model of the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008 as presented in equation 5.9 in Section 5.3.

The chapter is divided into six sections. Section 6.2 presents and discusses of the results obtained from the estimated model of the probability of migration between 2004 and 2008 while Section 6.3 presents and discusses the results obtained from the estimated model of the probability of employment in 2008. Section 6.4 presents and discusses the results from the administered questionnaire⁴¹ which focussed on finding the reasons why people migrated from the rural - urban areas and whether their decision to migrate yielded any positive effects on their standard of living and that of their family members left behind in the rural areas. Section 6.5 presents and discusses the results from the administered government interview schedule⁴² which focussed on gathering information on the government's stance on rural – urban migration in Lesotho. Section 6.6 concludes the chapter.

6.2 RESULTS FROM THE PROBIT MODEL OF MIGRATION

Equation 6.1 below is the probit model of the probability of migration between 2004 and 2008 as presented in Equation 5.7 in Section 5.3.

$$Pr(MIG = 1) = F(\beta X) \dots \dots \dots [6.1]$$

Where: $Pr(MIG = 1)$ is the probability that an individual migrated between 2004 and 2008

F is the standard normal cumulative density function

β is a vector of parameters

X is a vector of independent variables

⁴¹ A copy of the administered questionnaire is given in Table A-2 (Appendix 2) and the results from the people interviewed are given in Table A-5 (Appendix 2).

⁴² A copy of the administered government interview schedule is given in Table A-3 (Appendix 2).

The vector of independent variables denoted as X in equation 6.1 above comprises six independent variables. The independent variables, namely WEXP, WEXP2, EDUC, METRO04, PROF and FEM, are presented and defined in Table 5.1 in Section 5.3.

Table A-4 (Appendix 3) presents data used in the estimation of Equation 6.1. Equation 6.1 is estimated with the use of E-Views, which is a statistical software package. Table 6.1 below presents the results of the estimated probit model of the probability of migration in Lesotho between 2004 and 2008.

Table 6.1: Parameter Estimates and model fit for Probit Model of migration between 2004 and 2008

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	Z-Statistic	P-Value
C	1.628584	0.458558	3.551531	0.0004
WEXP	-0.012824	0.023018	-0.557136	0.5774
WEXP2	4.75E-05	0.000302	0.157473	0.8749
EDUC	-0.058153	0.024240	-2.399041	0.0164
METRO04	-0.262120	0.154235	-1.699488	0.0892
PROF	-0.439135	0.299100	-1.468186	0.1421
FEM	0.029567	0.172654	0.171248	0.8640
McFadden R-squared = 0.025676		LR statistic (6 df) = 14.02981 Probability (LR statistic) = 0.029305		

From Table 6.1, the LR statistic measures the overall significance of the model and its P-value is 0.029305. This indicates that the probit model explains a statistically significant portion of the total variation in the dependent variable MIG at the 5% level of significance.

WEXP, WEXP2 and FEM are negligible and not statistically significant. This means that the probability of rural – urban migration in Lesotho is not affected by labour market experience nor is it affected by gender. A possible reason for the insignificance of labour market experience on the probability of rural – urban migration could be that the majority of rural migrants who are employed in the rural areas prior to their decision to migrate tend to be employed in jobs that are not suitable for the urban labour market and as such are not motivated to migrate to the urban areas based on their job qualifications. Table A-5 in Appendix 3 confirms this. Of the 431 respondents that migrated from the rural to the urban areas, 38.5% of them were unemployed in the rural areas before migrating, 30.4% of them

were not working but in school and the remaining 31.1% of them were employed either as domestic workers, farmhands looking after family's livestock or were self employed street vendors.

When the issue of gender is considered, according to United Nations (2005), a possible reason for its insignificance on the probability of rural – urban migration is that research studies on labour migration often make use of models of migration that are based on the experiences of men and even if women are considered, they are treated as dependents and their contributions are ignored.

The coefficient of EDUC is -0.058153 and it is statistically significant at the 5% level of significance. However, it is important to note that the EDUC parameter estimate does not conform to *apriori* expectations since it is negatively related to the probability of migration. This means that a one year increase in the respondent's years of schooling will lead to a 0.058 decline in the probability of migration to the urban areas when everything else is held constant. One possible reason for this could be that the better educated rural people might tend to choose rural non-farm work over migration as this could pay more than migratory work in the urban areas.

The coefficient of METRO04 is -0.262120 and it is statistically significant at the 10% level of significance. The relationship between METRO04 and the probability of migration is negative and does not conform to *apriori* expectations. This means that given that the respondent lived in the metropolitan areas in 2004, their probability of migration from the rural to urban areas would decline by 0.262 when everything else is held constant. A possible explanation for this could be high costs of living encountered while residing in the urban areas.

The coefficient of PROF is -0.439135 and it is statistically significant at the 20% level of significance. The relationship between PROF and the probability of migration between 2004 and 2008 is negative and does not conform to *apriori* expectations. This means that if the job skill of the respondent is that of a professional or manager, their likelihood of migrating from the rural to urban areas would decline by 0.438 when everything else is held constant. A possible reason for this could be that the rural inhabitant might see more benefit in getting a rural non-farm job than migrating to the urban areas for an urban job.

The next step is calculation of the migration self-selection bias control variable, denoted by λ in Equation 5.8, in Section 5.3. The self-selection bias control variable is calculated from the above probit results and is inserted in the logit model of migration (Equation 5.10) as an independent variable. It is important to note that due to problems with the data set for this research, specifically the lack of a control variable that would have been obtained from interviews with rural inhabitants on their reasons for not migrating, the following results obtained from the logit model of migration do not include a sample self-selectivity bias control variable and as such any conclusion drawn from them must be done so with this in mind.

6.3 RESULTS FROM THE LOGIT MODEL OF EMPLOYMENT

Equation 6.2 below is the adopted logit model of the probability of employment in 2008, this is the model estimated in this study.

$$L_i = \ln \frac{\Pr(EMP08 = 1)}{1 - \Pr(EMP08 = 1)} = \beta X \dots\dots\dots [6.2]$$

Where: Pr (EMP08 =1) is the probability that the individual is employed in 2008

B is a vector of parameter coefficients

X is a vector of independent variables

With the use of E-Views, which is a statistical software package, the data set in Table A-4 (Appendix 3) is analysed and Equation 6.2, the probability of employment in Lesotho's formal sector in 2008 is estimated. Table 6.2 below presents the results of the estimated logit model of the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008.

The coefficient of EMP04 is 0.538352 and it is statistical significant at 5% level of significance and it conforms to *a priori* expectations since it is positively related to the logit or log odds of employment in 2008. This means that if EMP04 increases by one unit with all other variables held constant, on average the estimated logit increases by 0.54 units. However, as was illustrated in Equation 5.5 in Section 5.2.1, what is important is determining the odds of employment given the respective independent variable. To obtain the odds of employment in 2008 given EMP04 we take the antilog of the coefficient of EMP04 as follows:

$$e^{0.538352}$$

To get: 1.7132

This means that individuals that were employed in 2004 are 1.71 times more likely to get a job in 2008 than individuals who were not employed in 2004, other things remaining the same. A possible reason for this could be that individuals who had jobs in 2004 are in a better position to get information about potential job opportunities in the urban areas than people that weren't employed in the urban areas around this time.

Table 6.2: Parameter Estimates and model fit for Logit Model of Employment in 2008

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	Z-Statistic	P-Value
C	2.424562	0.407933	5.943530	0.0000
EMP_04	0.538352	0.215096	2.502844	0.0123
EDUC	-0.155149	0.028576	-5.429256	0.0000
FEM	-0.375733	0.195184	-1.925022	0.0542
METRO_04	-1.215443	0.229738	-5.290558	0.0000
MIG	-0.046014	0.153747	-0.299284	0.7647
PROF	-0.206240	0.336546	-0.612813	0.5400
WEXP	-0.007068	0.005643	-1.252453	0.2104
McFadden R-squared = 0.099724		LR statistic (7 df) = 68.46422		

The coefficient of EDUC is -0.155149 and it is highly significant at the 1% level of significance but what is interesting is that it does not conform to *a priori* expectation. The results indicate that the relationship between EDUC and the log odds of employment in 2008 is negative. This means that if EDUC increases by one unit with all other variables held constant, on average the estimated logit will decline by 0.16 units. To obtain a more meaningful interpretation in terms of the odds of employment in 2008 given EDUC we take the antilog of the coefficient of EDUC as follows:

$$e^{-0.155149}$$

To get: 0.8563

This means that if an individual's years of education increase by one year above the Junior Certificate (JC) threshold; they are 0.86 times less likely to be employed in 2008 all other things being constant. Taking in mind the results, one could be persuaded to argue that the

more qualification an individual has, the harder it is for them to get a job in the formal sector, a problem that can be attributed to either a lack of job opportunities in the country's urban areas or perhaps a situation of employers seeking employees with prior work experience.

FEM measures the gender of the respondent and from Table 6.2 the parameter estimate associated with this variable is -0.375733, a negative value that is statistically significant at the 10% level of significance. This suggests that the relationship between FEM and the log odds of employment in 2008 is negative such that if FEM increases by one unit, the estimated logit will decline on average by 0.38 when all other things are held constant. This relationship does not conform to expectations. The odds of employment in 2008 given FEM are obtained by taking the antilog of the coefficient of FEM as follows:

$$e^{-0.375733}$$

To get: 0.6868

This means that if an individual is female, they are 0.69 times less likely to be employed in 2008 all other things being the same. Since our sample was selected within two districts that house the country's clothing and textile factories, one would have expected the relationship between the respondent being a woman and the probability of them being employed in 2008 to be positive. Moreover, according to Baylies and Wright (1993: 582), in Lesotho, the clothing and textile factories have long since been an important source of employment for women. However, they also go on to indicate that for females, attainment of work in the clothing and textile factories often means having to contend with poor working conditions, long work hours and very little pay. As a result, it might be the case that women find it less rewarding to work in the clothing and textile industries even though there are jobs available therein. They therefore choose to search for jobs in alternative areas of employment where the competition between them and their male counterparts is much higher.

METRO 04 measures whether the individual lived in the metropolitan areas in 2004 and from Table 6.2 the estimated coefficient associated with METRO 04 is -1.215443, which is a negative value that is highly statistically significant at the 1% level of significance. This suggests that the relationship between METRO 04 and the logit of employment in 2008 is negative such that if METRO 04 increased by one unit, all other things held constant, the log

odds of employment in 2008 would decline by 1.22 on average. This result is contrary to our initial expectation. To capture what the likelihood of employment would be in 2008 given METRO 04 the antilog of the coefficient of METRO 04 is taken as follows:

$$e^{-1.215443}$$

To get: 0.2966

This suggests that if the individual lived in a metropolitan area in 2004, the odds in favour of them being employed in the country's formal sector in 2008 decrease by 0.29 when everything else is held constant. The reason behind this could be that there is a lack of employment opportunities in the country's formal sector.

MIG, PROF, WEXP are all not statistically significant, showing that whether the individual migrated or not, worked as a manager or not, or had prior work experience or not, this has no significant effect on the likelihood of employment in 2008. If we were to consider migration's relationship with the possibility of employment, a possible reason for the insignificance in the parameter estimate could be that an individual migrates from their original place of dwelling in the rural areas into the urban areas not to seek employment therein but for other reasons such as to join family members, to get married or to get education.

The McFadden R-squared is 0.099724 and it measures the goodness of fit of the model. One would conclude, given the value of the R-squared in the table that the model does not fit the data well, however Gujarati (2003: 607) indicates that in binary research models, the significance of the R-squared is negligible.

6.4 RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE ON RURAL – URBAN MIGRATION

A questionnaire was used to capture the nature of rural – urban migration in Lesotho (see Table A-2, Appendix 2). Questions in the questionnaire were aimed at obtaining, among other things, the reasons people chose to migrate from their rural homes to the urban areas and the effects of migration on their standard of living and that of their family members in the rural areas. Table A-5 (Appendix 3) presents results of the questionnaire on rural – urban migration in Lesotho.

From Table A-5 (Appendix 3), it is clear that out of the 500 respondents interviewed for the study, 86.2% of them migrated from their homes in the rural areas to the urban areas. Of this number, 63.1% of them were female and fell within the age group 20 – 35 years. Baylies and Wright (1993: 585) point out that in Lesotho, due to the high level of out-of-work rural males retrenched from South African mines; rural women have assumed the role of sole breadwinner in rural households. As a result, more females than men migrate to the urban areas to search for better ways to support their families.

What is interesting to note is that of the 431 respondents that migrated from the rural to the urban areas, 38.5% of them were unemployed in the rural areas before migrating, 30.4% of them were not working but in school and the remaining 31.1% of them were employed either as domestic workers, farmhands looking after family's livestock or were self employed street vendors. When asked about the reasons for migration, 76.1% of the respondents indicated that they migrated from their homes in the rural areas into the urban areas in search of a higher paying job. This conforms to theories of migration by Lewis (1954) as well as Harris and Todaro (1970) discussed in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, respectively. 6.5% of the respondents indicated that they migrated in order to get a better education while the remaining 17.4% mentioned that they migrated to join families in the urban areas or to get married.

Out of the 500 respondents interviewed for the study, 86.6% of them were employed in the urban areas. What is interesting to note is that of the employed respondents, 53.3% of them were employed in the urban informal sector as street vendors, shoe repairers, payphone operators or board sign writers. 43.7% of the employed respondents worked in the urban formal sector as either registered self employed carpenters and plumbers or clothing and textile workers. However, it must be noted that within the country's urban formal sector, the clothing and textile factories are the major employers.

Rural – urban migrants were asked about their relationship with family members left behind in the rural areas. The main aim was to ascertain whether or not the decision to migrate from their homes in the rural areas into the urban areas has yielded any positive effects on their standard of living and that of their family members left in the rural areas. From Table A-5 (Appendix 3), it is clear that 81.2% of the interviewed migrants still stay in touch with their families in the rural areas but only 68.8% of them are able to send them food or money on a

regular basis. The remaining 12.3% of employed migrants who stay in touch with their relatives in the rural are not able to send them food or money on a regular basis because of their low level of income and the increasing prices of food. One would thus conclude that for this portion of the migrant population, the decision to migrate may have improved their standard of living but not that of their family members left behind in the rural areas as the migrants cannot send them money and food regularly.

6.5 RESULTS FROM GOVERNMENT INTERVIEWS

Section 5.4.3 points out that in order to understand the government's views on rural – urban migration in Lesotho, interviews with government officials who work at the Ministry of Home Affairs as well as the Lesotho Institute of Public Administration and Management (LIPAM) were conducted and guided by an interview schedule presented in Table A-3 (Appendix 2). The first interview was conducted on the 14th of December 2010 with Ms Lineo Molise-Mabusela, who is the Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs. The second interview was conducted on the 15th of December 2010 with Dr John Dzimba, who is the Director General of LIPAM. Both individuals were interviewed because they are considered knowledgeable about the phenomenon of rural – urban migration in Lesotho. A concise and consolidated summary of the results obtained from both interviews is presented below.

According to Molise-Mabusela (2010) and Dzimba (2010), the predominant cause of rural – urban migration in Lesotho is the disparity in the standard of living between the rural and urban areas. The rural areas, which are home to approximately 70% of the population, are characterised by lack of arable land, high levels of poverty and unemployment, lack of basic amenities such as clean water, electricity, adequate health care and proper education facilities. Given these observations by the two officials, one can thus conclude that rural – urban migration in Lesotho is undertaken with the aim of escaping poverty, unemployment and lack of basic amenities in search of a better life.

When asked about the nature of rural – urban migration in the country, Molise-Mabusela (2010) and Dzimba (2010) both agree that rural – urban migration in Lesotho is age and sex selective. The majority of internal migrants are young and able-bodied females within the age group of 15–29 years with mainly a JC qualification. Their young age and level of educational qualification makes them ideal candidates for employment in blue collar jobs

such as domestic worker and more popularly, in the clothing and textile industry that is the country's largest employer after subsistence farming.

According to Molise-Mabusela (2010) and Dzimba (2010), Mokhotlong, Thaba-Tseka and Qacha's Nek are the poorest districts in Lesotho. These districts are located in the eastern part of the country and are home to the majority of rural-urban migrants. The three districts, Maseru, Mafeteng and Leribe, which are located in the northern and western part of the country, are the most preferred destinations for the rural – urban migrant. It is important to note that these districts house the country's clothing and textile industries, which are the strongest subsector in the country's manufacturing sector and thus attract migrants.

Molise-Mabusela (2010) points out that due to factors such as high costs of living in the urban areas coupled with lack of access to permanent residence, rural – urban migration in Lesotho is often a cyclical phenomenon with the migrant finding cheap but temporary places of dwelling in or around their areas of employment while at the same time keeping close ties with their family members back home.

According to Molise-Mabusela (2010) and Dzimba (2010), the negative effects of rural-urban migration within the urban areas include congestion (due to increased population densities and lack of affordable housing), high levels of crime (as a result of increased levels of urban unemployment) and a flourishing informal sector that often goes untaxed. Within the rural areas, the adverse impacts of rural – urban migration include loss of labour in the agricultural sector which leads to food deficiency and poverty escalation. Moreover, the cyclical nature of rural – urban migration in the country increases the likelihood of HIV and AIDS infection among family members left behind in the rural areas as human mobility promotes risky behaviour and leaves rural migrants more vulnerable to infection with the disease. The rural areas are also adversely affected on a socio-economic level with diminishing traditional indigenous cultures as rural migrants adopt changes in habits (constituted by changes in clothes, religion and sexual habits, etc.) while in the urban areas.

Rural – urban migration also has its benefits. Molise-Mabusela (2010) and Dzimba (2010) note that, in instances where the urban wage is high and employment in the formal or informal urban sector is on a regular basis, remittances from rural migrants sent to family members in the rural areas can be significant and often play an important role in taking care

of daily needs and expenses. The money is used for such expenses as food, medical/healthcare, education, improving or building housing, buying or leasing land or livestock, investment in agricultural machinery (water pumps, ploughs etc) and investment in socio-cultural life (postnatal care of children, weddings, funerals). The main advantage of rural – urban migration in the urban areas comes in increased economic productivity and expansion, especially in the manufacturing sector's export industries (such as the clothing and textile industry) due to increases in the supply of cheap labour from the rural areas.

According to Molise-Mabusela (2010), the Lesotho government recognises the abundant benefits of rural – urban migration especially within the rural communities and strives to promote the flow of rural – urban migrants within the country. To achieve this, in 2007, Lesotho went into partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) under a project entitled “*Gender and remittances: building gender responsive local development*”. The project aims at generating action-orientated research for the purpose of enhancing the utilisation of migrant remittances for sustainable livelihoods as well as building social capital in poor rural and semi-urban communities. Moreover, the project also aims to provide relevant information to government on local and national levels in order to formulate policies that improve the access of productive resources to women-headed, remittance – recipient households in order to increase their productive capabilities.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented and discussed the results of the probit model of rural – urban migration in Lesotho for the period 2004 – 2008 as well as the logit model of the probability of employment in Lesotho in 2008. Furthermore, the chapter presented and discussed results from the questionnaire administered to 500 respondents from Maseru and Leribe on rural – urban migration in Lesotho in 2008 as well as results from interviews with government officials on rural – urban migration in Lesotho.

From the model of the probability of migration in the period 2004 – 2008, it is interesting to note that gender and labour market experience do not affect the probability of rural – urban migration in Lesotho. Moreover, for individuals with educational qualifications higher than JC, there is less of a probability that they will migrate from the rural to urban areas as they could opt to take up better paying non-agricultural jobs in the rural areas.

The basic picture shown by the results of the probability of employment model is that in Lesotho, whether an individual is a rural migrant, has prior work experience or they are a professional; this plays an insignificant role in determining their likelihood of getting employment in the country's formal sector. What is even more interesting to note is that; the higher the level of educational attainment a person has, the less their chances of being employed in the country's urban formal sector. Moreover, there was found to be a negative relationship between the likelihood of employment and whether an individual resides in the metropolitan area, i.e. METRO 04, and so one is thus persuaded to conclude that there is an unavailability of formal employment in Lesotho. LECAWU (2006) agrees, and points out that the country's labour market is characterised by low demand in relation to supply, there is no creation of jobs despite the fact that the labour force continues to increase by approximately 25,000 youths each year. A devastating consequence of this is a growth of the nation's informal sector.

Results from the questionnaire on rural – urban migration in 2008 provide evidence to suggest that in Lesotho, rural – urban migration is predominant among able-bodied females than it is in males. Respondents were found to migrate in search of better paying jobs in the urban formal sector and although this conforms to theories of migration such as the Lewis two sector model of development and the Harris and Todaro model discussed in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.3, respectively, evidence suggests that a larger portion of the country's urban workforce ends up being employed in the urban informal sector, an indication of a lack of job opportunity in the urban formal sector.

Results from the government interview schedule on rural – urban migration corroborate much of which was unveiled in the questionnaire results. Rural – urban migration in Lesotho is an activity predominantly undertaken by able-bodied females between the ages of 15–29 years of age with a minimum of a JC educational qualification whose main motive for migrating is to escape rural poverty and seek better paying employment in the urban areas. The rural migrants migrate from districts like Mokhotlong, Thaba-Tseka and Qacha's Nek which are situated in the eastern part of Lesotho to districts such as Maseru, Mafeteng and Leribe, which are located in the northern and western part of the country.

The benefits of rural – urban migration in the rural areas include increased remittances to family members left behind. As a policy mechanism that strives to promote the flow of rural

– urban migration in the rural areas, in 2007, Lesotho went into partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) under a project entitled “*Gender and remittances: building gender responsive local development*”.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter provides a summary of the study, the findings, conclusions, as well as, policy recommendations. The chapter is divided into five sections as follows: Section 7.2 presents a summary of the study; Section 7.3 is a summary of the research's findings; Section 7.4 concludes the chapter as well as providing some policy recommendations, and lastly, Section 7.5 presents areas of further research.

7.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The study analysed the impact of rural – urban migration on employment and household income in Lesotho. The aim was to find out the part played by rural – urban migration in a migrant's probability of finding employment in the urban formal sector and whether their decision to migrate has a positive impact on their standard of living and that of their relatives left behind in the rural areas.

By examining theories on migration such as the Lewis two sector model of development (1954), the Harris and Todaro model of migration (1970) and the relative deprivation model (1949), it was discovered that although there are various reasons why individuals would chose to migrate from their original places of residence in the rural areas into the urban areas, there is a commonality in the motives for rural – urban migration. The similarity lies in the belief that with the move from the rural areas to the urban areas, the migrant has a better chance of accessing a better standard of living for themselves and their families. This motive for rural – urban migration is also similar to that which is highlighted by the NELM. Even with the structural approaches to labour migration, the primary motive for labour migration from the rural – urban areas is the same, i.e., the need to access better paying jobs as well as various necessary social amenities such as better health care and educational facilities.

Case studies on rural – urban migration in four African countries; Botswana, Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt were presented. The main idea behind this was to get a picture of how well theories on migration explained the phenomenon of rural – urban migration in each of these four countries. The case studies revealed that rural – urban migration took place because of

the need to access better social amenities or work opportunities in the urban sector since the rural areas in these countries are characterised by poverty and unemployment. Thus, rural – urban migration in Botswana, Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt was found to ensue primarily because of the perceived benefits inherent in the urban areas. This conforms to the postulations made by the Lewis two sector model of migration, the Harris and Todaro model, and the structural approach to labour migration. It was also found that the level of industrialisation in developing countries tended to grow at a rate much slower than that of urbanisation, suggesting that the urban region is often less equipped to absorb the large influx of rural migrants into the formal work place. As a result, the problem of over-urbanisation prevails. It also became clear that in order to solve problems associated with rural and urban poverty as well as unemployment, policies of urban and rural development must be sustainable, coordinated and formulated to include rural and urban dwellers in their planning and implementation.

The study conducted an economic overview of Lesotho and a history of its migration patterns with additional focus on the extent of poverty and income inequality in the country. A model of the probability of migration in the period 2004 – 2008 was also estimated alongside a model of the probability of employment in 2008 given migration. A questionnaire was administered to 500 respondents to obtain information on the characteristics of migrants⁴³ and their family members left behind in the rural areas. Interviews with government officials were conducted so as to understand the government’s views on rural – urban migration in Lesotho.

7.3 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Lesotho’s tertiary sector was found to be the largest contributor to GDP; however, the agricultural industry within the primary sector was identified as the country’s biggest employer. The agricultural industry is labour-intensive and heavily reliant on the availability of quality arable land. There are forward and backward linkages between Lesotho’s primary sector and secondary sector as well as the tertiary sector.

When considering Lesotho’s history with migration from the 1970s, it becomes apparent that international migration from Lesotho to South Africa although having been in existence from

⁴³ Migrants are defined in the study as individuals who have changed their usual place of residence in the rural areas between 2004 and 2008, either by crossing an international border or moving within their country of origin to another region, district or municipality.

as far back as the 1820s, only became widespread in the earlier 1970s among able-bodied men with relatively less schooling and less skills. In the early 1990s, the pattern of migration in Lesotho changed from what was once an international phenomenon dominated by males with limited schooling to a more internal exercise dominated by females with much better educational qualifications. Following South Africa's post-apartheid regime that called for more local mineworkers as opposed to foreign ones and the rampant retrenchment of Basotho men from South African mines, rural – urban migration ensued in Lesotho, with women being the most predominant rural – urban migrants, migrating to seek work in the country's booming clothing and textile industry to support families and escape rural poverty.

There is evidence to suggest that Lesotho's poverty situation has improved slightly over the years, with the level of inequality and the number of poor households as a percentage of total population having declined from 62.1% in the period 1994 – 1995 to 50.2% in the period 2002 - 2003. Even though the incidence of poverty in the country has decreased slightly over time from 58.8% in the period 1986/87 to 58.3% in the period 1994/95, its depth and severity of are still prevalent problems in the rural areas. The main causes of poverty and inequality in Lesotho are unemployment and underemployment. As a result, to escape poverty and unemployment, the unskilled rural inhabitants migrate to the urban areas in search of jobs. However, because of their low skills level, they are not absorbed into the urban formal sector and only serve to exacerbate urban and rural poverty levels. In the rural areas, rural – urban migration leads to further exacerbation of the rural poverty situation, as there is a decrease of able-bodied farmhands to till the land and increase productivity. The solution lies in the implementation of efficient means of income distribution, rural development and poverty alleviation as presented in the country's *Vision 2020* to negate the need for rural – urban migration and to also increase the standard of living for all the country's people.

From the model of the probability of migration in the period 2004 – 2008, it is interesting to note that gender and labour market experience do not affect the probability of rural – urban migration in Lesotho. Moreover, for individuals with educational qualifications higher than JC, there is less probability of migrating from the rural – urban areas as they could opt to take up better paying non-agricultural jobs in the rural areas.

From the logit model of the probability of employment given migration in 2008, it was discovered that in Lesotho, migration and work experience had no significant impact on an

individual's likelihood of getting employed in the country's formal sector. Moreover, the higher the level of education an individual has, the less likely were their chances of employment because of an insufficient supply of formal jobs in the country's urban areas.

From the questionnaires, it is interesting to note that out of the 86.6% of respondents employed in the urban areas, 53.3% worked in the informal sector. Given this, the study concludes that there is insufficient job availability in the urban formal sector, the result of which is a thriving informal sector whose disadvantages include low levels of investor confidence that lead to a decrease in economic development and growth. Nevertheless, it must be noted that out of the 86.2% of migrant respondents interviewed, 62.9% of them indicate that their standard of living and that of their family members left back in the rural areas improved because of their decision to migrate. By obtaining work in the urban informal sector, the rural migrant is able to sustain his or her living and at the same time afford to send remittances to relatives left behind in the rural areas.

From the government interviews on rural – urban migration it was discovered that rural – urban migration in Lesotho is an activity predominantly undertaken by able-bodied females between the ages of 15–29 years of age with a minimum of a JC educational qualification whose main motive for migrating is to escape rural poverty and seek better paying employment in the urban areas. The rural migrants migrate from districts like Mokhotlong, Thaba-Tseka and Qacha's Nek which are situated in the eastern part of Lesotho to districts such as Maseru, Mafeteng and Leribe, which are located in the northern and western part of the country. As a policy mechanism that strives to promote the flow of rural – urban migration in the rural areas, in 2007, Lesotho went into partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) under a project entitled "*Gender and remittances: building gender responsive local development*".

7.4 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The study makes it clear that rural – urban migration in Lesotho ensues because the rural inhabitant seeks to escape poverty and lack of jobs in the rural areas. As a result of rural – urban migration, unskilled migrants find employment in the informal sectors of the urban areas and are able to improve their standard of living and that of their relatives left in the rural areas. Although the decision to migrate appears to benefit the rural areas, it has proven

disadvantageous for the urban areas. A growth of Lesotho's informal sector means a decline in the level of investment and investor confidence in the country since business that are registered to operate formally in the formal sector are left to compete against unregulated and unregistered businesses operating in the informal sector. Moreover, evidence suggests that the large influx of unskilled rural migrants in the urban areas coupled with the insufficiency of formal job opportunities in the region has resulted in over 50% of the country's population living below the poverty line, the majority of which are concentrated in the urban areas.

Considering the above, development policy ought to be geared towards curtailing the need for rural – urban migration in Lesotho. More resources must be devoted towards the creation of alternative sources of employment in the rural areas of the country to meet increased levels of unemployment at times of low agricultural yield. More resources ought to be distributed towards government departments such as the Department of Rural Roads (DRR)⁴⁴ that trains small scale contractors that carry out labour – based road maintenance on rural gravel road networks, thus providing employment opportunities for the rural people. Furthermore, more investment in the clothing and textile industry is encouraged as this is the country's biggest contributor to GDP and its expansion will mean an increase in the creation of employment in the country and a decline in the size of the informal sector.

Turner (2005: 13) points out that the government of Lesotho plays a minimal role as far as the provision of social protection to its people is involved. The country's welfare scheme, specifically the Lesotho Fund for Community Development (LFCD) is limited by resources and logistics; as such it is inefficient in reaching its goals of providing a higher standard of living for all Basotho. NGOs such as World Vision⁴⁵ that operate in Lesotho are argued to do a much more efficient job than the government in as far as poverty alleviation is involved. With this in mind, it is recommended that the government develops a sustainable and efficient social protection scheme. This will entail offering support to NGOs whose mandates include community development and poverty alleviation. Furthermore, policies on rural and urban development must be consolidated and coordinated between the government and

⁴⁴ The DRR is a department in Lesotho's Ministry of Works and is responsible for the upgrading, rehabilitating and maintenance of a road network of 2500 km using labour – based methods (ILO, 2009).

⁴⁵ World Vision is an NGO that helps the orphaned, poor and destitute by encouraging them to participate in 'value-added' agricultural development projects that provide them with work and income.

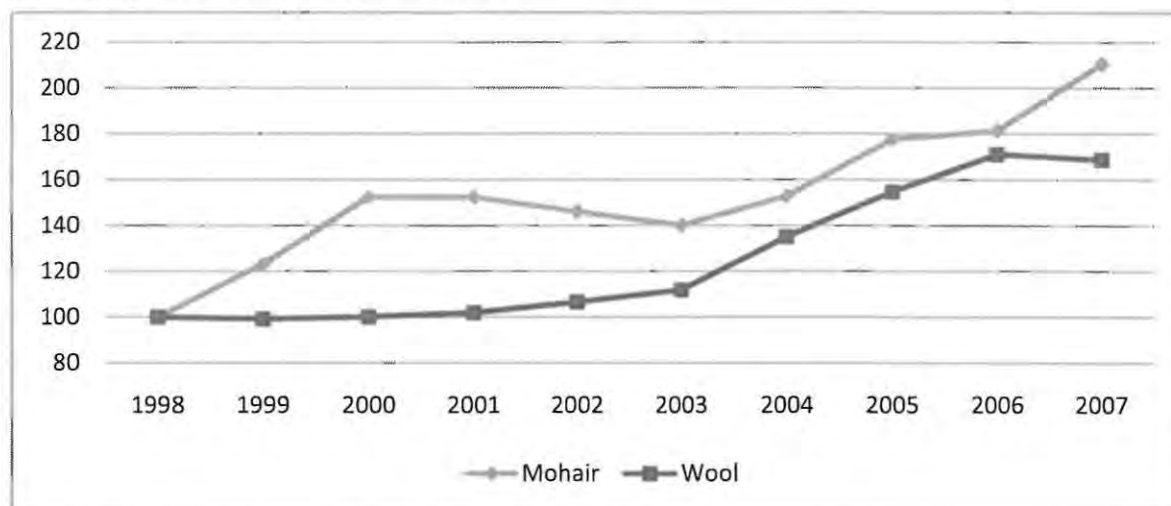
NGOs. This will ensure that funds are channelled efficiently towards making available rural education, training for rural farmers on the use of modern means of production, various social amenities such as better health care facilities to the rural community and funds towards urban industrial growth.

7.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER RURAL – URBAN MIGRATION RESEARCH

Given the limitations of the study, specifically the lack of a migration self selection bias control variable in the logit model of the probability of migration, the study recommends further research into the impact of rural – urban migration on employment in Lesotho with this variable as a necessary addition. The self selection bias control variable is missing from the research’s logit model of the probability of employment because of the data set’s lack of a control variable that would have been obtained from interviews with rural inhabitants on their reasons for not migrating. Such interviews were not conducted with the rural dwellers in this research because of the unavailability of transport necessary to access the remote areas. The benefit of a migration self selection bias control variable will be a more accurate conclusion on the effects of rural – urban migration on the probability of employment in Lesotho.

APPENDIX 1
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR CHAPTER 4

Figure A-1: Production of wool and mohair



Source: Bureau of Statistics (2009a: 20).

Table A-1: Employment by year and industry (1997 – 2008)

year	Food & beverages	Textiles & clothing	Leather & footwear	Other	Total
	<i>Number employed</i>	<i>Number employed</i>	<i>Number employed</i>	<i>Number employed</i>	<i>Number employed</i>
1997	1, 719	8, 534	2, 765	982	14, 000
1998	1, 738	8, 970	3, 024	1, 052	14, 784
1999	1, 647	9, 877	2, 783	1, 019	15, 325
2000	1, 577	16, 866	2, 767	1, 214	24, 423
2001	1, 392	26, 537	2, 743	1, 277	31, 948
2002	1, 265	35, 844	3, 012	1, 218	41, 339
2003	1, 200	43, 104	2, 410	1, 235	47, 949
2004	1, 094	47, 988	2, 148	1, 476	52, 715
2005	900	37, 608	486	1, 668	40, 661
2006	1, 094	41, 094	540	1, 728	44, 456
2007	1, 061	42, 822	2, 057	1, 723	47, 663
2008	1, 052	41, 753	2, 189	1, 931	46, 926

Source: Bureau of Statistics (2009c).

APPENDIX 2
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR CHAPTER 5

Table A-2: Questionnaire for migrants

SECTION 1: General opening questions

1.1	1.2	1.3		1.4	1.5 (only if woman is single)
In what month and year were you born?	How old were you at your last birthday?	Highest school standard passed?		What is your marital status?	Have you ever been married to or lived with a man?
Month Year	Age in complete years	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=None <input type="checkbox"/> 2=Pre-school <input type="checkbox"/> 3=Class 1 or 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 years <input type="checkbox"/> 5 years <input type="checkbox"/> 6 years <input type="checkbox"/> 7 years <input type="checkbox"/> 8 years <input type="checkbox"/> 9 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 years <input type="checkbox"/> 11 years <input type="checkbox"/> 12 years <input type="checkbox"/> 13 years <input type="checkbox"/> 14=Diploma <input type="checkbox"/> 15=Degree <input type="checkbox"/> 16=Other (Specify) _____ -	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Single →go to next question <input type="checkbox"/> 2=Civil marriage →Q8.7 <input type="checkbox"/> 3=Customary marriage→Q8.7 <input type="checkbox"/> 4=Divorced→Q8.6 <input type="checkbox"/> 5=Separated→Q8.6 <input type="checkbox"/> 6=Widowed not remarried→Q8.6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7=Living together/in process to get married→Q8.7	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes→ go to next question <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No →Section 12

1.6 (only if woman have ever had a partner)	1.7 (only if married or living together)	1.8 (only if partner/husband living elsewhere)	1.9 Only for currently married women)
When did you first get married or started living with a man?	Is your husband/partner living with you now or is he staying elsewhere?	How often do you meet?	Besides yourself, how many other wives/partners does your husband have?
Year	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Lives with her→Q8.9 <input type="checkbox"/> 2=Staying elsewhere→Q8.8	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=About once a week <input type="checkbox"/> 2=About once a month <input type="checkbox"/> 3=More rarely than once a month	Number

SECTION 2: Causes for migration

2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5 (IF NOT)	2.6
Who decided that you should migrate, on the first occasion that you did?	Why was it decided (by whoever made the decision) that you migrate) Note: main type of migration only, during last year)	How often do you visit your family here? (NOTE: times per year)	Are you intending to/ do you settle permanently elsewhere?	When do you want to resettle here?	Which is your current sector of economic activity? (Note: main activity only)

1= Self 2= Father/mother 3=Brother/sister 4=Husband/wife/partner 5=Other relative 6= Other (Specify) _____	1= Work 2= Education 3=Marry 4=Natural disaster (includes floods, crop pests, widespread fire) 5= Drought 6= Illness 7=Death of an earner 8=Quarrel 9= Unproductive land 10 = Other (Specify) _____		1=Yes→ go to Q2.6 2=No → go to next question	1= As soon as possible 2= After a few years 3= After retirement 4= Never 5= Other (Specify) _____	1= Agriculture 2= Cattle farming 3= Industry 4= Tertiary sectors 5= Civil servant 6= None / don't work 7= Other (specify) _____
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2.7		2.8	2.9				2.10 (If migrant away for more than 1 year)	2.11
What kind of main activity, if any, were you carrying out before leaving, on the first occasion that you did? (Max 2 answers)		Do you ever bring anything back home, such as cash or goods?	Can you give us some idea of how much you brought or sent home during the last year?				Would you say that the amount brought / sent back (total) was more or less than the proceedings years?	Do you also get support from the household, e.g. food ?
Most important	2 nd most important		2.9.1. Cash	2.9.2 Currency	2.9.3 Value of goods	2.9.4 Currency		
					

1= None 2= School 3= Help on household enterprise with crops 4= Ditto livestock 5= Ditto artisan or other 6= Hired employment for cash or for food, beer, etc. 7= Other (Specify) _____	1=Yes → go to next question 2=No → Q 2.11					1= Less 2= More 3= Same _____ _____	1=Yes 2=No _____ _____
---	--	--	--	--	--	---	---------------------------------

2.12				
Would it be possible for you to give us an idea of the amount of time/number of months you were absent				
2.12.a During this/last year (2008)	2.12.b year before (2007)	2.12.c – 2 years ago (2006)	2.12d - 3 years ago (2005)	2.12e - 4 years ago (2004)

SECTION 3: female work situation

3.1	3.2 WOMAN NOT WORKING	3.3 WOMAN WORKED/WORKS	3.4 WORKS ON A FARM	3.5
<p>As you know, some women take up jobs sometimes, or occasionally, for which they are paid in cash or kind. Others sell things, have small business or work on the family farm or in the family business. Are you currently doing any of these things or any other paid work?</p>	<p>Have you done any such work in the last 12 months?</p>	<p>In the last 12 months, or currently, have you ever worked on a farm?</p>	<p>In which type of land have you worked?</p>	<p>Let's talk a little about your occupation. Is your work (on or off the farm) mostly done for a member of your family/household, for someone else, or are you self-employed?</p>
<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes →Q3.3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No →Q3.2 -.-.-</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes →Q3.3 <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No →Q3.13 -.-.-</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes →Q3.4 <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No →Q3.5 -.-.-</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1= Own your family land <input type="checkbox"/> 2= Communal land <input type="checkbox"/> 3=Land rented in <input type="checkbox"/> 4=Labourer on someone else's land <input type="checkbox"/> 5= Other (specify) _____</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> 1=For family/household member <input type="checkbox"/> 2=For someone else <input type="checkbox"/> 3=Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> 4=Other (specify) _____</p>

3.6	3.7	3.8	3.9	3.10
Is your occupation permanent, temporary, seasonal, occasional or once off?	During the last 12 months, in how many months did you work, as an employee or self-employed (excluding child care and housework)?	In the months you worked, how many days a week, on average, did you usually work?	When you do have employed or self-employed work (housework apart), farm or non-farm, how many hours does it take you on a typical day, including travel to and from work?	Do you usually do this work at home or away from home?
<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Permanent <input type="checkbox"/> 2=Temporary, seasonal <input type="checkbox"/> 3=Occasional, once off	Number of months . _ . _ .	Number of days . _ . _ .	Number of hours . _ . _ .	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Home <input type="checkbox"/> 2=Away

3.11	3.12		
Do you earn cash for your work?	How much do you usually earn from wages and salaries?		
	3.12.1 Cash	3.12.2 Currency	3.12.3 Unit of time
1=Yes→go to next question 2=No→Q3.13		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Per day <input type="checkbox"/> 2=Per week <input type="checkbox"/> 3=Per month

SECTION 4: Fertility history

4.1 Have you ever given live birth?
--

1= Yes→ Q4.2, 2=No → Q4.12

Ask only women who have given birth

4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.6 (if child still alive)	4.7 (if child still alive)	4.8 (if child died)
Name of your child	Is (NAME) a boy or a girl?	Date of Birth dd/mm/yyyy	Is (name) still alive?	How old was he/she at his/her birthday*?	Is he/she living with you now?	How old was (name) when he/she died?
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Boy / 2=Girl <input type="checkbox"/>	.. / .. / 19 ..	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /		<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /
			1=Yes → Q4.6 2=No → Q4.8	*Note: Age in (completed) years		Age

SECTION 5: Benefits of children

If child alive (name) and older than 6 year:

5.1	5.2	5.3 (if the child helps working)	5.4 (if the child helps financially)	5.5	5.6
Name of your child	Does this child help the household with some work, or financially?	How valuable is (name's) work?	How valuable is (name)'s financial help?	Do you expect (name's) help to increase in the future?	When do you think (name)'s help might substantially diminish, if ever?
				<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /	
				<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /	
				<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /	
				<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes / 2=No <input type="checkbox"/> /	
	1=No help. (If the respondent has only one/is the last child then → Q5.7) 2=Work → go to next question 3=Financial help → Q5.4 4=Work and financial help → go to next question	1=Very valuable 2=Valuable 3=Not of much value 5=No value	1=Very valuable 2=Valuable 3=Not of much value 5=No value		1=If/when (name) move away 2=If/when (name) get married 3=If/when (name) set up new home 4=Never 5=Other (Specify)_____

SECTION 6: Other sources of income

6.7	6.8	6.9	6.10	6.11	6.12
When you grow old, do you expect to derive any income from your farmland (either worked by self or other?)	When you grow old, do you expect to have house rent as sources of income?	When you grow old, do you expect to have business activity as sources of income?	When you grow old, do you expect to have income from savings as sources of Income?	When you grow old, do you expect to have pensions or social security payments as sources of income?	When you grow old, do you expect to have assistance from your children?

<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No
--	--	--	--	--	--

6.13	6.14	6.15	6.16	6.17	6.18
When you grow old, do you expect to receive any assistance from your family (other than children)?	When you grow old, do you expect to receive any assistance from your Friends?	When you grow old, do you expect any income from renting out farmland?	When you grow old, do you expect any income from hired farm or other work?	When you grow old, do you expect to have other sources of income? (Specify) _____	When you grow old, do you expect to live with your children?
<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2=No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=No <input type="checkbox"/> 2=Yes, with my son <input type="checkbox"/> 3=Yes, with my daughter <input type="checkbox"/> 4=Yes, with either <input type="checkbox"/> 5=If I ever become widowed with my son <input type="checkbox"/> 6=If I ever become widowed with my daughter <input type="checkbox"/> 7=If I ever become widowed with either <input type="checkbox"/> 8=Other (Specify)

6.19	6.20	6.21	6.22
In your opinion, what is the age at which children (girls) should start to offer useful assistance at home, land or work?	In your opinion, what is the age at which children (boys) should start to offer useful assistance at home, land or work?	In your opinion, what level of education should a child (girl) born in the community reach?	In your opinion, what level of education should a child (boy) born in the community reach?
Girl's age ._. .	Boy's age ._. .	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=At least primary <input type="checkbox"/> 2=At least secondary <input type="checkbox"/> 3=Above secondary <input type="checkbox"/> 4=Other (Specify)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1=At least primary <input type="checkbox"/> 2=At least secondary <input type="checkbox"/> 3=Above secondary <input type="checkbox"/> 4=Other (Specify)

Table A-3: Interview schedule for government officials in the ministry of Labour

1	What are the main causes of rural – urban migration in Lesotho?
2	What is the nature of rural – urban migration in Lesotho?
3	Which districts in the rural areas are home to most of the rural – urban migrants?
4	Which districts in the urban areas are most favoured as destinations by rural – urban migrants?
5	Is rural – urban migration in Lesotho a circular or permanent phenomenon?
6	What are the negative impacts of rural – urban migration on sending communities?
7	What are the positive impacts of rural – urban migration on sending communities?
8	What role do remittances from rural – urban migrants play in alleviating rural poverty?
9	What kinds of jobs do rural – urban migrants normally obtain in the urban areas?
10	What are the negative impacts of rural – urban migration in receiving communities?
11	What are the positive impacts of rural – urban migration on receiving communities?
12	Does the government view rural – urban migration in Lesotho as a problem?
13	What measures are currently in place to stem the flow of rural – urban migration in Lesotho?
14	How successful have these measures been in arriving at their goals?

APPENDIX 3
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR CHAPTER 6

Table A-4: Data on migration, work experience, gender and employment as obtained from 500 respondents in 2008

Observations	MIG	EDUC (years)	WEXP (years)	EMP04	METRO04	PROF	FEM	EMP08
1	1	9	35	1	1	0	1	1
2	1	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
3	1	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
4	0	12	25	1	1	1	0	0
5	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
6	0	6	26	0	0	0	1	1
7	0	7	17	0	0	0	0	1
8	0	10	25	0	0	1	0	1
9	1	6	21	0	0	0	1	0
10	0	9	17	1	1	0	1	0
11	0	9	13	1	1	0	1	0
12	0	5	18	1	1	0	1	1
13	1	9	14	0	0	0	0	1
14	1	6	14	0	0	0	0	0
15	0	8	22	1	1	0	1	0
16	0	8	18	1	1	0	1	0
17	0	5	14	0	0	0	1	0
18	0	12	17	0	0	1	1	0
19	0	12	14	0	0	1	1	1
20	1	7	17	1	1	0	1	1
21	0	8	21	0	1	0	1	0
22	1	7	44	1	1	0	1	0
23	1	7	26	1	1	0	1	0
24	1	9	22	1	1	0	1	0
25	1	8	30	1	1	0	0	0
26	0	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
27	0	7	20	1	1	0	1	0
28	0	9	23	1	1	0	1	1
29	1	11	37	1	1	0	1	0
30	1	9	28	0	0	0	1	1
31	0	1	49	1	1	0	1	1
32	0	11	17	0	0	0	1	0
33	0	10	17	0	0	0	1	1
34	1	10	20	0	0	0	1	0

35	0	10	23	0	1	0	0	0
36	0	5	29	1	1	0	1	0
37	0	12	12	0	0	1	1	1
38	1	12	12	0	1	1	1	0
39	0	10	29	1	1	0	1	0
40	1	5	25	0	1	0	1	0
41	0	7	21	1	1	0	1	0
42	1	7	16	0	1	0	1	1
43	1	7	29	0	0	0	1	0
44	0	9	15	0	0	0	1	0
45	0	7	15	1	1	0	0	1
46	1	6	51	1	1	0	1	1
47	1	0	21	0	0	0	1	1
48	1	0	34	1	1	0	1	1
49	1	6	60	1	1	0	1	1
50	0	0	38	0	0	0	1	1
51	0	0	31	1	1	0	1	1
52	0	4	27	1	1	0	0	1
53	1	7	24	0	0	0	1	1
54	1	7	37	1	1	0	0	0
55	0	10	39	1	1	0	1	0
56	0	10	35	1	1	0	1	0
57	0	5	44	1	1	0	1	0
58	0	0	60	1	1	0	1	1
59	0	6	38	1	1	0	1	0
60	1	4	55	1	1	0	1	1
61	0	5	60	1	1	0	1	0
62	1	0	65	1	1	0	1	0
63	1	7	35	1	1	0	1	0
64	1	6	48	0	1	1	1	0
65	0	9	11	0	0	0	1	1
66	0	6	71	1	1	0	1	1
67	0	7	28	1	1	0	1	1
68	1	0	44	1	1	0	0	1
69	1	2	48	1	1	0	1	1
70	1	0	54	1	1	0	0	1
71	1	8	22	1	1	0	1	0
72	1	8	18	1	1	0	1	0
73	0	5	14	0	0	0	1	0
74	0	12	17	0	0	1	1	0
75	0	12	14	0	0	1	1	1

76	0	7	17	1	1	0	1	1
77	0	8	21	0	1	0	1	0
78	1	7	44	1	1	0	1	0
79	1	7	26	1	1	0	1	0
80	0	9	22	1	1	0	1	0
81	0	8	30	1	1	0	0	0
82	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
83	0	7	20	1	1	0	1	0
84	1	9	23	1	1	0	1	1
85	1	11	37	1	1	0	1	0
86	0	9	28	0	0	0	1	1
87	1	1	49	1	1	0	1	1
88	0	11	17	0	0	0	1	0
89	1	10	17	0	0	0	1	1
90	1	10	20	0	0	0	1	0
91	1	10	23	0	1	0	0	0
92	1	5	29	1	1	0	1	0
93	1	12	12	0	0	0	1	1
94	1	12	12	0	1	1	1	0
95	1	10	22	0	0	0	1	1
96	1	8	20	0	0	0	1	1
97	0	9	21	1	1	0	0	1
98	1	10	23	1	1	0	1	0
99	1	7	15	0	0	0	1	0
100	1	2	38	1	1	0	1	0
101	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	1
102	0	10	29	1	1	0	1	0
103	1	5	25	0	1	0	1	0
104	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	0
105	1	7	16	0	1	0	1	1
106	1	7	29	0	0	0	1	0
107	1	9	15	0	0	0	1	0
108	0	7	15	1	1	0	0	1
109	0	6	51	1	1	0	1	1
110	0	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
111	1	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
112	1	12	25	1	1	0	0	0
113	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
114	1	6	26	0	0	0	1	1
115	1	7	17	0	0	0	0	1
116	1	9	14	0	0	0	0	1

117	1	6	14	0	0	0	0	0
118	1	8	22	1	1	0	1	0
119	1	8	18	1	1	0	1	0
120	1	5	14	0	0	0	1	0
121	1	12	17	0	0	0	1	0
122	1	12	14	0	0	0	1	1
123	1	7	17	1	1	0	1	1
124	0	8	21	0	1	0	1	0
125	1	7	44	1	1	0	1	0
126	1	7	26	1	1	0	1	0
127	1	9	22	1	1	0	1	0
128	1	8	30	1	1	0	0	0
129	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
130	1	7	20	1	1	0	1	0
131	1	9	23	1	1	0	1	1
132	1	11	37	1	1	0	1	0
133	1	9	28	0	0	0	1	1
134	0	1	49	1	1	0	1	1
135	0	11	17	0	0	0	1	0
136	1	10	17	0	0	0	1	1
137	0	10	20	0	0	0	1	0
138	0	10	23	0	1	0	0	0
139	0	5	29	1	1	0	1	0
140	0	12	12	0	0	0	1	1
141	1	12	12	0	1	0	1	0
142	1	10	22	0	0	1	1	1
143	1	8	20	0	0	0	1	1
144	0	9	21	1	1	0	0	1
145	1	10	23	1	1	0	1	0
146	1	7	15	0	0	0	1	0
147	1	2	38	1	1	0	1	0
148	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	1
149	0	10	29	1	1	0	1	0
150	1	5	25	0	1	0	1	0
151	1	7	21	1	1	1	1	0
152	1	7	16	0	1	0	1	1
153	1	7	29	0	0	0	1	0
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156	0	6	51	1	1	0	1	1
157	0	0	21	0	0	0	1	1

158	0	0	34	1	1	0	1	1
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161	1	0	31	1	1	0	1	1
162	1	4	27	1	1	0	0	1
163	1	7	24	0	0	0	1	1
164	1	7	37	1	1	0	0	0
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166	0	10	35	1	1	0	1	0
167	1	5	44	1	1	0	1	0
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171	0	5	60	1	1	0	1	0
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173	1	7	35	1	1	0	1	0
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175	1	0	60	1	1	0	1	1
176	1	6	38	1	1	0	1	0
177	1	4	55	1	1	0	1	1
178	0	5	60	1	1	0	1	0
179	1	0	65	1	1	0	1	0
180	1	7	35	1	1	0	1	0
181	1	6	48	0	1	1	1	0
182	1	9	11	0	0	0	1	1
183	1	6	71	1	1	0	1	1
184	0	7	28	1	1	0	1	1
185	1	0	44	1	1	0	0	1
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187	1	0	54	1	1	0	0	1
188	1	8	22	1	1	0	1	0
189	0	5	60	1	1	0	1	0
190	1	0	65	1	1	0	1	0
191	1	7	35	1	1	0	1	0
192	1	6	48	0	1	1	1	0
193	1	9	11	0	0	0	1	1
194	1	6	71	1	1	0	1	1
195	0	7	28	1	1	0	1	1
196	1	0	44	1	1	0	0	1
197	1	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
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202	1	7	17	0	0	0	0	1
203	1	10	25	0	0	0	0	1
204	1	6	21	0	0	0	1	0
205	1	9	17	1	1	0	1	0
206	0	9	13	1	1	1	1	0
207	0	5	18	1	1	0	1	1
208	0	9	14	0	0	0	0	1
209	1	6	14	0	0	0	0	0
210	1	8	22	1	1	0	1	0
211	1	8	18	1	1	0	1	0
212	1	5	14	0	0	0	1	0
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215	1	7	17	1	1	0	1	1
216	0	8	21	0	1	0	1	0
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218	1	7	26	1	1	0	1	0
219	1	9	22	1	1	0	1	0
220	1	8	30	1	1	0	0	0
221	0	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
222	0	9	14	0	0	0	0	1
223	1	6	14	0	0	0	0	0
224	1	8	22	1	1	0	1	0
225	1	8	18	1	1	0	1	0
226	1	5	14	0	0	0	1	0
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228	1	12	14	0	0	0	1	1
229	1	7	17	1	1	0	1	1
230	0	8	21	0	1	0	1	0
231	1	7	44	1	1	0	1	0
232	1	7	26	1	1	0	1	0
233	1	9	22	1	1	0	1	0
234	1	8	30	1	1	0	0	0
235	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
236	1	7	20	1	1	0	1	0
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238	0	11	37	1	1	0	1	0
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241	1	11	17	0	0	0	1	0
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243	1	10	20	0	0	0	1	0
244	1	10	23	0	1	0	0	0
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254	0	7	15	1	1	0	0	1
255	1	6	51	1	1	0	1	1
256	1	0	21	0	0	0	1	1
257	1	0	34	1	1	0	1	1
258	1	6	60	1	1	0	1	1
259	1	0	38	0	0	0	1	1
260	1	0	31	1	1	0	1	1
261	1	4	27	1	1	0	0	1
262	1	7	24	0	0	0	1	1
263	1	7	37	1	1	0	0	0
264	0	10	39	1	1	0	1	0
265	0	10	35	1	1	0	1	0
266	1	5	44	1	1	0	1	0
267	1	0	60	1	1	0	1	1
268	1	6	38	1	1	0	1	0
269	1	4	55	1	1	0	1	1
270	0	5	60	1	1	0	1	0
271	0	0	65	1	1	0	1	0
272	0	7	35	1	1	0	1	0
273	1	6	48	0	1	1	1	0
274	1	9	11	0	0	0	1	1
275	1	6	71	1	1	0	1	1
276	0	7	28	1	1	0	1	1
277	1	0	44	1	1	0	0	1
278	1	2	48	1	1	0	1	1
279	1	0	54	1	1	0	0	1
280	1	8	22	1	1	0	1	0

281	1	8	18	1	1	0	1	0
282	1	5	14	0	0	0	1	0
283	1	12	17	0	0	0	1	0
284	1	12	14	0	0	0	1	1
285	1	7	17	1	1	0	1	1
286	0	8	21	0	1	0	1	0
287	1	7	44	1	1	0	1	0
288	1	7	26	1	1	0	1	0
289	1	9	22	1	1	0	1	0
290	1	8	30	1	1	0	0	0
291	0	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
292	0	7	20	1	1	0	1	0
293	1	9	23	1	1	0	1	1
294	0	11	37	1	1	0	1	0
295	0	9	28	0	0	0	1	1
296	0	1	49	1	1	0	1	1
297	1	11	17	0	0	0	1	0
298	1	10	17	0	0	0	1	1
299	1	10	20	0	0	0	1	0
300	1	10	23	0	1	0	0	0
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303	1	12	12	0	1	0	1	0
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305	1	8	20	0	0	0	1	1
306	0	9	21	1	1	0	0	1
307	1	10	23	1	1	0	1	0
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309	1	2	38	1	1	0	1	0
310	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	1
311	0	10	29	1	1	0	1	0
312	1	5	25	0	1	0	1	0
313	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	0
314	1	7	16	0	1	0	1	1
315	1	7	29	0	0	0	1	0
316	1	9	15	0	0	0	1	0
317	1	7	15	1	1	0	0	1
318	1	6	51	1	1	0	1	1
319	1	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
320	1	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
321	1	12	25	1	1	0	0	0

322	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
323	1	6	26	0	0	0	1	1
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325	1	9	14	0	0	0	0	1
326	1	6	14	0	0	0	0	0
327	1	8	22	1	1	0	1	0
328	1	8	18	1	1	0	1	0
329	1	5	14	0	0	0	1	0
330	1	12	17	0	0	0	1	0
331	1	12	14	0	0	0	1	1
332	1	7	17	1	1	0	1	1
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335	1	7	26	1	1	0	1	0
336	1	9	22	1	1	0	1	0
337	1	8	30	1	1	0	0	0
338	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
339	1	7	20	1	1	0	1	0
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341	1	11	37	1	1	0	1	0
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343	1	1	49	1	1	0	1	1
344	1	11	17	0	0	0	1	0
345	1	10	17	0	0	0	1	1
346	1	10	20	0	0	0	1	0
347	0	10	23	0	1	0	0	0
348	0	5	29	1	1	0	1	0
349	0	12	12	0	0	0	1	1
350	1	12	12	0	1	0	1	0
351	1	10	22	0	0	0	1	1
352	1	8	20	0	0	0	1	1
353	0	9	21	1	1	0	0	1
354	1	10	23	1	1	0	1	0
355	1	7	15	0	0	0	1	0
356	1	2	38	1	1	0	1	0
357	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	1
358	0	10	29	1	1	0	1	0
359	1	5	25	0	1	0	1	0
360	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	0
361	1	7	16	0	1	0	1	1
362	1	7	29	0	0	0	1	0

363	1	9	15	0	0	0	1	0
364	1	7	15	1	1	0	0	1
365	1	6	51	1	1	0	1	1
366	1	0	21	0	0	0	1	1
367	1	0	34	1	1	0	1	1
368	1	6	60	1	1	0	1	1
369	1	0	38	0	0	0	1	1
370	1	0	31	1	1	0	1	1
371	1	4	27	1	1	0	0	1
372	1	7	24	0	0	0	1	1
373	1	7	37	1	1	0	0	0
374	1	7	20	1	1	0	1	0
375	1	9	23	1	1	0	1	1
376	1	11	37	1	1	0	1	0
377	1	9	28	0	0	0	1	1
378	1	1	49	1	1	0	1	1
379	1	11	17	0	0	0	1	0
380	1	10	17	0	0	0	1	1
381	1	10	20	0	0	0	1	0
382	1	10	23	0	1	0	0	0
383	1	5	29	1	1	0	1	0
384	1	12	12	0	0	0	1	1
385	1	12	12	0	1	0	1	0
386	1	10	22	0	0	0	1	1
387	1	8	20	0	0	0	1	1
388	0	9	21	1	1	0	0	1
389	1	10	23	1	1	0	1	0
390	1	7	15	0	0	0	1	0
391	1	2	38	1	1	0	1	0
392	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	1
393	0	10	29	1	1	0	1	0
394	1	5	25	0	1	0	1	0
395	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	0
396	1	7	16	0	1	0	1	1
397	1	7	29	0	0	0	1	0
398	1	9	15	0	0	0	1	0
399	1	7	15	1	1	0	0	1
400	0	6	51	1	1	0	1	1
401	0	0	21	0	0	0	1	1
402	1	0	34	1	1	0	1	1
403	0	6	60	1	1	0	1	1

404	1	0	38	0	0	0	1	1
405	1	0	31	1	1	0	1	1
406	1	4	27	1	1	0	0	1
407	1	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
408	1	12	25	1	1	0	0	0
409	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
410	1	6	26	0	0	0	1	1
411	1	7	17	0	0	0	0	1
412	1	10	25	0	0	0	0	1
413	1	6	21	0	0	0	1	0
414	1	9	17	1	1	0	1	0
415	1	9	13	1	1	0	1	0
416	1	5	18	1	1	0	1	1
417	1	9	14	0	0	0	0	1
418	1	6	14	0	0	0	0	0
419	1	8	22	1	1	0	1	0
420	1	8	18	1	1	0	1	0
421	1	5	14	0	0	0	1	0
422	1	12	17	0	0	0	1	0
423	1	12	14	0	0	0	1	1
424	1	7	17	1	1	0	1	1
425	0	10	29	1	1	0	1	0
426	1	5	25	0	1	0	1	0
427	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	0
428	1	7	16	0	1	0	1	1
429	1	7	29	0	0	0	1	0
430	1	9	15	0	0	0	1	0
431	1	7	15	1	1	0	0	1
432	1	6	51	1	1	0	1	1
433	1	0	21	0	0	0	1	1
434	1	0	34	1	1	0	1	1
435	1	6	60	1	1	0	1	1
436	1	0	38	0	0	0	1	1
437	1	0	31	1	1	0	1	1
438	1	4	27	1	1	0	0	1
439	1	7	24	0	0	0	1	1
440	1	7	37	1	1	0	0	0
441	0	10	39	1	1	0	1	0
442	0	10	35	1	1	0	1	0
443	1	5	44	1	1	0	1	0
444	1	0	60	1	1	0	1	1

445	1	6	38	1	1	0	1	0
446	1	4	55	1	1	0	1	1
447	0	5	60	1	1	0	1	0
448	1	0	65	1	1	0	1	0
449	1	7	35	1	1	0	1	0
450	1	6	48	0	1	1	1	0
451	1	0	60	1	1	0	1	1
452	1	9	35	1	1	0	1	1
453	1	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
454	1	7	24	1	1	0	1	0
455	1	12	25	1	1	0	0	0
456	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
457	1	6	26	0	0	0	1	1
458	1	7	17	0	0	0	0	1
459	1	10	25	0	0	0	0	1
460	1	6	21	0	0	0	1	0
461	1	9	17	1	1	0	1	0
462	1	9	13	1	1	0	1	0
463	1	5	18	1	1	0	1	1
464	1	9	14	0	0	0	0	1
465	1	6	14	0	0	0	0	0
466	1	8	22	1	1	0	1	0
467	1	8	18	1	1	0	1	0
468	1	5	14	0	0	0	1	0
469	1	12	17	0	0	0	1	0
470	1	12	14	0	0	0	1	1
471	1	7	17	1	1	0	1	1
472	0	8	21	0	1	0	1	0
473	1	7	44	1	1	0	1	0
474	1	7	26	1	1	0	1	0
475	1	9	22	1	1	0	1	0
476	1	8	30	1	1	0	0	0
477	1	9	15	1	1	0	1	1
478	1	7	20	1	1	0	1	0
479	1	9	23	1	1	0	1	1
480	1	11	37	1	1	0	1	0
481	1	9	28	0	0	0	1	1
482	1	1	49	1	1	0	1	1
483	1	11	17	0	0	0	1	0
484	1	10	17	0	0	0	1	1
485	1	10	20	0	0	0	1	0

486	1	10	23	0	1	0	0	0
487	1	5	29	1	1	0	1	0
488	1	12	12	0	0	0	1	1
489	1	12	12	0	1	0	1	0
490	0	10	29	1	1	0	1	0
491	1	5	25	0	1	0	1	0
492	1	7	21	1	1	0	1	0
493	1	7	16	0	1	0	1	1
494	1	7	29	0	0	0	1	0
495	1	9	15	0	0	0	1	0
496	1	7	15	1	1	0	0	1
497	1	6	51	1	1	0	1	1
498	1	7	15	1	1	0	0	1
499	1	0	21	0	0	0	1	1
500	1	0	34	1	1	0	1	1

Source: Own table.

Notes: **MIG** is the respondent's migration status. Takes on two possible values; (1), if respondent is a migrant and (0) if the respondent is not a migrant

WEXP is the respondent's labour market experience. It is calculated as the age less years of education

EDUC is the respondent's years of education completed

EMP04 is the respondent's employment status in 2004. It takes on two possible values; (1), if the respondent was employed in 2004 and (0) if the respondent was not employed in 2004

METRO04 is the respondent's place of residence in 2004. It takes on two possible values; (1), if the respondent lived in a metropolitan area in 2004 and (0) if the respondent did not reside in a metropolitan area in 2004

PROF is the respondent's employment rank. It takes on two possible values; (1), if the respondent is a manager or professional and (0) if the respondent is not a manager or professional

FEM is the gender of the respondent. It takes on two possible values; (1), if the respondent is a female and (0) if the respondent is a male

EMP08 represents respondent's employment status in 2008 and takes on two possible values; (1), if the respondent was employed in 2008 and (0) if the respondent was not employed in 2008

Table A-5: Results from questionnaire administered to migrants on rural – urban migration in Lesotho in 2008

Rural – urban migrant	Yes	431
	No	69
	Total	500
Migrant gender group	Male	159
	Female	272
	Total	431
Migrant age group	Male	20 - 45
	Female	20 - 35
	Total	20 - 45
Status before migration	Employed	134
	Unemployed	166
	In school	131
	Total	431
Reasons for migration	Look for work	328
	Go to school	28
	Other reasons	75
	Total	431
Employment status in urban areas	Employed	433
	Unemployed	67
	Total	500
Type of employment in urban areas	Formal employment	202
	Informal employment	231
	Total	433
Relationship with rural family	Visits regularly sends food or money	298
	Visits regularly can't afford to send food or money	54
	Doesn't visit but sends food or money	58
	Doesn't visit, doesn't send food or money	23
	Total	433

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