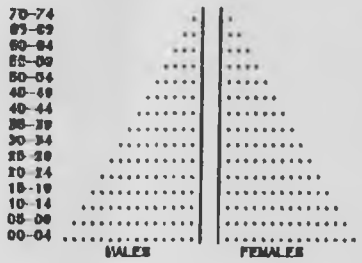


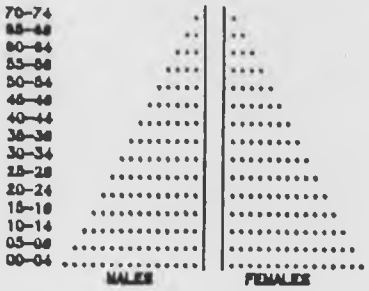
WORKING PAPERS IN DEMOGRAPHY, no. 6

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND FERTILITY IN LESOTHO

by
Tiisetso Makatjane

Working Paper No.6
November
1985

DEMOGRAPHY UNIT
DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF LESOTHO



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FOREWORD

This Working Paper in Demography is an analysis of the factors causing fertility differentials in Lesotho, paying special attention to the factor of internal migration. Mr. Makatjane shares with us the probable contribution of internal migration to the reduction of fertility relative to other factors, and emphasizes the need for the government of Lesotho to formulate policies which will influence both migration and fertility simulteneously to reverse any undesirable trends in population change.

This is another attempt not only to address fellow researchers on population and related issues but also to convey certain implications of population factors in the planning process to planners and policy makers. Any one wishing to contribute to this series is welcome.

Isreal Sembajwe
Demography Unit

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ABSTRACT

The weight of evidence on migration fertility differentials - based on studies using various measures of fertility and migration as well as varying methodologies - tends to support the notion that migrants are characterized by low fertililty level relative to non-migrants.

Other studies, however, have demonstrated high fertility level for migrants as compared to non-migrants. This has been observed mostly in developing nations where rural-urban migration is the dominant form of migration.

In Lesotho, the fertility level of migrants is either higher or lower depending on the type of migration data used or the residential area where migrants are enumerated. That is:

1. regardless of migration data, in Maseru urban migrants generally have lower fertility level than non-migrants; and

2. for Other urban and Rural areas, according to life-time migration data migrants on the average are less "fertile", while with respect to place of last residence migration non-migrants have generally lower fertility.

1. Introduction

Survey of the literature on population and development reveals that rural-urban migration and fertility are prime determinants of urban growth especially in developing nations. However, although governments of developing nations are aware that fertility and rural-urban migration are possible obstacles to national development, and sometime policies have been formulated and adopted for their control, the two processes have almost been seen separatly (Gerry E. Hendershot, 1976: 198).

The approach which treats these two processes - that is fertility and migration - simultaneously delineates the relationship between migration and fertility in terms of selection and adjustment or adaptation of migrants. Selection separates out from the entire rural population the risk-taking people with high propensity to detach themselves from the traditional surroundings who become rural-urban migrants. Adaptation helps the select group of migrants to adjust to the unfamiliar environment and thus altering their behaviour from that of non-movers in response to the circumstances of migration and a new cultural environment (Ibid: 200).

Records show that before independence in 1966, attempts to estimate fertility in Lesotho (then Basutoland) were based on medical records. The earliest attempt was by a medical officer in 1898/1899. Using hospital data for one district, crude birth

rate (CBR) was estimated at 46 births per thousand population per year. There was another estimate in 1927 - also by a medical officer - which estimated total fertility rate (TFR) of 5.6 live births per woman (Kucynski 1949:58-65). Kucynski further argued that, although it is impossible to tell what fertility level actually was in the early days, there were indications that fertility level was formerly very high - crude birth rate of about 60 - and has decreased since 1921 (Ibid: 65).

These early attempts to estimate and explain patterns and differentials of fertility south of the Sahara, particularly in Lesotho, were frustrated by lack of adequate data. Therefore, much as we appreciate the immense contribution of these studies, there are still gaps in the existing body of knowledge about differential fertility in the country specifically migrant/non-migrant fertility differentials.

Since independence in 1966, a number of fertility estimates have been made for Lesotho. Based on the 1966 population census age structure, Blacker (1968) estimated TFR of 5 live births per woman and a gross reproduction rate (GRR) of about 2.5. female live births per woman. The 1967/69 Lesotho Rural Household Consumption and Expenditure Survey and the 1971/73 Lesotho Demographic Survey estimated crude birth rate of 36.72 and 37 births per thousand population per year respectively. Another estimate was TFR which was estimated at 5.6 live births per woman by each survey (Central Bureau of Statistics, Maseru, 1981: 3.2).

There are two other studies by the Bureau of Statistics. These are the 1976 population census fertility sample and the 1977 Lesotho Fertility Survey as part of the World Fertility Survey. They both estimated TFR between 5 and 7 live births per woman, and a completed average family size of 2 to 4 live births ever born per woman.

The 1976 and 1977 fertility studies, however, went further than merely estimating the levels of fertility for the country. Differentials by zone, urban-rural, educational attainment, economic activity, patterns of work of women, etc., were also studied.

Due to paucity of data, it has not been possible to investigate migrant/non-migrant differentials in all the attempts in studying differentials. Hence our knowledge of differential fertility is far from complete. The operation of migration of women in influencing their fertility is not known. Meanwhile, evidence from empirical studies elsewhere indicates that there is still a lot to be learned about migrant/non-migrant fertility differentials. Therefore, it is the aim of this analysis to fill this gap in the existing body of knowledge with respect to differentials by migration status of women in Lesotho. In particular, the study will endeavour to study fertility and migration with the object of:-

1. Assesing and comparing the fertility of migrants and non-migrant women, and

2. Investigating the existence of fertility differences between women when they are disaggregated into their migration status.

Sources of Data

The present study draws primarily on the data gathered by the Lesotho 1976 Population Census, conducted by the Bureau of Statistics Maseru on a ten percent sample basis. More than 27 thousand females of the reproductive ages (15-49)- forming about 9.8 percent of the total of females of reproductive age in Lesotho 1976 - furnished the information. The distribution of the female sample population by residence, migration status and type of migration is given in Table 1.

TABLE 1: FEMALE SAMPLE POPULATION BY RESIDENCE AND MIGRATION STATUS

TYPE OF MIGRATION	MIGRATION STATUS	LESOTHO	MASERU URBAN	OTHER URBAN	RURAL AREAS
LIFE-TIME MIGRATION	MIGRANTS	7,580	1,357	822	5,401
	PERCENTAGE	100.00	17.90	10.48	17.25
	NON-MIGRANTS	20,017	664	1,140	18,213
	PERCENTAGE	100.00	3.32	5.70	90.99
PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE MIGRATION	MIGRANTS	7,542	1,103	757	5,682
	PERCENTAGE	100.00	14.62	10.04	75.34
	NONMIGRANTS	20,055	918	1,205	17,932
	PERCENTAGE	100.00	4.58	6.01	89.41

Source: Ten percent sample, Lesotho census data,1976.

2.1 Fertility Data

The fertility data are based on the census questions on the number of children ever born alive, and children born alive during the last 12 months prior to the census. The questions were administered to females aged 15 years and above.

Fertility data were not subject to serious errors and biases. Nevertheless, there were quite a few cases where no consistence existed. For example, the column for total number of children ever born sometimes did not tally with the other columns for children living with mother, living elsewhere and dead.

With the exception of children born during the last 12 months, the figures for the females of the reproductive ages (15-49) and children ever born do not tally between the data presented in the Lesotho 1976 Analytical Report and the data used for the present work. This is due to coding and punching errors which were rectified when the tables on parity and survivors were reconstructed manually based on the computer print-outs (Ibid: 3.8). Later, the errors were corrected, and the data for the present analysis are derived from the computer print-out from the cleaned data.

The measures of fertility employed have their own demerits. There is no pre or post migration fertility information nor can fertility be related to the time of the move. It is therefore impossible to speak of births occurring before or after the migration move. The possibility exists that any observed differential in cumulative fertility may be a function of shorter exposure to the risk of child-bearing. This is because there are no data on duration of marriage and as such one cannot tell whether migrants have been married for shorter periods of time. Moreover, the non-availability of direct data on age at first marriage may also mask some of the differentials in fertility.

2.2 Migration Data

The 1976 Population Census data permitted identification of two sets of internal migration; (i) persons who were living in a district different from that in which they had been born - life-time migration - identified on the basis of a place-of-birth questtion; and (ii) persons living in a district different from that in which they resided previously, identified on the basis of the question on the district of last residence before the present district of residence. However, data collected do not allow classification of migrants by rural-urban origin.

The life-time migration data furnished no information on the number of moves. In addition, use of life-time data to measure migration, results in the classification as non-migrants of persons who have at some time lived away from their birth places,

but who had returned to their areas of birth prior to the census taking. Migration based on place of last residence also provides no information on the number of moves but counts as migrants persons who depart from and return to their birth places. Moreover, both sets of data have indefinate time span.

Migration data has some limitations with respect to the intended analysis. Migrants cannot be classified by place of origin. Hence it is not possible to examine the influence of the residence background of the migrant before the move. Since fertility performance of migrants has a bearing to whether they are of urban origin or not, any observed differentials would be a combined result of disimilar norms and attitudes towards fertility and actual fertility performance. That is, migrants of rural origin might have high fertility on the one hand, while on the other hand, migrants of urban origin could have low fertility.

The failure of the migration data to provide information on both the number of moves and the reasons to move imposes yet another constraint on the analysis. First, the number of moves an individual has taken plus the duration of stay at one particular place are very important. While the movement itself introduces one into new invironment with probably different norms, attitudes and outlook to life from those prevailing in the place of origin, it requires some time before one can assimilate these ideas in order to change one's life perspective. Thus, for instance, migrants in Urban areas comprise of people of various durations of exposure to the urban environment. Hence, their fertility performance is bound to be different.

Secondly, reasons for a move, on the part of females, can differ considerably. But of prime importance is the return to the parental home for child delivery. Migration statistics clearly show that in the Rural areas there is a proportion of life-time non-migrants who can be classified as "return migrants". These are persons who have lived outside their birth place but had returned to their areas of birth during the census. It is possible that among this group, some had come back home to give birth. Since it is impossible to isolate this group, one cannot fully gain further insights into the inter-relationship between internal migration and fertility [1].

---

1. For the detailed analysis of patterns, volume and direction of internal migration in Lesotho, see Bureau of Statistics 1981, Makatjane 1983 and Sembajwe 1984).

3 Specification and Defination of Variables

3.1 Migration Variables

There are two ways of defining a migrant in this work:-

(b) A migrant is somebody whose place of birth is not the same as place of enumaration. The data which provides this information will be referred to as either place of birth or life-time migration data.

(ii) A migrant is also a person whose place of last residence is not the same as plce of enumeration. This data will be referred to as place of last residence migration data.

3.2 Fertility Variables

Throughout the work, fertility refers to child-bearing. Basic measures of fertility are:

(i) **Crude birth rate (CBR).** This is the number of live births per 1,000 mid year total population per year.
Symbolically:- $CBR = (B/P)\,k$
where B is the total number of live births which occur within a calendar year, P is the mid year total population of the same calendar year and k is a constant usually set equal to a 1,000.

(ii) **The general fertility rate(GFR).** This is defined as the total number of live births per year per thousand women of child-bearing age(15-49).
Symbolically:- $GFR = (B/F)k$
where B is the number of live births that occur during a calendar year; F is the total number of women of child-bearing age (mid year population) and k is as defined in (i) above.

(iii) **Age Specific Fertility Rate(f_i).** It is defined as the number of live births per woman of a specific age group. Symbolically:-

$$f_i = B_i/F_i$$

where f_i = Age specific fertility rate, B_i is the number of live biths born of women aged i and F_i is the number of women aged i.

(iv) **Total fertility rate (TFR).** It is the number of children women would bear during their life time if

they were to bear children throughout their lives - at the rates specified by the schedule of the age specific fertility rates for a particular year. The meaasure assumes that this hypothetical cohort of women suffers no mortality but has the marriage and child-bearing patterns of the particular year for which age-specific fertility rates were computed (in this case 1976).

Symbolically:- TFR = $\sum f_i$
Where f_i is as defined in (iv) above.

(v) **The Gross Reproductive Rate (GRR).** This is defined as the number of female children women would bear during their live times if they experience the conditions as women in (iv) above.

Symbolically:- GRR = $\sum f_i^f$
Where f_i^f is the same as f_i when male live births are excluded.

3.3 Control Variables

(i) **Sex.** The fertility analysis has been confined to females only.

(ii) **Age.** Age has been controlled for through use of five-year age groupings, for ages 15-49 throughout the analysis. All the variables of interest in the study are known to be functions of age, hence the need to control for age. The age composition of the two classification of migration is presented in Table 2.

(iii) EDUCATION

Education has been used as a control variable in this analysis. Educational attainment has been grouped into three categories. namely "no education", "passed any of standards 1-7"; and "passed standard 8 or above", or "secondary and higher". "Primary" and "passed any of standards 1-7" will be used interchangeably, while "passed standard 8 or above", "secondary or higher" and "education beyond primary " will also be used interchangeably. This approach has been used to avoid confusion when relating this work with existing ones in Lesotho.

(iv) ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Apart from the above characteristics of women , information on economic activity of women was also collected. Three economic activity groups used in the analysis are " employed for wages", " seeking work" and " self employed and unpaid family worker". (For the distribution of the sample population by economic activity, see Table 4).

Table 2: Female Sample Population by Age, Migration Status and Residence

Age	Lesotho Migrants	Lesotho Non-Migrants	Maseru Urban Migrants	Maseru Urban Non-Migrants	Other Urban Migrants	Other Urban Non-Migrants	Rural Areas Migrants	Rural Areas Non-Migrants
			Place of Birth Data					
15-19	1,314	4,989	282	193	161	314	871	4,482
20-24	1,591	3,884	349	127	165	238	1,077	3,519
25-29	1,208	2,874	225	100	127	160	856	2,614
30-34	1,002	2,377	169	86	98	117	735	2,174
35-39	816	2,058	123	55	90	103	603	1,900
40-44	974	2,251	121	59	109	124	744	2,068
45-49	675	1,584	88	44	72	84	515	1,456
			Place of Last Residence Data					
15-19	1,425	4,878	261	214	173	302	991	4,362
20-24	1,575	3,900	294	182	157	246	1,124	3,472
25-29	1,138	2,944	171	154	108	179	859,	2,611
30-34	930	2,449	128	127	80	135	722	2,187
35-39	816	2,058	99	79	80	113	637	1,866
40-44	969	2,256	89	91	93	140	787	2,025
45-59	689	1,570	61	71	66	90	562	1,409

Source: Same as Table 1.

TABLE 3: Percentage Distribution of the Female Population by Educational Attainment and Residence, Lesotho, 1976

Educational Attainment	Maseru Urban		Other Urban		Rural Areas		Whole Sample	
	Migrants	Non-Migrants	Migrants	Non-Migrants	Migrants	Non-Migrants	Migrants	Non-Migrants
			Place of Birth Data					
No Education	6.48	7.08	8.15	6.05	9.85	11.71	9.06	11.24
Primary	54.02	69.58	64.84	75.18	79.04	82.44	73.02	81.60
Secondary & Higher	39.50	23.34	27.01	18.77	11.11	5.85	17.92	7.16
			Place of Last Residence					
No Education	6.89	6.43	9.51	5.31	10.19	11.63	9.64	11.01
Primary	55.21	63.83	68.82	72.12	82.37	81.44	77.04	80.07
Secondary & Higher	37.90	29.74	21.66	22.57	12.72	6.93	13.33	8.91

Source: Same as Table 1.

Table 4: Percentage Distribution of the Female Population by Economic Activity and Residence, Lesotho, 1976.

Economic Activity	Maseru Urban		Other Urban		Rural Areas		Whole Sample	
	Migrants	Non-Migrants	Migrants	Non-Migrants	Migrants	Non-Migrants	Migrants	Non-Migrants
Place of Birth Data								
Employed For Wages	2.38	22.59	21.17	17.17	10.29	6.93	13.89	8.03
Seeking Work	4.13	6.48	2.55	8.75	3.04	3.28	3.18	3.30
S.E.& UPFW	72.07	70.93	76.28	81.02	86.67	89.79	89.93	88.67
Place of Last Residence Data								
Employed Wages	1.72	49.46	3.43	28.55	1.78	9.58	1.94	12.54
Seeking Work	5.53	4.14	3.17	1.41	3.47	3.15	3.74	3.09
S.E.& UPFW	92.75	46.41	93.39	70.04	94.76	87.58	94.33	84.37

Note: S.E.& UPFW = Self Employed and Unpaid Family Worker.
Source: Same as Table 1.

4 FERTILITY DIFFERENTIALS BY MIGRATION STATUS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The weight of evidence on migrant/non-migrant differentials tends to support the general notion that migrants are characterized by a low fertility level as compared to non-migrants. Using United States census data between 1940 and 1960, different authors have documented the fact that migrant women have lower fertility relative to non-migrant women (Kiser, 1961, 1963 and 1968; Macisco et.al., 1970; and Lingner, 1971). Similar results were observed for the Philipines, the Republic of Korea, Latin America and Thailand (Hendershot, 1976; Ro, 1976; Park and Park, 1976; Goldstein, 1973; and Goldstein and Goldstein, 1981; Goldstein et.al., 1982; and Edmonston and McGinnis, 1976).

There are other studies which have established evidence contrary to the above migrant/non-migrant fertility differentials. Adepoju observed that in Abeokutu in south-west Nigeria migrants had slightly higher fertility than non-migrants. He also found that migrants of urban origin had larger mean number of children ever born as compared to their migrant counterparts of rural origin (Adepoju, 1976: 497). Contradicting evidence was also observed in Congo, Gabon and Upper Volta. In these countries it was found that "urban fertility is higher than that in Rural areas, from which most migrant are drawn". (Ibid: 492).

However, several channels through which migrantion affects fertility have been suggested. One of the factors which has been especially salient in discussions of the consequences of migration on fertility of rural-urban migrants, has been change of environment associated with migration. It is argued that, through change of environment, migration may lead to an exposure to new family size norms or to increases in information about contraceptive methods (Lingner, 1971: 12).

The above explanation however fails to account for high fertility of rural-urban migrants relative to rural non-movers. Urban fertility has been shown empirically to be higher in some cases even though the urban milieu with its norms and access to contraceptive information is believed to be conducive to low fertility. Evidence of high urban fertility has been established in Zaire, Gabon and Nigeria (Caldwell, 1975: 11).

There are several explanations for this apparent contradiction. There is the contention that break from the tradition - which emphasizes child-spacing - provided by the urban surrounding, coupled with being away from the elders to enforce such norms, is responssible for high urban fertility as compared to the rural one. It has also been hypothesized that in developing nations, majority of urbanites are mainly persons of rural background who have ties with the rural population. Thus

urbanity is either failing or has little effect to change their traditional pronatalist outlook which they carried with them in their migration to the cities. Coupled with better opportunities to medical services (thus reducing the rate of pregncncy wastage and of infertility) and improved nutrition and health conditions, it is possible that this may lead to urban fertility being higher than rural one (Adepoju, op.cit. 492).

There is also the contention that women who have been involved in migration can serve as catalysts affecting fertility of Rural places and eventually the national fertility level through the ideas and patterns of behaviour which they import from the Urban areas. For example, in Thailand Goldstein and Goldstein observed that urban-rural migrants maintained the low fertility characteristics of women in Urban areas. They also observed that, although the fertility of rural-urban migrants was higher after than before migration, through the influence of urban invironment they do not approach the high level of those who remained in the Rural areas (S. Goldstein and A. Goldstein, 1981).

That difference in the characteristics of migrants and non-migrants accounts for the observed fertility differential, has been often hypothesized. It has been theorized that migration is selective of people well equipped with social background characteristics to adjust easily to urban environment particularly in the early stages of urbanization. For example, in the Philippines a strong positive relationship between social class background and rural-urban migration was observed. Males of higher social class background formed the majority of the select group of migrants while few came from the lower social class background.(Hendershot 1976:242)

Low fertility of migrants has sometimes been attributed to late age at marriage which is characteristic of migrants. Since migration is expected to lead to a postponement of marriage, the fertility difference between migrants and non-migrants could be due to differences in age at marriage among these groups. For the Philippines Hendershot observed that wives of migrants were much more prone to late marriages than wives of rural stayers. Thirty-nine percent of wives of rural stayers married at least at age 20, while the comparable figure was fifty-eight percent for wives of rural-urban migrants. It was also observed that late age at marriage was more pronounced among migrants from high social class background (Ibid: 1976:243).

Labour force participation has also been found - in some studies - to account for low fertility of migrants. In Puerto Rico, Macisco et.al (1970) observed that controling for labour force participation explained part of the differential. Similarly, in Abeokuta in south-west Nigeria, Adepoju (1976) found that migration status was not a pertinent factor in explaining migrant/non-migrant fertility differential. The level of formal education of women and income of their husbands were the relevant factors (A. Adepoju op.cit.: 504). This gave the

impressionistic view that migration on its own was not sufficient in providing a substantial impact on fertility. But rather the combination of migration with a job which is incompatible with childcare could exert a powerful fertility limiting force (Macisco et.al. op.cit.).

On the contrary some studies elsewhere have demonstrated independent influence of migration on fertility. In Korea, Ro concluded that labour force participation could not explain low fertility of migrants. That is, given equal chances of economic activity, migrant women had fewer children than non-migrants (Ro, op.cit.: 262).

4.1 GENERALIZATIONS FOR THE STUDY

In Lesotho no studies have been done on migrant/non-migrant fertility differentials. But some generalisations can be made. It has been evidenced in some places that urban fertility can be higher than rural fertility although the weight of evidence tends to support high rural fertility relative to Urban places. For Lesotho Rural areas are found to have about 29 percent higher TFR than Urban places (Bureau of Statistics, Maseru, 1981: 3.13). Based on this evidence together with the assumption that rural-urban migration is the dominant form of migration - that is urban to urban or urban to rural migration is very negligible - it is hypothesized that in Lesotho migrant women in Urban places have higher fertility than non-migrants.

It is also generalized that in the Rural areas there is no fertility differences between migrant and non-migrant women. The main underlying assumption is that most migrant women in the Rural areas are migrants by marriage from other Rural areas.(See Bureau of Statistics 1981,1982).

In addition, some are migrants due to population shift from the highlands in the south-western part of the country to the lowlands in the north-western part. Although part of the population is going to the Urban areas, there is that part which is shifting to the rural part of the lowlands in search of arable land for agricultural settlements (S. Poulter, et.al. 1976: 91).

Besides these groups, migrants will be that small proportion of women who are either wives of primary school teachers or other government employees stationed in the Rural areas. It is possible, however, that the fertility level of the latter category of migrants can be higher than that of the rest of the female population in the Rural areas. This is because majority of them are likely to be with their husbands within the country, whilst on the contrary a large proportion of the female population in the Rural areas are wives of migrgant laboureres to South Africa who are outside the country most of the time.

Traditionally, women return to their parental homes for delivery of the first child (Ashton, 1947). While it might be true that most women living in Urban areas - especially Maseru

urban - have abandoned this practice, it is likely that it is practised by most women in the Rural areas. According to place of last residence migration classification such women are migrants. It is probable, therefore, that fertility level of migrants might be higher than that of non-migrants when place of last residence data are used other than place of birth data.

4.2 RESULTS

4.2.1 Reported Fertility Levels

Available statistics indicate a generally low level of fertility in Urban areas when compared to the Rural areas. There is also an observable inverse relationship between fertility level and degree of urbanization (Table 5).

The negative association between fertility and degree of urbanization which has been established in previous studies (Bureau of Statistics,1981,Sembajwe,1984), holds true even when migration status of women is controlled for. Regardless of migration status of women and the type of migration data used, Rural places of residence have the highest fertililty; Other urban intermediate; and Maseru urban the lowest. (Table 5)

But fertility differences between migrant and non-migrant women seemingly depend on the type of migration. Firstly, life-time migrant women in general have lower fertility level relative to life-time non-migrant women. Taking gross reproduction rate (GRR) as the measure, migrant women have about 0.18 (6.69%) female live births per woman less than their non-migrant counterparts for the whole country. Comparative figures by residence are 0.63 (37.72%) for Maseru urban; 0.1 (4.08%) for Other urban and 0.05 (1.75%) for Rural areas. It is observed from the variations, however, that the fertility difference between migrant and non-migrant women increases with a rise in degree of ubanization and vice versa.

Secondly, with respect to place of last residence migration data, generally migrants have higher fertility than their non-migrant counterparts except in Maseru urban. Migrant women have on the one hand, 6 (3.5%) live births per thousand women of the reproductive age more than non-migrant women for the whole country; 15 (8.2%) for Rural areas and 19 (11.9%) for Other urban. On the other hand in Maseru urban there are 5 (4.5%) live births per thousand migrant women less than non-migrant women.

Lastly, in general life-time migrants have low fertility as compared to place of last residence migrants. For instance, there are 7 (4%) live births per thousand for place of last residence migrants higher than live births per thousand for life-time migrants for the whole country. On the contrary, life-time non-migrants generally have lower fertility than place of last residence non-migrant women. The magnitude of the differential

is, nonetheless, relatively smaller except for Maseru urban.

It is possible that due to practice of returning to parental home for child delivery, a majority of place of last residence migrants, who were otherwise classified as life-time non-migrants would have returned to their birth place for this purpose. As a result the fertility level of place of last residence migrant women is likely to be higher.

TABLE 5: Reported Fertility Rates by Residence and Migration Status of Women for Lesotho 1976

	Place of Birth Data			Place of Last Residence Data		
	Total	Migrants	Non-Migrants	Total	Migrants	Non-Migrants
TFR						
Whole Country	5.69	5.43	5.80	5.69	5.75	5.67
Maseru Urban	3.75	3.37	4.64	3.75	3.66	5.88
Other Urban	5.08	4.94	5.15	5.08	5.58	4.79
Rural Places	5.91	5.78	5.88	5.91	6.19	5.83
GFR						
Whole Country	166	164	167	166	171	165
Maseru Urban	114	105	134	114	112	117
Other Urban	148	145	151	148	160	141
Rural Places	172	181	170	172	184	169
GRR						
Whole Country	2.82	2.69	2.87	2.82	2.85	2.81
Maseru Urban	1.86	1.67	2.30	1.86	1.81	1.91
Other Urban	2.51	2.45	2.55	2.51	2.76	2.37
Rural Places	2.93	2.86	2.91	2.93	3.06	2.89

NOTE: Assumed Sex Ratio at birth is 102
Source: Same as Table 1

Moreover, fertility level for place of last residence non-migrants is lower than life-time non-migrants. Thus implying that the fertility of life-time non-migrants is inflated by the fertility of women who have returned to their place of birth for delivery. Separating this group of women through use of place of last residence migration data reduces fertility of non-migrants.

However, in Maseru urban the fertility differences among migrants or non-migrants by type of migration could be a genuine reflection of pronatalistic tendencies of women from the Rural areas who have not yet had an opportunity to assimilate the fertility values and behaviour of urbanites. In Other urban areas it could be reflecting the practice of women returning to their parental homes for child delivery.

4.2.2 Completed Family Size and Restrospective Fertility

Results similar to those of current fertility - generally low fertility in Urban areas as compared to Rural areas - are observed. From parity statistics presented in Table 6, Maseru urban has the least mean number of children ever born alive per woman followed by Other urban areas and then Rural areas with the largest. Women in Maseru urban have 0.51 (34%) and 0.92 (61%) reported average number of children ever born alive per woman less than women in Other urban and Rural areas respectively. As for women in Other urban and Rural areas, reported average family size for Rural women is 0.41 (17%) larger than that of women in Other urban areas.

Controlling for migration status of women does not change the pattern of the results. Life-time migrants in Maseru urban have 1.22 (84%) reported mean number of children ever born alive per woman less than life-time migrant women in Rural areas. With recpect to place of last residence, migrants in Maseru urban have 1.3 (91%) reported average family size less than their migrant counterparts in the Rural areas.

Similarly, life-time and place of last residence non-migrants in Maseru urban both have at least 0.76 (48%) reported mean number of children ever born alive less than their life-time and place of last residence non-migrant counterparts in Rural areas.

Removing the effect of the age structure does not change the pattern of the results. The expected parity for Maseru urban is 0.42 (25%) and 0.76 (46%) less than that of Other urban and Rural areas, respectively. Life-time migrant women in Maseru urban have 0.48 (30%) and 0.82 (51%) expected mean number of children ever born per woman less than migrant women in Other urban and Rural areas, respectively. Corresponding figures for life-time non-migrants are 0.29 (16%) and 0.54 (30%), respectively. With respect to place of last residence data, migrants in Maseru urban have at least 0.54 (32%) expected mean parity less than

TABLE 6 Mean NCEB by Residence and Migration Status, Lesotho 1976

	Place of Birth Data			Place of last Residence Data		
	Total	Migrants	Non-Migrants	Total	Migrants	Non-Migrants
	Reported Parity Data					
Whole Sample	2.34	2.41	2.31	2.34	2.49	2.28
Maseru Urban	1.51	1.46	1.60	1.51	1.43	1.60
Other Urban	2.02	2.18	1.90	2.02	2.23	1.89
Rural Areas	2.43	2.68	2.36	2.43	2.73	2.43
	Age Adjusted Parity Data*					
Whole Sample	2.33	2.25	2.37	2.33	2.36	2.32
Maseru Urban	1.66	1.60	1.81	1.66	1.68	1.66
Other Urban	2.08	2.08	2.10	2.08	2.22	2.01
Rural Areas	2.42	2.42	2.35	2.42	2.49	2.30

* The age structure of the total female sample population was used for adjustment.

Source: Same at Table 1

that of their migrant counterparts in Other urban and Rural areas. Among non-migrant women, those in Maseru urban have the lowest expected average number of children ever born, followed by those in Other urban areas and then those in Rural areas with the highest.

In general migrant women show a higher fertility level than non-migrant women except in Maseru urban. In Maseru urban migrants have lower fertility than non-migrants. According to place of birth migration data, the fertility differential between migrant and non-migrant women ranges from 4 percent for the whole sample to 13 percent in Other urban. Place of last residence migrant/non-migrant fertility differential varies between 8 percent for the whole sample and 15 percent in Other urban areas.

Age adjusted parity data show that migrants in general have slightly lower fertility. With the exception of women in the Rural areas, life-time migrant women have about one percent, five percent and thirteen percent expected mean parity less than their

non-migrant counterparts in Other urban areas, the whole sample and in Maseru urban in that order. In Rural areas non-migrants have about three percent expected mean number of children ever born per woman less than migrants. With respect to place of last residence migration data, migrants have slightly larger expected mean number of children ever born per woman than their non-migrant counterparts for all residence categories. However, for both sets of data, migrant/non-migrant differential is very marginal.

4.3 The Influence of Educational Attainment and Economic Activity of Women

4.3.0 The Influence of Educational Attainment

4.3.1 Current Fertility

There are fertility differences by educational attainment of women although the differences are very marginal when migration is controlled for. First, for both migrants and non-migrants, elementary education appears to encourage fertility. It is only with education beyond primary level that the reverse (i.e. the depressing effect of education) is true. Secondly, differentials by educational attainment are more pronounced between migrant than among non-migrant women.

According to life-time migration data, reported TFR of illiterate female migrants and non-migrants is lower than that of their counterparts who have passed any of standards 1-7 by 14 and 12 percent, respectively. With respect to primary and beyond primary, reported TFR of migrant women and non-migrant women with education beyond primary is lower than that of their counterparts who have passed any of standards 1-7 by respectively, 46 and 30 percent.

Similarly, according to place of last residence migration data, the reported TFR of migrant and non-migrant women without education is lower than that of female migrants and non-migrants with primary education by 41 and 28 percent, respectively. Likewise, reported TFR of migrant and non-migrant women with education beyond primary is lower than that of women who have passed any of standards 1-7 by respectively 52 and 35 percent. (Reported TFR for female migrant and non-migrant women by educational attainment and type of migrantion is presented in Table 7)

TABLE 7: Reported TFR by Educational Attainment and Type of Migration for Basotho Women 1976

		No Education	Passed Any of Stds.1-7	Passed Std. 8 or above
Life-Time Migration Data				
Reported TFR	Migrants	5.20	6.05	3.28
	Non-Migrants	5.30	6.03	4.21
Migrants' TFR Above or Below that of Non-Migrants (%)1		-1.92	0.33	-28.35
Place of Last Residence Migration Data				
Reported TFR	Migrants	5.10	6.31	3.00
	Non-Migrants	5.36	5.94	3.89
Migrants' TFR Above or Below that of Non-Migrants (%)1		-5.10	5.86	-29.67

NOTE: 1. Positive indicates above and negative below.

Source: Same as Table 1

The data in Table 7 show little fertility variation between migrant and non-migrant women. First, for unschooled women, reported TFR of non-migrants is higher than that of migrants by about two to five percent for both types of migration data. Secondly, reported TFR for female migrants who have passed any of standards 1-7 is higher than that of non-migrants regardless of type of migration. The differential is between less than one and six percent. Lastly, migrants with education beyond primary have lower TFR regardless of type of migration data. Reported TFR of life-time and place of last residence non-migrants is higher than that of their migrant counterparts by 22 and 23 percent, respectively.

There are some possible explanations, however, as to why TFR of illiterate women is lower than that of females with primary education. For instance, according to Sesotho custom, it is taboo for a breast-feeding mother to indulge in sexual intercourse. It is believed that if the mother becomes pregnant,

her milk becomes improper for the suckling child. It is also a held belief by some people that even if sexual intercourse does not result in pregnancy, the milk still goes bad - opinion reflected in the result of the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre's sample survey "Attitudes to Family Planning in Lesotho". Of the total sample, at least 88 percent of the people interviewed indicated that this was indeed their belief (quoted in Law and Population in Lesotho, 1981).

It is highly possible that women with no or little education still observe this customary taboo and hence practice prolonged breast-feeding. For example, mean duration of breast-feeding for uneducated women is 20.6 months, 19.6 to 20.3 months for females who have passed any of standards 1-7 and 15.2 months for females with education beyond primary. Therefore, the practice of prolonged breast-feeding coulpled with the incidence of still-births, which is likely to be high among illiterate women, could explain the low fertility of females with no education, when compared to that of women with elementary education.

It is equally possible that, when women acquire some basic education, it helps them to improve their hygiene and that of their children. As a result women manage to reduce the incidence of still-births, mortality, morbidity and thus probably increasing current fertility. It has also been observed that mean length of post-partum abstinence is longest among illiterate women and shortest among females with education beyond primary (ibid: 180).

4.3.2 Complete Fertility

Completed Average family size is certainly low among women who have secondary education or higher. With respect to life-time migration data, reported mean number of children ever born per woman with education beyond primary is roughly 60 percent lower than any of the remaining groups for both migrants and non-migrants, while the age adjusted parity is at least 15 percent lower for non-migrants and at least 42 percent lower for migrants.

Accordingly, place of last residence migration data reflect reported average family size of women with secondary education or over to be at least 58 percent lower than the average family size of the unschooled females or those who have passed any of standards 1-7 regardless of wherether they are non-migrants or migrants. A Comparative figure with respect to age adjusted parity is at least 15 percent lower (Table 8).

With the exception of women who have passed standard 8 or higher, generally migrants have slightly higher fertility than non-migrants. It is also observed that, generally, removing the effect of the age structure reduces the magnitude of the differential between migrants and non-migrants. According to life-time migration data, removal of the effect of the age

structure reduces the differential between migrants and non-migrants from about 13 to 5 percent and from 15 to 4 percent among illiterate woment and among those with primary education respectively.

Among women with secondary education or higher, when the effect of age structure is removed, the differential does not only become wider, but it also changes direction. Reported mean number of children ever born alive per woman for migrants is higher by 13 percent, while expected parity is lower by about 27 percent. Similarly, place of last residence migration reflects a reduction of about 5 percent among illiterate women who have secondary education or higher in the differential when the effect of the age structure is removed.

Table 8: Reported and Adjusted ANCEB by Educational Attainment and Type of Migration, Lesotho 1976

		No Education	Passed Any of Stds. 1-7	Passed Std. 8 or Higher
		Life-Time Migration Data		
Reported ANCEB	(Migrants	3.18	2.65	1.05
	(Non-Migrants	2.78	2.25	0.95
Migrants' ANCEB Above or Below That of Non-Migrants (%)2		12.58	15.09	9.52
Age Adjusted ANCEB3	(Migrants	2.36	2.41	1.38
	(Non-Migrants	2.24	2.32	1.90
Migrants' ANCEB Above or Below that of Non-Migrants (%)2		5.08	3.73	-37.68
		Place of Last Residence Migration Dats		
Reported ANCEB 3	(Migrants	3.18	2.67	0.95
	(Non-Migrants	2.77	3.36	0.99
Migrants' ANCEB Above or Below that of Non-Migrants (%)2		12.89	-25.84	-4.21
Age Adjusted ANCEB 3	(Migrants	2.42	2.46	1.58
	(Non-Migrants	2.22	2.43	1.61
Migrants' ANCEB Above or Below that of Non-Migrants (%)2		8.26	1.22	-1.90

NOTES: 1. ANCEB = Average Number of Children Ever Born.
2. Positive indicates above and negative below.
3. Total Female sample population is used for age standardization.

Source: Same as Table 1

4.3.0 The Influence of Economic Activity

4.3.1 Current Fertility

Fertility differentials do exist among women with different economic activities. Women employed for wages are the least fertile while the self-employed, unpaid family workers and those seeking work have almost identical fertility levels. Reported TFR by economic activity and type of migration is presented in Table 9.

TABLE 9: Reported TFR by Economic Activity and Type of Migration Data for Basotho Women 1976

Migration Status of Women	Place of Birth Migration			Place of Last Residence Migration		
	Employed for Wages	Seeking Work	S.E.& UPFW1	Employed for Wages	Seeking Work	S.E.& UPFW1
Migrants	3.22	6.01	5.82	2.38	5.94	5.83
Non-Migrants	2.85	6.10	6.11	3.02	6.19	6.12
Differentials	11.49	-1.50	-4.98	-26.89	-4.21	-4.97

Note: 1. S.E. & UPFW = Self Employed and Unpaid Family worker
2. Positive indicates that Migrants' TFR is higher and negative that is lower.

Source: Same as Table 1

From Table 9 life-time migration data show that TFR of migrant women employed for wages is at least 46 percent lower than that of migrant women seeking work, the self-employed and the unpaid family workers and at least 53 lower for non-migrants. Similarly place of last residence migration data show migrant women employed for wages having at least 3.5 live births less than their counterparts seeking work, self-employed and unpaid family workers and at least 3.1 live births less for non-migrants.

With the exception of women employed for wages, fertility difference between migrants and non-migrants among women seeking work, self-employed and the unpaid family worker is very marginal. Nonetheless, the fertility of non-migrants is slightly higher (see Table 9). This is true for both sets of migration data. Among women employed for wages the two sets of migration data show different results. Whereas life-time migrant women employed for wages have TFR higher then that of their non-migrant

counterparts by about 12 percent, with respect to place of last residence migration data TFR of migrants is lower by about 27 percent.

4.3.2 Children Ever Born Alive by Economic Activity of Woman

Presented in Table 10 are numbers of children ever born alive per woman by economic activity and type of migration. Apparently parity data give similar results to those observed for current fertility. Women employed for wages exhibit the lowest fertility while women seeking work, the self employed and the unpaid family worker have slightly higher and about the same

TABLE 10: Reported and Adjusted ANCEB[1] by Economic Activity and Type of Migration Data for Lesotho, 1976

		Employed for Wages	Seeking Work	S.E. & UPFW[2]
Place of Birth Migration Data				
Reported ANCEB[1]	(Migrants	1.74	2.53	2.52
	(Non-Migrants	2.07	2.09	2.33
Differential (%)[3]		-10.97	17.39	7.54
Age Adjusted ANCEB4	(Migrants	1.50	2.23	2.39
	(Non-Migrants	1.71	2.25	2.45
Differentials(%)[3]		-14.00	-0.90	-2.51
Place of Last Residence Migration Data				
Reported ANCEB[1]	Migrants	1.60	2.48	2.51
	(Non-Migrants	2.04	2.09	2.33
Differentials(%)[3]		-27.50	15.73	7.17
Age Adjusted ANCEB4	(Migrants	1.35	2.19	2.39
	(Non-Migrants	1.71	2.28	2.45
Differentials (%)[3]		-26.67	-4.11	-2.51

NOTE: 1. ANCEB= Average Number of Children Ever Born Per Woman
2. S.E. & UPFW = Self Employed & Unpaid Family Worker
3. Positive indicates higher fertility for non-migrants and negative vice-versa.
4. Total sample female population is used for Age Adjusting.

Source: Same as Table 1

fertility level. However, among non-migrant women fertility does not vary among women by different economic activities. Among migrant women, those employed for wages have mean parities which are at least 45 percent lower than the parities of the rest of the women. On the contrary, non-migrants employed for wages have between one to thirteen percent less mean number of children ever born alive than other non-migrants seeking work, the self employed and the unpaid family workers.

Besides being the economic group comprising women with low fertility, it is among women employed for wages that sizeable fertility difference between migrant and non-migrant women is observed. Women seeking work is the next group which shows fertility variation between migrants and non-migrants, while women who are self-employed and the unpaid family workers show the least varied mean number of children ever born per woman.

The average family size of migrant women is smaller than that of non-migrant for all the three economic activity groups when the effect of the age structure is removed. The size of the fertility difference among women seeking work, the self employed and the unpaid family workers between migrants and non-migrants, besides changing direction, has declined. Among women employed for wages, removing the effect of the age structure does not affect the magnitude of the fertility difference between migrants and non-migrants.

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of Findings

The present work is an examination of the inter-relationship between migration status of women and their fertility behaviour. The main hypotheses in this investigation are that: (i) in addition to fertility differentials observed among Basotho women by socio-economic variables, there are migrant/non-migrant differentials; (ii) in Urban areas, migrants have higher fertility than non-migrants; (iii) life-time migrant and non-migrant women in the Rural areas have the same fertility; and (iv) place of last residence migrant women in Rural areas have slightly higher fertility than their non-migrant counterparts. The underlying assumption for each hypothesis are stated at the beginning of part four of this work "Fertility Differentials by Migration Status".

The hypothesis that migrants in Urban areas have higher fertility as compared to their non-migrant counterparts is refuted by the results for Maseru urban. Migrants in Maseru urban have a lower fertility than non-migrant women. This is true regardless of the type of migration data. This is interpreted as supporting the relation between selection of rural-urban migrants from the entire rural population to the urban centres and lower fertility. In other words, migration selects only those equipped

with social class background to perform successfully in an urban environment.

The results for Other urban and Rural areas show a different pattern from those observed in Maseru urban. With respect to place of birth migration data, migrants in these areas (Other urban and Rural areas) have lower fertility. But with respect to place of last residence data, migrants have higher fertility. This is probably due to the practice of returning to the parental home for child delivery. This is deduced from the high fertility of migrants when "life-time return migrants" are classified as migrants by place of last re-sidence migration data. This seem to support the hypothesis that place of last residence migrant women in Rural areas are slightly more fertile than their non-migrant counterparts. Regarding the proposition that life-time migrant and non-migrant women in the Rural areas have the same fertility, it is difficult to generalize. Depending on the kind of fertility measure, life-time migrants either have lower or higher fertility than life-time non-migrants.

Analysis carried out by the Central Bureau of Statistics have demonstrated the existence of fertility differentials among Basotho women by educational attainment. The analysis established that, women with secondary education or higher have the lowest TFR, followed by the unschooled women, and then those with primary education with the highest. Similar results are observed by the present study among both migrants and non-migrants regardless of migration data. But migrant/non-migrant differentials are generally marginal.

According to current fertility (that is children born during the last 12 months prior to the census) among illiterate women and those who have passed any of standards 1-7, marginal differentials exists between migrants and non-migrants. But among women with secondary education or higher, migrants have lower fertility than non-migrants. Parity data on the contrary show no migrant/non-migrant fertility differential among women with secondary education or higher. Among illiterate women and those who have primary education, migrants, however, have larger mean parity than non-migrants. The foregoing suggests that, probably older migrants migrated after their child-bearing was practically completed.

Fertility differentials are observed among Basotho women engaged in various economic ventures. Similarly, the results of the present work show that, among both migrants and non-migrants, wage earning women have the lowest fertility for both migration classifications. But comparing fertility of migrant and non-migrant women gives rise to marginal migrant/non-migrant fertility differentials among women seeking work, the self employed and the unpaid family workers. However, a sizeable migrant/ non-migrant fertility differential is observed among women employed for wages.

5.2 Implications and Basic Conclusions

Besides internal migration, which forms the basis of the present investigation, there is yet another form of migration prevailing in Lesotho which has a bearing to fertility. This is the international labour migration to South Africa for temporary employment, which is male oriented.

Without going in to details of economic, cultural, social and political implications of the migrant labour system, of prime importance to this investigation at this point is the implied impact of this form of migration on fertility. Although there are a number of mechanisms which have been hypothesized by other authors as responsible for the association between migration and fertility (part four of the present work), the separation of spouses through international labour migration can also have an impact on fertility.

To begin with, child-bearing is a function of a number of factors such as age, fecundity, pregnancy wastage, frequency of cohabitation,etc.. The higher the frequency of cohabitation, the higher the probability of conceiving and vice versa. It is, therefore, implied that, the longer the separation period between spouses, the lower the chances of conceiving and hence the lower the rate of child-bearing.

Southern Africa has been identified as a region of the lowest fertility level in Africa (U.N., 1980). Besides being located within this region characterized by low fertility, Lesotho has a relatively low fertility level compared to other countries within the same region. It can be speculated therefore, that the low level of fertility is a result of separation of spouses through labour migration to South Africa for temporary employment.

Paucity of data makes it impossible to link fertility and temporary separation of couples through labour migration. But some inferences from previous studies can be made regarding this point. For instance, anthropological studies have shown that Basotho women have been practising breast-feeding up to two years (Ashton 1947). In addition to the strict customs and taboos, which were enforced to make prolonged breast-feeding possible, it is plausable that, the practice of polygyny coupled with labour migration partly helped. But presently labour migration is the only main factor which provides temporary separation between couples since polygyny has declined to almost zero.

The results of the Lesotho fertility survey as part of the world fertility survey furnished some information that can be used to comment on the link between fertility and temporary separation for spouses. The following observations have been made from the Lesotho fertility survey data. First, wives of manual workers - who are mainly migrant workers - have a similar level of fertility to wives of husbands with other types of work.

But on the contrary studies elsewhere have shown that wives to husbands of similar occupation have the highest fertility. Egypt is one working example (D. Hanna, M.A. Gamrah and M.A. Hamish, 1971).

Secondly, marital disruption is not an important explanatory factor for the relatively long inter-pregnancy intervals in Lesotho. This is because 94 percent of all ever-married women experienced no dissolution and were continuously married throughout the last closed pregnancy interval. Hence temporary separation of spouses and probably observance of traditional taboos which insist on prolonged breast-feeding (i.e. post-partum abstinence until the child is weaned at the age of two years on the average) are possible factors responsible for long inter-pregnancy intervals.

Thirdly, a strong and direct relationship exists between breast-feeding and abstinence; that is, women who breast-feed for longer periods are the ones who are more likely to abstain from sexual relations for a longer period. Lastly, women of the following categories had relatively shorter periods of abstinence; women with secondary level of education, women who had worked before marriage and were currently working, and women whose husbands were either professional or sales and service workers. However, generally Basotho women have relatively longer durations of abstinence.

The fact that the wives of manual workers had a similar level of fertility to wives of husbands with other types of work, suggests that, the temporary migration of Basotho men to seek employment represents a restraining factor on child-bearing. The longer periods of breast-feeding and post-partum abstinence for wives of manual workers also go on to show that, labour migration is an explanatory factor for the relatively longer inter-pregnancy intervals for Basotho women. It can be speculated, therefore, that temporary separation through migration has made it possible for most women to observe postnatal abstinence taboos, and practise prolonged breast-feeding. The reason is that, whereas anthropological studies are agreed that the practice of breast-feeing and postnatal sexual abstinence have been traditionally sanctioned in most known societies, other studies have shown that suckling children had been weaned prematurely because of an advent of a new pregnancy. This is an indication that tradition is not always obeyed or is changing in response to modern conditions. One example where contradiction exists between tradition and the actual practice is Zaire (N. Sala-Diakanda et.al., 1981).

The reported mean length of separation of 1.6 months calculated from the Lesotho 1977 fertility survey data is a clear indication that "durations might have been grossly underreported or the respondents might have misunderstood the questions themselves" (Bureau of Statistics, Maseru, 1981: 182). The duration is obviously too short in view of the fact that at least 67 percent of the male population (de jure) aged ten years and

above and married comprise of labour migrants. Moreover, on average a Mosotho migrant spends 12-13 months per contract working before returning home.

Between 1977 and 1978 - the period during which the survey was conducted - it was observed that the average length of contracts for Basotho migrant men were between nine and twelve months (ILO. op.cit., chapter three). Coupled with the failure to isolate wives whose husbands are migrant workers (the term "manual workers" is not restrictive to migrant labourers alone), actual differentials among women by husbands' occupation might have been masked. Hence the need for further research to study the link between labour migration and fertility.

In such a research, in addition to identifying those women whose husbands are migrant workers, it is necessary to further disaggregate them into; women whose husbands are at home between contracts; and those whose husbands are abroad by duration of absence. All these are necessary since, on the one hand women whose husbands are at home between contracts are more likely to be associated with a pregnancy, whereas on the other hand, a birth or pregnancy may necessitate another trip abroad.

It is the conclusion of the 1974 and 1979 population symposia participants that, there is a need for the government of Lesotho to adopt population policies or programmes which could change the rate and direction of rural-urban migration. This is necessary to lessen the social and health problems arising from rapid growth of urban population (S. Poulter et.al., 1981; Ministry of Health and Social Welfare Government of Lesotho, 1979). In addition, they also recommend that, measures should be adopted to reduce the annual rate or population growth. As a result of these recommendations, the Lesotho government in its Second Five-Year Development Plan for 1975/76 and 1979/80 committed itself to the target of reducing the annual rate of growth in the dejure population from 2.2 percent to 2 percent.

Nonetheless, some of the recommendations made to the government of Lesotho towards population policy, look at rural-urban migration and fertility as two independent processes. Rural-urban migration is viewed as the major determinant of urban population growth. But studies have shown that it is possible to get better results in terms of reducing the rate of rural-urban migration to already crowded urba-centers and reduction of fertility rate at national level if rural-urban migration and fertility are approached concurrently not as independent processes. Hence the necessity not to look at the two processes in isolation because of the impact rural-urban migration can have on the overall national fertility level.

The basic conclusions of the present study are that: (i) migrants in Maseru urban are characterized by low fertility; (ii) the internal migration data, plus some independent sources (S. Poulter et.al., 1981: 91), have indicated rural-urban migration as the dominat form of migration. It has also been indicated

that, population shifts are from the mountain and foothill areas to the lowland regions, which contain most of the urban centres of the country.

The results of the study might lead one to speculate that, Lesotho is only experiencing the early stages of rural-urban migration where selection from the entire rural population of prospective rural-urban migrants concentrates on those with high social class background. This is deduced from the low fertility of migrants in Maseru urban. Because of their social class background, migrants adopt easily to the urban environment as well as adopting the urban norms advocating for low fertility. On the contrary, however, migrants are expected to have higher fertility because they come from the Rural areas which are characterized by high fertility.

Any measure of fertility relates to or is a ratio of live births or children ever born alive to either the total mid-year population or female population. Since at the early stages of rural-urban migration, only women with low fertility are migrating from the entire rural population, hypothetically, this should lead to even higher fertility in the Rural areas and lower in Urban areas. In calculating most of the fertility measures, however, live births or children ever born form the numerator while either total mid-year pupulation (both sexes) or female population form the denominator. Migration from the Rural areas, however, reduces mainly the denominator of the fertility measure, while in the Urban areas the denominator is in turn increased. Since women with low fertility migrating from the Rural areas do not contribute much to either the numerator of the fertility measure in the Rural areas or numerator in Urban areas, therefore, as a result of this fertility is high in Rural areas and low in Urban areas.

However, this process does not affect fertility at national level. Fertility at national level remains the same. But, rural-urban migrants are likely to reduce their fertility even lower after assimilating the urban norms and the process of adoptation is fast because they are well equipped with social background and are well suited for urban environment. When migrants start reducing their fertility, then fertility at national level too starts reducing. It can be proposed, therefore, that in the long run the end result of rural-urban migration would be the eventual fertility reduction at national level. At later stages or migration when rural-urban migration is no more selective, the process of exposing more women to the Urban areas characterized by low fertility is facilitated. Hence the possibility of faster fertility rate decline at national level. For an example, a study for the Philippines has corroborated this contention (G.E. Hendershot, 1976).

In the foregoing argument, the implication is that migration should be allowed to take its course. But this is not the intention, the idea is to reduce both fertility and migration. One suggestion would be to stop rural-urban migration through

rural development. But this is likely to retard the rate at which fertility can be reduced at national level. Therefore in order to achieve reduction both in national fertility level and the volume of rural-urban migration, particularly in Maseru urban, recommendation by the participants of both the Lesotho 1974 Population Symposium and the 1979 Population Conference on Population Management as a Factor in Development Including Family Planning have to be modified.

Since the impact of rural-urban migration is felt maily in Maseru urban which is the capital, it might be beneficial to redirect migration to new urban destination such as Thaba-Tseka in the newly created tenth district or Moyeni in the Quthing district where there are indications that urban population is declining. This would firstly alleviate the problem of excessive population growth in Maseru urban. Secondly, fertility at national, level would eventually be reduced. Besides the above argument as to how rural-urban migration can lead to reduction in the fertility level at national level mechanisms - such as exposure to learn more about contraceptive use - through which migration affects fertility (which are a result of migration) would help. It has also been observed that migration can serve as a catalyst in terms of defusing low fertility norms prevailing in Urban areas to the Rural areas. It has been established that, whereas rural-urban migrant women reduce their fertility when they are in Urban areas, women migrating from the Urban areas to the Rural areas maintain their low fertility characterizing Urban areas.

However, for such a programme to succeed, incentives might be in order to induce potential migrants to go to these new alternative distinations. One alternative would be for the government to pay less accommodation allowances to government employees who are in crowded Urban areas and increase accommodation allowances for employees intending to settle in the newly proposed destinations. It is also possible to induce people to migrate to some of the new destinations by improving facilities in these places. Some prospective migrants might not migrate to the intended areas because there are no secondary schools in the areas. Providing enough schools up to secondary level at the new destinations might even help in making it easier for secondary school leavers to seek employment at these places other than going elsewhere probably to the already crowded urban centres.

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