Education

The nexus between migration and social protection: A gendered analysis

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Abstract

This research paper analysed the link between migration and social protection. The psycho-social challenges faced by the children and spouses left behind were also examined. The study focused on families from Anglican churches in Harare suburb only. The sample of the study comprised of men and women as well as children left behind by those who would have left in search of greener pastures. It was established that those left behind are being marginalised in society. The study concluded that the absence of social protection agencies in investigating the lives of those left behind should be corrected. Religious leaders should encourage couples and families to stay together as one unit. Existing support structures need to lobby for a better system of care for the children and spouses left behind to ensure that all their rights as children, men and women are met adequately.

Keywords: migration, social protection, gendered-analysis, psycho-social challenges, single-parent, poverty, marginalized

Introduction

Migration in the 21st century has become a popular way for individuals from impoverished developing countries to obtain sufficient income for survival. This income is sent home as remittances and has become an economic staple for a number of developing countries. According to the UN (2002), over one million people now reside outside the country of their birth. However this can have an economic and social impact that can either be negative or positive on the source country. Social scientists describe migration as the more or less permanent movement of people across space. Petersen (1968) thus it has been the defining feature in the making of humanity from our emergence as a species in the African continent.

In Sub Saharan Africa, migration has been documented in historical books and accounts of historians such as Ian Phiminister, Terence Ranger and the labour migration to South African mines in Kimberly during the gold and diamond rush period. Given this, migration was seen as a purely economic decision and even theorist like Michael Todaro have posited that the propensity to migrate is an economic decision. The motivation was based on hyperbolic stories that the streets of South Africa are paved in gold. In other parts of the continent, migration to other countries has been triggered by resources such as oil, for instance, migration to Nigeria.

Whilst scholars have written much about the economic nature of migration, little was said about women left behind to look after the children. The bandwagon for migration in recent years has seen women involved. As a result of gender stereotypes migration is seen as a masculine process but this has been challenged. What has become inevitable are the organised criminal syndicates involved in the migration process. There have been reports of people being trafficked to other countries in containers and others dying in the Mediterranean trying to cross into Europe.

On the eve of the 21st century Zimbabwe has been characterised by economic problems that have pushed a number of its citizens out of the country. This coupled by illegal economic sanctions imposed by the West, many a Zimbabwean has left the country. Following the economic sanctions, Zimbabwe has suffered what seems to be an incurable disease starting from food shortages, financial instability, unemployment, underemployment and retrenchments that has left a number of its educated and able-bodied citizens stranded in their own homeland and this has influenced migration. Whatever else it might be the human movement is far from slowing down as millions of Zimbabweans continue to migrate to South Africa and other countries.

Research Methodology

A qualitative approach was adopted for this study. The primary method of data collection was in-depth interviews supplemented by focus group discussions and in some cases life history narratives. The research strived to be as non-directive as possible and sought to capture descriptions of the participant's experiences and the meanings attached to those experiences.

Literature Review
Theoretical Framework

The neo-classical theory of migration states that the main reason for migration is wage differences between two geographical locations. According to the neo-classical theory (Lauby and Stark 1998) [28], families respond to failures to market protections such as lack of insurance against economic shocks by sending one or more family members to a different

country or region to work in an industry or secure education in an environment that does not face threats but offers protection against economic threats. In Africa more emigration occurs from low-income than middle income countries and most emigrants from low-income countries go to neighbouring countries unlike emigrants from middle income countries more of whom go to industrialised countries. (Lucas, 2005). Furthermore Lee's laws divide factors causing migration into two groups pull and push factors. Push factors are those things that are unfavourable about an area that one lives in, and pull factors are things that attract one to another area. (Castle and Miller 2003) However at the same time families forget that their duty is to protect their members from experiencing dramatic psychological distress brought about by this migration to greener pastures.

Scholarly evidence has shown that migration is a multi-faceted phenomenon which has affected the whole essence of family hood. Family is defined by Murdock cited by Haralambos and Hollborn (1991) as a social group characterised by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes at least two who maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and one or more children.

Factors that led to migration in Zimbabwe

According to Ibbo Mandaza (1986), political leaders mobilized people very effectively politically for independence but hardly at all for the economic struggle to follow, which led to a quarter of a million leaving the country. Since the year 2000, Zimbabwe has been receiving less aid from the European Union due to its policies on land. Elections and human rights issues were also cited by the West as reasons for withdrawal of aid. The country has been under illegal sanctions as a way of forcing it to comply with the demands of the metro-pole.

Scholary evidence has shown that the adoption of Structural Adjustment Program, in the early 90s, by the Zimbabwean government is the reasons behind the migration of many of its citizens. Claude Ake (2000) notes that the propensity to migrate is linked to SAPs as they turned out to be a failure in poverty alleviation. Excessive dependence of the Zimbabwean state on the European Union official assistance severely compromised Zimbabwe's national sovereignity and eroded her economic development. In contrast with most sub-saharan African countries, Zimbabwe had an efficient agricultural system. It was one of the few countries on the African continent which was self-sufficient in food production, maintaining food supplies to its people without having to make recourse to substantial imports even in most drought years. In the 1980's and 1990's Zimbabwe became the breadbasket of the African region. It was given the food security portfolio in the SADC region owing to its ability to export surplus grain to its neighbours. However, since 2000 Zimbabwe's food production has declined due to the fast track land reform program started by the Zimbabwean government in July 2000 which was geared at levelling out unfair advantages which the colonial era conferred on the minority. This led to the official freezing of development assistance in the agricultural sector, reducing agricultural output by 60% from 2,7 million tonnes in 1981 to

only 600 000 in 2006.

EU donors responded to the land reform by withdrawing their agriculture programs or by simply freezing of agricultural activities in post land reform Zimbabwe and agricultural products went down. Compelled with scattered rains and dry spells in some parts of the country, the Zimbabwe food agricultural food sector declined. Thus, some people in areas like Gwanda were forced to migrate to South Africa because they could not cope with the changing rainfall patterns which caused poor harvests. On the other hand, other people migrated with the white farmers who would have been displaced by the land reform program (Vupenyu Dzingirai, 2012) [18]. Although petty trading in neighbouring countries had been a common trend, during this period it became severe as more women crossed the borders in search of food and household commodities like soap for resale, thus the advent of the vending community.

In 2002 the health sector also suffered following the deterioration of relations between the EU and the Zimbabwean government. Brain drain of qualified health personnel has impacted negatively on the health sector as most of them left following the deterioration of relations between the EU and Zimbabwe. From 2003 to 2008 inadequate resources in the form of drug supplies and human resources destroyed the health delivery to the people. The deteriorating socio-economic situation eroded the conditions of the health professional whose salaries failed to keep up with inflation during the 2007-2008 periods. This also resulted in low morale among teachers due to low salaries and poor conditions of service, as a result most teachers flocked to neighbouring countries such as South Africa, Botswana and Namibia and this greatly affected the quality of education and saw most big-wigs and the cream of the society sending their children to study overseas (Claude Ake, 2000).

Herbert Gara (2009) [19] further notes that, the EU did not stop only at withdrawing Aid from Zimbabwe but went on to impose the popularly known "illegal" sanctions on Zimbabwe. The EU's targeted sanctions have also greatly affected the standard of living of the general public. Kofi Annan the former UN secretary general highlighted that "sanctions remain a blunt instrument which hurt large numbers of people who are not their primary targets", (New African Sun, 2007 pp86-91). When targeted sanctions are directed against political leaders and the government officials of a particular country it is usually the vulnerable groups of society who suffer more than the targeted group. Ever since Zimbabwe has been surviving under sanctions it has failed to access credit lines. Zimbabwe have had to pay cash for imports and this has had ripple effects on the countries employment levels. Several NGO's and European donor agencies also relocated their offices from Zimbabwe to neighbouring countries. For an example DANIDA, the Danish International Development Agency and CIDA, the Canadian Development Agency pulled out of Zimbabwe in 2001 and 2003 terminating all projects in progress and retrenching their employees. For an instance, DANIDA was established to support the transport sector with the value of US48 million for the rehabilitation of the Harare –Nyamapanda route, the project

was never finished let alone started. Had it been completed, it could have created employment and enhanced trade. As a result, EU sanctions crippled the development of Zimbabwe as Tafataona Mahoso was quoted saying "*sanctions are hurting Zimbabwe*", (The Sunday Mail of September 9-15 2007, p8). The driving forces of migration are usually explained by a combination of push and pull factors. Push factors include the negative aspects of the living conditions of nationals in a given country such as unemployment and wage differences. Pull factors include the positive conditions expected or prevalent as well as the labour market needs and attractive migration policies in countries of destination.

Regarding push factors there is no doubt that the economic challenges that Zimbabwe is facing has been and remains the major factor that fuels the emigration of highly skilled nationals. In 2005 SAMP, conducted research on the emigration potential of health proffessionals and students, (Chikanda, 2005, Crush *et al*, 2008). Chikanda's study shows that the 68% of Zimbabweans consider leaving the country mainly for economic reasons, 54% for professional reasons because Zimbabwe has nothing to offer in terms of resources and working facilities, heavy workloads and insufficient opportunities for promotions and self -improvement. With regard to pull factors, Tehera & Crush (2003) note that the political changes in South Africa after 1990 combined with the economic situation made the country a more desirable destination.

What is social protection?

Social protection describes all public and private initiatives that provide income and consumption transfers to the poor to protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised with the overall objection of reducing the economic and social vulnerability of poor vulnerable and marginalised groups, refers to the public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability risk and deprivation which are deemed socially acceptable and within a given polity or society (Devereux Ntale &Sabate Wheeler, 2002). Social protection deals with the absolute deprivation and vulnerability of the poorest and also with the need of the non-poor for security in the face of shocks and the particular demands of different stages of life such as pregnancy, childrearing, marriage, death and funerals.

Van Gimneken (1999) distinguishes social protection as benefits in cash or in kind financed by the state, religious groups or community and these are mostly provided as a means of income meant to eliminate the risk of uncertainty and loss of sustenance for the individual or households. In poorer countries social protection ensures that the state directs financial and human resources to different fields such as health, education and water as well as liberating human potential and promoting equality of opportunities.

There are different measures of social protection which are; promotive measures which aim to improve real income and capabilities. Preventative measures which aim to curb deprivation, protective measures which *guarantee relief from deprivation* and transformative measures which aim to alter the

bargaining power of various individuals and groups within society. There are a number of shortfalls that are evident when it comes to the provisions of social protection. While one may try to see social protection as a haven for the marginalised groups left behind it is also important to examine social protection in the context of those people who move abroad. Kagan (2008) [25] argues that one of the differences between migrant protections in Africa compared with more wealthy parts of the world is that many African states have only limited social protection for their citizens.

Marginalised groups (the left behind family members)

There are some major approaches to marginalisation as presented by neo-classical economists and Marxists theorists such as Charlesworth (2000) [8], concluded that sustained unemployment leads to poverty, which in turn leads to social isolation including the breakup of families and financial inability to fully participate in popular culture. The world over, immigrant workers who do not receive the full benefits of the welfare state and whose families are often not integrated into job markets remain marginalised in the receiving countries.

According to Chomsky (2000) [12] marginality happens to those children whose parents leave them behind, by displacement or by changes in the social and economic system. As global capitalism extends its reach bringing more and more people into its system, more communities are dispossessed of lands, livelihoods or systems of social support. Hence their social well-being is a disrupted. People who are marginalised have relatively little control over their lives and the resources available to them; they may become stigmatized and are often at the receiving end of negative public attitudes. For example in many societies women settle for unequal and exploitative relationships to their husbands and their husbands' relatives to such an extent that they remain in the periphery of decision making and their opportunities to make social contributions may be limited or non-existent. Being a member of a marginalised group brings the risk of some psychological stress and ideological threats.

Psycho-social challenges faced by marginalised groups

There are a number of psycho-social challenges faced by marginalised groups especially those who are involuntarily "left behind" who automatically become single parents. Michael and Granham (1999) define single parents as adults living with their children under the age of eighteen in a family unit that does not contain a spouse or partner. Crompton and Crouch (1999) also add that lone parents refer to male or female persons parenting alone, parents who are separated, divorced, widows, widowers or parents who may also be temporarily parenting alone due to the incarceration, hospitalization or other short term absence of spouse or partner.

O'Neil (2000) states that a child living without his or her parent will receive less attention than a child living with both parents. He adds that fathers influence their children's short and long term development through several routes such as financial, human capital as well as social capital. Human capital in-cooperates the health, knowledge, skills or intellectual output.

While social capital is resources of information, shared norms and social relations embedded in communities to enable people to become informed and coordinate action. Putman (2000) [36] in his works Bowling alone puts it thus, supportive parent-child relations in the family (social capital), and parent-school relations in the community, contributes significantly to the child's learning outcome (human capital). According to Burns and Grooves (1997), the co-parental relationship of mother and father provides children with a model of adults working together, communicating, negotiating and compromising. Intellectual evidence indicates that a father can contribute independently of the mothers' contributions in areas such as emotional growth, intelligence, self-esteem, competence and confidence. Cherlin and Furstenberg (1983), states that the father's influence cannot be duplicated or replaced easily by the mother no matter how good the mother is.

Kruk (2012) says that children raised in fatherless homes have a diminished self-concept and compromised physical and emotional security. These children constantly report feeling abandoned when their fathers are not involved in their lives, struggling with their emotions and episodic bouts of self-loathing. According to DeBell (2008) [16], fatherless children have more difficulties with social adjustment and are more likely to report problems with friendship and manifest behaviour problems; many develop a swaggering intimidating persona in an attempt to disguise their underlying fears, resentment, anxieties and unhappiness.

Migration has ravaged family life; sometimes the left behind spouse receives no support from the spouse who leaves suggesting that children from such families are likely to experience financial problems in their day to day life. These needs include food, educational needs, medication and clothing. Thus if the child is affected, this way his or her social and academic performance is affected. The children lack motivation to learn and their socialization with peers is affected and sometimes they blame themselves for their other parents leaving. Suarez (2006) indicates that family cohesion and the maintenance of a well-functioning system of supervision, authority and mutuality are perhaps the most powerful factors in shaping the well-being and future outcomes of all children. During the course of migration, loved ones are often separated from one another and significant social ties are raptured.

According to Ross (2000), children in single parent families exhibit elevated levels of behavioural problems and emotional problems compared with children from intact families. Over the past decade, rates of crime have increased at the same time as rates of divorce and lone parenthood has increased. According to Better and Homes (1985), the relationship between crime and family environment is complicated especially when the role of poverty is also considered. However, intellectuals and policy makers who study crime have identified family breakdown as one among a cluster of disadvantages which are associated with criminal activities and with chronic reoffending. A review of 17 developed nations indicated that the nations with higher rates of families with single parents and divorcees also had higher rates of homicide (Howard, 2006).

According to Ryan (1976) children from fatherless homes are more likely to be involved in delinquency and youth crime promiscuity as well as teen pregnancy. Fatherless children are also likely to experience problems with sexual health including a great likelihood of having intercourse before the age of sixteen forgoing contraception during first intercourse becoming teenage parents and contracting sexually transmitted infections. According to Hetherington (1999) [22] girls are said to manifest a hunger for males and in experiencing the emotional loss of their fathers egocentrically as a rejection of them becoming susceptible to exploitation by adult men. During one of the interviews the researchers learned that in one family where the father had left his children at a tender age, both her girls fell pregnant immediately after they finished school. The mother was only lucky that these girls had lobola paid for them. Fatherless children are also more likely to smoke drink alcohol, and abuse drugs in childhood and adulthood. In the same family the researcher listened to the mother as she narrated how her last born son had her travelling to school every term to see the headmaster because the boy had been caught taking alcohol within school premises.

Gender and Migration

Gender is a central organising principle of social life and permeates all social institutions. It affects migration patterns processes and outcomes while influencing government policies on migration and labour market segmentation as well as access to rights entitlements and services. (Kunz 2006).

The responsibilities of women, as wives and mothers, and the role of men as breadwinners, influence the decision of who moves to a foreign country and also causes psycho-social problems. Understanding gender is critical in this context because migration theory has traditionally emphasised the cause of migration over questions of who migrates without adequately addressing gender specific migration experiences. Critics note that family or household decisions and actions do not represent unified and equally beneficial outcomes for all members. When placed within on-going power relations the interests of men and women in families may affect decisions about who manages to migrate, for how long and to what countries. Gender hierarchies within the family context affect the migration of women because it is usually within the family that female subordination to male authority plays it out. The family both defines and assigns the roles of women which determine their relative motivation and inception to migrate and control the distribution of resources and information that can support discourage or prevent migration.

Migration and the family

The family has always been viewed as the bedrock foundation of society. Families compel women and men to seek fortunes in distant countries and it is the family for whom they are willing to sacrifice many years of difficulties and discrimination. Parrenas (2001) writes that migration brings about profound changes in the family constituting nothing less than an emotional upheaval. Notwithstanding the prospect of better economic benefits potentially accrued to the family, the

overall impact of migration decisions especially on children has been shown to be disruptive.

There are three areas of care families are required to provide to children. Moral care (discipline and socialisation), emotional care (emotional assurance and affection) and maternal care provision of food, clothing and education. These elements of family life are changed or modified by the absence of one or both parents. Parrenas (2005) highlighted the weakening of intergenerational relations pointing out that the distance between migrant parents and children left behind puts a tremendous strain on familial relationships compounded by the gendered care expectations of children. In addition, Family members of migrants that remain in the home country do not suffer the strain of adapting to a new culture but do experience high levels of stress and depression due to separation. According to (Schmalzbauer 2004) [40], communication maintains family ties but provides ample evidence of stress resulting from familial separation regardless of communication. Familial links may be sustained across borders, but according to (Alexis Silver 2006) [1], this does not provide equal substitutions for the physical presence of the family members within households, thus resulting in psycho-social and emotional stress for all members of the family.

The nexus between migration and social protection

Migration is a socio-economic decision and when people find greener pastures it should cascade to those left behind. However in situations that it does not cascade, the family gradually turns into poverty. Holzerman and Jorgeson (1997), point out that migration as an informal coping strategy may be conceptualised as a means of reducing the probability of shocks before they occur. Given the income and transfer of income through remittances associated with migration, it can be argued that migration acts as private or informal social protection, at the individual and household level that transfers income to disadvantaged HHs.

Research Findings

In the past two decades, the trend of migration has been high with the number of Zimbabweans living outside the country with some estimates as high as 3 million, (SADC Report on Gender, Remittances and Migration 2009, Landau 2008) owing to the socio-political crisis which has driven out many people and crippled many families, as they search for greener pastures in neighbouring countries. The irregular and regular movement of people is also translated into historical dimensions where ethnic bonds exist within people living within the proximity of the borders of Zimbabwe (Crush et al 2010).

Evidence from the interviews shows that, migration to neighbouring countries and beyond is a predominant activity in Zimbabwe. About 66% of those who migrated did so with the view of finding better paying jobs as well as better working conditions (SADC Report on Gender, Remittances and Migration 2009, Landau 2008). However, some of the people migrated not out of strategic economic considerations but because migration and the experience of staying in a foreign land was considered a rite of passage for most youths

(Muzvidziwa 1998, Crush, Williams and Perbedy 2005) [32, 1]. Due to kinship based encouragement family members played an important role in influencing one's decision to migrate even if they had a job and a family that needs them. This is true for *Mrs Marehwa who thought it best for her daughter to migrate to the UK in her place in 2000. *Mrs Marehwa's sister had proposed that she migrates with her to the UK due to the economic malaise that existed in Zimbabwe, but she had her daughter take her place since she was younger and had a better chance of securing a job.

Unlike in the old times, current migrants are staying much longer with some going for a decade or even more without coming back home (Muzvidziwa et al 1998) [32]. Mrs Vester noted that her husband left for greener pastures when their only child was hardly a year old, now the boy is in form 4 and the father has never returned or tried to take his family, instead he has been in three (3) marriages as an effort to try to secure residence in the United Kingdom. The worst part is that when he tries to apply for a visa for his Zimbabwean wife he is threatened with deportation at the same time he cannot come back home. The moment he flies back home then that's the end of his British life, because of lack of proper documentation. Some women confessed that their husbands were illegal immigrants and the security systems being executed in the host countries kept them shelled away from the outside world only coming out once they had secured residence through marrying women in the host countries.

While a number of people have managed to migrate illegally, some have managed to go abroad through kinship networks. Siblings in host countries assisted in the mobilisation of resources as well as facilitation of movement from Zimbabwe to other countries (Muzvidziwa et al 1998) [32]. Brothers and sisters who have been based in South Africa, Australia and the UK assist their younger siblings with funds to obtain travel documents and overstay in the host countries. This is illustrated by the case of *Tafamba a 26 years old man from Warren Park who received funds from his sister to obtain a student's visa and travel to the United Kingdom. *Tafamba was persuaded to leave behind his young family and he was convinced that in no time his family would follow. *Tafamba's wife reported that 2 years passed and she tried in vain to follow her husband but he could not support her application.

Another participant's child also refused to recognise his siblings after his father sent him photographs of his siblings who live with the father in the UK. He suffered an identity crisis and even tried to change his surname; he changed covers of his school books and wrote his mother's surname. Migration also changes family life because of the absence of one or both parents. Wives left behind become the decision makers in household matters which previously were the responsibility of their husbands. Some women use remittances to venture into small entrepreneurial activities.

In addition, women left behind have to contend with the social norms and expectations of in-laws, other relatives and the community and behave in a way that does not raise suspicions of infidelity or deviance. One woman noted that she discovered through a family friend that her in-laws were sending spies to

her workplace to find out about suspicious friendships with men. At one time her in-laws had her trailed and they told her husband that she was having extra-marital affairs and her husband stopped sending remittances.

Children of migrants did not usually share intimate or emotional issues with their parents. In one scenario the father left his son when he was only one month old, now the boy is 5years old but each time the father calls he asks him *'what is your name?'* When the boy is in a good mood he often tells his father that his mother and an 'uncle' took him for ice-cream. Worse still, the boy often asks his father that *'do I have two fathers?'* so much that the father stopped calling him his son. The father sends fees directly to the school and does not communicate with the mother. The mother also said that the father has since stopped requesting for photos of his son. Frequency of communication did not necessarily translate into a closer relationship between children and parents. Both girls and boys felt alienated from their mothers and fathers after a long time of absence and because parents were not present when their children needed them.

Migration and poverty eradication among the marginalised groups?

Most respondents agreed with the assumption that migration has made a significant contribution to poverty alleviation, considering the remittances that they have received from abroad. Remittances are usually defined as the monetary transfers that a migrant makes to the country of origin, or in other words the financial flow associated with migration. In the Southern African context, it is important to broaden this definition in order to include the transfer of both funds and goods. Most of the time, the remittances are personal transfers from a migrant to a relative in the country of origin. In 2008 the World Bank estimated the amount of official recorded remittance flows to developing countries at USD 328 billion. During the same year, sub Saharan African countries are estimated to have received around 5% of the whole remittance sent through formal channels.

In countries of origin remittances can represent a very relevant percentage of the national GDP and can constitute a very important source of foreign exchange. At the household level remittances often represent an important source of income, however remittances may also have negative effects. For instance dependence on remittances may reduce recipient family's motivation to develop their own income- generating activities. It is uncontestable that in a period of great economic difficulty, remittances have provided a "safety net" for many Zimbabwean households. According to Tevera and Chikanda (2009) remittances peculiary and in kind was the major source for household incomes. This was proved to be true by two mothers whose entire livelihood is dependence on remittances.

Migration as an informal social protection mechanism for vulnerable people/families

Migration has always been positively viewed in terms of the visible monetary gains generated for the origin country. A study by Ratha (2011) asserts that, migration itself can be a

driver for development in many migrant-sending countries. The massive amounts of remittances flowing into national coffers are the main reason these countries are institutionalizing market- and demand-driven migration policies to further encourage the labour migration of hundreds of thousands of women and men to different countries. Visible and positive benefits of migration, such as education of children, better housing and food on the table with improved economic and social standing, have been the yardstick measuring the success of migrants. In the case of Zimbabwe, the researcher learned that there is an area in Waterfalls suburb that emerged and it is named Diaspora.

In addition, the researcher came across one family that is benefiting extensively from migration. This family told the researcher that the company, where the husband is working, pays tuition fees for the children who have remained in Zimbabwe. At the same time family travel is paid for to and from Zimbabwe during school holidays. As such the family is constantly in touch; hence migration has provided an informal social protection mechanism for sustaining the livelihood of this family.

However, in assessing the benefits of migration, the issue of the invisible, non-monetary social costs remains largely unrecognized as part of the inevitable "cost" migrants have to pay in exchange for the prospect of a better life for their families. Migration inevitably affects the individual migrants, families and communities in many different ways. Migration decisions represent critical turning points in the lives of women, men, children and families as a whole. From the research results, it was evident that individuals from a dysfunctional family showed aggressive behaviours.

Inhibiting factors on migration and social protection?

In as much as scholarly evidence tries to explain the relationship between migration and social protection, evidence shows that there is no relationship between the two. There are a number of factors that inhibit the nexus between migration and social protection. Going back to Holzman and Jorgensen's explanation of migration as an informal means of coping with shocks before they happen or an informal means of coping with shocks once they happen, one can clearly acknowledge that so does the same explain the roles of social protection. However the researcher found out that social protection mechanisms are choosy in their response to shocks and the vulnerability crisis. During the FGDs a number of women explained how they experience feelings such as depression, abandonment and rejection and a lack of social support, but also experienced a lack of understanding from the community or extended family. The main argument was that a spouse whose partner is away is better off than a spouse whose partner is deceased, because she receives money, clothes and property from her husband who is away. While in the Anglican Church there is a group called WISMA, "widows and single mothers association", formed to cater for the widows in the Anglican Church as well as a COUPLES group which only looks at married people who are around, there is no group for women whose spouses are away. One woman complained that she felt side-lined in that she

cannot be in either groups and often times other women would refer to her as a married single. In addition she complained that many a times she has received abusive texts from the other women at church or at work who felt threatened by her being a married single. At one time she said she received a horrible text from a collegue's wife telling her to stay away from her husband.

Based on the presented evidence from the research, the results point out that the family unit is under threat because of migration. A number of hardships and stressful situations affecting the migrants and their families were identified as being caused by a prolonged separation and isolation preventing them from leading a normal life. The large number of migrants cut off from social relations, live on the fringe of the receiving community and this creates many social and psychological problems that in turn largely determine attitudes towards most of them (Barnes, 1993).

An observation was made that most of the migrants both males and females end up starting other families in the receiving countries so that they can fit in and end up neglecting their families back home. This happens to migrants who go to Botswana, South Africa and the United Kingdom, where residence permits are usually difficult to acquire. To avoid playing cat and mouse with immigration officials, these migrants end up committing bigamy. Apparently, the left behind spouses is also remarrying or simply having "extra marital affairs".

The researchers also learnt that in situations where the children are often left behind in the care of grandparents, there is a lot of neglect that is happening. Most of the grandparents are too old to instil discipline and follow through with punishment and discipline procedures. For children of the school going age, these children care less about their school performance. This was mostly evident in boys who tend to abscond from school while some of them were already alcoholics.

As a result of the Zimbabwe socio-economic and political crisis many Zimbabwean parents have migrated joining the diaspora in many countries leaving their children behind in the home country (Zanamwe & Devillard, 2010). In Zimbabwe there is no clear indication of the number of children left in the home country by migrant parents making it difficult to assess the extent of the problem.

Parental absence due to migration is also a double edged sword, on the one hand remittances from external earnings augment the family's spending power, resulting in increased educational outlay, a decrease in child labour and improved living conditions (Lanchad 1999, Kandel and Koa 2001, Lu and Treman 2006). On the other hand the children left behind may have to deal with age inappropriate responsibilities such as fulfilling roles previously held by the migrant parent, feeling of anxiety, loneliness and other pscho-social problems which may result in compromised academic achievements and the spectrum of other behavioural and developmental issues.

Conclusion

The researchers concluded that the left behind spouse or family is often short-changed. Many a times the spouse is told to stay put for over 5 to 10 years with the excuse that the Border Agency is not accommodating and is threatening to deport the migrant if their family joins them. Most of the left behind children never get to know their fathers or mothers and yet it is every child's right to a functional family and to family reunification. Cohen (1985), notes that the right to the family reunification is directly linked to every person's human dignity and capacity to flourish and therefore also has direct impact on the social cohesion within the host society.

Most Zimbabwean families whose spouses or parents have joined the Zimbabwean diaspora are not the only ones who experience the life of a dysfunctional family due to out-migration but there are other people in similar circumstances in other parts of the world. This is evidenced by the fact that the issues identified in this study, are reflected in relevant literature on studies carried out in other parts of the world.

A depressed mood and depressive symptoms, observed during the interviews with Zimbabwean families, were also noted by Suarez-Orozco, Todorova and Louie (2002) who found a link between depressive symptoms and separation. Having reviewed a number of studies of families affected by migration, Silver (2006) also reported a significant link between stressful life events and depression. Role changes and additions, arising from the process of family restructuring, emerged from the interviews conducted, highlighting that often these changes are experienced as stressful.

Recommendations

Socially and morally, it is of greater importance that families migrate together to avoid marginalisation of those left behind. If there are no enough resources for families to migrate together it should be an obligation for the receiving country to cater for a migrant's family in terms of visas and permits so that those left behind are quick to join their spouses, parents or children. Because migration exposes a number of women and children to vulnerability, it is necessary that there be measures put in place to aid in the protection of those left behind because sometimes these vulnerable groups are left due to circumstances beyond their control and many times they are left and forgotten.

In Zimbabwe, a dearth of information makes the need to carry out more qualitative and quantitative studies imperative. Due to the fact that only a small number of families could be interviewed during the course of this study, it is recommended that future studies should target a larger sample of the population in order to obtain a more inclusive range of experiences from a broad range of socio-economic contexts. In addition, social protection agencies should divorce themselves from the assumption that migrant family livelihoods are all rosy. Religious leaders should especially encourage couples and families to live together as one unit. Existing support structures, such as Child-line, should be explored to ensure that children who are negatively affected by parental out-migration are reached.

Over and above, there should be strict laws incorporated to help families migrate as one unit. The ability of the migrant to live with his or her family in the receiving country is not only a

human right it also enables full participation in the host society. Therefore, the receiving countries should strictly monitor migrants that if they are married, should migrate with their families to avoid the double jeopardy of suffering the absence of a family member and that of neglect from the society. Most importantly it is the duty of the Zimbabwean government to provide its people with a country that is free from political violence and inappropriate economic policies such as ESAP, which left the country staggering on its knees, and thus pushed a number of people out of the country in search of greener pastures.

Lastly the Government and its responsible Ministries and Organs should introduce projects which help the marginalised families with life skills for self-reliance. There should also put in place a sound social assistance system like in other countries, for example South Africa, where vulnerable groups get government assistance on housing food and child welfare.

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