Introduction

Migration, particularly by women, in the Southern Hemisphere has increased dramatically in recent decades illustrating that female migration is becoming more recognised. Nearly every village, town, city or country has been affected by international migration either as a sender or recipient of migrants or both. Patterns of female migration are varied and have become more diversified with recent social and economic changes within both the sending and receiving locations. International literature reveals that young women dominate in migration whether this is internal or across borders, often for reasons other than marriage. Growing evidence shows that, young and old women migrate, with women leaving their children with family members back home. While migration patterns are highly gendered, migration for work has clear demarcations and separate niches for male and female migrants. Tanner (2005) notes that migration is a complex sequence of moves that may involve several destinations and regular contact with the country of origin which may involve returning to the home country (cited in Crush and Frayne 2010:4). International migrant flows have increased in the developed world from 42 to 115 million and in the developing world from 49 to 86 million. (Crush and Frayne 2010:3). In Africa, the main receiving countries include South Africa, Nigeria or Cote d’Ivoire. Many developing countries bemoan the loss of skills through the so-called ‘brain-drain’, others such as the Philippines, Bangladesh and, locally, Mozambique and Lesotho actively export migrant labour as a matter of policy (Tanner 2005 cited in Crush and Frayne 2010:4).

South Africa has a 150 year history of internal and cross-border migration. Cross-border and internal migration dates back to the discovery of diamonds in the late 19th century. This migration had a mainly labour focus that was coercive in the interests of both colonial and apartheid development. The classical colonial policy concentrated on the exclusive development of an European minority by maintaining cheap African labour in a precarious position as migrant labourers living in urban areas on a work permit (Landau & Segatti 2009:29). This was further entrenched by the apartheid migrant labour system which tore the African socio-cultural fabric by enforcing the separation of men from their
families. The migrant labour system forced men to live in single sex hostels, wrenching families apart, leaving African women confined to the homelands and forbidden from entering urban areas. The dismantling of apartheid institutions encouraged internal migration of young women and men to the cities to seek opportunities denied their parents. The 1994 democratic period created many expectations of a better life for all resulting in large numbers of people migrating from rural towns or villages to live in urban areas. Indeed, migration patterns have become increasingly feminised because of cross-border migration by women. Contemporary post-apartheid South Africa is also witnessing an influx of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, many of whom are women especially from neighbouring Zimbabwe. Human mobility continues to transform South Africa's population and economy as never before (Landau & Segatti 2009:1). As South Africa is a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons (2005) and African Union Strategic Framework on Migration and the AU Common Position on Migration and Development, migrants have similar rights to citizens in relation to the South African Constitution. The SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons is gender blind and in the implementation of the protocol which allows visa-free entry for SADC nationals visiting another SADC country for up to 90 days per annum (UN Instraw 2007). While South Africa is a signatory but has not ratified the protocol through parliament, it has the potential to disadvantage women traders. Some 45 000 women travel through SADC border posts to shop and trade and a restriction on movement in another SADC country may disproportionately disadvantage women who use the opportunity to trade.

Crush and Frayne (2010) note that a general theory is either pitched at macro or micro level, therefore it cannot explain the complexities of migration. Boyd and Grieco (2003) go further by stating that different types of migration include amongst others temporary, permanent, illegal, labour and conflict induced migration which must influence the understanding and construction of theoretical perspectives. Feminists charge that international migration theory has traditionally focused on the causes of migration rather than who migrates and so failed to address gender-specific migration experiences. With women migrating in large numbers in the South, migration has become feminised and this has highlighted the need to correct women’s invisibility which creates a further conundrum because of the development impact migrants have on the host and receiving country. To solve this conundrum, a comprehensive theoretical understanding must include a gender perspective but also incorporate the relationship between migration and development. Moreover, there is a need to develop migration and development frameworks based on the country's specificities. According to Landau and Segatti (2009) the success of

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1 According to SAMP survey 41% of 85000 traders travelling through 20 SADC border posts are women
any development initiative must recognise and understand the root causes of the negative by-products of human mobility – corruption, human rights abuses and labour competition by developing ways to help reduce them rather than rely on the false premise that it can and should totally control mobility. It must be noted that this paper focuses mainly on theories of labour migration rather than on environmental reasons (natural disasters, famines, etc). Following on this introductory section on the relationship between gender, migration and development, the chapter goes on to examine a selected number of the theories of migration in development debates. The next section briefly discusses the gender dimension of migration in South Africa and some of the reasons why this process does not have a woman’s face. There is a dearth of theorising on female migration and a paucity of detailed studies on women’s experience of migration compared to men (Dinat & Perberdy 2010:197; Chant & Radcliffe 1992:2). This is despite the long history of women’s internal or cross-border migration in the SADC region. In an attempt to address the scarcity of literature on the subject, this paper therefore explores gendered migration and the development nexus within the context of SADC.

Section 1: Theories of gender and migration in development

Chant and Radcliffe (1992:2) recognise three patterns of migration in the literature on migration in the developing world. The first is that internal migration occurs from rural to urban areas. Secondly, people migrate to other countries in either the developed (North) or developing (South). Thirdly, migration occurs to rural locations within national borders, especially if a national economy specialises in a particular method of agriculture that requires seasonal labour. These contributions fill the gap by bringing together a series of case studies from a range of countries in the developing world and through comparative analysis, they distil critical points of reference in the interpretation and theorisation of a gender selective population movement2 (Chant and Radcliffe (1992:2). These migration patterns have influenced the theorisation of migration. Oishi’s (2003)3 review of feminist literature on migration notes that the 1960’s international immigration policies highlighted family reunification in the developed countries. In the developed world, migration was a male phenomenon and there was no gender differentiated data. The approach was to ‘add’ women to theories on family migration and to consider the concept of gender as a variable because women were considered the wives or dependents of male migrants (Oishi 2003; Boyd & Grieco 2003). Boyd & Grieco (2003) make a similar point when they state that in the 1960s and early 1970s academic literature used the phrase “migrants and their

2 Focus on case studies from the Caribbean, Peru, Costa Rica, Ghana, Kenya, Bangladesh, Thailand and Indonesia
3 Study focus on Sri Lanka, Philippines and Indonesia who appeared to have push factors of high unemployment, low wages, poverty which induced emigration. Thailand, Nepal, Bangladesh and India had similar economic conditions but fewer women migrated.
families” and this was a code for “male migrants, their wives and children.” The deafening silence of female migrants’ participation in the economy raised questions of the visibility of women as migrants, their presumed passivity in the migration process and their assumed subordinate role in the home. Colonial discourse represented women of the South as ‘exotic specimens’ as oppressed victims, as sex objects, as the most ignorant and backward members of ‘backward’ societies (de Groot 1991: 115 cited in Parpart 1995:257). Women migrants from the South were not considered independent contributors to the economy. Research on development suggested that migration for women (in the South) was modernising because women became emancipated from their assumed traditional values and behaviours (Boyd & Grieco 2003). These authors note further that research did not question the underlying models used to explain why people moved, where they went, and how they integrated. Contradicting the dominant development paradigm, Esther Boserup’s landmark 1970 study, *Women’s Role in Economic Development* proved that development schemes rather than improving the lives of women in the developing world, had often deprived them of economic opportunities and status (Parpart 1995:257), largely because development policies ignored the contribution of women to the economy. Migration programmes and theories have also been neglectful of the contributions women make to host and receiving countries.

According to Massey et al (1993:433) the oldest migration theory was developed to explain labour migration in the process of development. Consequently, neoclassical theory states that international mobility is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour. Countries with large populations of labour relative to capital have a low equilibrium market wage, while countries with limited populations of labour relative to capital are characterised by a high market wage. Consequently, the supply of labour decreases as the wages increase in the capital-poor country while supply of labour increases and wages fall in the capital-rich country leading to equilibrium (Massey et al: 433). According to Chant and Radcliffe (1992:18), the neoclassical economic theories focusing on macro push/pull factors of wage differentials or labour demand or supply were oversimplified because of researchers’ over-reliance on uncertain data on rural income and unemployment rates. The limitations of neo-classical theories in explaining rural-based migration have been increasingly recognised (Brown and Lawson, 1985 cited in Chant & Radcliffe 1992:18). Neo-classical theories were gender blind because it was assumed that migration was a male phenomenon or that migration was the same for women as it was for men (Osihi 2003:7).

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4 Examples of push factors are high unemployment, low wages and poverty. Pull factors involve migrating to countries where foreign nationals’ labour will fill the gap created by a lack of national labour.
Neoclassical theories from a micro perspective note that individuals as rational actors decide to migrate because of cost-benefit calculation which leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary (Massey et al 1993:434). International migration is considered an investment in human capital. Feminist authors note that the neoclassical economic models and the push-pull demographic models of the 1970s and 1980s, viewed migration as the outcome of individual decisions (Boyd & Grieco: 2003; Chant & Radcliffe: 1992). The responsibilities of women as wives and mothers and the role of men as breadwinners were thought to influence the decisions of women. These are considered to be decisions of rational individuals who wish to maximise returns on their labour (Chant & Radcliffe 1992: 18). Such gendered responsibilities were believed to explain why women were less likely than men to participate in migration decisions or in the labour force of the host country when they joined their husbands (Boyd & Grieco: 2003). In addition, the neo-classical development approach did not acknowledge migrant women’s productive and reproductive roles within society, as pointed out by critics such as Massey et al (1993).

The new economics of migration challenge many of the assumptions and conclusions of the neoclassical theories (Massey et al 1993). Household strategy theorists contend that migration decisions are not made by individuals but by households (Osihi 2003). Proponents of this approach note that people act collectively to maximise expected income. They also minimise risks for members of the kinship unit. Households control risks to their economic wellbeing by diversifying the allocation of household resources – for example family labour. Crush and Frayne (2010:16) writing on migration in the SADC region note that migration is essential for both the individual and the family. For migrants this is an opportunity to earn income for children’s education, for health services, for shelter or to start a small business (op cit 16). Consequently, the number of women in cross border migration has increased. Critics note that family/household decisions and actions do not represent unified and equally beneficial outcomes for all members (Boyd & Grieco 2003). Families and households, as units is where production and redistribution take place but families also represent centres of struggle where people with different activities and interests can come into conflict with one another. Theorists note that ongoing power relations that operate in families and households because of diverse interests and activities strongly suggest that the interests of men and women in families do not always coincide and may affect decisions about who manages to migrate, for how long, and to which countries. Consequently, the power relations within that particular family may determine, for example that the women migrate so remittances may pay for the education of the males. Therefore, household strategy theorists suggest that gender is a social construction determined within the context of that particular
Recent theorists on migration refer to dual labour market theory where permanent workers are employed in the internal labour market with career paths. Migrants are employed in the external labour market. Dual labour market theory advocate that advanced economies require a permanent demand for migrant labour. These are pull factors that are built into the structure of developed countries. There are four fundamental characteristics of advanced industrial societies and their economies. The first is structural inflation whereby wages are not only linked to supply and demand but also status and prestige which are social qualities that inhere to the jobs to which the wages are attached. There is a rigid notion of status linked to wages. Therefore, wages are not free of socially defined relations between status and prestige. The second reason is the motivational problems experienced by workers because occupational hierarchies are critical to the motivation of workers since people work not only for income but also accumulation and maintenance of social status. Employers need workers who see a job as a means to an end. Migrants fit this role to satisfy this need at the beginning of their migratory careers. Most migrants begin as target seeking to earn money for a specific goal that will improve their status at home - building a house, paying for school or buying land (Massey et al 1993:442). Low wages of developed and developing countries, even low wages abroad appear high by the standards of the home community. A migrant may perceive a job as low status abroad but he does not view himself as being part of the receiving society. Dual labour market theorists argue that workers in developing countries are structurally pulled into the secondary labour markets in industrialised countries. These secondary labour markets offer casualised jobs of lower pay, poor working conditions and lack job security to migrant workers. Parpart (1995:260) emphasises the importance of acknowledging the division of labour in certain societies particularly the invisible aspects of women’s productive and reproductive work and the relationship between these labour patterns and other aspects of gender inequality.

Inequality between developed and developing countries is described in world systems theory on migration as purported by Sassen (1988 cited in Osihi : 2003). This theory on migration is linked to the bifurcation of the labour market within particular national economies as well as to the structure of the world market that has developed and expanded. The penetration of capitalist economic relations into the periphery non capitalist societies creates a mobile population. In search of greater profits, owners and managers of capitalist firms enter poor countries in search of cheap raw materials, land, labour and new consumer markets thereby perpetuating the exploitation of the periphery nations by core nations in the international system (Massey et al 1993). The recruitment policy of the multinational
is the preferential recruitment of female workers (preferably young and single) from the rural periphery to the urban core where they work in export processing factories (Sassen 1988 cited in Osihi 2003). The theoretical argument goes further to state that multinationals fire these casualised workers in economic downturns. Chant and Radcliffe (1992:19) acknowledge that world systems theory takes into account not only the responses of individuals to structural constraints, but opportunities as well. This approach to ‘labour market formation and uneven spatial distribution [is] combined with an awareness of a highly selective individual response of developing country inhabitants faced with limited strategies to utilise for survival’ (Chant & Radcliffe 1992:19). One of the many strategies is to migrate (Chant & Redcliffe 1992: 19). This theory acknowledges migrants’ contribution as individual's and as groups to the development process. Alternative development approaches and critiques of this theoretical perspective is that the machinations of developed elites who were largely male and their collaborators of the South (largely male) related to greed for greater wealth. Radical feminists’ critique of patriarchy and the institutionalisation of patriarchal behaviour inspired a new approach to development which became known as women and development. Women’s participation in the development of both sending and receiving countries highlighted social networks created by migrant communities.

Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal social ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants (Massey et al 1993:448). Therefore, networks are a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to foreign employment. According to Osihi (2003) network theorists consider the migration process as personal, cultural with social ties. Migrants from sending countries have information about jobs and living standards abroad which are efficiently transmitted through personal networks to friends or neighbours who emigrate. Networks often help friends to migrate, find jobs and help them settle into their new environment. These networks assist newcomers to relocate and reduce the costs of migrating. Women tend to rely on personal networks. The density and geographical relocation of certain communities explain the personal and institutional networks between sending and receiving migrant countries. Network theorists believe that it is the historical, geographical and political ties that exist before large scale migration takes place. Within this context, gender is a social construction of gender roles and gender relations within the development frameworks (Parpart 1995).

The examination of various critiques of migration theory from a gender perspective, highlight that within SADC, migration to South Africa relies heavily on networks within families, villages and towns. This approach to migration still exists where generations of men from neighbouring states migrate to the South African mines. Men lived in single sex hostels along clan lines thus retaining networks and kinship ties. Therefore, migration in Southern Africa has increased and continues to rely largely on
community or meso-level theories of networks to support household strategies. Many of the men and women who travelled to the cities in South Africa do menial jobs in the secondary labour market. Consequently, it is the combination of networks to address household strategies that are dominant in the SADC region. The next section examines the historical role of migration in the socio economic development of South Africa and how black men and women who did not form part of the migrant labour system were employed in the secondary labour market.

Section 2: The invisibility of women in the South African migrant labour system

By focusing on the migration – development nexus, this section gives a snapshot of women’s role in the migration process during the colonial and apartheid period in South Africa. Because of the coercive nature of the migrant labour system in South Africa, the sexual division of labour arose in families and communities in both African and Boer societies during the colonial period. Bozzoli (1981:7) writing within a feminist historical materialist tradition notes that the system of patriarchy was overarching in early South Africa. The sexual division of labour within the household in colonial society determined that African women did most of the laborious work of fetching water and firewood, preparing food, cleaning, house building and maintenance as well as a range of other tasks including caring for children, and helping neighbours. Women were also responsible for domestic agricultural production. The herding of cattle was done by the boys while girls helped their mothers and had a heavier workload. African women carried the greater agricultural burden because men’s work was to hunt or herd cattle. As the migrant labour system was implemented through land dispossession and heavy taxation, African men entered the labour market as teachers, shop assistants, migrant workers or domestic servants in European households. Women remained in the domestic sphere caring for the family and the homestead. African women sold their produce to Boer women but colonial authorities discouraged the former from residing in urban areas.

Mine owners believed that the separation between males (production/war) and females (reproduction/family) was an integral part of colonial social consciousness. The implementation of the 1913 Land Act⁵ confined the majority of the population to 7% of the land (Davenport and Saunders 2000). African women’s migration to the urban areas was further curtailed by village chiefs who believed they were the guardians of village women. Chiefs tore up the bus tickets of women who attempted to migrate to urban areas to join their spouses. Feminist theorist, Lemmer (1989), offers an explanation for the subordinate role of women. She argues that an understanding of women’s roles

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⁵ The 1913 Land Act was amended to allocate 13% of the most arid land to the majority of the population.
should be located within the cultural and social institutions of a particular society. In relation to South Africa, Lemmer has drawn our attention to what she refers to as the ‘conjugal attitudes toward women’s roles’ (Lemmer 1989:35). In this context, men are regarded as the head of the household and the ‘breadwinner’ of the family which, it is argued, entitles them to higher wages and better conditions of service. Women’s careers are thus regarded as secondary. Lemmer therefore argues that the subordinate roles of women lie within the beliefs, values and culture of a specific form of patriarchal society where race and class intersect to give primacy to the male view.

2.1 Excluding African women from the Industrial Working Class

Cross-border migration by men from neighbouring countries - Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland-entering South Africa was through traditional recruitment agencies. The labour market system was referred to as ‘regulated rigidity’ and was supported by a battery of racial legislation including pass laws, influx control, job reservation and the regional development policy intended to direct and redirect African labour mobility. This process confined African women to the agricultural domestic sphere in the rural areas. Consequently, patriarchy in the 20th century segregated black from white women by institutionalising mineowners patriarchal behaviour. Thus women’s exclusion from the mining industry gave all women opportunities to seek employment in other industries or to retain a measure of independence through self-employment. African women entering urban areas did so as launderers or as washerwomen, liquor brewers and sellers or domestic service providers. Women migrated to the city to join their spouses or through pre-existing kinship social networks. Many were self-employed which was the advantage of not being proletarian- or factory workers (Bozzoli 1981:26). According to Yawitch (1984), the early attempts at implementing pass laws were localised and ineffective in stemming the tide of African women entering the cities. Moreover, women used their relative economic strength to establish an independent base within the urban family (Bozzoli 1981:26). This encouraged African urban households to not be solely dependent on a wage income.

2.2 African Women’s inclusion in the Racially Segregated Labour Market

Post-Second World War South Africa experienced a drought which resulted in massive structural unemployment with the concomitant rapid mechanization of industries that lead to a surplus population of women entering the workplace at a rapid rate. African women found employment as domestic workers or employment in the sales and service sectors where they were employed as cleaners, tea makers and cooks. These were jobs at the bottom of the occupational ladder and tended to be the lowest paid because they linked to African women’s reproductive labour and drew on their skills associated with caregiving. The idea that Africans should only be in urban areas in order to
serve the needs of the White population originated in 1948, with the National Party's advance into political power. In addition, apartheid legislation had the purpose of controlling the surplus African population and securing conditions for the maintenance and reproduction of urban the labour force. Therefore, the extension of Influx Control Laws in 1956 to black women was to incorporate one group with rights to live and work in urban areas while another was confined to Bantustans and structurally as well as legally deprived of access to work and residence in urban areas. Since black men and women were barred from forming family structures in the mining regions, gender roles took on their own connotations within the mine compounds where men lived amongst men for most of their working lives. Significantly, the roles between men were also influenced by patriarchal structures of the apartheid government and many African men formed second families with women who lived in urban slums.

Like most societies, patriarchy plays a significant role in how roles are prescribed but in South Africa the intersection of the racial and class structure of society created stratified roles and functions for the majority of the black population. Migration for women brought with it a number of new developments. The new social networks sometimes created greater economic autonomy for women who earned an income either in factories or domestic service. According to Yawitch (1984), African women were incorporated into the influx control system by the Native Laws Amendment Act (1952) and the Abolition of Passes (and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, Act No 67 of 1952. Apartheid legislation made it compulsory for African women to have their service contracts registered at the pass office. This made it enormously difficult for women coming into towns from rural areas to find a job. The labour bureaux system arose in 1952 but women were exempt from having to register. If they wanted to find work, however, they had to register to find work legally. This masked the levels of unemployment amongst women. African women entering an urban area had to qualify for permission to live in a residential area under Section 10 (l) (a)(b)(c) of the Urban Area Act of 1923 (Yawitch 1984:5). In fact, very few rural women found work via the labour bureaux and would use their networks based on kinship to enter the town/city illegally and work illegally. Legislation made it increasingly difficult for a woman to live in urban areas unless she lived with a male spouse. Housing was in short supply and allocation of family housing was restricted to men with residential rights.

From the late 1970s government introduced institutional reforms recognising black trade unions and to legislation linked to residential areas. The rapid growth of decentralised industrial estates in the 1980s

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6 These two pieces of legislation facilitated the incorporation of all black women over the age of 16 years into the influx control system. Therefore, the Native Amendment Act made it more difficult for Africans coming from rural areas to live legally in urban areas.
represented the culmination of 20 years’ of efforts by the apartheid state functionaries to lure industries to the borders of the Bantustans where the black population (and labour force) was herded through the application of influx-control legislation. This was in accordance with Verwoerd’s grand vision of preventing Africans from living in urban areas and relocating them to ‘independent’ self-governing Bantustans and was at the heart of this industrialisation policy. Border industries were exempt from minimum wages under the industrial council system and border industry incentives included transport subsidies and tariff protection to companies located in these areas. The apartheid government’s attempts at reform with repression of organisations and individuals opposed to the racist state continued until the unbanning of organizations in 1990. This signaled the dismantling of apartheid legislation ushering in the period of democratic rule. Nevertheless, the brutality of the migrant labour system destroyed families creating female headed households both in the Bantustans and townships.

**Section 3: Cross-border migration as a livelihood strategy**

The globalisation of migration in the SADC region has resulted in an increase in both internal and cross border migration. Women have increasingly become part of this phenomenon. Their participation in the labour market has contributed towards the maintenance of their household and the development of their community of origin through remittances. South Africa is seen as the hub of intra-regional and even extra-regional migration in SADC. The flows of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers are more complex than a one directional flow because South Africa is considered a springboard for migrants wishing to enter Europe.

**3.1 Gendered nature of migration in the SADC Region**

Receiving countries of South Africa and Botswana are considered superior in terms of migrants’ access to employment, economic opportunities and health facilities. Lesotho migration patterns have varied because of a decline in the mining industry and growth in textile and clothing industries in South Africa. According to Ghosh (2009:38) remuneration for male migrants continue to be higher than for women but the availability of jobs for men is much more limited. Women migrants on the other hand face more obstacles in sending money home to families due to lower wages. Men from these SADC countries are more likely to migrate in search of employment opportunities, while women migrate for a wider range of social and economic factors. Unlike men, employment is not the overwhelming reason for the movement of women, who move for multiple reasons including visits, trade, shopping and self-employment, as well as employment. Women are more likely to migrate to visit family and friends, to
trade and shop (usually for informal businesses at home), be self-employed in the informal sector, as well as to seek employment (UN-Instraw, 2007: 20). Women migrants tend to be married and better educated than their male counterparts. Migration for men is still temporary migration (circular migration). While female migration is increasing it is still a male phenomenon as demonstrated below.

Table 1: Gendered breakdown of migration patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Black et al, UN Instraw 2006:89

Men, are more likely to travel to places of sectoral employment (particularly the mines for migrants from Mozambique and Lesotho) while women are more likely to migrate to urban areas where they can trade and shop. Types of work for women migrants involved in internal or cross border migration is seasonal work in agriculture, domestic work and the service sector. The migration of women raises questions on the interpersonal relationships between men and women and whether women's relationships to family members, including spouses, change with migration. Because men remain in South Africa for longer periods of their working lives, they are more likely to be integrated into social networks than women. Although men stay for longer periods, they still reported returning to their home countries regularly (UN-Instraw 2007:18).

Overall, women are estimated to comprise 47% of migrants in the region (SAMP 2007). A recent study showed that the majority of women in the SADC region are single parents as indicated in the Table 2 below.
Table 2 - Women as household heads (% of households)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country &amp; Women as household heads</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Country &amp; Women as household heads</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola – no data</td>
<td></td>
<td>Swaziland (1986)</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana (1991)</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>Tanzania (1990)</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC no data</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zambia (1990)</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa (2001)7</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>Mauritius (1990)</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho see case study 3.1 below</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zimbabwe (1992)</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The UN Instraw (2007:21) study of women migrants found that most women made their own decisions to migrate and were not influenced by male family members, and some were encouraged by them to migrate. It suggests that migration is driven by household needs and allows women opportunities to work, make their own decisions, and have new experiences. When examining migration in the SADC region, I focussed on Lesotho women migrating to South Africa. Women migrants from Lesotho are major economic actors. Lesotho is one of the most migrant dependent societies in the world and remittances are a major source of foreign exchange and was approximately 25% of GDP in 2006 (UN Instraw 2010:8). Historically, young men migrated to the mines in South Africa however women also migrated to South Africa. These women were either unmarried younger women or widows who migrated to break the cycle of poverty at home. There are many reasons for the feminisation of the migration linked to the decline in wages by men but more importantly, women have migrated in huge numbers because of delaying or avoiding marriage, widowhood, abandonment and divorce resulting in women becoming the primary wage earner (UN Instraw 2010:9). Domestic work in South Africa is poorly paid but higher than a similar employment contract in Lesotho.

7 The comparable figure in the 1996 census was 37.8%. The proportion of black African households headed by women was 46.6% of all women headed households in 2001 as compared to 43.3% in 1996. (UN-Instraw 2007)
Table 3: Migrant remittances from sending country to Lesotho

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Annual cash remittance in US Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female migrants</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average annual remittance for 2005</td>
<td>1023</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UN INstraw 2010

The average annual cash remittance receipt reported by households was US 1023 considerably higher than the average remittance by women migrants. This is an indication that female wages are lower than males because wage levels for men are higher than those for women. Therefore, it appears that women make remittance for household needs and are used for consumption, school fees and health costs. These remittances contribute towards the household livelihood of the migrants family. Many migrants belong to churches, sports and entertainment associations or organisations in the recipient countries. Migrants also form burial societies to pay for funeral or related travel costs. Another form is the stokvel which obligates each member to contribute an amount each month to a common pool. Remittances and financial capital from stokvels are used to support the migrant in South Africa or their family members in Lesotho (UN INstraw 2010).

3.2 Emigration or brain drain of highly skilled migrants

Social networks and household strategy theories appear to influence the emigration of skilled professionals from the region to other parts of the world, a factor which is of considerable concern to SADC governments. According to the (UN Instraw 2007:21) study, the IT, engineering, health and education sectors are hardest hit. The first two are male-dominated professions, while the health sector, particularly nursing, and teaching are female-dominated professions. Skilled migrants also move within SADC (called ‘brain circulation’) indicating an exchange of skills between countries in the region. Botswana, Namibia and South Africa are the most popular destinations for skilled migrants in SADC. However, countries which can attract skills can also experience skills shortages (e.g., South Africa and Botswana) and may need skills from other countries in the region and elsewhere to make up for them. In Namibia in 1997, 18% of senior officials and 14% of professionals in public posts were foreign workers. Botswana is home to foreign medical professionals, including nurses, academics as well as skilled artisans. South Africa attracts professionals in most sectors, although only around 45,000 work permits are issued each year. The UN Instraw research undertaken in Botswana,
Lesotho, South Africa and Zimbabwe in the late 1990s on the emigration potential of professionals found that although their reasons for wanting to migrate were similar, women were less likely than their male counterparts to want to migrate and were more likely to want to go for shorter periods of time. Skilled emigration from South Africa is dominated by white professionals, but black professionals are also increasingly leaving the country.

The loss of professionals is of concern to governments as it affects their ability to deliver services and maintain development and represents a loss of investment in education. Research on skilled migration from the region is limited, particularly pertaining to the migration of skilled women. Emigration statistics are notoriously poor and many migrants leave on short-term contracts and so are not captured as emigrants. Attempts have been made in the health sector to minimize the brain drain of health workers and its effects. These provide codes of practice for recruitment and treatment of health workers, exchange programs for training and development and the provision of health professionals to South Africa from specific countries.

4. Conclusion

Globalisation of migration affects every village, town and city. Research on the topic notes that women and men migrate for different reasons. Consequently, theories on gender and migration SADC appear to approach the topic from an individual (micro) and community (meso) perspective in the context of globalisation. This approach appears to be popular in the SADC region where women depend on community social networks to assist them with the process of migration. Moreover, migration appears to be part of female migrants’ livelihoods strategy within the context of the SADC region. The feminist view of gender as a social construction has raised questions that have fuelled much of the research in the study of women and migration over the last decade. This relates to patriarchy, or the hierarchies of power, domination, and control men use to rule women. How does patriarchy, which gives men preferential access to the resources available in society, affect women's ability to migrate, the timing of that migration, and the final destination? In other words, how is patriarchy altered or reconstituted after migration? While this question remains largely unanswered because of the lack of studies on women’s migration, the increase in women’s mobility appear to be challenging patriarchy because women are no longer travelling as part of a family. Women appear to be making decisions which meet their own livelihoods needs. Women migrants’ ability to enforce their autonomy within the family becomes obvious as more and more women have mobility. Feminisation of migration is a dominant feature globally but migration remains a male phenomenon in the SADC region. Evidence indicates that migration for women takes the form of cross-border or internal mobility. While a woman may
migrate to perform a feminised job in the secondary labour market, her decision to take up the poorly paid work is based on the household needs of her family. Social networks of neighbours or family experience of the destination country encourage women to migrate. It is often the same social networks that assist professionals to migrate. The process of ‘brain drain’ of professionals migrating for career advancement is a concern of the sending country because of the loss of social capital to that economy. Research on remittances to the migrant’s home country has proven to make a contribution towards the family and local development. Notwithstanding all the constraints of poorly paid, often secondary labour market employment, female migrants make a contribution to the development of their home country through remittances and experiences of being a global citizen. Therefore, women migrants from the SADC region living in South Africa appear to be migrating as individuals to meet their perceived family needs and no longer in the shadow of their spouses.
Bibliography:


- UN Instraw (2007) Gender Remittances and Development Preliminary findings from selected SADC countries. United Nations


