

RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT



UNIVERSITY OF NATAL DURBAN

**MIGRATION AND DEPENDENCY :
SOURCES AND LEVELS OF
INCOME IN KWAZULU**

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DEVELOPMENT STUDIES UNIT

Centre for Applied Social Sciences

WORKING PAPER NO. 3

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Rural Urban Studies Series Working Paper No. 3

**Development Studies Unit
University of Natal
Durban**

May 1986

Rural Urban Studies Unit

The Rural Urban Studies Unit was founded in 1983 by the Human Sciences Research Council for the purpose of studying the dynamics of the links between the rural and urban areas of South Africa. It is situated at the University of Natal, Durban and works in close co-operation with the Development Studies Unit.

ISBN NO: 0-86980-510-X

Abstract

This study of three black rural areas of South Africa shows that apartheid has institutionalised circulating rural-urban migration and has significantly affected their social and economic fabrics. The areas studied had a high male absentee rate and were on average poor. Incomes were unequally distributed with the poorest 40 percent of households receiving only 12 percent of the total income and the top 10 percent 31 percent of the total. Household income was directly related to household size, the number of migrants, education and stockholdings. Although the majority of the households had agricultural land (between 1 and 2 hectares), earnings from migration provided from between 66 - 88 percent of household earnings and agricultural productivity levels were very low. The socio-economic profiles were those of displaced urban communities rather than rural homesteads.

Section 1 Introduction

Uneven spatial economic development coupled with the controls over population movement that are part of the 'apartheid' system have resulted in the institutionalisation of a system of 'circulating labour migration' (Nattrass, 1981). Workers leave the rural areas to seek better opportunities in the towns have been prevented by law from taking their families with them. It has been argued that this system has both developed the South African capitalist or core economy (Johnstone, 1978; Legassick, 1977; Wolpe, 1972) and has led to the relative underdevelopment of the periphery, or "bantustans", (Magubane, 1975; Nattrass, 1977).

This underdevelopment has led to the steady erosion of the subsistence base of the labour reserves and there has been increasing evidence confirming the Tomlinson Commission's contention that the viability of reserve agriculture has been declining (Union of South Africa, 1955)

and that it now has little impact upon household subsistence levels (Derman and Poultney, 1983; Knight and Lenta, 1980; May, 1984, Yawitch, 1981). As such, these areas can be regarded as consumer economies rather than as producer economies (Derman and Poultney, 1983).

Nonetheless, it has been variously argued that circulating rural urban migration has both positive and negative effects on the area supplying the migrants (Amin, 1974; Caldwell, 1968; Simmons, 1977; Waters, 1973). On the positive side, these influences act through one or more of the following:

1. A direct increase in living standards resulting from:
 - i. Remittances in cash or kind that are sent back by the migrants;
 - ii. A reduction in pressure on existing resources through the absence of the migrant - providing that the migrant's marginal revenue product was less than his wage.

2. A secondary increase in rural living standards resulting from:
 - i. An increase in productivity flowing from the use of new techniques learned by the migrant and brought back to the home region (Miracle and Berry, 1970; Waters, 1973);
 - ii. Modernisation of the supplying area due to the increased impact of products imported from outside as a result of the increased cash flow in the area as well as from the experiences of the returning migrant (Caldwell, 1968; Oberai

and Singh, 1980).

The negative impacts of migration are more complicated and flow from the following:

1. Continued out-migration generates a situation in which the supplying region finds itself short of labour at critical moments in the production process, which causes the supply of agricultural output to fall. Since the chances of migration are higher amongst the well-educated, intelligent young men, the very people one would expect to make a significant contribution to agricultural output in the home region, this shortage can represent an important cost to the home region (Kuznets, 1965; Miracle and Berry, 1970; Skinner, 1965; Webster, 1979).
2. Migrancy alters the generation and allocation of the agricultural surplus in the home region. Radical analysts argue that migration leads the home region to place too high a value on education that is more suited to the needs of the supplying region than to those of the region in which it is provided. This orients the views of young people towards migration, thus perpetuating the process (Amin, 1974; Arrighi, 1967).
3. Migration to a new area may alter consumption patterns in the home region as migrants are exposed to a different range of commodities in the region to which they go. These preferences are then brought back to the supplying region on their return (Grasmuck, 1984; Miracle and Berry, 1970). If this "taste transfer" results in a decrease in investment, then this too will

be a significant cost.

4. Out-migration can militate against the adoption of new techniques. It has been argued that the absence of a significant number of men puts such pressure on the remaining workforce that they lack the opportunity to adopt new ways of production (Arrighi, 1967; Gluckman, 1958; Gulliver, 1965). Further, if the migrants' experiences in the destination economy are unpleasant and upsetting, they will strengthen the migrants' ties with their traditional beliefs and militate against the adoption of new ideas in the supplying region (Watson, 1959). Finally, migration may lead to economic and social stagnation in the rural areas as migrants attempt to preserve a familiar environment to which they can retire (Gugler, 1968).
5. Migration also has social costs. In Southern Africa most of the areas supplying migrants have very low levels of masculinity and this puts a substantial economic and social strain upon the members of the community that remain in the rural areas. Women are a particularly stressed group. Studies have shown that women who are most at risk are those with greater responsibilities, those who have inadequate resources, and those who have experienced longer exposure to the effects of their husbands' migration (Cobbe, 1982; Gordon, 1981; Phelan, 1985).

Obviously the overall impact of circulating migration on the rural supplying area will differ from case to case and depend upon the specific circumstances in each area. Referring to a village study conducted in Transkei, May (1985) has argued that participation of

rural households in the migrant labour system no longer simply undermines the subsistence economy in the supplying region, as was the case in the past, largely because the productive base of these areas has effectively been destroyed. Moreover, the study provided no evidence that access to a wage income significantly improved the household's ability to farm or its 'modernity'. Thus he concludes that migrant labour perpetuates the dependency of peripheral rural areas upon the South African core, for daily dependence.

The present paper will develop this point further and includes surveys undertaken in three rural areas of KwaZulu - one of the most fragmented labour reserves or bantustans of South Africa. The paper attempts to assess the impact of migration on these areas and it will be argued that the system is now so widespread and entrenched that it has undermined the rural economy to the extent that the survival of the people in the supplying regions is wholly dependent upon the earnings and remittances of the migrants. As a result, the local or 'village' economy has become almost entirely marginalised, and this has shaped the attitudes of the people and families who are involved.

Section 2 The Demographic Profile of the Households Studied

Some 600 households were surveyed in three rural areas in Northern KwaZulu over a period running from late 1983 to early 1984. These areas were the Mapumulo and Nqutu magisterial districts, and an area in the Inkanyezi magisterial district nearby the Mbongolwane Mission Hospital. The geographic position of these areas is shown in Map 1. There are a number of important differences between the areas,

particularly with respect to access to employment centres. The iMbongolwane area is the most remote, being furthest from Durban, has a dispersed settlement pattern and has no tarred road nearby. Although

Map 1 : Geographic position of Study Areas



the Mapumulo district is closest to Durban and there are two tarred roads through the area, these are at the edges of the district, leaving most households in the river valleys dependent upon poor secondary roads and tracks. The Nqutu district is relatively near to Vryheid and Dundee, and there is a tarred road crossing through the centre of the district. In addition, there is a good secondary road running perpendicular to the tar road and, therefore, this area has the advantage with respect to access roads leading to other areas of economic opportunity.

Other differences between the areas are: population density, with Nqutu the highest, and Ibongolwane the lowest; physical barriers, Nqutu is a comparatively flat area, whilst Mapumulo is divided by a number of deep river valleys; and finally, with respect to cultivation, maize and livestock are the only forms of subsistence activity in Nqutu, whereas sugar cane cultivation occurs in the other two areas. In addition, the majority of the households in Nqutu are concentrated into a number of village settlements,¹ and this area has also been a significant receiving area for families removed from their original homes through the resettlement programme.²

1. The villages were established under a programme of rural "development" known as Betterment Planning. Although originally intended to arrest rural degradation, it has been argued that this scheme appears to have done little more than extend state control in rural areas (Yawitch, 1980).

2. With respect to the "resettlement villages" established after the removal of families from white controlled Natal, the most noteworthy is Nondweni, in which some 7 000 people are clustered, without access to any land whatsoever. The "relocation township" of Mondlo with about 21 000 people who originally lived near Vryheid and Paulpietersburg is also located in Nqutu. (The SPP Reports, Vol. 4, Natal, 1983). Both Nondweni and the denser settlements around the formal township at Mondlo, (about 3 000 people), were included in the survey universe.

Data concerning some 4 600 individuals was collected and the demographic profile is summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Demographic Profile
(Total Sample Population)

Characteristic	Mapumulo	Nqutu	Mbongolwane
Percentage of sample under 15 years	36,0	41,4	37,9
Percentage of sample under 5 years	10,8	12,5	11,5
Percentage of sample over 64 years	4,3	4,1	5,0
Percentage of sample who are male	47,5	49,1	47,0
Sample Size	1 468	1 441	1 710
Total Population (Census, 1985)	90 567	132 419	23 712

Although the percentage of the sample who are children under 5 years of age is similar in Mapumulo and Mbongolwane area, Nqutu has a somewhat larger proportion. This could mean that infant mortality rates in this district are lower than those in Mapumulo and Mbongolwane as a result of better access to health care facilities. Overall 37,8 percent of the sample were under the age of 15 years, which places a substantial burden upon the working population. An additional 4,4 percent were older than 64 years of age, although, this group may be contributing an income to the household in the form of pensions. With respect to the masculinity levels, the ratio between

men and women was most equitable in Nqutu. This could be the result of in-migration by single men who are working or are looking for work in nearby Dundee or Vryheid. Alternatively, the presence of such employment opportunities, and the frontier commuting which results, might have the effect of limiting abandonment by migrants. Generally, the masculinity ratio of the sample was more equitable than that found by the 1985 Population Census for the whole of KwaZulu (47,8 percent of the sample were male as against 45 percent of the Census Population). This is probably because the census did not take account of migrants from KwaZulu who were outside the region at the time of surveying such as those working on the Witwatersrand, whereas the sample did include these as members of the household.

Turning to the educational profile in the areas, the data given in Table 2 shows that almost 27 percent of the sample 7 years of age and above had received no formal education whatsoever. This percentage

Table 2 : Education Profile
(Population over 7 years of Age)

Education Level	Hapumulo	Nqutu	Hbongolwane	Total
None	25.1	22.3	32.5	26.8
Less than Std. 3	27.9	32.2	29.3	29.8
Std. 3 - 6	29.3	27.7	25.5	27.4
Std. 7 - 9	13.9	14.4	10.0	12.6
Std. 10 and above	3.8	3.4	2.7	3.4
Sample Size	1217	1145	1388	3750

was highest in Mbongolwane (32,5 percent) and lowest in Nqutu (22,3 percent). This is not surprising as Mbongolwane is the most rural and remote of the three areas, whereas Nqutu has undergone extensive planning and so the population has better access to schooling facilities. A further 29 percent in Mbongolwane, 28 percent in Mapumulo and 32 percent in Nqutu had not schooled beyond Std. 3, and had not, therefore, received sufficient education to ensure the retention of literacy (less than 5 years). At higher levels of education, that is, an education level of Std 9 or higher, the percentage was highest in Mapumulo (17,7 percent) and lowest in Mbongolwane (12,7 percent).

With regard to other demographic characteristics, there were significant differences between the age and educational profiles of adult male migrants and residents. Migrants tended to be concentrated in the 26-45 year age group and tended to have higher education levels. Nonetheless, almost a quarter (24 percent) of the absentees had no formal education and 45 percent had received insufficient to ensure the retention of literacy (less than 5 years). Indeed, 3-5 percent had completed only primary schooling and a mere 6 percent had full school education. As such, it appears that migration in KwaZulu does not operate in a selective manner, in terms of educational achievement, and instead, all those who are able to migrate in search of employment, do so.

Migration levels, shown in Table 3 are as expected, higher for men. Over half of the men aged 15-64 years were absent from their homes as

migrants and in this age group, only one third of those living at home were men. Absenteeism was highest in the 26 - 35 year age group in which 71 percent of the men in this group were migrants. More specifically, absenteeism was highest in Mamumulo, and lowest in Nqutu. Explanations for this can be found in the spatial location of these areas. Better transport, and the availability of employment in Dundee and Vryheid, permits a number of breadwinners in Nqutu to

Table 3 : Migration Profile
(Adult Population, 15 - 64 years of Age)

	Mamumulo	Nqutu	Mbongolwane	Total
Percentage males 15-64 years absent as migrants	51.0	46.7	54.4	51.0
Percentage females 15-64 years absent as migrants	20.5	12.0	13.3	15.3
Adult population 15-64 years absent as migrants	34.6	28.6	32.4	32.0
Sample Size	839	766	955	2560

become "frontier commuters". That is to say, they travel 50 kilometres from their home in KwaZulu to their place of work in Natal on a daily or weekly basis. To some extent this is also possible in Mamumulo, whereas little such possibility exists for households in the more remote Mbongolwane area. Table 4 indicates the comparative percentage of the economically active (15-64 years of age) who were frontier commuters or weekly migrants, as opposed to the percentage

who were longer term migrants.

Table 4 : Frontier Commuters and Weekly Migrants
(Adult Population, 16 - 64 years of Age)

Characteristic	Mapumulo	Nqutu	Mbongolwane
Frontier Commuters (a)	17,1	32,7	19,1
Weekly Migrants (b)	18,7	9,4	5,2
Total (a + b)	35,8	42,1	24,3
Longer Term Migrants	64,2	57,9	75,7
Sample Size	304	287	325

This data confirms the suggestions above with almost one third of the employed in Nqutu commuting on a daily basis as against 19 percent in the case of Mbongolwane. In Mapumulo, a larger proportion of the employed were short term or weekly migrants.

In the case of women only, absenteeism was highest in Mapumulo. This may be partially due to Mapumulo's proximity to Durban, and partially due to the availability of farm work on the nearby sugar plantations. Moreover, it would appear that there has been an increase over time in the proportion of women, 15 - 64 years of age, who are becoming migrants. Matrass, (1976) found a female absentee rate of 5,8 percent in 1960 which rose to 8,6 percent in 1970. The present study undertaken in 1983/84 showed a substantially higher female absentee rate of 15.3 percent. Consequently these results suggest that firstly, there are significant differences in the migration behaviour of women in the various regions of KwaZulu according to employment

opportunities, and secondly, the increasing trend of female migration found earlier has been maintained. This could indicate that there has been increasing economic necessity for women to find wage employment as the potential of subsistence agriculture is eroded.

Section 3 Destination and Occupation

Although the South African economy is dominated by the Witwatersrand which produces approximately two thirds of South Africa's total manufacturing production, only 15 percent of the migrants from the study areas sought work there. The remaining 85 percent worked in the Natal/KwaZulu region itself and two thirds in the greater Durban area.

The migrants, with their low average educational levels, were largely confined to the lower skill jobs and, within this limitation, were spread unevenly over the various different economic sectors. Table 5 contains this data for migrants between 15 and 64 years of age and shows that the majority were employed in manufacturing or services.

There are differences amongst the three areas which reflect (i) the proximity of the supplying region to the economic centre and (ii) the distribution of the recruiting systems for the mines (both the Natal coalfields and the gold mines of the Transvaal). In addition, a far greater percentage of migrants in the Mapumulo district were school children, many of whom will be children who are living away from home, nearer to the high school at Mapumulo village or boarding in the school hostels.

Table 5 : The Distribution of Migrants by Economic Sector
(Adult Population, 15 - 64 years of age)

Sector	Percentage of Migrants in the Sector			
	Total Sample	Mapumulo	Nqutu	Mbongolwane
At school	6,1	8,9	4,1	4,9
Agriculture	2,1	1,4	0,9	3,6
Mining	6,1	1,7	10,6	8,5
Manufacturing	37,0	26,0	45,4	41,6
Self-Employed	1,3	1,4	1,6	0,7
Service: Domestic	12,5	14,0	11,5	11,8
Service: Other	22,0	32,2	15,6	16,7
Other	3,4	5,8	0,9	3,0
Unemployed	9,5	10,0	9,1	9,2
Sample Size	815	292	218	305

There were also significant differences in the degree of access to jobs in both spatial and sectoral terms by sex. From the spatial aspect, although legally there is no distinction by sex, in practice the population control aspects of apartheid are applied more strongly to women than to men. This, coupled with the natural limitations imposed by childrearing, account for the lower employment rates amongst women. Consequently, only 35 percent of women of the total sample 15 - 64 years of age, and not in educational institutions, were employed as opposed to 71 percent in the case of men in the same group. Sex discrimination through the economic system was also evident as unemployment rates were consistently higher amongst women. Since more women than men were categorized as being economically inactive, that is to say, neither formally employed, actively seeking employment or full-time farmers, 27 percent of the women who enter the

labour market were unable to find formal employment as against 16 percent of the men. Finally those women who were working tended to be concentrated in low wage, domestic and service sector employment.

Section 4 Migration, Incomes and Income Distribution

Income levels revealed by the three surveys were low and incomes were unevenly distributed. The data given in Table 6 shows that the mean household cash income, unadjusted for household size differences, was R53,24 per week or R2 768 per annum and that 50 percent of the households had weekly incomes of R37,00 or below. When an estimated value equivalent income from consumed agricultural products was included into total income, mean weekly income increased by R2,40 to R55,63.¹ Average per-capita income was R11,10 per week or R577 per annum and were highest in Mqutu and lowest in Mbongolwane. This may well be a reflection of the type of employment opportunity available nearby each of these areas, as well as due to frontier commuting where all of the wage-earner's salary is included as household income instead of only that part which is remitted.

Correlation analysis indicated that the level of household income was directly related to household size, the average age in the household

1. Imputed values for such consumption are at best very rough estimates. In this survey, values were derived from aggregated retail prices in rural KwaZulu for livestock, dried maize and other garden products. No attempt was made to impute values into gifts/transfers made in return for services such as grinding maize, fetching water or washing clothes. Clearly amongst the poor, it is likely that such transfers form a large proportion of household income, however measurement of these is extremely unreliable.

and the number of migrant workers, and inversely related to unemployment and dependency rates.

Table 6 : Comparative Household Income Levels¹

Characteristic	Mapumulo	Nqutu	Mbongolwane	Total
Mean household weekly cash income (a)	R44,01	R70,33	R45,88	R53,24
Median household weekly cash income (b)	R31,0	R57,00	R30,00	R37,00
Imputed weekly subsistence income (c)	R 2,10	R 1,31	R 3,73	R 2,40
Mean total household income (a + c)	R46,11	R71,64	R49,64	R55,64
Mean per-capita total weekly income	R 9,52	R14,70	R 9,19	R11,10
Median per-capita total weekly income	R 6,00	R10,00	R 5,00	R 7,00
Sample Size	195	191	199	585

Wage earnings, including remittances from migrants, were by far the most important source of income, contributing an average of 78 percent of total household income for the whole sample, and the data given in Table 6 shows a high of 88,3 percent in Nqutu and a low of 67 percent in Mbongolwane. Incomes from pensions contributed the next largest proportion of total income, averaging 10 percent for the whole sample with a high of 14 percent in Mbongolwane. Further, notwithstanding the so-called rural nature of the areas surveyed, agricultural incomes, both subsistence and cash, contributed less than 8 percent

1. Income expressed in 1983 prices.

of the total with the high once again in Mbongolwane. These results suggest that to some extent a trade-off exists between higher income from wages and income from other sources. Finally, although less than one fifth of the households surveyed derived any cash income from agriculture, 81 percent of the sample were able to derive some income from subsistence production.

Table 7: (Source of Household Income (Percentages in Brackets))

	Mpumulo	Nqutu	Mbongolwane
Rent	R 0,00 (0,00)	R 0,02 (0,02)	R 0,20 (0,40)
Pension	R 5,70 (12,37)	R 4,37 (6,10)	R 7,01 (14,14)
Interest	R 0,11 (0,23)	R 0,61 (0,85)	R 0,28 (0,56)
Insurance	R 0,05 (0,10)	R 0,42 (0,58)	R 0,2 (0,40)
Disability Grant	R 0,59 (1,27)	R 0,00 (0,00)	R 0,36 (0,72)
Money Gifts	R 0,35 (0,75)	R 0,51 (0,71)	R 0,07 (0,14)
Maintenance Grant	R 0,78 (1,70)	R 0,18 (0,26)	R 0,32 (0,64)
Wages	R33,52 (72,70)	R63,25 (88,30)	R33,43 (67,39)
Agricultural Income	R 1,68 (3,65)	R 0,37 (0,51)	R 2,56 (5,17)
Subsistence Income	R 2,62 (5,69)	R 1,35 (1,89)	R 4,32 (8,70)
Informal Income	R 0,71 (1,54)	R 0,56 (0,78)	R 0,86 (1,74)
Mean Total Household Income	R46,11 (100)	R71,64 (100)	R49,61 (100)
Sample Size	195	191	199

The data given in Table 8 indicates that incomes were extremely unequally distributed. Taking the three areas together, the poorest

10 percent of the households surveyed received 1,5 percent of the total income in the three areas; the poorest 20 percent, 5 percent; and the poorest 40 percent only 14,35 percent.

Table 8: Distribution of Household Income
Percentage of Income Received by each Decile

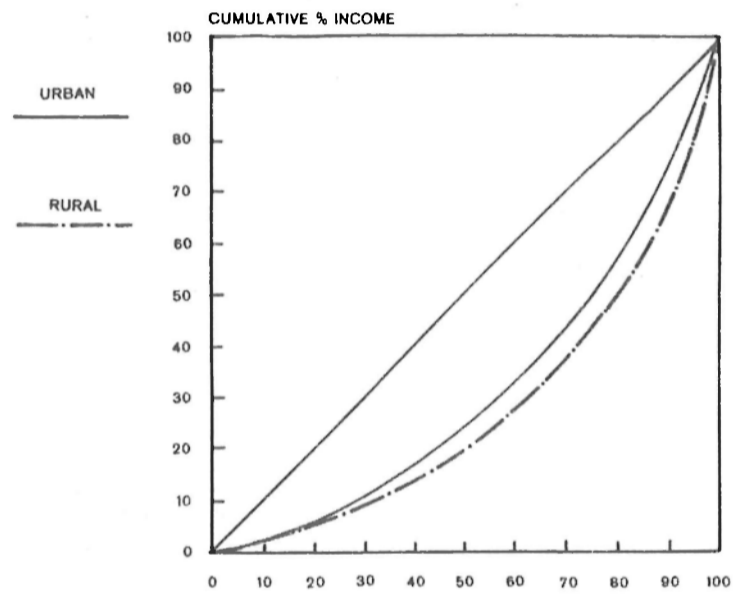
Percentage of Sample	Mapumulo	Nqutu	Hbongolwane	Total
Bottom 10 percent	2,45	1,72	1,70	1,89
Bottom 20 percent	5,70	4,90	5,20	5,03
Bottom 30 percent	10,57	8,51	9,80	9,22
Bottom 40 percent	15,69	14,25	15,32	14,35
Bottom 50 percent	22,09	21,48	21,67	20,62
Bottom 60 percent	29,53	30,36	29,31	28,46
Bottom 70 percent	39,23	41,33	38,84	38,44
Bottom 80 percent	52,15	55,27	50,66	50,96
Bottom 90 percent	69,91	72,95	66,75	69,14
Bottom 95 percent	80,85	85,73	77,94	81,12
Sample Size	195	199	199	585

At the other end of the scale, the wealthiest 5 percent of the households surveyed received 18,88 percent of the income; the top 10 percent, 30,86 percent; and the top 20 percent, 49,04 percent. The Gini Coefficient for the study as a whole was 0,477 which is in line with the value calculated for African incomes in non-metropolitan areas of South Africa by McGrath (1985).¹ Further,

1. The Gini Co-efficients for each area were as follows:
Mapumulo, 0,416; Hbongolwane, 0,415 and Nqutu, 0,411.

Figure 1 shows Lorenz Curves drawn for the rural sample and for comparative income data from urban areas in KwaZulu and shows that the degree of inequality is greatest in rural areas.¹

Figure 1: Lorenz Curves Showing Income Distribution in Rural and Urban KwaZulu



1. The Gini Co-efficient for all urban areas was 0,368

Although it is not possible to distinguish levels of inequality between the three rural areas as the Lorenz curves for each area intersect, casual inspection of Table 8 suggests that the degree of inequality differed by region and that income inequality was greatest in the Nqutu district and lowest in the Mapumulo district.

Clearly, these results indicate that although the communities surveyed are nominally situated in rural areas, as dictated by the various legislation which has restricted black urbanisation, they are, nevertheless, wholly dependent for their survival on the earnings and remittances of those family members who are wage labourers in white controlled towns. This dependence is recognised by the communities themselves as is shown by the perceptions they have of the migrants. This data is given in Table 9. Nearly 80 percent of those interviewed gave reasons for the out-migration which indicated that their continued rural survival was not possible without the migrants' contribution to the rural household.

Table 9: Perceptions Regarding the Role of Migrants

Perceptions	% of Respondents
Cannot survive without them	56,0
Need money to maintain farm	23,8
They avoid farm work	6,8
They would like to stay here	5,2
They like to stay in the town	4,1
They leave us with too much work	4,1
Sample Size	541

Section 5 Migration and Agriculture and Rural Residence

Notwithstanding the very small earnings received from agriculture by the households surveyed, the majority, 91 percent in Mapumulo, 85 percent in Mbongolwane and 33 percent in Nqutu, had access to land for cultivation.¹ Plot sizes were on average small, at 1,7 hectare, and varied from between 0,5 hectare to 7 hectare. Moreover, productivity levels were low, 1,9 bags per hectare, 1,8 bags per hectare and 2,7 bags per hectare respectively.² These were particularly poor at the time of the surveys due to a widespread and persistent drought and indeed 63 percent of the landholders did not cultivate all of their available land. Finally with the exception of sugar, nearly all crop production was for subsistence.

Livestock was less frequently owned than land, with 44,3 percent of the sample in Mbongolwane owning cattle or small stock (goats, pigs, sheep), 36,5 percent in Mapumulo and 30,7 percent in Nqutu. The

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1. Nqutu differed from the other areas as many households lived in the Betterment villages and Resettlement Camps mentioned above, and had access to no land whatsoever. However, in the other areas this figure compares with that of Gander and Bromberger (1984) who found that 97 percent of their sample in Mahlabatini had access to land.
 2. Calculated by $\frac{\text{number of shelled bags of maize}}{\text{number of hectares of land planted}}$

This figure excludes maize consumed during the "green" or "soft dough" stage from mid - December until harvest. Lipton has estimated that green maize consumption accounts for at least one third of the total product (Lipton, 1977, p.73). This would increase these productivity figures to 2,5; 2,4 and 3,6 bags per hectare respectively.

absence of cattle can affect agricultural output if it prevents households from meeting their own traction needs.¹ Access to regular remittances did not appear to improve the likelihood of a household owning cattle.

The negative effects of migrant labour upon agriculture come, firstly, from its impact on the available labour supply and, secondly, from the influence that out-migration has on the decision-making process (Nattrass 1977, p.18). In respect of Lesotho, Cobbe has argued that the women who remain in the rural areas are reluctant to make decisions which might entail unnecessary risks. This is because they are ultimately responsible to the male head of household who is a migrant worker (Cobbe 1982, p.128). The dependent position of women was also evident in the areas surveyed, and notwithstanding the high absentee rates, 88 percent of the households stated that migrants still made the important decisions relating to the rural household.

Although remittances made up the greatest proportion of household income, it appeared that households did not, as suggested by Waters (1973), utilise this cash flow to invest in working capital for agriculture. Indeed, by far the major portion of the money sent back by the migrants was used to finance current consumption levels. Seventy four percent of the households stated that they had no savings

1. Households without cattle but who have land they wish to cultivate are faced with the options of; hiring or borrowing cattle for ploughing; hiring a tractor; contracting out the ploughing, hand ploughing; or leasing all or part of their fields in return for ploughing. All of these involve costs to the households, either in terms of cash or in terms of potential output.

at all and, of the remaining 26 percent who did manage to save, 14 percent saved in order to pay for the education of their children, 9 percent for security reasons and only 3 percent for agricultural improvements. The low percentage investing in agriculture is further evidenced by the expenditure data obtained, which showed that expenditure on farming inputs accounted for only 3,5 percent of total expenditure, whereas that on education accounted for 4,8 percent of total expenditure.

The almost total alienation of the rural families from agriculture is most clearly demonstrated by their replies to a question relating to why migrants go to town. These are given in Table 10.

Table 10 : Perceptions of Why People Leave Rural Areas

Reason	Percentage Listing as	
	First Choice	Second Choice
Families need money and wages better in towns	49	16
No work in rural areas	21	43
Cannot produce sufficient to survive	14	13
Not enough land	3	9
Need money but will return	4	15
Do not like rural areas	9	4
	Sample Size	541

Respondents were also asked for their negative perceptions of rural life. More than half listed deprivation in the basic needs of food, water and education. The difficulties of farming and the lack of social services such as medical care were also noted.

One might well argue that the levels of dependence on urban earnings of the magnitudes found in these studies shows that people have been prevented from urbanising by the apartheid laws. As such, the removal of the influx control legislation will generate a massive flow of these people to the towns. To investigate this, the survey attempted to discover the percentage of people who perceived themselves as being held in the rural areas by the laws and who could, therefore, be expected to move into the towns as restrictions lift. Respondents were asked why the family did not move permanently to town. In reply 29 percent said that they wished to keep their land and a further 15 percent that they thought that the urban life was undesirable. These people could presumably be seen as permanent rural residents. However, twenty seven percent listed reasons related to the controls limiting the urbanisation of Africans, or to the absence of housing, which in part, reflects measures to limit black urbanisation. Further, thirty one percent stated that the cost of living in towns was too high. Consequently, it would seem that whilst some 45 percent of the surveyed households would not consider leaving the rural areas, 55 percent might, given free access to urban areas, or were able to find accommodation, or were able to afford the higher cost of urban living. This result is similar to that found in an earlier study amongst migrant men (Moller and Schlemmer, 1981).

Section 6 Conclusion

The findings of these surveys suggest that as Mayer has argued, rural-

urban circulating migration is a way of life in South Africa and has become institutionalised to the point where the majority of rural households, should be viewed as members of dislocated urban communities. Moreover, many households live in settlements, such as those in Mqutu, which can be said to have undergone a process of "displaced urbanisation" (Simkins, 1981, p.8). As such they are no longer tied either economically or socially to their rural lifestyles and are not true rural dwellers who might have an interest in the development of the area in which they live (Mayer, 1980).

Migration can therefore, no longer be seen as a matter of choice, but is now essential for the households' livelihood. This, together with the changing attitudes of the families to their land and to labour migration, suggests that should the perceived cost of living in rural areas, which includes the monetary and physical costs of subsistence production, exceed the perceived cost of living in a town, many households would permanently leave the land. The extent to which this could happen, or indeed, is already happening, will be determined partly by a household's relative and absolute economic position, and partly by the way in which that household is integrated into the urban economy. Consequently, as the surveys indicate that there is considerable income inequality in the rural areas, this could play a major role in determining future urbanisation patterns. As yet comparatively little is known about the role of social and economic differentiation in the determination of migration patterns and it seems that this could be a fruitful direction for future research.

Financial assistance by the Rural-Urban Studies Unit, established by the HSRC is hereby acknowledged. Views expressed and conclusions drawn are those of the authors, and should not be regarded as necessarily reflecting those of the HSRC. The authors also wish to acknowledge the assistance of colleagues in the Development Studies Unit, University of Natal, in particular Alan Peters with whom the original research was conducted, and David Perkins who assisted with computation.

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