

“A Reconceptualization of the Effects of Remittances in Rural Communities in Malawi” – A Case of T/A Malanda area, Nkhata-Bay district, 1974 – 1994

Lloyd George Banda

Ma-dev-12-20@cc.ac.mw

Abstract: *This study is an analysis of the effects of remittances in rural communities. It uses altruism, self-interest and rational choice approach to analyze data. This study argues that narrowing the effects of remittances to family dyads and local communities has been sparing and almost ignored within the numerous literatures in the context of international labor migration in Malawi. Furthermore, the paper stresses that the migrant's decision to remit is subject to personal, family and community historical circumstances other than pure rationality as literature suggests. The paper ends up by analyzing the influence of remittances to the general make-up of the Tonga society. For example, the research found out that the generalization that the present tonga people are smart originates from remittances. It also excavated that the popular and unique band (Park Town Band) in Malawi came to exist due to remittances. The paper has many other findings on socio-economic findings such as education, family and business activities among the present Tonga people of Nkhata-Bay, Malawi, Southeastern Africa.*

Key words: *Remittances, Labour, Theba, WENELA, Tonga, AIDS, Migrants, Cassava*

Table of contents

Abstract.....	i
1.0 Introduction and overview.....	4
1.1 Problem statement.....	6
1.2 Background of the study.....	7
1.3 Aims and objectives of the study.....	10
2.0 Review of literature.....	11
3.0 Methodology.....	20
3.1 sampling and data collection	20
3.2 Map of the study site.....	21
3.3 Conceptual Framework.....	21
3.3.1 Altruism, self-interest and rational choice theory.....	21
4.0 Results discussion.....	25
4.1 Background of migrant workers.....	25
4.1.1 Family occupational status.....	22
4.1.2 Poverty and unemployment in rural communities.....	26
4.1.3 Place of birth of the migrants.....	28
4.1.4 Marital status of the migrants.....	28
4.1.5 Decade of the migration pattern.....	29
4.2 Channels of remitting.....	30
4.2.1 Family or friends.....	30
4.2.2 Malawi Post Corporation.....	31

4.2.3 Transporters.....	31
4.3 General effects of remitting.....	33
4.3.1 Negative effects of remittances.....	33
4.3.2 Positive effects of remittances.....	35
4.4 Remittances and the make-up of the Tonga society.....	38
4.4.1 Culture and competition.....	38
4.4.1.1 Education.....	38
4.4.1.2 Housing and dressing.....	40
4.4.1.3 Dancing and Music.....	41
5.0 Conclusion.....	43
6.0 Bibliography.....	45

1.0 Introduction and Overview

This study is a reconceptualization of the effect of labor migration in Malawi from 1974 to 1994. It mainly focuses on remittances and the multipliers it had on a specific expanse of T/A Malanda in Nkhata-Bay district. The paper argues that though some historians has looked at labor emigration as evil, causing the upset and imbalance of rural areas in Malawi, it was not the case in Nkhata-bay¹. That is to say, those who migrated managed and bolstered the living standards of their families and indeed were able to transform their societies for better.

The overwhelming majority of Tonga wage earners found work in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and also in the copper belt of Drakensberg; very few were employed in Nyasaland². Van Velsen further argued that, compared with other tribal groups in Malawi, the Tonga were relatively prosperous; this prosperity is largely due to their export of labor. Their staple diet was cassava, the cultivation of which does not require much labor. Subsistence cultivation was almost entirely in the hands of the women and did not seem to be adversely affected by the exodus of male labor. There was no shortage of land.

Indeed, the prosperity of the Tonga emanates from remittances. To emphasize on how those who were abroad would support education of their siblings and relatives back home, I quote from the report of the provincial commissioner in Nkhata-Bay, “...*the receipt of a sum of money from a number of Atonga working in Elisabethville, Congo Belge, and calling themselves in the welfare*

¹ J. van Velsen, ‘Labour Migration as a positive factor in the continuity of the Tonga society’, Economic development and cultural change, 8, 1960, p.267

² Ibid.

*of their fellows. These lads gave me a number of names of young brothers and other friends, the expanse of whose education they wished to meet. They have written me more than once asking if their gift is yet exhausted as they are ready to a further sum. They have now desired a card system of their own, by which every child presenting one of these cards, signed by their secretary will have the expenses of his schooling paid.*³ ” furthermore, at the end of 1953, it was officially estimated by the district administration that the remittances sent from abroad that year amounted to 56,625 Kwacha in Nkhata-bay only; this excludes cash and the cash income of the district from all other sources, for example, wages, government buildings and export of produce.⁴

Apart from the ease of farming of Cassava and other food crops which did not demand a lot of men labor, there were many other factors that accounts for the migration of more Tonga people. Chirwa in his article, “Theba is power”, argues that, the relatively higher levels of literacy in the lakeshore districts tended to send more migrants than the cash cropping areas of the lower Shire. He further argues that, their literacy enabled them to get better Jobs and better pay and thus able to save and remit more money. Indeed, retail trade and commercial fishing were the two sectors of the economy which benefitted from remittances in Nkhata-Bay⁵.

³ Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners, 1931, Government Printer. Zmba.37

⁴ Van Velsen, 1960. P.45

⁵ Chirwa W.C, “Theba is Power”: Migrancy, Fishing, and Accumulation p. 433

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

There is a considerable amount of literature which presents the phenomena of labour emigration as either having a negative or positive effect on the rural society through its man-power deprivation. According to Coleman (1974), the export of man-power produces a net gain for the sending country as long as that man power cannot be productively employed in the country of origin⁶. However, it cannot be doubted that the effect of the labour emigrations differed from area to area and household to household especially due to the differences in direction and magnitude of the out-migrants. Literature has focused on national impact while few concentrate on district level, through which some small areas or dyads have faced a general entrapment into the larger sector or have been neglected, yet these unique small societies would have a far much different stance only if could be examined independent of the larger society such as at district or national level.

In addition, granted that given multiple of choices all people are rational, literature has assumed that migrant workers had targets and were rational in their use of remittances. The notion of taxation as a migration contributing factor do not have much influence in the time frame of this study but in early migration⁷. Indeed, here the question is whether, all labour migrants were curious to boosting remittances and if at all they had control over the remittances some of which were to be used in their absence.

⁶ G. Coleman, 'Some implications of international labour migration from Malawi,' Chancellor College; University of Malawi, 1974. P.89

⁷ MNA PAM/819/22/22 Nyasaland Governor (1939-1942: Kennedy), Collection of native tax, Government printer, 1942.

It is thus, against these background that this study seeks to generate empirical data on the effect of remittances with the understanding that specific circumstances of the migrants determined the nature of the choices made. That is, the way migrants bargain their own and societal circumstances is what matters. For example, the rational decision of use of remittances were different between the migrants born in source countries and those born in the hosts countries.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Malawi has many of the social and economic characteristics prevalent in Africa's many developing countries, including in terms of remittances, given its sub-optimal economic performance, it is classified along with more than twenty other African countries, as a low-income economy by the World Bank (World Development Indicators 2013)⁸. It is also one of thirty-six African states with the lowest levels of human-development in the world (UNDP 2011). Malawi provides a significance of internal and international migration as literature suggests and can provide a useful context within which the dynamics of African migration and remittances can be explored. As a result of its location in Southern Africa, Malawi's international migration processes are better understood within the context of the Southern African Migration System (SAMS). At the core of the SAMS are Malawi and fourteen other countries forming the Southern African Development Community⁹ This is the system which is Africa's largest

⁸ R. Carver., Malawi: Between the Referendum and the Elections, 1994 retrieved at <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a6be8.html> (accessed 1 April 2018)

⁹ I. Zuberi & A Sibanda , How do Migrants fate in a post-Apartheid South African Labor Market? International Labor review 2004; 38(4): p. 1142

migration system and principally revolves around the dynamism of the South African economy.¹⁰

Malawi however serves as a major source of migrant labour within the SAMS. This is partly as a result of its comparatively low level of development and the corresponding attraction of its nationals to income earning opportunities within the region.¹¹ Bryceson (2006), for example, traces the origins of migration from Malawi to two of its prosperous neighbours, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, to the first decade of the previous century. Botswana also emerged as a major destination for Malawian nationals migrating within SAMS in the post-independence period.¹² Since the start of the twentieth century, however, labour migration from Malawi to other countries within the SAMS has been on the increase. Between 1900 and 1972, for example, the percentage of Malawian nationals living abroad increased almost ten-fold.¹³ Estimates further indicate that between 1981 and 1991, the number of Malawian immigrants in Botswana increased by more than three hundred percent.¹⁴ It should be noted, however that Malawi was not

¹⁰ V. Agadjanian, Research on International Migration within Sub-Saharan Africa: Foci, Approaches, and Challenges. *The Sociological quarterly*. 2008; 49(3) pp. 407-421

¹¹ D.C Bryceson, Ganyu Causal labour, famine and HIV/AIDS in rural Malawi: Causality and Casualty. In the *Journal of Modern African studies*, 2006; 44(2): 173 - 2002

¹² J.Q Oucho, Institute of Security Studies, paper 157, 2007. *Migration in Southern Africa: Migration Management Initiatives for SADC member states*.

¹³ J. Kydd and R. Christiansen, Structural change in Malawi since Independence: Consequences of a development strategy based on large scale Agriculture. *World Development*. 1982; 10(5): 355 - 375

¹⁴ J.Q Qucho....

only a source of labour, but also a destination of labour from other countries such as Mozambique and indeed this reverse lacks in-depth research exploration¹⁵.

Migrants have been found to remit for different reasons. In Malawi, Migrants remit home to help the family meet basic needs and wants - referred to as altruism (Chami et al. 2005). Migrants also remit home as a socio-cultural duty that further enhances their standing for inheritance purposes, referred to as “enlightened self-interest” by Lucas and Stark (1985). Migrants have also been known to travel solely for the purpose of raising capital for a business venture, to acquire physical assets such as land, housing or for investment into some interest-bearing assets.

These profit seeking remittances are said to be for self-interest purposes (Docquier et al. 2006). In this regard temporary migrants have been known to be more oriented towards self-interest motives while permanent migrants are more geared towards altruistic remittances (Glystos, 1997; Pinger, 2007). Proximity of the SADC countries to South Africa also fosters a great deal of temporary migration. Consequently, it is expected that self-interest remittances would dominate altruistic remittances in the SADC region.

¹⁵ MNA PAM/1,491/ Alomwe and Mozambican Immigrant labour in colonial Malawi by W.C Chirwa - in the journal of African Historical studies, Vol 27, No. 3, 1993

1.3.0 Aims and objectives of the study

1.3.1 Aim

The overall objective of this study is to expound the effects of labour migration with reference to use of remittances in rural communities.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

In order to achieve the main objective, the following supporting objectives were closely analysed in this study;

- ✓ To attest that migrants were target workers in their vote by the feet.
- ✓ To assess the reason behind remitting.
- ✓ To analyse the channels that were used to remit.
- ✓ To analyse the positive and negative impacts of remittances.
- ✓ To excavate how remittances contributed to the makeup of the Tonga society, especially through norms, morality and values.

2.0 Review of literature

This study seeks re-conceptualize remittances as a positive aftermath of labor emigration to Malawi as a labor sending country. The study starts from 1974, after the plane crash which saw 72 Malawian laborers dead. It was from this spot that the president of the republic of Malawi immediately banned labor recruitment in the country. In March 1988, the South African Chamber of Mines which had replaced WENLA and Mthandizi, stopped a century-old tradition of recruiting migrant workers from Malawi¹⁶, this was after the flop of mining industries in South Africa which led to downsizing of labor recruitment, yet under the disguise of the spread of HIV/AIDS. Though, there are two main schools of thought, that is, regressive and progressive, with regard to impact of labor emigration, the lamentations and upheavals following THEBA deadlock will signify the importance of labor emigration.

This gap between 1974 and 1994 which is characterized by instabilities in the recruitment policies is very vital in explaining how ex-migrants fared onwards and perhaps how they used remittances and reserves from abroad. This is the period that best testifies that migrant laborers had targets in their motive to work abroad. Though, the ban of labor recruitment came as a shock, some people, especially those who had migrated earlier had achieved and accumulated a lot to sustain their lives at home. In many labor sending societies, there is evidence that the motive for emigration was not only altruism rather there were a capitalistic motive. The

¹⁶ Chirwa, W.C "No TEBA...Forget TEBA." The Plight of Malawian Ex-Migrant Workers to South Africa, 1988 – 1994, International Migration Review, 31(3) 1997.

capitalistic investment motive was for the purpose of maintaining a decent life permanent resettlement back home.

Indeed, migrant were target workers who thrived hard to reach their targets. Evidence shows that they did not just jump in to the mining company without thorough making enquiry. They needed to have enough information at hand before they make a debut into the new land. For sure, “Pioneer” migrants sent home not only remittances but also information about how to migrate, where to look for work, what labor recruiters or smugglers to trust, what wages to expect, and migration costs and risks and how to overcome them.¹⁷ In some cases, past migrants would also support new migrants such as meeting transport cost and accommodation before debut into the job vacuum either on credit or lineage charity.

To concur with this assertion, it is alluded by William Beinart (1975) who observed how hard it was to convince the Mpondo’s in **Eastern Cape province, South Africa** into wage labor. In fact, Labor recruiters, especially the Chamber of mines went deep into Pondoland to justify the initiative and benefits to the people for taking wage employment. One of the incentives that saw the Mpondo responsive to wage labour was advance payment. And finally, it has been argued that Mpondo families used migration for purposes of investing and re-investing into rural society; that in some series, it was defense against poverty and complete collapse of rural poverty¹⁸. This system of advance payment was popularly known as “*Joini Inkomo*”, among the

¹⁷ Edward T.J., International migration and Economic development, Population division, UN Secretariat. 2006. Pp. 4-5.

¹⁸ William, B. “Joini Inkomo: Cattle Advances and the origins of Migrancy from Pondoland” in the Journal of Southern African Studies. Vol. 5(1975) pp.199 - 219

Mpondo families. The remittance income which the Mpondo were getting produced a lot of multipliers and perhaps that was in line with their targets of emigrating. For instance, productivity in agricultural and non-agricultural activities; poverty alleviation, while in some societies migration induced incentives enabled people to invest in schooling and health¹⁹.

Explanations on remittances may make one get engulfed into referring emigration as a positive factor to rural societies. However, the impacts of international migration appear to be greater and considerably more complex than simple remittance numbers suggest. It must be recognized here that negative effects of international migration on developing countries has received considerable attention in both academic research and the press. This include the cost to LDCs of losing labor and human capital to foreign labor markets, especially the “brain drain”. Centrally to this, Coleman (1974) has argued that, the export of manpower produces net gain for the country as long as that manpower cannot be productively employed in the country of origin²⁰. And one may argue that, for someone to reach the extent of seeking wage labor abroad, it means they cannot be productively employed in country of origin. Putting the whole shoulder of blame for the lack of incentives of citizens to staying home, Houghton recognizes labor migration for what is;

¹⁹ Ozden, C., Schiff, M (eds), International migration and the Brain drain. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005

²⁰ G. Colemanm, Some implications of International Labor Migration from Malawi. Chancellor College: University of Malawi, 1974. P.89

“an evil canker at the heart of our whole society, wasteful of labor, destructive of ambition, a wrecker of homes and a symptom of our failure to create a coherent and progressive economic society.”²¹

It is from this point that the debate between two antagonistic paradigms on the impact of labour seems to be so hot. The first paradigm will in this research be referred to as the regressive school which ascertain labour emigration as absolutely evil to rural societies or developing countries while on the other hand is the progressing school. This basically consoles labour emigration as good and concomitant to the alleviation of poverty in rural societies. For example, an enquiry on the impact of labour migration in Malawi by the Travers lacy report (1936) strongly scolded out migration in Malawi by ascribing the many resultant social problems to the absence of body abled men in societies. It says and I quote, *“There was no one of us who realized the seriousness of the situation, as our investigations proceeded we became more and more aware that the uncontrollable and growing emigration brought misery and poverty to hundreds and thousands of families and that the wastes of life, happiness, health and wealth was colossal”²².*

Clearly, the finding of this report is of the view that labour emigration brought problems in the affected rural communities. It emphasizes a gigantic loss of meaning to life, massive erosion of

²¹ D.H. [†] *“Whatever the cause, the migrant’s absence enfeebled the tribe and brought misery to their families. Huts, grain houses/stores, and fences fell into despair: gardens and farms were not properly cultivated; attempts to affect improvements in the villages were stopped by lack of man power”*

²² Trave

happiness, health, wealth and the loss of the rural abstract world of absolute advantage. This report's stand is shared by Gray (1960)²³:

Gray saw labour emigrations as a loss of valuable man-power that could be used to enhance development in the labour sending societies. He also denotes some aspects of economic and social retrogression especially that of homes and farms being intoxicated. And this is also emphasized by another scholar, Norman, H. Pullock (1971), who also recognise emigration as an evil scourge especially in the human power imbalance. He noted that in Malawi 'the drainage of male population was so great that in some districts an insufficient number of men remained to tend the gardens, repair the huts and do other necessary work in the villages.'²⁴

However, as early as 1956, G.F.T. Colby, who was Nyasaland's Governor during the late colonial period, could not be deterred encouraging the operations of Wenela as he puts it:

*'I can say without fear of contradiction that from the personal benefits that a Nyasaland miner receives, the territory and indeed the federation, benefits by a very substantial accession of purchase power. And my conclusion is that WENELA's activities should be encouraged'*²⁵.

²³ Gray R., *The Two Nation: Aspect of development of race relations in the Rhodesia and Nyasaland*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1960) P. 124

²⁴ Pullock, N.H., 'Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia; Corridor to the North' Pittsburgh: Diquesne University Press, 1971. P 410

²⁵ *Migrant Labour in South Africa and the Wenela*. Memorandum By His Excellent, The Governor, G.F.T Colby, 1956, passim.

Bohning (1981) who support the progressive school of thought and saw labour emigration as a necessary development because it was the link between the wage and subsistence sectors of African economies in his remarkable assertion that “Labour emigration is the vital link between the wage sector and the rural Homestead, providing the main source of cash income²⁶”.

In discussing the Thonga of Mozambique, Harris²⁷ noted that, while men were abroad working for the Europeans in mines, farms and shops, women were quite capable of carrying on alone. The help of good rains though is given high recognition. But the withdrawal of a high percentage of the men from the Tonga households had never seriously threatened the ability of the population to produce food and survive.

Gulliver²⁸ noted the same feature in Tanzania where the principle role of local agriculture in the provision of the family food supply is only slightly affected by the temporary absence of the average migrant. Arguing in the same lines, Mitchell²⁹ noted that the money returned by migrants was an important part of the economic life of the rural areas, providing for many of the consumer goods needed there and frequently providing the capital for whatever agricultural developments has been in most rural tribal areas. He further argued that remittances from migrants provided capital required for development within such areas and this capital would be

²⁶ Bohning, W, R., *Black Migration to South Africa*. International Labour Office, Geneva, 1981, p.75: see also Chirwa W.C., “No TEBA... Forget TEBA”: The Plight of Malawian Ex-Migrant Workers to South Africa, 1998-1994, *International Migration review*, 31(3) 1997

²⁷ Harris, “Labour Migratio among the Mozambique Thonga,” p.5

²⁸ P.H. Gulliver, “Lbour Migration in Rural Economy: A Study of the Ngoni and Ndendeuli of Southern Tanganyika,” *East African Studies*. No.6, Kampala, 1955, p.33

²⁹ Mitchel, “Wage labor and African Population movements,” p.236

used to purchase fertilizers, improved seeds and employment of laborers commonly known as Aganyu. These “Aganyu” in Nkhata-Bay were mostly the Tumbuka from Mzimba and were mistakenly identically referred to as “Angoni”.

Narrowing the story to the study area, is Van Velsen³⁰, who in his intrinsic study of the tonga of the lakeshore region in Nkhata-Bay noted that, a large proportion of absent males was possible because their subsistence agriculture is based on Cassava which requires less cultivation than grain crops. He also noted that migration among the Tonga was carefully organized to ensure an adequate remaining population³¹. Of the same, Van Velsen held labour migration as a positive factor in the development of the Tonga society which he studied in the 1950s. He established that labour emigration was a source of income which led to development³². Those who went to work sent back money to the village since they had left their families behind and also as a way of keeping the bond of kinsmen vessel. Again, in his study of the economy of the Tonga of West Nyasa, he observed that, the total amount of cash which was sent to the district from abroad was quite considerable and was incidentally, larger in proportion to the population than the other districts of the Northern province and perhaps the whole of Malawi.

By 1974, there were 130,000 Malawians working in the South Africa. 119 were working on the mines of members of the chamber of mines, while 12,000 were in manufacturing, farming and

³⁰ J. Van Velsen., “Labour Migration among the matrilineal people,” Report of the seventh conference of research officers, Rhodes, Livingstonia Institute, 1953.

³¹ Ibid, 1960. P.267

³² Van Veisen J., *Labor Migration as a Positive Factor in the Tonga Society*.1959.

some other primary industries. They were recruited by the Malawi Employment Service Division (MESD) of the ministry of Labour which served two main purposes; regularizing the position of Malawian workers in South Africa who did not comply with the country's immigration laws, and to provide facilities for citizens to obtain employment there subject to the non-availability of local African labour³³.

However, in the same year in immediate response to the plane crash Dr Hasting Kamuzu Banda banned labor recruitment in the country. Though, this can be thought to be out of rage of the 72 Malawians who died at the spot. Historians are great thinkers and have speculated reasons beyond death³⁴. While Malawians were repatriated, and those who were on holiday were not allowed to go back, evidence shows that this disturbed the trend of economic growth of Malawi (1960s to 1979).

Since one of the reasons to the decision was to capture labor supply to enhance the planned expansion of the Malawi's agricultural economy, the years that followed, 1979 – 82 is described by Pryor and Chipeta as a period of an economic turmoil for Malawi. This is because, there was an exponential increase in oil prices, while at the same time there was logarithmic flop in the prices of flue cured tobacco and hence the growing bankruptcy of tobacco estates. From this point one may argue that the president's decision was lame and was hastily and emotionally imposed. This is because shouldering the economy of a country into a single cash crop was a big mistake and indeed this was a repeat of history.

³³ Chirwa W.C, "The Malawi government and South African Labor Recruiters," in the Journal of Modern African Studies 34(4) 1966.

³⁴ ibd

For instance, the drastic and detrimentally fall of African grown tobacco had at one point in history already occurred in the 1950s³⁵ which as an aftermath drove many people into the scum of emigration. As a consequence of these calamities, there were even a massive downturn in local enterprises whose origins were emigration net returns. To highlight on the importance of remittances, we see a contribution of the deadlock to labor recruitment being used in the campaign for multiparty democracy as one malefactor was quoted *"we will give the UDF government one year and see what lies they tell us next. . . .If they do not fulfil their promises we will be glad to have people here call for 'special elections'"*³⁶. And indeed, people's calamities after labor recruitment was banned contributed to the fall of the one-party state in Malawi. All these were because all the ongoing processes that resulted from the scene of 1974 had irrefutably reduced the means of making money³⁷.

³⁵ W.C. Chirwa, "Theba is Power": Migrancy, Fishing, and Accumulation. P 437

³⁶ Chirwa W.C., "'No TEBA...Forget TEBA': The Plight of Malawian Ex-Migrant Workers to South Africa, 1988-1994', International Migration Review, 31(3) 1997. P. 646

³⁷ MNA PCNI/44/6 Facilities for Making Money in the Northern Province, 1954-1955.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Sampling and data collection

The research used both field and desk research. It also made use of both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources constituted both oral interviews and written information from the documents of the migrant labour located in the Malawi National Archives. The paper also used important information from secondary written sources including journal articles, dissertations, books and online books and articles. Oral research was conducted in Nkhata -Bay, especially T/A Malanda's area. A purposive sampling was used to select Nkhata-Bay as the study site since it is one of the areas where there are remarkable residuals and continual traits and symbols of trans-historical migration lay.

The research targeted people who participated or had direct relationship such as parent-children or husband-wife to those who travelled to work abroad prior to 1994. It also heard the views of those who travelled abroad through oral tradition. As a result, the respondents were both men and women of the age of fifty and above. A consent letter which was obtained from the head of department of history of Chancellor College was presented to the district commissioner of Nkhata-Bay which was my research site. I also presented myself to Traditional authority Malanda who is the T/A of my research site. The respondents were informed about the purpose of the research project and were assured that their details will be kept confidential.

The research used structured interviews and life histories as research instruments. It should be noted that the procedure used to collect data was influenced by the research instruments used.

Since a qualitative study is not always computable by arithmetic relations, the responses were categorised into various classes and I employed content analysis.

3.1. Map of the Study Site (Chintheche)



Interviews were conducted in the area of T/A Malanda called Chintheche, in Nkhata-Bay district, the northern part of Malawi.

3.1 Conceptual Framework

This section seeks to highlight and justify the theoretical approach used in this research and account for limitation and its remedies.

3.1.1 Altruism, self-interest and rational choice theory

For many persons, altruism would first come to mind when considering a migrant's motive for remitting. Altruism refers to a migrant's genuine care for his/her remaining household members. Lucas and Stark (1985) mentioned that migrants enjoy remitting because they care about household consumption. Others have argued that only permanent migrants' remit for altruistic

purposes, as temporary migrants are more likely to remit for investment and future consumption smoothening (Glytsos, 2002). With an altruistic model, the strength of family ties as well as the net earnings of recipients will be important. According to the altruism model offered by Rapoport and Docquier (2005), the more migrants earn, the more remittances recipient households should anticipate. Furthermore, strong family ties between migrants and remaining households would increase the probability of migrants remitting. On the other hand, remittances would decline with an increase in the recipient household's wealth and the length of time the migrant stays in the host country.

As per limitation of this approach, many studies have investigated the validity of this motive and most have concluded that altruism is insufficient in explaining remittance inflows. Alleyne (2006) suggested that there is a strong investment motive rather than an altruistic motive for remitting. Lucas and Stark (1985) concurred, as they believed it is incorrect to assume that the fundamental factor for sending remittance is altruism. Van Dalen et al (2005) also confirmed this claim, as he believed that trying to model altruism would yield inconclusive results.

Then self-interest approach comes in as a remedy to the criticisms leveled against altruism approach. As the name suggest, self-interest motive purports four main motives behind remitting. First, migrants send money to households in their home in pursuit of personal gain. Vargas-Silva and Huang (2006) suggested that some emigrants send remittances because they expect to return home in the future and can benefit from the household's gratitude from having sent remittances. This is to say, they would send more remittances to ensure their social assets, that is,

relationships with family and friends be intact. Secondly, migrants' remit in anticipation of a bequest, which is a strategy for investing in future inheritance.

Indeed, if inheritance is conditioned by behavior, an avaricious migrant's motive for supporting his or her family might include the concern to maintain favor in the line of inheritance. Others have argued that if there is a minimal amount of money to be remitted, parents and other family members can encourage transfers above this benchmark level by offering a 'reward' in the form of land or any other inheritable assets (Hoddinott, 1994). And thirdly, there is the exchange motive for remitting. Here, migrants use remittances to purchase various types of services such as taking care of their assets or relatives. (Rapport and Docquier, 2005).

To concur with the self-interest model, there is the rational choice theory. Indeed, individual decision-making forms the basis for nearly all of microeconomic analysis. While in standard view, rational choice is defined to mean the process of determining what options are available and the choosing the most preferred one according to some consistent criterion. In a certain sense, this rational choice model is already an optimization-based approach. We will find that by adding one empirically unrestrictive assumption, the problem of rational choice can be represented as one of maximizing a real-valued utility function.

These theories are useful to this study. As altruism would come first because most young men would go abroad just some few days after getting married. One would really argue that the reason for travelling abroad is altruism. While others would go first, and come back to identify a

marriage partner as it was with the case of Mr Brooks³⁸. However, evidence shows again that self-interest plays a greater role as migrants tend to have targets in the acquisition of assets and even status. While this on its own demonstrate rationality, evidence also shows that after acquiring a sizable wealth, many have joined politics by competing on the parliamentary positions³⁹. However, much of the uses of these theories has been highlighted in this the write-up progresses. At the peak of Malawi's labour migration, a lot of facilities such as night entertainment in the rural districts, along the major roads along the lakeshore were owned by returned migrants⁴⁰. This was especially the case with bars and dancing places. Since their incomes were generally higher than those of the rural workers, peasants and ordinary Malawians, the returned migrants were regular patrons of these facilities⁴¹.

³⁸ Isaac Brooks, OT, Lisambe, Nkhata-bay

³⁹ Wellington Julamu kamanga, OT, Kawiya, Nkhata-bay.

⁴⁰ MNA PCN1/44/6 Facilities for making money in the Northern Province, 1954-1955

⁴¹ Chirwa, Aliens and AIDS in Southern Africa: The Malawi-South Africa Debate. P. 10

4.0 Results Discussion

4.1 Background of migrant workers

This paper has prescribed migrants as rational and target workers. And it is in this section that the paper uncovers the family and societal background of migrant workers. The premise behind this is that the typical nature and circumstances in societies and families given ways of earning a living are important determinants of these people's target and rationality.

4.1.1 Family Occupational Status

Some migrants, especially along the lakeshore (Nkahata-Bay and Mangochi) whose parents owned fishing nets and boats, travelling abroad was by pleasure. Not driven to achieving something aspiringly. Even those who had direct lineage to the ruling class because they owned enough land and resources to keep them at home. To this, be added the voice of Margret Read (1942), who argued that, emigration of labour is related to the African's " love of adventure " and " desire to travel " and to the traditional method of agriculture by " shifting cultivation "; its importance in Nyasaland is shown by the fact that the country's chief export for the past 50 years has been men.

An estimate made in 1939 revealed that nearly a quarter of the total male adult population was abroad. This survey covered 110 villages in six areas in the Northern Province of Nyasaland; of 3, 818 adult males, **33 per cent** were away at the time of the survey and **49 per cent** had formerly

been away.⁴² also, Maurice Kanyole testified that by the time he went to Zimbabwe, he never lacked anything because life was satisfied as their family were rich with earnings from fishing.⁴³

Others expressed motivation to moving out due to the cascading nature of living at home. Only agriculture was the opportunity at hand yet it was not easy to commercialise and commoditise the produce among the peasantry born persons. The elder son of Erick Phiri commented that “returns were and still are very low from farming because of the demining prices at the market, what we earned did not match the input on the farm,” “The only time we profited from farming was in 1980 due to the drought that made us sale Maize at good prices, we sold maize because we had Cassava readily available for Kondowole”, he added.⁴⁴ He further said that, this drought saw him venturing into business of buying and selling maize between Zambia and Malawi respectively. It is of little wonder that those who could not live a descent life from peasant production sought wage employment abroad.⁴⁵

4.1.2 Poverty and unemployment in rural communities

Some respondents vehemently emphasized on poverty and unemployment in Malawi. They argue that upon completing their education, they could not be employed by any company in Malawi. For instance, Lovington D.K Vumu who completed his form one education at

⁴² Read. M., Migrant Labour in Africa and its effects on Tribal Life, International Labour Review, 45(6), 1942, p.620; <https://www.cabdirect.org/cabdirect/abstract/19422901221>

⁴³ Maurice Kanyore, OT,Kagodo. Mtchindwi village, Nkhata-Bay

⁴⁴ OT, son to Erick Phiri, Mgodhi. Thula village

⁴⁵ Pryor & Chipeta, p.58

Chikwina, couldn't continue with farming, rather he sought travelling to South Africa in 1961.⁴⁶ Testimonies shows that the kind of jobs that these people occupied in the host country talks much about their education. Most of them were high rank officials or had a group of people reporting to them or were directly linked to the top hierarchy in their occupations. A good example was the same Lovington D.K Vumu, who was the Salaries controller in the accounts department of a transport company.

Brooks Kamanga, was the operator of a machine that was used to detect underground diamond in South Africa. He was even proud in expressing his position, *"Ndenga machiniman opaleta. Ndini ndaonanga kuti dayamandi weuku mbwe nditiwatuma akukumba kwakuselere"*, that is to say, *"I was the operator of the Machine that could detect diamond, and would command diggers on the direction."*⁴⁷

Another respondent, Isaac George Msiwa Banda went to Zimbabwe following his father after dissatisfaction with the lame treatment he received from his stepfather. While in Zimbabwe, his Malawian preliminary education convinced the Harare Synod who eventually gave him a scholarship to do theology at Livingstonia College back in Malawi at Ekwendeni. Upon completion of his studies, he went back to Zimbabwe where he served as a Revland from 1978. "Even after my retirement in 2002, I have worked with many organisations before I decided to come back to Malawi in 2007", He emphasized⁴⁸. These are indeed testimonies to G. Coleman

⁴⁶ OT, Lovington D.K Phiri, Mgodhi, Mtepelera Village.

⁴⁷ Brooks Kamanga, OT, Lisambi, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay.

⁴⁸ Rev. Isaac George Msiwa Banda, OT, Chihame, Chatupa Village, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay

(1974), who argued that our country failed to productively use its importantly skilled people due to rampant poverty and poor structures of the market and its labour absorption vacuum.

4.1.3 Place of birth of migrants

Most importantly, evidence from oral interviews also shows that there were two types of emigrants. The first group were those who were born and raised in Malawi, while the second group were those who were born to emigrants in the host country. With this kind of difference, it can be visualized that those who were born in the host country did not have prior responsibilities back home hence a remarkable difference in the patterns and structure of remitting. For example, the only time Musiwa sent money home was when the Church demanded a wife for his ordination. So, he sent money for his marriage arrangements and transport for his wife⁴⁹. Those who were born abroad were far less likely to remit, while those born in Malawi had shown more willingness and zeal in reality to remit. This explains the “bull's eye” of migrant workers⁵⁰. That is to say, they had targets which they wanted to achieve as they were well aware of the hardships and calamities of their families and the entire village.

4.1.4 Marital status of the migrants

Another difference worthy assessable with regard to remitting was between those who went unmarried and those who were already married. Equally likely is also the difference between those who went with their wives and those who left their wives in the village. In these intriguing

⁴⁹ ibd

⁵⁰ Bulls eye means target in the Mpondoland, South Africa

lines, the apriori expectation is that those who were married and left the wives at home would remit more because they had aforementioned responsibilities and obligations to their families. Brooks Kamanga testified that he never sent remittances in the early days and because he had married a Zambian woman ⁵¹. He stressed that “*Anthukazi achiwemba mbalwani kasaza cha,*” meaning that “Bemba women are dangerous or crooked.” As such he divorced and came back to Malawi to remarry which eventually marked the genesis of remitting in his adventure to a foreign country.

4.1.5 Decade of the migration pattern

with regard to the nature of the migrants, the most trivial and complex spectacle to excavate has been the time patterns of migration. though this manuscript presaged to focus on the time frame between 1974 to 1994, those who have travelled earlier before this period are equally important to be referred. As research has shown, the influx of migrant labor reached its peak when the tripartite agreement was signed in 1936. While the year 1974 was associated with fluctuations in labour exportation from Malawi due to Dr. Banda’s bold and decisive decision of killing WENELA and the Zimbabwe Native Labour Association.

Though recruitment was later resumed, another fluctuation occurred due to further strains between the South African government and the Malawi government over the issue of Screening Malawian Labor for HIV/AIDs. This initiative was very unwelcome by the Malawi government, though Malawians were displeased with the complete annihilation of the activities of Theba.

⁵¹ Isaac Brooks Kamanga, Lisambe, Nkhata-bay

Nevertheless, evidence shows that those migrants who travelled before 1974 were more comfortable and acted at free range. Even their ambitions were more altruistic, compared to those who travelled after 1974. It is found out that the group of migrants after 1974 was youthful and an energetic generation such that they had ambitions beyond altruism. Acquisition of property and status was the primary purpose to this category. An earliest migrant Mateketi Mphasa⁵² stressed that, life was better in the host country and that is what mattered that time. While the latest migrants such Wellington Kamanga⁵³ had more ambitions such that they are now active participants in politics, entrepreneurship and social organizations.

4.2 Channels of Remitting

4.2.1 Travelling family members or friends

Nevertheless, many people were engaged in remitting, the question has been the reliability and efficiency of the channels used. The popular way of sending money home was via friends or relatives. However, in practice, in a number of cases the friends and relatives' channel seem to involve sending money via cross border traders, who trade back and forth frequently, transporting goods for business purposes. According to Isaac Fwiyamsitu Chirwa, the most popular cross border trader in the area was Mr Iback Mwase who was popularly known by the

⁵² Mateketi Phiri Mphasa, OT, Chikhumbi Village, Nkhata-bay

⁵³ Wellington Julamu Kamanga, Kawiya, Nkhata-bay

nickname “Bata” which is derived from “barter” kind of trade. Bata used to ferry Seine nets, suits and clothes, blankets and many other things and sold throughout Nkhata-Bay⁵⁴.

4.2.2 Malawi post corporation

While most of respondents used informal means of remitting, the most used formal means of remitting was via Malawi Post Corporation which had links with the shipping companies⁵⁵. This was more reliable because safe delivery of the cargo was a guarantee and in case of loss, compensation was given. However, this channel was relatively expensive and hence attracted an infinitesimally smaller audience from the district.

4.2.3 Transporters

The interviews that were conducted in Malanda area also revealed that there were people whose sole business was specifically serving as a conjunction between the home and those abroad. “From experience, I saw others who would normally come from Zambia or South Africa to give money and goods to Malawi” said Mateketi, also known as Ada Mphasa.⁵⁶ This system is presently known as “Transporters”. The transporters act as a bridge for remitting between the remitter and his or her original home. This was more efficient because delivery was right in the area of the recipient.

⁵⁴ Isaac Fwiwamsitu Chirwa, OT, Mtepelera Villge, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay district.

⁵⁵ MNA 60/21/6 Cross-Channel, river & Lake passenger ships, by E.W Argyle and Chippenham, (Witts: Picton Publishing, c1971)

⁵⁶ Amphasa Amateketi Phiri, OT, Chikhumbi Village, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-bay district.

Going forward, respondents hoped to take advantage of differentials in the price of goods between South Africa and Malawi, to establish cross border trading enterprises of their own. Many also hoped to eventually return home for good, but were realistic about the potential difficulty of succeeding in Malawi and need capital before returning. The fact that goods are often cheaper and/or better quality in South Africa than Malawi was a big influence on the choice of whether to remit cash or goods. These goods were remitted both for the recipient's personal use, and for resale, as sometimes on cross border trading businesses, as part of an ongoing commercial effort, and sometimes as a once off profit making opportunity.

Erick Edison Phiri strongly condemned his wife for mishandling remittances. "I built a house in Lilongwe, but would have done more if my wife knew how to budget expenses", he said⁵⁷. This compromised with his life upon return as he did not have strongholds to sustaining his financial livelihood. He sold his house in Lilongwe and he stressed, "*ungajaku cha ku tawuni kwambula chikweta*" which means, "you cannot stay in town without a farm," and he used the house sales to build an iron corrugated house in which he is staying now.

⁵⁷ Erick Edson Phiri, OT, Mgodithula Village, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay.

4.3 General effects of remittances

4.3.1 Negative effects of remittances

4.3.1.1 Jealousy

Albeit, we have slammed the view that looks at emigration as evil to rural household and communities, it is important to note that even remittances in themselves did not only carry positive effects. When asked about how their families fared with the society in their absence or upon their return, almost all emigrants revealed the notion of jealousy and hatred from relatives and neighbors. For example, Mr Matekete Phiri, passionately lamented about the demise of “Mphala”. Mphala is a communal system of doing things, more especially eating for people from different houses in a single village. This system is dead and if it still exists, then it’s in very marginalized and remotest communities.

One of the reasons behind this demise is contribution from remittances. This is because those who received remittances contributed classically good food and could not contain the routine of usual traditional food without value addition from other families⁵⁸. D.K vumu also attributes to jealousy the mysterious death of one of his son, a primary school teacher, among whom he educated from remittances and became the cornerstone of his living when he returned home. *“Mpaka musanawale ndivwisisa cha po wakufwiya mwana wangu Manasseh, wakufwa*

⁵⁸ Mateketi Phiri, OT, Chikhumbi Village, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay district.

*kwambula kutama*⁵⁹”, that is to say, he doesn’t really understand how without sickness his son Manasseh died.

4.3.1.2 Divorce

Besides jealousy, there climaxed also the problem of divorce. Albeit, only Erick Phiri expressed having happily divorced his wife, there were many cases of divorce between migrants and their wives in Malawi. That is, either the husband brought strange diseases from abroad, or the wife moved on to another erotic relationship in the absence of the husband⁶⁰.

Erick openly condemned and still condemns his wife for misusing remittances. He says, she had put much emphasis on consumption and to him she was short sighted in doing things. He further said, he built a house in Lilongwe without her consent, because she had by then already consumed the money which was sent for the purpose of a house in the village⁶¹. Other reasons for divorce between the distanced couple would be infidelity. While those migrants who owned entertainment centers like bars were at high risk of contracting STIs⁶², these diseases also contributed to divorce rate among the Tonga of Nkhata-Bay.

⁵⁹ Lovington D.K Vumu, OT, Mgod, Mtepelera Village, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-bay district.

⁶⁰ S. Truen, W. Jitsing, K. Kgaphola et al, “The impact of remittances in Lesotho, Malawi and Zimbabwe” FinMark Trust, 2016.

⁶¹ Eric Edson Phiri, Thula Villlage, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay

⁶² W.C. Chirwa, “Aliens and Aids in Southern Africa: The Malawi-South Africa Debate” p. 10

4.3.1.3 Negligence of responsibilities

To concur with Herbert Houghton who describes emigration as an evil cancer, it has also been found that the absence of the husband brought more chaos to their families at home. Some men got engulfed into the pleasure of life or failed to secure sound jobs in the host country and ended up losing the rationality and altruism that burned before departure. For instance, the current MP on Nkhata-bay south east honorable Noah Chimpeni can only remember one suitcase of clothes from his father in Zimbabwe. “He never sent us money, and my mother struggled a lot to finance our education”, he stressed. Sometimes the absence of the father created problems in the upbringing of the children since children needed to work hand in hand with their mothers to make both ends meet. Some children were forced to drop out from school, forced marriages among girls and even premarital pregnancies increased.

4.3.2 Positive effects of remittances

Irrespective of the negative effects, the conjunction of oral, archival and library research have shown that the positive effects of remittances offset the other side of the coin. Remittances saw the improvement in the general well-being of those families whose head or elder sons emigrated on target. Most remitters felt that their money was vital to the continual well-being of recipient households. Many supported children still living in Malawi, and supplied funds to pay for their health care, education costs of the family members as necessary. They typically were supporting multiple individuals in Malawi⁶³.

⁶³ S. Truen, J. Warren, K. Kemedi, et al, The Impact of Remittances in Lesotho, Malawi and Zimbabwe, (FinMark Trust, 2016)

4.3.2.1 Building houses and pillaring of the village

When asked whether, they see anything today which they would not achieve had it been not of travelling abroad, there was a consensus in pride for building corrugated houses in towns and their villages.⁶⁴ While, Lovington Vumu and Mateketi Phiri also boasted for creating villages in which they are today the custodians of their own grandchildren while their sons and daughters are in towns and some have followed the quest of migration.⁶⁵ This would trans-historically and transculturally be regarded as binding therefore worthy hailing Mr Vumu and Matekete. This is because, many villages have been disintegrated because of lack of a human pillar of old aged people who could act as a binding dynamism.

4.3.2.2 Entrepreneurial activities

This study's questionnaire made an attempt to excavate the entrepreneurial spirit of the migrant workers from the study site. However, evidence shows that there was no direct encounter with a person who was actively engaged in cross-border enterprise, or engaged in micro-enterprising from emigration proceeds. Cunningly enough, respondents were required to mention people they have known who engaged actively in business enterprising with proceeds from emigration. Many did not seem to be unaware of Abata (Iback Mwase) who was an international trader between Malawi and South Africa. However, almost everyone pitied his catastrophic entrepreneurial

⁶⁴ Eric Edson Phiri, Thula Villlage, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay; Lovington D.K Vumu, OT, Mgodi, Mtepelera Village, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-bay district; Mateketi Phiri, OT, Chikhumbi Village, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay district; Isaac Fwiyaamsitu Chirwa, OT, Mtepelera Villge, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay district; Brooks Kamanga, OT, Lisambi, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay; Rev. Isaac George Musiwa Banda, OT, Chihame, Chatupa Village, T/A Malanda, Nkhata-Bay.

⁶⁵ Lovington D.K, & Mateketi Phiri, OT...

demise which they attribute to lack of investing in less liquid assets like houses, machinery and children. While others did not themselves do tangible business, but attribute is made to them for buying land and laid structures in strategic positions. For example, Zizwa Mhone, Todi Banda, Mpande, Wanangwa, Mnkhuwi at Chintheche are places which are being wisely and entrepreneurially used by sons of emigrants for Night clubs, Renting shops and houses, Bar, rest houses, restaurant and bottle store respectively. Yet the migrants themselves might have or not even have these plans perhaps.

4.4. Remittances and the make-up of the Tonga Society.

This is another part of the positive effects of remittances to the Tonga society. Alluded by many of the respondents, it shows that remittances contributed to the general makeup of the Tonga society and its people. Most of the things that define the present Tonga society have a historical explanation owing to remittances. However, in this paper and this section the emphasis dwells on culture especially dances and dressing; and communalism; and the notion of competition in particular.

4.4.1 Culture and Competition

4.4.1.1 Education

The notion of completion is historically an intrinsic phenomenon in the Tonga society. Though, remittances played a greater role in the societal competition, recognition should be made that some people were successful purely without mention of remittances. Education is one area that saw rooting competition in the Tonga society. Initially, people tried to boost their education and those who were unsuccessful saw themselves voting by their feet a notion advanced by Charles Tiebout⁶⁶. Charles Tiebout (1956) argued that a failure by one society to provide quality and sufficient public goods and amenities drives its citizens away. This is what has become to be known as the Tiebout migration hypothesis. For example, Lovington Vumu considered himself very educated because he completed the then form one at Chikwina⁶⁷. His failure to secure a

⁶⁶ T. Charles. (1956), "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures", *Journal of Political Economy*, **64** (5): 416–424

⁶⁷ Lovington D.K Vumu, OT...

sound job and good life made him seek for greener pasture in Zimbabwe where he became the salaries controller of a transport company. That he knew the importance of education, made him send more and more remittances to support the education of his children. And this gives us the second group which became educated from remittances. Vumu spoke with pride of how he managed to produce educated children some of which are now employed by the government, while some are richly endowed through migration.

An in-depth step was carried to excavate the competition in education through enumeration of educated figures by origin of primary school, selection to secondary, college and the current occupation. The people in different villages were asked to mention educated people from their villages. Bandawe scored one, seconded by Mgodhi, Ching'oma then Chihame, Bungano and Maula. There are many factors that count for these differentiations but one most notable is the age of these primary schools. Bandawe is one of the earliest centers of education due to the settlement of missionaries which dates back in 1888 when Dr Robert Laws moved the Livingstonian mission⁶⁸. The area was also instituted with a technical vocational center and school for special needs, all of which contributed to the exportation of skilled manpower from this site.

Remittances also played a bigger role to the number of educated persons in different areas from the study site. The area that had more migrants tended to have more children in school. Those in the shores also did their best to send their children to school as Noah said “those who were coming from the upper side did very well than those who were coming from the lake side”. An

⁶⁸ MNA /---/---/ Daniel K.M, “Target in History of Central African”, (Blantyre; Bookland International Publishers, 2011) p. 81

initiative was undertaken to talk with some of these people. This was to find out those who attribute their education to remittances. Indeed, many gave testimonies appreciating remittances. For example, Wellington Julamu spoke of his education and travel to South Africa as a product of remittances from his father. Maleka Thula who is now a senior economist at the Reserve Bank of Malawi also testified his education to remittances. Indeed, the list shows nothing other than the spirit of competition in education in Nkhata-Bay.

4.4.1.2 Housing and dressing

The acquisition of assets was almost the target of every migrant. Construction of iron roofed houses was considered as the most valuable thing in the Tonga society. It is of little wonder that those who migrated earlier and built houses stimulated the desire to travel among others in the society. As Isaac Brooks Kamanga, expressed that he couldn't continue living in poverty, yet after seeing other families improving from his very friend who had emigrated abroad⁶⁹. Indeed, this culture of completion fueled property acquisition, such as radios, bicycles, clothes, and land among others. As Fwiyamsitu Chirwa expressed, "those youths whose parents, or brothers and cousins were in the south shined in dressing", he further said that Saturday was a day when many people would wear suits whilst they went to chintheche Boma. This practice among the Tonga is known as "*Kuvakacha*" which can translate to peripateticism as advanced by the Aristotelian

⁶⁹ Isaac Brooks Kamanga, OT, Lisambi, Nkhata-Bay.

school⁷⁰. This explains why the Tonga are identified as smart people because the spirit of value in clothing is still alive⁷¹.

4.4.1.3 Dancing and music

One most remarkable culture that has put Chintche on map is dance. The popular and unique dance in Nkhata-bay and Malawi in general is the Park Town Band, locally known as “mpaka tawuni”. The origin of the band itself has a history of emigration as its foundation. Lotani Kaligogo Manda who had formed a formidable combination with the founder of the band, the late John Banda (JB)⁷² testified that the honala which was key to the band was given to John Banda by a friend from South Africa in 1933⁷³. This band shot into the limelight around 1955 when the country was in the heart of emancipation against British colonial rule.

One most popular song of that time was “*Wamuzenga ku Mapiri*” in support of the rising calls for self-rule⁷⁴. The song was originally a warning to chase supporters of the federation to the dry hills of the lakeshore district. The dressing of the performers in this band also reflects clothes obtained from remittances. Indeed, Paka Town men wore suits and were termed Majuli⁷⁵. They

⁷⁰ Ostwald, M.; Lynch, J. (1982), "The Growth of Schools & the Advance of Knowledge", in Lewis, D. M.; Boardman, John; Hornblower, Simon; et al., The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 6: The Fourth Century BCE, Cambridge University Press.

⁷¹ Isaac Brooks...

⁷² The Nation, September 22, 2015

⁷³ Lotani Kaligogo Manda, OT, Gomu, Nkhata-Bay

⁷⁴ Ibid, also The Nation, September 22, 2015

⁷⁵ Bomba Longwe, OT, Chikumba, Nkhata-Bay

have a long legacy of performing before high profile audiences. “Tidanika kwachivinanga mavinilu ghidu ghauchanda kunyumba ya pulezident weyosi yo walamuliya chalu chinu” that is, “we take our seemingly dust allergic steps to Kamuzu and Sanjika palace on invitation of every president that has ruled the country”. Emphasized Manda.

5.0 Conclusion

This paper demonstrated that migrant workers were not just random thinkers rather they had targets behind their quest to migrating. That is, they were not just rational beings as anyone could be. They were largely influenced by their own intrinsic as well as societal situations and circumstances. To show that migrant workers had targets, comes the issue of remittances. As evidence shows, a good number of migrant workers were involved in sending money or goods to their natives in the village on the basis of rational choice, altruism and self-interest. However, the achievement of their targets was not guarantee because they had no direct control of the money once sent at home, hence some were frustrated when recipients failed to use the money intendedly.

Most importantly, this paper has shown that the ability, frequency, and bulkiness of remittances also largely depended on the place of birth of the migrant, family background, poverty and other factors. Those migrants who were born and raised in Malawi had higher ability to sending large sums of money more often than those migrants who were born from migrant's parents in the destination country. This finding makes this study quite parallel from the existing literature which generalizes all migrant workers as rational decision makers in the use of remittances despite obvious disparities.

Though it has been shown in this paper that remittances were to some extent evil as they resulted into divorce and individualism in societies, a large consensus shows that remittances brought in competition. This competition as demonstrated in the cultural value, norms and morality of the

Tonga society was good for the productivity of the society. Indeed, remittances soared dancing, education, dressing and entrepreneurial practices among the Tonga inhabitants.

6.0 Bibliography

Oral sources

B Longwe, Chikumba Village 28/03/18

E.E Phiri, Thula Villlage 31/03/18

I. F Chirwa, Mtepelera Villge 31/03/18

I.B Kamanga, Lisambi, 05/01/18.

L.D.K Vumu, Mtepelera Village 31/03/18

L.K Manda, Kaligogu Village, 31/03/18

M. Kanyole, Mtchindi Village 30/03/18

M. Phiri, Chikhumbi Village 31/03/18

N. Chimpeni, Chintheche 9/4/18

Rev. I.G.M Banda, Chatupa Village 7/1/18

T. Maleka, Thula Village, 9/04/18

W.K Julamu, Kawiya 9/4/18

A.A Phiri, Chikhumbi Village 28/3/18

Primary written sources

Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners, 1931, Government Printer. Zomba.³⁷

MNA PAM/1,491/ Alomwe and Mozambican Immigrant labour in colonial Malawi-in
the journal of African Historical studies, Vol 27, No. 3, 1993

MNA PAM/819/22/22 Nyasaland Governor (1939-1942: Kennedy), Collection of native
tax, Government printer, 1942.

MNA 60/21/6 Cross-Channel, river & Lake passenger ships, by E.W Argyle and
Chippenham, (Witts: Picton Publishing, c1971)

MNA PCNI/44/6 Facilities for Making Money in the Northern Province, 1954-1955.

MNA /---/---/ Daniel K.M, “Target in History of Central African”, (Blantyre; Bookland
International Publishers, 2011) p. 81

The Nation, September 22, 2015

Secondary written sources

Agadjanian V. Research on International Migration within Sub-Saharan Africa: Foci,
Approaches, and Challenges. The Sociological quarterly. 2008; 49(3) pp. 407-421

Bohning, W, R., *Black Migration to South Africa*. International Labour Office, Geneva, 1981,
p.75:

Bryceson D.C. Ganyu Causal labour, famine and HIV/AIDS in rural Malawi: Causality and Casualty. In the Journal of Modern African studies, 2006; 44(2): 173 - 2002

Charles T. (1956), "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures", *Journal of Political Economy*, **64** (5): 416–424

Chirwa W.C, "Aliens and Aids in Southern Africa: The Malawi-South Africa Debate" p. 10

Chirwa W.C, "The Malawi government and South African Labor Recruiters," in the Journal of Modern African Studies 34(4) 1966.

Chirwa W.C, "Theba is Power": Migrancy, Fishing, and Accumulation.

Chirwa W.C, Aliens and AIDS in Southern Africa: The Malawi-South Africa Debate. P. 10

Chirwa W.C., "No TEBA...Forget TEBA": The Plight of Malawian Ex-Migrant Workers to South Africa, 1988-1994', *International Migration Review*, 31(3) 1997.

Colleman G., 'Some implications of international labour migration from Malawi,' Chancellor College; University of Malawi, 1974.

Edward T.J., *International migration and Economic development*, Population division, UN Secretariate. 2006.

Gray R., *The Two Nation: Aspect of development of race relations in the Rhodesia and Nyasaland*. (London: Oxford University Presss, 1960) P. 124

Gulliver P.H, "Labour Migration in Rural Economy: A Study of the Ngoni and Ndendeuli of Southern Tanganyika," East African Studies. No.6, Kampala, 1955, p.33

Harris, "Labour Migration among the Mozambique Thonga,"

Houghton D.H— "The South African Economy". In Blacking J., Some effects of Migrant Labour on rural Africans. P. 19

Kydd J & Christiansen R, Structural change in Malawi since Independence: Consequences of a development strategy based on large scale Agriculture. World Development. 1982; 10(5): 355 – 375

Migrant Labour in South Africa and the Wena. Memorandum By His Excellency, The Governor, G.F.T Colby, 1956, passim.

Mitchel, "Wage labor and African Population movements,"

Ostwald, M.; Lynch, J. (1982), "The Growth of Schools & the Advance of Knowledge", in Lewis, D. M.; Boardman, John; Hornblower, Simon; et al., The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 6: The Fourth Century BCE, Cambridge University Press.

Oucho J.Q, Institute of Security Studies, paper 157, 2007. Migration in Southern Africa: Migration Management Initiatives for SADC member states.

Ozden, C., Schiff, M (eds), International migration and the Brain drain. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005

Pryor & Chipeta, p.58

Pullock, N.H., 'Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia; Corridor to the North' Pittsburgh: Diquesne University Press, 1971.

Read. M., Migrant Labour in Africa and its effects on Tribal Life, International Labour Review, 45(6), 1942, p.620; <https://www.cabdirect.org/cabdirect/abstract/19422901221>

Richard. C., Malawi: Between the Referendum and the Elections, 1994 retrieved at <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a6be8.html> (accessed 1 April 2018)

Travers Lacey Report, Zomba, 1936,

Truen, S.J. Warren, K. Kemedi, et al, The Impact of Remittances in Lesotho, Malawi and Zimbabwe, (FinMark Trust, 2016)

Van Velsen J, 'Labour Migration as a positive factor in the continuity of the Tonga society', Economic development and cultural change, 8, 1960

Van Velsen. J, "Labour Migration among the matrilineal people," Report of the seventh conference of research officers, Rhodes, Livingstonia Institute, 1953.

William, B. "'Joini Inkomo: Cattle Advances and the origins of Migrancy from Pondoland" in the **Journal of Southern African Studies**. Vol. 5(1975)

Zuberi I & Sibanda A, How do Migrants fate in a post-Apartheid South African Labor Market? International Labor review 2004; 38(4)