

RURAL URBAN STUDIES UNIT



UNIVERSITY OF NATAL DURBAN

**POVERTY, MIGRATION
AND UNEMPLOYMENT
IN DUMISA:
A RURAL AREA OF KWAZULU**

by

Z Mpanza

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J Natrass

DEVELOPMENT STUDIES UNIT

Centre for Applied Social Sciences

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**POVERTY, MIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN DUMISA:
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**Zamakhosi ilpanza
and
Jill Natrass**

**Development Studies Unit
University of Natal
Durban**

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INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH STUDIES
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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.

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CONTENTS

1.0	INTRODUCTION	1
2.0	METHODOLOGY OF THE SURVEY	1
2.1	Objectives	1
2.2	Scope	2
2.2.1	Study Area	2
2.2.2	Universe and Sample	2
2.2.3	Broad Areas Covered by the Study	3
3.0	THE STRUCTURES OF THE HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED	4
3.1	Demographic Composition of the Sample	4
3.2	The Educational Profile of the Sample	7
3.3	Occupational Distribution of the Sample	8
3.4	Residential Status of the Sample	10
3.5	Household Structures	13
4.0	THE AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSEHOLDS	15
4.1	Land Holdings	16
4.2	Agricultural Inputs	19
4.3	Stock Holding	20
5.0	THE ORGANISATION OF RURAL LABOUR EFFORT IN DUMISA	22
5.1	The Labour Situation in Rural Areas	22
5.2	Market Oriented Labour Effort in Dumisa	24

5.2.1	Wage Employment Outside the Area	25
5.2.2	Casual and Part Time Wage Labour	29
5.2.3	Marginal Economic Activity Within the Area	32
5.3	Non Market Oriented Activities	35
5.3.1	Unpaid Household Work	35
5.3.2	The Role of Children	37
5.3.3	The Role of the Aged	39
6.0	EMPLOYMENT ASPIRATIONS OF THE UNEMPLOYED	40
7.0	DYNAMICS OF LABOUR IN RURAL AREAS	44
8.0	CONCLUSION	49

T A B L E S

Table 1:	Sample Age and Sex Distribution	6
Table 2:	The Distribution of Education by Age and Sex	8
Table 3:	Employment Distribution of the Sample	9
Table 4:	Residential Status by Age and Sex	11
Table 5:	Age Specific Migration Rates	12
Table 6:	Distribution of Household Members by Relationship to Household Head	15

Table 7:	Total Maize Harvest per Family	18
Table 8:	Factors of Production by Size of Land Owned	20
Table 9:	The Distribution of Large Stock Units	21
Table 10:	The Distribution of Small Stock Units	21
Table 11:	Employment Status of Migrants and Commuters by Age	26
Table 12:	Industrial Occupational Distribution of Those in Wage Employment Outside Dumisa	26
Table 13:	Frequency and Levels of Remittances (Remitters Only)	27
Table 14:	Casual Labour by Occupation and Sex	30
Table 15:	The Nature of the Marginal Economic Activity Undertaken	33
Table 16:	Breakdown of Household Work by Sex and Age	36
Table 17:	Reasons Why Children Were Not At School	38
Table 18:	Previous Employment Status of Current Workseekers	40
Table 19:	Reasons For Not Looking For a Job in the Past Month	42

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on research conducted in a rural area in Southern KwaZulu and seeks to explain the utilisation of labour in rural areas. The paper addresses itself to such questions as : How are people in rural areas involved in the economic process? What pressures induce them to work? Where do they work? What types of work they do? Under what circumstances?, and, What alternatives exist for them?

It is hoped that by estimating the pattern of family division of time between productive work on family land holdings; household work; work as hired labourers; migration in search of work; education and leisure, the fight against the persistent poverty in black rural areas can be translated directly into a strategy to improve the efficiency in the utilisation of labour in the rural areas.

2.0 METHODOLOGY OF THE SURVEY

2.1 Objectives

The purpose of the study was to establish the economic position of the family in general and that of the labourer in particular, in the rural areas of KwaZulu.

2.2 Scope

2.2.1 Study Area

Contrary to basic statistical principles which emphasise randomness and/or typology as key considerations in the choice of survey area, in this study, "purpose" played a major role.

Two important factors that were considered were :

- (a) the type of information sought, that is, primary baseline information on labour utilisation in rural areas; and
- (b) the need to complement existing data on KwaZulu that had been largely gathered in the north with data collected from the southern areas.

Based on these factors, the Umzinto Magisterial District was chosen largely for its spatial location, south of the Durban metropole.

2.2.2 Universe and Sample

The area finally selected included three wards under the jurisdiction of three respective chiefs. These areas were KwaDumisa, Ndonyana and Ngangqela. However, these three areas have been treated as one in this study and are referred to as Dumisa. Together they had a total population of 22,346 (Population Census 1980) through the survey data relating to 1 746 people or 7 percent of the population was obtained.

All households located within the boundaries of the three wards comprised the sampling universe and a probability sample, using a combination of the systematic and random techniques was drawn.

The unit of the interview was the household, defined for the purpose of this study as : a group of people living together in a house, who are cooked for as a group and who, to a greater extent work together as an economic unit. All available household members were interviewed collectively and during the interview information on migrants was also solicited from them.

2.2.3 Broad Areas Covered by the Study

The particular aspects of a rural family's life that were isolated for study were the following:

1. The structure of the family in terms of household composition and size, age and sex distributions and educational levels;
2. The characteristics of the formal sector workers (including migrants) i.e. whether these workers live at home or not, their earnings and their remittances;
3. The household work patterns, giving special attention to activities undertaken by non-migrant members which contribute to household subsistence;
4. The employment aspirations of the non-migrant members;

5. The land distribution and the families' access to other factors of production.

The interviews were conducted in the area by Z. Mpanza on the basis of a structure organised by means of a set questionnaire. Altogether 225 households were interviewed over a period of approximately two months during October and November 1984.

3.0 THE STRUCTURES OF THE HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED

3.1 Demographic Composition of the Sample

The survey undertaken among 225 households in Dumisa yielded data relating to a total of 1 746 individuals. The average household size was 7,76 individuals. Fifty four percent of the sample were female and 46 percent male. The average overall masculinity ratio was 0,85.

As a rural area, Dumisa reflected a similar demographical profile to those encountered in other rural studies.¹ Some of the more notable

1. Compare:

Ardington, E.1984: **Poverty and Development in a rural Community in KwaZulu.** Papers 53a and 53b presented at the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. Published simultaneously by the Development Studies Unit, University as Working paper No. 9,

Bromberger and Gandar, 1984: **Economic and Demographic functioning in rural households; Mahlabatini district, KwaZulu.**

Peters, A. and J. May, 1984: **A study of Income and expenditure and other socio-economic structures in Rural KwaZulu-Mapumulo-, Studies in Development: Occasional publication No. 1/84 of the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation Limited.**

Nattrass, J.1983: **The Dynamics of black rural poverty in South Africa 1983. Development Studies Unit Working Paper No. 1, University of Natal, Durban.**

characteristics were:

1. A preponderance of females over males;
2. Relatively low levels of education across the population;
3. Large numbers of dependent children and females and the corollary of a small number of working adults;
4. A higher rate of out-migration among the younger adult members of the community and amongst men in particular;
5. The prevalence of proxy household heads—largely women; and
6. The inadequacy of the land supply in relation to the agricultural needs of the resident population.

The age and sex distribution of the sample is shown in Table 3.1.1.

The sample was characterised by a high proportion (41 percent) of children below the age of 15 years, and those over 60 years (who made up 7 percent of the sample). Only 52 percent of the sample fell in the age categories from which the economically active population is usually drawn, 52 percent of whom were women, who also carry the burden of child bearing and raising.

Table 1: Sample Age and Sex Distribution

Age Group	Percentage in Age Cohort		
	Male	Female	Total
0-4	16	13	14,1
5-9	14	14	14,2
10-14	12	13	12,4
15-19	13	10	11,1
20-24	10	11	10,8
25-29	7	8	7,7
30-34	7	6	6,0
35-39	5	4	4,6
40-44	4	3	3,6
45-49	4	4	3,8
50-54	2	2	2,7
55-59	2	2	2,2
60-64	1	4	2,8
65-69	2	4	2,6
70+	1	2	1,4
	100	100	100

N = 800 N = 946 N = 1746

The level of unemployment amongst the sample was high and, coupled with the large proportion of the population that was dependent, it meant that the dependency burden per worker was also high at 5:1. High rates of dependency can encourage young adults (still of school-going age) to start looking for a job sooner than is ideal. This can be seen as a retrogressive step when one considers that, entering the labour market at an earlier stage also implies dropping out of school early, often with insufficient formal education to ensure good employment prospects.

3.2 The Educational Profile of the Sample

Table 2 contains data on the educational levels of the people surveyed by age.

On the whole education levels were low in Dumisa. There was a clear tendency, however, for them to improve as the age cohorts became younger. Whereas more than half of the adults over 50 had had no formal education at all, this percentage dropped to 34 percent amongst those aged 30 - 49 years and to 17 percent amongst those aged between 20 and 29 years and to 8 percent in the age group 10 - 19 years. No one over 39 years had completed their full school education and only 3 percent of the sample as a whole had a full school education. On the basis of this education profile it seems clear that the majority of the population, at best, will only be able to find low income jobs and in times of economic recession are likely to be forced into the ranks of the unemployed.

Comparison of literacy rates by sex did not reveal any marked differences, which seems to suggest that at an elementary level there is no marked distinction in educational levels on the basis of sex, although men did appear to be marginally ahead of women in higher educational levels.

Table 2: The Distribution of Education by Age Sex and Age

Percentage of Age Cohort with the Educational Level								
Education Level	0-9 yrs	10-19 yrs	20-29 yrs	30-39 yrs	40-49 yrs	50-59 yrs	60-69 yrs	70+ yrs
None	71	8	17	33	35	53	55	88
Less than std 3	28	40	28	25	26	22	28	4
std 3 - 5	1	31	26	23	27	24	16	8
std 6	-	6	7	10	7	1	1	-
std 7 - 8	-	12	11	6	5	-	-	-
std 9 - 10	-	3	9	3	-	-	-	-
std 10 +	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=494	N=411	N=323	N=185	N=129	N=86	N=94	N=24

3.3 Occupational Distribution of the Sample

The data given in Table 3, summarises the occupational distribution of the population in Dumisa. The recurring feature of dependency is again clearly illustrated: Even when full time subsistence farming activities were included, only 21 percent of the sample said that they were employed on a regular basis as against 79 percent who were not working for one or another reason.

In general, only a very small proportion of the people in the area are in regular receipt of an income. Even when the pensioners with their bi-monthly income receipts are included as income earners, the percentage of income-earners in the total population is only 26 percent and only 21 percent receive income from employment.

Table 3: Employment Distribution of the Sample

Occupation	Percentage in Category		
	Male	Female	Total
Employed	33	8	20
Unemployed Seeking	7	6	7
Pensioner	4	8	6
Unemployed not seeking	6	30	19
Self-employed	1	1	1
Child not at school	4	4	4
Pre-school	21	19	19
At school	24	24	24
	100	100	100

N = 1746

Of those in regular employment, men by far exceeded women in number. In fact, the majority of the female subsample (30 percent) stated that they were definitely not looking for employment, that is, were not economically active. Although the reasons were not sought, it is acknowledged that women in general and women in rural areas in particular often do not fully command the use of their labour, as the family or the community often decide for them where they should work and on what terms.

Only amongst pensioners were there more females than males, reflecting the longer life expectancy of women. As pensions have become an important source of income to the household this, together with the rising cost of living and the diminishing marginal returns from subsistence farming, could result in a softening of community attitudes towards women in formal employment as against the

traditional role of women in the household. Indeed these factors may explain the growing number of females who are already in formal employment or who were seeking such employment.

The smallest category of employment found was that of self-employment other than in subsistence agriculture. The constraints on small business activity in rural areas have been discussed fully in a study by Ardington (1984) and it would seem that similar constraints, particularly the limited size of the market; inexperience in trading; low levels of income generating capital equipment among others, are also at work in Dumisa.¹

3.4 Residential Status of the Sample

South African rural black communities are characterised by very high levels of out-migration, particularly amongst adult men. The residential status of the members of the households in the survey by age is given in Table 4.

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1. Ardington, E.H.1984: **Poverty and Development in a Rural Community in KwaZulu.** Papers 53a and 53b presented at the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. Published simultaneously by the Development Studies Unit, University of Natal as Working Paper No. 9. p.59

Table: 4: Residential Status by Age and Sex

AGE GROUPS	Percentage of Age Cohorts of			
	MALES		FEMALES	
	Resident	Away	Resident	Away
0-4	24	0	14	0
5-9	22	0	15	1
10-14	18	1	14	1
15-19	14	9	9	15
20-24	3	24	10	30
25-29	1	20	7	17
30-34	2	15	5	14
35-39	3	10	4	7
40-44	1	8	3	10
45-49	3	5	4	1
50-54	2	2	2	3
55-59	1	1	3	-
60-64	2	2	5	-
65-69	2	2	4	-
70+	1	1	2	-
	100=522	100=278	100=857	100=89
	65,2%	34,8%	90,6%	9,4%
	100=800		100=946	

Seventy eight percent of the members of the households in the sample were resident in the area; 65 percent of the males and 90 percent of the females. The higher propensity of men to migrate is also shown by the fact that, of those living away from the area, 76 percent were males and only 24 percent female.

Some important features of residential patterns found in Dumisa were:

1. Of the men who were away 80 percent were aged between 20 and 50 years. Of those remaining, 67 percent were below the age of fifteen years;

2. Among females, migration levels were very much lower and only 9 percent were living away the majority of whom were aged between 20 and 34 years.

Table 5 contains data relating out-migration patterns to the age distribution in terms of age specific migration rates (i.e. the percentage of the total number of people in the age cohort who were absent as migrants at the time of the survey.

On the basis of the age specific migration data the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The chance of an adult man migrating is three times greater than that of a woman;
2. Four out of every five men (80 percent) in the community aged between 20 and 45 years were away as migrants;

Table 5: Age Specific Migration Rates

Age Cohort	Percentage of Age Cohort Absent as Migrants	
	Men	Women
15 - 19	25	14
20 - 25	81	24
25 - 29	92	20
30 - 34	79	22
35 - 39	64	15
40 - 44	81	26
45 - 49	47	3
50 - 54	35	15
55 - 59	37	-
60 - 64	35	-
65+	33	-

3. The rate of out-migration drops significantly in the age groups older than 45 years with respect to both men and women. However, whilst women appear to cease migrating altogether after 55 years, amongst the men, approximately one third continue to migrate. This may reflect the greater importance of the income earning role of the man relative to that of women. It is also possible that many migrant men establish second families in the urban areas.

Most importantly, the trends evident in the residential patterns and the age specific migration patterns spotlight the possible adverse effects that the absence of significant numbers of able-bodied adult personnel, particularly the men, may have on the rural workforce. Out-migration of this magnitude may significantly hinder development efforts as these will generate an increased demand for hired or exchange labour within the survey area which will have to be met by the remaining children and the women. This will have to be done in addition to the work they have to do within the family units so as to make up for their own absentee members. Consequently, their productivity levels are likely to be low, adversely affecting any development projects on which they might be employed.

3.5 Household Structures

The mean family size amongst the households surveyed was 7.76

individuals, although families larger than this were identified in 77 cases or 34 percent of the sampled households. The largest household consisted of 22 individuals and the smallest, one individual.

Just over one fifth (21 percent) of the households surveyed were headed by women. The age of the female heads ranged from 30 to 70 years and over. However, 75 percent of female heads were over the age of fifty.

In the majority of cases, the relationship of household members to the head of household, extended beyond the immediate family, often including in-laws and relatives. Where there were lodgers, they did not pay a cash rent, but instead played an active part in household activities.

The frequency distribution of household members by their relationship to head of household is shown below in Table 6.

Seventy two percent of the sample were unmarried, 22 percent married, 5 percent widowed and less than one percent divorced. Among the household heads, 9 percent had never been married, 73 percent were married, 17 percent widowed and less than one percent divorced.

Table 6: Distribution of Household Members by Relationship to Household Head

Relationship	In Category	
	Number	Percent
Head	225	13
Wife of head	175	10
Child of head	880	50
Father of head	9	.9
Mother of head	50	3
Siblings	154	9
Grand-children	211	12
Lodgers	2	.1
In-laws	40	2
	1746	100

4.0 THE AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

As it is normally accepted that the main economic activity in rural areas will centre around crop production and allied agricultural activities, the survey attempted to find out more about the intensity and efficiency of the land usage in the area and the factors affecting it.

It has been suggested by Connell and Lipton that small scale rural development is inherently difficult to sustain because of the many complex and interacting factors that affect agricultural production.

Amongst the factors they list are the following:

1. The small scale of production units due to the varying terrain and the varying resource bases of the families

operating them;

2. The period, in other words, the nature of production which varies according to seasonal influences;
3. The sets of traditional and institutional arrangements that are present in the communities themselves.¹

4.1 Land Holdings

Ninety percent of the sampled households had access to land. From conversations with landless households, it was established that many of them had just arrived in the area, having moved from arid areas to higher land where it was felt there were "better prospects for food and work". They expected to be granted land as soon as they were able to pay a certain sum of money to the chiefs for this purpose.

The size of land held ranged from approximately half an acre to over 5 acres. Only 8 households declared that they owned more than 5 acres of land. The mean size of land holding was just under one acre. Land was unequally distributed at both the top and the bottom ends of the scale; the largest 4 percent of the land holders held 24 percent of the total land available while the smallest plot holders comprised 21 percent of the sample but had access to only 6 percent of the total

1. Connell, J. and Michael Lipton, 1977: **Assessing Village Labour Situations in Developing Countries.** Oxford University Press, p.14-22.

land available. The land was primarily used for individual cultivation but after harvest it was, according to traditional tribal practice, also used as a commonage for stockgrazing. Active cultivation on the land occurs between spring (September) and autumn (April) if climatic conditions permit. In the months (about five) outside this season, no cultivation is practised.

At the time of the survey (October), no cultivation had as yet taken place because "the rains had not come". Apparently even small plot gardening is dependent upon rainfall and, as the drought had not completely broken, quite apart from the fact that no field cultivation had started, there was also very little evidence that any gardening was going on in the area.

Respondents were asked how much cultivation had taken place in the previous season. The size of the landholding did not appear to affect the percentage cultivated to any marked degree as approximately half of all plot holders said that they cultivated all their land regardless of the size of their holding. Similarly, 38 percent of both the largest and the smallest landholder groupings said that they had not cultivated any of their land.

The main reason given for not cultivating all the land was "lack of rain" and this was expressed by 72 percent of landowners. Other reasons included lack of money (11 percent), unsuitable soil (8 percent) and insufficient labour and lack of traction (3 percent and 6 percent respectively).

The crops grown were mainly maize, beans, potatoes and madumbes, 36 percent of the households grew a combination of all the crops at given times, while 62 percent planted mainly maize and beans. Only 2 percent grew solely potatoes and madumbes.

In terms of volume, maize followed by beans yielded the highest harvest. Table 7 contains data relating to the amount of maize harvested.

Table 7: Total Maize Harvest per Family

Number of Bags	Percentage Harvesting
Less than a bag	15
1 - 2 bags	23
3 - 4 bags	36
5 - 6 bags	26
	100
	n 225

The mean harvest for maize was 2,6 bags per household.

In interview, the respondents stated that maize was preferred as a crop because of the relative length of its shelf life. Both maize and beans are relatively easy to store after harvest and consequently can provide a longer lasting respite from hunger.

By far the major part of the agricultural production effort was geared

to subsistence productions. Indeed, only 4 percent of the sample said that they sold part of what they produced. Amongst those who did sell their products, the mean income from sales was R128,00 per season, per family selling.

4.2 Agricultural Inputs

The data in Table 8 shows the frequency of possession of agricultural capital other than land, such as ploughs and planters, in relation to the amount of land owned, in an attempt to see to what extent land and capital are available as complementary inputs into agricultural production in the area.

It is clear from the data that, in general, agricultural capital is an extremely limited resource in the area surveyed. The majority of land owners possessed none of the basic aids to cultivation and only 30 percent possessed ploughs, which by themselves are not useful without a span of oxen for traction. Only a very small proportion (6 percent) possessed a full set of the minimum complementary agricultural inputs such as planters, ploughs and span of oxen.

There are opportunities for the mutual exchange of agricultural implements. However, in these situations the more powerful households are likely to get better access to the limited capital equipment than are the poorer ones.

Table 8: Factors of Production by Size of Land Owned

Inputs	Percentage in Category					Total
	No land	Less than ,25 acre	,25-.50 acre	,50-1 acre	Over 1 acre	
No factors	7,1	10,8	16,1	4,0	1,3	39,3
Planter	0	0	,4	,4	0	,8
Plough	1,3	6,3	13,9	8,9	0	30,4
Span of oxen	0	0	3,6	1,3	0	4,9
Handmill	,6	,4	1,3	0	,4	2,7
All of the above	0	0	0	,4	,4	,8
Plough/Span	,4	1,3	6,7	6,4	,4	15,2
Planter/Plough/ Span	,4	0	1,8	2,7	,1	5,0
n 225	9,8	18,8	43,8	24,1	3,6	100
	20	37	86	47	7	

4.3 Stock Holding

Families were questioned on their stockholdings in general and 125 households said that they held some stock, the majority of which was poultry. Tables 9 and 10 show the distribution of livestock amongst the stock owning households.

Table 9: The Distribution of Large Stock Units

Number	Percentage of Household' Holding	
	Horses & Donkeys	Cattle
None	98,0	54,0
1 - 5	1,7	36,0
6 - 10	0,3	7,5
11 - 15	-	2,2
16 - 20	-	-
21 +	-	,3
	100	100

Table 10: The Distribution of Small Stock Units

Number	Percentage of Household's Holding			
	Goats	Sheep	Pigs	Poultry
None	77,0	92,8	79,5	10,6
1 - 5	19,5	5,3	19,5	27,7
6 - 10	2,0	1,3	,5	32,6
11 - 15	1,5	-	-	17,7
16 - 20	-	,6	,5	9,7
21 - 25	-	-	-	1,7
	100	100	100	100

n = 225

Poultry was by far the most frequently owned livestock unit, followed by cattle. An important use of small livestock is for slaughter, for purposes such as home consumption, sale of meat and ceremonial occasions. Larger livestock is also particularly important as it can

provide draft power and security in times of need. In addition, cattle holding is important in the accumulation of wealth in traditional Zulu societies. In Dumisa, however, stock holding levels were low, the mean number of cattle owned per household was 2,14. However, 54 percent of the households owned no cattle at all. Cattle holdings were unequally distributed through the community with the top 5 percent of households (in terms of cattle holdings) owning 28 percent of the total cattle stock and the top 10 percent of the households, 44 percent of the stock. With respect to poultry, however, the distribution was, as one would expect, much more even and only 10 percent did not hold stock and the mean number of birds per household was 9,3.

More than three quarters of the households said that they slaughtered some of their stock and 63 percent said that this was done for the purpose of their own consumption, 12 percent said it was for ceremonial purposes and only 1 percent said that they slaughtered for sale. Households were asked what they had slaughtered over the previous three months. One hundred and twenty four said that they had slaughtered poultry, one a pig, seven a sheep or goat and fifteen (7 percent) a cow.

5.0 THE ORGANISATION OF RURAL LABOUR EFFORT IN DUMISA

5.1 The Labour Situation in Rural Areas

Notwithstanding the ongoing debates about what constitutes economic activity or participation in the workforce, in rural areas and among

the poor in particular, it should be noted that the more interesting question from the point of view of the quality of life of people there is not so much whether men, women or children are or are not "economically active", but how hard they work on what they are doing to make a contribution towards the day to day survival of their households.

Under normal circumstances, work primarily refers to the effort expended to satisfy a community's desire to impose some structure or order on the environment in which it operates, and to transform raw nature into the products it requires to satisfy its needs. Amongst traditional communities operating in rural areas several alternative modes of social organisation have been devised and to varying degrees, some of these are still in operation. Amongst those communities in which the household forms the basic organisational unit, the most common approach is to assign to individuals different roles in the household work programme according to the individual's age and sex.

In South Africa's black rural areas, the increasing monetarisation of the economy has been experienced at household level as a growing demand for cash income to enable them to meet their needs. This has necessitated the re-organisation of household activities around a wide variety of alternative income-generating undertakings. The overall outcome of this historical re-organisation is that amongst the households living in Dumisa, it is now possible to isolate two very distinct forms taken by rural labour quite apart from the labour effort expended to run the household itself (housekeeping, childcare and so on).

1. **Labour activities organised primarily around the household's market oriented activities:** These relate to activities such as commodity production for sale and wage-based employment;
2. **Those organised around the household's non-market activities:** such as crop production for subsistence purposes, the raising and care of livestock and household construction and general maintenance, over and above general house work.

5.2 Market Oriented Labour Effort in Dumisa

There are three main categories of market oriented labour found in Dumisa:

1. Migration for wage employment outside the area;
2. Casual and wage labour within the area but outside the household;
3. Domestic labour within the household for the production of goods for sale in the market.

These are discussed separately below as they impact on household organisation and living standards differently.

5.2.1 Wage Employment Outside the Area

At the time of the survey some 368 people were absent from the area as migrants and so could potentially be engaged in wage labour in other areas.¹ A further 24 people worked outside Dumisa, commuting on a daily basis, making up a total potential external workforce of 392 people. Of these, 60 percent had migrated to Durban and surrounding areas; 21 percent were in Umzinto and neighbouring towns; 16 percent were in the Transvaal and mines and 3 percent were in other towns around Natal.

Amongst this group, however, not all were actually engaged in wage employment, some were unemployed whilst others were absent from Dumisa for reasons other than that of wage labour for example schooling. The employment status of the group is given in Table 11.

Of those away, 80 percent were working and 20 percent were actively unemployed or were not economically active, that is, not seeking work. Of those working, more than half (57 percent) were older than 30 years of age, whilst the majority (64 percent) of those who were unemployed or not economically active, were aged between 10 and 30 years, comprising either the newer labour market entrants or children who were living away from home.

1. The term migrant is here used to describe all persons who were members of the household but were not present in the area at the time of survey because they were living away from home, due to their need to obtain work, hospitalisation, imprisonment, schooling and so on, and been absent for a period exceeding three months. Commuters are those who although they live in their rural homestead are employed on a regular basis in "white controlled" areas of South Africa.

Table 11: Employment status of migrants and commuters by age

Age groups	Percent Employed	Percent unemployed or not economically active
10-19	52	48
20-29	84	16
30-39	90	10
40-49	94	6
50-59	100	0
60 +	100	0
N=392	80	20

Table 12 contains data that show the distribution of those working outside Dumisa by sex, by occupation and sector of employment.

Table 12: Industrial Occupational Distribution of those in Wage Employment outside Dumisa

	Male	Female	Un-skilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Professional	Total
Manufacturing	20,9	3,0	15,5	7,7	0,9	0	24,1
Construction	15,1	0	13,3	1,5	0,6	0	15,4
Mining	14,5	0	13,3	1,2	0	0	14,5
Domestic	3,9	8,9	12,7	0,0	0	0	12,7
Commerce	12,1	4,3	3,6	10,6	0,6	0	14,8
Farmwork	6,4	2,1	6,8	0,3	1,5	0	8,6
Government	6,4	1,5	0,9	2,7	4,2	1,5	9,3
Other	0,9	0	0,6	0	0	0	0,6
	80,2	19,8	66,7	24,0	7,8	1,5	100

N = 330

Men predominate amongst those working outside the area, making up four fifths of the total external workforce. With respect to the sector of employment, men dominate in every sector other than that of domestic

service where more than twice as many women from the area were to be found than men. More people worked in manufacturing than in any other sector (24 percent) and the next most popular sectors were commerce (16,4 percent), construction (15 percent) and mining (14,5 percent).

The majority of those working were in unskilled occupations (67 percent). A further 24 percent were semiskilled and only 9 percent had a skilled or professional occupation.

From the point of view of the family remaining in the area, the benefits derived from supplying migrants are the remittances they send. When questioned about remittances received from the absent workforce, the majority of households interviewed stated that, except for a few individuals, these remittances were received regularly and within reasonable time intervals.

The data in Table 13 reflect the levels and frequency of remittances that were reported as being sent back into the area.

Table 13: Frequency and Levels of Remittances

Frequency of Remittances	Amount of contribution			Total
	R1-50	R51-100	Over R100	
Every week	6,1	,3	0	6,4
Every other week	2,0	,3	,3	2,6
Every month	41,8	24,0	1,8	67,6
Every other month	4,3	6,1	1,8	12,2
Every six months	,7	1,4	,3	2,4
Once a year	,3	0	0	,3
Only when comes home	5,0	1,8	,7	7,5
Never	,7	0	0	,7
N=284 Remitters	60,9	33,9	4,9	100

Of the 284 people who were working outside the area and remitting a part of their earning to their family, 72 percent remitted money on a regular weekly or monthly basis, 22 weekly and 202 monthly. Intervals reported between remittances ranged from weekly to monthly, to every other month, to yearly, to only when migrant comes home. Amongst those who sent money back into the area, the average remittance level was R37 per month.¹ Only 9 percent of the total absent workforce were reported as not sending any money home at all.

Amongst the absent workforce the majority had worked away from home for periods exceeding two years and only returned to the area on their annual holiday. The visits to the area occurred mainly around the festive seasons (when visitors are likely to spend most of the money they bring home on festivities). As many as 69 percent of the workforce visited Dumisa around December (during the Christmas break) with the remainder of the visits being distributed among other months. The high incidence of vacationers over the December period of course a function of the industrial system in South Africa since a large percentage of plants close at this period as does the construction industry. The visits themselves were, on average, of a relatively short duration, lasting less than a month for 54 percent of the sample; 4-6 weeks for 41 percent of the sample, whilst 5 percent remained on holiday for longer than two months. The latter were mainly mine workers. Whilst on holiday, the majority of the

1. From conversations with villagers, it was established that remittances from young unmarried men were often earmarked specifically for marriage arrangements and that, young males on holiday spent a greater part of their holiday attending to such details.

returning workers (92 percent) did not participate in the local agricultural activities. This probably reflects both the effects of seasonal influences on agricultural practices and the influence of the "holiday spirit".

The patterns of remittances by migrants over their working life are well documented. Some studies have found that the frequency of remittances diminishes with the length of time away from rural areas and that among recent migrants it takes about two to three years for the majority to feel settled and start sending remittances.¹ Studies amongst migrant workers in South Africa suggest that, migrants on average, remit approximately 20 percent of their wages on a regular basis to their families in the rural areas.²

5.2.2 Casual and Part-Time Wage Labour

Casual labour can be defined as "any way of making a living which lacks a moderate degree of security in terms of the regularity of both income and employment".³ Casual work may be contracted by the day, week or month or even seasonally and has no promise of continuity.

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1. World Bank, 1976: **Rural unemployment - a survey of concepts and estimates for India.** World Bank and Oxford University Press, 1976.
 2. Nattrass, J. 1977: **Migrant labour and underdevelopment: the case of KwaZulu.** Black/White Income Gap Project Interim Research Report No. 3, Department of Economics, University of Natal, Durban.
 3. Bromley, G. (ed), 1979: **Casual work and Poverty in Third World cities,** p5.

As part of the social organisation devised to cope with household subsistence, casual work can be particularly important to groups of people who are excluded from regularised employment, through age, lack of education or lack of skills, to women who have household and child rearing responsibilities or, peculiar to South Africa, prior to the removal of influx control, by the lack of a permit to seek employment legally in an urban area.

At Dumisa, 51 individuals or 4 percent of the resident, working age, subsample, (those between 16 and 65 years old) were involved in casual labour. The distribution of the actual nature of the casual work by the sex of the worker is shown below in Table 14.

Table 14: Casual Labour by Occupation and Sex

Type of work	Percentage in Category		
	Male	Female	Total
Gardening	5,9	3,9	9,8
Looking after baby	0	1,9	1,9
Washing	0	1,9	1,9
Housework	9,9	19,6	29,5
Farmwork	19,6	29,5	49,1
Other	3,9	3,9	7,8
	N=51	39,3	60,7
			100

It should be noted that casual work is a relative term, since the degree of 'casualness' for a given person can increase or decrease through time. Further, in Dumisa, casual labour was perceived by many

as being of relatively low value vis a vis the alternative of full time work. The small number of people who said that they were engaged in casual labour is evidence of this and is probably a result of:

1. A perceived limited potential for effective employment from this source;
2. The lower levels of income from this type of work; and
3. The social values which govern the right of some individuals, particularly women and children, in exercising their labour.

Fifty four percent of those who said that they worked on a casual basis had contracted to work for their neighbours; 43 percent worked on the surrounding commercial farms and 3 percent worked elsewhere.

What becomes clear from the data is that the nature of casual work is in fact similar to those activities which count as "work" in the formal full time sense even though the occupation itself is not being undertaken as a full time job and is not often regarded as such in formal labour statistics.

NOTE: It should be noted that a number of respondents in the casual labour category, especially "farmwork" - which included work in forestry - were mostly paid in kind. For instance, seven days of full time work in forestry yielded a truck load of firewood and a few choice logs. This amount would normally be bought for about R30-R45 including delivery, and last the household for about three months. It was also found that work in forestry was most favoured if there was a building project going on in the household, and several members of the household would engage in this particular work until building needs were satisfied.

The data also illustrate the latent demands made on rural women by the survival needs of their families and households. These needs may mean that some women are, in effect, forced to hold down two full time jobs, subsistence agriculture and housework, in addition to the 'casual work' they may also take up. Almost all the casual workers (99 percent) felt that casual work was most abundant in the rainy season and most difficult to obtain in winter.

5.2.3 Marginal Economic Activity Within the Area

In addition to wage labour and subsistence crop production there are a number of activities that are undertaken by individuals in a further attempt at income generation. These are best classified as marginal activities. The distinguishing characteristics of these activities are that:

1. They occur in between the main household occupations;
2. Are minute in scale;
3. Generate income that is both meagre and irregular.

Marginal economic activity is often described as comprising the "survival activities of the 'lumpenproletariat', and it includes

petty commodity production for sale (Obregon, 1974;¹ Nattrass, N.J. 1987)²

In the Dumisa Survey, 71 individuals were found to be involved in this type of activity and the details of their actual tasks are shown on Table 15.

Table 15: The Nature of the Marginal Economic Activity Undertaken

Economic Activity	Percentage in Category		
	Male	Female	Total
Hut building	15,5	5,6	21,1
Herbalists	2,8	2,8	5,6
Vending & trading	4,2	8,5	12,7
Selling foodstuffs etc	5,6	11,3	16,9
Handicraft	0	42,3	42,3
Other	0	1,4	1,4
n = 71	28,1	71,9	100,0

The majority of the petty traders including the sale of foodstuffs, handicrafts and vending (42 percent) were women who concentrated their activities in this area, probably because it fitted in well with their other household responsibilities and could also provide some form of constructive leisure time occupation.

1. Obregon, Q, 1974: The marginal pale of the economy and the marginalised labour force, **Economy and Society**, No. 3
2. Nattrass, N J, 1987: Street Trading in Transkei - A Struggle Against Poverty, Persecution and Prosecution, **World Development** Vol 15, No. 7.

The nature of the petty trade undertaken in Dumisa was non-capital intensive, and dependent only on the natural skills the individual can bring to bear in the completion of the task.

Handicraft was the main activity and this included grasswork, sewing and knitting; 83 percent of those engaging in handicrafts said that they managed to complete one item per week, and only a few managed two or more items a week.

As far as the men in petty commodity production were concerned hut building was the main occupation, and as thatching and roofing are dry season occupations, it is likely that in the rainy season the majority of the men in the area will have less opportunity to make extra money in this way.

Eighty three percent of those engaged in petty commodity production, traded their skills and services for cash, selling their production mainly pay out on pension days. Half of those interviewed said that they traded at the pay out points, while 41 percent said that they traded in the immediate vicinity and 9 percent sold goods only on special order.

The frequency with which goods were sold was described as "occasional" by 70 percent of the sample, while 17 percent sold something "once a week", 1 percent sold something "Every two days" and 12 percent managed to sell something "everyday". Taken as a whole this sector was not a major source of income for the households surveyed.

5.3 Non-Market Oriented Activities

5.3.1 Unpaid Household Work

Household work consists of those unpaid activities which are carried on by and for household members. Some of these activities might be replaced by market produced goods or services if circumstances such as income, market conditions, and personal inclinations permit.¹

Household workloads can absorb a significant portion of the families labour power and often the poorer the household the greater is the household work load. Resident adults were asked what they considered to be their main task in the running of the home. The answers are tabulated below in Table 16.

In order to cope with the shortage in income and the effects of seasonality, rural families often opt to perform certain tasks themselves and by doing so expand their workloads to fill the available time. In some cases even those few who can afford to delegate household work to someone outside the the family, often refrain from doing so because social values might place moral constraints on 'unemployed' persons delegating household work, simply because of 'inclination' and ability to do so.

1. Goldshmidt - Clermont, L. 1982: **Unpaid work in the household.** International Labour Office. p.4.

Table 16: Breakdown of Household Work by Sex and Age

Household Task	Percentage in Category								Total
	Male	Female	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	
Gardening	1,8	3,3	0	0,2	0,7	0,4	1,1	2,0	4,4
Housework	0	45,5	1,8	12,8	11,7	8,6	3,4	6,4	44,7
Rearing stock	0,9	0	0,4	0	0	0	0,2	0,2	0,8
Work in the fields	9,9	14,5	2,6	5,3	3,3	4,4	3,3	6,6	25,5
Water & wood	0,4	13,0	4,2	7,5	1,3	0,2	0,4	0	13,6
Household repair	1,1	0	0,2	0,2	0,2	0	0,2	0,2	1,0
None	4,8	4,8	0,4	1,1	1,3	0,9	1,3	5,3	10,3
n = 455	18,9	81,1	9,6	27,1	18,5	14,5	9,9	20,7	100,0

Amongst the families surveyed in Dumisa, there was a definite demarcation across age and sex in terms of the type of work that was contributed to the household. Older females tended to concentrate on work within the home, such as, general housework, cooking, washing, care of the children or the aged, whereas the younger females bore the responsibility for the collection of water and firewood. This is probably because of the distance involved in these tasks and the physical strength required to perform this type of work.

Men on the other hand, predominated the work involved in household

repairs, raising livestock and looking after the fields. Amongst those who had no definite household work (10 percent), over half were aged over 60 years.

5.3.2 The Role of Children

The assumption that in poor communities all age groups are expected to share in the households workload was tested in respect to children, (particularly those not at school) and the aged.

Seventy children of schoolgoing age (8 percent of those between 6 and 15 years of age), were not at school at the time of the survey, 46 percent being boys and 54 percent girls. Reasons for their non attendance at school are given in Table 17 below.

About 15 percent of the children were not at school because they were needed to contribute towards the running of the household; 41 percent because there was no money to pay for their school requirements; 10 percent had moved from other areas to the present locality and had not yet gone to school; 21 percent had left school because of ill health and a further 13 percent said that they were not at school from choice.

Table 17: Reasons Why Children Were Not at School

Reasons	Percentage in Category		
	Male	Female	Total
To help in the home	2,9	2,9	5,8
To help in fields	1,4	1,4	2,8
To herd cattle	2,9	0	2,9
To work	1,4	1,4	2,8
Moved from area	5,7	4,3	10,0
Lack of school fees	18,6	22,9	41,5
Ill health	5,9	15,7	21,6
left of own accord	7,1	5,7	12,8
N=70	45,9	54,3	100,0

An examination of peoples' current occupations showed that, indeed, 85 percent of the children not at school were "helping in the home" with tasks such as work in the fields, in the home, and the herding of livestock. Approximately 9 percent were working for neighbours in similar occupations and the occupations of the remaining 6 percent were undefined. The mean income brought in by those children who were working was R5,00 per week per child.

It is clear that the family's socio-economic circumstances have an influence on the decision as to whether or not a child attends school. Although the poor are aware that education may give their children the opportunity for upward job and social mobility, they are, nevertheless, often unable to allow their children to attend school particularly because they not only need to reduce their household expenses but also because the children themselves can generate additional income.

On being asked whether the children who were out of school at the time of the survey would be returning to or starting school, 41 percent of those interviewed said yes, 27 percent no and 31 percent were uncertain. Of those who said yes, 89 percent hoped that their children would go to school in the following year.

5.3.3 The Role of the Aged

The aged can contribute to the household's economic activities in two ways; as income earners through the system of old age pensions and as a source of labour, through assistance with household tasks. Eighty six percent of 119 individuals who were of pensionable age, were actually receiving pensions. However, not all were old-age pensioners, as a number stated that they were on disability or other grants. Seventy two percent of the pensioners had been receiving their pensions for periods of five years or less and the remaining 28 percent for six years and more.

On being asked what they did with their pension money, 29 percent of the pensioners stated that they used it solely for self-support (which in many instances included taking care of illegitimate grandchildren and/or unmarried children) whilst the majority (71 percent) of the pensioners contributed towards the general running costs of the household. From the effort point of view, the aged also made a significant contribution to Dumisa's economy, since as the data in Table 16 shows, 21 percent of those working in the household were aged over 60 years.

6. EMPLOYMENT ASPIRATIONS OF THE UNEMPLOYED

In order to establish the extent to which those who were described as "unemployed seeking work" aspired towards formal employment, and their overall employability, work histories were discussed.

Data relating to previous work history and gender of the workseekers are given in Table 18 below. Of the whole adult working age sample, 14 percent were unemployed and seeking work, 48 percent of whom were males and 52 percent females. Amongst these, 58 percent had worked previously, whilst 36 percent had never worked before (the rest were not defined). The majority of those who had never worked before were females.

Table 18: Previous Employment Status of Current Workseekers

Previously employed	Male	Female	Total
Yes	33.9	24.0	57.9
No	11.6	24.8	36.4
undefined	2.5	3.2	5.7
N=121	48.0	52.0	100

The concept of 'willing and able to work' which underlies the identification of the unemployed, implies the need for the presence of evidence of an active job search. In an attempt to differentiate

between those who were truly unemployed and those were economically inactive (i.e. not actively seeking work). people interviewed were asked whether they had actively sought a job during the previous month, 53 percent answered in the affirmative and 47 percent said that they had not done so. Consequently this latter group should perhaps be considered as not economically active, rather than as openly unemployed.

The methods of job search used by the interviewers were fairly conventional, incorporating the use of local labour bureaux (16 percent of the sample); the direct canvassing of potential employers (58 percent); making enquiries through friends and relatives (19 percent); and looking in the newspapers (7 percent). Canvassing employers was the most popular method notwithstanding the fact that it often entailed the use of funds for travelling, accommodation and upkeep.

Those who had not sought work during the previous month and who had, therefore, been classified as not economically active were asked why they had not done so since it is possible and indeed, likely, that some people had not sought work either because they felt the chances of finding it were so slight that they were not worth the costs involved or, because they lacked the resources needed to undertake the job search. In both these instances the lack of a job search should not be treated as evidence of a lack of a desire for a job since clearly, if the economic prospects improved, the job search would be renewed. The reasons given for not seeking work are tabulated in

Table 19. About 25 percent of those not actively looking for work indicated that they were for the present tied down by family commitments whilst 15 percent declared that they had no money to go and look for work further afield. A further 30 percent felt that there were no jobs to be found. In other words, this group felt that their prospects of obtaining employment were so low that it was not worth continuing the search.

Table 19: Reasons for Not Looking for a Job in the Past Month

Reasons for not looking	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Busy (home Commitments)	12	20	20
Satisfied for time being	3	5	25
No work available	17	30	55
Waiting to hear from enquiries	17	30	85
No money to go and look	7	15	100
	56	100	

On the basis of these answers it seems that, of the apparently 'not economically active people' who were interviewed, 30 percent could be either working or reseeking work in the very near future and a further 45 percent would recommence their job search if conditions in the labour market improved to the point where either their chances of being successful increased or they obtained the funding needed for the search.

The difficulty of identifying and quantifying unemployment in this type of community is further illustrated by the fact that despite the

'apathy' displayed by some of those interviewed in the actual process of looking for a job, 68 percent of the workseekers declared that they would commence work "immediately" should a job become available, whilst 6 percent felt they could only start on a job in between two weeks and a month's time. On the other hand 20 percent said that they would only like to start working in the following year and these people were clearly not 'unemployed' in the technical sense of the word. All those who could start "immediately" said they were desperate for a job, while those who could start later felt that they still had to settle home commitments first before embarking on a full-time job.

When asked where they would prefer to work, 39 percent expressed a preference for work in the nearest town. The majority in this group were women (68 percent). However 56 percent (of whom 60 percent were male), said that they would work anywhere where a job became available.

The type of jobs being sought were in line with the pattern of those held by the already "employed", with the men going more for jobs in manufacturing, construction and mining, while women were mainly seeking domestic work.

To summarise the findings in this subsection most of the elements discussed above, particularly the lag in job search activities, are a reflection of:

1. the effect of distance from the centres of industrial activity on rural workseekers;
2. the extent of monetary constraints, both as experienced collectively and singularly by individuals, in rural areas;
3. the negative perceptions of rural workseekers about the existence of effective economic alternatives in the area;
4. the bond placed on individuals by various household responsibilities; and
5. the deep seated political awareness and implications of thinking and doing otherwise, as rural communities are perculiarly isolated by vast distances, by the bantustan system and by the systematic barriers controlling the flow of people between town and country side.

7. DYNAMICS OF LABOUR IN RURAL AREAS

The overriding element in the dynamics of the labour process in rural areas would appear to be "poverty-in-employment", a term which describes those who combine low average incomes with a considerable instability in both income and employment. It also describes the extent to which the nature and the organisation of income opportunities of the poor actually perpetuate poverty and explains the widespread rural phenomenon of the 'working poor'.

The "difficulties" which are encountered in any analysis of the rural labour force are an indication that this group, through its very nature and organisation defies most of the proven approaches to its analysis. The most problematic areas in this regard are, the distinction between those who are economically 'active' and those who are 'inactive'; the concept of unemployment and its measurement; and the reference period used to classify people into these categories.¹

Moll (1984), dealt at length with the question of rural labour analysis within the South African context and concluded that, without adequate indices, labour statistics were likely to give a distorted picture of both the local demand for work and the labour resources available for development. To illustrate this point, he used the results of a survey undertaken in a rural area of Transkei to demonstrate how "distortions" arise with the application of various different definitions and classifications to the same parameters.

There are special features of rural labour that need to be borne in mind when approaches to rural labour are being considered. These include:

1. Moll, T.C. **Planning with South African Labour Statistics: Politics of Ignorance**, Masters Thesis, Development Studies Unit, University of Natal, Durban, 1984.

Simkins, C. **Structural Unemployment Revisited**, SALDRU fact sheet No. 1, 1982.

Standing, G. **Labour force participation and Development** International Labour Organisation, Geneva, 1978.

1. In rural areas where jobs are scarce and the labour market highly fragmented, people tend to engage in more than one form of economic activity and, therefore, the functional categories above are not always static or even mutually exclusive. Instead they show the broad trends in the labour organisation in the area vis-a-vis the labour alternatives.

It is also worth noting that in rural areas, half day work and piece work jobs form an intergral part of the labour utilisation patterns. This arrangement is seemingly convenient for female workers who have other responsibilities towards the household.

2. There are often large numbers of rural people who could be expected to become available for formal employment and for participation in development schemes if certain enabling conditions were met, such as the creation of jobs nearer their homes or the provision of better transport facilities (Women constitute a majority within this group).

3. The rural economy was found in general to be of a subsistence type, characterised mainly by both very smallholder farming and non-farming activities; the land had low agricultural potential; there was a complete lack of modern technological know-how and an apparent decline in the capacity of the area to support its residents fully. In addition, it was clear that both new comers to the area and the growing resident population could not be provided with adequate arable land.

4. In an area where substantial dependence is placed on agricultural activities for survival, seasonally adverse factors interact and reinforce each other, often driving people into debt and dependence. At the time of the survey, Dumisa was just recuperating from the effects of the drought of the previous years. At such times the few animals left and used for ploughing are at their weakest and the general immunity to sickness at its lowest both among animals and people. Thus the effects of a year of drought feed through to the next through its effect on agricultural productivity levels.

5. Rural migration flows act as a two-edged sword, consisting of out and in-migration. Both of these create demands that cannot be adequately met by the rural communities. For instance, out-migration exerts increased pressure on the labour effort of those who remain, who are usually women, children and the aged: the groups least able to generate additional labour. In-migration on the other hand means a back up of unemployment in the rural areas. This is because the in-migration can have occurred either as a result of the urban areas refusal to retain migrants who cannot find work in the towns or because, in the case of those coming into the area are from other parts of rural areas, an even greater demand is placed on the already limited local resources. Finally, remittances from those who are absent from the area and in formal employment are often small and erratic and even though they may make the difference between survival and complete starvation, are often still not enough to ensure an adequate

quality of life for those remaining in the rural areas.

6. The predominance of female labour and the social relations between the sexes will also affect the domestic labour supply. Often, wives and daughters of male migrants have not only to carry out tasks crucial to the economic and social survival of the "male-headed" household, but are also economic actors in their own right as food producers and rural traders.

The crucial aspect of women's role in the rural economy is that their efforts take place within a socio-economic system that not only structures the work, leisure and life chances of women and men differently, but is one that promotes sexual inequality and the pervasive subordination of women. Generally, income-earning opportunities of rural women are subject to three major constraints:

- i. limited access to land and other related resources;
- ii. lack of control over their own labour and the fruits of their labour; and
- iii. lack of mobility due to family responsibilities and / or socio-cultural restrictions.

7. Another dimension to the problem of measuring economic activity in rural areas is work intensity and time use. The important factors in this regard include, the nature and identification of the distinction between; work and leisure; production and

consumption and the distribution of worktime between different activities pursued simultaneously. Sometimes evaluations expressed in volume terms, such as the number of days or hours of work, yield an image of the work effort absorbed without giving any indication of the economic contribution of these work efforts to the satisfaction of human needs and wants within the household.

8. Finally educational levels also affect the rural labour market. There is a considerable lag in the literacy levels of the population of Dumisa as a whole and this, together with the general lack of education and skills, constitutes a barrier to those wishing to obtain wage employment. The consequence is that the majority of those who do find wage jobs find low income and low skill occupations.

8.0 CONCLUSION

The overall picture of the Dumisa community is one of persistent poverty and underdevelopment. Given the nature of the relationship between Dumisa and the rapidly growing urban areas around Durban and the impact that these linkages have had on Dumisa through the migrant labour system, it will not be easy to break into the underdevelopment cycle, particularly in the short term.

At present, local production opportunities are limited and seem likely to become increasingly so as time progresses. Land/man ratios are

declining in agriculture and in respect of advanced goods produced by modern technologies do not only have significant 'cost', 'quality' or 'performance' advantages over local handicraft but are also backed by full armoury of the mass media and the process of modernisation. As a result, local 'petty commodity producers' are likely to become increasingly unable to compete and so to be progressively marginalised over time, to the point that they will finally become redundant and despondent and forced to seek survival through other means such as migration or casual work for wage labour.

The recent removal of influx control and the stimulus it will give to the faces of urbanisation may well help in the long term. People from Dumisa may settle permanently in the areas to which they migrated on a temporary basis, releasing pressures on the rural resources and opening up possibilities for rural development.

One strategy that could be of help, even in the short term, would be an improvement in the supply of education. Education helps on the unemployment front in two ways. Firstly, it delays the entry into the labour market of those who remain in the education system and, secondly, it improves the chances of an individual of actually getting a job. In addition, from the human development viewpoint, it is well known that education itself improves the quality of life of an individual receiving it. Overall, the returns to an increased investment in education in Dumisa should be substantial.

The long term development of areas like Dumisa, however, rests on the introduction of strategies that will change the nature of the present

development / underdevelopment links between the developed heartlands and the underdeveloped peripheries, to ones that engender development rather than underdevelopment in the latter. This is not an easy problem to solve in any society and in the South African situation where political power is the sole domain of the developed sector it presents an almost impossible task.



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