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**Migration and Rural Assets: Evidence from
Surveys in Three Semi-Arid Regions in South
Africa, India and Botswana**

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MIGRATION AND RURAL ASSETS: EVIDENCE FROM SURVEYS IN THREE SEMI-ARID REGIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA AND BOTSWANA

*Arjan de Haan, Johann Kirsten, Juliana Rweleamira**

1. INTRODUCTION: DOES RURAL INEQUALITY AFFECT MIGRATION – EVIDENCE FROM THE LITERATURE

As part of the larger cross-country EU-funded project on rural inequality and demographic behaviour, we looked at the determinants of migration from rural areas, asking the question: does distribution of land and other assets affect out-migration? We also looked at the effect of migration on inequality, as well as the way local assets are managed. In this first section, we review studies that have provided information about these relationships in different contexts.

Our hypotheses regarding inequality and migration were informed by findings from the 1960s and early 1970s in the Indian Village Studies, which showed a link between inequality and rural-urban migration. “Our analysis of data from forty Indian villages suggest that high emigration from a village is intimately associated with unequal distribution of resources (usually land) ...”¹ Poorer and the richer migrants tended to come from the same villages, the ones that were more commercialised and more unequal. Moreover, despite reductions in poverty as a result of migration, migration also increased intra-rural inequalities, because better-off villages and villagers learned first about, and were able to avail of new job opportunities. Better-off migrants were ‘pulled’ towards fairly firm prospects of job (or education), and the poor ‘pushed’ by rural poverty and labour-replacing methods. In summary, “‘push’ and ‘pull’ migration are twin children of inequality in the same sort of village; but they are also sources of new inequality” (Lipton, 1980, p. 4).

Evidence that rural inequality, of land and other resources, would lead to higher rates of out-migration, has been found not only in India² but in a range of other countries.³ Migration is a selective process, the poor often cannot migrate (Skeldon 1997b, Mallee 1995/96), or only for less remunerative jobs. Hence, migration is likely to lead to more inequality. Research on migration in Western Kenya showed that migration *increased* differentiation, not through agriculture but through investment in education (Francis and Hoddinott 1993). Murton’s

* We gratefully acknowledge help and assistance from Vidya Sagar, Micah Masuku and Simphiwe Ngqangweni.

¹ Connell *et al.*, 1976, p.10, who also quote similar links from other studies in Nepal and West Africa. They emphasise that single-factor analyses of land-based determinants of migration are inadequate.

² See also Breman (1996), and Yadava *et al.* (1996/97), who conclude on the basis of their own and secondary data that migrant households in India are socio-economically and educationally better placed than others, and that there is a positive relationship between landholding and migration.

³ Lipton (1982, p.197) found in a review of literature that variances in rates of migration were determined by unequal landownership in Bihar, Ivory Coast and Nepal, and by unequal education in Colombia, Brazil, Liberia, Ghana, Kenya, and the Philippines.

research in Machakos suggests that differential access to non-farm income and urban remittances led to a polarisation of land holdings (quoted in McDowell and de Haan, 1997).

However, other studies indicate that such findings are context-dependent. For example, a survey in India in the 1980s showed how migration dynamics differ across states: in Bihar the landless and poor were more prone to migrate (but differences were small); in Kerala the middle peasantry migrated more; while in Uttar Pradesh all the landed groups except the largest cultivators had a relatively high propensity to migrate.⁴ Longitudinal research in Palanpur in Uttar Pradesh, India, showed that in 1983/84 higher castes were more prominently represented among migrants, while lower castes had seized the opportunities for outside jobs in earlier years (Lanjouw and Stern, 1989, p.17).⁵

Disagreements about causes and consequences of migration are linked to varying findings about levels of remittances.⁶ The Indian Village Studies showed that remittances were an insubstantial part of village income: *gross* town-to-villages remittances accounted for between 2 and 7 per cent of villages incomes (and less for poor labourers), and remittances often went into the reverse direction, to support education or job search (Lipton, 1988, p.34; out-remittances were about 1/3 of gross in-remittances). Findley (1997, p.128-31) concludes from an overview of African research that migration does not enable the families to make major improvements in their standards of living, and that bi-directional exchanges of food and money are more important than previously assumed. On the other hand, Lakshmansamy (1990, p.478) quotes a number of Indian studies showing substantial remittances.⁷ Roberts (1997, p. 275) quotes evidence about migrants from Hunan province, China, who earned 100-200 yuan per month and remitted an average of 1000 per year, and a 1993 survey according to which migrants earned an average of 3,649 yuan during 205 days worked away from home, while the rural per capita income was 922 yuan. Thus, clearly, the amounts of remittances show great variety according to specific situations in both home and destination areas.

Finally, studies have found variations in the way remittances have been used – which may be of relevance as it may affect the migration-inequality link. Many studies have indicated the ‘conspicuous consumption’ resulting from migration. Islam (1991) lists the variety of ways the remittances from migrants in the Gulf from villages in Chittagong in Bangladesh were spent, from basic needs to luxury consumption and ‘buying social status’. But migrants also

⁴ Oberai *et al.* (1989). In Bihar, 15 per cent of the out-migrants belonged to the lowest income class, while 7 per cent of the total sample population belonged to this income group. However, these figures excluded remittances. Of the migrants, 72 per cent remitted to the family, but within the lower income groups, the percentage of remitters was higher: remittances formed 93 per cent of the income of the migrant households in the lowest income group.

⁵ In Burkina Faso, Singh and Anayetei (1996/97) found that people with less land migrated more. Song (1997), using survey data from Hebei province, China, concludes that migrants came from households suffering ‘absolute disadvantage’ in farming.

⁶ Disagreements may be because: 1) net vs gross, 2) village selection, 3) selection of households, 4) changes over time, 5) inclusion or not of migrants for education

⁷ Jetley’s survey in Delhi in the mid-eighties indicates that 73 per cent of rural based families receive remittances regularly, with an average of Rs 94 per month per migrant. Jagannathan and Halder’s survey among Calcutta pavement dwellers shows an average of Rs 1088 per annum, and Whittaker’s research in Gharwal suggests that close to 70 per cent of village income is a product of migration.

bought land, leading to concentration of landownership, and a sudden increase in the price of land. Roberts (1997) notes that both Mexican international and Chinese internal migrants invested little in agriculture, and mainly in family maintenance, improving housing, weddings, and dowries. However, other research has emphasised the positive impact of remittances. For example, Adams (1991) argues that the migrants' families in rural Egypt did not 'fritter away' but invested the remittances, for example to increase agricultural productivity, and that migrant households had a higher propensity to invest than households without migrants.

Therefore, remittances can increase as well as decrease inequality. While the Indian Village Studies showed increasing inequality, Gustaffson and Makonnen's (1994) simulation analysis regarding remittances from male Lesotho migrants employed in South Africa showed that remittances decreased inequality. Oberai and Singh (1980) concluded that – where only 6 per cent of remittances flowing into the Indian Punjab was used for productive investment – remittances improved the distribution of income. Adams' analysis of the role of remittances in rural Pakistan (1996) indicated that different sources of remittances have different effects: remittances from international migration tend to increase inequality, whereas those from national migration have an equalising effect.⁸ Stark, Taylor, and Yitzhaki (1998), analysing the impact of migrants' remittances on the distribution of household income in two Mexican villages, argued that inequality depends critically on how the migration opportunities are diffused across village as well as the "returns to human capital embedded in migrants' remittances".

Thus, links between inequality and migration are complex, context-specific and causation runs in both directions. There is little doubt that migration is a very selective process: as Todaro (1980) already described, migrants typically do not represent a random sample of the overall population but tend to be young, better educated, more achievement-oriented and have better personal contacts. Migration may alleviate poverty (though often merely sustains it), but it can also increase inequality. This study will describe these links in 3 semi-arid areas in Botswana, India and South Africa. The next section introduces the characteristics of the survey areas.

2. DESCRIPTION OF AREAS OF RESEARCH

Research was carried out in areas in Botswana, India, and South Africa. Details of the areas are described in detail in country reports; in this section we briefly summarise the characteristics that are relevant for the migration analyses.

Within India, research was carried out in the dryland of the western state of Rajasthan. Three clusters of village were selected on the basis of differing agro-economic characteristics. One cluster towards the North-east of Rajasthan (district Jhunjhunu) had better agricultural and other economic conditions, rapid growth of energized irrigation during the last three decades (and depletion of its ground water). The second area was in the

⁸Rodriguez (1998) uses two methods to analyse whether international migration from the Philippines increases income inequality: both show that remittances increase in inequality, but to varying degrees.

southern part of Rajasthan (district Bhilwara) with better agro-climatic conditions but poorer agricultural conditions and lower wages, and lower size of landholdings. The third area of survey was located in the district Nagaur towards the west - with its western half as desert, on the border of the zone dominated by pastoralist movements⁹ - an area which has grown during the last two decades due to expansion of marbles quarrying.

In South Africa, research was carried out in the Northern Province (recently renamed the Limpopo Province). This is one of the poorest provinces in the country with a high concentration of African households concentrated in the former homeland areas, which are characterized by semi-arid to sub tropical conditions, a predominant small-scale farming sector and substantial poverty. The study covered 24 villages in the six sub-regions of Schoonoord, Bochum, Praktiseer, Seshego, Zebediela and Palala-Mokelong (or Western Region). Due to a small number of observations in some of the regions villages were re-clustered into three regions (Central, Southern and Western).

In Botswana the survey covered five regions, labelled Barolong Farms area, Kgatleng area, Kweneng West area, Ngamiland area, and Tswapong area. Botswana is a semi-desert country with high dependence on ground water. Of the 1.3 million people in this country, around 70 percent still live in rural areas and are dependent on agricultural activities for their livelihood. Livestock rearing constitute the largest component of the agricultural sector. Income generated from the agricultural sector contributes minimally towards the sustenance of their livelihoods (very few people reported something on the amount of income they received).

As the next sections will show, the varying rural structures are related to different patterns of migration.

3. OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION

The household questionnaire administered in the three countries identified migration in the following way. It asked the respondent, usually the head of the household, about whether anybody in the household had migrated. To facilitate comparison across the three countries, with very different household forms and norm, 'migrants' were defined in a broad sense, as persons *considered* to be members of the household but not usually resident. This implies that migration is defined not to cover activities and income by commuters (but this is registered within the overall household income). At a later stage, the researchers went back to interview the migrant when he had returned – in the Indian and South African case at least there were no significant differences in the replies obtained (except relating to impacts of remittances, as discussed later).

⁹ Kavoori (1999) provides a fascinating description of the transhumant tradition in this area, the combination of agricultural and pastoralist activities. Directions of movements have changed over time, and commercialisation has altered the tradition. Numbers of people engaged in movement change annually with agro-climatic conditions. Castes like Raika are mainly involved in pastoralism but dominant castes like Rajputs engage in it as well.

Numbers of migrants

Incidences of migration are summarised in the next Table. Clearly the incidence of migration is much higher in the southern Africa case studies of South Africa and Botswana. The large mining and industrial sector in South Africa as well as the mining sector in Botswana have been major destinations for migrants.

Table 1: Incidence of migration in India, South Africa and Botswana

Country & Location	Total sample households	No of households with at least one migrants	% of households with migrants
India	591	149	23 %
Bhilwara	212	24	11 %
Nagaur	213	68	32 %
Jhunjhunu	155	46	28 %
South Africa	585	301	51%
Bochum	92	38	41%
Praktiseer	125	56	45%
Schoonoord	102	53	52 %
Seshego	69	28	41%
Western	144	93	65 %
Zebediela	53	33	62%
<i>Combined Regions:</i>			
Central	161	66	41%
Southern	280	142	51%
Western	144	93	65%
Botswana	703		68%
Southern			84%
Ngamiland			74%
Central			60%
Kgatleng			68%
Kweneng			44%

According to our broad definition of 'migrant', in the drylands of Rajasthan, in total 149 households, i.e. about one-quarter of the sampled households, had at least one migrant.¹⁰ In 70 percent of these cases, only one of the household members was a migrant; in 15 per cent of the cases there were two migrants; in the remaining 15 per cent three or more. Half the migrants had been at school prior to leaving for work, though in many cases they would work on the field as well when at school. But incidences of migration varied. In Bhilwara in southern Rajasthan where agricultural conditions are poorer and wages lower, incidence of migration is lowest, and only 11 per cent of households has a migrant - but many people

¹⁰ 79 migrants were interviewed in the second phase. In the description below, we rely primarily on the responses of the head of the households, unless otherwise stated. In any case, the responses tended to be very consistent: for example, data on remittances appeared to be reliable and little difference can be seen between the amounts reported by the household heads and the migrants themselves.

commute for local wage opportunities. Nagaur in the west, bordering the zone where pastoralist dominates the rural economy, has more migration, with over a third (32%) of the households with at least one migrant (and in many cases - 12% - more than one, including women). In Jhunjhuna district - in the north-east of the state, where better agricultural and other economic conditions prevail - also, about one-third of sampled household (28%) had a migrant. If we take into account the commuters, however, there appeared little difference between the villages in incidences of migration. But as we will see below, in the better-off area migration may be for more rewarding activities; in Bhilwara and Nagaur push factors seem to predominate.

Compared to Rajasthan, a larger number of migrants were found in the villages in the Northern Province (Limpopo) of South Africa. Non-residents – normally living at home or supporting the household and in regular contact with it but currently living, working and studying away from home - make-up 13% (or 551) of the total population covered in the survey. A total of 295 households (51%) reported non-residents with the majority of the migrant households being from the villages in the Western and Zebediela regions. The distribution of migrants per region is indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: Number of migrants per region in South Africa

Region	% of households with migrant	# of migrants	% of sampled population
Bochum (n= 93)	40.8%	65	8.9%
Praktiseer (n = 137)	42.3%	86	20.3%
Schoonoord (n = 84)	57.1%	104	15.9%
Seshego (n = 62)	40.3%	42	3.7%
Western (n = 143)	65.0%	186	45.7%
Zebediela (n = 54)	61.1%	68	5.9%
Total	51.0%	551	13%

The analysis of migrants in Botswana shows an even higher incidence of migration with 83.7 percent of households in the Southern district reporting a non-resident member, followed by Ngamiland and Kgalagadi districts with 73.9 and 67.5 percent respectively.

Characteristics of migrants

In all areas, migrants had the usual characteristics: predominantly men,¹¹ young, moving primarily to find a job – though push factors like unproductive land were also quoted as motivation for migration, as was education. In India, for example, 70 per cent of the first migrant in the household had migrated first before they reached the age of 25, and mean age of first migration in South Africa was 23.

In Rajasthan, migrants are young adults. 16 per cent of the first migrant in the household had migrated first before they reached the age of 18, more than half (54%) when between 18 and 25 years old, and 26 per cent while in the age group 26-35. Overwhelmingly, i.e. 83

¹¹ Except for one case each in Bhilwara and Nagaur, where more than one migrating members form a migrating family unit, elsewhere in Rajasthan it is mostly male members migrating for work.

per cent of the households' first migrants left to obtain work and start a job elsewhere (for the 2nd migrant this was less important as a motive).¹² Only 7 per cent of the first migrants had left for education.¹³ 5 per cent quoted unproductive land as reason for migration. In 5 cases, all in village Haripura in Nagaur, they migrated to herd small cattle (sheep, goat) - in 4 other cases other people in the household migrated for this activity.

In South Africa, the majority of non-residents moved away from home for work with the first period of migration taking place between the ages of 15 and 30 (mean of 23).¹⁴ Other reasons for migration according to the respondents included seeking for a job opportunity; staying with a family member who has a job in the city and some times work and education were combined. Over the period 1991 to 1995, the majority of the non-residents were involved in long-term - though the percentage decreased from 80.8% in 1995 to 61.6% in 1999 (average 72.9% over the 5 years). The second most common type of migration was school attendance, the percentage of which increased over the years from 17.9% in 1995 to 34.1% in 1999. The third type of migration was the occasional activities that do not occur each year. The percentage is more or less the same over the 5-year period at 4.1%.

Migrants from rural areas in Botswana tend to come from larger households and these migrants are often in the age group 21-45 years, better educated, and engaged mainly in wage employment. Most migrants are single (77%), and children of the household head (87%). The main reason for migration tends to be economic in nature, i.e. work (42%). In addition to the economic reason, education (19%) and marriage (14%) are cited as main reasons for migration.

The migration pattern tends to be 'circular'. Most migrants maintain close links with the areas from which they migrated, intend to return, and they usually maintain their assets and rights to use assets. Three-quarters of South African migrants do not intend to settle permanently elsewhere other than home, and less than 10% of the Indian migrants indicated they wanted to settle somewhere else (the majority hoped to re-settle in the village).¹⁵ Most migration movements involved activities throughout the year, and most migrants stayed away for 10 months or more.

¹² 61 per cent of the migrants said that they themselves had taken the decision to migrate; in 32 per cent of the cases the parents had done so.

¹³ Of these migrating for work, 24 per cent are illiterates, 12 percent had schooling Up to 5 years, 21 per cent Up to 10 years and 18 per cent more than 10 years of schooling.

¹⁴ The majority (78.6%) of non-residents made the decision themselves to migrate on the first occasion, while 16.7% were influenced by their parents, husband/wife or partner or they took the decision jointly. 76.9% of 281 non-residents migrated for work while 11.7% migrated to attend school.

¹⁵ Cross et al. (1999) have cautioned against taking for granted statements made by migrants regarding returning home. The Eastern Seaboard of South Africa study exposed both permanent migration reflected by residential settlement of a migrant (and his/her family) as well as temporal migration for work. In a process termed "one way gravity flow", the debate regarding circulatory migration in South Africa has indicated that as urbanization takes place, rural people who migrate, especially to urban areas, end up settling permanently in their new homes. In a study of Xhosa migrants from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape, Bekker (1999) concluded that even tough migrants express intentions to return home, this expectation weakens over time, more so if the children initially left behind join their parents.

In almost all cases in Rajasthan (98% of the first migrant), the migrants maintain contact with the households staying behind, and most migrants said they go back to the household regularly (over half once or twice per year). Only 8 per cent of the migrants indicated they wanted to settle elsewhere. 58 per cent of the migrants hoped to resettle in the village in a number of years. In almost all cases, they maintain the right to use the households' assets. Most migration movements (75% of first migrants) were classified by the head of the households as long-term, involving activities throughout the year, and stay away for 10 - 11 months (for the 1st migrant; period of absence of 2nd migration is shorter). This pattern, according to the respondents, has not changed substantially during the last couple of years as well, indicating that long-term migration is a fairly stable pattern.

In South Africa also, the period of the most recent migration of non-residents was fairly long. The majority (47%) of non-residents were away from home for 10-11 months while 7-8 month non-residency was also common. Responses about periods of absence during the previous years were very weak since most indicated periods of 10-11 months for all migrants. However, this could be a true fact since most non-residents do stay away from home for 10 months and return only for the long summer holidays and the Easter break. The majority, 76.7% of the migrants, do not intend to settle permanently elsewhere other than home, while 38.8% would only settle back home after retirement, 32.3% after a few years and only 8.3% wanted to settle back home as soon as possible.

Botswana migrants always (92% of respondents) kept contact with the household in a very similar pattern to that of South Africa and also did not lose the right to use land and other assets of the household.

Migrants' activities

Seasonal migration, for agriculture, was not the predominant form of migration in the three Rajasthan villages (14% of the cases of the first migrants). Of the 79 migrants interviewed, over half were engaged in tertiary activities, including work in marble mines (particularly Kinsariya). A quarter of the migrants had jobs in the civil service (particularly Jhunjhunu, but probably mostly in lower ranks, though the kind of jobs are not explicit), with as one would expect significantly higher remittances (Rs 36,000 vs Rs 19,000 per year for those in tertiary activities - though period of absence of workers in civil service is only marginally longer).

The majority of migrants (40.4%) in South Africa found employment in the industrial and mining sector (where 36.6% of the migrant activities seem to take place) while a further 29% were employed in the tertiary sector (31.2% of the migrant activities). Only 3% were employed in agriculture – probably as labourers on nearby commercial farms. It is however assumed that many residents could work on nearby farms as well. The civil service absorbed a further 3% while 17% of migrants were not employed but were either seeking work or involved in education.

The majority of male Batswana used to migrate to South Africa in search of employment opportunities. Most of these migrants used to work in the mines. Migration to South Africa consisted primarily of males' aged 15 to 34 years and had low levels of education.

Table 3: Activity of migrants per district in India and South Africa

	Agric	Cattle	Industry/Mining	Tertiary	Civil s	None	Other
INDIA							
Nagaur	4.9%	0.0%	7.3%	61.0%	14.6%	12.2%	0.0%
Bhilwara	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	62.5%	18.8%	0.0%	12.5%
Jhunjhunu	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%	40.9%	50.0%	4.5%	0.0%
S. AFRICA							
Bochum	16%	-	72%	-	12%	-	-
Praktiseer	-	-	3.8%	56.4%	2.6%	37.2%	-
Schoonoord	4.1%	1.4%	21.9%	31.5%	5.5%	31.5%	4.1%
Seshego	5.5%	2.8%	55.6%	-	5.5%	27.8%	2.8%
Western	2.3%	0.6%	40.5%	40.5%	-	14.3%	1.8%
Zebediela	-	-	63.5%	-	-	36.5	-

Note: Some migrants in South Africa indicated more than one activity, thus, the total percentages indicate the proportion of activities in different sectors of the economy.

The difference between Indian and South African concentration of migrants' economic activities is glaring. Whereas more than half of the Indian migrants are engaged in tertiary activities, in South Africa the highest proportion of migrants' activities are performed within the industrial sector followed by the tertiary activities. Further more, the Indian civil service absorbs over 25 of the migrants while only less than 3% of South African migrants are employed by that sector. The latter difference could be associated with the difference in levels of education of the migrants.¹⁶

Remittances and effects of migration

Remittances are discussed in more detail below. Here we present some basic facts to complete the overview of migration.¹⁷ Very few Rajasthan migrants said they had never sent or brought money back home. On average, migrants contribute about Rs 20,000 to the households' income. Among the 2nd migrants that migrated for work, remittances were still substantial, i.e. about Rs.14,000 per year. Therefore it is not surprising that migration (of the 1st migrant) was thought to improve the situation of the household very much (79%), or a little bit (11%). There was an idea, among 43 of the respondents that the migrants used to send more. In only 14 per cent of the cases did the first migrant not or only rarely support the household, according to the main respondent. The remittances were used for general purposes (the respondents did not identify particular purposes) and in almost all cases the whole household was said to benefit. In half of the cases, the migrant also received support

¹⁶ At the same time, one has to acknowledge the rapid growth of the informal sector in South Africa (townships), which harbours many migrants in transit to towns and cities, but provides income and employment for many migrants. According to Welch, (2000), the existence of informal sector employment lowers urban unemployment rate, thus raising the probability of finding urban wage employment (thus, shortening the waiting period); but by so doing results in an increase in the migration rate to the urban areas.

¹⁷ Different respondents have different views about the actual size of the remittance contribution to the household. This was tested in for the South African case study, where it was found that in some regions the migrant overstated his/her contribution to the household while in other regions the migrant under stated his contribution as compared to the perception of the household head.

from the household when necessary. The migrants thus usually remain part of the extended household.

In South Africa, while being away from home 95% of the non-residents kept contact through visits or by sending remittances, and non-residents also did not lose (96%) their right to use of the household assets, including land. Virtually all of the cash remittances received by the household were used for food related expenditure. But it is basically used to acquire all the basic needs such as food, clothing and education - illustrated by the table below. The amount sent or brought home by the non-residents was almost the same as in previous years (49%), 25% of the respondents said it was more and 25.5% said the migrants brought less than the preceding year. It is important to note that remittances free up other household income, which can be used to buy food items. So there seems to be some fungibility issues which the survey failed to pick up.

The main beneficiaries of remittances, in most cases was indicated as the whole family, 70.6%, the head of the household, 15.9%, the head's partner, 8.0% and 15.8% indicated other beneficiaries (sister, mother, child, wife brother and wife and children). In return for the financial support to their households non-residents received support from their household members. On average 58.4% of the households with non-residents rendered support to their non-resident. The majority of households were of the opinion that migration improves the financial position of the household. Only 12.6% of households viewed migration in a negative light arguing that it made the household worse off.

Does migration affect the allocation of tasks at home? Responses by South African migrants are summarised in the following Table. In most cases in Rajasthan sufficient people were available to take over the migrants' earlier responsibilities (note that half the migrants had been at school prior to leaving, while about one-quarter had worked on the household field or other activity, and 18 per cent had worked as hired labour): 42 per cent of the respondents said sufficient labour was available all the time; but 23 per cent noted a shortage during peak seasons; and for 34 per cent of the households the migration did lead to a shortage of labour during most of the year. Tasks are taken over, in most cases of the 1st migrant, by the wife of the male head of the household, followed by a household help, and the father of the head of the household. If migration is undertaken for education, more shortage of labour seemed to be experienced (but numbers are small).

Table 4: Effect of migration on family labour in South Africa

HH having enough people to take over tasks? (n = 530)		Who took over migrant's tasks? (n = 530)	
Answer	% of non-residents	Answer	% of non-residents
Yes, all the time	47.7%	Head's wife	7.9%
Yes, usually	8.3%	Son/daughter	21.8%
Usually not	8.9%	Grand child	5.8%
Hardly ever	31.7%	Nobody	32.6%
		Head's wife and children	5.2%
		Various	8.1%

Most households (68%) in Botswana complained that migration has caused a lack of labour in the household with nobody taking over the tasks of the migrant in 30% of households. Surprisingly 60% of respondents indicated that the migrants did not support the household at all by bringing back goods or money. This finding corresponds with the fact the financial position for 44% of the households remained basically the same. Remittances are mainly (82% of cases) used to buy food – much the same as in South Africa

4. EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASSETS AND MIGRATION

The key hypothesis in our research concerned the link between asset inequality and migration. We first present information on the background of migrants: a core finding across the research sites was that migrants tend to come from all classes, though with some systematic variation in South Africa.

In Rajasthan, there are inter-class variations but migrants are distributed across all the land size classes. Table 5 shows the per cent distribution of migrants other than for education by the land size class in the three districts. In Bhilwara, almost all the migrants, belong to below 2 ha class of land holding. In the other districts over 50 per cent of the migrants are from below 2 ha category of land. Around 10 per cent of the migrants in Nagaur and Bhilwara are land-less. Thus, there seems no systematic variation across the size of land holding.

Table 5: Number of Households with Migrants

Land Size (ha.)	Bhilwara	Jhunjhunu	Nagaur	All
Landless	2(11)		8(42)	10(24)
Upto 0.5	7(8)	1(13)	5(25)	13(11)
0.5-1	8(15)	59(14)	11(32)	24(19)
1-2	6(17)	17(29)	15(28)	38(26)
2-3		10(45)	11(33)	21(34)
3-4		7(35)	5(24)	12(27)
4-6	1(6)	4(57)	6(33)	11(38)
6-8		2(25)	6(67)	8(47)
Over 8			1(17)	1(14)
All	24(11)	46(28)	68(32)	138(23)

Figures in Parentheses show percentage of households with migrants.

Source: Vidya Sagar (2002) The Effect of Inequality on Human Fertility, Migration and Agricultural Stability: The Case of West Indian Drylands -Rajasthan.
<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/PRU/demography.html>

The size of land holding and migration in the Northern Province is summarized in Table 6 below. Again no clear variation across land sizes is evident partly as a result of the fact that arable land allocated to households in the survey areas by the tribal leaders tend to be more or less equal.

Table 6: households with migrants according to land category

Land size (ha)	Regions			Total
	Central	Southern	Western	
Landless	6.1%	8.5%	5.4%	7.0%
< 0.5 ha	13.6%	2.1%	0.0%	4.0%
0.51 – 1 ha	16.7%	9.9%	10.8%	11.6%
1.1 – 2 ha	7.6%	10.6%	36.6%	17.9%
2.1 – 3 ha	10.6%	8.5%	15.1%	11.0%
3.1 – 4 ha	3.0%	9.2%	20.4%	11.3%
4.1 – 6 ha	1.5%	2.8%	3.2%	2.7%
6.1 – 8 ha	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
> 8 ha	1.5%	0.7%	0.0%	0.7%
No response	37.9%	47.9%	8.6%	33.6%
Total (# of HHs)	66	142	93	301

Also, in South Africa, the number of migrants is evenly spread between the income groups with only the 3rd income quartile showing a somewhat larger proportion of non-residents than the other 3 income groups. This effect is probably due to the aggregation of sub-regions. Another interesting fact is that 62% of all migrants in the sample originated from households with access to arable land. The region contributing most to this statistic is the villages in the Zebediela region, which is the region with the lowest arable land size per person of 0.17 ha. Puzzling, however is the high number of migrants from Schoonoord despite the fact that it is the region of villages, which recorded the highest mean land size per household and second highest land per person figure. The area is however known for its extremely risky and variable agricultural conditions contributing probably to an increased dependence on migration income.

Table 7: Number of migrants per income group, land class and region

Income group (Income per AE)	Bochum	Seshego	Schoonoord	Praktiseer	Zebediela	Western	Total
Poorest 25%	38	16	40	12	28	17	151(27.4%)
Quartile 2	15	8	20	28	20	43	134(24.3%)
Quartile 3	9	13	12	28	14	79	155(28.1%)
Wealthiest 25%	3	5	32	18	6	47	111 (20.1%)
<u>Land class</u>							
HH with arable land	30	29	87	18	19	161	344 (62.4%)
No arable land	35	13	17	68	49	25	207 (37.5%)

However the results of a correlation analysis reveal an interesting pattern in the South African case. The results show that there is a significant negative correlation between the presence of migrant and per-capita household assets and per-capita land ownership (-0.043 and -0.126 respectively). A one tailed *t* test indicated that per-capita land is significantly related to the presence of migrant within households (*p*<0.05). Thus, households with migrants

tend to have smaller landholding per capita. This then presents some evidence for one part of our hypothesis that small land holding per person tends to encourage migration.

The landholding migration link was further explored in the South African case study by considering the importance of remittances in total household income for different land classes. Several explanations could be provided for the relationship between migrant wages and landholding illustrated in Table 8 and Figure 1. Possibly, in the second leg of the inverted U relationship, migrants interpret the larger land size of the family as requiring less support and/or their wages were less. This could be a topic for further analyses.

Table 8: Distribution of land ownership and the importance of remittances in household income per land size category

Land size category (ha)	# of HH in category (frequency)	Percentage in category (%)	Cumulative percentage (%)	Average size in category (ha)	Share of remittances in HH income (%)	Share of agr. Income in HH income (%)
< 0.5	22	6.79	6.79	0.02	9.12	0.60
0.5 – 1	68	21.30	28.09	0.80	22.93	6.58
1.01 – 2	94	29.01	57.10	1.73	30.18	11.09
2.01 – 3	54	16.67	73.77	2.80	30.55	7.55
3.01 – 4	55	16.97	90.74	3.58	34.47	3.54
4.01 – 8	24	7.41	98.15	5.33	6.44	10.40
> 8	6	1.85	100	9.97	3.01	1.25
Total	323	100		2.33	25.64	4.99

Figure 1: Share of remittances as % of household income for different land classes

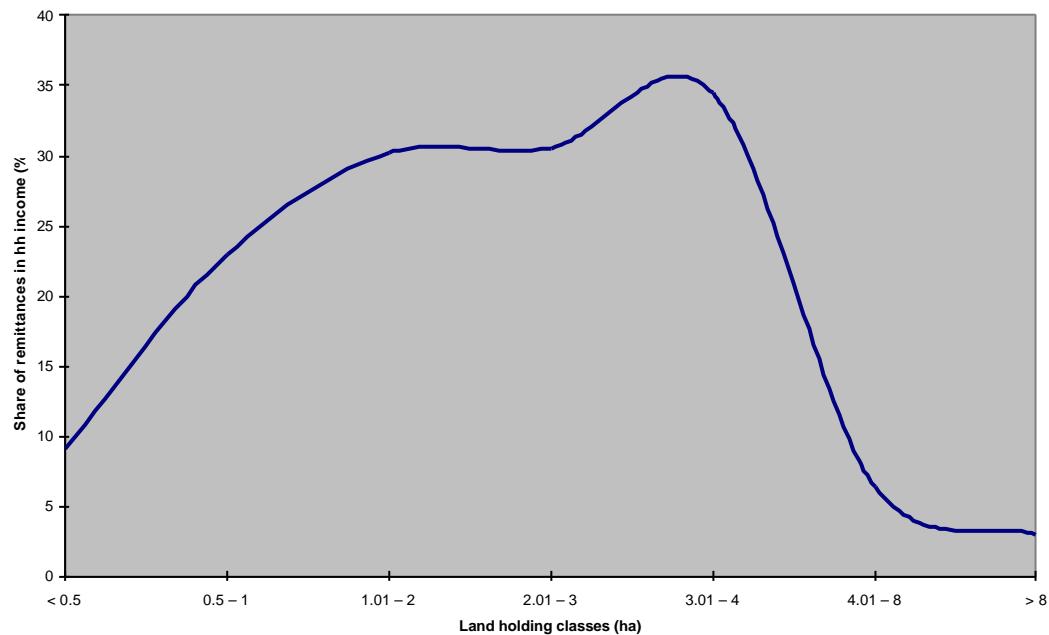


Table 9: Distribution of land ownership per resident person

Per capita land size category (ha)	No. of HH in category (frequency)	Percentage in category (%)	Cumulative percentage (%)	Average number of migrants per HH	Average number of children per HH
< 0.1	50	15.47	15.43	0.92	2.36
0.1 – 0.2	58	17.95	33.64	1.02	2.00
0.21 – 0.3	66	20.43	54.01	0.97	2.33
0.31 – 0.4	48	14.86	68.83	1.31	2.76
0.41 – 0.6	55	17.02	85.80	1.24	2.02
0.61 – 1	40	12.38	98.15	1.10	2.13
> 1	6	1.85	100.00	0.33	1.67
Total	323	100		1.07	2.24

In the case of Botswana we found no significant relationship between land holding and migration. Migration from households with larger land holding compared to those with smaller land holding is virtually the same. If we control for household size, we find that the odds ratio for land remains roughly the same. Instead, migration tends rather to increase with increasing household size: migration incidences are high among households with many members.

Table 10 : The odds ratios of land holding on migration

Characteristic	Model 1	Model 2
Quantity of land holding		
Small	1.000	1.000
Medium	1.045	0.905
Large	1.054	0.999
Household size		1.415***

***Significant at $p < 0.01$, **significant at $p < 0.05$, *significant at $p < 0.10$

Since livestock especially cattle, and not arable land, is the main form of asset accumulation in rural Botswana we tested the relationship between cattle ownership and migration. Households with cattle are better placed to engage in crop farming, to buffer food consumption in time of crop failure, and to obtain easy access to formal and informal credit markets. Tesfaye and Yisehac (1998) found that people ‘with livestock are more likely to benefit from cultivating a large area, having access to better education and wage employment, and better opportunity for obtaining credit for long term investment in productive income’. We found that households with cattle are more likely to experience out-migration (see Table 11). Controlling for household size does not change the strength of this relationship.

Table 11: The odds ratios of cattle ownership on migration

Characteristic	Model 1	Model 2
Cattle ownership		
No cattle	1.000	1.000
Has cattle	1.549***	1.581**
Household size		1.412***

***Significant at $p < 0.01$, **significant at $p < 0.05$, *significant at $p < 0.10$

"Relating migration to the size of total assets is tricky. In India average cash receipts of the households with migrants (Rs.31,012) is more than four times the total cash receipts of the households with no migrants (Rs. 7,449) with remittances (Rs.22,900) almost accounting for the difference. This holds for all the three areas. In Nagaur income of the households with migrants was 30.6 thousand as against 8.4 thousand for the households without migrants. Corresponding figures for Bhilwara are 25.5 thousand and 5.4 thousand and for Jhunjhunu 34.7 thousand and 9.7 thousand. Such contribution is even more prominent in the bottom classes of land size. The role of remittances, therefore, appears to be enhancing household wealth/assets, and migration may actually be reducing inequality in the distribution of land/farm assets. This is reflected in the negative correlation between share of remittances in income and the size of land holding in Jhunjhunu (-0.34) and Nagaur (-0.16). The pooled estimate is statistically significant at 2 per cent. This also gets reflected in the strong correlation between household assets and remittances (0.70 for Bhilwara, 0.43 in Nagaur and 0.39 for Jhunjhunu) but relatively weak correlation for the farm assets (0.24 in Nagaur, 0.27 in Jhunjhunu and 0.41 in Bhilwara). Remittances must be contributing more to household assets and consumption rather than farm assets."

Source: Vidya Sagar (2002) The Effect of Inequality on Human Fertility, Migration and Agricultural Stability: The Case of West Indian Drylands -Rajasthan.
<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/PRU/demography.html>

To test the relationship between migration and total assets or wealth in South Africa we first did some exploratory analysis by seeking for significant differences in the means of key variables by applying the one-way ANOVA procedure. Results are summarized in Table 12. Similar to India we find the migrant households to have higher household income in total and per person translating into greater total wealth. However wealth per person is found to be significantly higher in the non-migrant households. This is largely the result of bigger household size among migrant households.

Table 12: Mean differences between households with and without migrants in South Africa

Variable	Mean		Significance (p-value)
	Households with migrants	Households without migrants	
<u>Household composition:</u>			
Size of household	7.98	6.8	.000
Number of Over 65s	0.43	0.29	.021
Number of males >15	3.8	3.2	.000
Number of females >15	4.1	3.5	.000
<u>Land and asset ownership:</u>			
Per capita land ownership	0.317ha	0.411ha	.024
% of households with land	60%	51%	.039
Total wealth	R61 779	R51 077	.043
Wealth per capita	R8 820	R9 210	.707
Value of livestock	R9 007	R6 313	.236
<u>Household income:</u>			
HH Income from Salaries and wages	R478.98	R922.16	.007
Pension share in total income	0.21	0.32	.000
Agricultural income (incl subsistence)	R3 744	R2 260	.060
Sale of farm goods	R1 167	R 504	.005
Household income	R21 111	R14 281	.002
Income per person	R831.79	R154.12	.000

The results in the table above confirm a number of key trends in South Africa (the same results were found across the 3 regions West, South and Central). First, households with migrants tend to be larger with more males and females over 15, and more old people. Second, households with migrants are wealthier but have smaller pieces of land per person, but wealth *per capita* is lower in these households. Third, migrant households own more livestock – implying that livestock is a potential avenue for investing migrant wages. Fourth, migrant households tend to be more active agricultural producers with more sales and higher farm income. A possible explanation, as frequently observed in the Northern Province, is that cash remittances are used to finance the purchase of agricultural inputs in the absence of rural financial markets. Finally, migrant households are less reliant on pension income than other households and households with migrants earn as expected a much higher income (per household and per person).

The intuitive relationships that originated from the ANOVA analysis was tested through logistic regression to test for the factors, which will be associated with the presence of a migrant (dummy variable) in the household.

Table 13: Factors influencing migration (logit with migrant dummy as dependent)

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)	% change in odds (EX (B) -1)x 100
PCINCOME	.000	.000	3.963*	.047	1.000	0
VLIV	.000	.000	.283	.595	1.000	0
PCASSETS	-.001	.000	4.305*	.038	.999	-0.1
PCLAND	-.786	.571	1.891	.169	.456	-54.4
TOTASSET	.000	.000	4.636*	.031	1.000	0
PENSION	.001	.001	.661	.416	1.001	0.1
Constant	-.309	.526	.346	.557	.734	

* Significant at 5% level

The regressions show that the presence of migrant is significantly influenced by per-capita income, per-capita assets, and total assets - all significant at 95% confidence. An increase of R1 in per-capita income, value of livestock and total assets, will change the odd ratio in favour of migration by 0%, while the increase of per-capita assets by R1 will decrease the odds of migration by 0.1 percent. While an increase in pension by R1, will increase the odd of migration by 0.1 percent.

It is worth noting that one would expect the odds of migration to decrease with an increase in pension, since there would be less incentive for people to migrate when receiving a pension. Although the factors pension is not significant, it may be argued in this case that as people get more pension, they are able to send their children to school. In this study, the absence of any member of the family from home, including children, for a longer period of time is regarded as migration. Thus pension in this case favours migration.

The discussion on migration and land and asset holding above needs detailed analysis of household income - this is discussed in more detail in the next section.

5. HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND REMITTANCES

Remittances are considered to be an important source of livelihood both in South Africa and in India. Table 14 summarises the total cash receipts by households for India. This highlights the difference in household income between households with and without migrants. It also suggests that the better-off in terms of land ownership tend to have higher remittances.

Table 14: Total Cash Receipts from All Sources for India (Rs.000) (Households with and without Migrants)

Land Size (ha.)	Bhilwara			Jhunjhunu			Nagaur		
	Migrants	No Migrants	Remittances	Migrants	No Migrants	Remittances	Migrants	No Migrants	Remittances
Landless	16.0	1.7	15.0		3.2		15.7	4.0	14.1
Upto 0.5	17.0	2.6	15.6	24.6	2.5	24.0	30.6	5.3	24.0
0.5-1	23.9	5.4	19.3	35.6	4.7	32.2	32.1	4.1	28.0
1-2	34.5	4.9	26.0	27.2	8.3	23.0	23.1	6.8	14.1
2-3		48.3		35.4	9.9	27.1	44.2	6.2	24.5
3-4		5.9		39.9	16.3	27.5	14.1	12.7	56.0
4-6	62.5	9.5	60.0	51.2	14.3	34.0	34.8	15.0	29.5
6-8				47.4	34.9	31.2	52.9	50.8	28.8
Over 8					36.8		23.2	19.0	20.0
All	25.5	5.4	21.2	34.7	9.7	26.9	30.7	8.4	20.9

Source: Vidya Sagar (2002) The Effect of Inequality on Human Fertility, Migration and Agricultural Stability: The Case of West Indian Drylands -Rajasthan.
<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/PRU/demography.html>

In South Africa a total of 232 households (40%) reported remittances. Many of the migrant workers also bring home goods ranging from R200 to as much as R20 000 in value per annum. Taking the in-kind contribution into consideration total migrant remittances are on average valued to be R14 156 per annum per household - R11 475 in cash and R2 983 in goods. The contribution of remittances obviously is linked to the number of migrants per household, with lower averages in Bochum and Seshego and Zebediela, while contribution of remittances, including goods brought back by migrants, is very high in Praktiseer and Schoonoord. By region, the Southern Region receive the highest gross remittances per annum (R1 085 591) followed by the Western Region (R205 360).

Table 15: migrants' contributions to household income, South Africa

# of households with income contribution from migrants	232 (40%)
Mean contribution to household (annual)	R5 970
# of households with 2 migrant workers	60 (10%)
# of households with 3 migrant workers	23 (4%)
Value of goods brought home by migrant workers (annual)	R200 – R20 000
Mean total migrant remittances (including 'in-kind' contributions)	R14 156
Mean cash remittances (annual)	R11 475
Mean annual value of goods	R2 983
Mean per capita total remittances (annual)	R2 145
Range of mean per capita total remittances	R38 – R19 000
% of hh which receive < R2200 per resident per annum (remitt.)	70%

The importance of the remittances in the income of households is also reflected by the fact that remittances make up 41% of the total household income of the non-poor households (Table below). Thus remittances take a large group of households out of poverty.

Table 16: Percentage contribution of income categories to total household income per person

	All	Poor	Nonpoor
# of observations	513	163	350
Mean household income	R19 504	R6 272	R25 933
Income shares (%):			
Local wage earnings	39.1	29.7	40.2
Pensions	17.8	42.8	14.8
Farm income	4.3	7.6	3.9
Migrant remittances	38.8	19.9	41.1

For the *migrancy-dependent (MD) household* mean income is almost 50% above that of non-MD households (R25068 as against R16844), and per a.e. R 5547 (R 3752). MDs get a slightly (n.s.) larger share of income from farming than others (5.8 per cent as against 4.9 per cent), but the share of farm income in *non-migrancy* income is 36.5 per cent for the MD and 6.2 per cent for the non-MD. MD affects 44 per cent of households in South, but only about a quarter in the other two districts; South relies less on land assets and farm income than West but more than Central, but stands out for its much higher land inequality.

Table 17: Percentage of households with over half income from:

	Pensions	Migrancy (rems+gds)	Local factors	Other households
All	26.8	32.3	38.5	2.3
Poor	40.5	16.5	42.0	1.5
Non-poor	20.1	40.2	36.9	2.8
Central	44.1	25.2	30.6	0.0
South	24.8	33.6	39.8	1.8
West	11.7	35.6	43.0	9.7

The importance of remittances to households is also reflected by the fact that 34% of households with migrants in South Africa indicated that migration improved the household situation very much, while 21% said it only improved the household situation a little bit. For 31.9% of the household, their situation was said to be much the same. Only 12.6% of households said migration made their situation worse.

Remittances are very unevenly distributed. In South Africa the mean value of total migrant contributions per person per annum was R2145 with a range from R38 to R19000 per person per annum - 70% of households received less than R2200 per resident person. Relating remittances and the size of landholding showed some interesting finding, that higher remittances are received by the landless and households with limited landholdings (table below)..

Table 18: Total Receipts of Remittances in cash and kind per land category in South Africa (Rand)

Land size	District			Total
	Central	Southern	Western	
Landless	56 700	439 407	113 900	610 007
< 0.5 ha	19 950	3 200	0	23 150
0.51 – 1 ha	28 500	75 350	14 460	118 310
1.1 – 2 ha	2 800	224 774	22 200	246 974
2.1 – 3 ha	2 700	190 900	17 500	213 900
3.1 – 4 ha	8 850	115 160	37 300	161 310
4.1 – 6 ha	2 600	36 800	0	36 800
6.1 – 8 ha	0	0	0	0
> 8 ha	2 100	0	0	0
Tota	124 200	1 085 591	205 360	1 415 151

The hypothesis that the incidence of migration from lower land classes is small is rejected. For the three regions in South Africa where the survey was conducted, there are low or no remittances from ≥ 4.1 ha land classes while it is higher in the lower land classes. Even though not conclusive, the implication here would be that migration would reduce inequality brought about by lack of land and other resources. This is consistent with the conclusion drawn earlier on the bases of the relationship between the size of landholding and the number of migrants per household.

6. IS MIGRATION A CONSEQUENCE OF INEQUALITY?

There is literature to indicate that rural inequality may cause migration. As discussed above, research in Indian villages suggested that high migration from villages is closely associated with unequal distribution of resources, usually land and associated assets. Cain (1985) makes reference to the finding by Larson and Mundlale, that migration from farm to non-farm ventures takes place if the income differential is large enough. Similarly, Stark (1991) argues that relative deprivation plays an important role in migration decisions. These and several other authors in this area indicate that unequal access and ownership of land and other rural assets leads to movement from the countryside to townships and cities in search of other opportunities.

In order to test the relationship in South Africa we provide a table comparing the inequality indicators for income, land and wealth with the incidence of migration. Again some intuitive results emerge as reflected in Table 19. More striking is the link between poverty indicators and the absolute number of migrants.

Table 19: Link between inequality and poverty indicators and incidence of migration

Region	Gini Coefficient Total household income	Gini Coefficient (Land per AE)	% of households below \$2/day	Gini Coefficient of Wealth per AE	% of households with migrant	Migrants as % of sampled population
Bochum	0.36	0.31	57.0%	0.32	40.8%	8.9%
Praktiseer	0.39	0.37	36.6%	0.53	42.3%	20.3%
Schoonoord	0.55	0.34	48.2%	0.54	57.1%	15.9%
Seshego	0.45	0.27	52.2%	0.56	40.3%	3.7%
Western	0.47	0.29	55.5%	0.48	65.0%	45.7%
Zebediela	0.44	0.10	35.0%	0.35	61.1%	5.9%
Total sample	0.46	0.41	44.7%	0.49	51.0%	13%

"In India strong negative correlations are observed between percentage households migrating from a village and the coefficients of inequality, challenging the hypotheses of that greater inequality leads greater out migration. The correlation of percentage of households migrating from village is -0.72 with the inequality coefficient of per capita assets and -0.74 with the inequality coefficients of total assets. The correlation with the per capita farm assets is lower at -0.62.

It is possible to relate the observed behaviour to the reverse causation. That is, villages with higher proportion of migrants have lower inequality: as more people from the bottom deciles migrate, more remittances in these classes tend to reduce inequality. For this to be the case, greater migration is to take place from the bottom deciles rather than the upper deciles. There is also a hypothesis that bottom deciles of the asset structure do not invest in the quality of the child (read education) and would rather increase their number. If there is an association between education and migration or even education and remittances the above hypothesis stands challenged.

As reported earlier (Chapter X), correlation between current fertility estimates for 16-25 and 26-35 observe significant positive values at 10 per cent or better, more so with the inequality ratio of per capita farm assets. The line of argument may then follow as – higher inequality in the distribution of farm assets allows labour to get work within the village and with the landless households with small land having high fertility rates, continuing within the village the inequality fertility relationship emerges as positive. Inequality appears to have an impact on the current fertility of the most productive age groups. Or should high fertility of the bottom asset classes be considered as an explanation for the positive *asset-inequality and fertility* association as is described by Desai and Alva but argued by them the other way round."

Source: Vidya Sagar (2002) The Effect of Inequality on Human Fertility, Migration and Agricultural Stability: The Case of West Indian Drylands -Rajasthan.
<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/PRU/demography.html>

7. SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

The nature of the cross-country research has made it difficult to provide straightforward or simple tests of the main hypothesis regarding asset inequality and migration. Household structures vary significantly between countries, implying a need to modify definitions of migration (and in Botswana and South Africa we found a link between household size and migration incidences). Asset structures also varied significantly, implying that the most important (testable) correlations were different in the three countries (each with their own complications): we focused on land in India, total assets and cash income in South Africa, and cattle in Botswana.

These different forms of correlations provide us with the following picture. First, incidences of migration were high across the research sites, and migrants seem to come from all income or assets groups - though in South Africa households with migrants tend to have smaller landholding per capita, and in Botswana households with more cattle more often have migrants. This finding should not come as a surprise: a likely explanation would exist in the varied income-earning opportunities that are found in a diversified economy.

Second, and in line with much research elsewhere, amounts of remittances are extremely varied. In the three countries, the migrants maintain close links with their households, and except in Botswana contribute significantly to household income. In South Africa (where agriculture is of little importance), landless households tend to receive the highest cash income, while in India households with more land tend to have higher remittance income. Nevertheless, even if total remittances are lower for poorer households, they are very significant, and may help to decrease inequality.

Third, the research does not support the hypothesis regarding the link between higher inequality (within villages) and higher incidences of migration. Contrary to expectations, we found that greater availability of land and other assets to poorer, less asset-endowed persons or households did not slow down out-migration. In India we observed the opposite. Partly, the data does not allow full testing of this hypothesis as the number of villages included in the research is fairly small, but the available data does not suggest that more unequal villages have more migration. This does not need to surprise, in the light of the finding that people from all classes tend to migrate, and also because remittances tend to reduce inequality.

The differences in findings of the studies that showed a link between inequality and out-migration and ours needs further exploration. However, a core conclusion ought to be that as processes of migration are diverse (in particular relating to the activities that attract migrants, which was not part of our research), effects and correlations with elements of the rural structure similarly are context specific.