

**Highly prevalent circular migration:
Households, mobility and economic status in rural South Africa**

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Preamble

South Africa's Apartheid-driven social engineering reshaped society to provide cheap labor for mines and industry while unemployed family members were legislated to remain in densely settled rural areas. High levels of circular migration became entrenched and continue to prevail. This context makes it important to explore contemporary household livelihood strategies, mobility and links with economic status in the rural area. The demographic surveillance system (DSS) of Agincourt can shed some interesting perspectives since it spans the decade during which apartheid was abolished. Literature on labour migration tends to focus on the urban side of the cycle, i.e. the destination perspective of circular migrants. This study however provides an opportunity to see the perspective of the rural sending population. Interestingly, the links between the urban areas and rural hinterlands are so strong that a sending-community perspective can explain key aspects of urban settlement patterns. Being a case study this paper invests more in description than explanation, however, the implications for theoretical development must not be overlooked, and some questions are flagged that might be addressed by these data.

1. Introduction

1.1 The political economy of migration in South Africa

Two features of South Africa's political economy have strongly dominated, and continue to influence, the patterns of population settlement and mobility in this country and region. Firstly, over the last century South Africa's mining and industrial centres have attracted vast numbers of labour migrants, both documented and undocumented, from rural areas and from neighbouring countries. Current prevalence estimates indicate a minimum of 2,5 million legal migrants, a figure likely to be underestimated, while illegal and undocumented migrants, who are seldom included in statistics, are another huge social phenomenon (Crush and James, 1995) (Lurie, 2000).

Secondly, the structure and functioning of the Apartheid System introduced a deliberate impermanence in the urbanisation process of the South African black population. This was achieved by the infamous and well documented Influx Control and Group Areas Acts (Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1985), (Crush, et al., 1991), (Gelderblom and Kok, 1994). From an urban perspective these laws resulted in a gross inadequacy of urban planning and a diversion of urban settlement into sprawling peri-urban areas, located in bantustans, commuting distance from cities (Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1985), (Graaff, 1987). From a rural perspective people were forced to live in 'homeland' areas, based on a system of ethnic homogeneity. These purported to grant local autonomy to black populations, but in fact were a means to justify low wages and allow industry to avoid the responsibility for the welfare of workers and the reproduction of labour (Lurie, 2000). Within homelands access to land was severely restricted by a process of villagisation (Hallett R, 1984). This created a drastic shortage of land and forced a transition from an agrarian to a capital based rural economy (Gelderblom & Kok, 1994), (Tollman et al, 1997). The outcomes were rural poverty, the labour migration system and vast numbers of disunited families living in dense settlements, largely absent of adult males. These features still characterise the society of South Africa's rural interior, and powerfully influence contemporary livelihood strategies.

1.2 Study population

1.2.1 The study area

The Agincourt sub-district, comprising 21 villages with a population of slightly under 70 000 is situated in the Bushbuckridge district of South Africa's rural north-east, adjacent to the country's border with Mozambique. More than a quarter of the population (29%) are of Mozambican origin. The dependency ratio is high, with 44% of the population under 15 years of age and 4% over 65 years (Tollman, et al., 1999). Labour migration is extensive as local employment opportunities are few. The area is densely populated (148 persons per square kilometre) and has an arid climate. Housing types vary from traditional mud huts to brick dwellings with tin or tiled roofs. Stands are generally too small to support subsistence agriculture. Crops are grown, but this merely supplements the family diet. Water is pumped to

the main reservoirs in the villages, seldom via a purification plant. From the reservoirs it is reticulated to the communal taps, which serve as the main collection points for community members. Water is collected manually by women or children, who usually carry it in 25litre drums, by wheelbarrow or balancing it on the head. Water shortage poses a serious problem in most villages. Levels of household sanitation are poor, and pit toilets of varying effectiveness are the norm. All roads are unpaved. Public transport is limited to privately owned mini-bus taxis. Electricity and telephone services are relatively new developments that had reached about half of the communities under surveillance by 2001. Although school enrolment often occurs late, 85% of children aged 10-14 years enter primary school. Less than 50% continue to secondary school, however, and only 3% receive post-secondary education.

1.2.2 Mortality transition

The main health problems revealed by verbal autopsy analysis are diarrhoea, kwashiorkor and AIDS in children under five; accidents, violence and AIDS in the 15-49 age group, and chronic degenerative diseases, mainly cardiac, cerebro-vascular, liver and malignant diseases, among those fifty and above. Mortality patterns have shifted over the observed decade with an overall trend of increasing mortality. An under-five mortality decline started reversing in 1996, and was still climbing at the end of the decade. This has primarily been caused by HIV/AIDS. Mortality has also been rising in the younger adult age group from the same cause. There has also been an unexpected rise in mortality risk in adults over 50, particularly women, due in large to strokes and congestive cardiac failure. (Kahn, et al., 1999) (Kahn and Tollman, 1999), (Garenne, et al., 2000).

1.2.3 Fertility transition

Using Agincourt data the trends in total fertility rate were computed: retrospectively from 1992 using maternity history data, and prospectively from 1992 using births data. The total fertility rate showed stability at a high level of around 5.5 children per woman until the late 1980's followed by a strong and steady decline over the decade of the nineties. A level of 2.8 children per women was reached in 2001 (Garenne, et al., 2000).

1.2.4 Refugee settlement

South Africa is a net receiver of international migrants and refugees, against a backdrop of a net continental increase in involuntary migration (Van Dijk, et al. 2001). Refugees from Mozambican arrived in South Africa as the RENAMO-FRELIMO conflict escalated from 1984. On arrival they dispersed within local settlements or settled on land allocated to them by local tribal authorities. In 1993, group refugee status was granted to Mozambicans who had fled the conflict, yet access to water, sanitation, labour markets and legal rights has remained persistently poor for most (Dolan et al, 1997). The group is thus vulnerable in many respects, however uptake to voluntary repatriation programmes has been low (Hargreaves et al, 2002).

1.3 Demographic surveillance systems and mobility research

Demographic surveillance system methodologies have mostly been applied to a range of public health questions; however some sites have come to study mobility as a research objective in its own right. The data available to do so are rich, due to the importance of accurate handling of population dynamics for denominator calculations. Generally speaking, DSS categories are fairly robust, but not particularly refined. The focus is on quality information collected prospectively from a complete population. This adds temporal integrity which is valuable for the study of migration and a spatial integrity within the study site. In addition demographic surveillance systems provide the opportunity for a range of research methods linked to the DSS which can capture more detail of the population dynamics and corresponding health and social phenomena.

2. Methods

2.1 Health and demographic surveillance in Agincourt

The Agincourt Health and Population Unit (of the University of the Witwatersrand) conducts health and demographic surveillance on a rural sub-district population in the

former homeland district of Bushbuckridge, some 500km north east of Johannesburg (see figure 1). A baseline census in the twenty villages of the Agincourt sub-district was conducted in 1992. Since then rigorous annual updates have been conducted, collecting information on all births, deaths, in- and out-migrations in the surveillance population. The update involves visiting every household, where a fieldworker verifies existing records, records new individual- or household-level data, and records the demographic events that have occurred since the preceding year's census update. (Tollman, 1999), (Tollman, et al., 1999) (Kahn, et al., 1999). The study population in 2001 numbered around 68000 people.

2.2 Migration and household definitions

The HDSS is a powerful tool for exploring migration. Migration and household definitions are built into the demographic surveillance process and were developed to capture the movement patterns prevailing in this part of South Africa. Temporary migrants are defined as household members who are away most of the time but retain a significant link to a surveillance household. A household is defined as the social unit that usually eats together, plus the temporary migrants who are linked to the household. During census updates the residence status of all individuals in the household is updated. This involves recording the number of months that a person is physically resident during the previous year. A person is considered a temporary migrant if the months resident in the surveillance household number less than six and the respondent declares that the migrant retains strong links with the household. If the migrant leaves with a permanent intention the individual is removed from the household roster and considered a permanent migrant.

2.3 Household asset module

During the 2001 census round a cross-sectional household asset survey was conducted which recorded salient features of the living conditions and assets of each household in the surveillance population. The questionnaire contained 34 ordinal variables, covering such areas as building materials and structure of the main dwelling, access to water and power, and ownership of appliances, transport and livestock. Variables were developed through a process of discussion

and refinement with local field staff and community members. Several iterations of questionnaire piloting were conducted in the study site and elsewhere in the district. A household economic index based on this module is described in section 2.5.

2.4 Temporary migration module

During the 2002 census a temporary migration module was conducted on all the de jure population who were temporary migrants at the time of the census. A household respondent answered questions on the duration of migrant status, destination, reasons for migration, return pattern, communication pattern, remittances, linked moves and child care arrangements. Aspects of these data are reported in this paper

2.5 Economic status index

A relative index of economic status was constructed by combining the variables from the household asset survey and conducting a principal component factor analysis to determine the relevant weights to assign to each variable. The model which used the first principal component was selected, because it summarised the most information across the variables and in subsequent testing correlated best with the individual variables making up the score. The first principal component was divided into quintiles, which were labelled: low, medium low, medium, medium high and high economic status.

2.6 Analyses presented in this paper

A description is given of both permanent and temporary migration categories, showing: who moves (age and sex), to where (destinations and origins), and for what reasons.

Furthermore, for temporary migration, a description is given of the on-going links between the rural household and the absent temporary migrant, including patterns of return, communication and remittance behaviour. A household level analysis is also reported, which explores the relationship between economic status and the presence of permanent or temporary migrants in the household. Logistic regressions were conducted with the respective dependent variables:

“household gained or lost a permanent migrant in the last year” and “household contained a temporary migrant in the last year”. For a permanent move within the field-site the receiving household only was counted in the regression model.

3. Findings

3.1 Permanent migration

In 2001, 16% of households contained at least one member who had made a permanent move.

3.1.1 Who conducts permanent migration?

The most mobile age-sex category conducting permanent migration was women aged 15-25. This follows the marriage customs that women usually move into a man’s family. The most important units of move were “a woman moving alone”, then “a woman with children”, followed by “a woman with a man and children”. (Collinson et al, 2000)

3.1.2 Reasons for permanent migration

Permanent migration is the dynamic that starts or ends households, or changes either its shape or location. The most prevalent types of permanent migration were, firstly, the formation and dissolution of households, i.e. movement that accompanied the start or break of a co-residence episode. These were frequently associated with changes in marital status. The second main reason for a permanent migration was families moving together to better opportunities and conditions. (Collinson et al, 2000)

3.1.3 Permanent migration destinations and origins

There was a wide range of destination and origin of permanent migration, both local and further afield. Migration from rural village to rural village made up 71% of out-migrations.

Migration related to urbanisation was as follows: 15% of out-migrations were to rural towns and 6% to a city. Nearby towns were important destinations. Pronounced one-way migration to rural towns occurred in 1994/5, after the onset of democracy. This related in part to the change of government, in particular the decline in authority of traditional structures that controlled movement in the past. Migration to urban centres, in the other hand, occurred almost equally in both directions, i.e. permanent moves to a city were almost balanced by migration from a city to the rural area. (Collinson et al, 2000)

3.1.4 Permanent migration and economic status

When the household economic index was regressed against the occurrence of permanent migration it emerged that permanent migration was not differentiated by economic status. Households in different economic classes were almost equally likely to have experienced a permanent migration. An important limitation, however, was that if a person or a family moved out of the study site they became lost to surveillance and changes in economic status could not be determined.

3.2 Temporary migration

Temporary migration is a much larger phenomenon than permanent migration, with 55% of households containing at least one temporary migrant in 2001.

3.2.1 Who are the temporary migrants?

Figure 2 shows the extent of temporary migration by age and gender over the observation period. The DSS data from 1992 to 2001 is pooled over six census rounds to show the remarkable high levels of prevalence. For men the likelihood of making a temporary move increases rapidly with each year of age over twenty, increasing fivefold between ages 20-30. The startlingly high mode of 60 % is reached by age 35 and remains at this level until 55. The reduction in the likelihood of a man being a temporary migrant declined gradually after 55, with 20% still migrant at age 68. In the female population temporary migration started to occur in the

mid-teens rising to 10% of women by age 25 and almost 20% of women by age 35. This proportion of 1 in 5 women prevails until around age 48, after which it declined gradually with age. Unlike men, women were seldom temporary migrants after age 65.

3.2.2 Trends in temporary migration

Figure 3 shows trends of temporary migration of the main age groups namely 15-34 years and 35-54 years. The most absent age-group is the 35-54 year olds, whose absence remains high at around 60%. The 1990's which were a period of retrenchments showed in younger adult men a U-shaped curve, which seems like a run of job losses between 1992 and 1997, followed by a rise in proportion migrants between 1997 and 2001. The female trend shows level that stayed constant over the 1992 to 1997 period. Then, a dramatic turning point was reached in 1997 in both age groups. The older adult women moved from 15% to almost 25% in three years, and the younger adult women showed a three fold increase in the same four-year period. In 2000, approximately 24% of older adult women and 18% of younger adult women were temporary migrants.

3.2.3 Reasons for temporary migration

Table 1 looks at the primary reason for temporary migration by age and sex. The pattern shows marked differences by age and sex. Children mostly move to live with family members, which include parents, grandparents and aunts. Schooling is involved when the child is over seven years old. This pattern reflects the dynamics of child fostering, the mobility pattern of parents and the desire for better schooling than what is available in the rural areas. Women seem to move for a wider range of reasons than men. The 15-29 year olds may be at school or, for males, working or looking for work and, for females, working or living with family. This is the age group that experiences the most unemployment and movement for work seeking. In the 30-49 year olds the males are very likely to be working with a small percent looking for work, while females are likely working or living with family. The 50-64 year olds show a similar pattern. In the over 60's the numbers are much smaller, particularly for women. In this age group the higher

proportion of movement for “other” reasons reflects health seeking behaviour, with movement to stay near hospital facilities or reside at traditional healers.

3.2.4 Work type of temporary migrants

Table 2 displays work type by age and sex recorded in the 2002 temporary migration module. Farm work seems important, particularly for women, but also for younger men. For all men, construction and artisan work are important, with mining more prominent in the older age groups. An interesting additional observation is that more Mozambican than South African men migrate to work on mines or construction sites, while they comprise only a quarter of the study population. Older men are also employed as drivers. Important areas of productive activity for women include running small businesses, like sewing and beer brewing, and informal selling.

3.2.5 Destinations of temporary migrants

Table 3 breaks out the employed migrants and looks at the destination of temporary migrants for both the employed and the not employed of both sexes. Employment is distributed over a wider range of places than those looking for work or living with family. Key destinations for employment are Gauteng, which is the main industrial province, incorporating Johannesburg and Pretoria (see figure 1); and Mpumalanga, which is the focus of farm and game farm employment. Women tend to work closer to home, in local towns and farms, while men are more likely to travel further afield to Gauteng and other South African Provinces. For the unemployed temporary migrants Gauteng is a primary destination, making up almost 60% of destinations for males and females. The N4 road is a major travel route between Johannesburg and the port city of Maputo in Mozambique, which passes through a number of industrial and mining towns. Destinations along this road are particularly important for employed men, but also for employed women and for both sexes looking for work or staying with relatives. Not shown in the table, but explored in the census module were secondary and tertiary destinations for temporary migrants. Surprisingly, only 2% of respondents reported more than one destination for a temporary migrant.

3.2.6 Patterns of return

Table 4 explores the pattern of home return by sex and reason for temporary migration. The pattern varies considerably by reason for migration, but not by sex. Those who return very seldom, i.e. either not returned in 12 months or only for family occasions like weddings and funerals, are primarily people living with other family members. Those returning frequently, i.e. school holidays, month-end weekends, and either most or all weekends, are primarily the scholars, but also a fair proportion of the workers. The employed migrants who return frequently are mostly farm workers, artisans or miners who work closer to home, and especially not in Gauteng. Those returning infrequently, but regularly, i.e. once or twice a year, generally at Christmas or Easter, are either employed or looking for work. High proportions of all groups except the scholars return with an irregular pattern, although this is seldom for more than two months cumulative in a year, and mostly for under a month.

3.2.7 Communication with home

Table 6 explores the time elapsed between the last communication with the temporary migrant and the census interview. This variable reflects a dimension of the bond between the migrant and rural household. The distribution is presented by sex and marital status. Remarkably high proportions of all categories show communication within two weeks preceding the census interview, although there are interesting variations by sex and marital status. Unmarried male migrants are the least likely (at 40%) to have communicated recently. Over a half of female migrants, whether married or never married, communicated recently. Two thirds of divorced, widowed or separated female migrants communicated recently, and 70% of married men. Data on marriage dissolution for men is not available in the DSS. Those who last communicated 7 to 12 months ago were mostly never married, and a lapse of over a year belongs mostly to never married males.

3.2.8 Remittances

Remittance behaviour is reported in two ways. Table 5 displays summary statistics of the amount of money remitted in the month prior to the census by sex and marital status. Then table 6 looks at some key factors associated with the propensity of migrants to remit anything (money, clothes, food, etc.) back to the rural home.

Two thirds of all temporary migrants are employed in work for payment, and of these workers, two thirds remit something back to the rural home. The highest average pecuniary amount remitted by sex and marital status category is R542 sent by married men. The lowest average amount is R288 sent by never married men. The average monthly remittance of women varies less by marital status, with never married women remitting R309, married R317, and marriage dissolved R337. It should be noted that the numbers of never married men and married women who remit are fairly low. Also, there are high standard deviations and ranges across all categories.

Table 6 is a logistic regression model estimating the odds of an employed temporary migrant remitting. It shows that employed migrant men are 25% less likely than employed migrant women to remit. The categorical variable of time elapsed since last communication with home is a strong predictor of propensity to remit, with the odds reducing linearly as the elapsed time increases. The duration that a person has been a migrant is also a strong predictor of propensity to remit. A person who has been a migrant for 5-10 years is 60% more likely to remit than one who has been a migrant for less than two years. A migrant of 11-20 years is 3 times more likely to remit; and a migrant of over 20 years four times more likely.

The work type that shows the highest odds of remitting is mining, followed by game farm work, waiting, driving, cleaning and artisan work. The higher paid jobs, like health sector employment, teaching, professional and managerial work showed the same odds of remitting as farm labourers.

3.2.9 Temporary migration and economic status

The relationship between temporary migration and the economic status of the rural household is reflected in table 8. There is a clear linear relationship between economic class and the likelihood of a household containing a temporary migrant. This demonstrates that temporary migration is strongly associated with livelihood strategy.

4. Discussion

4.1 Strengths and weaknesses of DSS migration and household definitions

A strength of demographic surveillance is that an extended definition of the household can be used to include the temporary migrants who are closely linked to the household, but residentially absent for most of the time. This is more versatile than definitions commonly used in national censuses or cross-sectional household surveys, nevertheless difficulties arise. One problem encountered is that temporary migrants may stop returning and break the link with the rural household, thus by definition becoming an out-migrant. The family, however, may not accept this turn of events and require that the DSS retain the migrant on the household roster in anticipation or hope of their return. Another problem is that the respondents sometimes don't recognise or declare an in-migration event and a new household member (by DSS definition) is reported to have always been resident. This probably arises from household members having less strict boundaries for household membership than is used in the DSS. A consequence is that if the event is not recognised it is impossible to collect data on it, e.g. the date or reason for migration.

4.2 Changing patterns of migration

Two major changes were observed in migration patterns over the surveillance decade and an anticipated change did not occur. The first change was the rapid increase in female temporary migration. South Africa's internal policies in the second half of the century allowed only adult men to migrate legally to the city. Influx control was lifted in 1986 and female temporary migration patterns began to alter dramatically in 1997. This delay requires an explanation.

The political change did have an impact, but this was more on permanent than temporary migration. Pronounced one-way migration to rural towns occurred in 1994/5, after the onset of democracy. This related in part to the change of government, in particular the decline in authority of traditional structures that controlled land tenure in the past.

Economic conditions seem more important than the political transition since the high levels of labour migration in adult men has not declined. With the abolishing of Influx control and changes in the labour market, in particular large-scale retrenchments in the mining industry (Crush and James, 1995), one might have expected further changes in labour migration patterns in the 1990's.

4.3 Changing role of women

Increasing female labour migration should impact on South Africa's social transition. An increased feminisation of the labour force has been noted by other South African authors (Casale and Posel, 2001) and in the Agincourt data (Collinson and Wittenburg, 2001). There is also an increase in the proportion of de jure female-headed households, increasing from 29% in 1992 to 34% in 2001 (Collinson, et al., 2001). Possibly, absent husbands are less likely to come back, but on the other hand women may be choosing to not get married or remain unattached after marital dissolution. Preliminary evidence from Agincourt shows that marriage tends to be late (at around age 28 for women) and that age of marriage may be increasing over time. More research is needed to understand the impact of these changes.

4.4 Ties with home

The link between the temporary migrant and the sending household has been explored from three perspectives: patterns of return, communication and remittances. The return pattern is related to distance and reason for migration. Other authors have speculated that the patterns of migration in South Africa have altered over the last three decades with migrant labour tending to become longer term, and with more frequent returns home enabled by infrastructural

development and improved work conditions (Lurie, 2000). These changes alone would not facilitate returns home if the links were not strongly felt by the migrant. Communication and remittance data show that the links are quite strong. An astonishing 60% of all temporary migrants communicated with the rural home in the two weeks prior to the interview. It was also shown that communication links and remittance behaviour are strongly tied.

Since the circulation between urban and rural areas is quite intense it could be argued that when migrants come to town they merely form outposts of the rural household and not entirely new and independent urban based households (Gelderblom and Kok, 1994). This also reflects the migration theory that households manipulate the residential behaviour of their members in order to maximise their economic welfare.

Other evidence of the ties to the rural household arises from the importance of marital status in governing remittance behaviour. The largest remitters are married men and marriage dissolved women. An explanation that fits this scenario is that these remitters are the heads of rural households, therefore strongly tied.

4.5 Economic status and migration

The index of economic status described above has been reported to be a relatively good discriminant of economic status in other rural African settings (Schellenberg, et al., 2003). In this paper a strong correlation has been shown between the economic status index of the household and the likelihood of the household containing a temporary migrant. This supports another theoretical position that migrant networks impact on the economy and/ or the political landscape of the place of origin (Massey, 1990) (Stark, et al., 1986). Stark describes how in Mexico the migrant remittances have sometimes dramatically increased income inequality in places of migrant origin. In this context more research is needed to understand the obstacles faced by poorer households in sending temporary migrants to improve their economic welfare.

It is interesting to note that within the field-site permanent migration is not differentiated by household economic status. This finding may not hold outside the field-site because a change

in economic status can be anticipated if a household makes an urbanward move. To explore this hypothesis a follow up study is needed that traces the well-being of households migrating out of the study area.

4.6 The cost of highly prevalent circular migration

The social cost of the cumulative effects of the displacement caused by Apartheid, ensuing poverty, lack of employment in densely settled rural areas and the demise of small-scale agriculture are not well understood. Other indicators of social disorganization at a national level include high levels of violent crime, rape, sexual abuse, and teenage pregnancy.

Against this backdrop a complex health transition is underway, with unfinished agendas that typify underdevelopment, namely malnutrition and diarrhoeal diseases in children; coupled with emerging agendas of non-communicable disease, namely stroke, heart disease and violence (Kahn, et al., 1999). A further hallmark of the social disruption caused by highly prevalent circular migration is rampant sexually transmitted infections, in particular AIDS (Jochelson, et al., 1991), (Lurie, 2000).

5. Conclusion

Mobility is high in this setting and looks likely to increase further. Particularly prevalent is the household strategy of keeping a base in the rural area while some household members exploit employment opportunities on farms, game farms, towns and cities. Temporary migration is also undertaken to look for work, foster children, and gain access to better schools. Women are increasingly engaging in temporary migration. The economic benefit to households from sending out circular migrants has been strongly suggested by the data presented here. There are however social and health costs that may not be factored into the calculus of household benefit. High risk behaviour is prevalent among migrants and household forms have seriously changed, the costs of which are not well understood.

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Figure 1. A map of the northeastern region of South Africa, showing Bushbuckridge and the South African provinces.

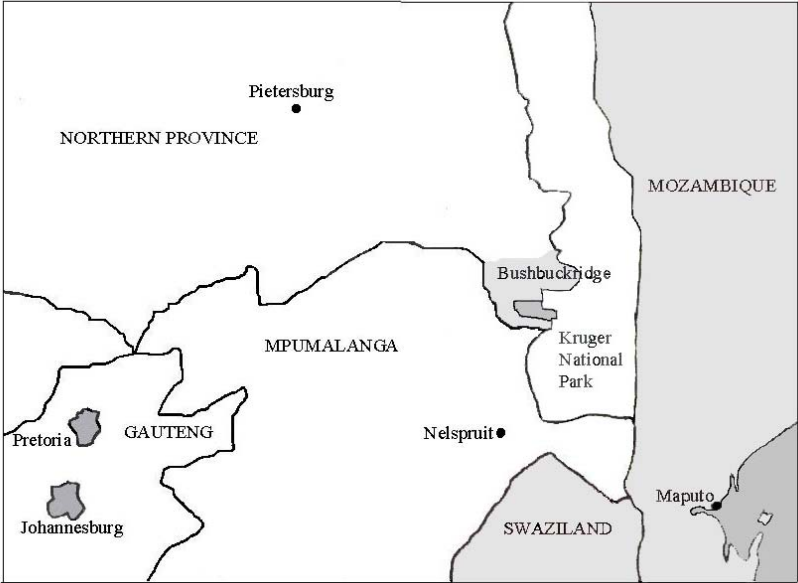


Figure 2.

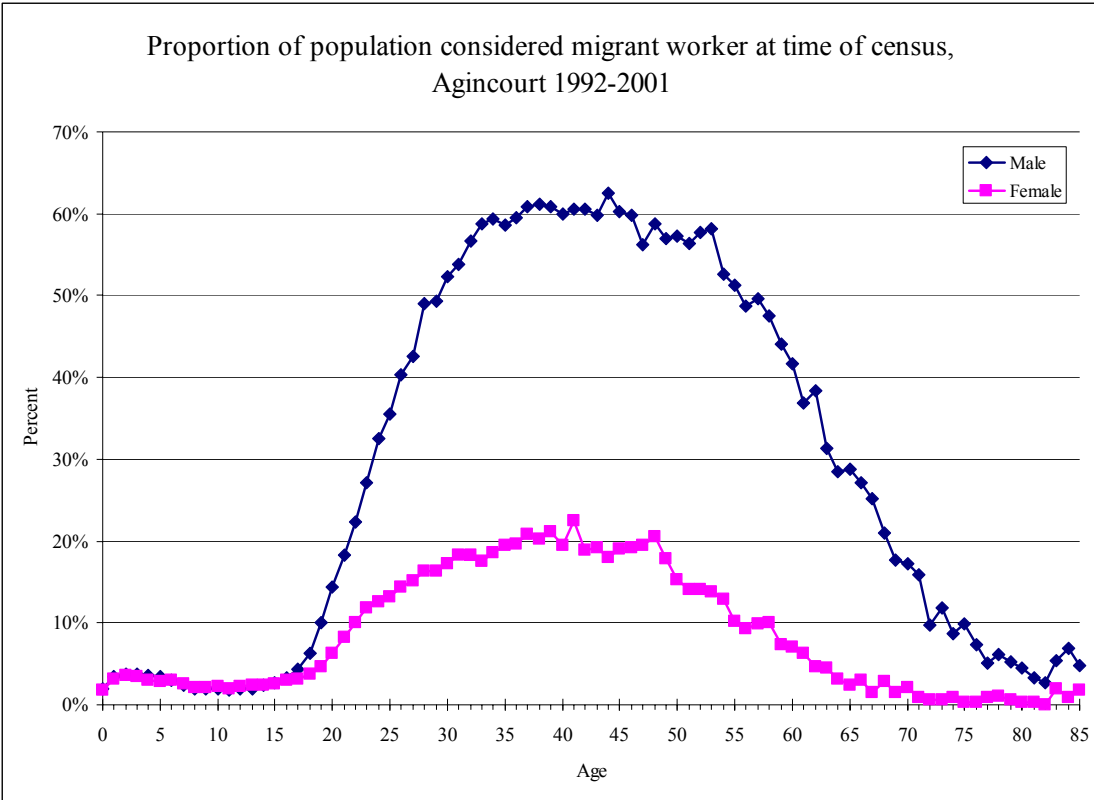


Figure 3.

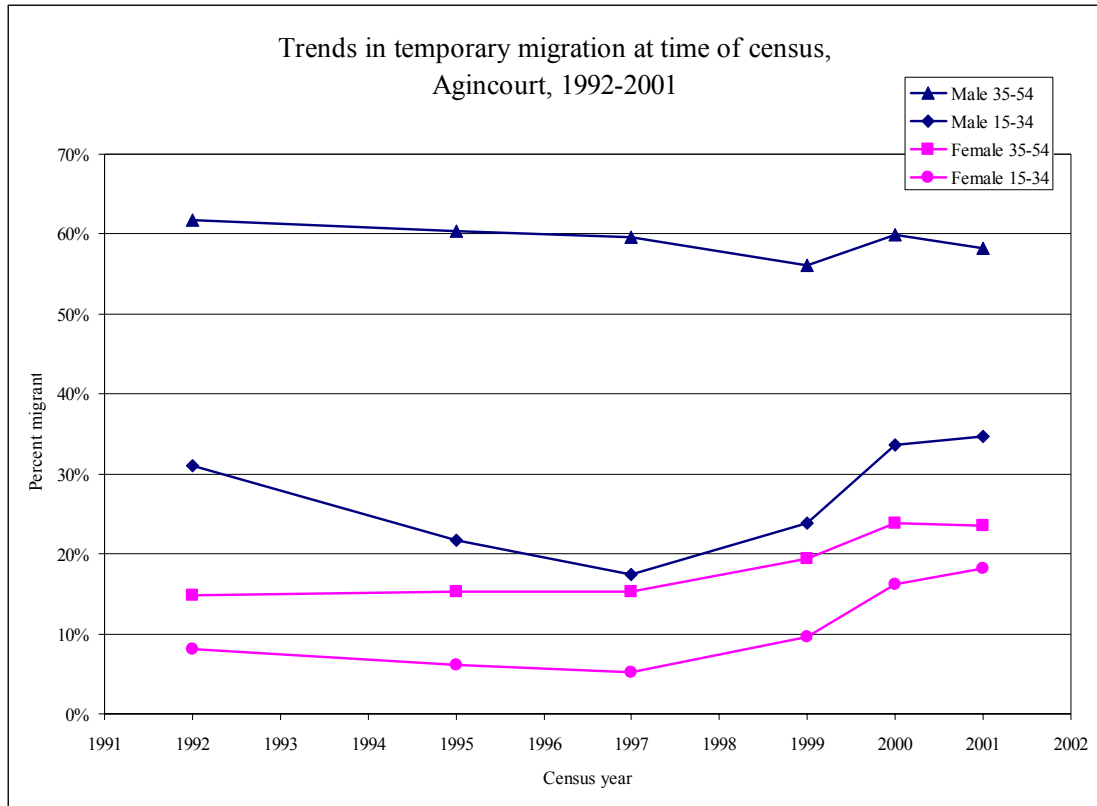


Table 1. Reason for temporary migration, by sex and age group (column percentages)¹

	0-14years		15-29years		30-49years		50-64years		65+years	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Reason for temp.mig:	n=651	n=660	n=1546	n=2820	n=1609	n=3428	n=292	n=887	n=16	n=119
Looking for work	0.5%	0.2%	7.6%	13.0%	3.9%	6.7%	0.3%	3.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Working	0.3%	1.8%	40.5%	65.0%	75.8%	91.5%	85.3%	93.4%	56.3%	84.0%
Schooling	34.3%	28.5%	31.3%	17.8%	1.4%	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Living with family	64.8%	69.6%	20.3%	3.6%	18.4%	0.6%	10.6%	1.5%	31.3%	13.5%
Other reasons ²	0.2%	0.0%	0.4%	0.7%	0.5%	0.7%	3.8%	1.2%	12.5%	2.5%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

¹Data from Agincourt, Temporary Migration module, 2002.

²Other reasons include: health seeking (at a hospital or traditional healer), in prison, traditional healer training

Table 2. Work type of temporary migrants by age and sex (column percentages)¹

	15-29years		30-49years		50-64 years	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
	n=639	n=1890	n=1229	n=3215	n=249	n=845
Work type:						
farm worker	18.0%	11.6%	17.2%	7.1%	14.9%	8.4%
game farm worker	1.3%	1.1%	1.5%	2.3%	4.0%	1.3%
domestic worker	10.0%	1.0%	8.1%	0.6%	7.6%	0.6%
miner	0.0%	7.9%	0.1%	13.2%	0.4%	12.1%
construction worker	1.7%	11.4%	1.5%	8.8%	0.8%	5.8%
security guard	0.5%	7.9%	0.3%	4.5%	1.2%	4.9%
commercial cleaner	6.4%	1.3%	13.1%	1.6%	22.1%	2.7%
commercial cook	4.1%	1.9%	4.2%	1.8%	4.0%	1.9%
waiter/ waitress	1.3%	1.5%	2.3%	1.6%	0.4%	0.7%
driver	0.5%	3.0%	0.2%	7.3%	0.0%	12.5%
police/ soldier/ fireman	0.5%	1.6%	0.2%	2.3%	0.0%	1.5%
unspecified unskilled worker	3.3%	3.7%	2.2%	2.8%	4.0%	3.4%
artisan/ skilled worker	5.2%	11.1%	3.7%	11.9%	5.2%	14.0%
informal selling	6.4%	0.9%	8.2%	0.7%	6.8%	0.4%
clerical	1.6%	1.1%	2.3%	1.5%	0.0%	1.3%
small business assistant	9.4%	4.1%	4.2%	1.7%	1.2%	1.0%
small business owner	8.1%	2.1%	12.1%	2.8%	14.9%	3.1%
traditional healer	1.1%	1.4%	2.0%	2.2%	2.0%	2.3%
health sector/ teacher	3.1%	1.0%	2.7%	1.6%	1.6%	1.0%
professional/ manager	3.9%	1.8%	2.4%	4.0%	0.4%	2.6%
unknown	13.8%	22.8%	11.6%	19.9%	8.4%	18.7%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

¹Data from Agincourt, Temporary Migration module, 2002.

Table 3. Destination of temporary migrants by sex and work status (column percentages)¹

	Employed		Not employed	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
	n=2105	n=5906	n=2032	n=2088
Destination:				
Field-site village	1.05%	0.39%	1.67%	1.05%
Other local village	1.38%	0.76%	1.77%	1.72%
Local town	11.69%	6.15%	5.51%	3.64%
Other Limpopo Province	6.03%	6.65%	6.10%	6.66%
Other Mpumalanga Province	32.97%	23.42%	10.29%	9.48%
N4 Road town/ city	12.97%	15.19%	12.25%	12.98%
Gauteng Province	31.12%	41.42%	58.42%	59.87%
Other South African Province	2.76%	5.81%	3.94%	4.45%
Mozambique	0%	0.14%	0%	0.10%
Other country	0.05%	0.08%	0.05%	0.05%
	100%	100%	100%	100%
¹ Data from Agincourt, Temporary Migration module, 2002.				

Table 4. Pattern of home return, by sex and reason for temporary migration (column percentages)¹

	working		looking for work		Schooling		living with family	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
	n=208	n=585	n=182	n=62	n=714	n=69	n=102	n=59
	8	9		2		5	9	2
Pattern of return:								
Return very seldom ²	1.3%	2.9%	6.0%	9.0%	2.9%	2.5%	7.0%	9.8%
Infrequent, but regular ³	9.5%	12.4%	14.8%	13.2%	4.1%	4.8%	14.1%	13.0%
Frequent ⁴	38.8%	36.8%	7.7%	7.7%	82.9%	80.7%	12.7%	13.9%
Irregular	50.4%	48.0%	71.4%	70.1%	10.1%	12.1%	66.2%	63.3%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
¹ Data from Agincourt, Temporary Migration module, 2002.								
² Not returned in 12 months; in prison; return only for family occasions								
³ Once or twice a year, generally at Christmas and/ or Easter								
⁴ Generally month-end weekends, school holidays plus month ends, or most weekends								

Table 5. Time since last communication, by sex and marital status (column percentages)¹

	Never married		Married		Marriage dissolved	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male ²
	n=238	n=163		n=407		
	2	0	n=891	8	n=853	na
Time since last communication:						
<=2 weeks	52.1%	40.5%	53.8%	70.1%	66.2%	na
2-4weeks	10.7%	11.0%	11.8%	10.5%	12.3%	na
1-3months	14.9%	18.7%	13.2%	10.2%	11.7%	na
4-6months	6.8%	10.3%	7.1%	3.1%	3.9%	na
7-12 months	10.9%	13.2%	10.1%	3.6%	3.2%	na
>1year	4.7%	6.3%	4.0%	2.5%	2.7%	na
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
¹ Data from Agincourt Temporary Migration Module, 2002						
² Data on male marriage dissolution is not available in the Demographic Surveillance System						

Table 6. Summary statistics of amount remitted last month, by sex and marital status

Marital status	Sex	mean	sd	min	max	nr obs
Never married	Female	R309	R227	R20	R2400	599
	Male	R288	R205	R50	R1500	156
Married	Female	R317	R200	R50	R2000	210
	Male	R542	R446	R20	R3500	2986
Marriage dissolved	Female	R337	R180	R45	R1500	605
	Male	na	na	na	na	na

Table 7. Logistic regression estimating the odds of an employed temporary migrant remitting

Variable	Categories	Odds Ratio (95%CI)	p
Sex	female	1	
	male	0.75 (0.65 - 0.86)	***
Last communicate with home	<=2 weeks	1	
	2-4weeks	0.48 (0.41 - 0.56)	***
	1-3months	0.27 (0.23 - 0.31)	***
	4-6months	0.13 (0.11 - 0.17)	***
	7-12 months	0.05 (0.04 - 0.07)	***
	1-2 years	0.03 (0.02 - 0.05)	***
	>2 years	0.01 (0.01 - 0.04)	***
Duration of temporary migration	0-1years	1	
	2-4years	1.17 (1.00 - 1.36)	*
	5-10years	1.64 (1.40 - 1.92)	***
	11-20years	2.95 (2.42 - 3.60)	***
	>20years	4.04 (2.90 - 5.62)	***
Type of work	farm worker	1	
	domestic worker	1.04 (0.73 - 1.47)	
	construction	1.13 (0.88 - 1.45)	
	security	0.93 (0.70 - 1.24)	
	commercial cleaner	1.71 (1.23 - 2.37)	**
	small business owner	0.89 (0.67 - 1.18)	
	miner	2.25 (1.72 - 2.94)	***
	traditional healer	1.15 (0.76 - 1.74)	
	health sector/ teacher	1.03 (0.67 - 1.59)	
	game farm	2.02 (1.25 - 3.27)	**
	driver	1.73 (1.27 - 2.37)	**
	commercial cook	1.04 (0.72 - 1.51)	
	unspec.unskilled labour	1.32 (0.94 - 1.86)	
	artisan	1.49 (1.17 - 1.89)	**
	waiter/waitress	1.86 (1.13 - 3.07)	*
	informal selling	0.73 (0.51 - 1.04)	
	small business assistant	0.92 (0.67 - 1.28)	
	clerical	0.99 (0.62 - 1.57)	
	police/soldier	0.89 (0.56 - 1.40)	
	professional/ manager	1.11 (0.78 - 1.57)	

Table 8. Logistic regression of household economic index on likelihood of temporary migration from household

Economic status	Odds Ratio	p-value
Low	1	Reference
Medium low	1.36 (1.21 - 1.53)	0.000
Medium	2.15 (1.91 - 2.42)	0.000
M.high	2.66 (2.35 - 3.01)	0.000
High	3.65 (3.21 - 4.14)	0.000