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## No. 44: Migration, Remittances and Development in Southern Africa

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THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN MIGRATION PROJECT

MIGRATION, REMITTANCES  
AND DEVELOPMENT  
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

MIGRATION POLICY SERIES No. 44

MIGRATION, REMITTANCES  
AND DEVELOPMENT IN  
SOUTHERN AFRICA

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Remittances by migrants are now a focus of attention of governments and development agencies worldwide. Globally, cash remittances by international migrants now exceed \$250 billion per annum, easily outweighing the value of development assistance. Over a third of remittances to developing countries originate in other developing countries. International cash remittances are only part of the story. Remittances in the form of goods and commodities are also extremely important, as are internal remittances from urban to rural areas within countries.

Debate rages on the development impacts of remittances and how these can be maximized. Advocates of migration as a positive force in development highlight the role of remittances in poverty alleviation in developing countries. Others view migration as having an essentially negative impact on development and poverty reduction, for three reasons. First, there is the difficulty of converting remittances into sustainable productive capacity. Second, remittance income is rarely used for productive purposes but for direct consumption. Very little is directed to income-earning, job-creating investment. Finally, remittances increase inequality, encourage import consumption and create dependency. These opposing views frame much of the contemporary debate about migration and development.

In the Southern African context, this debate has been difficult to resolve because so little is known about remittance flows and usage. In response, SAMP devised the Migration and Remittances Survey (MARS) to provide nationally-representative data on remittance flows and usage at the household level for 5 SADC countries: Botswana, Lesotho, Southern Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. Subsequent rounds will expand the range of countries studied. Since most cross-border migration in Southern Africa is to neighbouring countries, the bulk of remittance flow is within the region itself. That is not to say that remittances are not received from outside the region. South Africa and Zimbabwe, in particular, have large overseas diasporas. One recent survey of Zimbabweans living in the United Kingdom, for example, found that 75% regularly remitted funds back home, most to support family members. With regard to intra-regional remittances transfers, the primary source countries for migrant remittances are South Africa and, to a lesser degree, Botswana.

SAMP partners led research teams in the five countries using the same questionnaire. Households were randomly selected and were included in the survey only if they had cross-border migrant or migrants. The MARS survey collected two different types of data:



household data and individual data. Household data was collected from households with current or past cross-border migrants. In total, 4,700 household interviews were conducted in the five countries and information on almost 30,000 people was collected.

A similar sampling methodology was implemented in each country. The individual data includes cross border migrant information as well as information on other people living in the household.

As well as providing unprecedented insights into remittance flows and usages, the MARS data provides an important contemporary profile of who the migrant population is in Southern Africa. The main features of this profile are as follows:

- Despite evidence of the growing feminization of migration globally, most migrants continue to be male. In Botswana, Mozambique and Swaziland over 80% of migrants are male (84.5%). Most female migrants are from Zimbabwe (44% of the total from that country) and, to a lesser extent, Lesotho (16%). The Zimbabwean pattern has changed appreciably in the last decade in response to internal political and economic conditions and the declining socio-economic position of women. In the Lesotho case, commentators have remarked on the growth in female migration in response to job loss and retrenchment in the South African mining sector. While this may be responsible for the relatively higher proportion of female migrants from Lesotho, it does not negate the finding that overall the vast majority of Basotho migrants have been and continue to be male.
- Traditionally, migration streams were dominated by the young and unattached. In this survey, only 7% of migrants were under the age of 25. In contrast, 41% were over the age of 40. Migration, in other words, has become a livelihood strategy of the middle-aged. At the same time, the survey picked up very little evidence of widespread cross-border children's migration. Three quarters of migrants under the age of 25 came from only two countries: Zimbabwe and Mozambique.
- Only 26% of migrants were unmarried and as many as 62% were married. The survey identified few migrant widows (3%) nor a particularly large number of divorced or separated migrants (again 3% of the total). The majority of the migrant widows were from Lesotho.
- Not only are more migrants older and married, many are also heads of households. Just over half the migrants were actually household heads rather than ordinary members of the household. In Botswana and Lesotho, for example, household heads make up over 70% of the total migrant flow. In Swaziland

household heads were still in the majority (58%) but in Mozambique and Zimbabwe they were still very much in the minority (at 36% and 28% respectively). A few decades ago, sons and some daughters would have made up virtually all of the migrant stream. Migration is now clearly a career rather than a passing phase in most people's working lives.

- The only thing that has probably not changed that much in recent years is the educational profile of most intra-regional migrants. This survey showed that 15% of migrants had no education (50% of those from Botswana suggesting that in that country there are opportunities other than migration for the educated). The other major anomaly is Zimbabwe. Here, as might have been predicted, very few migrants have no schooling at all. Forty six percent have secondary education and 44% post-graduate education of some kind or another. Twenty two percent hold graduate or post-graduate degrees.
- Many migrant sending households across the region have a migration 'tradition' which is passed from one generation to the next (usually but not exclusively fathers to sons). Many migrants come from families where parents and even grandparents have worked outside the home country. About 50% of migrants reported that their parents had been cross-border migrants; the percentages were highest in Lesotho (76%) and Mozambique (66%). Lesotho (24%) and Mozambique (44%) also had the highest percentages of grandparents who had been cross-border migrants. The most popular destination for parents and grandparents was South Africa.
- South Africa plays a central role in the cross-border migration picture with 86% of the total number of migrants currently working there. The proportion is over 95% in all countries except Zimbabwe. In other words, as expected, this is a story of intra-regional migration and South-South remittance flow from an economically-dominant nation to its poorer and smaller neighbours. Only 33% of Zimbabwe migrants work in South Africa, 17% are in Botswana and about 40% work in countries outside SADC.
- Minework was the most frequently cited occupation of international migrants from Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland, despite the recent decline in job opportunities in that sector in South Africa. However, migrants from all four countries are scattered across a variety of other employment sectors and job niches. Skilled and unskilled manual work (17.5% of Mozambican migrants and 13.9% of Swazi migrants);

domestic work (9% of Basotho migrants) and trader/ hawker/ vendor (6% of Mozambican migrants) were the most common.

- A smattering of skilled migrants were picked up from most countries. They included professional workers (4.8% of the total sample), office workers (2.4%), health workers (2.3%) and entrepreneurs (2.2%). In the main, however, the survey showed that the traditional forms of migration to South Africa still dominate with some diversification. In addition, most migrants are still in unskilled and semi-skilled categories. The survey picked up no evidence of a massive skills drain to South Africa, confirming previous observations by SAMP in this regard.
- Migrants maintain strong links with home, although their ability to return regularly is influenced by many factors such as how far they must travel, and cost and availability of transport. An average of 30% of migrants return home monthly, another 13% return home once in three months, 19% only make it home once a year and about 11% come home less often. Mozambique migrants seem to return home less often than migrants in the other countries (43% once a year); Lesotho migrants come home the most often (56% monthly).

SAMP has adopted the concept of the “value-package” in analyzing remittance flows. In other words, remittances are viewed as a combination of cash and goods transfers. With regard, first, to cash transfers, the survey found the following:

- The vast majority (85%) of migrant-sending households receive cash remittances. This ranges from a low of 64% of households in the case of Swaziland to a high of 95% in the case of Lesotho. The proportion of migrant-sending households receiving remittances in the form of goods is more varied, from a low of 17% in the case of Swaziland and 20% in Lesotho to a high of 65% in Mozambique and 68% in Zimbabwe.
- The annual median amounts of money remitted to migrant-sending households by country are: Botswana (R8,306), Lesotho (R7,800), Mozambique (R1,760), Swaziland (R4,800) and Zimbabwe (R1,093). In terms of frequency of remittance, about 80% of migrants say they send cash remittances at least once every three months; Botswana (62%), Lesotho (77%) and Swaziland (71%) have the highest percentages who say they remit once a month.
- In every country remittances were a source of income for the majority of households. The figure was highest in the case of Lesotho (95% of households receive cash and 20% receive goods remittances), followed by Zimbabwe (84% and 68%),

Mozambique (77% and 65%), Botswana (76% and 53%) and Swaziland (65% and 17%). The importance of goods remittances to households in Mozambique and Zimbabwe is noteworthy.

- Interestingly, for those who continually stress the importance of agriculture (and ignore migration) in rural development, relatively few households in each country reported income from the sale of farm produce, Mozambique was the highest at 21% of households, followed by Swaziland (9.5%), Zimbabwe (7%), Botswana (5%) and Lesotho (3%). In these countries, therefore, remittances easily outstrip agriculture in relative importance (as measured by the percentage of households receiving income from these sources). Just 237 of the 3246 households receive any income from the sale of farm products, averaging only R1541 per annum.
- Across the region as a whole, annual median income from wage employment and cash remittances is the same (at R4,800), followed by business income (R2,400), pensions (R2,038), casual work (R1,200), and remittance of goods (value R911). When cash and commodities are combined, however, the value of remittances exceeds all other forms of income. The median income from cash remittances is highest for Botswana (R9,229), followed by Lesotho (R8,400) Swaziland (R2,400), Mozambique (R1,980) and Zimbabwe (R1,093). Remittances in the form of goods amount to a value of R2,307 in Botswana, R1,257 in Mozambique, R1,000 in Lesotho, R600 in Swaziland and R549 in Zimbabwe. In other words, goods remittances are relatively more important in Mozambique.

Considerable attention is given in the remittance literature to the methods that migrants use to remit and the expense involved in remitting, through both formal and informal channels. The main policy recommendations that come out of the identification of this problem is that governments and institutions at both ends should lower the transaction costs of remitting, as well as make it easier for migrants to access and use formal channels through reform of banking and other financial regulations. In the case of Southern Africa, most migrants are relatively satisfied with the methods they use. However, here geography plays a significant role. Most migrants work in neighbouring countries and return home relatively frequently. Unsurprisingly, personal transfer of cash and goods is easily the most important channel. The most popular ways of bringing money home are for the migrants to bring it themselves (average 47%), send it via a friend/co-worker (average 26%) or through the post office (average 7%). As with cash, the two most popular ways of transporting goods home are to bring them personally (average 66%) and via a friend or co-worker. It is hard to see how

transaction costs on personal transactions can be reduced unless the reason for return home is only to transfer remittances, in which case transportation costs make this a very costly means of remitting.

A central question in debates about the developmental value of remittances is how households actually spend this income. In the countries surveyed:

- Food and groceries are by far the most important expenditure (93% of households purchased food), followed by transportation (44%), fuel (44%), utilities (38%), education (31%) and medical expenses (30%). Certain categories of expenses are more important in certain countries. Education (primarily school fees) is important in Zimbabwe (57%) and Mozambique (44%); medical expenses are important in Zimbabwe (40%), Swaziland (39%) and Mozambique (31%); savings is important in Zimbabwe (36%) and Botswana (28%); housing is a major category only in Zimbabwe (46%); clothes is a major category in Lesotho (73%) and Zimbabwe (54%); farming expenses are important only in Swaziland (39%).
- When the actual amount spent by category is compared, the largest median amounts are spent on building (R576), farming (R434), clothes (R267), food (R288), and special events (R239). Building is the largest median expense category in all five countries with food expense second in Lesotho (R400) and Mozambique (R251), third in Botswana (R346), fourth in Zimbabwe (R64) and fifth in Swaziland (R300). However, looking only at the amount spent on such items as building and special events costs skews the picture somewhat because these expenses affect relatively few households.
- When the computed weighted value of expenditure items is compared, the major importance of food as an expense category is revealed. It is the most important expense item in all five countries. Depending on the country, between 2 and 6 times more money is spent on food than the next most important expense item which highlights the importance of the food expense for migrant sending households. As indicated above, migrant-sending households in the countries surveyed spend the greater proportion of total income on food purchase. Other necessities, clothing, medical expenses, shelter, fuel and utilities consume the bulk of the rest. In other words, consumption-spending (for necessities not luxuries) constitutes the pre-dominant usage of household income, a pattern observed in many other parts of the world.
- Across the five countries, the most common expenditure items

for remittance money are food (90% of households), school fees (52%), clothing (52%), and fares (transportation) (34%). The rank order changes a little for different countries but the items remain about the same. Certain categories of remittance contributions are more important in certain countries. In Swaziland farming items (seed, fertiliser, tractor) are important and seed is also important in Lesotho and Mozambique. In Botswana remittance money is used for cattle purchase (21%). Although of less importance, remittance money helps with many other expenditure items such as building materials and funerals.

- In all of the countries, except Lesotho, a significant number of households “invest” in children’s education. Swaziland is the only country, however, in which household income is invested in any significant degree in agricultural activity. Nearly two thirds of the households that invest in agriculture across the five countries are in Swaziland. The importance of remittances for food is further emphasized by the ratings given to various items.
- Further dramatic proof of the importance of remittances to household food security and other basic needs is provided by a tabulation of the types of goods that migrants send home. There is little evidence of luxury goods being remitted. Instead, clothing (41% of households) and food (29%) are clearly the items most frequently brought or sent (Table 22). Mozambican migrants bring more building materials than migrants in other countries (for example, roofing 16% and cement 9%) and Zimbabwean migrants are the only ones who have a significant percentage of goods for sale (14%).

The survey showed very little evidence of re-investment of income (remittance and otherwise) in entrepreneurial or other income-generating activity. Finally, many migrant sending households do not have savings. Indeed, given the low incomes of many households, it is not all that surprising that many households report borrowing money during the previous year. The Lesotho percentage is highest (69%) but between 42% and 49% of households in the other countries say they borrowed money.

Clearly migration and poverty are closely related in this region. The migrant-sending households of Southern Africa are generally poor although the degree of poverty does vary. Migration is a livelihood strategy of the poor. Remittances in cash and kind keep poverty at bay but they do not do much else. There is very little evidence, as yet, that remittances in Southern Africa have developmental value, as conventionally defined. Equally, they are critical for poverty alleviation in many households.



## INTRODUCTION

Migrant remittances have captured the attention of governments and development agencies worldwide over the last decade.<sup>1</sup> As one report observes, until recently “the prevailing perception about remittances was that they were vulnerable and unpredictable flows of resources, subject to fluctuations in the demand for migrant labour in the countries of destination; but it has been gradually replaced by the notion that they are resources with stable dynamics – even more stable than that of capital flows at the global level.”<sup>2</sup> The primary reason for the current interest in remittances as a tool of development lies in the sheer volume of the transfers. Official estimates now place remittances ahead of all other forms of international financial flow except for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Figure 1 and Table 1). Globally, remittances have more than doubled in value in the past decade. In 2004, remittances to developing countries exceeded US\$126 billion or 1.8% of total GDP of receiving countries. The amounts involved are “notoriously imprecise” because of the lack of any internationally accepted definitions of what constitutes remittance transfers.<sup>3</sup> Informal remittances are thought to at least equal those moving through formal channels. Some suggest that formal recorded remittances amount to only 50% of the total flow which would push the total over \$250 billion per annum.

Figure 1: A comparison of remittance growth with ODA and FDI

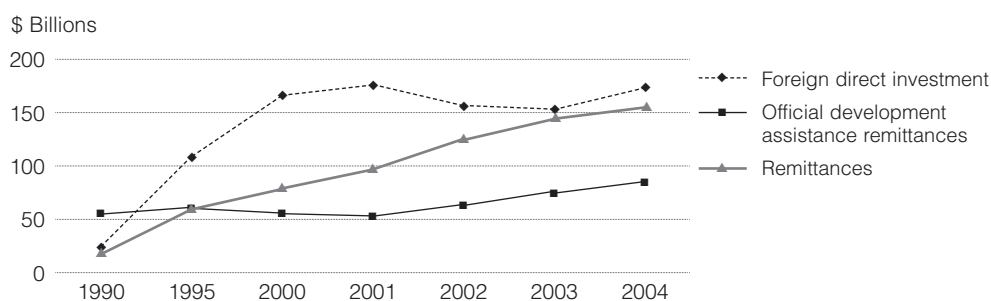


Table 1: A comparison of remittance growth with ODA and FDI

	1990	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
FDI	24.1	107	166.2	174.8	154	151.8	165.5	*
ODA	54.5	59	53.7	52.3	58.3	69	79	*
Remittances	31.2	57.8	85.6	96.5	113.4	142.1	160.4	166.9

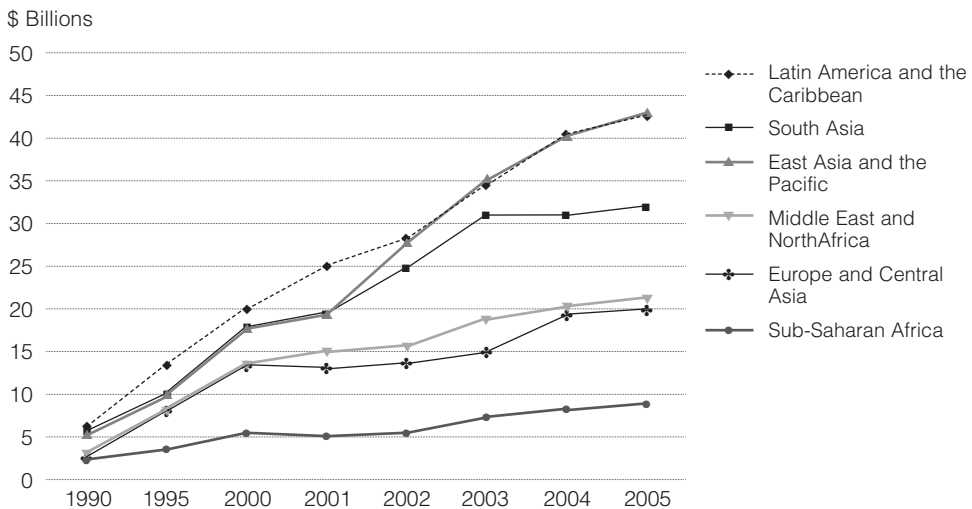
\* No data available

Sources: Global Economic Prospects 2006, World Bank; OECD Final ODA Data for 2003 (OECD, 2003); World Bank Global Development Finances (World Bank, 2000, 2004 and 2005)

Explanations for the rapid growth in global remittances in the last decade include the increase in global migration (particularly of a temporary nature) and number of remitters. However, an expansion of the remittance transfer market has enabled costs to decrease, thus spurring many to increase the amounts of money remitted. Some discuss the importance of laws and practices enacted in migrant-receiving countries in formalizing transfers. Others suggest that the increase in official transfers is because informal transfers have become more visible.<sup>4</sup> Recent anti-terrorism efforts have also sought to formalize the remittance process to ensure that funds are not going to support illicit ends. As well, states have attempted to formalize the process in order to prevent the funds being used to support criminal activities.

Remittance flows have certainly increased dramatically to all parts of the developing world, including Sub-Saharan Africa (Figure 2 and Table 2). While Africa's remittance receipts are significantly lower than those of other areas (notably Asia and Latin America) the proportional increase has been massive (from less than US\$2 billion in 1990 to over US\$8 billion in 2005, a 400% increase). Until recently, remittances were thought to flow predominantly from North to South, from developed to developing nations. However, the World Bank has recently estimated that 35-40% of remittances received in the developing world originate in other developing countries.<sup>5</sup>

Figure 2: Migrant remittances to developing regions, 1990-2005





**Table 2: Migrant remittances to developing regions, 1990-2005**

	1990	1995	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Latin America and the Caribbean	5.8	13.4	20.1	24.4	28.1	34.8	40.7	42.4
South Asia	5.6	10.0	17.2	19.2	24.2	31.1	31.4	32.0
East Asia and the Pacific	3.3	9.7	16.7	20.1	27.2	35.8	40.9	43.1
Middle East and North Africa	11.4	13.4	13.2	15.1	15.6	18.6	20.3	21.3
Europe and Central Asia	3.2	8.1	13.4	13.0	13.3	15.1	19.4	19.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.9	3.2	4.9	4.7	5.2	6.8	7.7	8.1
Developing countries total	31.2	57.8	85.6	96.5	113.4	142.1	160.4	166.9

Advocates of migration as a positive force in development highlight the role of remittances in poverty alleviation in developing countries. The World Bank, for example, recently concluded that international migration “often generates great benefits for migrants and their families” and “can generate substantial welfare gains for migrants, their countries of origin, and the countries to which they migrate.”<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, there are those who view migration as having an essentially negative impact on development and poverty reduction. They suggest three basic reasons why remittance flows often fail to improve the development prospects of a country of origin: first, there is the difficulty in many countries of converting remittances into sustainable productive capacity; second, remittance income is rarely used for productive purposes. It is primarily used for direct consumption. Very little is directed to income-earning, job-creating investment. Finally, remittances increase inequality, encourage import consumption and create dependency.<sup>7</sup> In short, as one commentator suggests, it is “a distant hope that remittances could help families, communities and countries remain permanently out of poverty.”<sup>8</sup> These opposing views frame much of the contemporary debate about migration and development.

Chimhowu et al have proposed a dualistic typology of motivation for remitting and remittance usage (consumption vs. productive investment) (Table 3).<sup>9</sup> The bulk of the initial case-study evidence from different parts of the world suggests that cash remittances contribute mainly to consumption at the household level, with little diverted to investment in productive enterprise.<sup>10</sup> To that degree, the developmental value of remittances (in terms of economic growth, investment and productivity) is often seen as minimal. The established policy wisdom is that remittances are a private transaction with poverty alleviation potential at the individual or household level but no direct interest to receiving countries, beyond ensuring that the transaction costs for migrants are regulated, controlled or minimized. The use of remittances for investment or productive activity is constrained by (a) economic hardship and poverty of receiving households; (b) lack of investment

opportunities; (c) lack of credit, marketing problems, and lack of infrastructure.<sup>11</sup>

Table 3: Remittance motivation and use		
Motivation	Consumption	Productive Investment
Risk sharing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Remittances help household cope with risks</li> <li>◆ Cash receipts are used to purchase daily food and luxury consumables or to purchase locally available essential services (health, education).</li> <li>◆ Ensures the household functions day to day</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Remittances help households manage idiosyncratic risks</li> <li>◆ Investment in liquid assets such as live-stock, agricultural implements, and new technologies help households to cope better in future</li> </ul>
Altruism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Goods and gifts are sent to the household to fulfill altruistic obligations to the family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Remittances are used to expand available capital assets.</li> <li>◆ Indirect benefit to the household, but long-term benefit to the wider community</li> </ul>

Source: Admos Chimbowu et al, p. 90 in Maimbo & Ratha, 2005

Recent analysis has sought to develop a more nuanced position. One survey of the remittance literature suggests that these transfers have considerable developmental potential (see Table 4). First, there is the argument that the definition of the “development” value of remittances should be extended beyond economic growth, employment generation and increased productivity. Recipients do spend a portion of remittances in human capital (improving nutrition, health and education) and thus have a social development impact: “If development is defined in broader social terms, then family remittances can be understood as making an important contribution to development.”<sup>12</sup> Third, some argue, perhaps more problematically, that the definition of “remittances” could be extended to include social remittances (practices, ideas, values), technical remittances (knowledge, skills and technology) and political remittances (identities, demands and practices).

## REMITTANCES AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa represents an important case study of intra-regional or South-South migration. The causes, consequences and development implications of cross-border migration in the SADC region have been examined in considerable detail by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP).<sup>13</sup> Many of the stereotypes about migration in the region have been challenged by this research. One is that most migrants are poverty-stricken parasites who deprive citizens of employment and contribute very little economically either to their host or source countries. In fact, there is plenty of circumstantial evidence that migration is an important livelihood strategy for households throughout the SADC region. One of the primary links between source and destination areas are remittance flows. Up to this point,

Table 4: Key impacts of remittances on poverty at different levels		
Recipient	Poverty-reducing impacts	Other impacts
Household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Income and consumption smoothing</li> <li>◆ Increased savings and asset accumulation (liquid and non-liquid assets); collateral for loans; liquidity in times of crisis</li> <li>◆ Improved access to health services and better nutrition (potential for improved productivity)</li> <li>◆ Access to better education for longer, reducing child labor</li> <li>◆ Increased social capital and ability to participate in social groups and activities, savings clubs, money rounds, reciprocal labor pools</li> <li>◆ Improved access to information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Dependence on remittances leaves households vulnerable to changes in migration cycles</li> <li>◆ High share of remittances spent on nonproductive investment and short-term consumption gains</li> <li>◆ Differential access to the additional resources according to sex or age</li> <li>◆ Adoption of innovations not suitable for the local environment</li> </ul>
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Improved local physical infrastructure</li> <li>◆ Growth of local commodity markets</li> <li>◆ Development of local capital markets, availability of new services: banking, retail and trade, travel, construction</li> <li>◆ Development of new development institutions</li> <li>◆ Changes to cultural practices, especially attitudes toward girl children</li> <li>◆ Generation of local employment opportunities</li> <li>◆ Reduction of inequality between households, particularly for poor households</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Initially can increase inequality between households (those with access to remittances and those without)</li> <li>◆ Distortions in local factor markets (especially land and labor)</li> <li>◆ Transmission of negative cultural practices that reduce local quality of life</li> </ul>
National	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Improved foreign currency inflows, in some countries up to 9 percent of GDP</li> <li>◆ Employment creation as remittances are invested in the productive sectors</li> <li>◆ Increased human capital as migrants learn new skills and work practices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Fluctuations in exchange rates, especially for countries with low GDP</li> <li>◆ Growth of parallel foreign exchange markets</li> <li>◆ Distortions in property markets</li> <li>◆ Withdrawal of state welfare programs due to remittances</li> </ul>
International	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Reduction in inequality among countries as remittances exceed official aid transfers in some regions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Dependence on unreliable sources of foreign exchange subject to cyclical fluctuations</li> <li>◆ Potential for money laundering</li> </ul>

Source: Admos Chimbowu et al, p. 90 in Maimbo & Ratha, 2005

however, there has been no systematic, cross-regional study of the importance of migrant remittances or of their potential development value to sending households and communities.

Since most cross-border migration in Southern Africa is to neighbouring countries, the bulk of remittance flow is within the region itself. That is not to say that remittances are not received from outside the region. South Africa and Zimbabwe, in particular, have large overseas diasporas. There is some evidence to suggest that these largely professional diasporas do remit considerable funds but comprehensive studies of the volume and usage of such remittance flows have yet to be systematically undertaken. One recent survey of 500 Zimbabweans living in the United Kingdom, for example, found that 75% regularly remitted funds back home, most to support family members.<sup>14</sup> With regard to intra-regional remittances transfers, the primary source countries for migrant remittances are South Africa and, to a lesser degree, Botswana. The precise volume of remittances is unknown although recent esti-

mates suggest that it may be as much as R6 billion per annum from South Africa alone (Table 5).<sup>15</sup>

**Table 5: Intra-Regional Remittance Flows (ZAR)**

Sending country	Receiving country Rm							Total
	Botswana	Lesotho	Malawi	Mozambique	South Africa	Swaziland	Other SADC	
Botswana		2.59	3.65		29.64	0.55	51.42	87.87
Lesotho	0.61							0.61
Malawi	0.18							0.18
Mozambique								
South Africa	133.28	1,675.84	57.19	2,241.71		432.29	1,531.85	6,072.15
Swaziland	0.39							0.39
<b>Total</b>	<b>134.46</b>	<b>1,678.43</b>	<b>60.84</b>	<b>2,241.71</b>	<b>29.64</b>	<b>432.84</b>	<b>1,583.27</b>	

Sources: Genesis calculations, various

Within Southern Africa, remittances have long been recognized as an important contributor to the economies of traditional migrant-sending countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique.<sup>16</sup> One recent SAMP study suggests that decades of migration and remittances have made the south of Mozambique relatively better off than the centre and north of the country.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, within the south, there is greater inequality between households with and without access to migrant income. The basic developmental question in SADC, as in other parts of the world, concerns the volume of migrant remittances, who benefits from remittance transfers and what uses to which they are put. The Migration and Remittance Survey (MARS) was designed by SAMP to try and better understand the migration-remittance nexus at the individual and household level within the SADC.

## THE MARS METHOD

In order to generate nationally-representative data on migrant remittances at the household level within the SADC, SAMP devised and implemented MARS in 2004-5. The first round of surveys focused on five SADC countries: Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.<sup>18</sup> Subsequent rounds will expand the range of countries studied. The main objectives of MARS were (a) to collect data on migration and remittance patterns, (b) understand the methods used for transferring remittances in both cash and goods, (c) assess the importance of remittances on the migrant sending households' economy and (d) examine the impact of migration on the migrant sending households and the communities where they are located.

SAMP partners led research teams in the five countries using the

same questionnaire. Households were randomly selected and were included in the survey only if they had a current or past cross-border migrant. In addition to the structured household survey, more qualitative information was collected using case studies and focus groups. In total, 4,700 household interviews were conducted in the five countries, information on almost 30,000 people was collected and detailed information on about 4,700 cross-border migrants was collected.

A similar sampling methodology was implemented in each country except in Mozambique, where the survey was only conducted in southern Mozambique. The MARS survey collected two different types of data: household data and individual data. Household data was collected from households with current or past cross-border migrants. The individual data includes cross-border migrant information as well as information on other people living in the household. In this report 'migrant' and 'cross-border migrant' are used interchangeably to refer to people who migrate to work in another country.

## MIGRATION PATTERNS: THEN AND NOW

**M**igrant flows in Southern Africa have always been differentiated by age, gender, education and position in the household. However, the ways in which these variables influence migration have clearly been reconfigured in recent years. In addition, they do not affect migration in the same way in all countries, confirming the argument that the development impacts of migration and migrant remittances are region, country and even community-specific.<sup>19</sup> With regard to gender, for example, and despite evidence of the growing feminization of migration, most migrants continue to be male (Table 6).<sup>20</sup> In Botswana, Mozambique and Swaziland over 80% of migrants are male (84.5%). The majority of female migrants are from Zimbabwe (44% of the total from that country) and, to a lesser extent, Lesotho (16%). The Zimbabwean pattern has changed appreciably in the last decade in response to internal political and economic conditions and the declining socio-economic position of women. In the Lesotho case, commentators have remarked on the growth in female migration in response to job loss and retrenchment in the South African mining sector.<sup>21</sup> While this may be responsible for the relatively higher proportion of female migrants from Lesotho, it does not negate the finding that overall the vast majority of Basotho migrants have been and continue to be male.

A second striking characteristic of the migrant cohort is its age. Traditionally, migration streams were dominated by the young and energetic. In this survey, however, only 7% of migrants were under the age

of 25 (Table 6). In contrast, 41% were over the age of 40. Migration, in other words, has become a livelihood strategy of the middle-aged. At the same time, the survey picked up very little evidence of widespread cross-border children's migration. Three quarters of migrants under the age of 25 came from only two countries: Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Certainly, the growing age of the migrant cohort is partly related to conditions in the regional labour market. With high rates of unemployment in most countries, those who secure jobs are likely to hold on to them. This is particularly evident in the South African mining industry where the advancing age of miners and the limited opportunities for young men to enter the industry has been remarked upon.<sup>22</sup>

Third, again bucking the historical stereotype of the migrant as a young, unmarried person sent out to obtain revenue for the household, this survey found that only 26% of migrants were unmarried and as many as 62% were married (Table 6). The survey identified few migrant widows (3%) nor a particularly large number of divorced or separated migrants (again 3% of the total). The majority of the migrant widows were from Lesotho. Consistent with this finding was another shift away from historical stereotype. Not only are more migrants older and married than ever before, many are also heads of households. This, too, is a marked break from the past.

Fourth, then, just over half the migrants (52%) were actually household heads rather than ordinary members of the household (Table 6). Only 4% were spouses of the household head. The remainder were sons and daughters of the household. A few decades ago, sons and some daughters would have made up virtually all of the migrant stream. The participation of household heads in migration did vary significantly from country to country, defying easy generalization as to its causes. Migration is now clearly a career rather than a passing phase in most people's working lives. In Botswana and Lesotho, for example, household heads make up over 70% of the total migrant flow. In Swaziland household heads were still in the majority (58%) but in Mozambique and Zimbabwe they were still very much in the minority (at 36% and 28% respectively). The reasons for and implications of this variability and trend require further research and analysis but clearly household heads are increasingly forced to migrate themselves rather than relying on younger household members to migrate and remit, as in the past. The implications for household stability and cohesion are likely to be massive. So too would the trend impact on the nature of intra-household decisions and struggles over the disposition of migrant remittances. Traditionally, others earned while household heads disposed, producing considerable inter-generational conflict. Increasingly, household heads are now likely to be doing both, potentially shutting other household



members out of any role of decision-making in the process.

The only thing that has probably not changed that much in recent years is the educational profile of most intra-regional migrants. This survey showed that 15% of migrants had no education (50% of those from Botswana suggesting that in that country there are opportunities other than migration for the educated) (Table 6). The other major anomaly is Zimbabwe. Here, as might have been predicted, very few migrants have no schooling at all. Forty six percent have secondary education and 44% post-graduate education of some kind or another. Twenty two percent hold graduate or post-graduate degrees. Assuming a situation of full employment for migrants, those from Zimbabwe would likely be earning higher and in a position to remit more.

Many migrant sending households across the region have a migration 'tradition' which is passed from one generation to the next (usually but not exclusively fathers to sons). Many migrants come from families where parents and even grandparents have worked outside the home country, reconfirming a pattern first observed in a SAMP study in 1997 (Table 7).<sup>23</sup> About 50% of migrants reported that their parents had been cross-border migrants; the percentages were highest in Lesotho (76%) and Mozambique (66%). Lesotho (24%) and Mozambique (44%) also had the highest percentages of grandparents who had been cross-border migrants. The most popular destination for parents and grandparents was South Africa. However, parents and grandparents of Zimbabwe migrants also had significant percentages of migration destinations within SADC as well as outside the region.

South Africa plays a central role in the cross-border migration picture with 86% of the total number of migrants currently working there (Table 8). The proportion is over 95% in all countries except Zimbabwe. In other words, as expected, this is a story of intra-regional migration and South-South remittance flow from an economically-dominant nation to its poorer and smaller neighbours. There are at least three regional exceptions to this pattern, only one of which is considered here. Migration from and remittance flow to South Africa was not considered in this study. Internal remittances, from urban to rural areas, are probably not dissimilar to remittance patterns from South Africa to Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland.<sup>24</sup> South Africa's overseas diaspora living in countries such as the United Kingdom, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand probably remits considerable sums. However, the remittance behaviour of this group is currently unknown. Another sizable regional diaspora is that of Angola where the civil war prompted widespread internal and external displacement. Many thousands of refugees and migrants relocated to Portugal. Again, remittance flows to Angola from that country (and other centres of the Angolan diaspora)

are likely to be sizeable.<sup>25</sup> The main anomaly in this study is obviously Zimbabwe.<sup>26</sup> Only 33% of Zimbabwe migrants work in South Africa, 17% are in Botswana and about 40% work in countries outside SADC.

		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Relationship	Head	445	70.2	757	70.4	355	35.6	662	58.4	243	28.3	2462	52.4
	Spouse/partner	34	5.4	33	3.1	36	3.6	7	.6	105	12.2	215	4.6
	Son/ daughter	129	20.3	255	23.7	505	50.6	387	34.2	301	35.0	1577	33.6
	Father/ mother	4	.6	2	.2	7	.7	4	.4	4	.5	21	.4
	Brother/ sister	6	.9	7	.7	70	7.0	44	3.9	127	14.8	254	5.4
	Grandchild	5	.8	5	.5	5	.5	18	1.6	3	.3	36	.8
	Grandparent	1	.2	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	.0
	Son/ daughter-in-law	2	.3	9	.8	2	.2	2	.2	12	1.4	27	.6
	Nephew/ niece	3	.5	0	.0	9	.9	6	.5	22	2.6	40	.9
	Other relative	4	.6	8	.7	8	.8	3	.3	35	4.1	58	1.2
	Non-relative	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	0	.0	7	.8	8	.2
	Don't know	1	.2	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>634</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1076</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>998</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1133</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>859</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4700</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Sex	Male	605	95.4	899	83.6	934	93.8	1047	92.4	487	56.4	3972	84.5
	Female	29	4.6	177	16.4	62	6.2	86	7.6	377	43.6	731	15.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>634</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1076</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>996</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1133</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>864</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4703</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Age	15 to 24	2	.3	54	5.0	110	11.1	36	3.2	140	16.2	342	7.3
	25 to 39	118	18.6	437	40.6	475	48.0	515	45.5	483	55.9	2028	43.2
	40 to 59	398	62.9	512	47.6	167	16.9	481	42.5	200	23.1	1758	37.4
	60 and over	96	15.2	37	3.4	10	1.0	19	1.7	7	.8	169	3.6
	Don't know	19	3.0	36	3.3	227	23.0	82	7.2	34	3.9	398	8.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>633</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1076</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>989</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1133</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>864</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4695</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Marital status	Unmarried	148	23.5	118	11.0	252	25.5	225	19.9	273	31.6	1016	21.7
	Married	432	68.5	812	75.5	545	55.2	877	77.4	496	57.4	3162	67.4
	Cohabiting	25	4.0	4	.4	153	15.5	14	1.2	7	.8	203	4.3
	Divorced	12	1.9	8	.7	14	1.4	2	.2	32	3.7	68	1.4
	Separated	0	.0	44	4.1	5	.5	2	.2	13	1.5	64	1.4
	Abandoned	0	.0	7	.7	0	.0	1	.1	5	.6	13	.3
	Widowed	13	2.1	83	7.7	7	.7	11	1.0	38	4.4	152	3.2
	Don't know	1	.2	0	.0	12	1.2	1	.1	0	.0	14	.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>631</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1076</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>988</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1133</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>864</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4692</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Education	None	310	49.1	150	13.9	76	7.6	149	13.2	4	.5	689	14.7
	Primary	205	32.4	660	61.3	713	71.7	416	36.7	34	4.0	2028	43.2
	Secondary	92	14.6	234	21.7	148	14.9	482	42.5	394	45.9	1350	28.8
	Diploma	3	.5	7	.7	0	.0	42	3.7	236	27.5	288	6.1
	Degree	9	1.4	2	.2	0	.0	23	2.0	152	17.7	186	4.0
	Postgraduate	5	.8	4	.4	0	.0	2	.2	34	4.0	45	1.0
	Don't know	8	1.3	19	1.8	57	5.7	19	1.7	5	.6	108	2.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>632</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1076</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>994</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1133</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>859</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4694</b>	<b>100.0</b>



	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Parents ever gone to work in another country?</b>												
Yes	254	41.9	828	76.2	609	66.3	519	47.3	138	34.2	2348	57.1
No	257	42.4	171	15.7	255	27.8	503	45.8	242	60.0	1428	34.7
Don't know	95	15.7	87	8.0	54	5.9	76	6.9	23	5.7	335	8.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>606</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1086</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>918</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1098</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4111</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Grandparents ever gone to work in another country?</b>												
Yes	63	11.0	249	24.4	396	43.9	115	10.5	61	18.5	884	22.6
No	294	51.5	215	21.1	239	26.5	701	63.8	246	74.8	1695	43.3
Don't know	214	37.5	555	54.5	267	29.6	282	25.7	22	6.7	1340	34.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>571</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1019</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>902</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1098</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3919</b>	<b>100.0</b>

		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Current place of work	South Africa	606	95.1	1074	99.8	963	96.4	1111	98.1	285	33.0	4039	85.8
	Mozambique	1	.2	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	41	4.7	43	.9
	Namibia	1	.2	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	11	1.3	12	.3
	Angola	1	.2	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	.0
	Zimbabwe	2	.3	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	0	.0	3	.1
	Botswana	0	.0	2	.2	8	.8	2	.2	149	17.2	161	3.4
	Malawi	1	.2	0	.0	1	.1	0	.0	7	.8	9	.2
	Zambia	1	.2	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	19	2.2	20	.4
	Swaziland	0	.0	0	.0	22	2.2	0	.0	1	.1	23	.5
	Tanzania	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	2	.2	3	.1
Other	24	3.8	0	.0	5	.5	17	1.5	349	40.4	395	8.4	
<b>Total</b>		<b>637</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1076</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>999</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1133</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>864</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4709</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Minework was the most frequently cited occupation of international migrants from Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, and Swaziland, despite the recent decline in job opportunities in that sector in South Africa (Table 9). However, migrants from all four countries are scattered across a variety of other employment sectors and job niches. Skilled and unskilled manual work (17.5% of Mozambican migrants and 13.9% of Swazi migrants); domestic work (9% of Basotho migrants) and trader/hawker/vendor (6% of Mozambican migrants) were the most common. Perhaps surprisingly, given the belief that the South African agricultural sector employs large numbers of migrants, only 1.3% of the total sample worked in that sector. A smattering of skilled migrants were picked up from most countries. They included professional workers (4.8% of the total sample), office workers (2.4%), health workers (2.3%) and entrepreneurs (2.2%). In the main, however, the survey showed that the traditional forms of migration to South Africa still

dominate with some diversification. In addition, most migrants are still in unskilled and semi-skilled categories. The survey picked up no evidence of a massive skills drain to South Africa, confirming previous observations by SAMP in this regard.<sup>27</sup>

Of the five countries studied, only Zimbabwe shows a distinctively different migration cohort. In contrast with the other countries, only 3% of Zimbabwean migrants are mineworkers. The most important sectors in a far more diverse migrant employment pattern include professional work (15%), trader/hawker/vendor (15%), health work (11%), the service sector (10%) and teaching (7%).

The informal sector accounts for over 12% of migrant employment and is probably underestimated. For Lesotho and Zimbabwe, where significant percentages of female cross-border migrants are found, 71% of Lesotho female cross-border employment is in the domestic and informal sector. Only 35% of Zimbabwe female cross-border employment is in these areas with professional (11%), educational (8%), government (10%) and office work (11%) being important employment areas.<sup>4</sup>

About half the migrants from Botswana and Mozambique and about a quarter of those from Swaziland and Zimbabwe say they have changed their occupations; those from Lesotho report little occupational change. Major reasons for occupational change are better pay, better working conditions and being retrenched.

Most migrants maintain strong links with home, although their ability to return regularly is influenced by many factors such as how far they must travel, and cost and availability of transport (Table 10). An average of 30% of migrants return home monthly, another 13% return home once in three months, 19% only make it home once a year and about 11% come home less often. Mozambican migrants seem to return home less often than migrants in the other countries (43% once a year); Lesotho migrants come home the most often (56% monthly). Migrants rarely have visitors from home.

Table 9: Migrant occupations													
		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Main occupation	Farmer	7	1.1	3	.3	1	.1	5	.4	6	.7	22	.5
	Agricultural worker (paid)	1	.2	21	2.0	22	2.2	6	.5	10	1.2	60	1.3
	Agricultural worker (unpaid)	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	1	.0
	Service worker	7	1.1	12	1.1	12	1.2	28	2.5	85	9.9	144	3.1
	Domestic worker	11	1.7	97	9.0	9	.9	18	1.6	16	1.9	151	3.2
	Managerial office worker	2	.3	2	.2	0	.0	9	.8	30	3.5	43	.9
	Office worker	7	1.1	3	.3	4	.4	19	1.7	39	4.6	72	1.5
	Foreman	4	.6	1	.1	5	.5	8	.7	4	.5	22	.5
	Mine worker	552	87.2	736	68.4	301	30.5	705	62.3	26	3.0	2320	49.5
	Skilled manual worker	5	.8	67	6.2	79	8.0	69	6.1	42	4.9	262	5.6
	Unskilled manual worker	3	.5	16	1.5	94	9.5	88	7.8	18	2.1	219	4.7
	Informal sector producer	1	.2	30	2.8	8	.8	5	.4	41	4.8	85	1.8
	Trader/ hawker/ vendor	0	.0	21	2.0	59	6.0	8	.7	126	14.7	214	4.6
	Security personnel	0	.0	2	.2	5	.5	22	1.9	1	.1	30	.6
	Police/ Military	1	.2	0	.0	1	.1	2	.2	3	.4	7	.1
	Businessman/ woman (self-employed)	4	.6	13	1.2	39	4.0	12	1.1	36	4.2	104	2.2
	Employer/ Manager	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	4	.4	11	1.3	15	.3
	Professional worker	10	1.6	31	2.9	17	1.7	40	3.5	126	14.7	224	4.8
	Teacher	0	.0	1	.1	1	.1	9	.8	60	7.0	71	1.5
	Health worker	4	.6	3	.3	3	.3	6	.5	91	10.6	107	2.3
	Pensioner	1	.2	1	.1	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	2	.0
	Scholar/ Student	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	11	1.3	12	.3
	House work (unpaid)	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	0	.0	0	.0	1	.0
Unemployed/ Job seeker	1	.2	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	.0	
Other	5	.8	0	.0	167	16.9	49	4.3	25	2.9	246	5.3	
Shepherd	0	.0	5	.5	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	5	.1	
Don't know	7	1.1	11	1.0	159	16.1	19	1.7	49	5.7	245	5.2	
<b>Total</b>		<b>633</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1076</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>987</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1132</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>857</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4685</b>	<b>100.0</b>

		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
How often does the migrant come home?	Twice or more per month	29	4.7	16	1.5	21	2.2	84	7.5	138	16.5	288	6.2
	Once a month	237	38.5	612	55.6	23	2.4	405	35.9	121	14.5	1398	30.1
	More than twice in 3 months	52	8.4	101	9.2	12	1.2	187	16.6	65	7.8	417	9.0
	Once in three months	90	14.6	167	15.2	49	5.1	186	16.5	90	10.8	582	12.5
	Once every 6 months	34	5.5	89	8.1	169	17.5	100	8.9	57	6.8	449	9.7
	Once a year	83	13.5	90	8.2	411	42.5	115	10.2	159	19.0	858	18.5
	At end of the contract	50	8.1	2	.2	22	2.3	16	1.4	33	3.9	123	2.6
	Other	41	6.7	24	2.2	260	26.9	34	3.0	173	20.7	532	11.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>616</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1101</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>967</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1127</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>836</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4647</b>	<b>100.0</b>
How often is migrant usually away for in a year?	Less than one month	144	23.5	10	.9	25	2.6	145	12.9	152	18.3	476	10.3
	More than one month but less than six months	214	34.9	352	32.0	64	6.7	435	38.6	154	18.6	1219	26.4
	More than six months but less than one year	136	22.1	654	59.4	495	52.1	272	24.1	245	29.6	1802	39.0
	One year at a time	77	12.5	52	4.7	101	10.6	177	15.7	59	7.1	466	10.1
	Longer than 1 year at a time	11	1.8	32	2.9	82	8.6	79	7.0	110	13.3	314	6.8
	Other	32	5.2	1	.1	183	19.3	19	1.7	109	13.1	344	7.4
	<b>Total</b>		<b>614</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1101</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>950</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1127</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>829</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4621</b>

## MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD INCOME<sup>28</sup>

The vast majority (85%) of the migrant-sending households in all the surveyed countries receive cash remittances. This ranges from a low of 64% of households in the case of Swaziland to a high of 95% in the case of Lesotho (Table 11). In contrast to many studies of remittances, which focus primarily or exclusively on cash transactions and flows, SAMP has adopted the broader concept of the “value-package.” In other words, remittances are viewed as transfers of both money and goods. The proportion of migrant-sending households receiving remittances in the form of goods is more varied, from a low of 17% in the case of Swaziland and 20% in Lesotho to a high of 65% in Mozambique and 68% in Zimbabwe. In other words, while cash remittances are the more important form of transfer in most countries, goods transfers are by no means insignificant in some countries of the region.

The annual median amounts of money remitted by migrant-sending households by country are: Botswana (R8,306), Lesotho (R7,800),

Mozambique (R1,760), Swaziland (R4,800) and Zimbabwe (R1,093) (Table 11).

		Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Swaziland	Zimbabwe	Total
Average amount in ZAR	Valid N	N=543	N=1023	N=543	N=965	N=750	N=3824
	Mean	10412.68	9093.96	2606.84	6279.07	2759.61	6407.36
	Median	8306.42	7800.00	1759.84	4800.00	1092.99	4153.21
	Mode	13844.04	12000.00	3016.87	6000.00	1092.99	6000.00
	Minimum	23.07	50.00	1.26	100.00	.04	.04
	Maximum	110752.32	127000.00	35196.84	120000.00	91082.40	127000.00

In terms of frequency of remittance, about 80% of migrants say they send cash remittances at least once every three months; Botswana (62%), Lesotho (77%) and Swaziland (71%) have the highest percentages who say they remit once a month (Table 12).

	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Twice or more per month	25	4.7	12	1.2	18	2.7	29	3.0	101	12.8	185	4.6
Once a month	331	61.8	787	76.6	132	20.0	693	71.4	379	48.2	2322	58.3
More than twice in 3 months	35	6.5	91	8.9	39	5.9	98	10.1	71	9.0	334	8.4
Once in three months	53	9.9	66	6.4	153	23.1	86	8.9	129	16.4	487	12.2
Once every 6 months	14	2.6	16	1.6	90	13.6	28	2.9	35	4.4	183	4.6
Once a year	41	7.6	51	5.0	92	13.9	32	3.3	21	2.7	237	6.0
At end of the contract	0	.0	2	.2	5	.8	0	.0	2	.3	9	.2
Other	25	4.7	0	.0	81	12.3	2	.2	30	3.8	138	3.5
Don't know	12	2.2	2	.2	51	7.7	3	.3	19	2.4	87	2.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>536</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1027</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>661</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>971</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>787</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3982</b>	<b>100.0</b>

In every country, remittances were a source of income for the majority of households (Table 13). The figure was highest in the case of Lesotho (95% of households receive cash and 20% receive goods remittances), followed by Zimbabwe (84% and 68%), Mozambique (77% and 65%), Botswana (76% and 53%) and Swaziland (65% and 17%). The importance of goods remittances to households in Mozambique and Zimbabwe is noteworthy. Interestingly, for those who continually stress the importance of agriculture (and ignore migration) in rural development, relatively few households in each country reported income from the sale of farm produce, Mozambique was the highest at 21% of households, followed by Swaziland (9.5%), Zimbabwe (7%), Botswana (5%) and Lesotho (3%). In these countries, therefore, remittances easily outstrip agriculture in relative importance (as measured by the percentage of households receiving income from these sources).

	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total
	N	HH%	N	HH%	N	HH%	N	HH%	N	HH%	N
Wage work	516	86.9	96	9.5	232	34.3	455	46.1	402	57.0	1701
Casual work	74	12.5	64	6.3	89	13.1	25	2.5	79	11.2	331
Remittances – money	453	76.3	965	95.3	520	76.8	636	64.4	589	83.5	3163
Remittances – goods	316	53.2	203	20.0	439	64.8	164	16.6	480	68.1	1602
Income from farm products	29	4.9	27	2.7	142	21.0	94	9.5	50	7.1	342
Income from formal business	29	4.9	20	2.0	29	4.3	26	2.6	69	9.8	173
Income from informal business	55	9.3	69	6.8	153	22.6	134	13.6	117	16.6	528
Pension/disability	111	18.7	6	.6	23	3.4	23	2.3	55	7.8	218
Gifts	29	4.9	22	2.2	21	3.1	30	3.0	36	5.1	138
Other	19	3.2	0	.0	22	3.2	11	1.1	9	1.3	61
Refused to answer	4	.7	0	.0	10	1.5	3	.3	14	2.0	31
Don't know	2	.3	7	.7	4	.6	5	.5	20	2.8	38
Percent of households HH%											

Obviously, actual income received is a more accurate indicator of the relative importance of each income stream to the household.

Aggregated annual household income from all sources is summarized in Table 14 in South African Rands (ZAR).<sup>29</sup> Based on annualised household income from all sources, the annual median household income by country of migrant-sending households is: R30,226 (Botswana), R9,600 (Lesotho), R4,300 (Swaziland), R3,151 (Zimbabwe) and R3,017 (Mozambique). Across the region as a whole, annual median income from wage employment and cash remittances is the same (at R4,800), followed by business income (R2,400), pensions (R2,038), casual work (R1,200), and remittance of goods (value R911). When remittances from both sources are combined, however, the value of remittances exceeds all other forms of income. The median income from cash remittances is highest for Botswana (R9,229), followed by Lesotho (R8,400) Swaziland (R2,400), Mozambique (R1,980) and Zimbabwe (R1,093). Remittances in the form of goods amount to a value of R2,307 in Botswana, R1,257 in Mozambique, R1,000 in Lesotho, R600 in Swaziland and R549 in Zimbabwe. In other words, goods remittances are relatively more important in Mozambique.

Taking note of the large number of households that receive remittances and the fact that the average annual amount is the first or second largest income household source, the importance of remittances cannot be over-emphasized. The weighted value (frequency 'N' times

the median value) of remittance money is the most important household income source for all countries except Swaziland where it is second. The actual figures are: Lesotho (R8,106,000); Botswana (R2,030,380), Swaziland (R1,519,200) Mozambique (R486,834), and Zimbabwe (R538,356).

		Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Swaziland	Zimbabwe	Total
Wage work	Valid N	N=266	N=96	N=93	N=452	N=334	N=1241
	Mean	29245.62	7420.83	6261.16	15879.76	4005.53	14173.67
	Median	20766.06	4800.00	3469.40	6000.00	1311.59	4800.00
	WA	5,523,756	460,800	322,617	2,712,000	437,874	
Casual work	Valid N	N=45	N=64	N=24	N=25	N=54	N=212
	Mean	6797.68	2618.28	1782.00	1973.60	1580.55	3070.39
	Median	3461.01	1200.00	414.82	550.00	455.41	1200.00
Remittances – money	Valid N	N=220	N=965	N=246	N=633	N=493	N=2557
	Mean	10219.58	10186.44	2882.50	4666.05	2739.62	6684.22
	Median	9229.36	8400.00	1979.82	2400.00	1092.99	4800.00
	WA	2,030,380	8,106,000	486,834	1,519,200	538,356	
Remittances – goods	Valid N	N=160	N=203	N=184	N=164	N=397	N=1108
	Mean	4853.06	2487.70	2272.39	1837.74	1307.72	2274.52
	Median	2307.34	1000.00	1257.03	600.00	546.49	910.82
	WA	369,120	203,000	231,288	98,400	216,762	
Income from farm products	Valid N	N=13	N=27	N=68	N=94	N=35	N=237
	Mean	2063.29	1525.93	793.48	2300.86	768.53	1540.76
	Median	1153.67	600.00	301.69	1400.00	227.71	628.52
Income from formal business	Valid N	N=11	N=20	N=5	N=26	N=57	N=119
	Mean	16780.65	6708.00	5857.76	11674.62	4957.39	7849.98
	Median	11352.11	4800.00	2514.06	5000.00	1092.99	2400.00
Income from informal business	Valid N	N=29	N=69	N=58	N=133	N=98	N=387
	Mean	11039.27	3066.41	1767.92	2121.54	4762.52	3574.04
	Median	6922.02	1920.00	1005.62	1000.00	683.12	1092.99
Pension/disability	Valid N	N=59	N=6	N=12	N=23	N=44	N=144
	Mean	3310.80	1250.00	1714.57	3159.83	837.11	2311.95
	Median	2076.61	1200.00	622.23	1320.00	218.60	2038.30
Gifts	Valid N	N=27	N=22	N=6	N=30	N=33	N=118
	Mean	2410.10	1178.86	599.18	679.07	340.04	1069.46
	Median	288.42	300.00	213.70	250.00	91.08	223.13
Other income	Valid N	N=10	N=0	N=5	N=11	N=5	N=31
	Mean	2789.57	.	2272.71	459.09	18444.19	4404.20
	Median	519.15	.	1257.03	500.00	218.60	500.00
Total income from all sources	Valid N	N=322	N=1014	N=541	N=988	N=561	N=3426
	Mean	37049.32	11474.62	5416.20	11520.32	7503.50	12284.55
	Median	30226.15	9600.00	3016.87	4300.00	3151.45	6000.00

All values in ZAR; Excluded cases with one or more amounts missing; WA =weighted value (valid N X median value)



Income from sources other than remittances and wage work is relatively insignificant because of the small number of households that benefit from these income sources (e.g. farm income). Just 237 of the 3,246 households receive any income from the sale of farm products, averaging only R1,541 per annum.

## METHODS OF TRANSMISSION

The most popular ways of bringing money home are for the migrants to bring it themselves (average 47%), send it via a friend/co-worker (average 26%) or through the post office (average 7%) (Table 15). Zimbabwean migrants have the lowest percentage remitting via a friend (11%) and the only significant percentage who send it via a bank in their home country (24%). Other important ways of transferring money are through TEBA (the Economic Bureau of Africa) and bank accounts (important for Botswana and Swaziland migrants). Migrants say they send money regularly (average 82%) and that the methods used are reliable. Only Zimbabwe migrants say there are significant problems with their methods of transfer (33%). The major problems are costly charges, slowness and unreliability. Migrants in the other countries have the same problems but the number affected is small. A small number of migrants say their cash remittance is stolen or never arrives.

As with cash, the two most popular ways of transporting goods home are to bring them personally (average 66%) and via a friend or co-worker (average 15%) (Table 16). These methods are used regularly (average 85%) and are thought to be reliable (average 95%). For those who have transfer problems (about 13%), the most frequent complaints are 'slow' (average 18%) and 'never arrives' (14%); Zimbabweans complain about 'costly charges' (46%).

Considerable attention is given in the remittance literature to the methods that migrants use to remit and the expense involved in remitting, through both formal and informal channels. The main policy recommendations that come out of the identification of this problem is that governments and institutions at both ends should lower the transaction costs of remitting, as well as make it easier for migrants to access and use formal channels through reform of banking and other financial regulations. In the case of Southern Africa, most migrants are relatively satisfied with the methods they use. However, here geography plays a significant role. Most migrants work in neighbouring countries and return home relatively frequently. Unsurprisingly, personal transfer of cash and goods is easily the most important channel. It is hard to see how transaction costs on personal transactions can be reduced unless



		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Method of transfer (money) used	Via the Post Office	64	7.4	76	5.1	10	.8	129	10.3	134	14.5	413	7.1
	Wife's TEBA account	43	5.0	27	1.8	22	1.7	76	6.1	14	1.5	182	3.1
	Bring personally	402	46.6	801	54.1	558	43.0	641	51.4	320	34.6	2722	46.8
	Via a friend/co-worker	184	21.3	494	33.4	466	35.9	276	22.1	102	11.0	1522	26.2
	Via Bank in home country	65	7.5	27	1.8	7	.5	41	3.3	217	23.5	357	6.1
	Via TEBA own account	92	10.7	10	.7	55	4.2	29	2.3	6	.6	192	3.3
	Bank in South Africa	0	.0	14	.9	3	.2	16	1.3	12	1.3	45	.8
	Via Taxis	0	.0	3	.2	49	3.8	11	.9	26	2.8	89	1.5
	Bus	1	.1	0	.0	56	4.3	4	.3	1	.1	62	1.1
	Other method	11	1.3	28	1.9	71	5.5	24	1.9	91	9.8	225	3.9
Don't know	1	.1	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	2	.2	3	.1	
<b>Total</b>		<b>863</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1480</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1297</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1247</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>925</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5812</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Problems with transferring money?	Yes	46	5.6	70	4.7	165	12.9	97	7.8	303	33.0	681	11.9
	No	776	94.4	1410	95.3	1111	87.1	1150	92.2	616	67.0	5063	88.1
<b>Total</b>		<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1480</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1276</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1247</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>919</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5744</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Problems experienced	Costly charges	3	8.3	8	11.4	14	9.0	10	10.4	134	44.2	169	25.6
	Slow	3	8.3	20	28.6	19	12.3	28	29.2	56	18.5	126	19.1
	Unreliable	5	13.9	9	12.9	66	42.6	39	40.6	45	14.9	164	24.8
	Lack of banking facilities	1	2.8	2	2.9	1	.6	0	.0	11	3.6	15	2.3
	Irregular	0	.0	5	7.1	27	17.4	3	3.1	10	3.3	45	6.8
	Never arrives, gets stolen	24	66.7	26	37.1	7	4.5	14	14.6	39	12.9	110	16.7
	Other problem	0	.0	0	.0	19	12.3	2	2.1	7	2.3	28	4.2
	Don't know	0	.0	0	.0	2	1.3	0	.0	1	.3	3	.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>36</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>100.0</b>

the reason for return home is only to transfer remittances, in which case transportation costs make this a very costly means of remitting.

Using friends and co-workers to carry cash and goods home is also relatively popular and, once again, quite feasible given geographical proximity. Insofar as problems arise here, these seem to pertain mainly to slowness and theft. Very few migrants cite either the cost of transactions or the lack of banking facilities as a problem for them. The only country in which this appears to be a problem for some is Zimbabwe. In reality, however, these transaction costs are only a problem for migrants who work overseas. In other words, the classic problem and policy prescription, as identified in the remittances literature, does seem to apply to migrants who work further afield. Within the region itself, migrants

		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Method of transfer (goods) used	Official transport – Bus	9	1.7	17	3.8	72	7.3	31	6.1	40	5.3	169	5.2
	Official transport – Rail	17	3.2	0	.0	13	1.3	3	.6	8	1.1	41	1.3
	Via Post Office	24	4.6	3	.7	6	.6	13	2.5	89	11.9	135	4.2
	Sends with a taxi	12	2.3	3	.7	74	7.5	14	2.7	11	1.5	114	3.5
	Bring personally	412	78.5	362	81.9	504	50.8	395	77.3	454	60.5	2127	66.0
	Via a friend/ co-worker	38	7.2	52	11.8	266	26.8	41	8.0	78	10.4	475	14.7
	Sends with visiting family members	12	2.3	2	.5	10	1.0	9	1.8	30	4.0	63	2.0
	Other	1	.2	3	.7	48	4.8	3	.6	40	5.3	95	2.9
	Don't know	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	2	.4	0	.0	2	.1
<b>Total</b>		<b>525</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>442</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>993</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>750</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3221</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Problems with transfer of goods?	Yes	15	3.0	13	2.9	175	15.1	28	5.5	209	29.0	440	13.2
	No	493	97.0	429	97.1	982	84.9	479	94.5	511	71.0	2894	86.8
<b>Total</b>		<b>508</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>442</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1157</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>507</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>720</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3334</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Problems experienced	Costly charges	4	40.0	3	23.1	34	21.0	14	51.9	96	45.9	151	35.9
	Slow	3	30.0	2	15.4	25	15.4	4	14.8	42	20.1	76	18.1
	Irregular	0	.0	2	15.4	40	24.7	1	3.7	17	8.1	60	14.3
	Lack of transport opportunities	1	10.0	4	30.8	1	.6	2	7.4	4	1.9	12	2.9
	Never arrives – gets stolen	2	20.0	1	7.7	15	9.3	3	11.1	37	17.7	58	13.8
	Other	0	.0	1	7.7	37	22.8	3	11.1	13	6.2	54	12.8
	Don't know	0	.0	0	.0	10	6.2	0	.0	0	.0	10	2.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>421</b>	<b>100.0</b>

do not generally see that there is a problem in need of a solution. This does not mean, of course, that if cost-effective financial services were available, migrants would not use them. Some certainly might. But for the moment, most seem happier to take remittances with them when they go home.

## HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE

A central question in debates about the developmental value of remittances is how households actually spend this income. The most common types of household expenditure for the month previous to the survey are shown in Table 17. The relative importance of types of expenditures may be seen by looking at the percentage of households incurring an expense in the previous month. Looking at household averages for all countries, food and

groceries are by far the most important (93% of households purchased food), followed by transportation (44%), fuel (44%), utilities (38%), education (31%) and medical expenses (30%). Certain categories of expenses are more important in certain countries. Education (primarily school fees) is important in Zimbabwe (57%) and Mozambique (44%); medical expenses are important in Zimbabwe (40%), Swaziland (39%) and Mozambique (31%); savings are important in Zimbabwe (36%) and Botswana (28%); housing is a major category only in Zimbabwe (46%); clothes is a major category in Lesotho (73%) and Zimbabwe (54%); and farming expenses are important only in Swaziland (39%).

**Table 17: Monthly household expenses by expense category**

	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Food and groceries	597	97.1	944	92.5	611	89.2	936	93.6	643	91.2	3731	92.7
Housing	25	4.1	9	.9	5	.7	4	.4	325	46.1	368	9.1
Utilities	479	77.9	171	16.7	276	40.3	117	11.7	487	69.1	1530	38.0
Clothes	153	24.9	742	72.7	254	37.1	163	16.3	377	53.5	1689	42.0
Alcohol	81	13.2	123	12.0	226	33.0	12	1.2	115	16.3	557	13.8
Medical expenses	82	13.3	247	24.2	214	31.2	392	39.2	279	39.6	1214	30.2
Transportation	211	34.3	534	52.3	304	44.4	368	36.8	334	47.4	1751	43.5
Cigarettes, tobacco, snuff	49	8.0	107	10.5	42	6.1	12	1.2	22	3.1	232	5.8
Education	196	31.9	55	5.4	299	43.6	289	28.9	402	57.0	1241	30.8
Entertainment	17	2.8	16	1.6	15	2.2	0	.0	72	10.2	120	3.0
Savings	169	27.5	89	8.7	79	11.5	89	8.9	256	36.3	682	16.9
Fuel	315	51.2	779	76.3	322	47.0	303	30.3	38	5.4	1757	43.6
Farming	35	5.7	72	7.1	73	10.7	386	38.6	49	7.0	615	15.3
Building	29	4.7	36	3.5	90	13.1	67	6.7	89	12.6	311	7.7
Special events	30	4.9	75	7.3	77	11.2	53	5.3	86	12.2	321	8.0
Gifts	37	6.0	37	3.6	38	5.5	8	.8	28	4.0	148	3.7
Other expenses	7	1.1	12	1.2	30	4.4	8	.8	12	1.7	69	1.7
None	2	.3	41	4.0	7	1.0	27	2.7	2	.3	79	2.0
Refused to answer	0	.0	0	.0	41	6.0	6	.6	38	5.4	85	2.1

(\*) Percentage of households incurring that expense monthly

When the actual amount spent by category is compared across countries (Table 18), the largest median amounts are spent on building (R576), farming (R434), clothes (R267), food (R288), and special events (R239). Building is the largest median expense category in all five countries with food expense second in Lesotho (R400) and Mozambique (R251), third in Botswana (R346), fourth in Zimbabwe (R64) and fifth in Swaziland (R300). However, looking only at the amount spent on such items as building and special events costs skews the picture somewhat because these expenses affect relatively few households. When the computed weighted value of expenditure items is compared (multiplying the frequency by the median amount) the major

Table 18: Household monthly expenses (Average amount (ZAR) spent)							
		Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Swaziland	Zimbabwe	Total
Food and groceries	Valid N	N=538	N=944	N=494	N=935	N=628	N=3539
	Mean	506.45	489.75	417.15	351.41	107.38	377.75
	Median	346.10	400.00	251.41	300.00	63.76	288.42
Housing	Valid N	N=25	N=9	N=2	N=4	N=318	N=358
	Mean	1839.97	150.00	131.99	268.75	28.14	161.00
	Median	115.37	130.00	131.99	300.00	9.11	9.34
Utilities	Valid N	N=435	N=171	N=252	N=117	N=477	N=1452
	Mean	147.04	117.02	86.15	244.66	28.99	102.02
	Median	74.99	60.00	35.20	120.00	9.75	36.43
Clothes	Valid N	N=94	N=742	N=190	N=163	N=355	N=1544
	Mean	433.07	678.68	319.57	404.40	87.48	454.65
	Median	346.10	500.00	125.70	267.00	45.54	267.00
Alcohol	Valid N	N=80	N=122	N=185	N=12	N=108	N=507
	Mean	205.24	202.79	115.99	136.67	27.16	132.53
	Median	115.37	100.00	75.42	100.00	18.22	70.39
Medical expenses	Valid N	N=49	N=247	N=186	N=392	N=271	N=1145
	Mean	157.96	101.19	23.75	115.97	464.49	182.09
	Median	115.37	50.00	5.03	22.00	18.22	24.00
Transportation	Valid N	N=158	N=533	N=244	N=368	N=328	N=1631
	Mean	149.08	123.88	67.49	77.22	74.79	97.48
	Median	86.53	60.00	37.71	30.00	22.77	45.54
Cigarettes, tobacco, snuff	Valid N	N=46	N=107	N=32	N=12	N=20	N=217
	Mean	87.03	83.50	18.10	37.29	12.80	65.53
	Median	80.76	36.00	12.57	30.00	6.38	30.00
Education	Valid N	N=157	N=55	N=280	N=289	N=399	N=1180
	Mean	407.28	662.53	57.90	962.84	131.05	378.94
	Median	173.05	210.25	26.40	400.00	45.54	91.08
Entertainment	Valid N	N=15	N=16	N=11	N=0	N=67	N=109
	Mean	283.42	125.00	47.77	.	23.63	76.70
	Median	115.37	81.00	25.14	.	9.11	18.22
Savings	Valid N	N=127	N=89	N=51	N=89	N=227	N=583
	Mean	1467.70	739.56	776.47	447.05	261.85	670.75
	Median	461.47	400.00	226.27	200.00	77.42	200.00
Fuel	Valid N	N=271	N=779	N=282	N=303	N=36	N=1671
	Mean	155.66	119.58	32.72	63.98	11.95	98.37
	Median	115.37	80.00	19.48	50.00	4.55	57.68
Farming	Valid N	N=29	N=72	N=64	N=386	N=46	N=597
	Mean	499.26	642.08	108.67	830.35	169.05	663.24
	Median	288.42	335.00	75.42	600.00	72.87	434.00
Building	Valid N	N=18	N=36	N=70	N=67	N=81	N=272
	Mean	4394.20	3072.85	895.21	2122.46	604.13	1630.60
	Median	922.94	1130.00	314.26	1000.00	182.16	576.84
Special events	Valid N	N=28	N=75	N=51	N=53	N=85	N=292
	Mean	906.66	2176.21	374.37	1398.68	82.70	989.23
	Median	346.10	1000.00	201.12	500.00	27.32	238.85
Gifts	Valid N	N=31	N=37	N=28	N=8	N=28	N=132
	Mean	112.54	119.30	73.65	545.00	106.00	131.01
	Median	69.22	50.00	51.54	250.00	22.77	55.01
Other expenses	Valid N	N=4	N=9	N=27	N=8	N=8	N=56
	Mean	1597.83	1060.00	105.76	168.13	945.44	494.56
	Median	715.28	860.00	37.71	150.00	20.49	80.99

importance of food as an expense category is revealed. It is the most important expense item in all five countries. The three most important items by country in 1000s of Rands are: Botswana: food (R186), clothes (R33), fuel (R31); Lesotho: food (R377), clothes (R371), special events (R75); Mozambique: food (R124), clothes (R24), building (R22); Swaziland: food (R281), farming (R232), education (R116); Zimbabwe: food (R40), education (R18), building (R15). Depending on the country, between 2 and 6 times more money is spent on food than the next most important expense item which highlights the importance of the food expense for migrant-sending households.

As indicated above, migrant-sending households in the countries surveyed spend the greater proportion of total income on food purchase. Other necessities, clothing, medical expenses, shelter, fuel and utilities consume the bulk of the rest. In other words, consumption-spending (for necessities not luxuries) constitutes the pre-dominant usage of household income, a pattern observed in many other parts of the world.

Across the five countries, the most common expenditure items for remittance money are food (90% of households), school fees (52%), clothing (52%), and fares (transportation) (34%) (Table 19). The rank order changes a little for different countries but the items remain about the same. Certain categories of remittance contributions are more important in certain countries. In Swaziland farming items (seed, fertiliser, tractor) are important and seed is also important in Lesotho and Mozambique. In Botswana remittance money is used for cattle purchase (21%). Although of less importance, remittance money helps with many other expenditure items such as building materials and funerals.

The importance of basic needs expenditure is further highlighted when the estimated percentage of remittance money is examined for each expense item (Table 20). For all major expense items the percentage of the remittance contribution is 80% and higher.

Appendix A shows the amount of remittance money spent on various expenditure items. A weighted value may be calculated by multiplying the frequency by the median amount. The weighted values for the five largest expenditure items through remittances in order of magnitude are: Botswana (food, clothing, cattle, cement, fares (transportation), school fees); Lesotho (food, clothing, school fees fares (transportation), tractor/fertiliser/funeral and burial policies); Mozambique (food, cement, clothing, cattle purchase, school fees/fares (transportation)); Swaziland (food, school fees, clothing, seed, fertiliser, fares (transportation)); Zimbabwe (food, clothing/school fees, purchase goods for sale, fares (transportation), vehicle purchase and maintenance. Comparing food with the second next most important expenditure item demonstrates the overwhelming importance of food: Botswana (3.7 times

Table 19: Items remittance is spent on												
	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
School fees	264	42.9	572	56.0	336	49.1	549	54.9	385	54.6	2106	52.3
Food	538	87.5	912	89.3	479	69.9	834	83.4	534	75.7	3297	81.9
Clothing	387	62.9	777	76.1	298	43.5	240	24.0	399	56.6	2101	52.2
Seed	15	2.4	249	24.4	180	26.3	444	44.4	80	11.3	968	24.0
Fertiliser	7	1.1	189	18.5	9	1.3	342	34.2	66	9.4	613	15.2
Tractor	9	1.5	128	12.5	6	.9	397	39.7	9	1.3	549	13.6
Oxen for ploughing	3	.5	26	2.5	36	5.3	21	2.1	11	1.6	97	2.4
Labour	31	5.0	52	5.1	67	9.8	41	4.1	30	4.3	221	5.5
Cattle purchase	128	20.8	14	1.4	15	2.2	16	1.6	14	2.0	187	4.6
Small stock purchase	82	13.3	11	1.1	46	6.7	2	.2	5	.7	146	3.6
Poultry purchase	1	.2	8	.8	62	9.1	13	1.3	8	1.1	92	2.3
Dipping and veterinary costs	64	10.4	27	2.6	4	.6	3	.3	8	1.1	106	2.6
Vehicle and transport costs	3	.5	6	.6	26	3.8	18	1.8	20	2.8	73	1.8
Equipment	2	.3	3	.3	17	2.5	6	.6	11	1.6	39	1.0
Other farm input	0	.0	4	.4	9	1.3	7	.7	3	.4	23	.6
Fares	166	27.0	510	50.0	170	24.8	292	29.2	223	31.6	1361	33.8
Fuel	22	3.6	101	9.9	42	6.1	20	2.0	55	7.8	240	6.0
Vehicle purchase and maintenance	21	3.4	8	.8	8	1.2	1	.1	60	8.5	98	2.4
Other transport expenses	0	.0	0	.0	16	2.3	0	.0	1	.1	17	.4
Purchase goods for sale (stock)	7	1.1	11	1.1	25	3.6	8	.8	96	13.6	147	3.7
Repay loans	42	6.8	19	1.9	40	5.8	42	4.2	25	3.5	168	4.2
Labour costs	3	.5	3	.3	9	1.3	1	.1	24	3.4	40	1.0
Machinery and equipment	0	.0	1	.1	0	.0	2	.2	15	2.1	18	.4
Other business expenses	1	.2	0	.0	9	1.3	2	.2	12	1.7	24	.6
Roofing	133	21.6	37	3.6	49	7.2	35	3.5	47	6.7	301	7.5
Walls	100	16.3	7	.7	3	.4	7	.7	25	3.5	142	3.5
Cement	164	26.7	53	5.2	102	14.9	72	7.2	57	8.1	448	11.1
Bricks	125	20.3	46	4.5	34	5.0	27	2.7	47	6.7	279	6.9
Wood	14	2.3	13	1.3	36	5.3	12	1.2	14	2.0	89	2.2
Paint	46	7.5	20	2.0	13	1.9	4	.4	25	3.5	108	2.7
Doors and windows	135	22.0	39	3.8	45	6.6	36	3.6	29	4.1	284	7.1
Other building material	51	8.3	0	.0	45	6.6	16	1.6	9	1.3	121	3.0
Savings	53	8.6	191	18.7	75	10.9	47	4.7	137	19.4	503	12.5
Insurance policies	3	.5	46	4.5	1	.1	2	.2	35	5.0	87	2.2
Funeral and burial policies	27	4.4	293	28.7	4	.6	3	.3	66	9.4	393	9.8
Other personal investment	0	.0	0	.0	8	1.2	0	.0	17	2.4	25	.6
Marriage	103	16.7	11	1.1	12	1.8	9	.9	15	2.1	150	3.7
Funeral	116	18.9	166	16.3	38	5.5	50	5.0	64	9.1	434	10.8
Feast	8	1.3	73	7.1	43	6.3	1	.1	14	2.0	139	3.5
Other special events	2	.3	22	2.2	11	1.6	5	.5	5	.7	45	1.1
Other expenditure item – First item	17	2.8	248	24.3	73	10.7	24	2.4	16	2.3	378	9.4
Other expenditure item – Second item	0	.0	111	10.9	29	4.2	1	.1	0	.0	141	3.5
Other expenditure item – Third item	0	.0	46	4.5	6	.9	0	.0	0	.0	52	1.3
Don't know	2	.3	1	.1	26	3.8	4	.4	9	1.3	42	1.0
Refused to answer	1	.2	0	.0	7	1.0	0	.0	35	5.0	43	1.1

<b>Table 20: Average percentage of expenses paid from remittances</b>							
Excluded cases with expense and/or contribution missing							
		Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Swaziland	Zimbabwe	Total
Food and groceries	Valid N	N=285	N=944	N=354	N=935	N=460	N=2978
	Mean	82.92	90.26	78.06	72.30	79.72	80.84
Housing	Valid N	N=3	N=9	N=2	N=4	N=131	N=149
	Mean	66.33	91.11	40.00	75.00	85.87	84.89
Utilities	Valid N	N=247	N=171	N=179	N=117	N=188	N=902
	Mean	64.82	85.05	75.95	58.55	84.07	74.06
Clothes	Valid N	N=66	N=742	N=120	N=163	N=250	N=1341
	Mean	56.06	92.10	74.45	67.91	88.22	85.08
Alcohol	Valid N	N=34	N=122	N=122	N=12	N=40	N=330
	Mean	74.51	89.92	74.30	16.67	81.81	78.91
Medical expenses	Valid N	N=16	N=247	N=131	N=392	N=131	N=917
	Mean	37.50	86.44	70.99	69.69	82.61	75.67
Transportation	Valid N	N=67	N=533	N=143	N=368	N=148	N=1259
	Mean	93.43	89.60	77.91	68.61	87.70	82.12
Cigarettes, tobacco, snuff	Valid N	N=10	N=107	N=18	N=12	N=4	N=151
	Mean	100.00	86.11	66.67	25.00	84.84	79.82
Education	Valid N	N=93	N=55	N=167	N=289	N=243	N=847
	Mean	76.97	85.76	79.66	57.73	87.77	74.60
Entertainment	Valid N	N=3	N=16	N=5	N=0	N=23	N=47
	Mean	22.22	100.00	60.00	.	92.15	86.94
Savings	Valid N	N=59	N=89	N=41	N=89	N=141	N=419
	Mean	39.42	83.02	77.75	67.42	85.45	73.87
Fuel	Valid N	N=201	N=779	N=171	N=303	N=5	N=1459
	Mean	76.92	88.67	70.44	58.89	83.33	78.71
Farming	Valid N	N=26	N=72	N=37	N=386	N=13	N=534
	Mean	72.44	88.54	75.68	60.82	81.92	66.67
Building	Valid N	N=13	N=36	N=56	N=67	N=56	N=228
	Mean	69.23	91.23	84.06	73.13	90.13	82.63
Special events	Valid N	N=21	N=75	N=45	N=53	N=40	N=234
	Mean	88.93	85.36	89.71	71.21	87.43	83.67
Gifts	Valid N	N=8	N=37	N=18	N=8	N=8	N=79
	Mean	66.67	71.20	67.22	50.00	93.33	69.93
Other expenses	Valid N	N=4	N=9	N=15	N=8	N=4	N=40
	Mean	50.00	88.89	93.33	62.50	84.38	80.94
Total contributions from remittances (Percentage)	Valid N	N=214	N=975	N=168	N=966	N=146	N=2469
	Mean	72.88	88.69	92.96	68.36	85.67	79.47

larger), Lesotho ( 2.8 times larger), Mozambique (12.5 times larger), Swaziland (3.0 times larger) and Zimbabwe (3.5 times larger). In all of the countries, except Lesotho, a significant number of households “invest” in children’s education. Swaziland is the only country, however, in which household income is invested in any significant degree in agricultural activity. Nearly two thirds of the households that invest in agriculture across the five countries are in Swaziland. The importance of



remittances for food is further emphasized by the ratings given to various items. The highest ‘very important’ ratings for remittances are for food (78%). However, it should be noted that most major expense items (such as school fees, clothing, farming related items, and construction related items) all have relatively high ‘very important’ and ‘important’ ratings (Appendix B).

Further dramatic proof of the importance of remittances to household food security and other basic needs is provided by a tabulation of the types of goods that migrants send home. There is little evidence of luxury goods being remitted. Instead, clothing (41% of households) and food (29%) are clearly the items most frequently brought or sent (Table 21). Mozambican migrants bring more building materials than migrants in other countries (for example, roofing 16% and cement 9%) and Zimbabwe migrants are the only ones who have a significant percentage of goods for sale (14%).

Migrants are often implicitly or explicitly criticized for “wasting” remittances on luxury items, as if it is somehow a sin for poor people to enjoy the benefits of modern technology and media. Combining cash and goods remittances, an overall assessment of consumer and other goods brought/sent or purchased with remittance money was obtained (Table 22). The consumer items acquired by an average of 20% or more of households in all the countries, except Mozambique, includes in rank order: radio, bedroom suite, stove, clothes iron, cell phone, cattle and television. Payment of school fees was more pervasive than acquisition of any of these items. Some country differences are important to note. For Mozambique, building materials and poultry were more significant than a cell phone, stove or television. Plastic drums, probably for water storage, had the highest percentage in Lesotho and Swaziland. The profile of items for Zimbabwe shows different preferences such as satellite dish (27%) and VCR (40%). About a quarter of households in Mozambique and Lesotho reported they did not receive anything; the percent of households receiving nothing in the other countries was less: Botswana (10%), Lesotho (7%) and Zimbabwe (2%). The importance of remittances in the acquisition of household items should be emphasized.

The survey showed very little evidence of re-investment of income (remittance and otherwise) in entrepreneurial or other income-generating activity. Finally, many migrant sending households do not have savings. In Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland about half or more of the households do not have any savings. Botswana (58%) and Zimbabwe (53%) have the largest percentages of savers (Table 23). Households with savings are primarily kept in the home country. Banks are the most popular place to keep savings (73%); in Botswana the post office is also popular (23%).



**Table 21: Goods sent or brought home by migrant over the previous year**

	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Food	122	19.8	78	7.6	414	60.4	220	22.0	314	44.5	1148	28.5
Fuel	7	1.1	7	.7	57	8.3	9	.9	35	5.0	115	2.9
Clothing	429	69.8	292	28.6	236	34.5	279	27.9	400	56.7	1636	40.6
Entertainment	15	2.4	7	.7	3	.4	12	1.2	108	15.3	145	3.6
Other HHold consumption goods	5	.8	26	2.5	81	11.8	23	2.3	25	3.5	160	4.0
Seed	1	.2	2	.2	46	6.7	60	6.0	19	2.7	128	3.2
Fertiliser	1	.2	0	.0	3	.4	37	3.7	10	1.4	51	1.3
Tractor	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	34	3.4	0	.0	35	.9
Oxen for ploughing	2	.3	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	2	.3	5	.1
Labour	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	3	.3	0	.0	3	.1
Cattle purchase	12	2.0	0	.0	0	.0	4	.4	1	.1	17	.4
Small stock purchase	7	1.1	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	7	.2
Poultry purchase	0	.0	2	.2	0	.0	4	.4	1	.1	7	.2
Dipping and veterinary costs	7	1.1	0	.0	0	.0	2	.2	3	.4	12	.3
Vehicle and transport costs	1	.2	0	.0	13	1.9	1	.1	10	1.4	25	.6
Equipment	2	.3	3	.3	14	2.0	3	.3	7	1.0	29	.7
Other farm input	0	.0	0	.0	9	1.3	4	.4	0	.0	13	.3
Purchase goods for sale (stock)	5	.8	1	.1	9	1.3	1	.1	96	13.6	112	2.8
Repay loans	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	3	.3	11	1.6	14	.3
Machinery and equipment	0	.0	2	.2	1	.1	3	.3	8	1.1	14	.3
Other business expenses	0	.0	0	.0	5	.7	2	.2	4	.6	11	.3
Roofing	3	.5	1	.1	106	15.5	3	.3	10	1.4	123	3.1
Walls	7	1.1	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	4	.6	12	.3
Cement	9	1.5	0	.0	63	9.2	6	.6	11	1.6	89	2.2
Bricks	9	1.5	0	.0	4	.6	3	.3	7	1.0	23	.6
Wood	5	.8	0	.0	18	2.6	2	.2	5	.7	30	.7
Paint	17	2.8	4	.4	31	4.5	0	.0	8	1.1	60	1.5
Doors and windows	13	2.1	0	.0	57	8.3	3	.3	10	1.4	83	2.1
Other building material	3	.5	0	.0	23	3.4	2	.2	9	1.3	37	.9
Marriage	1	.2	0	.0	1	.1	8	.8	8	1.1	18	.4
Funeral	3	.5	2	.2	1	.1	13	1.3	36	5.1	55	1.4
Feast	2	.3	2	.2	2	.3	1	.1	8	1.1	15	.4
Other special events	5	.8	0	.0	1	.1	1	.1	4	.6	11	.3
Other goods – First item	73	11.9	10	1.0	126	18.4	10	1.0	23	3.3	242	6.0
Other goods – Second item	8	1.3	0	.0	62	9.1	2	.2	6	.9	78	1.9
Other goods – Third item	0	.0	0	.0	30	4.4	1	.1	3	.4	34	.8
Don't know	0	0	0	.0	20	2.9	1	.1	6	.9	27	.7
Refused to answer	0	.0	0	.0	11	1.6	0	.0	7	1.0	18	.4

**Table 22: Items bought through remittances of both cash and items sent/brought**

	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Microwave	16	2.6	9	.9	1	.1	11	1.1	95	13.5	132	3.3
Tape Player	106	17.2	216	21.2	90	13.1	85	8.5	97	13.8	594	14.8
Hi-fi/ music centre	31	5.0	295	28.9	14	2.0	132	13.2	87	12.3	559	13.9
Sewing machine	45	7.3	89	8.7	15	2.2	95	9.5	86	12.2	330	8.2
Radio	329	53.5	462	45.2	59	8.6	337	33.7	238	33.8	1425	35.4
Cell phone (mobile phone)	144	23.4	277	27.1	67	9.8	161	16.1	319	45.2	968	24.0
Telephone in house	89	14.5	40	3.9	9	1.3	34	3.4	81	11.5	253	6.3
Electric washing machine	5	.8	3	.3	0	.0	2	.2	23	3.3	33	.8
Personal Computer	4	.7	2	.2	1	.1	2	.2	92	13.0	101	2.5
Clothes Iron	169	27.5	599	58.7	93	13.6	165	16.5	134	19.0	1160	28.8
Hotplate	6	1.0	25	2.4	21	3.1	30	3.0	84	11.9	166	4.1
Deep freeze in house	27	4.4	78	7.6	25	3.6	81	8.1	113	16.0	324	8.0
Bedroom suite	284	46.2	382	37.4	144	21.0	410	41.0	115	16.3	1335	33.2
Refrigerator in house	114	18.5	127	12.4	7	1.0	122	12.2	113	16.0	483	12.0
Motor vehicle (Sedan)	55	8.9	34	3.3	6	.9	67	6.7	114	16.2	276	6.9
Heater	11	1.8	352	34.5	1	.1	15	1.5	59	8.4	438	10.9
Fan or Air-conditioner	23	3.7	8	.8	0	.0	17	1.7	63	8.9	111	2.8
Stove (gas/ paraffin/ primers)	203	33.0	647	63.4	24	3.5	279	27.9	45	6.4	1198	29.8
Bicycle	210	34.1	38	3.7	70	10.2	33	3.3	79	11.2	430	10.7
Plough	31	5.0	145	14.2	7	1.0	116	11.6	25	3.5	324	8.0
Tractor	12	2.0	13	1.3	2	.3	24	2.4	7	1.0	58	1.4
Cattle	206	33.5	240	23.5	42	6.1	296	29.6	43	6.1	827	20.5
Sheep	50	8.1	107	10.5	3	.4	9	.9	5	.7	174	4.3
Goats	196	31.9	66	6.5	120	17.5	141	14.1	29	4.1	552	13.7
Donkeys	39	6.3	98	9.6	2	.3	6	.6	9	1.3	154	3.8
Horses	1	.2	54	5.3	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	56	1.4
Pigs	0	.0	70	6.9	58	8.5	28	2.8	8	1.1	164	4.1
Poultry	14	2.3	132	12.9	180	26.3	220	22.0	33	4.7	579	14.4
Television	99	16.1	187	18.3	39	5.7	154	15.4	288	40.9	767	19.1
Video Cassette recorder	38	6.2	26	2.5	25	3.6	27	2.7	240	34.0	356	8.8
Satellite Dish	19	3.1	15	1.5	2	.3	11	1.1	161	22.8	208	5.2
Canoe, donkey cart, sleigh	20	3.3	36	3.5	6	.9	0	.0	0	.0	62	1.5
Fields	56	9.1	132	12.9	28	4.1	23	2.3	13	1.8	252	6.3
Any insurance policy	13	2.1	121	11.9	1	.1	6	.6	22	3.1	163	4.0
Personal financial banking products	31	5.0	58	5.7	15	2.2	7	.7	30	4.3	141	3.5
Insurance	6	1.0	47	4.6	0	.0	9	.9	26	3.7	88	2.2
School fees	177	28.8	483	47.3	288	42.0	402	40.2	213	30.2	1563	38.8
Solar panels	2	.3	53	5.2	25	3.6	28	2.8	24	3.4	132	3.3
Plastic drums	8	1.3	221	21.6	105	15.3	221	22.1	4	.6	559	13.9
Plastic chairs and tables	121	19.7	137	13.4	148	21.6	65	6.5	17	2.4	488	12.1
Cooler box	2	.3	13	1.3	8	1.2	14	1.4	17	2.4	54	1.3
Generator	15	2.4	16	1.6	2	.3	9	.9	15	2.1	57	1.4
Grain mill	1	.2	1	.1	16	2.3	8	.8	1	.1	27	.7
Grain pounder	5	.8	1	.1	117	17.1	24	2.4	1	.1	148	3.7
Bakkie	2	.3	9	.9	3	.4	7	.7	3	.4	24	.6
Minibus	1	.2	3	.3	0	.0	0	.0	20	2.8	24	.6
Motorbike	1	.2	1	.1	4	.6	1	.1	6	.9	13	.3
Building materials	199	32.4	122	11.9	231	33.7	107	10.7	52	7.4	711	17.7
Other item	41	6.7	206	20.2	98	14.3	136	13.6	86	12.2	567	14.1
None	60	9.8	75	7.3	196	28.6	255	25.5	12	1.7	598	14.9

	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
	R	R%	R	R%	R	R%	R	R%	R	R%	R	R%
Savings at home	46	7.0	139	12.8	145	20.6	154	15.4	232	27.9	716	16.7
Savings in own country	383	58.0	369	33.9	111	15.8	185	18.4	440	52.8	1488	34.7
Savings in other country	48	7.3	72	6.6	35	5.0	11	1.1	82	9.8	248	5.8
No savings	183	27.7	507	46.6	412	58.6	653	65.1	79	9.5	1834	42.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1087</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>703</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1003</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>833</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4286</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Given the low incomes of many households, it is not all that surprising that many households report borrowing money during the previous year (Table 24). The Lesotho percentage is highest (69%) but between 42% and 49% of households in the other countries say they borrowed money. Family and friends are the most frequent source of borrowed money (Table 25). Only in Botswana and Zimbabwe are households borrowing from banks (14% and 7%, respectively) and only in Botswana was there a significant percentage with access to a savings group (9%). In Lesotho (12%) and Swaziland (6%) households sometimes borrow money from informal money lenders. Across the five countries borrowed money is most often used for the same purposes: food (23%), school fees (12%) and health expenses (9%).

	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	285	47.0	707	69.2	283	41.9	449	44.9	335	48.9	2059	51.6
No	322	53.0	314	30.8	392	58.1	551	55.1	350	51.1	1929	48.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>607</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1021</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>675</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>685</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3988</b>	<b>100.0</b>

		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Friends	Yes	99	16.1	285	28.0	121	17.7	213	21.3	167	23.7	885	22.0
Employer	Yes	13	2.1	5	.5	8	1.2	3	.3	28	4.0	57	1.4
Burial society	Yes	12	2.0	60	5.9	1	.1	0	.0	3	.4	76	1.9
Family	Yes	142	23.1	186	18.3	162	23.6	82	8.2	85	12.1	657	16.3
Church	Yes	3	.5	2	.2	3	.4	3	.3	11	1.6	22	.5
Bank	Yes	84	13.7	4	.4	0	.0	8	.8	46	6.5	142	3.5
Savings group	Yes	52	8.5	35	3.4	3	.4	23	2.3	0	.0	113	2.8
Union	Yes	9	1.5	30	2.9	0	.0	25	2.5	0	.0	64	1.6
Money lenders (formal)	Yes	9	1.5	5	.5	1	.1	18	1.8	23	3.3	56	1.4
Money lenders (informal)	Yes	2	.3	123	12.1	2	.3	61	6.1	10	1.4	198	4.9
Micro-finance organisations	Yes	1	.2	1	.1	3	.4	4	.4	5	.7	14	.3
Other source	Yes	26	4.2	44	4.3	23	3.4	30	3.0	1	.1	124	3.1
Don't know	Yes	2	.3	1	.1	3	.4	0	.0	2	.3	8	.2

## POVERTY AND REMITTANCES

The majority of migrant-sending households in the countries studied are clearly poor. This was confirmed by two household poverty assessments as part of the MARS survey: the Lived Poverty Index (LPI) and the food index.<sup>30</sup> The LPI is based on the answers to questions about how often the people in the household have gone without various basic items: food, water, home safety, medical treatment, a cash income, home fuel and electricity. The LPI information is presented in two ways: tables with the frequency of going without the various items and a computed scale using the mean values for each item, except electricity, with a mean score closer to '0' meaning less 'going without' and the closer to '4' the more often households have 'gone without'.

Table 26 presents the results for the LPI by items for each country. Regarding food, water and a cash income, Botswana and Zimbabwe

		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Enough food to eat in previous year?	Never	309	51.1	465	45.5	221	32.7	399	39.9	481	69.1	1875	46.9
	Just once or twice/ Several times	243	40.2	320	31.3	289	42.8	411	41.1	200	28.7	1463	36.6
	Many times/ Always	53	8.8	236	23.1	165	24.4	190	19.0	15	2.2	659	16.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>605</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1021</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>675</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>696</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3997</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Enough clean water for home use in previous year?	Never	503	83.7	364	35.7	421	62.2	406	40.6	537	77.2	2231	55.8
	Just once or twice/ Several times	86	14.3	313	30.7	158	23.3	404	40.4	134	19.3	1095	27.4
	Many times/ Always	12	2.0	344	33.7	98	14.5	190	19.0	25	3.6	669	16.7
<b>Total</b>		<b>601</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1021</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>677</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>696</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3995</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Medicine or medical treatment in previous year?	Never	357	65.9	372	36.5	304	45.9	393	39.3	506	73.5	1932	49.4
	Several times	94	17.3	471	46.2	257	38.8	500	50.0	171	24.9	1493	38.2
	Many times/ Always	91	16.8	177	17.4	102	15.4	107	10.7	11	1.6	488	12.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>542</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1020</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>663</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>688</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3913</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Enough fuel to cook your food in previous year?	Never	341	56.6	486	47.6	463	69.2	611	61.8	514	76.9	2415	61.1
	Just once or twice/ Several times	208	34.5	365	35.7	178	26.6	311	31.4	136	20.4	1198	30.3
	Many times/ Always	54	9.0	170	16.7	28	4.2	67	6.8	18	2.7	337	8.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>603</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1021</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>669</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>989</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>668</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3950</b>	<b>100.0</b>
A cash income in previous year?	Never	304	50.7	252	24.7	81	12.1	282	28.2	374	53.9	1293	32.5
	Just once or twice/ Several times	200	33.3	463	45.4	305	45.5	479	47.9	281	40.5	1728	43.4
	Many times/ Always	96	16.0	304	29.8	284	42.4	239	23.9	39	5.6	962	24.2
<b>Total</b>		<b>600</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1019</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>694</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3983</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: the LPI questions are collected in five categories: never, just once or twice, several times, many times, always; for ease of interpretation some are grouped in this table

households went without food and clean water less often than households in the other countries. On all five items on the LPI, Zimbabwe households have 'gone without' the least often. Households in Lesotho and Mozambique have 'gone without' the most often with Swaziland households somewhere in between.

Another common measure of poverty is the food index (Table 27) where food expense is expressed as a function of total household expense. The food index is a percentage of the food expense as a function of total expenses; the scale is 80%-100% extremely poor, 60%-79% relatively poor. On the food index, many households in Mozambique (21%), Swaziland (21%) and surprisingly Botswana (24%) fall in the extremely poor category spending 80%-100% of household income on food.

% of income spent on food	Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0 – 59%	296	59.9	771	81.8	199	53.5	622	66.5	482	86.8	2370	71.9
60 – 79% (Relatively poor)	80	16.2	103	10.9	94	25.3	115	12.3	47	8.5	439	13.3
80 – 100% (Extremely poor)	118	23.9	68	7.2	79	21.2	198	21.2	26	4.7	489	14.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>494</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>942</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>935</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>555</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3298</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Are migrant-sending households better or worse off than those that do not have migrants? Another SAMP survey in progress, the Migration and Poverty Survey (or MAPS) will answer this question more definitively. However, a provisional answer to the question can be reached through comparison with Afrobarometer data, which is based on national surveys of randomly selected households. This shows that remittance-receiving households are better off than average households in their country (Table 28). The percentage of MARS households 'going without' food, water, medical access, fuel and cash 'many times/always' is consistently lower than the Afrobarometer households in the countries studied. The difference is most dramatic for Zimbabwe and should only be taken as suggestive since the Zimbabwe data is from 2000, the scale is slightly different and emigration from Zimbabwe has taken a significant increase in the last 12 months.. However, there are equally dramatic differences for the other countries such as a cash income in Botswana, enough food in Lesotho, and medicine or medical treatment in Mozambique. Remittance receiving households are seemingly better off than average households in their home country.

**Table 28: Comparison of MARS and Afrobarometer data**

	Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Zimbabwe (*)	Average Total (#)	
	%	%	%	%	%	
Enough food to eat?	Many times/ Always (Afrobarometer)	19	44	28	27	30
	Many times/ Always (MARS)	9	23	24	2	15
Enough clean water for home use?	Many times/ Always (Afrobarometer)	11	21	18	21	18
	Many times/ Always (MARS)	2	34	15	4	14
Medicine or medical treatment?	Many times/ Always (Afrobarometer)	9	28	33	28	25
	Many times/ Always (MARS)	17	17	15	2	13
Enough fuel to cook your food?	Many times/ Always (Afrobarometer)	12	21	14	18	16
	Many times/ Always (MARS)	9	17	4	3	8
A cash income?	Many times/ Always (Afrobarometer)	33	61	41	45	45
	Many times/ Always (MARS)	16	30	42	6	24

Source: Afrobarometer data collected 2002-2003 from Afrobarometer Paper No. 34.

## CONCLUSION

The World Bank suggests the major gain from cross-border migration comes from income earned that benefits both the migrant and the family they leave behind. The economic gain for origin countries is significant with remittances making a major contribution to the country's foreign exchange. But gain does not come without a cost to both the migrant and their family. These generalizations would also seem to apply to SADC. Remitted cash and goods make a significant contribution to household economies in the countries studied and are rated as very important in the acquisition of basic necessities such as food as well as the acquisition of other goods such as televisions, cell phones and motor vehicles. Remittances are also important for emergencies and special events. Without remittances from migration the standard of living of people in migrant sending households would be reduced. For some the loss of remittances would likely mean household members would go hungry, for others the loss would be less dramatic but would still impact their quality of life.

There is significant variation in the quality of life migrant sending household enjoy; even with remittances, some households, especially in Mozambique, Swaziland and Botswana, are extremely poor as indicated on the food poverty index. For such households, the migration of household members is a survival strategy while for other households

migration enables household members to enjoy a quality of life and acquire households possessions that would otherwise be unattainable.

The impact of migration on the sending households is generally positive; it would seem that the benefits outweigh the liabilities. Many migrants come from households where people previously migrated and continued migration should be expected. Future migrants may include many more women and greater migration both within and outside SADC should be expected. Future migrants appear to be better educated and looking for employment in more skilled occupations. The implementation of migration policies in origin and destination countries to facilitate migration rather than to penalize the migrants would enable the benefits of migration to be better realized by both migrants and the people in their households.

Clearly migration and poverty are closely related in this region. The migrant-sending households of Southern Africa are generally poor although the degree of poverty does vary. Migration is a livelihood strategy of the poor. Remittances in cash and kind keep poverty at bay but they do not do much else. There is very little evidence, as yet, that remittances in Southern Africa have developmental value, as conventionally defined. Equally, they are critical for poverty alleviation in many households.

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Appendix A: Average amount of remittance spent (ZAR)							
		Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Swaziland	Zimbabwe	Total
School fees	Valid N	N=158	N=571	N=238	N=547	N=342	N=1856
	Mean	1120.31	1349.99	143.22	1740.28	493.25	1132.85
	Median	276.88	900.00	50.28	1200.00	182.16	500.00
	WA	43,608	513,900	11,900	656,400	62,244	
Food	Valid N	N=359	N=911	N=307	N=832	N=472	N=2881
	Mean	3221.86	2885.21	1921.48	2777.05	936.20	2473.92
	Median	2768.81	2400.00	1257.03	2400.00	455.41	1800.00
	WA	993,712	2,186,400	385,899	1,996,800	214,760	
Clothing	Valid N	N=232	N=777	N=144	N=237	N=346	N=1736
	Mean	1791.34	1393.83	408.09	1065.49	458.96	1134.03
	Median	1153.67	1000.00	201.12	600.00	182.16	625.00
	WA	267,496	777,000	28,944	142,200	62,972	
Seed	Valid N	N=12	N=249	N=130	N=444	N=65	N=900
	Mean	209.58	184.49	51.97	355.99	221.76	252.98
	Median	80.76	130.00	37.71	280.00	54.65	150.00
	WA	960	32,370	4810	124,320	3510	
Fertiliser	Valid N	N=1	N=189	N=5	N=342	N=51	N=588
	Mean	115.37	323.71	510.35	493.58	164.98	409.98
	Median	115.37	260.00	100.56	353.00	81.97	255.00
Tractor	Valid N	N=8	N=128	N=5	N=397	N=6	N=544
	Mean	1818.47	492.29	256.43	400.40	367.37	441.19
Oxen for ploughing	Valid N	N=1	N=26	N=30	N=21	N=7	N=85
	Mean	230.73	277.81	181.43	109.76	271.91	201.24
	Median	230.73	200.00	75.42	60.00	54.65	80.00
Labour	Valid N	N=16	N=52	N=52	N=41	N=25	N=186
	Mean	2259.75	382.94	245.85	299.51	601.33	517.02
	Median	1845.87	200.00	75.42	160.00	163.95	161.97
Cattle purchase	Valid N	N=72	N=14	N=13	N=16	N=13	N=128
	Mean	4432.50	2200.00	972.75	2806.25	827.10	3267.48
	Median	2884.18	1900.00	1005.62	2000.00	91.08	2000.00
	WA	207,648	26,600	13,065	32,000	1183	
Small stock purchase	Valid N	N=23	N=11	N=30	N=2	N=5	N=71
	Mean	1735.52	636.36	179.59	625.00	74.32	759.52
	Median	1730.51	500.00	125.70	625.00	18.22	351.97
Poultry purchase	Valid N	N=0	N=8	N=29	N=13	N=6	N=56
	Mean	.	513.88	719.28	263.08	36.43	510.87
	Median	.	250.00	37.71	200.00	36.43	60.34
Dipping and veterinary costs	Valid N	N=49	N=27	N=4	N=3	N=8	N=91
	Mean	337.74	192.48	74.16	2790.00	5741.61	838.97
	Median	288.42	70.00	77.94	200.00	40.99	200.00
Vehicle and transport costs	Valid N	N=3	N=6	N=9	N=18	N=14	N=50
	Mean	6963.55	1525.00	506.86	124.22	271.88	812.90
	Median	9229.36	1100.00	125.70	120.00	95.64	125.70
Equipment	Valid N	N=1	N=3	N=14	N=6	N=10	N=34
	Mean	115.37	3100.00	45.07	575.50	726.38	610.68
	Median	115.37	1000.00	44.00	375.00	122.96	63.30

		Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Swaziland	Zimbabwe	Total
Other farm input	Valid N	N=0	N=4	N=8	N=7	N=3	N=22
	Mean	.	696.25	186.67	84.29	303.61	262.69
	Median	.	492.50	150.84	80.00	136.62	136.62
Fares	Valid N	N=111	N=510	N=111	N=291	N=205	N=1228
	Mean	785.12	691.21	302.26	524.84	319.21	563.01
	Median	692.20	333.00	100.56	240.00	163.95	273.25
	WA	76,812	169,830	11,100	69,849	33,415	
Fuel	Valid N	N=17	N=101	N=29	N=20	N=47	N=214
	Mean	2239.48	815.50	242.11	362.50	479.54	734.80
	Median	1730.51	470.00	75.42	200.00	327.90	360.00
Vehicle purchase and maintenance	Valid N	N=15	N=8	N=3	N=1	N=50	N=77
	Mean	3714.82	15225.00	796.12	8000.00	2053.23	3773.67
	Median	3461.01	1350.00	879.92	8000.00	546.49	910.82
Other transport expenses	Valid N	N=0	N=0	N=6	N=0	N=1	N=7
	Mean	.	.	146.65	.	45.54	132.21
	Median	.	.	106.85	.	45.54	87.99
Purchase goods for sale (stock)	Valid N	N=4	N=11	N=20	N=8	N=87	N=130
	Mean	4383.95	1994.00	884.63	1960.00	2114.16	1975.19
	Median	4614.68	500.00	377.11	1140.00	910.82	907.94
Repay loans	Valid N	N=28	N=19	N=29	N=42	N=22	N=140
	Mean	8741.85	1360.21	259.86	466.60	792.75	2251.35
	Median	9229.36	250.00	125.70	270.00	227.71	300.00
Labour costs	Valid N	N=2	N=3	N=6	N=1	N=20	N=32
	Mean	4268.58	300.00	534.24	1800.00	436.97	724.44
	Median	4268.58	300.00	150.84	1800.00	273.25	273.25
Machinery and equipment	Valid N	N=0	N=1	N=0	N=2	N=14	N=17
	Mean	.	400.00	.	2050.00	1171.06	1229.11
	Median	.	400.00	.	2050.00	500.95	400.00
Other business expenses	Valid N	N=0	N=0	N=7	N=2	N=10	N=19
	Mean	.	.	615.01	1006.50	466.80	578.21
	Median	.	.	452.53	1006.50	409.87	452.53
Roofing	Valid N	N=82	N=37	N=21	N=34	N=37	N=211
	Mean	4009.71	4654.24	1193.28	5553.74	648.53	3501.82
	Median	2884.18	2500.00	377.11	1100.00	273.25	2000.00
Walls	Valid N	N=76	N=7	N=2	N=7	N=18	N=110
	Mean	2385.52	1772.86	4745.29	4557.14	878.79	2281.07
	Median	1730.51	500.00	4745.29	900.00	455.41	1730.51
Cement	Valid N	N=115	N=53	N=63	N=71	N=46	N=348
	Mean	1798.02	1189.47	978.75	2087.11	676.15	1467.71
	Median	1038.30	735.00	502.81	1000.00	273.25	807.57
Bricks	Valid N	N=93	N=46	N=23	N=27	N=35	N=224
	Mean	2324.33	3493.15	1309.50	5942.59	787.65	2656.18
	Median	2076.61	3000.00	502.81	1000.00	455.41	1730.51
Wood	Valid N	N=1	N=13	N=16	N=12	N=7	N=49
	Mean	3461.01	1923.23	1142.01	495.83	1628.42	1307.84
	Median	3461.01	1110.00	194.84	350.00	1821.65	452.53

		Botswana	Lesotho	Mozambique	Swaziland	Zimbabwe	Total
Paint	Valid N	N=22	N=20	N=5	N=4	N=17	N=68
	Mean	2304.72	237.45	357.00	1640.00	895.29	1162.02
	Median	1730.51	159.50	150.84	600.00	409.87	432.64
Doors and windows	Valid N	N=88	N=39	N=25	N=36	N=22	N=210
	Mean	1488.89	1281.38	867.25	1255.03	499.41	1232.60
	Median	1095.99	810.00	251.41	455.50	273.25	807.57
Other building material	Valid N	N=43	N=0	N=42	N=16	N=6	N=107
	Mean	2817.10	.	1016.43	1965.19	849.80	1872.59
	Median	2884.18	.	439.96	562.50	592.04	1300.00
Savings	Valid N	N=34	N=191	N=37	N=47	N=114	N=423
	Mean	10501.11	3375.55	1366.09	5267.79	1697.59	3530.55
	Median	2538.07	2300.00	879.92	2600.00	364.33	1384.40
Insurance policies	Valid N	N=3	N=46	N=0	N=2	N=33	N=84
	Mean	1759.35	1257.50	.	250.00	2393.09	1697.56
	Median	1384.40	475.00	.	250.00	182.16	416.31
	Maximum	3461.01	14000.00	.	440.00	63757.68	63757.68
Funeral and burial policies	Valid N	N=23	N=293	N=3	N=3	N=61	N=383
	Mean	475.21	385.09	310.07	1083.33	347.40	389.38
	Median	403.78	120.00	125.70	600.00	136.62	120.00
Other personal investment	Valid N	N=0	N=0	N=8	N=0	N=11	N=19
	Mean	.	.	809.21	.	1356.30	1125.95
	Median	.	.	301.69	.	364.33	364.33
Marriage	Valid N	N=94	N=11	N=7	N=9	N=13	N=134
	Mean	940.24	4436.36	1241.41	2866.67	210.89	1301.60
	Median	576.84	800.00	75.42	2000.00	136.62	576.84
Funeral	Valid N	N=94	N=166	N=18	N=49	N=55	N=382
	Mean	1383.42	1880.74	243.03	2199.63	118.82	1468.42
	Median	807.57	1500.00	188.55	1500.00	54.65	865.25
Feast	Valid N	N=6	N=73	N=19	N=1	N=13	N=112
	Mean	1417.67	1684.67	565.40	1000.00	87.58	1289.00
	Median	1384.40	1200.00	502.81	1000.00	91.08	1000.00
Other special events	Valid N	N=1	N=22	N=8	N=5	N=3	N=39
	Mean	576.84	646.91	394.71	908.00	2990.54	807.13
	Median	576.84	500.00	314.26	1000.00	728.66	502.81
Other expenditure item – First item	Valid N	N=11	N=248	N=59	N=23	N=15	N=356
	Mean	4367.17	784.63	318.37	2842.83	272.96	929.46
	Median	2076.61	485.00	105.59	1500.00	207.67	435.00
Other expenditure item – Second item	Valid N	N=0	N=111	N=27	N=1	N=0	N=139
	Mean	.	752.03	197.33	5000.00	.	674.84
	Median	.	480.00	100.56	5000.00	.	360.00
Other expenditure item – Third item	Valid N	N=0	N=46	N=6	N=0	N=0	N=52
	Mean	.	524.91	126.96	.	.	479.00
	Median	.	400.00	94.28	.	.	330.84
Total	Valid N	N=0	N=46	N=6	N=0	N=0	N=52
	Mean	.	524.91	126.96	.	.	479.00
	Median	.	400.00	94.28	.	.	330.84

WA= weighted average (frequency 'N' times median value)

<b>Appendix B: Importance of remittance spent on:</b>													
		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
School fees	Very important	186	78.8	489	85.5	159	51.6	449	81.8	268	84.3	1551	78.2
	Important	49	20.8	80	14.0	125	40.6	88	16.0	39	12.3	381	19.2
<b>Total</b>		<b>236</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>572</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>308</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>549</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1983</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Food	Very important	401	81.3	725	79.5	346	77.4	744	89.2	336	81.4	2552	82.3
	Important	83	16.8	183	20.1	88	19.7	88	10.6	61	14.8	503	16.2
<b>Total</b>		<b>493</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>912</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>834</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>413</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3099</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Clothing	Very important	232	66.3	531	68.3	97	36.1	170	70.8	160	54.8	1190	61.7
	Important	114	32.6	201	25.9	125	46.5	46	19.2	90	30.8	576	29.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>350</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>777</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1928</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Seed	Very important	3	25.0	198	82.5	40	25.2	337	75.9	34	61.8	612	67.3
	Important	8	66.7	40	16.7	82	51.6	92	20.7	17	30.9	239	26.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>12</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>910</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Fertiliser	Very important	0	.0	146	77.2	3	42.9	245	71.6	30	69.8	424	72.9
	Important	1	100.0	40	21.2	4	57.1	84	24.6	10	23.3	139	23.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>342</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>582</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Tractor	Very important	5	62.5	114	89.1	3	50.0	277	69.8	2	33.3	401	73.6
	Important	3	37.5	14	10.9	3	50.0	101	25.4	2	33.3	123	22.6
<b>Total</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>397</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>545</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Oxen for ploughing	Very important	1	100.0	23	88.5	19	55.9	19	90.5	3	60.0	65	74.7
	Important	0	.0	3	11.5	13	38.2	1	4.8	2	40.0	19	21.8
<b>Total</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Labour	Very important	20	90.9	38	73.1	26	41.9	23	56.1	15	75.0	122	61.9
	Important	2	9.1	14	26.9	20	32.3	15	36.6	4	20.0	55	27.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>22</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Cattle purchase	Very important	117	98.3	12	85.7	11	91.7	12	75.0	4	50.0	156	92.3
	Important	2	1.7	2	14.3	1	8.3	3	18.8	3	37.5	11	6.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>119</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Small stock purchase	Very important	52	91.2	10	90.9	23	57.5	0	.0	2	50.0	87	76.3
	Important	5	8.8	1	9.1	17	42.5	2	100.0	1	25.0	26	22.8
<b>Total</b>		<b>57</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Poultry purchase	Very important	1	100.0	6	75.0	10	16.9	9	69.2	2	28.6	28	31.8
	Important	0	.0	2	25.0	22	37.3	3	23.1	2	28.6	29	33.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Dipping and veterinary costs	Very important	24	47.1	10	37.0	0	.0	2	66.7	3	60.0	39	43.3
	Important	26	51.0	13	48.1	3	75.0	1	33.3	2	40.0	45	50.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>51</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Vehicle and transport costs	Very important	2	66.7	3	50.0	11	45.8	7	38.9	6	50.0	29	46.0
	Important	1	33.3	2	33.3	6	25.0	9	50.0	4	33.3	22	34.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Equipment	Very important	0	.0	1	33.3	0	.0	3	50.0	2	28.6	6	17.6
	Important	1	100.0	0	.0	16	94.1	2	33.3	5	71.4	24	70.6
<b>Total</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Other farm input	Very important	0	.0	3	75.0	4	44.4	2	28.6	2	66.7	11	47.8
	Important	0	.0	1	25.0	2	22.2	4	57.1	1	33.3	8	34.8
<b>Total</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100.0</b>

		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fares	Very important	56	38.1	371	72.7	34	23.3	151	51.7	105	67.3	717	57.3
	Important	84	57.1	128	25.1	95	65.1	55	18.8	31	19.9	393	31.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>147</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1251</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Fuel	Very important	13	72.2	82	81.2	13	33.3	11	55.0	30	81.1	149	69.3
	Important	3	16.7	19	18.8	13	33.3	3	15.0	4	10.8	42	19.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Vehicle purchase and maintenance	Very important	13	92.9	7	100.0	5	62.5	0	.0	36	83.7	61	83.6
	Important	1	7.1	0	.0	2	25.0	1	100.0	5	11.6	9	12.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Other transport expenses	Very important	0	.0	0	.0	6	42.9	0	.0	1	100.0	7	46.7
	Important	0	.0	0	.0	3	21.4	0	.0	0	.0	3	20.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Purchase goods for sale (stock)	Very important	5	100.0	9	81.8	10	58.8	6	75.0	51	71.8	81	72.3
	Important	0	.0	2	18.2	5	29.4	1	12.5	18	25.4	26	23.2
<b>Total</b>		<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Repay loans	Very important	40	97.6	16	84.2	17	44.7	25	59.5	9	56.3	107	68.6
	Important	0	.0	3	15.8	12	31.6	12	28.6	7	43.8	34	21.8
<b>Total</b>		<b>41</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Labour costs	Very important	1	33.3	3	100.0	7	77.8	0	.0	13	86.7	24	77.4
	Important	2	66.7	0	.0	2	22.2	0	.0	1	6.7	5	16.1
<b>Total</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Machinery and equipment	Very important	0	.0	1	100.0	0	.0	1	50.0	10	83.3	12	80.0
	Important	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	50.0	2	16.7	3	20.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Other business expenses	Very important	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	2	100.0	5	71.4	7	41.2
	Important	0	.0	0	.0	4	50.0	0	.0	1	14.3	5	29.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Roofing	Very important	121	96.8	26	70.3	32	72.7	31	88.6	21	91.3	231	87.5
	Important	4	3.2	11	29.7	11	25.0	2	5.7	1	4.3	29	11.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>125</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Walls	Very important	84	93.3	6	85.7	3	100.0	7	100.0	10	100.0	110	94.0
	Important	6	6.7	1	14.3	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	7	6.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>90</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Cement	Very important	136	90.1	39	73.6	57	64.0	54	75.0	24	80.0	310	78.5
	Important	14	9.3	13	24.5	26	29.2	13	18.1	6	20.0	72	18.2
<b>Total</b>		<b>151</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Bricks	Very important	106	93.8	33	71.7	22	81.5	20	74.1	25	96.2	206	86.2
	Important	7	6.2	13	28.3	5	18.5	5	18.5	1	3.8	31	13.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>113</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Wood	Very important	10	76.9	5	38.5	20	64.5	11	91.7	5	100.0	51	68.9
	Important	3	23.1	8	61.5	10	32.3	1	8.3	0	.0	22	29.7
<b>Total</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Paint	Very important	34	91.9	12	60.0	7	58.3	3	75.0	7	87.5	63	77.8
	Important	3	8.1	6	30.0	4	33.3	0	.0	0	.0	13	16.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>37</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100.0</b>

		Botswana		Lesotho		Mozambique		Swaziland		Zimbabwe		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Doors and windows	Very important	106	92.2	29	74.4	31	75.6	29	80.6	11	84.6	206	84.4
	Important	9	7.8	10	25.6	10	24.4	5	13.9	0	.0	34	13.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>115</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Other building material	Very important	50	100.0	0	.0	29	70.7	12	75.0	5	100.0	96	85.7
	Important	0	.0	0	.0	12	29.3	3	18.8	0	.0	15	13.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Savings	Very important	42	95.5	143	74.9	46	64.8	35	74.5	76	84.4	342	77.2
	Important	2	4.5	47	24.6	22	31.0	10	21.3	9	10.0	90	20.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>44</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Insurance policies	Very important	1	50.0	27	58.7	0	.0	2	100.0	13	65.0	43	61.4
	Important	1	50.0	19	41.3	0	.0	0	.0	3	15.0	23	32.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Funeral and burial policies	Very important	11	64.7	197	67.5	0	.0	2	66.7	29	64.4	239	66.4
	Important	6	35.3	93	31.8	3	100.0	1	33.3	9	20.0	112	31.1
<b>Total</b>		<b>17</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Other personal investment	Very important	0	.0	0	.0	2	33.3	0	.0	9	69.2	11	57.9
	Important	0	.0	0	.0	4	66.7	0	.0	2	15.4	6	31.6
<b>Total</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Marriage	Very important	41	45.1	8	72.7	3	30.0	6	66.7	4	44.4	62	47.7
	Important	48	52.7	2	18.2	3	30.0	1	11.1	5	55.6	59	45.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>91</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Funeral	Very important	34	30.9	89	53.6	13	38.2	37	74.0	33	75.0	206	51.0
	Important	73	66.4	68	41.0	15	44.1	8	16.0	10	22.7	174	43.1
<b>Total</b>		<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>404</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Feast	Very important	1	20.0	50	68.5	12	34.3	1	100.0	6	60.0	70	56.5
	Important	3	60.0	17	23.3	15	42.9	0	.0	1	10.0	36	29.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Other special events	Very important	1	100.0	10	45.5	6	75.0	4	80.0	1	100.0	22	59.5
	Important	0	.0	11	50.0	1	12.5	1	20.0	0	.0	13	35.1
<b>Total</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Other expenditure item – First item	Very important	15	100.0	129	52.7	35	53.8	19	79.2	10	90.9	208	57.8
	Important	0	.0	114	46.5	15	23.1	5	20.8	1	9.1	135	37.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>15</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Other expenditure item – Second item	Very important	0	.0	44	41.1	12	42.9	1	100.0	0	.0	57	41.9
	Important	0	.0	60	56.1	9	32.1	0	.0	0	.0	69	50.7
<b>Total</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.0</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Other expenditure item – Third item	Very important	0	.0	4	9.5	1	20.0	0	.0	0	.0	5	10.6
	Important	0	.0	22	52.4	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	22	46.8

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- 29 All currency/monetary values are in South African Rands to facilitate comparisons. Currencies in Lesotho and Swaziland are equivalent to Rands, and Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique currencies were converted to Rands at rates appropriate for the time of data collection. 'Median' is used instead of 'mean' because of the large difference between the mean and median indicating that the mean value is skewed because of a relatively few extremely large values; the median value is the mid-point or middle value. Most comparisons are made on the basis of percentages within countries; that is, comparisons are made between column percentages.
- 30 The Lived Poverty Index (LPI) was developed by Afrobarometer and used in their country studies. Robert Mattes provided information on the LPI and gave permission for its use on the MARS project. For more on the LPI see R. Mattes, M. Bratton and Y. Davids, "Poverty, Survival and Democracy in Southern Africa". Afrobarometer Paper No. 23, (January 2003).

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