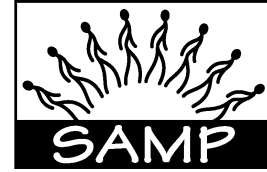


Development Policy Research Unit



University of Cape Town  
Private Bag  
Rondebosch 7701



Southern African Migration Project  
Post Net Box 321a  
Private Bag X30500  
Johannesburg 2041

## **MIGRATION INTO GAUTENG PROVINCE**

*A Report for the Office of the Premier*

*Gauteng Province*

by

**Morné Oosthuizen, Dr Haroon Bhorat and Pranushka Naidoo**  
**Development Policy Research Unit**  
**University of Cape Town**

and

**Dr Sally Peberdy, Professor Jonathan Crush and Ntombikayise Msibi**  
**Southern African Migration Project**  
**Johannesburg**

May 2004

# MIGRATION TO THE GAUTENG PROVINCE

A Report for the Office of the Premier  
Gauteng Province

---

## INTERNAL MIGRATION TO THE GAUTENG PROVINCE

Morné Oosthuizen, Haroon Bhorat and Pranushka Naidoo  
Development Policy Research Unit, University of Cape Town  
November 2017

---

## CROSS BORDER MIGRATION TO THE GAUTENG PROVINCE

Sally Peberdy, Jonathan Crush and Ntombikayise Msibi  
Southern African Migration Project, Johannesburg  
November 2017

---

### Table of Contents

<b>1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. THE DATA .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>3. SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRATION TO GAUTENG.....</b>	<b>4</b>
THE EXTENT OF INTERNAL MIGRATION TO GAUTENG .....	4
CHARACTERISTICS OF SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN GAUTENG .....	7
<i>a. Race, Age and Gender .....</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>b. Educational Attainment .....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>c. Labour Market Characteristics.....</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>d. Income.....</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>e. Disability.....</i>	<i>15</i>
ACCESS TO PUBLIC SERVICES .....	16
OTHER INDICATORS OF LIVING STANDARDS.....	19
SUMMARY.....	21
<b>4. SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRANT WORKERS.....</b>	<b>22</b>
MIGRANT LABOUR IN GAUTENG IN THE NATIONAL CONTEXT.....	22
PROFILE OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE GAUTENG PROVINCE .....	23
REMITTANCES.....	28
SUMMARY.....	30
<b>5. CROSS BORDER MIGRATION TO GAUTENG.....</b>	<b>32</b>
RIGHTS AND ENTITLEMENTS OF CITIZENS AND MIGRANTS.....	34
CHARACTERISTICS OF CROSS BORDER MIGRANTS IN GAUTENG .....	34
<i>a. Origins of Cross Border migrants .....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>b. Age, Gender and Household Size.....</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>c. Educational Attainment .....</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>d. Labour Market Characteristics.....</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>e. Income.....</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>f. Disability.....</i>	<i>47</i>
ACCESS TO PUBLIC SERVICES .....	48

OTHER INDICATORS OF LIVING STANDARDS.....	51
SUMMARY.....	53
<b>6. HEALTH ISSUES .....</b>	<b>54</b>
ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE .....	54
HIV/AIDS AND INFECTIOUS DISEASE .....	56
<b>7. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS.....</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>65</b>
COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP, SELECTED COUNTRIES, GAUTENG, 2001.....	72

## List of Figures

FIGURE 1 – PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE POPULATION OF GAUTENG, 2001 . <b>ERROR! BOOKMARK NOT DEFINED.</b>	
FIGURE 2 – PROVINCE OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF RECENT MIGRANTS IN GAUTENG, 2001.....	6
FIGURE 3 – RACIAL BREAKDOWN OF RECENT IN-MIGRANTS IN GAUTENG, BY DISTRICT COUNCIL.....	8
FIGURE 4 – AGE-GROUP AND GENDER OF GAUTENG RESIDENTS, BY MIGRATION STATUS.....	9
FIGURE 5 – HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF GAUTENG RESIDENTS, AGED 5 YEARS AND OVER..	10
FIGURE 6 – LABOUR MARKET STATUS OF GAUTENG RESIDENTS, BY PROVINCE OF BIRTH.....	11
FIGURE 7 – CUMULATIVE MONTHLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED SA-BORN GAUTENG RESIDENTS .....	15
FIGURE 8 – HOUSEHOLD USE OF ELECTRICITY FOR COOKING, BY MIGRATION STATUS.....	16
FIGURE 9 – HOUSEHOLD USE OF ELECTRICITY FOR HEATING, BY MIGRATION STATUS .....	17
FIGURE 10 – HOUSEHOLD USE OF ELECTRICITY FOR LIGHTING, BY MIGRATION STATUS .....	17
FIGURE 11 – HOUSEHOLDS’ MAIN SOURCE OF PIPED WATER, BY MIGRANT STATUS .....	18
FIGURE 12 – HOUSEHOLDS’ TELEPHONE ACCESS, BY MIGRATION STATUS .....	19
FIGURE 13 – TYPE OF DWELLING, BY MIGRATION STATUS .....	20
FIGURE 14 – HOUSEHOLD ACCESS TO SELECTED HOUSEHOLD GOODS, BY MIGRATION STATUS.....	21
FIGURE 15 – LOCATION OF SENDING HOUSEHOLDS OF MIGRANT WORKERS TO GAUTENG, 2002.....	24
FIGURE 16 – LENGTH OF TIME AS MIGRANT WORKER, BY GENDER, 2002.....	25
FIGURE 17 – MARITAL STATUS, GENDER AND TIME SPENT AS MIGRANT WORKER, 2002 .....	27
FIGURE 18 – REMITTANCES OF MONEY AND GOODS, BY MIGRANT WORKERS’ DESTINATION PROVINCE, 2002 .....	29
FIGURE 19 – REMITTANCES OF MONEY AND GOODS FROM GAUTENG TO OTHER PROVINCES, 2002.....	29
FIGURE 20 – REGION OF BIRTH AND GENDER (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	37
FIGURE 21 – GENDER RATIO OF GAUTENG RESIDENTS, BY MUNICIPALITY, 2001 .....	37
FIGURE 22 – AGE OF CROSS BORDER MIGRANTS (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	38
FIGURE 23 – HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED BY REGION OF BIRTH (%), GAUTENG MALES, 2001 .....	40
FIGURE 24 – HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED BY REGION OF BIRTH (%), GAUTENG FEMALES, 2001 .....	40
FIGURE 25 – EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY REGION OF BIRTH (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	42
FIGURE 26 – OCCUPATION BY REGION OF BIRTH (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	44
FIGURE 27 – ANNUAL INCOME BY REGION OF BIRTH (%), GAUTENG, 2001.....	47
FIGURE 28 – MAIN SOURCE OF PIPED WATER BY REGION OF BIRTH AND ALL GAUTENG (%), 2001 .....	49
FIGURE 29 – HOUSEHOLD ACCESS TO SANITATION BY REGION OF BIRTH (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	49
FIGURE 30 – ACCESS TO TELEPHONE BY REGION OF BIRTH (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	50
FIGURE 31 – HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT ACCESS TO HOUSEHOLD GOODS (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	53

## List of Tables

TABLE 1 – POPULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA BY PROVINCE, 1996 AND 2001 (THOUSANDS) .....	4
TABLE 2 – THE EXTENT OF RECENT MIGRATION IN GAUTENG, BY MUNICIPALITY .....	5
TABLE 3 – PROVINCE OF BIRTH OF SOUTH AFRICAN-BORN GAUTENG RESIDENTS, 2001 .....	6
TABLE 4 – SHARE OF GAUTENG POPULATION HAVING MIGRATED TO/WITHIN GAUTENG, 1996-2001 .....	7
TABLE 5 – AGE AND GENDER PROFILE OF SOUTH AFRICAN-BORN GAUTENG RESIDENTS .....	9
TABLE 6 – RELATIVE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, 2001 .....	12
TABLE 7 – SECTOR OF EMPLOYED GAUTENG RESIDENTS, BY GENDER AND MIGRATION STATUS.....	13
TABLE 8 – OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED GAUTENG RESIDENTS, BY GENDER AND MIGRATION STATUS .....	14
TABLE 9 – DISABILITIES OF GAUTENG RESIDENTS, BY GENDER AND MIGRATION STATUS .....	15
TABLE 10 – MIGRANT LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA, BY RECEIVING REGION, 2002 .....	22
TABLE 11 – MIGRANT WORKERS IN GAUTENG, BY RACE AND GENDER, 2002.....	23
TABLE 12 – EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN GAUTENG, BY GENDER, 2002 .....	25
TABLE 13 – MIGRANT WORKERS’ FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS, BY GENDER, 2002.....	26
TABLE 14 – REMITTANCES OF MIGRANT WORKERS TO SENDING HOUSEHOLDS .....	28
TABLE 15 – MIGRATION HISTORIES OF INTERVIEWEES IN SAMP RESEARCH, 1997-1998.....	32
TABLE 16 – THE RIGHTS AND ENTITLEMENTS OF CITIZENS AND MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA .....	35
TABLE 17 – REGION OF BIRTH OF CROSS BORDER MIGRANTS (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	36
TABLE 18 – AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CROSS BORDER MIGRANTS (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	38
TABLE 19 – AGE OF CROSS BORDER MIGRANTS (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	38
TABLE 20 – HOUSEHOLD SIZE OF CROSS BORDER MIGRANT AND ALL HOUSEHOLDS (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	39
TABLE 21 – HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED BY REGION OF BIRTH (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	41
TABLE 22 – HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF AFRICAN MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS (%), SOUTH AFRICA .....	41
TABLE 23 – EMPLOYMENT SECTOR BY REGION OF BIRTH AND ALL GAUTENG (%), 2001 .....	44
TABLE 24 – REASONS FOR VISITING SOUTH AFRICA, 1998-1999.....	46
TABLE 25 – DISABILITY BY REGION OF BIRTH AND ALL GAUTENG (%), 2001.....	47
TABLE 26 – SOURCE OF ENERGY FOR COOKING BY REGION OF BIRTH AND ALL GAUTENG (%), 2001 .....	48
TABLE 27 – DWELLING TYPE BY REGION OF BIRTH AND ALL GAUTENG (%), GAUTENG, 2001 .....	51
TABLE 28 – FEMALE DOMESTIC WORKERS USING HEALTH FACILITIES IN THE PAST YEAR, 2003.....	54
TABLE 29 – REFUSAL OF MEDICAL CARE TO REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS, 2003 .....	55
TABLE 30 – REASONS GIVEN TO REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS FOR REFUSAL OF MEDICAL CARE, 2003 .....	55
TABLE 31 – ROLE OF HIV/AIDS IN LIVES OF DOMESTIC WORKERS, 2003 .....	57
TABLE 32 – RISK OF DOMESTIC WORKERS TO HIV/AIDS INFECTION .....	57
TABLE 33 – KNOWLEDGE OF HIV/AIDS ISSUES OF DOMESTIC WORKERS IN JOHANNESBURG, 2003 .....	58

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Gauteng, as South Africa's second most populous province after KwaZulu-Natal, is the centre of South Africa's financial and services sectors, and lies on the edge of the country's gold and platinum mining areas and so, has seen a concentration of wealth and production. The province is home to South Africa's largest city Johannesburg. Tshwane is the administrative capital of the national government. Migrants and migrant workers from within South Africa and outside have played a significant role in the development of the province and its economy. However, the wealth of Gauteng masks inequalities that reflect South Africa's past history of racial exclusion and inequality.

Gauteng is a province of migrants and highly mobile people. Census 2001 shows that over 40% of the 8.8 million people living in Gauteng were born outside the province (Statistics South Africa (SSA), 2004) (Figure 1). Some, 3,153,000 people, or 35.6% of the population were born outside in one of the other eight provinces. Some 473,000 people, or 5.4% of the population, were born outside South Africa. It is probable that Census 2001 under-counted cross border migrants, particularly irregular migrants. However, it is not possible to know by how much. Nor is it possible to know from Census data, how long internal and cross border migrants have been living in Gauteng.

Gauteng experienced the highest rate of population growth of any province between 1996 and 2001, growing by 20.3%, or 3.8% per year. It also experienced the greatest increase of any province in the number of internal migrants of 5%, or 430,000 people over the five years. Cross border migration grew at a lower rate between 1996 and 2001. In 1996 some 4.6% of the population of Gauteng were born outside South Africa. By 2001, the proportion of cross border migrants had grown to 5.4%, a proportional increase of only 0.8%.

Gauteng has a highly mobile population, with people moving into and within the province. Census data provided shows the last move of a person who has moved within South Africa in the previous five years. Unfortunately, similar data is not available for those moving to the province from outside South Africa. In 2001, almost 20% of Gauteng residents, or 1.75 million people said they had moved in the previous five years. Of these people, almost 60% or just over 1 million had moved within the province. The other 740,000 had moved to Gauteng from one of the other eight provinces.

A significant proportion of South Africans from other provinces who live in Gauteng are migrant workers. Migrant workers are those who migrate without their families to seek work, and practice 'circular migration' between home areas and work. Gauteng hosts over 45% of South Africa's internal migrant workers, or 1.4 million people, of whom almost 98% are from outside the province. Data presented here also indicates that a significant proportion of cross border migrants are migrant workers, particularly those engaged in the mining sector who mainly live in the West Rand.

This high rate of mobility to and within Gauteng has its roots in the past as well as the present. Historically, internal migration to South Africa was driven by the spatial boundaries imposed on the disadvantaged populace by the apartheid authorities. In many senses, the post-apartheid period has been marked by a continuation of this trend of significant levels of internal migration. Cross border migration to Gauteng was similarly marked by boundaries imposed by the apartheid authorities as well as patterns of employment in the mining sector. Notwithstanding the racial restrictions on immigration to South Africa, white people were not the only people who entered the country. Migrants from Southern Africa came to Gauteng as contract workers to work on the mines, and as irregular migrants to work in other sectors.

The core of the report is divided into two parts. The first looks at internal and intra-provincial migration, or South Africans who have moved within Gauteng as well as those who have moved from other provinces to Gauteng in the past five years. It is supplemented with an examination of

South African migrant workers living in the province. The second part looks at cross border migrants, or those who were born outside South Africa, living in Gauteng. Both parts explore the demographics and origins of migrants. They then explore their participation in the labour market of the province, including employment status, sectors of employment, occupation and income. They then examine access to public services, electricity, water and telephones. The living standards of migrants are then investigated, including housing and access to household goods. Before concluding the report provides a brief overview of health issues including HIV/AIDS.

Gauteng is divided into three district councils – Metsweding, Sedibeng and West Rand - as well as three metropolitan municipalities – Johannesburg, Ekurheleni and Tshwane. Where relevant the report identifies differences in the experiences of migration of these districts and municipalities as well as the experiences of the migrants who live in them.

## 2. THE DATA

This study uses data from two sources, namely the national 2001 Census and the Labour Force Survey (LFS), both of which are conducted by Statistics South Africa, supplemented by research by the Southern African Migration Project and secondary sources. When looking at internal migration, two groups of migrants from the rest of South Africa to Gauteng are investigated: 'permanent' migrants and migrant workers. Data on the former group is obtained from the Census, while data on the latter comes from the LFS.

The 2001 Census dataset has yet to be released, necessitating a request to Statistics SA for specified tables of data. Although the Census does not ask specific questions that can accurately identify all migrants, it does allow for the identification of two groups of South Africans that have migrated. Firstly, the Census does ask individuals about their place of birth, which when compared with their current place of residence, allows the identification of individuals who no longer live in their province of birth. Secondly, question P-12 asks respondents "Five years ago (at the time of Census '96), was (the person) living in this place (i.e. this suburb, ward, village, farm, informal settlement)?" allowing identification of individuals who have moved in the inter-Census period. However, individuals who have moved more than once in that period are requested to detail only their *most recent* move, thereby losing valuable information about these migrants.

Statistics SA has been conducting biannual Labour Force Surveys since 2000, in February/March and September. The September 2002 LFS contains a module of questions about migrant workers, asked from the point of view of the sending households. Since the survey is nationally representative, asking sending households about migrant workers is likely to yield more accurate estimates than if the survey tried to identify migrant workers directly. However, since household members are required to provide information on individuals who they are likely to not see or even communicate with for extended periods of time, the survey is not able to ask a large number of detailed questions without compromising the reliability of the data – a typical problem when attempting to capture migration patterns in national household surveys (Posel 2003b: 363). Thus, while a great deal of information on migrant workers' sending households can be derived, information on migrant workers themselves is relatively scant.

Data on cross border migration to Gauteng draws on data supplied by Statistics South Africa from Census 2001. This report takes cross border migrants to be those born outside South Africa. Using Census 2001 birthplace data as a marker for cross border migrant status creates some problems as first, the data made available does not provide any information about how long those born outside South Africa have been living in the country or Gauteng. Second, some of those born outside South Africa hold South African citizenship, either by birth, or by acquiring it after arrival in South Africa. Third, there is likely to have been an undercount of those born outside South Africa, particularly irregular cross border migrants. It is not possible to know how great this undercount is, or even if there has been an undercount. Unfortunately the Labour Force Survey does not provide information on migrant workers from outside South Africa. Census 2001 data on cross border migration is supplemented by research undertaken by the Southern African Migration Project with migrants from Southern Africa in their home countries and with African migrants in South Africa as well as other secondary sources.

Despite migration being an important issue for study and policy, recent national household surveys have become less able to effectively identify migrants. In her review of national household survey data produced in South Africa between 1993 and 2001, Posel (2003b: 361) argues that "labour migration is all but invisible". For reasons described below, the 2001 Census can not accurately identify movement of individuals and households, while the September 2002 LFS, as mentioned, suffers from the problem of reporting errors. As a result, much of the analysis below does not rely too heavily on actual figures but rather attempts to derive patterns that will better illuminate the issue of migration in Gauteng.



### 3. SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRATION TO GAUTENG

#### The Extent of Internal Migration to Gauteng

Gauteng is the second-most populous province in South Africa after KwaZulu-Natal (Table 1). In 2001, the province was home to 8.8 million people (19.7% of the country's total population), compared to 9.4 million people in KZN (21.0% of the total population). In contrast, the province occupies a mere 1.4% of the country's land area. Population density in the province, at 520 people per square kilometre, is consequently fourteen times the national average of 38 people per square kilometre. Population growth in Gauteng between 1996 and 2001 has been rapid, with the province's population increasing by 20.3% over the period, equivalent to an annualised rate of 3.8%, and accounts for around 35% of the total increase in the national population. In both absolute and relative terms, Gauteng has had the fastest growing population, followed by KZN and the Western Cape which experienced the second largest absolute and relative population increases respectively.

An individual's migration status can be derived, although not totally accurately, via two routes using the Census 2001. Firstly, it is possible to identify those individuals who no longer live in their place of birth. Secondly, the Census explicitly asks individuals whether at the time of the previous Census they were living in the same place (being the same suburb, ward, village, farm, informal settlement etc). If they were not, they are asked to indicate from where they moved and in cases where individuals moved more than once, information pertaining to the last move only is required. Both of these methods have problems, resulting in inaccurate attribution of migrant status in certain cases. At the same time, individuals identified as having migrated in the past five years may not be classified as having migrated according to the place of birth method mentioned. However, we assume these problems will be fairly small relative to the overall population.

**Table 1 – Population in South Africa by Province, 1996 and 2001 (thousands)**

	<i>EC</i>	<i>FS</i>	<i>GT</i>	<i>KZ</i>	<i>MP</i>	<i>NC</i>	<i>NP</i>	<i>NW</i>	<i>WC</i>	<i>SA</i>
1996	6303	2634	7348	8417	2801	840	4929	3355	3957	40584
2001	6437	2707	8837	9426	3123	823	5274	3669	4524	44820
<i>Change</i>										
Number	134	73	1489	1009	322	-18	344	315	567	4236
%	2.1	2.8	20.3	12.0	11.5	-2.1	7.0	9.4	14.3	10.4
% p.a	0.4	0.6	3.8	2.3	2.2	-0.4	1.4	1.8	2.7	2.0

**Source:** Census 1996, 2001 (Statistics SA).

Arguably, from a policymaking perspective, recent migrants (those who have moved in the last five years) may be of greater interest than the group of individuals who merely no longer live where they were born. The latter group conceivably encapsulates up to a century of migration, while the former is much more tightly defined in terms of time. The first step in the analysis of migration into Gauteng is to quantify the phenomenon.

The province of Gauteng is divided into three metropolitan municipalities – Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg and Tshwane - and three district councils, Metsweding, Sedibeng and West Rand. The metropolitan municipalities account for 7.2 million (or almost 82%) of the provincial population. Table 2 provides a view of migration in Gauteng relative to the provincial population<sup>1</sup>. In 2001, 1.75 million Gauteng residents indicated that they had moved during the preceding five years, equivalent to nearly one-fifth of the population. Across the sub-regions, this figure ranges between 17.7% in Sedibeng and 26.5% in Metsweding, with only Ekurhuleni of the three metropolitan municipalities that has a below average proportion of migrants. Overall, the

<sup>1</sup> It is important to note in this section that we are speaking of intra-SA migration in Gauteng. In other words, where applicable, individuals whose (most recent) move within the past five years was from outside of South Africa or individuals not born in South Africa are not included here.

metropolitan municipalities account for close to 84% of all migrants, a proportion not substantially greater than their share of the total provincial population.

**Table 2 – The Extent of Recent Migration in Gauteng, by Municipality**

		<i>Metsweding</i>	<i>West Rand</i>	<i>Johannesburg</i>	<i>Sedibeng</i>	<i>Ekurhuleni</i>	<i>Tshwane</i>	<i>Total for Gauteng</i>	<i>Metro Total</i>
Total Population	(000's)	126.4	683.0	3225.8	794.6	2480.3	1527.0	8837.1	7233.1
	% of Total	1.4	7.7	36.5	9.0	28.1	17.3	100.0	81.8
All Migrants	(000's)	33.5	110.9	638.8	140.4	442.2	388.0	1753.8	1469.0
	% of Pop.	26.5	16.2	19.8	17.7	17.8	25.4	19.8	20.3
	% of Total	1.9	6.3	36.4	8.0	25.2	22.1	100.0	83.8
Intra-Gauteng Migrants	(000's)	14.0	55.2	400.2	100.5	256.2	187.1	1013.3	843.5
	% of Pop.	11.1	8.1	12.4	12.7	10.3	12.3	11.5	11.7
	% of Total	1.4	5.4	39.5	9.9	25.3	18.5	100.0	83.2
Non-Gauteng Migrants	(000's)	19.5	55.7	238.6	39.9	186.0	200.8	740.5	625.4
	% of Pop.	15.4	8.2	7.4	5.0	7.5	13.2	8.4	8.6
	% of Total	2.6	7.5	32.2	5.4	25.1	27.1	100.0	84.5

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

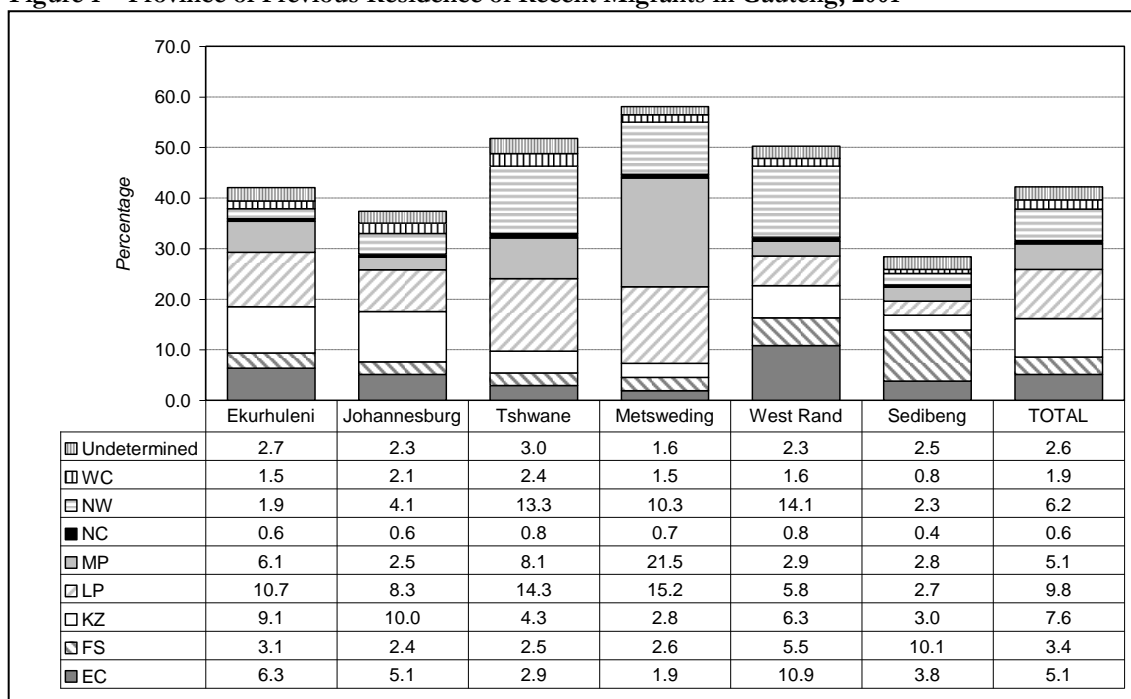
**Notes:** 'Metro Total' provides statistics for the Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane metropolitan municipalities combined.

Interestingly, of all recent migrants living in Gauteng, nearly three-fifths (1.013 million) have moved from somewhere in Gauteng itself. These 'intra-Gauteng migrants' are concentrated in the metropolitan regions (83.2%), while the remaining 740 500 recent migrants have come to the province from the other eight provinces and are also concentrated within the metropolitan regions. There is a clear difference between the metropolitan regions in terms of migration. Johannesburg, the metropolitan municipality with the greatest population (36.5% of the total), receives a relatively large proportion of intra-Gauteng migrants (39.5%). Tshwane, on the other hand, receives a relatively large proportion of non-Gauteng migrants (27.1%) compared to its share of the total provincial population (17.3%). Ekurhuleni, in contrast, accounts for similar proportions of total intra- and total non-Gauteng migrants (around 25%). The difference between Johannesburg and Tshwane possibly reflects a perception amongst Gauteng residents of greater work opportunities in Johannesburg as well as the movement of civil servants to Pretoria from outside of the province.

As indicated earlier, the majority of migrants in Gauteng are intra-Gauteng migrants, the remaining 42% having migrated from one of the eight other provinces. The extent of intra-Gauteng migration also varies between the various regions within the province, accounting for more than 70% of migrants in Sedibeng and only 42% in Metsweding. Tshwane and the West Rand also have above average levels of in-migration from other provinces. Overall, the largest number of in-migrants comes from Limpopo, accounting for 9.8% of all migrants in the province (Figure 1), followed by KwaZulu-Natal (7.6%) and the North-West (6.2%). Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape each account for 5.1% of all migrants.

Migrants from different provinces do tend to be over-represented in specific regions within Gauteng, especially when they have migrated from neighbouring provinces. Individuals from Mpumalanga represent 21.5% of all migrants in Metsweding and 8.1% in Tshwane, although more than 90% of in-migrants from Mpumalanga are located in the metropolitan areas with slightly more in Tshwane and slightly fewer in Ekurhuleni. Over-representation in Metsweding and Tshwane is probably related to geographical proximity to Mpumalanga. Similarly, in-migrants from the North West are over-represented in the neighbouring West Rand (14.1%) and Tshwane (13.3%) regions. Almost half of all in-migrants from the North West reside in Tshwane, with a quarter in Johannesburg and 15% in West Rand. Limpopo in-migrants are over-represented in Metsweding (15.2% of all migrants), Tshwane (14.3%) and Ekurhuleni (10.7%). KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape in-migrants though are more often attracted to the metropolitan areas of Ekurhuleni and Johannesburg, as well as the West Rand.

**Figure 1 – Province of Previous Residence of Recent Migrants in Gauteng, 2001**



**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Notes:** Intra-Gauteng migration is omitted from the figure due to space constraints. However, intra-Gauteng migration can still be gauged from the figure as it constitutes the remaining proportion out of the 100% (i.e the proportion not explicitly accounted for in the figure).

While it may be easy to conclude that the provincial population has grown by less than three-quarters of a million people due to in-migration from other provinces, this would not be true due to the problems mentioned above where individuals may move multiple times in the past five years but only the final move is reflected in the Census. Investigation of individuals' province of birth reveals that, of the 8.4 million Gauteng residents who were born in South Africa, 5.2 million were born in Gauteng (see Table 3). This means that around one-third of SA-born Gauteng residents were born in the other provinces, most of these having been born in Limpopo (10.1% of all SA-born residents), KZN (6.5%) and the Eastern Cape (5.4%). A relatively large proportion of individuals born in other provinces are recent migrants. For example, the 740 500 recent non-Gauteng migrants represent almost one-quarter of all Gauteng residents born in the eight other provinces. However, these figures do not provide much information on the actual number of relatively recent in-migrants in Gauteng province (due to problems of return migration and situations where individuals migrate to Gauteng from the other provinces, but move at least once within Gauteng), or the net gain experienced by the province due to migration.

**Table 3 – Province of Birth of South African-Born Gauteng Residents, 2001**

	Eastern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	North West	Western Cape	Gauteng	TOTAL
Number ('000s)	452.5	335.3	543.1	847.7	354.3	69.7	342.1	208.4	5211.0	8364.1
Share (%)	5.4	4.0	6.5	10.1	4.2	0.8	4.1	2.5	62.3	100.0

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

The Census data does not make quantifying the rate of in-migration to Gauteng easy. Approximately 20% of the province's population has moved at least once during the inter-Census

period<sup>2</sup> (Table 4). At first glance, it may appear that the rate of migration has picked up: only 0.7% of the provincial population moved during 1996 compared to 5.5% in 2001. However, this is unlikely to be the case since the Census question referred to an individual's *most recent* move and, as time passes, a rising proportion of individuals who migrated in 1996 will have migrated in ensuing years. This is perhaps confirmed by the similar proportions of regional populations who last moved in 1996, compared to the relatively large differences for later years. Data on migrant workers presented in section 0 also indicates relative stability in terms of the province's migrant worker population, with a substantial proportion of this group having been migrant workers for longer periods of time.

As mentioned, across regions in Gauteng, relatively similar proportions of the population (0.7% on average) indicated they had last moved in 1996. This is particularly true of the metropolitan areas, which account for a very large share of the population. For all regions, save Sedibeng, the proportion of the population reporting the year of their last move rises the more recent the year in question. Thus, 2.7% of the provincial population last moved in 1997, 3.3% in 1998, 4.0% in 1999, 4.5% in 2000, and 5.5% in 2001. In contrast, in Sedibeng, the proportion is highest in 1998 and 1999 at 3.8% and 3.7% respectively, but falls to 3.1% in 2000 before rising again to 3.6% in 2001.

**Table 4 – Share of Gauteng Population Having Migrated to/within Gauteng, 1996-2001**

	<b>Pre-1996</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>
Metsweding	72.6	1.2	3.1	4.7	5.4	6.0	7.1
West Rand	82.5	0.7	2.2	2.8	3.0	3.5	5.4
Sedibeng	82.1	0.5	3.3	3.8	3.7	3.1	3.6
Ekurhuleni	81.6	0.7	2.6	2.9	3.4	4.1	4.8
Johannesburg	79.0	0.7	2.5	3.2	4.2	4.8	5.7
Tshwane	73.9	0.7	3.5	4.1	4.9	5.8	7.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>79.3</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>4.5</b>	<b>5.5</b>

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Notes:** Individuals classified in the 'Pre-1996' category are those that have not moved during the inter-Census period.

The Census data unfortunately does not provide a complete and fully-accurate picture of migration to Gauteng, making reliance on specific numbers of individuals moving into and within Gauteng risky. Further, the structure of the Census questionnaire prevents the quantification of the rate of in-migration from other provinces and any variation in that rate over the 1996-2001 period. It is also not possible to quantify the degree to which the numbers derived from the Census are inaccurate. Despite this, the following sections will demonstrate that there are real differences between Gauteng residents who have migrated to Gauteng from the other provinces, those who have migrated within the province and those who have not migrated at all.

## **Characteristics of South African Migrants in Gauteng**

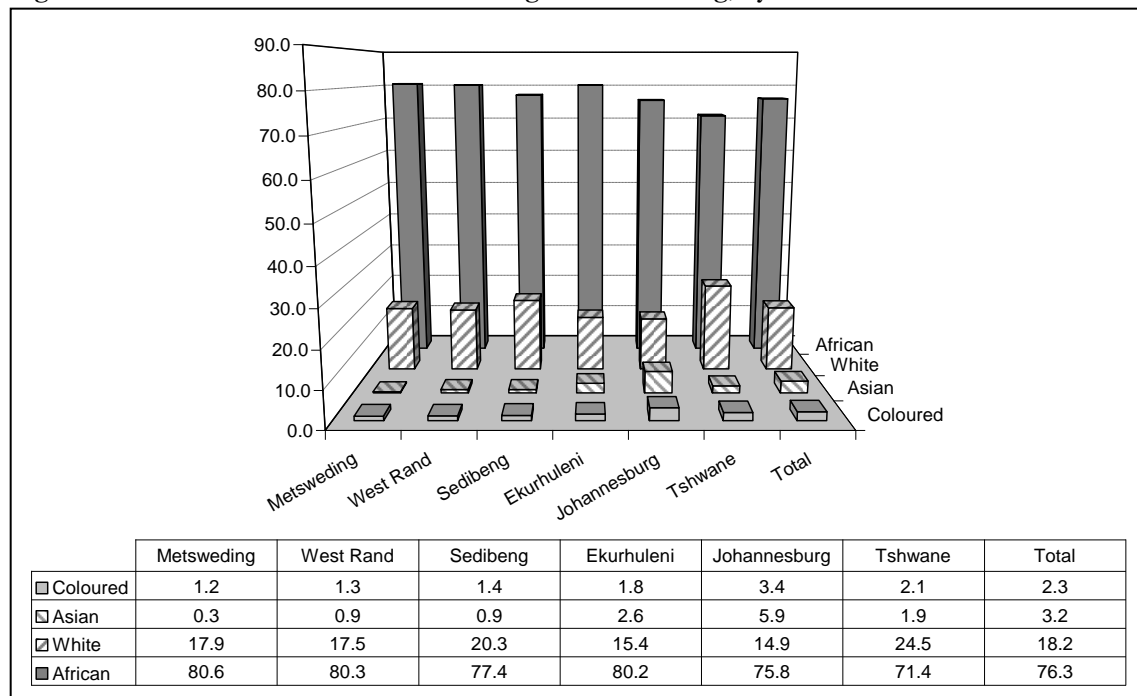
### ***a. RACE, AGE AND GENDER***

Three-quarters of in-migrants to Gauteng are African, with just under one-fifth being White. Coloureds and Asians account for the remaining 5.5% of Gauteng's in-migrant population. Within the province, though, the racial composition of migrants varies. Specifically, Metsweding and the West Rand are virtually identical with the ratio of African to White to other races being about 80:18:2. Nearly half of all Coloured in-migrants live in Johannesburg, resulting in that group's high share of all in-migrants there. Johannesburg is also home to 60% of Asian in-migrants. White in-migrants are least likely to live in Johannesburg (15% of all in-migrants compared to its provincial share of 18.2%), instead living in Tshwane (24.5% of all in-migrants) and Sedibeng (20.3%). In general, Johannesburg lures the largest proportion of African, Asian and Coloured migrants.

<sup>2</sup> Note that figures presented in Table 4 refer to the entire Gauteng population. No distinction between South African and foreign migrants could be made, hence the differing proportion of migrants in the total population found here and in Table 2.

There are marked differences in the age and gender composition of South African-born Gauteng residents, depending on whether they were born in Gauteng or not. That Gauteng attracts work-seekers from all around the country, and indeed from around the continent, is not unknown and the age structure of Gauteng residents born in the other eight provinces provides clear evidence of this. While 65.5% of those born in Gauteng are between the ages of 15 and 64 years, the proportion of working age people amongst those born outside Gauteng is 81.8%. Zero to fourteen year olds outnumber those over the age of 65 years by more than nine to one amongst Gauteng-born individuals as opposed to three to one amongst those residents born in other provinces. National data reveals the proportions of individuals in these three age groups to be 32.1% to 63.0% to 4.9% (Census 2001 Website). Therefore, the age profile of Gauteng residents born in the other provinces is not typical of the general population, indicating a clear attraction to the region for working age people. It would also appear that these individuals are less likely to bring their children to Gauteng with them<sup>3</sup>. Perhaps it is more accurate to conclude that working age in-migrants are more often single, or more career-oriented than family-oriented relative to their peers in other provinces (although the Western Cape has a similar, but slightly less skewed profile).

**Figure 2 – Racial Breakdown of Recent In-Migrants in Gauteng, by District Council**



**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

The second important difference is the ratio of males to females within these two groups of Gauteng residents. The male-female ratio amongst those born in Gauteng is approximately 94:100, as opposed to slightly under 107:100 amongst those born in the other provinces. The overall provincial ratio (including foreign-born residents) of 101:100 makes Gauteng the only province in which males outnumber females. Amongst in-migrants between the ages of 15 and 64 years, males outnumber females by 111 to 100. This once again reflects the attractive force that the Gauteng job market exerts on working age people from around the country. This preponderance of males points to the historical and continued demand for labour in heavy industry and mining in Gauteng.

<sup>3</sup> Here, it is difficult to be absolutely certain of numbers since it is plausible that at least some proportion of working age Gauteng residents who were born outside of the province are likely to have children who were born in Gauteng. Since most 0-14 year olds who were born outside of Gauteng would have come to the province with their parents or guardians, it seems that there are two probable reasons for the differing proportions: either working age in-migrants bring relatively few children with them and have relatively few children in the province, or Gauteng-born adults have relatively few children themselves. It would seem that the former explanation is the more credible.

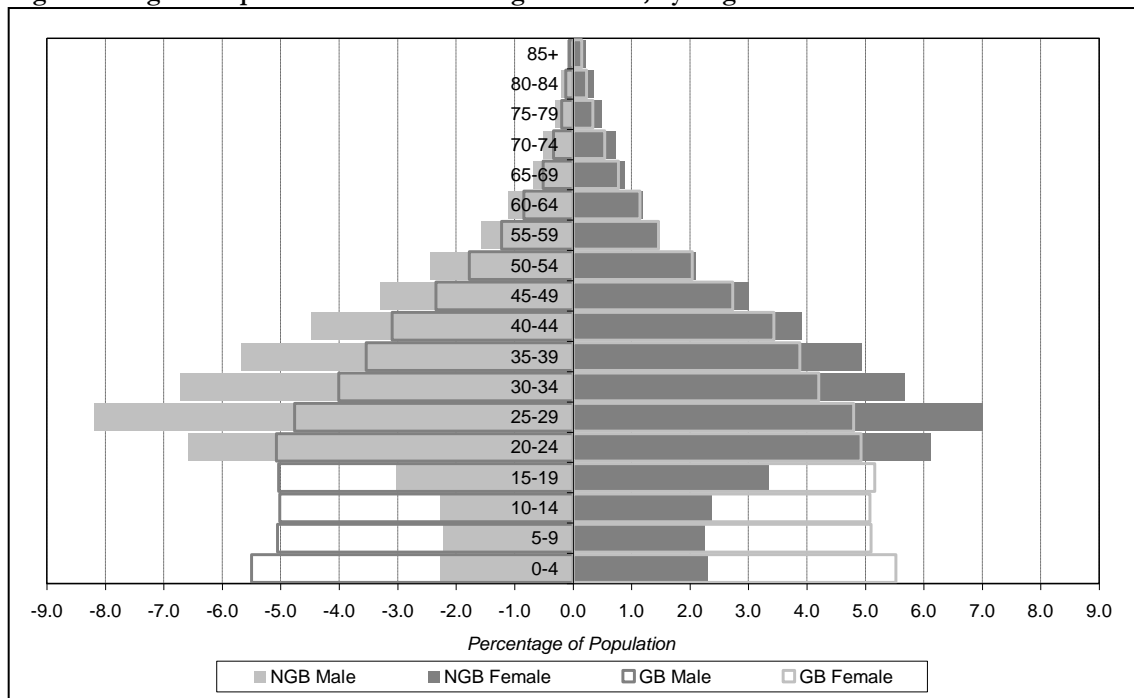
**Table 5 – Age and Gender Profile of South African-Born Gauteng Residents**

	<b>Gauteng Residents Born in Gauteng</b>					
	Thousands			Proportion		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-14 years	810.9	818.2	1629.1	15.6	15.7	31.3
15-64 years	1651.0	1760.7	3411.7	31.7	33.8	65.5
65+ years	63.8	106.4	170.2	1.2	2.0	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>2525.6</b>	<b>2685.3</b>	<b>5211.0</b>	<b>48.5</b>	<b>51.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Gauteng Residents Born Outside Gauteng</b>					
	Thousands			Proportion		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-14 years	213.3	218.5	431.8	6.8	6.9	13.7
15-64 years	1358.1	1222.6	2580.7	43.1	38.8	81.8
65+ years	56.4	84.3	140.7	1.8	2.7	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1627.8</b>	<b>1525.4</b>	<b>3153.1</b>	<b>51.6</b>	<b>48.4</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>All SA-Born Gauteng Residents</b>					
	Thousands			Proportion		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-14 years	1024.2	1036.7	2060.9	12.2	12.4	24.6
15-64 years	3009.1	2983.3	5992.4	36.0	35.7	71.6
65+ years	120.1	190.7	310.8	1.4	2.3	3.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>4153.4</b>	<b>4210.7</b>	<b>8364.1</b>	<b>49.7</b>	<b>50.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Figure 3 presents the age and gender composition of Gauteng residents in greater detail by means of age pyramids. The difference between Gauteng-born residents (GB residents) and non-Gauteng born (NGB) residents is quite stark. Each five year age-group from 0-4 years to 20-24 years of males and females accounts for around 5% of the total number of the province’s Gauteng-born residents. The proportions decline as age increases, falling particularly quickly amongst males. The pyramid for Gauteng-born individuals is similar to that of the country as a whole, its bottom-heavy shape showing the demographic transition from developing to more developed economy.

**Figure 3 – Age-Group and Gender of Gauteng Residents, by Migration Status**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

In contrast, the ‘pyramid’ for Gauteng residents born in the other provinces is not a pyramid at all, being very narrow at the youngest age-groups and displaying a bulge between 20-24 years and 55-59

years. It is also slightly lopsided in that it moves further out to the left than to the right, indicating a larger proportion of males than females in those groups in particular.

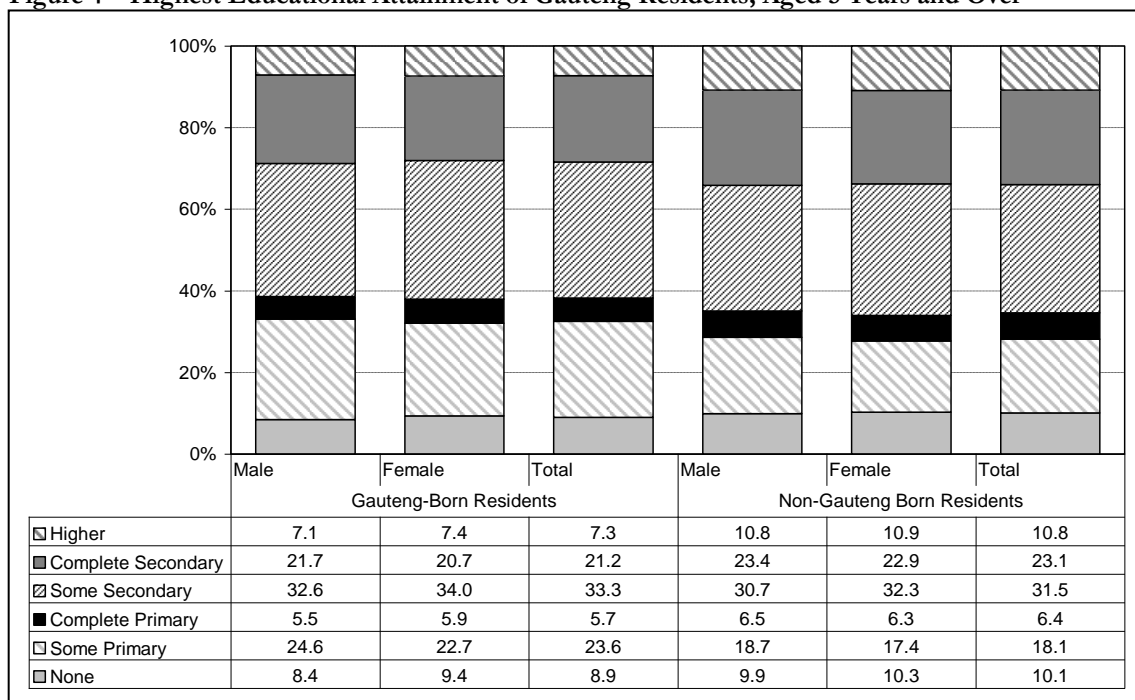
**b. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT**

Educational attainment of individuals provides a useful clue as to their probable socio-economic status. In terms of in-migrants to Gauteng, government’s position is likely to be made easier (or at least not more difficult) if in-migrants are better educated than the average resident. Figure 4 presents a breakdown of educational attainment of Gauteng residents according to gender and migration status. Unfortunately, the Census data at our disposal does not distinguish between adults and school-aged children, although it does exclude children under the age of five years.

The first thing that can be seen in the figure is the highly similar pattern of educational attainment of males and females, given their migration status. Amongst both groups though, females are slightly more likely than males to have no education, some secondary education or higher education. At first glance, NGB Gauteng residents seem in general to be slightly better educated than their GB counterparts. Nearly 11% of the former have attained a higher education qualification as opposed to just over 7% amongst the latter. While a similar proportion of both groups have some or completed secondary education (around 54.5%), a smaller proportion of NGB than GB residents have only completed primary education or less (34.6% *vs.* 38.2% respectively).

However, it is important to highlight an important caveat here. As mentioned previously, the age pyramids for these two groups differ markedly, with significantly more children as a proportion of the total population amongst GB residents than NGB residents. The implication is that the different age structures are going to distort the real profile of educational attainment, biasing them downwards, and this will be more pronounced for GB residents. This is likely to result in a reversal of the pattern observed above since 5-19 year olds account for a mere 14.5% of the NGB resident population and 30.4% of the GB resident population.

**Figure 4 – Highest Educational Attainment of Gauteng Residents, Aged 5 Years and Over**



**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Therefore, although the exact figures are uncertain, it is highly probable that the influx of in-migrants is not raising the overall educational profile of the Gauteng province. In fact, evidence of this can be seen in the proportion of individuals with no education since this category is relatively

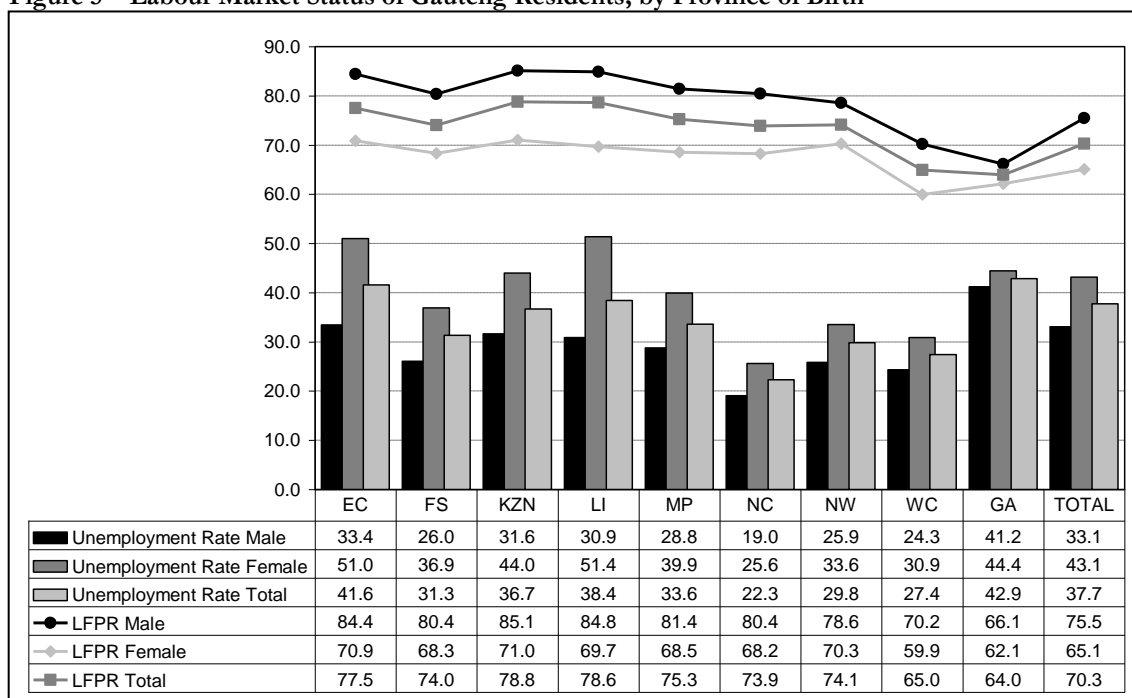
free of the bias induced by the difference in age structure. One can safely assume that a large proportion of those individuals with no education are in fact aged 5, 6, and even 7 years and have not yet started Grade 1. Even with the greater proportion of children amongst GB residents, relatively more NGB residents have no education at all.

*c. LABOUR MARKET CHARACTERISTICS*

The Census has, in the past, proven itself to be a relatively blunt tool as far as measuring labour market status is concerned. Dedicated labour market surveys, such as the Labour Force Surveys, ask numerous detailed questions aimed at capturing all forms of employment. The reason for this is that interviewees sometimes do not consider their activities to be employment and questionnaires with less in depth questions, such as the Census, are likely to not capture these individuals as being employed. The problem can be clearly seen when comparing Census employment numbers with those derived from household surveys such as the October Household Surveys and Labour Force Surveys. These comparisons show substantial dips in employment and spikes in unemployment relative to the trend from the household surveys. Consequently, unemployment levels and labour force participation rates (LFPRs) reported in this section are strictly not comparable with data from other surveys, serving instead as a means of comparison between different groups analysed below.

According to the Census 2001, unemployment stood at 37.7% for Gauteng residents born in South Africa (Figure 5), with a relatively large difference in unemployment between males and females (the female unemployment rate is nearly one-third higher than that of males). The pattern of higher unemployment rates for females is observed irrespective of the province of birth, with only the size of the difference that varied. The largest differences between male and female unemployment rates are for individuals born in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape, while for those born in Gauteng there is a relatively small difference. Labour force participation is relatively high overall at just over 70% and, for all provinces, is higher amongst males than females.

**Figure 5 – Labour Market Status of Gauteng Residents, by Province of Birth**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Interestingly, those Gauteng residents who were born in the province have the highest unemployment rates at 42.9%, with very little difference between males and females. Individuals born in the Northern Cape, Western Cape, North-West and Free State have the lowest unemployment rates, 22.3%, 27.4%, 29.8% and 31.3% respectively. Apart from Gauteng-born individuals, the highest unemployment rates are to be found amongst those born in the Eastern



Cape (41.6%) and Limpopo (38.4%). This pattern is perhaps unexpected particularly given that those born in Gauteng could be assumed to hold an advantage in terms of social networks and, consequently, a greater likelihood of finding employment. Individuals born in the Northern Cape, Western Cape, North-West and Free State, though, constitute a relatively small proportion of the total labour force (28.3%), which may mean that individuals from those provinces may differ markedly from the average in-migrant from other provinces. Unfortunately, without more detailed data, it is not possible to provide grounded reasons for this phenomenon. Gauteng-born individuals may have higher unemployment rates as higher living costs in Gauteng compared to other provinces makes it possible for NGB individuals to undercut them (lower remittances in absolute terms from NGB individuals to their families in their home provinces could still be higher in real terms than remittances to Gauteng-based families). Possibly, in-migrants from these four provinces have a better educational profile than average, placing them in skill categories that are in greater demand. This might probably be the case for individuals born in the Western Cape, a province which, according to preliminary investigation of Statistics SA's Census 2001 online database, does have relatively more educated residents. Western Cape-born Gauteng residents also have lower labour force participation rates, which may point to relatively more individuals being able to withdraw from the labour force due to spouses, partners or relatives earning relatively better salaries.

Superior employment prospects in a given region are sure to constitute a strong 'pull' factor to individuals outside the region, encouraging them to migrate. For example, recent evidence from the Western Cape shows that "better economic circumstances" in that province were the most often cited reason for in-migration during two periods between 1995 and 2001 (Bekker 2002: 29). Indeed, analysis of provincial unemployment rates as per the Census 2001 indicates that for seven of the nine provinces, unemployment rates were higher than the unemployment rates of Gauteng residents who were born in those provinces (Table 6). In other words, the unemployment rate of, say, Limpopo-born residents of Gauteng, at 36.7%, is more than ten percentage points lower than the unemployment rate in Limpopo. The only two provinces for which this is not the case are the Western Cape and Gauteng itself, although the difference is small for the former.

**Table 6 – Relative Unemployment Rates, 2001**

	<b>Eastern Cape</b>	<b>Free State</b>	<b>KwaZulu-Natal</b>	<b>Limpopo</b>	<b>Mpumalanga</b>	<b>Northern Cape</b>	<b>North West</b>	<b>Western Cape</b>	<b>Gauteng</b>
By province	54.6	43.0	48.7	48.8	41.1	33.4	43.8	26.1	36.4
For SA-born Gauteng residents' by province of birth	41.6	31.3	36.7	38.4	33.6	22.3	29.8	27.4	42.9
<i>Difference</i>	13.0	11.7	12.0	10.4	7.5	11.1	14.0	-1.3	-6.5

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

From these unemployment rate differentials, it appears that on average in-migrants to Gauteng are responding to a considerable economic incentive to move from their home provinces, particularly where the differential is large as is the case for the North West (14.0%), the Eastern Cape (13.0%) and KwaZulu-Natal (12.0%).

Employment in Gauteng is concentrated in five major sectors, namely CSP Services (18.5%), Internal Trade (16.6%), Finance (14.4%), Mining (13.9%) and Private Households (10.0%), accounting in total for almost three-quarters of employment of SA-born Gauteng residents (see Table 7). However, the distribution differs for those individuals born in the other provinces relative to Gauteng-born workers, with employment of NGB residents being slightly less concentrated in the five main sectors identified.

The general pattern of sectoral distribution of employment is that NGB individuals tend to be more concentrated in the less skills-intensive, secondary sectors, as well as in Agriculture and domestic work, than their Gauteng-born counterparts. NGB individuals are more likely than GB individuals to be employed in Agriculture (2.8% *vs.* 1.8% respectively), Manufacturing (3.5% *vs.*

1.4%), Construction (6.6% *vs.* 4.1%) and Private Households (14.2% *vs.* 6.2%), while for Utilities the proportions differ only slightly. Most of the differences between GB and NGB individuals can be explained by significant differences within a certain gender group. Approximately 10% of SA-born residents of Gauteng are engaged in domestic work (the Private Households sector). The proportion of employed NGB individuals engaged in this sector is 14.2%, more than twice that of employed GB individuals at 6.2%. The data suggests that this difference is due to a large in-migration of women from outside the province who have found domestic work employment, with 31.5% of employed female NGB individuals active in this sector. Employed NGB males are considerably more likely than their GB counterparts to be engaged in Manufacturing and Construction, resulting in the higher proportions of employed NGB individuals in those two sectors. A greater proportion of employed GB individuals than NGB individuals is engaged in the Internal Trade, Finance and CSP Services sectors. In the case of the latter two sectors, this is due to greater engagement amongst employed GB females, while for the former, engagement is higher irrespective of gender.

**Table 7 – Sector of Employed Gauteng Residents, by Gender and Migration Status**

	<b>NGB Male</b>	<b>GB Male</b>	<b>NGB Female</b>	<b>GB Female</b>	<b>NGB Total</b>	<b>GB Total</b>	<b>Gauteng Total</b>
Agriculture	3.3	2.4	2.1	1.1	2.8	1.8	2.3
Mining	16.8	18.7	6.9	10.1	13.0	14.8	13.9
Manufacturing	5.4	2.2	0.4	0.5	3.5	1.4	2.4
Utilities	1.1	1.0	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.7	0.8
Construction	10.0	6.5	1.1	1.3	6.6	4.1	5.3
Internal Trade	15.7	18.8	13.7	17.3	14.9	18.1	16.6
Trans & Comm	8.0	8.0	2.7	3.7	6.0	6.0	6.0
Finance	14.0	14.7	11.6	16.5	13.1	15.5	14.4
CSP Services	13.3	15.0	20.8	27.6	16.1	20.8	18.5
Private Households	3.6	1.9	31.5	11.2	14.2	6.2	10.0
Other	8.8	10.9	9.1	10.3	8.9	10.6	9.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Notes:** GB = Gauteng-born; NGB = Non-Gauteng born (i.e. born in one of the other provinces).

The picture emerging – that in-migrants are more often employed in less skills-intensive sectors – is confirmed and strengthened by the occupational distribution of employment presented in Table 8 below. Specifically, there is an over-representation of NGB individuals employed as Service and Sales and Crafts workers, as Operators and in Elementary occupations, with these four occupational categories accounting for 61.9% of employment of NGB individuals as opposed to 43.7% of GB individuals. The difference is made even clearer when aggregating to Skilled, Semi-Skilled and Unskilled categories. Although the proportion of workers employed in semi-skilled occupations does not differ between GB and NGB workers (around 46%), there is a greater proportion of GB workers in skilled occupations (30.6% *vs.* 20.4%) and a correspondingly greater proportion of NGB workers in unskilled occupations (26.8% *vs.* 15.3%).

Differences in distribution across the skill categories are marked within gender groups. Amongst males, those born in one of the other eight provinces are significantly less likely than their Gauteng-born counterparts to be employed in skilled occupations (19.7% *vs.* 31.5%). At the same time, the proportion of NGB males employed in unskilled occupations at 17.3% is two-thirds higher than the corresponding proportion of GB males. For both groups, though, the bulk of employment is in semi-skilled occupations. Amongst females the picture is quite different. Gauteng-born females are more likely to be employed in skilled occupations than their NGB counterparts (29.6% *vs.* 21.5%), and much more likely to be employed in semi-skilled occupations (41.4% *vs.* 28.8%). This means that employed NGB females are twice as likely to be engaged in unskilled occupations than employed GB females (42.4% *vs.* 21.1%).

**Table 8 – Occupation of Employed Gauteng Residents, by Gender and Migration Status**

	<b>NGB Male</b>	<b>GB Male</b>	<b>NGB Female</b>	<b>GB Female</b>	<b>NGB Total</b>	<b>GB Total</b>	<b>Gauteng Total</b>
Managers	6.1	10.4	4.0	5.7	5.3	8.2	6.8
Professionals	7.3	10.8	7.9	10.1	7.5	10.5	9.0
Technicians	6.3	10.3	9.5	13.8	7.6	12.0	9.8
Clerks	7.0	9.7	15.1	25.5	10.1	16.9	13.6
Service & Sales	14.4	12.0	8.5	9.5	12.2	10.9	11.5
Skilled Agriculture	1.4	1.0	0.7	0.4	1.1	0.7	0.9
Crafts	19.4	16.0	3.1	4.0	13.2	10.5	11.8
Operators	14.8	11.4	1.3	1.9	9.7	7.0	8.3
Elementary	17.3	10.3	42.4	21.1	26.8	15.3	20.8
Unspecified	6.0	8.1	7.3	8.0	6.5	8.1	7.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<i>Skilled</i>	<i>19.7</i>	<i>31.5</i>	<i>21.5</i>	<i>29.6</i>	<i>20.4</i>	<i>30.6</i>	<i>25.7</i>
<i>Semi-Skilled</i>	<i>57.0</i>	<i>50.0</i>	<i>28.8</i>	<i>41.4</i>	<i>46.3</i>	<i>46.0</i>	<i>46.2</i>
<i>Unskilled</i>	<i>17.3</i>	<i>10.3</i>	<i>42.4</i>	<i>21.1</i>	<i>26.8</i>	<i>15.3</i>	<i>20.8</i>

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

- Notes:**
1. GB = Gauteng-born; NGB = Non-Gauteng born (i.e. born in one of the other provinces).
  2. Skilled = Managers, Professionals and Technicians. Semi-Skilled = Clerks, Service and Sales, Skilled Agriculture, Crafts and Operators. Unskilled = Elementary.

There is some interesting detail that emerges from the table, linking with the sectoral patterns described earlier. In excess of two-fifths of employed NGB females are engaged in elementary occupations, which is twice the average for the province. Up to three-quarters of these women are domestic workers since 31.5% of employed NGB females are engaged in Private Households. NGB males are also considerably more often employed in elementary occupations than GB males. Another large difference exists in that around one-quarter of employed GB females are engaged in clerical occupations compared to only 15.1% of employed NGB females. The relative preponderance of unskilled employment in the occupational structure of employed NGB individuals can be linked to this group's greater involvement in Agriculture, Manufacturing and Construction, as well as domestic work in private households.

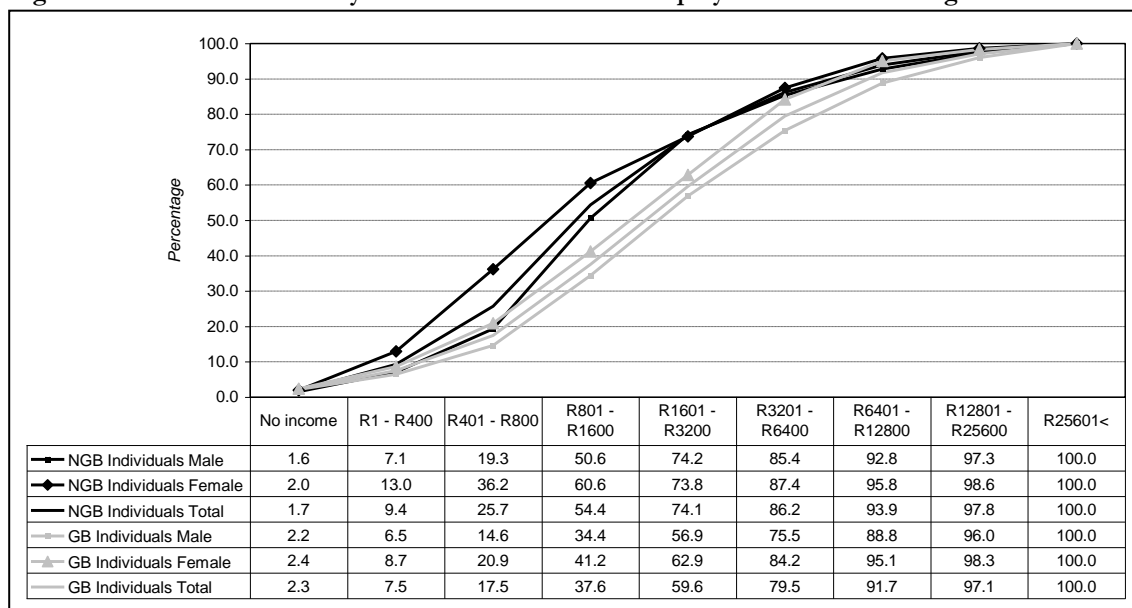
Therefore, it appears that in-migrants to Gauteng are less skilled than their Gauteng-born counterparts, an assertion that the educational data was not able to conclusively allow. This is confirmed by both the sectoral and the occupational distributions of employment. Not that this needs further emphasis, but the province is clearly seen as having greater employment opportunities than the in-migrants' home provinces. It seems that in-migrants are generally more able to secure employment than Gauteng-born work-seekers, given the latter group's unemployment rate, although it should be remembered that when in-migrants give up trying to find employment they are more likely to leave the province (returning to their home provinces) than their Gauteng-born counterparts.

#### *d. INCOME*

The labour market patterns discussed above are likely to have a bearing on the incomes of employed Gauteng residents. Indeed, Figure 6 demonstrates a marked difference in the incomes of Gauteng-born and NGB residents, with the latter group generally earning less. Cumulative income distribution graphs illustrate the proportion of individuals below a specific income. Consequently, where one group's graph lies consistently higher than another's, that group can be said to be poorer than the second, irrespective of the chosen poverty cut-off. Comparison of employed GB and NGB Gauteng residents reveals that the former group is consistently better off in terms of income than the latter, except if only those employed individuals with no income are considered. However, the accuracy and validity of the figures in the 'no income' category are not assured: individuals report they are employed, but claim to receive no income at all. Despite this, at all other income categories, the cumulative proportion of NGB individuals is greater than that of GB individuals. For example, 9.4% of employed NGB individuals earn less than R400 per month, compared to

7.5% of GB individuals. Those that earn R1600 per month or less include 54.4% of employed NGB individuals but only 37.6% of employed GB individuals.

**Figure 6 – Cumulative Monthly Income Distribution of Employed SA-Born Gauteng Residents**



**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Gender breakdowns of these two groups reveals that males earn higher incomes than females within both groups. The general pattern when using as cut-offs the mid-range incomes (R801 to R6400 per month) is that, for the employed, GB males earn more than GB females, who earn more than NGB males, who in turn earn more than NGB females. At other cut-offs, employed NGB males earn more than employed GB females, with the rankings of GB males and NGB females unaffected. The income data, therefore, further confirms the pattern revealed in the previous sections, namely that in-migrants to the province are more often employed in low-paying lower skilled occupations and sectors

#### *e. DISABILITY*

Gauteng is home to around 314 000 people with at least one of the six listed disabilities, 62% of whom were born in the province. However, there are no stark differences between GB and NGB Gauteng residents in terms of incidence of specific disabilities (see Table 9). Slightly more than 96% of all SA-born residents of the province have none of the listed disabilities whatsoever. There appears to be a marginally greater proportion of NGB individuals suffering from sight and hearing disabilities as opposed to their Gauteng-born counterparts. While GB individuals outnumber NGB individuals in the total population by 1.65 to 1, those GB individuals with intellectual and emotional disabilities outnumber their NGB counterparts by more than two to one, reflecting the slightly higher incidence amongst the former group.

**Table 9 – Disabilities of Gauteng Residents, by Gender and Migration Status**

	<b>Number with Disability ('000s)</b>		<b>Incidence of Disability</b>		<b>Ratio GB : NGB</b>
	<b>GB Total</b>	<b>NGB Total</b>	<b>GB Total</b>	<b>NGB Total</b>	
None	5017.6	3032.5	96.3	96.2	1.655
Sight	50.0	36.9	1.0	1.2	1.355
Hearing	20.5	15.4	0.4	0.5	1.328
Communication	6.3	3.4	0.1	0.1	1.866
Physical	50.4	29.7	1.0	0.9	1.694
Intellectual	21.9	9.9	0.4	0.3	2.202
Emotional	24.5	12.1	0.5	0.4	2.029
Multiple	19.8	13.1	0.4	0.4	1.508
Total	5210.9	3153.2	100.0	100.0	1.653

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Notes:** GB = Gauteng-born; NGB = Non-Gauteng born (i.e. born in one of the other provinces).

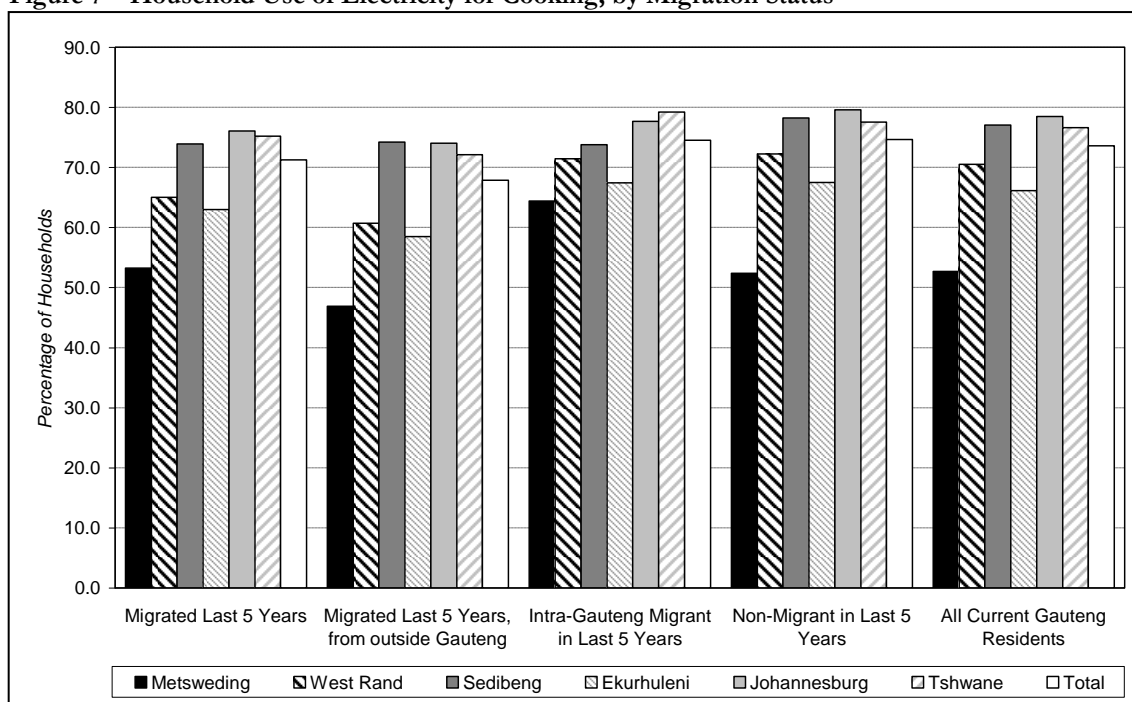
## Access to Public Services

The 2001 Census provides a variety of information on individuals' and households' access to services, such as water, sanitation, and electricity. In this section, we look at households' access to electricity (for cooking, heating and lighting), to water and to telephony. In this section, the focus is on recent migrants, i.e. households who have migrated at least once in the past five years.

Access to electricity is derived from Question H-28 in the Census asking, "What type of energy/fuel does this household MAINLY use for cooking, for heating and for lighting?" Although this question does not describe actual access, it allows the derivation of minimum levels of access to electricity since it is conceivable that households with electricity access may not necessarily use *mainly* electricity for heating, lighting and especially cooking. From the data, it appears that a very high proportion of Gauteng households has access to electricity, although it varies substantially between regions, with access in Metsweding and Ekurhuleni being lowest and access in Johannesburg, Sedibeng and Tswane being highest. Slightly more than 80% of all Gauteng households report that electricity is the main source of energy for heating and lighting, with a slightly lower proportion that cook mainly with electricity.

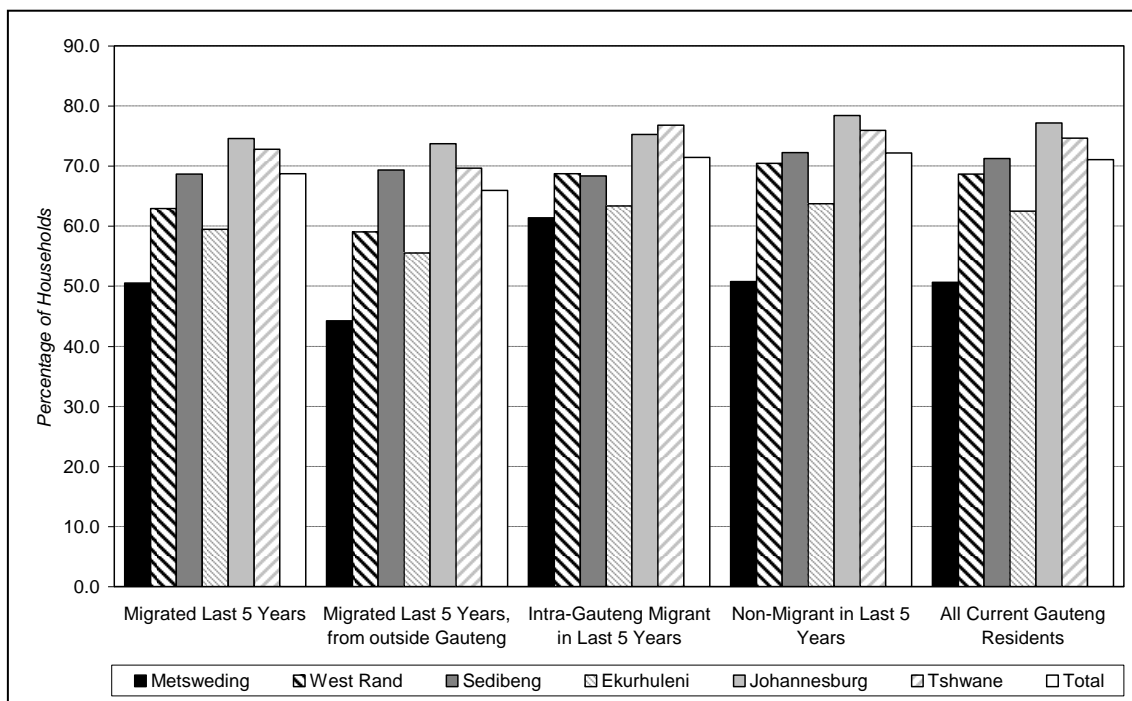
The graphs illustrate that intra-Gauteng migrant households and non-migrant households enjoy slightly better access to electricity for cooking, heating and lighting purposes, compared to those households that are relative newcomers from other provinces. Overall, in most regions, non-migrant households have slightly better access to electricity than those households that have migrated between the two Censuses. Intra-Gauteng migrant households fare significantly better than those households that have migrated to Gauteng from other province, except perhaps in Sedibeng where migrant households have similar levels of electricity access.

**Figure 7 – Household Use of Electricity for Cooking, by Migration Status**



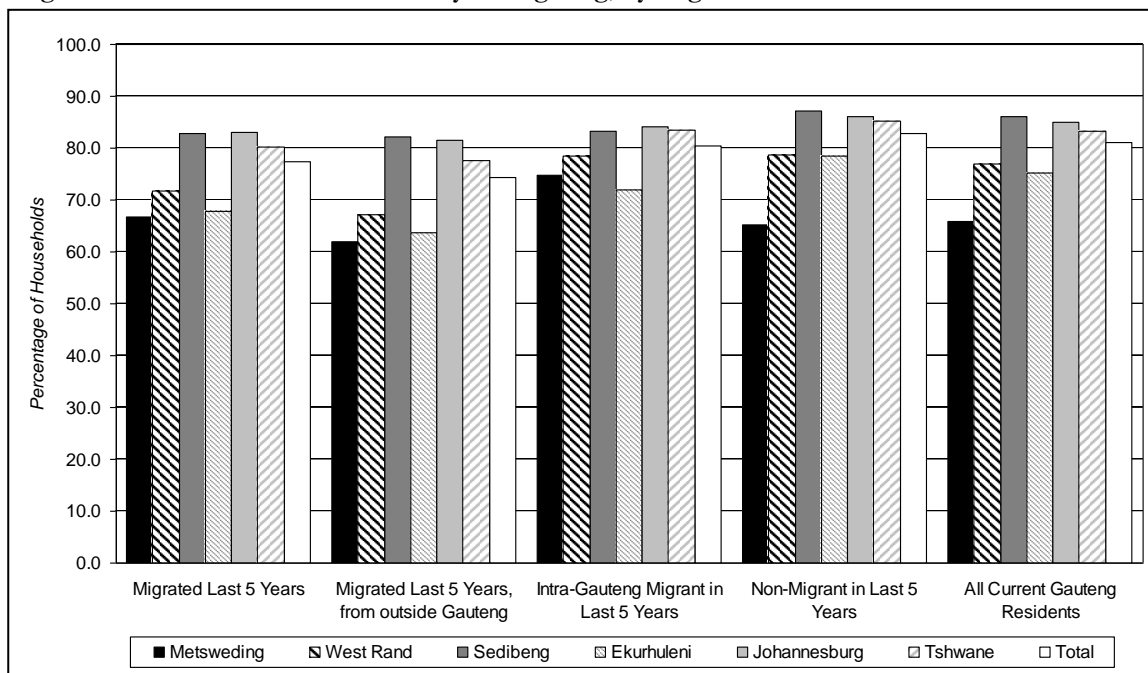
Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Figure 8 – Household Use of Electricity for Heating, by Migration Status**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Figure 9 – Household Use of Electricity for Lighting, by Migration Status**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

The overall pattern of electricity usage indicates lowest access amongst in-migrant households. Only in Sedibeng do intra-Gauteng migrant households appear to have lower access, although, as stated earlier, differences in access between non-migrant, intra-Gauteng migrant and in-migrant households are smallest in this region. In three regions, Metsweding, Johannesburg and Tshwane, intra-Gauteng migrant households appear to enjoy superior access to electricity, while in West Rand, Sedibeng and Ekurhuleni this is true of non-migrant households.

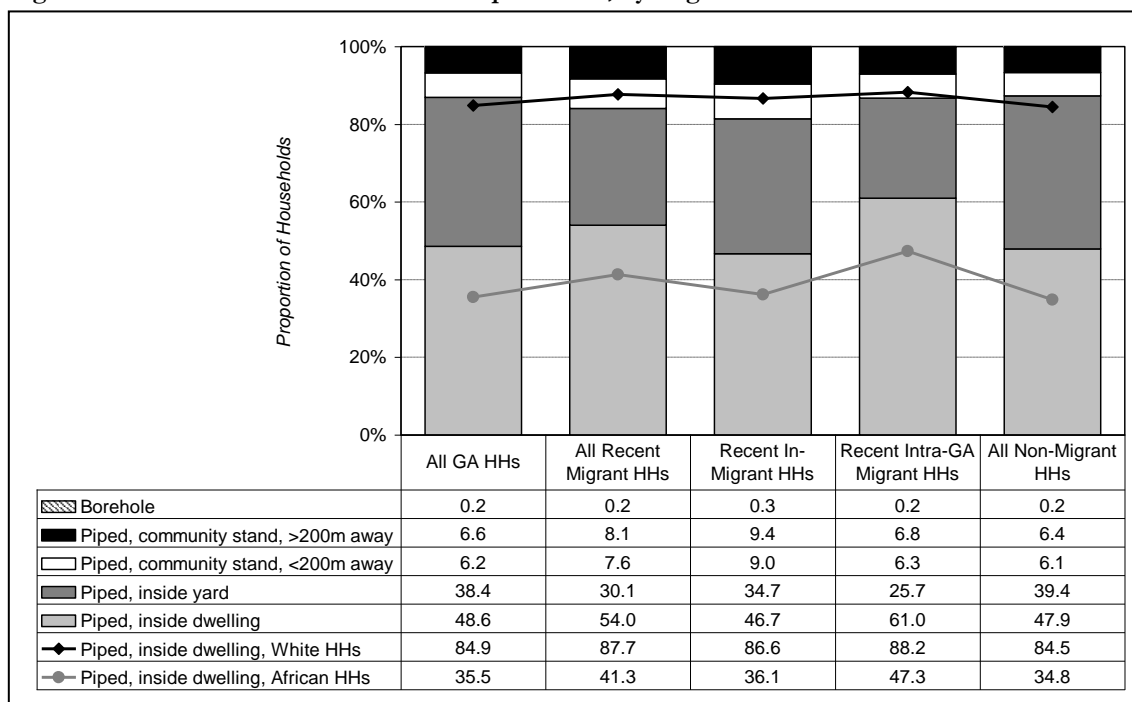
Most households in Gauteng have access to piped water. Statistics SA estimates that only 2.5% of households in the province lack access to piped water (Statistics SA 2003: 84). Consequently, the

focus turns to households' type of access to piped water. Interestingly, in contrast to the pattern of electricity access being best amongst non-migrant households, intra-Gauteng migrant households are best off in terms of access to piped water inside their dwellings (61.0%). In contrast, in-migrant and non-migrant households have significantly lower rates of access to piped water inside their dwellings at 46.7% and 47.9%. This means that, overall, 48.6% of Gauteng households have piped water in their dwellings. However, once piped water inside their yard is included, access rates rise to 81.4%, 86.7% and 87.3% for in-migrant, intra-Gauteng migrant and non-migrant households respectively.

Looking at the other side of the spectrum, nearly 13% of households (or more than 1 million households) obtain piped water from a community stand, as do more than 18% of in-migrant households. For all groups, irrespective of migrant status, slightly more than half of those who obtain water from a community stand have to travel more than 200 metres to do so.

The differences in proportions of households with access to piped water inside their dwelling according to migrant status reflect to a great extent differences amongst African households. The average rate of access to indoor piped water amongst White Gauteng households is around 85%, varying only slightly by migrant status. In contrast, though, the relevant proportion of African Gauteng households is only 35.5%, with access ranging from only 34.8% of African non-migrant households to 47.3% of African intra-Gauteng migrant households. Despite this, the pattern within White households is virtually identical to that within African households, albeit considerably less pronounced.

**Figure 10 – Households' Main Source of Piped Water, by Migrant Status**

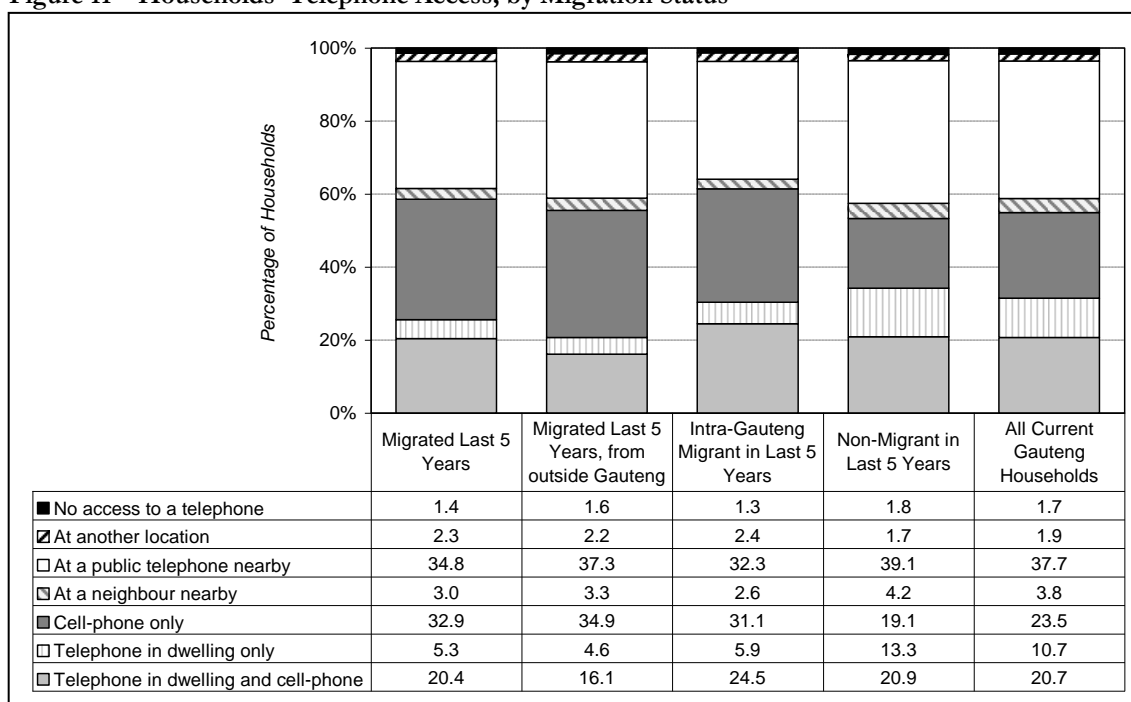


**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

A similar pattern is revealed in terms of households' access to telephony networks (Figure 11). Approximately 55% of Gauteng households have access to a landline telephone in their dwellings and/or a cellular phone, while a further two-fifths have access to a telephone nearby (either public or a neighbour's). Only 1.7% of households have no access whatsoever. Intra-Gauteng migrant households have above average telephone access with 61.5% enjoying access to a landline and/or a cellular telephone. However, this is mainly due to the relatively large proportion of these households that have access to both landline and cellular telephony (24.5%). This appears to provide some indication that recent intra-Gauteng migrant households may on average be better off than non-migrant households. This is further supported by the fact that non-migrant

households seem more reliant on landline telephones in their dwellings and have the lowest rate of access to cellular telephony (two-fifths in total compared to more than one-half of recent migrant households).

**Figure 11 – Households’ Telephone Access, by Migration Status**



**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

While migrant households from other provinces have the highest proportion of households with access to cellular telephones only (34.9%), this group has the lowest access to landline telephones in their dwellings (20.7% overall). Overall, access to cellular telephones at 51.0% is above average, but is lower than access amongst intra-Gauteng migrant households. Public telephones constitute an important means of communicating for all groups of households, although particularly so amongst non-migrant households (39.1%) and in-migrant households (37.3%).

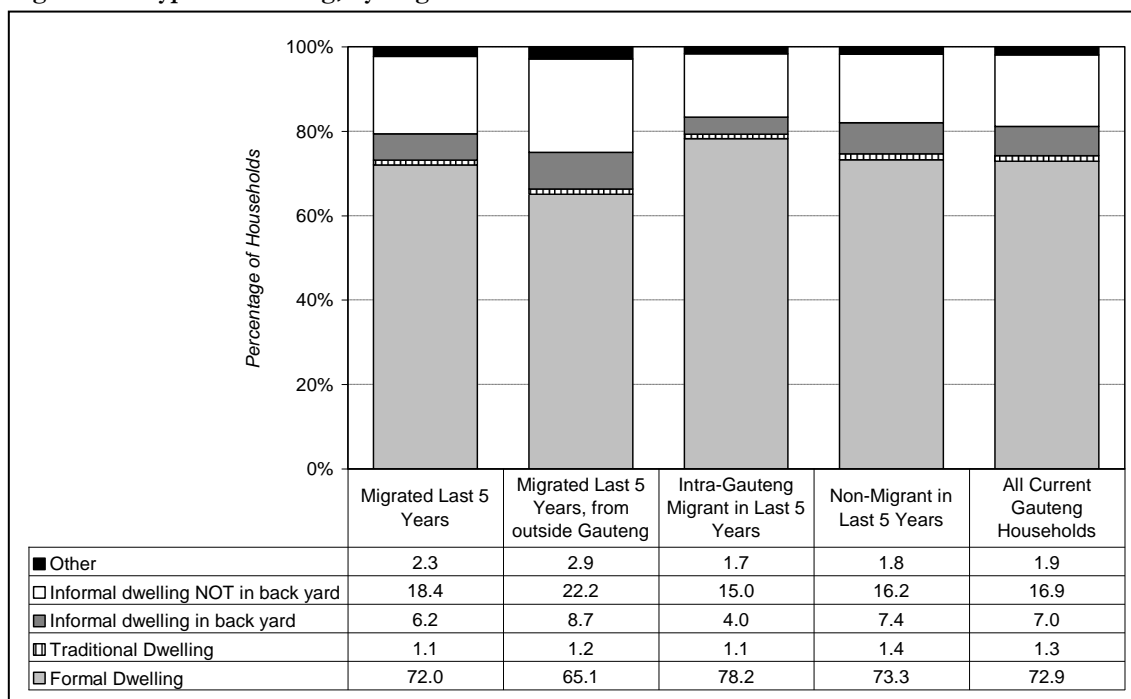
The impression of recent intra-Gauteng migrant households being better off than non-migrant and in-migrant households is extended, with the former group’s superior access to telephones (both landline and cellular) in their households. In-migrant and non-migrant households appear to be less well off, with the former’s low rate of access to landline telephones in their dwellings and the latter’s restricted access to cellular telephones and both groups’ heavy reliance on public telephones.

### Other Indicators of Living Standards

This section deals with two main living standards indicators, namely dwelling type and access to certain household goods, in an attempt to discern a difference (or not) between intra-Gauteng migrants, in-migrants and non-migrants in Gauteng. Figure 12 below presents data on the types of dwellings in which Gauteng residents reside. The first feature of the figure is the dominance of formal housing in the province: overall, almost three-quarters of Gauteng households reside in formal or modern housing. Around 17% of households live in informal dwellings in informal settlements (categorised as ‘informal dwelling not in back yard’). The remaining 10% of households reside in informal dwellings in backyards (7.0%), traditional dwellings (1.3%) and other types of dwellings (1.9%).



**Figure 12 – Type of Dwelling, by Migration Status**

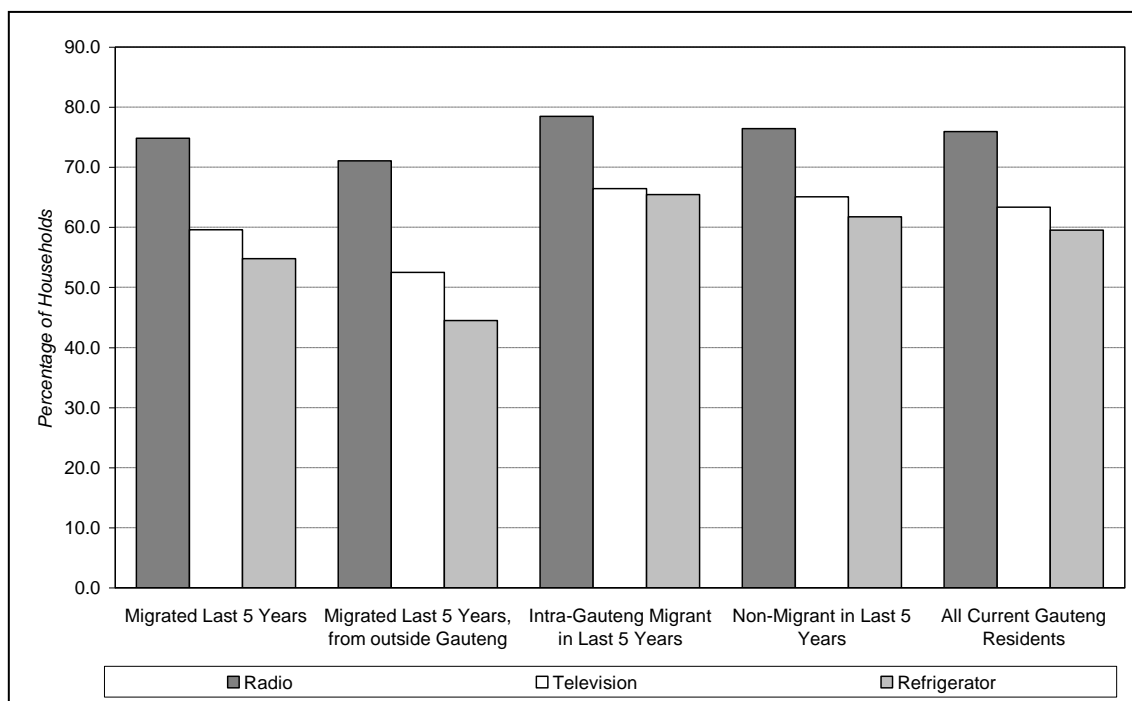


**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

The main difference arises between intra-Gauteng migrant households and in-migrant households (i.e. those from outside of the province), illustrated in the second and third columns of the figure. The pressure of in-migration on housing services in the province is apparent as 65% of in-migrant households reside in formal dwellings compared to 78% of intra-Gauteng migrant households. Correspondingly, 22% of in-migrant households live in informal settlements along with 15% of intra-Gauteng migrant households. In total, 30.9% of in-migrant households reside in informal dwellings compared to only 19.0% of intra-Gauteng migrant households. What could be interesting to investigate is the reason for intra-Gauteng migration, as it is conceivable that at least some proportion is due to relocation of households from informal to new formal dwellings, such as ‘RDP houses’. This could help explain the relatively high proportion of intra-Gauteng migrant households that reside in formal dwellings, compared to non-migrant households.

A household’s access to various household goods is a useful indicator of the standard of living experienced by its members. Three household goods, namely radios, televisions and refrigerators, have been used here in an attempt to gauge differences in living standards between recent migrants and non-migrants in Gauteng (see Figure 13). As would be expected, household ownership of radios, at more than three-quarters of all Gauteng households, is significantly greater than ownership of televisions and refrigerators (around 60% of households). Radio ownership is higher than average for intra-Gauteng migrant households as well as non-migrant households, meaning that households that have moved to Gauteng from the other provinces between the Censuses are relatively less likely to own a radio. Television ownership follows a similar pattern, although at a lower level of around 65% of intra-Gauteng migrant and non-migrant households and slightly more than half of in-migrant households. Refrigerator ownership exhibits a broadly similar pattern, although the differences are slightly more pronounced. While around 65% of intra-Gauteng migrant households own refrigerators, the proportion of non-migrant households is just over 60%, dropping to less than 45% of in-migrant households. Overall, therefore, households that migrated from the other provinces to Gauteng between the Censuses are less likely to own radios, televisions and refrigerators.

**Figure 13 – Household Access to Selected Household Goods, by Migration Status**



**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

These two figures, detailing dwelling types and access to radio, television and refrigeration, indicate lower living standards amongst in-migrant households relative to intra-Gauteng migrant and non-migrant households. What is perhaps unexpected is that according to these measures, intra-Gauteng migrant households are better off than their non-migrating counterparts. This may be due to a number of reasons, which are not necessarily verifiable given the current data. On average, though, intra-Gauteng migrant households appear to enjoy slightly better standards of living than non-migrant households. The former's greater access to formal housing may be linked *ex ante* with better standards of living (better off households may be more mobile, and more able to afford various household goods), although greater access to formal housing may actually promote the purchase of these household goods (formal housing provides better shelter for and protection of these goods, while being accompanied by better access to modern water and electricity supplies). The fact that in-migrant households are more likely to locate themselves in informal settlements and informal housing outside of informal settlements – informal housing is used by more than 30% of in-migrant households – goes some way in explaining this group's relatively poorer access to electricity, water and telephones.

### Summary

This section attempts to reveal the extent and nature of permanent migration into and within Gauteng. Problems with the data discussed in section 0 and elsewhere have meant that the picture presented is not perfectly accurate, although it will be able to provide useful information. Just more than 8% of the Gauteng population indicated that they moved to the province from elsewhere in South Africa between the 1996 and 2001 Censuses. Using a much wider definition based on individuals' place of birth, around 38% of the province's SA-born population were born in one of the other eight provinces, principally Limpopo, KZN and the Eastern Cape. Recent migrants tend to locate themselves in the three metropolitan areas of Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane.

The attraction of Gauteng deriving from the perceived greater availability of job opportunities is clearly visible with more than four in five NGB Gauteng residents being between the ages of 15 and 64 years. The preponderance of males amongst recent in-migrants makes the province unique in South Africa in that males outnumber females. Although the available educational data is not able to prove it categorically, there is very strong evidence from the sectoral and occupational

breakdowns of employment, as well as from income data, that NGB Gauteng residents tend to be less educated than their Gauteng-born counterparts. This does not mean, however, that the province does not attract highly skilled and highly educated individuals from all over the country.

In general, it appears from the data that households that have migrated within Gauteng during the inter-census period are more likely to live in formal dwellings and own certain household goods, and have better access to public services, such as electricity, water and telephones. Conversely, recent in-migrants find themselves living in inferior types of dwellings, while their likelihood of owning the selected household goods and of access to public services is generally lower.

#### 4. SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRANT WORKERS

##### Migrant Labour in Gauteng in the National Context

Migrant workers are differentiated from other migrants in that the former leave their families behind in search of employment opportunities in relatively distant areas and being absent from their 'sending households' for extended periods of time in what has become known as "circular internal labour migration" (Posel 2003a: 1). As noted above, the Labour Force Survey of September 2002 provides some information on migrant labour. Importantly, the survey identifies migrant workers whose sending households lie within South Africa's national borders, implying that these are South African migrant workers. We begin this section by placing migrant labour in Gauteng in context nationally (Table 10).

The LFS estimates there to be approximately three million South African migrant workers, representing 6.6% of the national population. Of these, approximately 46% (or 1.4 million) were reported to be seeking work or actually working in Gauteng, making this province by far the most popular destination for migrant workers. KwaZulu-Natal receives the second most migrant workers (16.2% of the national total), with the North-West, Western Cape and Eastern Cape receiving slightly more than 7% each. In all provinces, except Gauteng, migrant labourers account for between 2% and 7% of the population. In Gauteng, this proportion is nearly 17%, or about one in six.

Table 10 – Migrant Labour in South Africa, by Receiving Region, 2002

Receiving Region	Migrant Workers			Inter-Regional Migrant Workers		
	Total ('000s)	Share of Total	Share of Total Pop	Total ('000s)	Share of Total	Share of Region's Migrant Workers
Western Cape	213.4	7.1	4.9	195.0	10.3	91.4
Eastern Cape	211.4	7.1	2.9	8.2	0.4	3.9
Northern Cape	56.3	1.9	6.3	43.0	2.3	76.4
Free State	83.1	2.8	2.9	26.4	1.4	31.8
KwaZulu-Natal	487.0	16.2	5.2	95.2	5.0	19.5
North-West	213.9	7.1	5.8	40.3	2.1	18.8
Gauteng	1385.4	46.2	16.9	1356.2	71.8	97.9
Mpumalanga	163.6	5.5	5.1	84.9	4.5	51.9
Limpopo	160.1	5.3	2.7	14.4	0.8	9.0
Another country	22.2	0.7	-	22.2	1.2	100.0
Total	2998.6	100.0	6.6	1888.1	100.0	63.0

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

Where the analysis of migrant labour on a provincial scale is concerned with the strain on current and future public facilities and social spending, it is important to discern between migrant workers and immigrant workers. This is due to the fact that individuals that migrate into a specific province – in this case, Gauteng – from other provinces are more likely to pose an added burden to provincial government than individuals migrating intra-provincially (in other words, individuals moving in search of work from one area in Gauteng to another area of Gauteng). In late 2002, there were approximately 1.9 million inter-regional migrant workers, accounting for close to two-thirds of all migrant workers. The relative proportions of inter-regional migrants and intra-regional migrants differ vastly across the provinces. At one end of the spectrum are the Eastern Cape and

Limpopo provinces, where inter-regional migrant workers account for a mere 3.9% and 9.0% of all migrant workers respectively. In contrast, 91.4% of Western Cape migrant workers are from outside the province. In Gauteng, the proportion is even higher at 97.9%. This means that Gauteng receives 71.8% of all inter-regional migrant workers.

Gauteng therefore finds itself, relative to the other provinces, in a unique position. It receives the largest share of migrant workers, almost all of whom are from other provinces. Consequently, it is in Gauteng that facilities and government spending are most likely to be put under pressure by the volume of migrant workers in that province.

#### Profile of Migrant Workers in the Gauteng Province<sup>4</sup>

Migrant workers constitute an important part of the Gauteng labour force. The labour force is defined here as the total number of employed workers plus the total number of broadly unemployed individuals<sup>5</sup>. Gauteng's labour force numbers slightly more than 4.5 million individuals, which means that approximately three in ten are migrant workers (Table 11). Of these migrant workers, men outnumber women by around two to one. Men are consequently more predominant amongst migrant workers than amongst the Gauteng labour force to the extent that the gender profile of the non-migrant labour force in Gauteng is at least evenly balanced and may even favour females.

**Table 11 – Migrant Workers in Gauteng, by Race and Gender, 2002**

		<b>Migrant Workers</b>			<b>Gauteng Labour Force</b>		
		<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
African	Thousands	889.9	478.0	1369.1	1783.0	1516.2	3301.3
	Share of Total (%)	64.2	34.5	98.8	39.5	33.6	73.1
Coloured	Thousands	4.0	6.0	10.0	89.8	95.3	185.1
	Share of Total (%)	0.3	0.4	0.7	2.0	2.1	4.1
Asian	Thousands	3.3	0.3	3.6	55.8	45.9	101.7
	Share of Total (%)	0.2	0.0	0.3	1.2	1.0	2.3
White	Thousands	2.6	0.0	2.6	505.1	410.4	915.5
	Share of Total (%)	0.2	0.0	0.2	11.2	9.1	20.3
Total	Thousands	899.8	484.3	1385.4	2440.6	2074.7	4517.4
	Share of Total (%)	65.0	35.0	100.0	54.0	45.9	100.0

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

In racial terms, migrant workers are virtually exclusively African, accounting for 98.8% of all migrant workers, with 0.7% being Coloured and the remaining 0.5% composed of Asians and Whites. This simplifies the analysis of migrant labour considerably in that, due to the overwhelming proportion of Africans, there is no real need to perform race-sensitive analysis. Obviously, the racial profile of migrant workers is very different from that of the wider Gauteng labour force, where Africans account for slightly less than three-quarters and Whites one-fifth of the population.

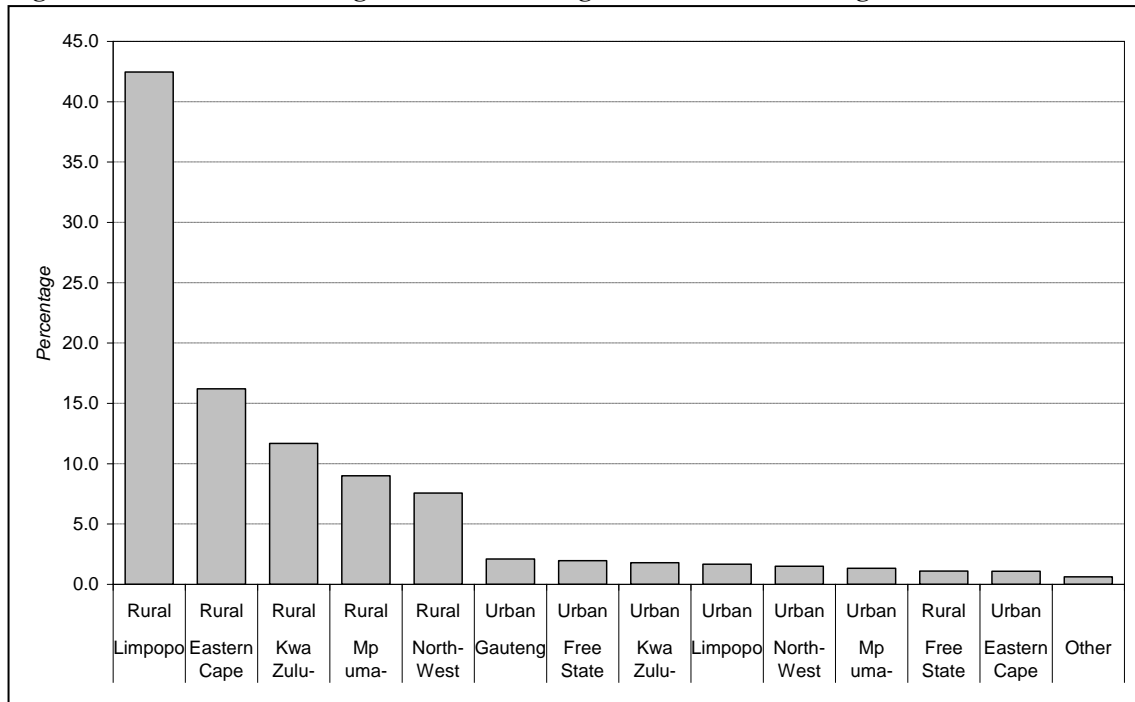
Migrant workers' sending households are most often located in rural areas. In fact, nearly nine-tenths of migrant workers are from rural households. Figure 14 presents the areas, defined by province and rural/urban split, from which most South African migrant workers travel to find work in Gauteng. By far the largest share of migrant workers have their sending households in rural areas of Limpopo, this being linked to the high levels of poverty and unemployment found there. Rural Eastern Cape accounts for 16.2% of migrant labourers, while rural KwaZulu-Natal, rural

<sup>4</sup> In the discussion of migrant workers that follows, it is essential to bear in mind that we are referring to *South African* migrant workers since the Labour Force Survey is not able to pick up migrant workers whose sending households are located outside South Africa.

<sup>5</sup> An individual is considered to be broadly unemployed if they did not work during the seven days prior to the interview and want to work and are available to start work within one week of the interview (Statistics SA *Statistical Release P0210 2002: xv*). The reason why migrant workers are compared to the provincial labour force, and not to the employed, is that the LFS does not indicate whether the migrant worker is employed or not.

Mpumalanga and rural North-West account for 11.7%, 9.0% and 7.6% of migrant workers respectively. Thus, the five most important sending areas representing 86.9% of all migrant workers in Gauteng are all rural areas of the country's poorest provinces. In total, five provinces, namely Limpopo, the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and North-West, account for 94% of all migrant workers, with more than 44% from Limpopo alone. These figures are broadly similar to the breakdown of the province's population by province of birth, according to which Limpopo, KZN and the Eastern Cape are the provinces of birth of more than one fifth of the population.

**Figure 14 – Location of Sending Households of Migrant Workers to Gauteng, 2002**



Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

The scale of migrant labour in Gauteng is therefore arguably closely tied to the economic fortunes of the country's rural areas in general and the rural areas of the five provinces mentioned above in particular. Policies aimed at affecting the volume or mix of migrant workers that come to Gauteng must consequently take this into account. What this suggests also is that household welfare levels in these rural-based sender households are very closely tied to the economic conditions prevalent in the Gauteng province. More generally, what this suggests is that the key migrant recipient provinces have a very important effect on the welfare levels existent in a large number of rural households.

Unfortunately, the Labour Force Survey does not provide any information on the employment status, sector or occupation of migrant workers. This is probably due to the fact that questions about the migrant workers were asked of members of the sending households, giving rise to a concern about the reliability of this kind of information given that migrant workers may only return to the sending households infrequently. The survey does, however, ask the sending households about the education levels of the migrant workers and this information is presented in Table 12 below.

Around 60% of migrant workers in Gauteng have either completed or are in the process of completing their secondary education (this includes those with tertiary education). Another 27.6% have only incomplete or complete primary education. At the two extremes, 8.0% of migrant workers have absolutely no education while 4.3% have tertiary education. Relative to the non-migrant section of the Gauteng labour force, the education levels of migrant workers are more highly concentrated in incomplete and complete primary and incomplete secondary education. The

differences between the education levels of migrant workers and the non-migrant labour force are due to a number of reasons.

Firstly, unemployment is lower amongst individuals with higher education levels (Oosthuizen 2004, *forthcoming*) and these individuals would possibly be more likely to find employment in proximity to the sending households or would be more likely or able to move their households closer to their place of work, thereby reducing the likelihood of them being classified as migrant workers. Secondly, although it is not possible to ascertain the ages of the migrant workers, since migrant workers are arguably less likely to be relatively old and since individuals with no formal education tend to be older than those with better education (Oosthuizen 2004, *forthcoming*), there will be a disproportionately low share of very poorly educated migrant workers.

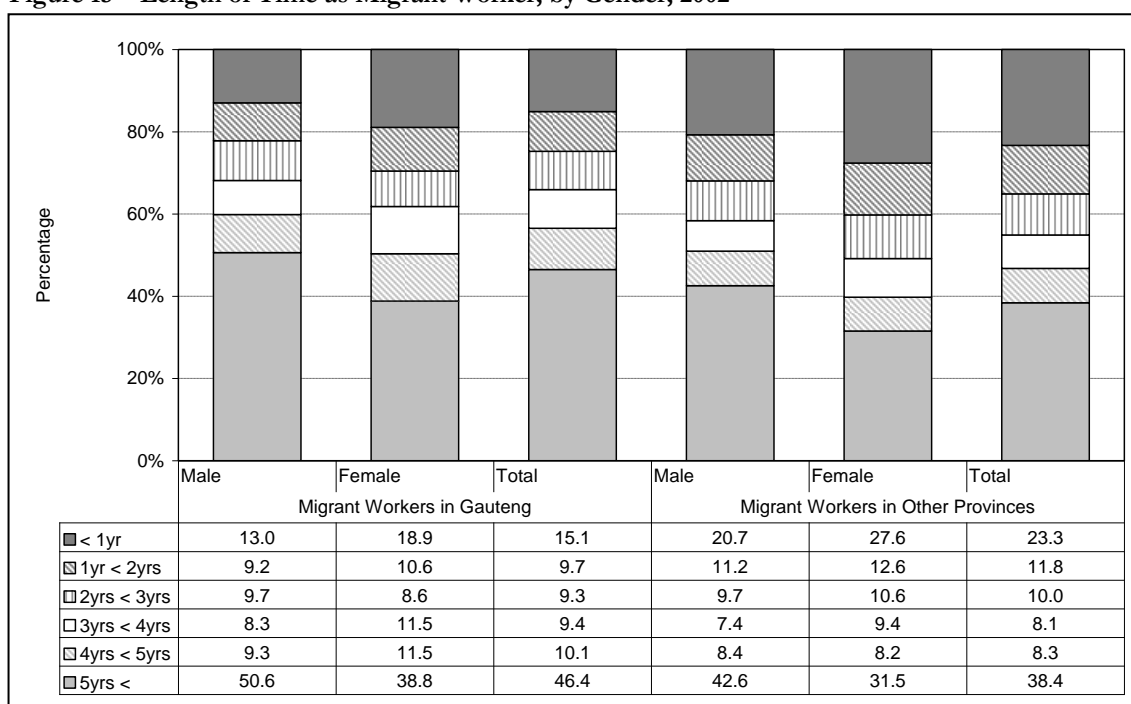
**Table 12 – Educational Attainment of Migrant Workers in Gauteng, by Gender, 2002**

	<b>Migrant Workers</b>			<b>Gauteng Non-Migrant Labour Force</b>		
	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
None	8.1	7.7	8.0	17.8	17.1	17.4
Incomplete Primary	21.3	17.5	20.0	17.4	17.3	17.4
Complete Primary	8.1	6.7	7.6	3.9	4.8	4.3
Incomplete Secondary	33.9	35.7	34.5	28.8	29.3	29.1
Complete Secondary	21.4	21.5	21.4	21.0	21.0	21.0
Tertiary	3.6	5.6	4.3	10.0	9.6	9.8
Other/Unspecified	3.6	5.2	4.1	1.2	0.9	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

Interestingly, therefore, while the proportion of migrant workers with tertiary qualifications is lower than that of the non-migrant labour force, the average skills level of migrant workers is not substantially different. Thus, the overall impact of migrant workers on the average skill level of the Gauteng labour force is negligible. What is clear though, is that migrant labour in general includes relatively few highly educated – and therefore highly skilled – individuals.

**Figure 15 – Length of Time as Migrant Worker, by Gender, 2002**



Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

One important question regarding migrant workers surrounds their permanence. In other words, is the group of migrant workers in Gauteng in, say, 2002 likely to be very different or very similar to the group a few years later (or earlier)? This is important for a number of reasons, not least of

which is the issue that policies aimed at migrant workers at one point in time may target a very similar (or very different) subset of individuals at another time. This question is at best partially addressed in Figure 15 above, which presents the distribution of migrant workers in Gauteng according to the length of time they have spent as migrant workers.

What is immediately evident is the fact that the group of migrant workers in Gauteng is relatively stable in that a large proportion of them (46.4%) have been migrant workers for five years or more, with men more likely to be 'long-term' migrant workers than women. Further, this proportion is significantly higher than that amongst migrant workers in the other eight provinces – a difference of eight percentage points.

Gauteng migrant workers' sending households are not typical of South African households. The first difference is in terms of the size of the sending household (Table 13). Households that have at least one member engaged in migrant work consist of an average of 4.9 individuals, excluding the migrant workers themselves. Here, the sending households of Gauteng migrant workers do not differ from all other sending households. In contrast, those households that do not have members engaging in migrant work are smaller, consisting of 3.6 individuals on average. This is linked to the fact that migrant workers are likely to come predominantly from poorer households, which tend to be larger than better off households. Within their sending households, around one-third of migrant workers in Gauteng are regarded as the head of their respective households. The proportion of male migrant workers who are heads of their sending household is significantly higher, at 41.6%, than that of female migrant workers (16.7%). Male and female migrant workers differ markedly in terms of marital status. Thus, while more than half (52.1%) of male migrant workers are married or living together, the relevant proportion for females is barely one-fifth (20.3%). This is due to the fact that female migrant workers are more often widowed, divorced or separated or have never married than their male counterparts. Two-thirds of female migrant workers have never been married, compared to 44.2% of males. These differing proportions suggest that the ages of male and female migrant workers differ noticeably<sup>6</sup>.

**Table 13 – Migrant Workers' Family and Household Characteristics, by Gender, 2002**

<b>Household Size in Sending Household</b>	<b>Mean</b>		
- All SA households with no migrant workers	3.61		
- All SA households with any migrant workers	4.91		
- Only households with Gauteng migrant workers	4.90		
<b>Gauteng Migrants Only</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Status in Household</b>			
- Head of the household (%)	41.6	16.7	32.9
- Other member of the household (%)	58.4	83.3	67.1
<b>Marital Status</b>			
- Married/living together as husband and wife (%)	52.1	20.3	41.0
- Widow/Widower (%)	1.7	6.0	3.2
- Divorced or separated (%)	1.9	7.4	3.8
- Never married (%)	44.2	66.4	52.0
<b>Location of Spouse</b>			
- In sending household (%)	31.6	3.9	21.9
- In another household (%)	20.6	16.2	19.0
- Unspecified/No spouse (%)	47.9	79.8	59.0
<b>Children Left Behind in Sending Household</b>			
- None (%)	59.9	54.5	58.0
- One (%)	14.0	25.7	18.1
- Two (%)	10.9	12.8	11.6
- Three (%)	7.6	4.9	6.7
- Four or more (%)	7.0	1.1	5.0
- Unspecified (%)	0.6	0.9	0.7
- Mean (Children left behind per migrant worker)	2.3	1.6	2.0

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

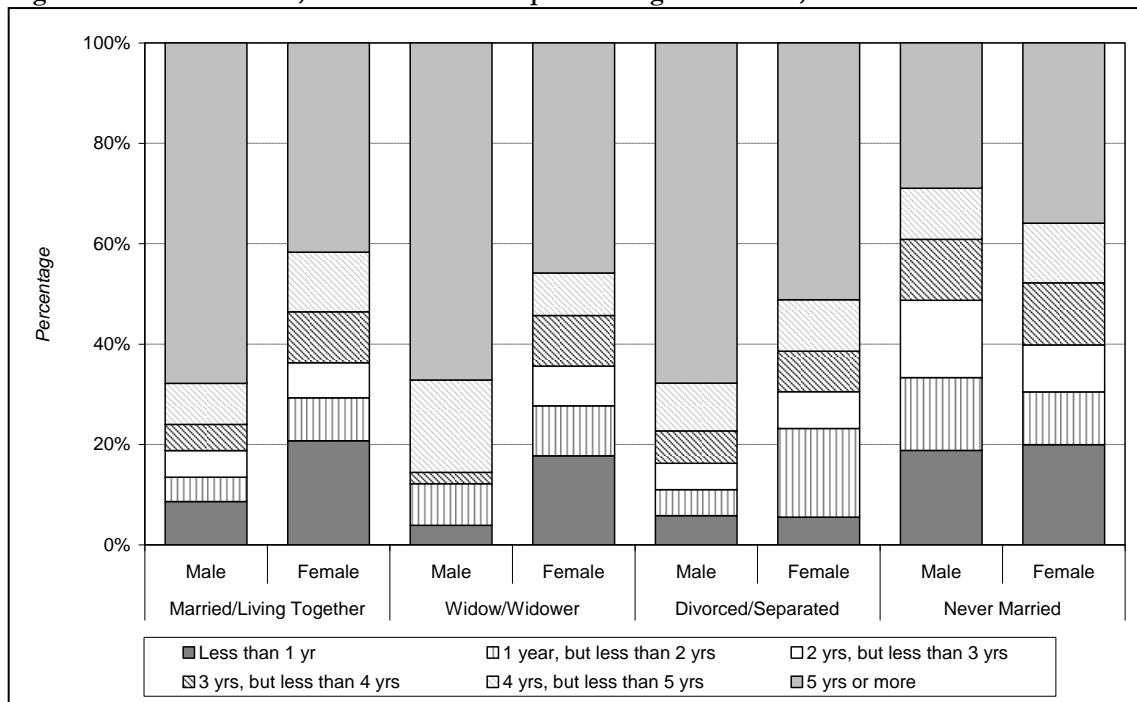
<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, the Labour Force Survey (September 2002) does not ask the ages of the migrant workers, making verification from this dataset of this postulated age difference impossible.

One question that could be asked is whether a migrant worker's spouse is also a migrant worker, implying that their children remain in the sending household. This question is not directly asked, although we are able to ascertain whether a migrant worker's spouse resides in the sending household or not, the latter option providing at least an upper bound estimate of the occurrence of spouses/partners both being migrant workers. Amongst those male migrant workers with partners, around three-fifths leave their partners behind in the sending households. The opposite is true of female migrant workers, where only one-fifth of those with partners leave them behind in the sending households.

A large proportion of migrant workers (almost three-fifths) leave behind no children below the age of 15 years in the sending household. Interestingly, this proportion is slightly higher amongst men than women. Where children are involved, female migrant workers are less likely than their male counterparts to leave more than one child in the sending household (44% vs. 65%), perhaps indicating a greater reluctance amongst female migrant workers to leave their children once they have two or more children. Around one-quarter of male migrant workers have two or more children in the sending household, as opposed to less than one-fifth of female migrant workers. On average, male migrant workers leave 2.3 children in the sending household, while females have only 1.6 children in the sending household, which may largely be a reflection of the difference in the ages of male and female migrant workers.

Recognising differences in marital status provides interesting insight into migrant work. Specifically, differentiating between the marital status of male and female migrant workers when analysing the length of time spent as migrant workers yields important differences between the two groups (Figure 16). Amongst those migrant workers who have never been married (who would perhaps tend to be younger than the others), females are more often 'longer-term' migrant workers than males. For example, almost 36% of female migrant workers in Gauteng who have never been married have been migrant workers for upwards of 5 years, compared to 29% of their male counterparts.

**Figure 16 – Marital Status, Gender and Time Spent as Migrant Worker, 2002**



Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).



## Remittances

Apart from relieving financial pressures on sending households, perhaps the most common reason for engaging in migrant labour is to actively help support family and other sending household members. This is done by remitting money or goods to the sending household. Table 14 presents a summary of remittances by migrants to their sending households, as indicated by sending households in the LFS. It is important to recognise that the accuracy of these figures is uncertain, meaning that comparisons outside of the dataset might not be legitimate. In total, according to the September 2002 LFS, the twelve-month period preceding the survey saw approximately R5.9 billion worth of goods and money remitted to sending households, around 97% of which was in the form of money. Remittances of goods and money in the month preceding the survey totalled R88 million, or 1.5% of the total for the preceding 12 months. This probably indicates either that the month preceding the survey is atypical in terms of the sending of remittances, or that the bulk of remittances are given to the sending household when the migrant worker returns (for example, at the end of the year).

**Table 14 – Remittances of Migrant Workers to Sending Households**

	<i>Money in past 12 months</i>	<i>Goods in past 12 months</i>	<i>Money and Goods in past month</i>
Total Remittances (SA)	R5 655 million	R197 million	R88 million
Total Remittances (Gauteng)	R2 526 million	R85 million	R42 million
<i>Gauteng Share of Total Remit.</i>	<i>44.7%</i>	<i>43.0%</i>	<i>47.3%</i>
Average Remittance (SA)	R1 914	R67	R29
Average Remittance (Gauteng)	R1 852	R63	R30
Ave. Remit. Ratio (SA:Gauteng)	1.03	1.07	0.96
Share of Individuals reporting:			
- No remittance (SA)	42.1%	69.4%	46.9%
- No remittance (Gauteng)	42.3%	71.2%	49.6%
Average Remittance for Remitting Workers			
- SA	R3 306	R219	R55
- Gauteng	R3 212	R217	R61
- Ave. Remit. Ratio (SA:Gauteng)	1.03	1.01	0.91

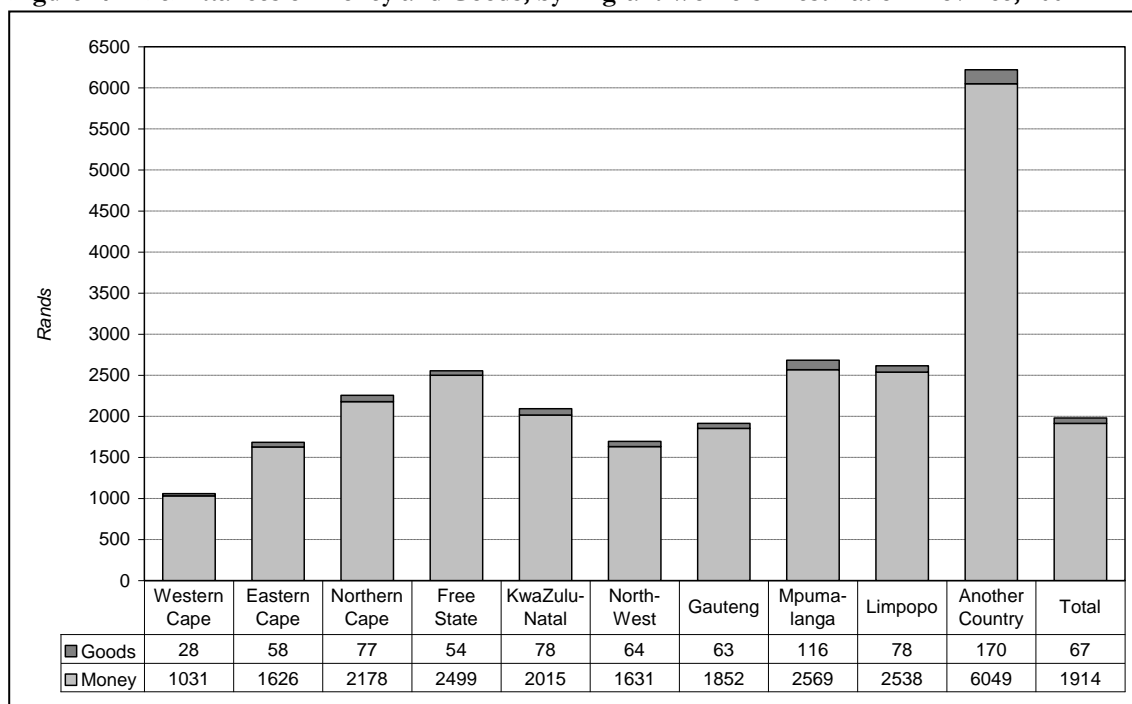
**Source:** LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

Remittances from migrant workers working in Gauteng amounted to R2.5 billion in money and R85 million in goods (R2.6 billion in total) in the twelve months before the survey, and R42 million worth of goods and money in the month leading up to the survey, equivalent to 1.6% of the total. Gauteng, therefore, accounts for the lion's share of remittances nationally at 43-47%, which is more or less in line with the proportion of migrant workers working there.

The average remittance by South African migrant workers amounted to R1 914 in money and R67 in goods in the twelve month period before the survey. Interestingly, migrant workers in Gauteng remitted slightly less to their sending households. A large proportion of migrant workers did not remit money and/or goods in the twelve month period. Around four in ten did not remit money, and seven in ten did not remit goods, while 36% remitted neither money nor goods. If we ignore those who did not remit, the average remittance is significantly higher.

Remittances from Gauteng are slightly lower than the average of remittances to South African households. In Figure 17, the average remittances of money and goods for the twelve month period preceding the LFS of September 2002 are presented according to the province to which the migrant worker moved. Remittances from migrants engaged in work in other countries are more than three times the national average, at just over R6 000. However, this figure is due to the earnings of highly qualified individuals who work on contract basis overseas. Remittances are also higher than average for migrants in Mpumalanga (R2 685), Limpopo (R2 616) and the Free State (R2 553). Migrant workers in the Western Cape, North-West and Eastern Cape remit the least to their sending households.

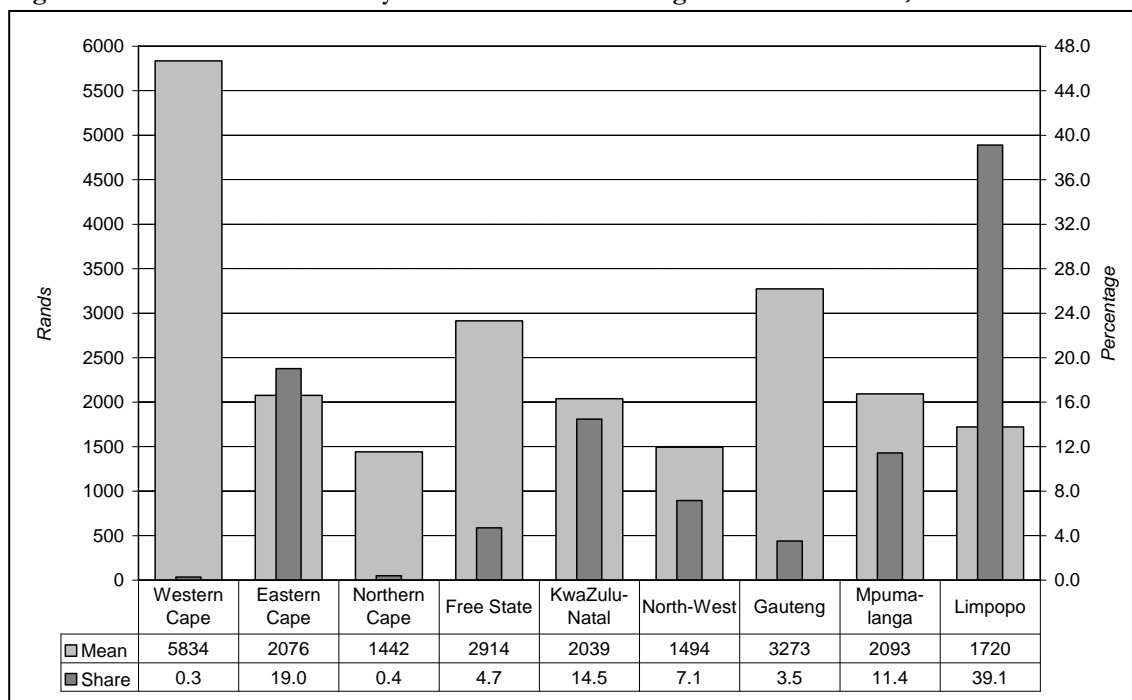
**Figure 17 – Remittances of Money and Goods, by Migrant Workers' Destination Province, 2002**



**Source:** LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA). **Notes:** Figures are for the twelve month period preceding the survey.

Gauteng’s remittances for the period of R2.5 billion are distributed to South Africa’s provinces as set out in Figure 18. Average remittances are highest to sending households in the Western Cape (R5 834), followed by Gauteng (R3 273) and the Free State (R2 914). This is linked directly to the inferred skills profile of Gauteng migrant workers from these provinces. For example, around two-thirds of Gauteng migrant workers from the Western Cape have a complete secondary or tertiary education, compared to the average of one-quarter. However, Gauteng migrant workers from these provinces are relatively few and high mean remittances do not necessarily translate into high shares of total remittances from Gauteng migrant workers.

**Figure 18 – Remittances of Money and Goods from Gauteng to Other Provinces, 2002**



**Source:** LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA). **Notes:** Figures are for the twelve month period preceding the survey.

The large number of migrant workers from Limpopo province means that, although the mean value of remittances was relatively low at R1 720, sending households in the province receive almost two-fifths of all remittances originating in Gauteng, amounting to more than R1 billion for the period. The Eastern Cape, KZN and Mpumalanga received R496 million (or 19.0% of the total), R377 million (or 14.5%) and R298 million (or 11.4%) respectively. These are incidentally four of the five provinces with the highest broad unemployment rates in September 2002 (North-West province had the third highest broad unemployment rate at the time). Sending households from these provinces are therefore relatively heavily reliant on remittances from Gauteng migrant workers, and it is likely that interruptions to the flow of money and goods from migrant workers to their sending households would have significant ramifications for the sending households as well as the relevant provincial economies.

Unfortunately, data on total income earned in the various provinces is not available and it is consequently not possible to assess directly the importance of remittances relative to wages and other income. However, it is possible to roughly approximate the importance of remittances by comparing the amount to gross domestic product per region (GDPR) in each of the provinces. Using Statistics SA (2003) estimates for 2002, remittances from all South African migrant workers are equivalent to 0.52% of GDP. If we consider only Gauteng migrant workers, the proportion falls to 0.23%. Remittances from Gauteng migrant workers to Limpopo sending households are equivalent to 1.41% of the province's GDPR, while the proportions are 0.56% for the Eastern Cape and 0.38% for Mpumalanga.

The figure also provides an indication of the skills that provinces are 'sending' to Gauteng via migrant work. For example, the high mean remittance of money and goods from Gauteng migrant workers to Western Cape sending households (R5 834) indicates that these migrant workers are relatively highly skilled as opposed to migrant workers from, say, the Eastern Cape where sending households receive an average of R2 076. However, too much emphasis should not be placed on the actual values (of the means) due to the very small sample size.

### Summary

The province of Gauteng is unique in the extent to which labour migration occurs in the province. Nearly half of the country's labour migrants are working or seeking employment in Gauteng, accounting for almost one in six of the province's residents. Virtually all migrant workers are African and are most likely to come from households in rural areas throughout the country, but specifically the rural areas of Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and KZN. Migrant workers tend to be more concentrated in lower educational categories (incomplete and complete primary and incomplete secondary) relative to the province's overall non-migrant labour force. However, the relatively low proportion of highly educated labour migrants (i.e. those with tertiary qualifications) is matched by a low proportion of completely uneducated labour migrants, resulting in a smaller difference in the average level of education between labour migrants and the non-migrant labour force than would otherwise have been the case.

Data on the length of time for which an individual has been a migrant worker indicates that the population of migrant workers is relatively stable, with nearly half having been migrant workers for five years or more. Here, again, the situation in Gauteng differs from that in the other provinces where those who have been migrant workers for more than five years constitute a much smaller proportion of all migrant workers (around 38%).

Overall, migrant workers tend to be unmarried, although this is more often the case for females than males, while their sending households are significantly larger than the average household size. Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine whether or not migrant workers take their children to Gauteng with them and if they do, how many children do they take. However, if the Gauteng population pyramids presented in Figure 3 for Gauteng-born and non-Gauteng-born residents are any indication, relatively few children accompany their migrant worker parents to the province.

Links with sending households are confirmed by remittance data which, although the accuracy of actual figures is doubtful, indicate strong links particularly between migrant workers and their sending households in Limpopo, the Eastern Cape, KZN and Mpumalanga.

## 5. CROSS BORDER MIGRATION TO GAUTENG

Gauteng is home to the largest number of inter-provincial migrants and migrant workers. Furthermore, the Gauteng born also show high rates of mobility within the province. Gauteng also has the highest proportion of its population born outside South Africa of any province in the country. Some 473,073 people living in Gauteng in 2001 were born outside South Africa, or 5.4% of the provinces population (Statistics South Africa (SSA), 2004). This represents an increase of 0.8% since 1996, when people born outside the country made up 4.6% of the population (SSA, 2003). Therefore, the increase in the proportion of the provinces population born outside the country living in Gauteng has not increased at the same rate as migration from other provinces in South Africa. Some 208,968 people who were born outside South Africa have acquired South African citizenship or were already South African citizens (SSA, 2004).

Cross border migrants come from all over the world to South Africa and Gauteng. From 1913 to 1986, only white people were allowed to be temporary or permanent residents in South Africa. The high proportion of white people born outside South Africa in Gauteng, and the provinces relatively large white population may in part reflect past exclusionary immigration policies. Although racial restrictions on migration were lifted in 1986, legal, non-contract immigration to South Africa remained largely white until the early 1990s. Temporary residence was largely granted to non-white people from countries with which South Africa had economic ties that the apartheid state wanted to foster (e.g., Taiwan, Zaire) (Peberdy, 1999).

Notwithstanding racial restrictions on migration, black African migrants, mainly from Southern Africa, still entered South Africa. Immigration legislation allowed contract workers from the region to enter to work under strict conditions in the mining and agricultural sectors. These migrants were (and still are) only allowed to enter for specific periods of time, under strict working conditions, and were not allowed to bring their families to join them (Crush *et al.*, 1991; Crush, 1999).

Furthermore, until 1963, nationals of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland could move freely into South Africa, although black citizens of these countries were subject to the same restrictions on movement within the country as black South Africans (Peberdy, 1999). And, despite apartheid and other restrictions black people from Southern Africa have always entered South Africa without documents, even sometimes with the approval of the colonial and apartheid states (Peberdy, 1998). Research by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) reflects these long cross-generational family histories of migration (Table 15).

**Table 15 – Migration Histories of Interviewees in SAMP research, 1997-1998.**

Country	Been to SA (%)	Parents worked in SA (%)	Grandparents worked in SA (%)
Botswana	40	41	26
Lesotho	81	81	81
Namibia	23	26	23
Southern Mozambique*	29	53	32
Zimbabwe**	38	24	23

Source: Oucho, J. *et al.*, 2000: 27

Notes: \* The study was only conducted in Southern Mozambique. Retrenchments and recovery from the war may explain why respondents' parents had more migration experience.

\*\* The current economic situation in Zimbabwe may have changed this profile

It seems that since 1994, migration to South Africa from the region and the rest of the continent could have increased (Crush and McDonald, 2000). However, with the exception of visitors, the increase in legal migration has not been as great as might be expected, or as is often imagined. National immigration figures show that:

- between 1994-2000 the number of permanent residents or immigrants entering South Africa fell steadily from 6,398 in to 3053, however rose again to 6,545 in 2002 (Peberdy, 2004; see Appendix C)
- between 1998-2000 the number of people entering South Africa for work purposes fell from 65,898 to 50,561 (*ibid.*; see Appendix C)<sup>7</sup>
- between 1998-2000 the number of people entering South Africa for business purposes fell from 675,735 to 645,566 (*ibid.*; see Appendix C)<sup>8</sup>
- between 1990-2000 the number of entries on visits increased dramatically from 1 million to 5.1million p.a. (*ibid.*; Department of Home Affairs, 2001). Of these the proportion of African visitors increased from 550,000 to 4 million of whom 3.7 million were from the SADC (*ibid.*; see Appendix C).

There is no way of knowing how many irregular or undocumented migrants are living in South Africa, or in Gauteng, or whether numbers have increased since 1994. Estimates that are bandied about are often exaggerated, and certainly have no researched foundation (McDonald, 2000). For instance, the President recently quoted a figure of 3 million illegal Zimbabweans in South Africa. As these migrants would be likely to be adults, it would mean 1.5 in 10 adults across the whole of South Africa would be Zimbabweans – this is extremely unlikely. However, the majority of irregular migrants appear to come from other SADC countries, particularly, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Some SADC nationals were granted permanent residence under two amnesties. The first was for mineworkers in 1995, the second for SADC nationals who had been living in the country irregularly took place from 1996-1997 (Crush and Williams, 1999). These amnesties enabled approximately 50,000 mineworkers, and around 124,000 SADC nationals who had previously been in the country without permits, to get permanent residence status (*ibid.*: 5-7).

The number of recognised asylum seekers and refugees have increased since 1994, and the countries they are coming from are increasingly diverse. Until 1993, South Africa did not formally recognise refugees. However, whites leaving newly independent African countries and Mozambique and Angola, were accepted virtually unconditionally (Peberdy, 1999). Black Mozambican refugees from the war settled in South Africa (mainly in border areas) as irregular migrants. Since 1993, South Africa has recognised refugees receiving approximately 100,000 applications in the 10 years from 1994 to 2004, most of which still await adjudication (interview, Lawyers for Human Rights, 2004). There is no way of knowing how many asylum seekers and refugees are living in Gauteng. Countries from which asylum seekers come include: Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda and Somalia.

This report sits against a background of hostility to foreigners, or xenophobia, among some South Africans. Studies of South African attitudes to non-nationals have found some of the highest levels of negative attitudes to foreigners when compared with similar studies in other countries across the region and across the world (Mattes *et al.*, 1999: SAMP, 2003). These attitudes cut across race, class and gender. They are manifested in the attitudes of some Gauteng residents and service providers. These negative attitudes are most strongly expressed against African cross border migrants and have at times included physical attacks on non-nationals and their homes (*ibid.*, Majodina and Peberdy, 2000).

Xenophobia is not just about attitudes. It can be a source of exclusion for cross border migrants, affecting where they live, how they live their lives and even if they can get access to services. Negative attitudes to foreigners may lead service providers to exclude cross border migrants from

---

<sup>7</sup> These figures record the declared purpose of entry by people entering South Africa. Significantly, the number of Africans entering for permanent residence, business and work has also declined, even though this is a category expected to have increased.

<sup>8</sup> As above.

services they are entitled to and need. It may affect where people choose to live and can find accommodation and the activities they participate in. Some of the hostility to non-nationals may reflect, in part, the difficult situation that many South Africans find themselves in as well as this period of South Africa's history. However, it may affect whether migrants can develop their full economic and productive potential, and whether the province can best benefit from their presence. Therefore, policies undertaken by Gauteng need to take cognisance of prevailing attitudes to non-nationals.

## **RIGHTS AND ENTITLEMENTS OF CITIZENS AND MIGRANTS**

Before going further it is useful to identify the different kinds of legal status that migrants can hold, and the rights and entitlements that their status gives them (see Table 16). Internal migrants, referred to above, are likely to be South African citizens. Citizens are entitled to all rights and entitlements laid out in Table 16. However, citizens without ID books will find it difficult, if not impossible, to access these rights and services.

Cross border migrants, as noted above, may in some cases hold South African citizenship. People who have gained South African citizenship after arrival in South Africa are entitled to the same rights as other South African citizens.

Cross border migrants may also be in the country as permanent residents, temporary residents, contract workers, asylum seekers and refugees, and as irregular migrants (or undocumented or illegal migrants). Permanent residents, or immigrants, are people who have permission to stay in South Africa permanently. Permanent residents have ID books, but do not have South African

citizenship. Temporary residents are given permits to stay in South Africa for a specific period of time for a specific purpose (e.g., work, study, visit, business). Temporary residence permits can be renewed. Contract workers are people who enter under bi-lateral treaties and immigration legislation to work on mines and in the agricultural sector under specific terms and conditions. The conditions of entry of permanent and temporary residents and contract workers are laid out in the Immigration Act (Act No. 13 of 2002).

Non-nationals may also enter as refugees and asylum seekers. Refugee status is granted under the Refugee Act of 1998 (which became active in 2000). The Refugee Act grants refugee status based on definitions of a refugee contained in the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees and the 1967 OAU Convention on Refugees. Asylum seekers are people who have applied for refugee status, but are waiting for their applications to be approved. Once refugee status has been granted, refugees are entitled to a special ID book which is specific to refugees. Two of the Department of Home Affairs Refugee Reception Offices, where asylum seekers and refugees make their applications and are issued permits, are located in Gauteng, in Johannesburg and Pretoria.

Irregular migrants are people who have entered the country without papers, without a permit, or have allowed their permits to expire, or have entered with fraudulent documents.

### **Characteristics of Cross Border migrants in Gauteng**

#### ***a. ORIGINS OF CROSS BORDER MIGRANTS***

As noted above, over 470,000 people, or 5.4% of the population of Gauteng were born outside South Africa. Table 17 shows that the majority of cross border migrants in Gauteng come from the SADC, followed by European migrants. These patterns of origin reflect South Africa's migration history. As noted above, it is not possible to know from available data, how long these migrants have been living in Gauteng.

**Table 16 – The Rights and Entitlements of Citizens and Migrants in South Africa**

<b>Rights/services</b>	<b>Citizen:*</b>	<b>Permanent resident:</b>	<b>Temporary resident:</b>	<b>Refugee:</b>	<b>Asylum seeker:</b>	<b>Irregular migrant: (undocumented, illegal)</b>
	Born in South Africa, or to South African parents, or acquired citizenship under the SA Citizenship Act	Indicates intention to remain permanently in South Africa. Permits acquired prior to, or after arrival under immigration legislation	Status/permit for specific purpose of entry and for specified time period under immigration legislation. Permits may be renewed. Reasons for temporary permit issue: Visitor Work Business Study Medical Transit Crew Family reunification	Permits issued under SA Refugee Act, 1998 (effective 2000). Must meet 1951 UN Convention and/or 1967 OAU Convention definitions of refugees.	Permits issued to people who have applied for refugee status and are awaiting decisions on their applications by the Dept. of Home Affairs. Decisions can take over 2 years.	People who have entered South Africa without documents, or whose permits have expired, or who have broken the terms of their permits or, who have false/forged documents
Vote	Y	N	N	N	N	N
ID book	Y	Y	N	Y -special	N	N
State social security services	Y	Y	N	Y – some only	Y – some only	N
State housing subsidy	Y	N	N	N	N	N
State health services	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N**
State education services	Y	Y	N	Y	Y - until December 2002 children only	N***
Employment	Y	Y	Y – if permit allows	Y	Y - since December 2002	N
Private health, education, pensions etc.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Police protection	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Sports centres, buses, libraries etc.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N - if ID required to register
Banks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

**Notes:** \* Citizens with dual nationality (or citizenship of two countries) have the same rights as all South African citizens, but cannot vote in both countries, and should travel on their South African passport.

\*\* Doctors and hospitals should not turn away anyone whose life is in danger.

\*\*\* Under the Constitution, every child has the right to an education, however, learners are required to hold study permits, so effectively most irregular migrant children are excluded from the school system.



**Table 17 – Region of Birth of Cross Border Migrants (%), Gauteng, 2001**

Place of birth	Number	% of those born outside South Africa in Gauteng	% total population of Gauteng
South Africa	8,364,103	-	94.6
SADC countries	305459	64.6	3.4
Rest of Africa	21639	4.6	0.2
Europe	113450	24	1.3
Asia	20439	4.3	0.2
North America	4155	0.8	0.4
Central and South America	5927	1.2	<0.1
Australia and New Zealand	2004	0.4	<0.1

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Table 18 shows the populations of the three District Councils and the three Metropolitan Municipalities that make up Gauteng by region of birth. It shows that there are differences in the make up of the cross border migrant populations of these areas. So, the West Rand and Johannesburg are have the highest proportions of migrants from the SADC. That over 8% of the population of the West Rand are from the SADC reflects its location on the edge of the gold mines. The generally higher proportions of cross border migrants for Johannesburg indicates its position as the financial powerhouse of the province.

**Table 18 – Region of birth of cross border migrants by municipality (%), Gauteng, 2001**

	<i>Metsweding</i>	<i>West Rand</i>	<i>Sedibeng</i>	<i>Ekurhuleni</i>	<i>Johannesburg</i>	<i>Tshwane</i>	<i>Total Gauteng</i>
South Africa	97.1	91.1	98	95.2	93.1	97.9	94.6
SADC countries	2.1	8.3	1.2	3.2	4.1	1.2	3.4
Rest of Africa	0.1	<0.1	<0.1	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.2
Europe	0.5	0.5	0.6	1.3	1.7	0.7	1.3
Asia	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.2
Gauteng population	1.7	7.9	8.5	26.5	34.1	21.1	100

Source: Statistics South Africa, 2004

#### *b. AGE, GENDER AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE*

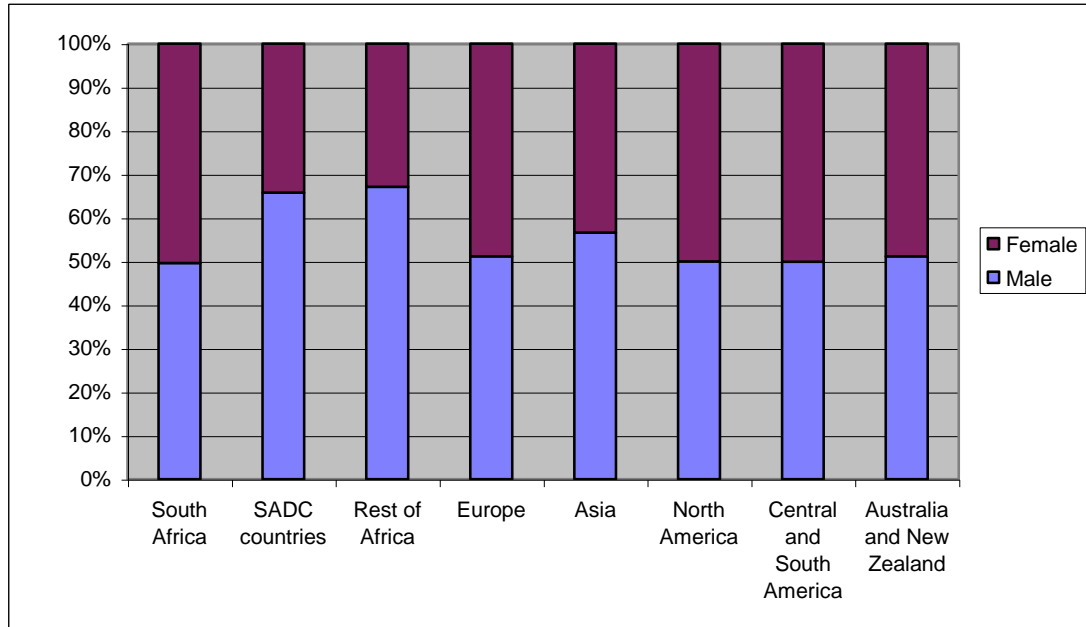
##### *Gender*

When asked to imagine a cross border migrant in South Africa, most people would see a man, alone, and usually black. If women are imagined away from home they are often only seen as partners of male migrants, as part of his luggage. For much of South Africa's history, migrants (and particularly those from Southern Africa) have been male. The apartheid and colonial regimes encouraged black men to migrate alone. Cross border migration, dominated by the mining sector exclusively recruited male labour. However, women have always been part of migrant flows to South Africa (Dodson, 1998).

Census 2001 data suggests that, following global trends, women are increasingly cross border migrants in their own right, as well as being the partners of migrants. Figure 19 shows the proportion of men and women among cross border migrants in Gauteng and those born in South Africa. It shows that almost 70% of migrants from SADC countries and the Rest of Africa are likely to be male. With the exception of migrants from Asia, the migrant populations from Europe, the Americas and Australia and New Zealand mirror the male:female ratio of the South African born.

Refugees and asylum seekers are more likely to be men (CASE, 2003; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000). Male refugees are likely to travel further than their female counterparts as they have more access to resources and may move first to establish themselves before being joined by their families (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000). Notwithstanding the gender imbalance among African cross border migrants to South Africa, Census 2001 data indicates the increasing feminisation of migration. Or, that women, who have always migrated to South Africa, may be migrating in increasing numbers.

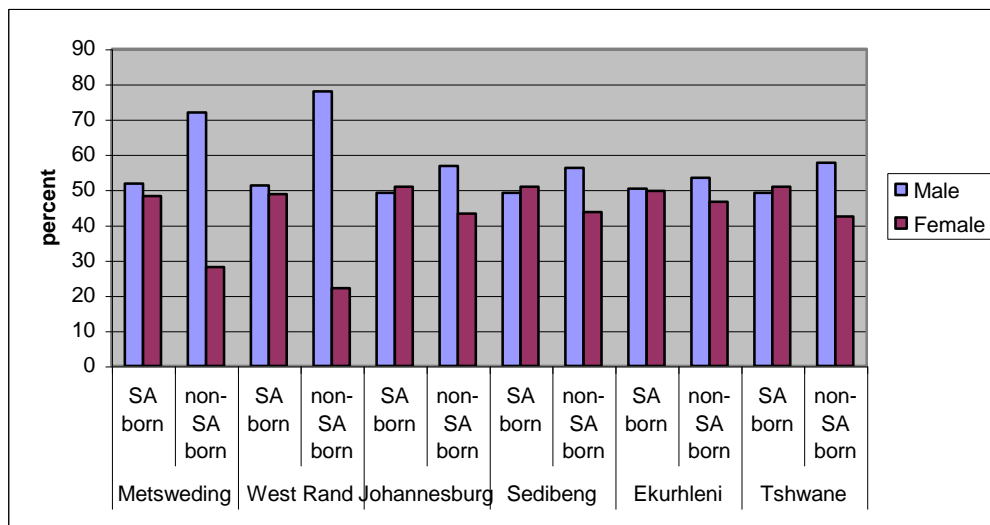
**Figure 19 – Region of Birth and Gender (%), Gauteng, 2001**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Figure 20 shows the difference in the sex ratio of the South African born and those born outside South Africa by municipality. It shows that the municipalities of Metsweding and the West Rand are home to male migrant workers. It also indicates the influence of the mining industry on the balance between male and female cross border migrants.

**Figure 20 – Gender Ratio of Gauteng Residents, by Municipality, 2001**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

*Age*

Table 19 shows the age composition of cross border migrants by region and the total population of Gauteng. They show marked differences. Figure 21 and Table 20 break down the age structure of cross border migrants by region in ten year intervals. These tables and figures show that:

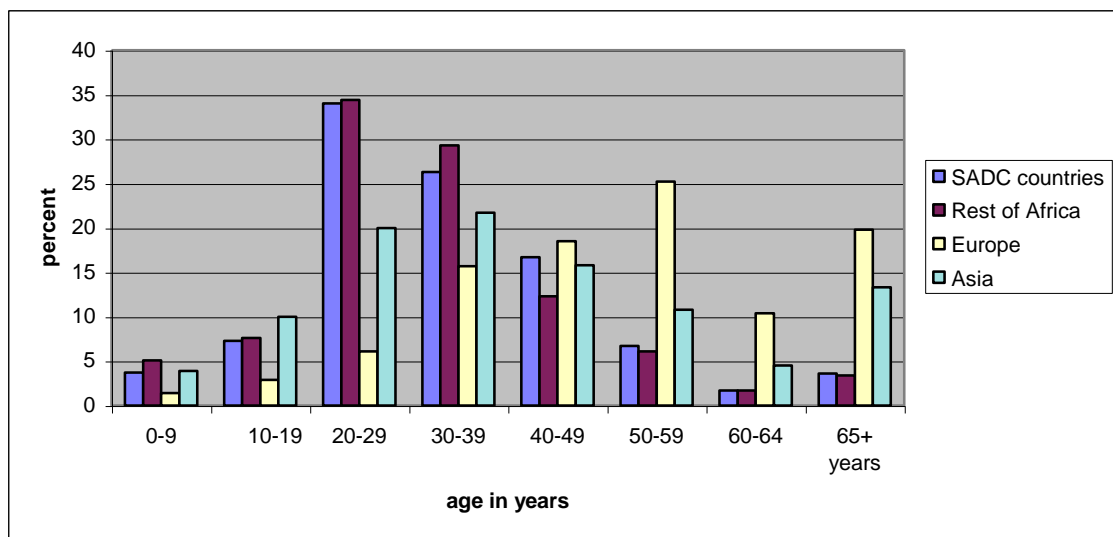
- there are significant differences between the age structure of cross border migrants and the total Gauteng population
- the age structure of cross border migrants is similar to that of South African migrants
- with the exception of the European born, the majority of the cross border migrant population is of prime working age, between 20-40 years
- cross border migrants often travel without children, or don't have children
- with the exception of the European and Asian born there are not significant differences in the age structure of cross border migrants
- the European and Asian born show an aging population which may create particular demands for services for the elderly from these communities.

**Table 19 – Age Distribution of Cross Border Migrants (%), Gauteng, 2001**

	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia	All Gauteng
0-14 years	5.9	8.5	2.7	8.1	23.6
15-64 years	90.5	88.1	77.5	78.6	72.4
65+ years	3.6	3.4	19.8	13.3	4

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Figure 21 – Age of Cross Border Migrants (%), Gauteng, 2001**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Table 20 – Age of Cross Border Migrants (%), Gauteng, 2001**

Age in years	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
0-4	5424	437	615	302
5-9	5804	671	974	497
10-14	6920	730	1455	861
15-19	15518	903	1892	1193
20-29	103770	7448	6865	4081
30-39	80476	6338	17798	4437
40-49	51132	2661	20962	3224
50-59	20430	1320	28628	2217
60-64	5090	370	11754	916
65+ years	10894	736	22491	2710

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Census data does not show whether migrants have left their children behind or are childless. However, SAMP research suggests that cross border migrants often leave their children at home in the countries they come from. REFS A study of African migrants in South Africa found only 1% said they had come to South Africa for the schools. This data therefore suggests that migrants are not coming to Gauteng to take advantage of schools.

Divided families, where children (and perhaps partners) are left in home areas with carers creates a range of issues to be considered:

- Migrants may be looking to their home area rather than building their lives in Gauteng
- Separation can cause psychosocial problems for parents as well as their children
- Childless households create particular demands for housing, particularly single person housing. Furthermore migrants may not wish to invest in housing (rental or bought) if supporting family members elsewhere and if looking to a future elsewhere.
- Remittances to families elsewhere take money out of the city's economy. However, remittances may be sent in goods which add to the city's economy.

#### *Household Size*

The data on household size in Census 2001 used here refers to the number of people a census respondent has an economic or social relationship with in Gauteng. It does not refer to the number of people who live in a dwelling or room. Nor does it refer to the households of migrants that are located elsewhere. So, a single person household (or a larger household) may live in a dwelling or a room with other people who are not part of their household – and may even live in overcrowded conditions. Census 2001 data in Table 21 indicates the significant numbers of migrant workers in Gauteng. So, over 45% of households in the province are single and two person households. For SADC countries, where the majority of cross border migrant workers are likely to come from the figure is even higher, with over one third living in single person households and over 20% living in two person households.

Household size is more than an indicator of the presence of migrant workers. It has implications for the demand for housing stock, and the kind of housing that needs to be available in Gauteng if current migration patterns continue. Single and two person households constitute a significant proportion of households in the province, yet existing housing stock is dominated by family housing. Consideration should be given to increasing the stock of affordable rental housing for small households. This could help alleviate overcrowding in family accommodation. However, it is possible that available housing and other services also shape migrant households. If sufficient adequate, affordable rental housing and education services are not available, it may discourage migrants from bringing their families with them.

**Table 21 – Household Size of Cross Border Migrant and All Households (%), Gauteng, 2001**

Household Size	SADC Countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia	All Gauteng
1	33.9	21.9	15.5	10.8	25.5
2	22.9	27.4	35.3	23.1	22.4
3	15.7	18	18.4	19	16.1
4	12.6	15.9	18.5	20.3	14.7
5	6.9	8.7	7.6	12.3	9.1
6	3.7	4.4	2.9	7.2	5.2
7	1.8	2	1.1	3.7	2.9
8	1	1	0.3	1.9	1.7
9	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.9	1
10	0.4	<	0.1	0.5	0.7
11 and more	0.4	0.2	<0.1	0.3	0.7

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

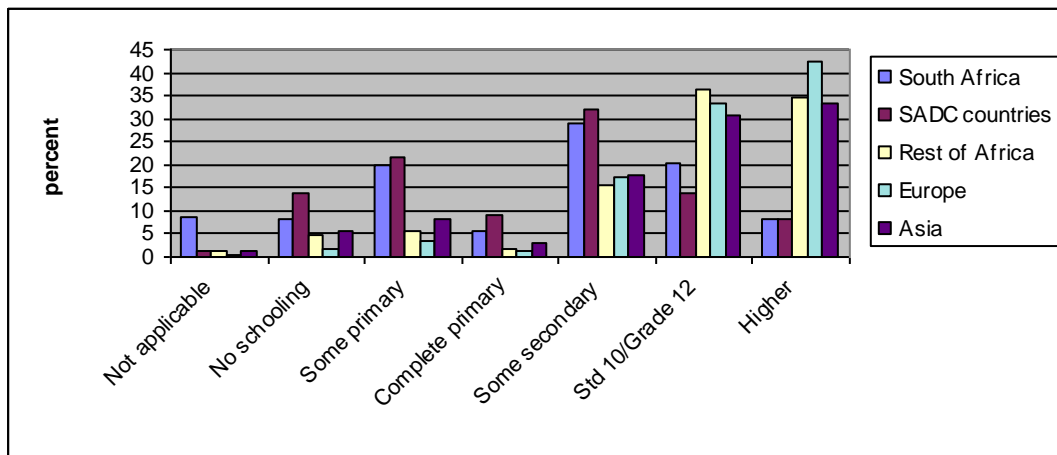
c. **EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT**

Migration can allow access to skills and education that have not been paid for by Gauteng, or South Africa, in the case of cross border migrants. Migrants can, therefore, represent a gain to the province and a loss of investment in education to the home area. Education levels affect a persons ability to enter the job market, and where they enter the labour force, and therefore, their incomes.

Figure 22 and Figure 23 show the highest level of education achieved by men and women by region of birth. Table 22 shows the same information. Overall, these figures and table show that:

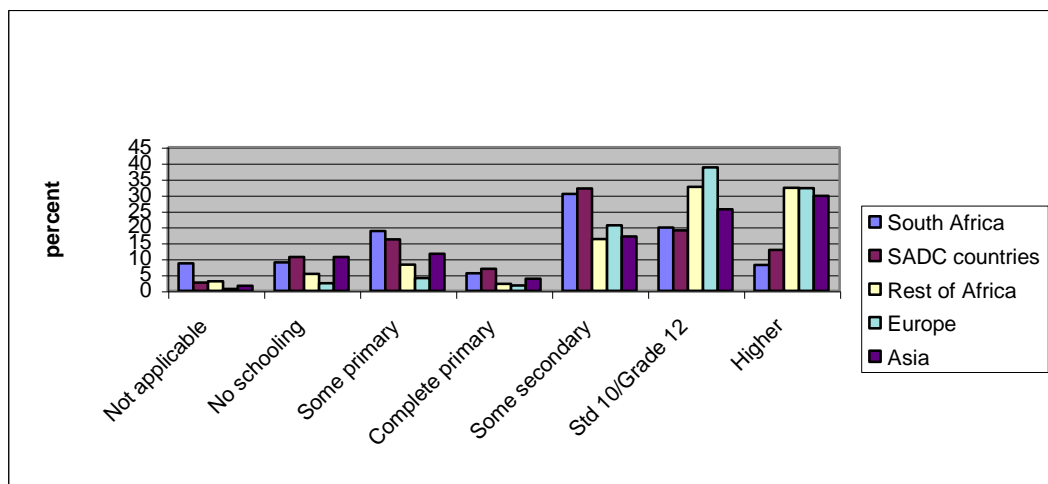
- With the exception of migrants from the SADC, cross border migrants have proportionally, achieved higher levels of education than the South African born
- Migrants from the SADC are most likely to have never been to school, and, overall, have lower levels of educational achievement than other migrants and the South African born. However, it should be noted that the majority have at least been to secondary school, even if they were unable to complete.
- Migrants from the Rest of Africa are more likely than those from the SADC, Asia and the South African born to have completed secondary school and have some tertiary education.
- Notwithstanding regional variations, and variations within regions, overall, women migrants tend to have achieved lower levels of education than their male counterparts.
- However, women migrants from the SADC show higher levels of education than their men from the SADC.

**Figure 22 – Highest Level of Education Achieved by Region of Birth (%), Gauteng Males, 2001**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Figure 23 – Highest Level of Education Achieved by Region of Birth (%), Gauteng Females, 2001**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

**Table 22 – Highest Education Level Achieved by Region of Birth (%), Gauteng, 2001**

	South Africa		SADC countries		Rest of Africa		Europe		Asia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not applicable	8.6	8.6	1.4	2.6	1.5	3.0	0.5	0.6	1.4	1.6
No schooling	8.4	8.9	13.8	10.6	4.8	5.3	1.9	2.4	5.5	10.6
Some primary	19.8	18.7	21.8	16.1	5.5	8.2	3.4	4.0	8.4	11.6
Complete primary	5.5	5.5	8.9	6.9	1.6	2.2	1.3	1.7	3.0	3.8
Some secondary	28.9	30.4	32.1	32.1	15.5	16.2	17.1	20.5	17.8	17.0
Std 10/Grade 12	20.5	19.8	13.9	18.9	36.4	32.6	33.3	38.7	30.6	25.6
Higher	8.1	8.1	8.2	12.8	34.6	32.3	42.5	32.2	33.3	29.8

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Levels of education vary by nationality and sex (McDonald, 2000). Research with SADC nationals in the handicraft curio sector in South Africa and involved in cross border trade indicate that they tend to have higher levels of education than the national averages of their home countries (Peberdy and Crush, 1998). Research with refugees and asylum seekers also show that on average, they tend to have achieved higher levels of education than the South African born (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000; CASE, 2003).

**Table 23 – Highest Educational Level of African Migrants and Refugees and Asylum Seekers (%), South Africa**

	African migrants	Refugees & asylum seekers
No schooling	1.0	3.0
Some primary	15.0	1.0
Completed primary	11.0	6.0
Some secondary	17.0	24.0
Completed secondary	18.0	34.0
Some tertiary	18.0	25.0
Completed tertiary	17.0	8.0
Other	3.0	-

Source: McDonald, 2000: 289; CASE, 2004: 445.

So overall, although SADC migrants show slightly lower levels of educational achievement than the South African born, levels of educational achievement of cross border migrants largely match or exceed those of South Africans. This contradicts some commonly held views that migrants from the rest of Africa, and particularly the SADC, are uneducated and unskilled. It may be, however, that due to discrimination in the job market, cross border migrants may not be able to maximise the benefits of their education in employment and may be underemployed (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000; CASE, 2002).

#### *d. LABOUR MARKET CHARACTERISTICS*

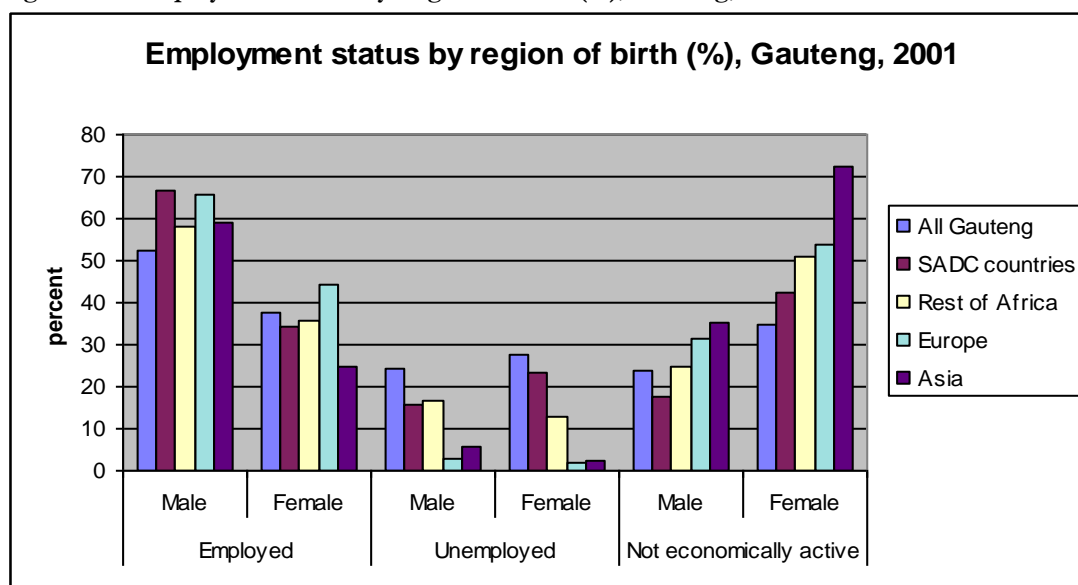
##### *Employment status*

It is commonly held that people migrate for economic reasons, and particularly for work and opportunities to maximise their incomes. Census 2001 defines employment as being economically active, whether in waged employment or self-employment in the formal and informal sectors. Unemployment means that a person is not working but is looking for work. Not economically active includes people who are studying, homemakers, the retired, and those who are unemployed but are not looking for work.

Census data (Figure 24) on the employment status of cross border migrants and people living in Gauteng shows:

- Male cross border migrants are more likely to be employed than the total population of Gauteng and less likely to be unemployed
- With the exception of male migrants from the SADC, male cross border migrants are more likely to be not economically active than the total Gauteng population
- Female cross border migrants are less likely to be employed than the total population of Gauteng, but are less likely to be unemployed
- Female cross border migrants are significantly more likely to be not economically active than the total population of Gauteng.

Figure 24 – Employment Status by Region of Birth (%), Gauteng, 2001



	Employed		Unemployed		Not economically active	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All Gauteng	52.3	37.4	24.1	27.6	23.6	35
SADC countries	66.7	34.3	15.9	23.3	17.4	42.3
Rest of Africa	58.3	35.9	16.9	13	24.8	51.1
Europe	65.5	44.5	2.9	1.9	31.6	53.6
Asia	59.1	24.9	5.8	2.6	35.1	72.6

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

The higher rates of employment of cross border migrants may reflect:

- Migrants made a decision to move, often for work, and may even have obtained jobs before they migrate. So, SAMP research suggests that the majority of migrants from the SADC knew someone in South Africa and had a place to stay before they left home (McDonald, 2000:233). Furthermore, 69% of Basotho, 51% of Namibian, 43% of Mozambican and 22% of Zimbabwean respondents said they had a job in South Africa before they left home (*ibid.*).
- Notwithstanding these social networks, the social networks of cross border migrants are likely to be weaker than those of South Africans and the Gauteng born. This means that their networks may not be strong enough to support them when unemployed and so migrants may return home when unemployed (remembering too, that migrants are more likely to live in single person households). This option is not available to refugees.
- Migrants may have skills and education that are attractive to employers. SAMP research with African migrants living in South Africa found 62% had been employed or self-

employed before they left their home country, 18% had been studying and 18% had been unemployed (McDonald, 2000: 274). Some 77% of these respondents were employed in South Africa. Although social networks may not be strong enough to support the unemployed they may help in finding work.

Notwithstanding the relatively high rates of employment of non-nationals, many find it difficult to find work as their permits are not recognised by employers and they lack ID books (CASE 2003; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000). This particularly affects asylum seekers and refugees. From April 2002 to December 2003, asylum seekers were not allowed to seek work or be self-employed unless they applied for special permission to work. Refugees are allowed to work, and may now be issued with ID books, however, many find that employers do not recognise their papers.

The relatively high rates of employment of cross border migrants compared to the total population of Gauteng may raise fears that cross border migrants are taking employment opportunities from Gauteng residents. However:

- Cross border migrants only constitute 5.4% of the population of Gauteng and less than 80% of these migrants are in the job market.
- There is not a zero-sum job market, i.e., a person who is employed may create other jobs directly or indirectly. Certainly self-employed cross border migrants and refugees are creating jobs for South Africans (Rogerson, 1997; Peberdy and Crush, 1998; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000; Peberdy and Rogerson, 2002).
- A relatively significant proportion of male migrants from the SADC are likely to be employed in the West Rand as mineworkers, and will be continuing a tradition of work and contribution to the South African economy which stretches back over 100 years.

Unemployment among cross border migrants is of concern as they may lack the social networks available to the Gauteng and South African born to support them in times of need. Therefore, they may be hit hardest by unemployment. Furthermore, only permanent residents are entitled to UIF payments.

#### *Employment sector*

So, where are employed migrants working? Where a person works affects their income earning potential as well as job security and working conditions. Overall, the dominant areas of employment in Gauteng are community and social services; the wholesale and retail and services; finance; mining and private households.

Cross border migrant employment patterns largely follow these dominant sectors. Table 24 shows that:

- Migrants from the SADC, not surprisingly, are most likely to be employed in the mining sector. Retrenchments in the mining sector have hit all mineworkers, but have disproportionately affected South African mineworkers (Crush and Peberdy, 2004).
- Migrants from the SADC are disproportionately likely to be employed in the construction sector. Of SADC migrants Mozambican migrants are most likely to be found in this sector and have been a longstanding component of the construction sector workforce (Rogerson, 1999).
- For migrants from Asia and the rest of Africa, the wholesale and retail trade and hotel and restaurant sector are the dominant areas of employment.
- SADC migrants are most likely of all cross border migrant groups to be employed in private households. This is particularly true of women migrants.
- Relatively high rates of employment of cross border migrants in the community and public service sector indicates that cross border migrants make more than an economic contribution to the province.

The dominant sectors of employment of cross border migrants are sectors that include low paid, insecure employment with often poor working conditions. However, it should be noted that it is



not possible to know at what level migrants are employed in these sectors or their security of employment.

**Table 24 – Employment Sector by Region of Birth and All Gauteng (%), 2001**

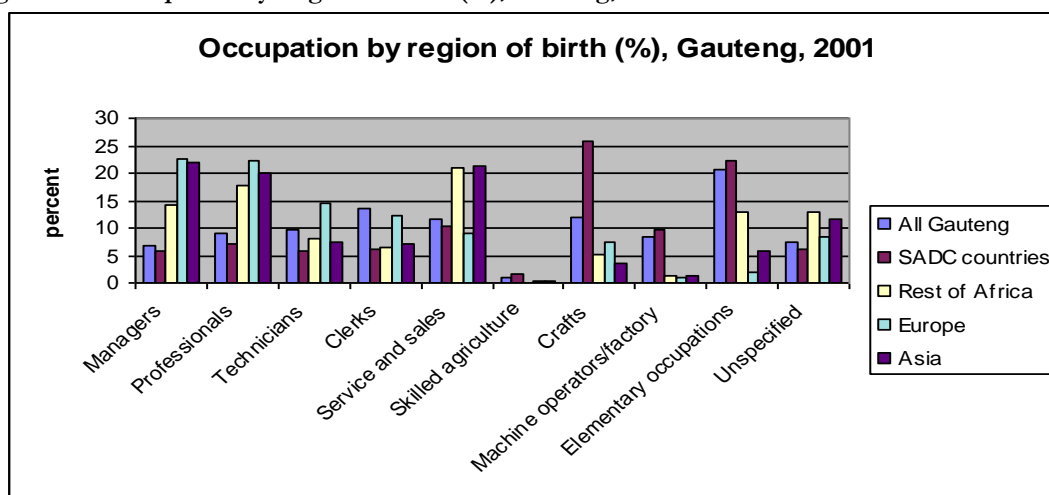
	All Gauteng	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
Agriculture; hunting; forestry and fishing	2.3	3.8	0.5	1.1	0.8
Mining and quarrying	13.9	19.2	0.8	2.1	0.6
Manufacturing	2.4	10.2	8.4	18.9	11.9
Utilities	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.7	0.4
Construction	5.3	10.8	2	6.4	2.1
Internal trade and service	16.6	16.9	30.4	18.4	39.1
Transport & communication	6	3.4	5.1	5.1	3.4
Finance	14.4	9.6	14.4	21.4	12.9
CSP services	18.5	8.3	18.1	15.3	13.5
Private households	10	9	1.2	0.3	0.6
Other	9.8	8.5	18.6	10.3	14.7

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Cross border migrants who have permits which allow them to be employed, are protected by labour legislation. Irregular migrants are not protected and cannot seek protection. However, their employers can be prosecuted for breaking labour legislation and compromising the health and safety of their employees, whatever their legal status as migrants.

### Occupation

**Figure 25 – Occupation by Region of Birth (%), Gauteng, 2001**



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

When occupation is considered it is possible to see in Figure 25 that, with the exception of SADC migrants, cross border migrants are more likely to be employed as managers and professionals in Gauteng than the total Gauteng population. This may in part reflect the relatively high levels of education achieved by cross border migrants when compared to the rest of the population in Gauteng.

Migrants from the SADC are most likely to be employed as crafts people and artisans and in elementary occupations. The dominance of these areas of employment reflect the employment of SADC nationals in the mining sector and in private households.

### *Skilled migration*

As Figure 25 above shows, a significant proportion of cross border migrants are skilled professional workers. While those migrants who are on the margins may be of most concern, it is worth briefly considering the immigration and emigration of skilled professionals. Since 1994, the recorded number of self-declared emigrants from South Africa has been almost double the number of skilled immigrants (Brown *et al.*, 2000; SSA, 2003, 2002). This imbalance is even greater as the actual number of skilled emigrants are likely to be three times higher than recorded emigration (Brown *et al.*, 2000). Of particular concern are the loss of skilled professionals in the health and education sectors. The loss of skilled emigrants is of some concern as it represents (Crush and McDonald, 2002; Peberdy, 2003):

- A loss of human capital that could be used for economic and social development whether in the private or public sectors.
- A loss of investment in education and training by the state and private sectors as well the loss of know how and experience. Although new skilled workers may be available, experience takes time to replace.
- Possible problems with service delivery to communities and economic development.
- Possible problems with planning for staffing, labour and training requirements.
- The loss of confidence in a city or country.

The in-migration of skilled professionals can help alleviate the losses of skilled workers. It represents a gain in human capital without investment in education and training and can also promote investment and trade. But in-migration, even of skilled workers can create problems as high rates of in-migration may contribute to anti-foreigner sentiment. Furthermore, in-migration, if not properly managed, may hamper attempts to promote black economic empowerment.

SAMP research shows that South Africa remains an attractive destination for skilled migrants from all over the world, including the rest of Africa (Crush and McDonald, 2002). And, furthermore, and as this report shows, skilled women migrants are playing an increasingly significant role in the flow of regional skilled migrants (Dodson, 1998).

### *Trade and self-employment*

So far, this we have focused on the employment of migrants, and shown that work appears to be a key reason for migration. However, research by SAMP shows that finding work is not the only reason cross border migrants from Southern Africa come to South Africa, and Gauteng. Table 25 shows that migrants also come to buy and sell goods and to shop as well as to visit family and friends. The massive increase in the number of visitors from Africa since 1994, not only reflects changes in national patterns of tourism and trade but the growth of South Africa, and particularly Gauteng and Johannesburg as centres of retail and wholesale shopping.

Migrants who come to Gauteng to shop, trade and for entrepreneurial reasons tend to go to Johannesburg (Peberdy and Crush, 1998; Peberdy and Rogerson, 2000). Some make significant contributions to the economy of the province:

- Traders and shoppers contribute to the wholesale and retail sectors.

- Traders in handicrafts and curios, many of which are not made in South Africa, or available in South Africa (but may be sold by South Africans) contribute to the tourism sector.
- Traders in the informal sector and entrepreneurs in the SME sector provide employment (Peberdy and Rogerson, 2000). A study of cross border traders in the handicraft-curio sector found over 20% employed South Africans in their businesses (Peberdy and Crush, 1998). While research with 70 cross border migrant African SME owners in Johannesburg found they employed 270 people (Peberdy and Rogerson, 2000; Rogerson, 1997). And in 2000, ten Somali refugees employed 19 South Africans in their enterprises (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000).

**Table 25 – Reasons for Visiting South Africa, 1998-1999**

Country	To work/look for work (%)	To buy and sell goods/shop (%)	To visit family/friends (%)
Botswana	10	26	37
Lesotho	25	22	36
Namibia	13	3	63
Sn. Mozambique	68	6	17
Zimbabwe	29	42	16

Source: Oucho, *et al.*, 2000; McDonald, 2000.

The informal retail and productive sector provides income earning opportunities for migrants and refugees. As many migrants come from countries with strong entrepreneurial economies and with skills that many South Africans were unable to develop because of apartheid restrictions, these migrants represent opportunities for skills transfer. The activities of traders and shoppers are supplemented by cross border migrants who send remittances as goods rather than cash (Frayne, 2003).

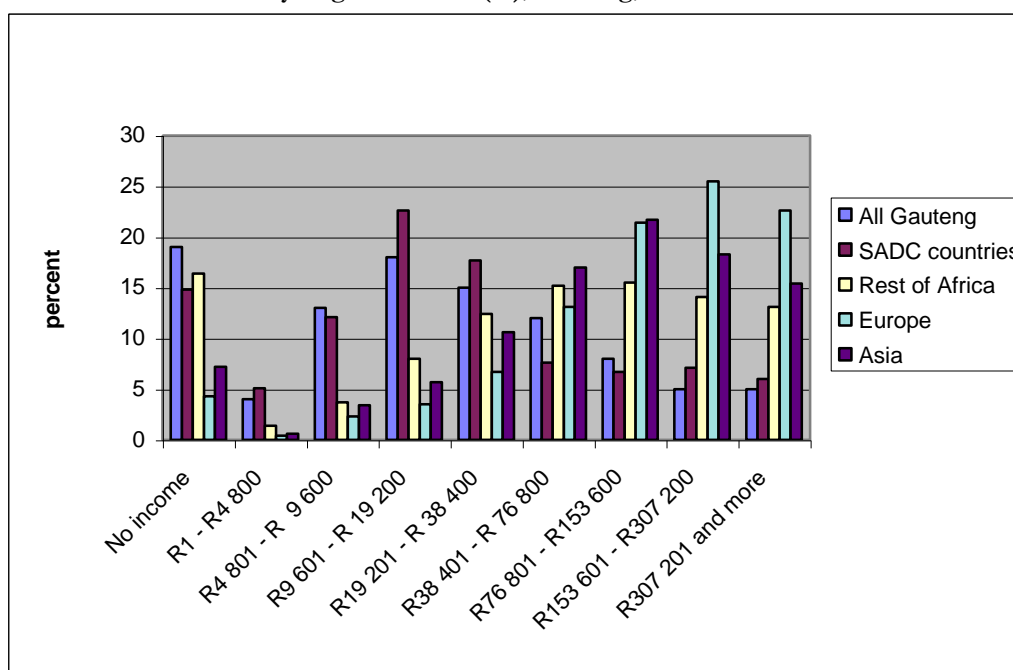
#### *e. INCOME*

The incomes of cross border migrants are affected by the sectors they work and their occupations. It is commonly held that cross border migrants, and particularly irregular cross border migrants depress wages and undercut South Africans in the job market. And, therefore that cross border migrants are over-exploited, underpaid and overworked as employers take advantage of migrants need for employment and, where relevant, insecure legal status.

Figure 26 shows the annual income cross border migrants and all Gauteng residents. It shows that Gauteng residents are most likely to have no income (19%). This is likely because Gauteng residents are most likely to have social networks that can support them when they are not working. Migrants from the Rest of Africa (16.4%) and SADC countries (14.8%) are next most likely to have no income. These cohorts without income reflect the higher proportion of these communities who are unemployed and not economically active as compared to other cross border migrant communities. It should also be noted that until December 2003, asylum seekers who had arrived after April 2000 and who were waiting to have their claims adjudicated were not allowed to work or be self-employed. A significant proportion of these asylum seekers are likely to fall into the category 'Rest of Africa'.

Overall, however, contradicting commonly held views, cross border migrants from all regions, including the SADC and the rest of Africa show proportionally higher incomes than the whole population of Gauteng. Migrants from Europe show exceptionally high incomes. Overall, women have lower incomes than men. However, although some cross border migrants appear to have relatively high incomes, it should be remembered that many are supporting two households on their incomes.

Figure 26 – Annual Income by Region of Birth (%), Gauteng, 2001



Annual income	All Gauteng	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
No income	19.0	14.8	16.4	4.3	7.2
R1 - R4 800	4.0	5.1	1.4	0.4	0.6
R4 801 - R 9 600	13.0	12.1	3.7	2.3	3.4
R9 601 - R 19 200	18.0	22.6	8.0	3.5	5.7
R19 201 - R 38 400	15.0	17.7	12.4	6.7	10.6
R38 401 - R 76 800	12.0	7.6	15.2	13.1	17.0
R76 801 - R153 600	8.0	6.7	15.5	21.4	21.7
R153 601 - R307 200	5.0	7.1	14.1	25.5	18.3
R307 201 and more	5.0	6	13.1	22.6	15.4

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

#### f. DISABILITY

Table 26 shows levels of disability among residents of Gauteng and those born outside South Africa by selected region of birth. It shows that levels of disability are comparable, although migrants from the Europe and Asia who show a marginally higher rate of disability. This may reflect the age profile of these migrant communities, which show a slightly higher proportion of elderly people. The most common disabilities are sight and physical disabilities. Higher rates of hearing disabilities may reflect occupational profiles and identification of the disability. Lower levels of disability among migrants from SADC countries and the rest of Africa may indicate that migrants from these regions return to their home countries when disabled and elderly. Overall Table 26 indicates that cross border migrants do not present a disproportionate burden on services for the disabled.

Table 26 – Disability by Region of Birth and All Gauteng (%), 2001

	All Gauteng	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
No disability	96.2	96.7	97.6	95.1	95.3
Disability	3.8	3.3	2.4	4.9	4.7
Sight	27.5	29.4	23.2	17.4	25.2
Hearing	11.9	17.7	15.7	21.6	14.5

Communication	3.1	2.4	1.8	2.4	5.9
Physical	25.6	24.4	24.8	32.4	28.4
Intellectual	9.9	7.2	12.3	5.5	6.4
Emotional	11.4	7.8	9.1	6.6	4.9
Multiple	10.6	10.8	13.2	14.1	14.7

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

### Access to Public Services

It is often assumed that cross border migrants come to South Africa and Gauteng, not just for work, but to get access to better housing and services. SAMP research with migrants in neighbouring states and with African migrants living in South Africa explored whether people thought they had better access to services such as land, water and housing in South Africa and their primary reason for coming to South Africa (McDonald, 2000). Responses to these questions suggest that these services are not what attracts cross border migrants to South Africa and Gauteng:

- Some 81% of Basotho, 74% of Mozambican, 75% of Zimbabwean and 58% of Namibian migrants interviewed in their home countries said they had better or the same access to land in their home countries. They gave similar responses to the availability of water (*ibid.*: 236-7).
- When it came to housing, 81% of Basotho, 52% of Mozambicans, 44% of Zimbabweans and 60% of Namibians said they had better or the same access to decent housing in their home countries (*ibid.*).
- Of the African migrants interviewed in South Africa, 35% said the primary reason they came to South Africa was to work or look for work or trade. Only 7% cited overall living conditions and 1% the availability of decent schools. None cited housing, water or food. Other reasons for coming to South Africa included safety, political asylum and peace (20%), study (15%), visiting family and friends (6%) (*ibid.*: 277).

These responses suggest cross border migrants from Africa, at least, are not coming to South Africa for housing, water or other services.

#### *Source of energy for cooking, lighting and heating*

Access to water, electricity and sanitation are indicators of poverty and social exclusion. They also reflect the kind of housing people are living in.

Table 27 shows the source of energy mainly used for cooking by selected region of birth and for all Gauteng. It reflects the kind of housing that people are living in. So, the SADC born, show the lowest use of electricity for cooking after all Gauteng residents. The lower rates for these categories may reflect that a similar percentage are living in informal settlements and dwellings. Furthermore, even though people may have access to electricity they may not use it regularly if they cannot afford to. The high rates of use of electricity and gas for the other categories of cross border migrant reflect that most live in formal housing with electricity and gas supplied.

**Table 27 – Source of Energy for Cooking by Region of Birth and All Gauteng (%), 2001**

	All Gauteng	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
Electricity	73.2	62.4	92.6	95.7	93.6
Gas	1.4	1.7	4.7	3.4	5.1
Paraffin	21.4	33.4	1.1	1.2	0.3
Other	3.9	2.4	1.6	0.7	0.9

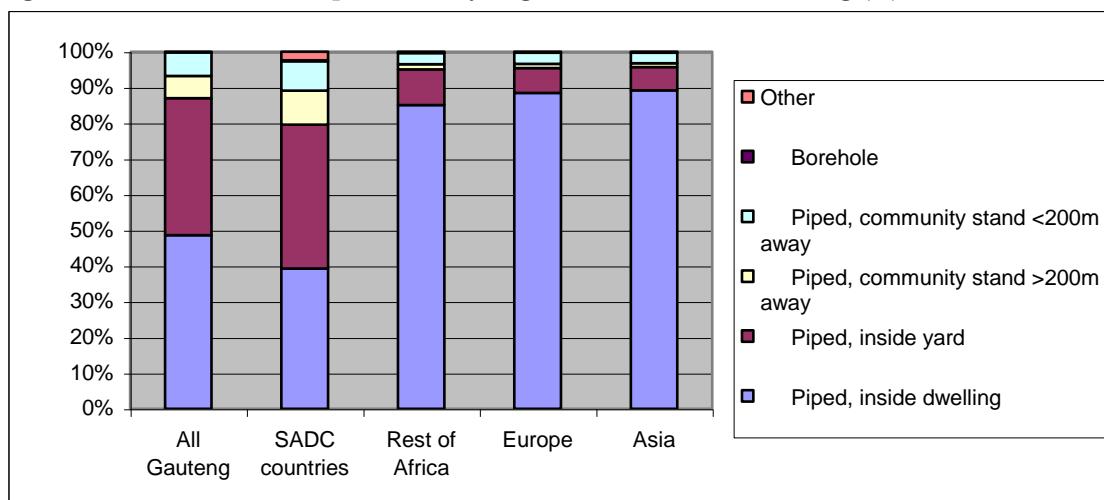
Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

#### *Source of water*

The source of water people have access to is an indicator of poverty and can affect peoples health. Overall, residents of Gauteng have relatively good access to water, with 87% having access to piped

water in their dwelling or yard. However, it should be noted that water supplies may not always work. Cross border migrants from the SADC are least likely of all cross border migrants and less likely than the general population in Gauteng to have access to piped water in their homes. They are more likely to have to walk to get water. Access to water is also determined by dwelling type, so, the data here reflects that SADC migrants are more likely to live in informal settlements and backyards than the general population and other cross border migrants are more likely to live in houses and flats.

**Figure 27 – Main Source of Piped Water by Region of Birth and All Gauteng (%), 2001**

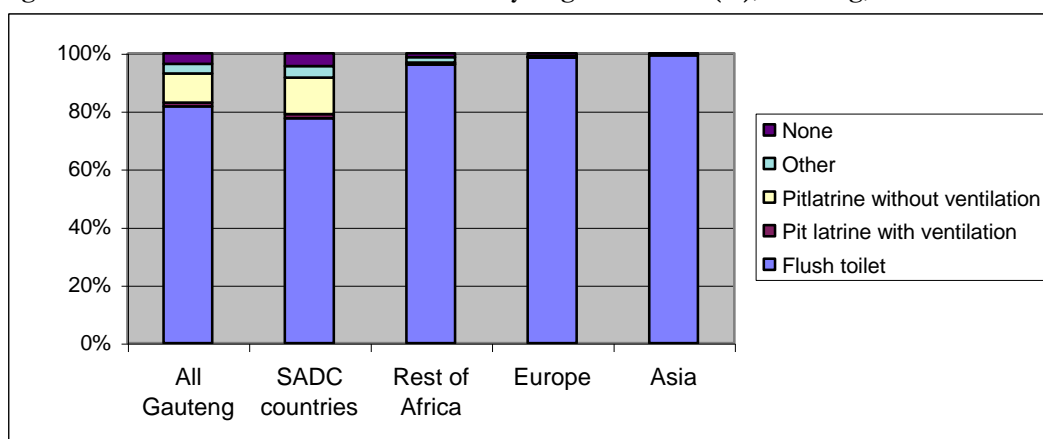


	All Gauteng	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
Piped, inside dwelling	48.6	39.3	85.1	88.5	89.2
Piped, inside yard	38.4	40.3	10	6.9	6.5
Piped, community stand >200m away	6.2	9.5	1.4	1.2	1.1
Piped, community stand <200m away	6.6	8.2	3.1	3.1	2.9
Borehole	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
Other	n/a	2.4	0.2	0.2	0.2

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

*Access to sanitation facilities*

**Figure 28 – Household Access to Sanitation by Region of Birth (%), Gauteng, 2001**



	Flush toilet	Pit latrine with ventilation	Pit latrine no ventilation	Other	None
All Gauteng	81.7	1.3	10	3.4	3.6
SADC countries	77.6	1.4	12.6	4	4.4
Rest of Africa	97.8	0.2	0.4	2	1.3

Europe	98.6	0.1	0.1	0.2	1
Asia	98.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

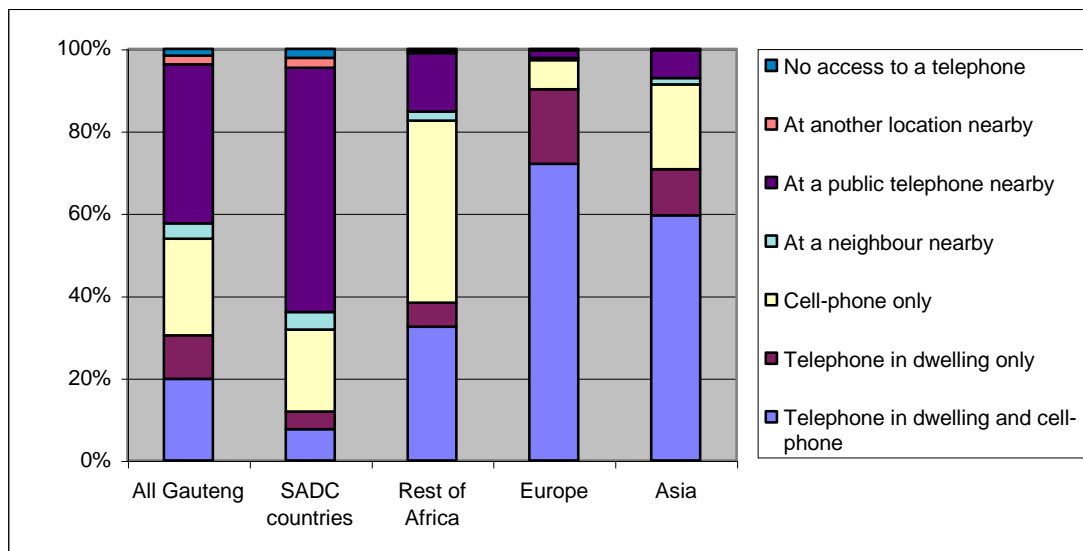
Access to sanitary facilities are an indicator of poverty and economic exclusion as well as the kind of housing people live in. Furthermore, access to good sanitary facilities affect peoples health. Overall, a significant proportion of Gauteng residents have access to flush toilets. However, it should be noted that depending where they are and how many people are using them, they may not always work. Efficiency can be hampered by overuse through overcrowding.

Migrants from the SADC are slightly more likely than the general population of Gauteng to only have access to pit latrines with no ventilation. This reflects, at least in part, that SADC migrants are more likely than the total Gauteng population to live in informal dwellings in informal settlements.

#### Access to telephones

Telephones are also an indicator of levels of poverty and social and economic exclusion. They not only enable family and friends to stay in contact, but they are increasingly important to finding and getting employment. For those with health problems access to a phone can be particularly important.

Figure 29 – Access to Telephone by Region of Birth (%), Gauteng, 2001



	All Gauteng	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
Telephone in dwelling & cell-phone	19.8	7.6	32.5	72.1	59.6
Telephone in dwelling only	10.6	4.3	5.8	18.1	11.2
Cell-phone only	23.5	19.8	44.2	7.1	20.6
At a neighbour nearby	3.7	4.3	2.2	0.5	1.5
At a public telephone nearby	38.7	59.1	14.2	1.8	6.8
At another location nearby	2.1	2.4	0.4	0.2	0.1
No access to a telephone	1.6	2.2	0.6	0.2	0.2

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Almost 55% of Gauteng households have access to a landline or a cellular phone at home. Cross border migrants from the rest of Africa (82%), Europe (97%) and Asia (91%) are even more likely to have access to a telephone network at home. However, only 31% of cross border migrants who were born in the SADC have access to a phone at home. They are most likely to have to use a public phone (59%).

## Other Indicators of Living Standards

### *Housing*

Housing is a major issue for the province and a signifier of social and economic exclusion. Although houses are being built by provincial government and municipalities as well as by the private sector, significant numbers of the population of Gauteng live in inadequate housing. Migration places pressure on the housing stock as well as attempts to upgrade and increase the available housing stock.

Census data shown in Table 28 shows differences in the types of housing of cross border migrants. It shows:

- That the European and Asian born are most likely to live in a house or brick structure on a separate stand.
- Those born in thee SADC are most likely to live in an informal dwelling or shack in an informal settlement or backyard. However, although they are more likely to live in informal dwellings, they are significantly outnumbered by the South African born population of the province who living in informal dwellings.
- Migrants born in the rest of Africa are most likely to live in flats. Research in Hillbrow, Johannesburg found that migrants from the rest of Africa find it easier to find accommodation in flats in run-down areas where landlords do not discriminate as much. Many find it difficult to find accommodation in townships and informal settlements because of hostility from other residents (Parnell and Wooldridge, 2001; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000).
- The high number of other/not applicable among cross border migrants and particularly those born in Africa is not explained in Census 2001. For SADC migrants it may be because mine migrants are living in mine compounds.

**Table 28 – Dwelling Type by Region of Birth and All Gauteng (%), Gauteng, 2001**

	All Gauteng	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
House or brick structure on separate stand	53.7	32.0	36.7	68.7	61.9
Traditional dwelling/hut/structure	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.5
Flat in block of flats	7.1	7.5	36.4	8.5	16.3
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	4.7	4.2	9.2	15.1	13.1
House/flat/room in back yard	7.3	7.2	3.2	1.8	2.7
Informal dwelling in back yard	7.0	9.7	0.4	0.2	0.1
Informal dwelling in informal settlement	16.9	18.6	0.9	0.4	0.5
Room/flatlet on shared property	1.6	1.7	1.5	0.5	0.5
Other/not applicable	0.3	18.1	10.4	3.7	4.4

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Backyard shacks and houses/flats/rooms in backyards constitute a significant proportion of housing in the province. So, some 37% of Sowetans live in backyards (Parnell and Wooldridge, 2001: 12). And, 16% of the backyard residents in Soweto were not South African and mainly came from neighbouring countries (*ibid.*:12). Access to water, sanitation and electricity is difficult for many backyard residents, but it is a preferred housing option for some (*ibid.*).

Informal settlements pose a problem for the provincial government as it tries to improve the lives of residents. People born in the SADC are more likely to live in informal settlements than other residents of Gauteng, however, they are significantly outnumbered by the South African born. So the SADC born consitute only 38,700 of the 448,000 Gauteng residents living in informal settlements (Statistics South Africa, Census 2001). A study of a particularly marginalised informal settlement in Johannesburg (Hospital Hill) found significant numbers of non-nationals, particularly from Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland as well as Nigeria (Parnell and Wooldridge, 2001: 13).



Few residents could find alternative accommodation, but many (including South Africans) found it a useful place to live as they could avoid scrutiny from the authorities (*ibid.*).

Although those cross border migrants (particularly from the rest of Africa) have better living conditions because they are more likely to live in houses and flats than the total population of the province, Census data does not provide information on levels of overcrowding and living conditions. Studies of refugees and asylum seekers suggest, that at least for the most marginalised of this community of cross border migrants, four brick walls and a roof may be an advantage, but the only advantage (CASE, 2003; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000). So, a study of Somali refugees in Johannesburg (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000) found:

- 70% lived in a room in a house and 11% in a room in a flat – and 77% had access to that room only
- 53% shared their room with between 3-5 other people
- 7% lived in a room with more than 10 people
- only 7.6% did not share their room
- and over 80% of respondents shared their bedroom with non-family members.

Cross border migrants, particularly mineworkers, are also likely to be found living in hostels and mine compounds.

The data on dwelling type indicates that there is a shortage of affordable, appropriate rental housing, particularly for small households. This means people have to share accommodation or live in informal dwellings. In the case of flats, houses and some backyards sharing accommodation can overstretch the infrastructure of buildings, particularly sanitation.

Consideration needs to be given to developing appropriate affordable rental housing for small households. The size of migrant households suggests that many leave their partners and families behind. Evidence suggests that most cross border migrants, from the region at least, do not want to live permanently in South Africa and so will look to rent housing.

#### *Access to Household Goods*

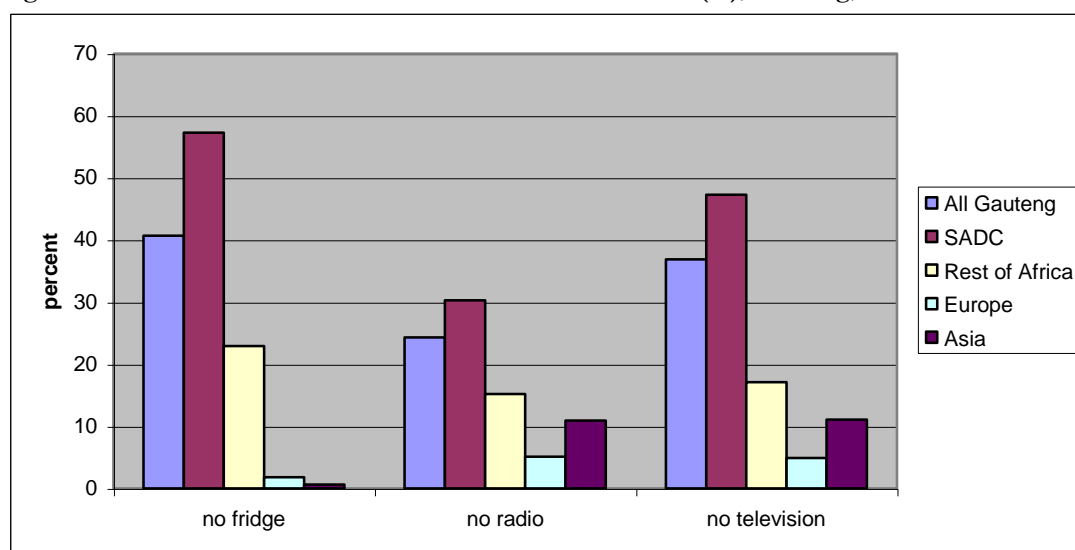
Household goods are more than material possessions. They are also indicators of poverty and may have other implications for households:

- Households without refrigerators may find it difficult to store food safely, which has both health and financial implications.
- Households without cold storage facilities cannot take advantage of bulk buying.
- Access to television and radio indicate whether people have access to information and their source of information. This is particularly important for the design of education and information programmes.

Figure 30 shows the proportion of households without access to refrigerators, TVs and radios by region of birth and for all Gauteng residents. It shows that significant numbers of Gauteng residents live without key amenities. Almost 60% of households headed by people born in the SADC do not have a refrigerator as compared to just over 40% of the general population of Gauteng. That these households do not have refrigerators may reflect their migrant status as well as their dwelling type and living conditions. Is it worth investing in a relatively expensive household good if you do not intend to stay long, or see Gauteng as your second home?

Some Gauteng residents have access to information through radio and TV, but overall, over 20% of the population have no radio and almost 40% no television. Again migrant households from the SADC are least likely to have access to radios (30%) and televisions (47%). Lack of access to radio and television can increase senses isolation and can indicate exclusion from the wider society they are living in.

**Figure 30 – Households Without Access to Household Goods (%), Gauteng, 2001**



	All Gauteng	SADC	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
no refrigerator	40.7	57.3	22.9	1.8	0.6
no radio	24.3	30.3	15.2	5.1	10.9
no television	36.9	47.3	17.1	4.9	11.1

**Source:** Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

### Summary

This section has provided an overview of cross border migration to Gauteng. Cross border migrants form a relatively small proportion of the population of the province, but perhaps engender the most concern in popular discourse, and so are worthy of examination. Overall, people born in SADC countries constitute the majority of cross border migrants followed by people born in Europe. Women constitute a significant proportion of this population, although they are in a minority. Children form a disproportionately small proportion of this population.

It is not possible to know how long these migrants have been living in the province or if they want to make South Africa their permanent home. However, research and evidence in this report suggests, that at many if not most migrants from the SADC, do not want to live permanently in South Africa. Furthermore, household size and imbalances in the sex ratio and age structure suggest a significant proportion of SADC migrants are migrant workers.

With the exception of migrants from the SADC, the educational levels attained by other cross border migrants largely exceed those of the South African born. So, cross border migration allows the province to gain skills and education paid for elsewhere.

Employment rates of cross border migrants are higher than the South African born, and they are less likely to be economically inactive. Unemployment rates are highest for those born in the SADC. Sectors of employment follow those of the province with concentrations in the mining, service sectors and private households. Occupation levels indicate that cross border migrants make a contribution to the skilled population of the province. However, the majority of cross border migrants appear to be employed in sectors and occupations which are likely to be low paid, with poor working conditions and insecure. Notwithstanding this, the incomes of cross border migrants, including those from the SADC do not appear to be much lower than those of South Africans, indicating that fears that they undercut the wages of South African workers may be misplaced.

Cross border migrants, like other Gauteng residents, have relatively good access to public services. The SADC born seem to be marginally disadvantaged, possibly related to where they live. SADC migrants are most likely to live in informal dwellings in informal settlements and backyards. However, a significant proportion of cross border migrants live in formal housing. When their living standards and access to household goods such as fridges, radios and TVs are considered, those of cross border migrants from SADC countries and the rest of Africa are lower than for the general population. This suggests both levels of poverty, but also that these migrants may not be investing significantly in their lives in Gauteng.

Overall, however, the data presented here suggests that many of the popularly held fears that cross border migrants are a burden to the province may be misplaced. So, although points of vulnerability are identified, so too are opportunities for the province. And, it should be remembered that as with internal migrants, current patterns of cross border migration are rooted in the past.

## 6. HEALTH ISSUES

### Access to Health Care

As shown in Table 16 above, migrants have differing rights of access to health services. However, anyone who is in a life-threatening situation cannot be refused health care. Citizens, permanent residents, asylum seekers and refugees have the right to access government health services as well as private health services. They cannot be turned away from state services because of inability to pay, and all categories of people should be treated in the same way. Temporary residents can access state and private health services, however they have to pay for state provided services, and can be charged at different rates to citizens. Irregular or undocumented migrants have no right to access the South African health care system. They are only likely to access health care in life threatening situations, or through private doctors who are not concerned with the legal status of their patients.

Little is known about the access of internal South African migrants to health care facilities. As citizens they are entitled to access all state provided facilities. Table 29 shows the health facilities used by 1,100 female domestic workers in Johannesburg, of whom some 86% were internal migrants (Dinat and Peberdy, 2004). Respondents did not report many problems accessing health care facilities.

**Table 29 – Female Domestic Workers Using Health Facilities in the Past Year, 2003**

Facility used	% of respondents using facility in past year
Clinic	46.8
Hospital outpatients	14.1
Family planning service	29.8
Traditional healer	15.3
Private GP	31.5

**Source:** Dinat and Peberdy, 2004.

It is often held, that people come to South Africa, especially other Africans, to take advantage of the country's good health services. Certainly, migrants in the SAMP research undertaken in neighbouring states shows that overall, respondents felt that the availability of decent health care was better in South Africa. So, some 80% of Mozambican, 70% of Basotho, 67% of Batswana, 51% of Namibian and 32% of Zimbabwean respondents said they thought decent health care was more available in South Africa than in their home country (McDonald, 2000: 238; Ocho *et al.*, 2000). However, these respondents seemed to think they were more likely to get sick in South Africa as overall (with the exception of Mozambicans) respondents said there was less disease in

their home countries than in South Africa (*ibid.*). Furthermore, with the exception of Batswana respondents, most felt that HIV was more prevalent in South Africa than in their home country (*ibid.*).

Those non-citizens that are entitled to health care, may still find that they have problems getting access. Research undertaken with refugee communities suggests that migrants may be turned away even when they are entitled to assistance (CASE, 2003; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000). CASE research undertaken in 2003 with 1,500 asylum seekers and refugees (391 in Johannesburg) found some 17% of respondents said they had been refused emergency medical care, and 9% other medical care (*ibid.*: 143).

Table 30 shows who had refused them assistance. Table 31 shows the reasons that were provided to them for refusing emergency medical care. South Africans may experience some of these problems, however, some are specific to non-national migrants. What is particularly disturbing, is that 34% of the reasons given for refusal of emergency care and 54% for non-emergency care related to nationality and documentation (*ibid.*: 143-149). And, respondents also cited language problems. Refugees have reported that nurses, will sometimes only speak to them in a South African language which they cannot understand (CASE, 2003; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000).

**Table 30 – Refusal of Medical care to Refugees and Asylum Seekers, 2003**

Who refused assistance	% of 165 respondents refused emergency medical care	% of 113 respondents refused non-emergency health care
Administrator/reception personnel	45	43
Ambulance called but never arrived	23	-
Nurse/sister	21	32
Doctor	9	17
Paramedic/ambulance staff	9	11
Security guard	1	1
Other person	3	6

Source: CASE, 2003: 143,149

**Table 31 – Reasons Given to Refugees and Asylum Seekers for Refusal of Medical Care, 2003**

Reason given	% of 165 respondents reason for refusal emergency health care	% of 113 respondents reason for refusal non-emergency health care
Don't know	29	-
Unable to pay required fee	26	24
No appointment/referral	-	21
Did not accept my documents	14	15
No ID document/permit	10	17
Services only for South Africans	6	12
Asked for proof of residence	4	10
Told it was not an emergency	6	-
Problems of communication	11	7
Other reasons	12	7

Source: CASE, 2003: 143,149.

Some 72% of respondents in the CASE study said they did not use reproductive health care or family planning facilities (*ibid.*: 147). This suggests that they may be missing out on important sexual health education and prevention.

SADC nationals may be less likely to encounter problems of hostility and language exclusion as they may be able to “pass” as South Africans and are more likely to speak a South African language. But, SADC nationals are most likely to be irregular migrants.

Perhaps most disadvantaged and vulnerable when it comes to health care are irregular or undocumented migrants. These migrants are not entitled to health care except in life threatening situations. If people are unable to take care of their health, it increases opportunities for disease to

spread, as it remains untreated. Furthermore, people cannot access health education and prevention programs.

### **HIV/AIDS and Infectious Disease**

Migrants are often held to be associated with the spread of disease. For instance, in South Africa, migrants have been linked to outbreaks of malaria and cholera as well as HIV. And, yet, migration is just one factor involved in the spread of diseases. Other conditions need to be present to facilitate the spread of disease. That being said, patterns of migration, or the way people migrate in South and Southern Africa may explain high rates of HIV in the region. This does not mean that migrants are carriers of HIV or can be blamed for the epidemic. HIV is endemic in the region.

There are five key ways in which migration is tied to HIV/AIDS (Williams *et al.*, 2002; Crush and Peberdy, 2004):

- There is a higher rate of infection in ‘migrant communities’, which are often socially, economically and politically marginalized.
- Migrants’ multi-local social networks create opportunity for mobile sexual networking
- Mobility *per se* can encourage or make people vulnerable to high-risk sexual behaviour.
- Mobility makes people more difficult to reach through interventions, whether for preventive education, condom provision, HIV testing, or post-infection treatment and care.
- Furthermore, migration patterns in Gauteng, which often involve circular migration of migrant workers - or, where the migrant goes alone, leaving their partner behind in their home area and only returning intermittently make migrants and their partners vulnerable.

There is abundant empirical evidence of a link between HIV/AIDS and mobility (Williams *et al.*, 2002). The incidence of HIV has been found to be higher near roads, and amongst people who either have personal migration experience or have sexual partners who are migrants (*ibid.*; Crush and Peberdy, 2004). Different forms of migration lead to different social and geographical forms of migrant ‘community,’ and thus to different risks.

Looking at the relationship from the other direction, it is apparent that HIV/AIDS will become an increasingly important factor influencing migration and mobility and household sustainability in Gauteng, South Africa and the region (Crush and Peberdy, 2004).

- People with AIDS commonly return to live with family members to obtain care. This might entail moving from an urban area back to a rural area or from one country to another. Others migrate to provide care to family members living elsewhere.
- Loss of a household’s income through death or debilitation of a former migrant worker encourages migration by other household members to seek income-earning opportunities.
- Death or debilitation of household or community members can lead to a decline in rural productivity and food security, thus contributing to pressure for out-migration by remaining members.
- The HIV/AIDS death toll disproportionately affects the most economically productive strata of society. High rates of death or debilitation in particular labour sectors creates the need to replace workforce with new migrant workers.
- People diagnosed HIV positive or displaying physical evidence of disease may migrate to avoid stigmatisation by their community.
- People with AIDS-related opportunistic infections may migrate to obtain health care.
- AIDS orphans (who may themselves be HIV positive) may migrate to live with relatives or to seek their own income-earning opportunities.
- New widows or widowers (also themselves often HIV positive) may migrate upon the death of their partner. Women or men may choose to move after the death of a spouse, perhaps to rejoin biological family elsewhere. The death of a husband can lead to wife losing access to land and thus livelihood, forcing her to move elsewhere to seek a living.

HIV/AIDS may also impede certain forms of migration. For example, parents dying today means that there will be no grandparents for the next generation of children, and grandparents have traditionally been important in caring for children while parents migrated in search of employment. HIV/AIDS creates new motives for migrating while making some established forms of migration more difficult to sustain.

Migration is the means by which many African individuals and households seek income and livelihood security. Yet the means by which Africans secure their livelihoods should not also have to be the means by which they secure their ‘deathlihoods.’ Migration is a critical factor in understanding the epidemiology of HIV/AIDS including the incidence and prevalence of the epidemic. Migration has also emerged as a critical incidental and strategic response to coping with the consequences of the disease. However, to recognize the existence of these connections is insufficient. More knowledge, based on sound research, is needed to identify the links and their implications for migration policy and the effective management of HIV/AIDS.

Gauteng, with a significant proportion of migrants among its population needs to be cognisant of the role of migration in the epidemic and its management, and to ensure that migrants are not excluded from HIV/AIDS related initiatives. Health and education programmes need to ensure that migrants have access – and that these are accessible in migrant languages as well as South African languages.

As Table 32 shows, a study of 1,100 domestic workers in Johannesburg found that HIV/AIDS may play a role in their lives (Dinat and Peberdy, 2004). Note that some of these responses are about what respondents thought, not what is necessarily known. Furthermore, it is not known whether there would be any differences in the responses of migrants and non-migrants. And, migrant domestic workers may perhaps live more isolated lives than other migrant workers.

**Table 32 – Role of HIV/AIDS in Lives of lives of domestic workers, 2003**

<b>Role of HIV/AIDS</b>	<b>% positive (yes) response</b>
Know anyone who you think has died of HIV/AIDS	37.3
Anyone in family with AIDS or has died of AIDS	19.4
Cared for or supported anyone who is sick with AIDS (including children)	17.5

**Source:** Dinat and Peberdy, 2004.

When it comes to their risk behaviours, it seems that this cohort of domestic workers may be at risk (Table 33).

**Table 33 – Risk of Domestic Workers to HIV/AIDS Infection**

<b>Risk</b>	<b>% positive (yes) response</b>
Think you have ever been exposed to the AIDS virus (N=1,100)	11.6
Never used a condom (N=1,100)	60.8
Never used a condom with a new partner (N=432)	29.5

**Source:** Dinat and Peberdy, 2004.

Their knowledge around HIV/AIDS issues is weak (Table 34). Respondents were asked if they had heard of an issue, and to explain what it meant. These responses could be common to all Johannesburgers, or be a function of the kind of work these women are engaged in, and not just because over 80% of respondents were migrants. However, Tables 33 and 34 show that this section of Johannesburg’s population, of whom the overwhelming majority were internal South African migrants are in need of education, prevention and treatment programs, and awareness of available facilities. Only 65.2% of respondents knew where to get an HIV test for free but, some 87.7% knew where to get free condoms (*ibid.*).

**Table 34 – Knowledge of HIV/AIDS Issues of Domestic Workers in Johannesburg, 2003**

<b>Issue</b>	<b>Correct answer</b>	<b>Not heard of it</b>
Mother to child transmission	45.1	40.0
Safe sex	69.1	22.9
Anti-retroviral treatment	16.2	60.9
Traditional AIDS cures/ African potato	40.9	43.6
Treatment for opportunistic infections	19.3	58.0

**Source:** Dinat and Peberdy, 2004.

The research presented here suggests a need to train service providers in the rights of migrants to health services. It also suggests, that new ways need to be devised to include migrant workers, whether South African or not, into health education and prevention programs, particularly in the area of HIV infection. It could also be useful to consider a program to educate migrants on their rights to access services and where services are located.

## 7. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Governments around the world view migration, and immigration in particular, as important issues because of perceptions that immigrants may constitute a significant increased load on state-funded services and programmes. Further, immigrants are often accused of ‘stealing’ locals’ jobs, raising regional unemployment and leading to antagonism between immigrants and local residents. South Africans show high levels of hostility to non-national migrants, attitudes which cut across all population groups, class and gender. Attitudes to non-nationals, which, as this report shows, are often based on myths, misunderstandings and misinformation are more than just sentiment. They cause problems for government as it tries to engender tolerance of diversity. Furthermore, they affect service delivery. Non-nationals, may be excluded from resources to which they are entitled. While this may seem that it could be a saving to government, it can also come at a cost. What will happen to non-national children who are excluded from schools? What is the impact on the health of other residents when people are excluded from health care? The main aim of this study is to quantify and describe immigration to Gauteng with the view to analysing the extent to which provincial financial and other resources are stressed by immigration and identifying opportunities and threats presented by the phenomenon.

Data from the 2001 Census and the Labour Force Survey of September 2002 confirm again that the population of Gauteng includes a large proportion of migrants, irrespective of how ‘migrant’ is defined (individuals born outside of the province, individuals who moved to the province from elsewhere in South Africa, migrant workers from other provinces, and people who have moved to the province from outside South Africa). Furthermore, the data shows that, the South African born population at least, is highly mobile within Gauteng. So, it seems, that migration and migrants are an integral feature and part of Gauteng.

It is very difficult to determine the ‘added’ burden on the Gauteng government that derives from in-migration from other provinces and from across South Africa’s borders. This is due to the fact that the surveys do not include information on individuals’ full migration histories and information on the moves of cross border migrants over the five years 1996 to 2001 and non-South African migrant workers is not available. Hence, amongst the group of Gauteng-born individuals there are children of migrants, while amongst intra-Gauteng migrants there are sure to be individuals who are actually in-migrants, but who have moved within Gauteng since. And, among those born outside South Africa there will be South African citizens. There are numerous other examples of instances where individuals are incorrectly allocated to a specific group, thereby blurring the numbers. Although out-migration from Gauteng to the other provinces is not explicitly quantified or described in this study, it is implicitly calculated in that out-migrants are no longer in Gauteng, thereby lowering the number of non-migrant and migrant households and individuals in the province. It is not possible to know the extent of the emigration of skilled and other South African workers from Gauteng to other countries. And, even though it appears that rural areas are hardest hit by skilled emigration, the loss of skilled workers raises questions for the Gauteng government particularly around service delivery in the health, education and welfare sectors.

### ▪ **Employment and Unemployment**

That Gauteng is seen as providing better job opportunities cannot be denied. Improved employment prospects in the destination region represent an important pull factor promoting in-migration to that region. Unemployment was found to differ, often significantly, for in-migrants from each province relative to their provinces of birth. These unemployment rate differentials point to a significant economic incentive underlying in-migration to the province. Further, the Census (which admittedly is not the most accurate instrument for the measurement of labour market variables) indicates that NGB Gauteng residents experience lower unemployment rates overall than their Gauteng-born counterparts (only females born in the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal have higher unemployment than their Gauteng-born counterparts). More in-depth analysis would need to be conducted before it is possible to ascertain whether Gauteng-born workers are being displaced from employment in the province by those born in other provinces.



Overall, cross border migrants, or those born outside South Africa, show higher rates of employment and lower rates of unemployment than among the whole population. However, women migrants from the SADC and the rest of Africa show slightly lower employment rates than the whole female population of Gauteng and higher unemployment rates than their male counterparts. Overall, women show lower rates of employment than men, and are more likely to be economically inactive than men. Female migrants are more likely to be economically inactive than women across Gauteng.

The data therefore appears to confirm the 'pull' of the Gauteng labour market and, consequently, the province should expect a continued flow of in-migrants from other provinces and other countries searching for work. More generally, the flow of in-migrants into Gauteng is likely to be closely linked to economic conditions in the other provinces and countries and in rural areas particularly, and that this pull factor would be connected to the push factor of (relative) poverty in the sending provinces. In all likelihood, job-seeking in-migration to Gauteng will continue as long as (relative) economic problems persist in the other provinces and South Africa's economy and labour market is seen as more open with opportunities than those of other countries.

Although in-migrants tend to be less often highly educated, Gauteng has been successful in attracting highly educated individuals. Although the NGB population of Gauteng accounts for less than 38% of the SA-born population of the province, they account for almost half of the 590 000 residents with higher education. This means the in-migration from other provinces, while posing significant challenges for the province in terms of addressing low levels of education, represents an important gain for the provincial economy by increasing the number of highly educated individuals in the provincial labour market. Similarly, cross border migrants show high levels of educational achievement, and more likely than the general population to be employed as skilled professionals. SADC nationals are, however, slightly less educated, but are more likely to be employed as semi-skilled workers and artisans. The added dynamism in the economy that the infusion of skills creates plays an important part in helping keep the provincial unemployment rate relatively low compared to other provinces. The ability of the province to attract skilled workers may also go some way towards ameliorating the negative impacts of the emigration of skilled South African workers and the loss of workers through the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Although migration for work appears to be a key reason for migrating, responses from African cross border migrants in SAMP research shows that people also come to Gauteng from other countries for other reasons. In particular, entrepreneurial opportunities (to trade, shop and set up businesses), visiting family and friends, and in the case of refugees and asylum seekers, finding a safe place to live also attract cross border migrants. Initial research with those involved in trade and entrepreneurship show that African owned SMEs and informal sector traders that migrants can directly create jobs. Although internal migrants make most of their remittances in cash, some remit goods. Cross border migrants, because of the high transaction costs and difficulties of international money transfer are more likely to make their remittances in goods. The role of Gauteng, and particularly Johannesburg, in regional and continental cross border trade needs to be explored further, as it offers opportunities for developing an already established economic niche which could encourage tourism, trade and the wholesale and retail sectors.

#### ▪ **Incomes and remittances**

The average employed in-migrant appears to earn less than the provincial average, although given that incomes were recorded in categories exact figures cannot be calculated. However, nearly 55% of employed in-migrants earn less than R1 600 per month (including 61% of female in-migrants) compared to 38% of their Gauteng-born counterparts. Overall, cross border migrants appear to proportionally earn more than the Gauteng average. However, SADC migrants (the largest cohort of foreign-born migrants) may earn less, with almost 40% earning under R19,600pa. as compared to 35% of all Gauteng. Despite these figures, it is not possible to answer unequivocally the question of whether in-migrants undercut Gauteng-born workers, resulting in the latter losing jobs to the former as differing skills mixes in the two groups will affect incomes. However, this is an

interesting area for further research. What this does imply, though, is that in-migrants are generally likely to face more severe budget constraints than Gauteng-born individuals, particularly as many will be supporting two households, making them more vulnerable to shocks on average.

The linkages between Gauteng and the other provinces are evidenced by the outflow of remittances in the form of cash and goods. This is particularly true in the case of Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, which account for close to three-quarters of remittances sent out of Gauteng. Here, intra-SA migrants and foreign migrants differ in that the latter group faces greater obstacles in remitting cash to their sending households and families outside of South Africa. Consequently, foreign in-migrants are more likely to remit in the form of goods.

#### ▪ **Education, Health and Social Services**

Provincial health, education and social services are also often seen as potential 'pull' factors promoting in-migration to Gauteng and other better-off provinces. A recent migration study conducted for the Western Cape Provincial Government outlines some implications of in-migration for education and health (Bekker 2002: 75). Three norms are used by that province's planners regarding the provision of education and health infrastructure. Every 1 000 extra households (assuming a mean household size of 4) justifies the establishment of a new primary school, while a new secondary school requires 2 000 extra households. In a Greenfield residential area, a local population of between 7 500 and 10 000 necessitates the establishment of a new clinic. Using these norms as a guideline, the average annual net increase in the Gauteng population due to in-migration from other provinces would require the establishment of forty primary schools, twenty secondary schools and sixteen clinics (see Appendix B for more details).

However, these norms are constructed given a certain demographic profile, in which particularly the age profile plays a critical part. This profile is likely to mirror the Western Cape's profile, where over 28% of the provincial population are aged 5 to 19 years. The age pyramids presented in Figure 3 indicate that, relative to the Gauteng-born population, South African NGB individuals are less likely to be very young (0 to 19 years) and more likely to be over 65 years of age. Specifically, only 14.5% of the NGB population of Gauteng are aged 5 to 19 years, or around one-half the Western Cape rate. Adjustment of the Western Cape norms would entail a doubling of the population required for both primary and secondary schools. These adjusted norms reveal that the average annual net increase in the Gauteng population due to in-migration would require the establishment of twenty new primary and ten new secondary schools annually. The province is currently home to approximately 2.1 million children between the ages of 5 and 19 years, of whom three-quarters were born in Gauteng. Consequently, NGB children represent an increased demand for education of around one-third above the demand deriving from Gauteng-born children.

Implications for health are difficult to derive from the data, given that the surveys do not contain much in the way of health-related issues or motivations for migration. However, with 800 000 extra residents in the province in five years, it is clear that pressure on the public healthcare system is increasing. Assuming no current over-capacity of clinics in the province, the average annual inflow of 159 000 in-migrants from other parts of South Africa if continued after 2001 would necessitate the establishment of 16 new clinics in the province annually. The study of migration to the Western Cape revealed that "the search for state educational and health services is seldom the main reason [for migration] though these become important issues once a household settles" (Bekker 2002: 77). It is not unlikely that the same is true of in-migration to Gauteng, although neither the Census nor the LFS is able to shed any light on in-migrants' motivation.

When we look at cross border migrants, it seems that access to health, education and social services are not what attract people born elsewhere in Africa to the country or Gauteng. Furthermore, with the non-South African born at only 5.6% of the population, and with a significant percentage not entitled to social services, or only at a cost, it seems cross border migrants are unlikely to place a heavy burden on the provinces services. When education and the provision of schools is considered, the age distribution of the cross border migrant population is even more skewed towards people of working age than the NGB population. So in 2001, only 8.1% of residents born

outside South Africa were aged between 5 and 19 years, or 37,400 children in total. As the rate of increase in the population born outside South Africa is low, it seems the children of these migrants are unlikely to place a significant burden on the education system.

Similarly it seems that, other than those who enter specifically for medical treatment which they must pay for, cross border migrants do not constitute a significant burden on the health care system of the province, even if rates of increase in the population of the non-South African born continue to grow. It should also be remembered that a significant proportion of these migrants are likely to have to access medical care through the private not state sector.

Perhaps of more concern for government should be that it seems that non-nationals are being excluded from access to health services to which they are entitled, thus compromising their health. It appears that in some cases front-line staff are unaware of the entitlements of different categories of foreigners and so wrongly exclude them from health services.

Although in-migration, particularly of South Africans from other provinces, increases the demand for services provided by the provincial government, many of which are over-burdened, migration may also provide the solution to one of the difficulties faced by government in service delivery. The loss of workers in the health and education sectors to emigration and HIV/AIDS may be ameliorated by the in-migration of skilled and experienced workers to these sectors from other provinces and other countries.

#### ▪ **Housing and Access to Public Services**

The provision of suitable housing for the province's population remains an important area of government policy. Census data shows that, overall, a relatively high proportion of households living in formal dwellings. Despite this, nearly one-quarter of households reside in informal dwellings. Recent in-migrant households reside in informal dwellings more often than any other group – three in ten recent South African in-migrant households indicated that they lived in informal dwellings, both in informal settlements and in backyards in formal areas. Even assuming four persons per household<sup>9</sup>, the average annual inflow of in-migrants between 1996 and 2001, if it continues, would require around 40 000 dwellings each year. Stated differently, without the provision of an extra 40 000 dwelling units per year, given the average annual inflow of in-migrants from the rest of the country, the housing backlog in the province would not be successfully addressed even if sufficient housing required due to natural population increase were to be provided.

In-migrants who were born outside South Africa, because their numbers are relatively small, are proportionally not likely to create such demands on housing provision. Furthermore, the provincial government does not have obligations to re-house non-citizens, and, non-citizens are not entitled to housing subsidies. However, almost one third of SADC migrants (or around 100,000 people) are living in informal dwellings in informal settlements and backyards. While the rate of increase in this population is relatively low, attempts to eliminate informal settlements will have to engage with cross border migrants who live in them. And, although the province shows that a high proportion of its residents live in formal houses and flats, this does not mean that living conditions are good. Data on cross border migrants, and particularly refugees suggests that even if they are surrounded by four brick walls and a roof, many are living in unhealthily overcrowded conditions which seriously compromise their standard of living.

---

<sup>9</sup> This figure is higher than the very rough calculation of household size based on the Census 2001. The provincial average is probably not more than 3.5 persons per household, although this cannot be said with complete certainty since there are 21 000 households comprising of more than 10 individuals. Excluding these households, constituting only 0.7% of all households in the province, the average household size for Gauteng is 3.1. Statistics SA (2003: 72) estimates from the 2001 Census that the provincial average household size is 3.2, the lowest in the country. This figure translates to over 51 000 new dwelling units per annum for in-migrant households.

Data on household size of those born outside South Africa suggests that the majority live in Gauteng in single and two person households (whether by choice or not). There are also high numbers of South African born migrant workers in the province. This indicates a demand for single and two person affordable, appropriate rental housing in the province, and not just family housing. More information on what housing is appropriate for in-migrants is required.

Access to public services such as electricity and water is relatively good in the province: 81% of households use electricity for lighting (proxying a minimum access rate) and 97.5% have access to piped water. Recent South African in-migrant households generally lag recent intra-migrant and non-migrant households in access to electricity and access to piped water inside or near to their dwellings. However, the differences in access rates, though rather consistent across area and service type, are relatively small and as such are probably more an indication of temporary lack of access than of a systematic neglect of in-migrants in this regard. This view is reinforced by the fact that recent intra-Gauteng migrants tend to enjoy superior access to these services and are more likely to live in formal dwellings than any other group.

In-migrants born outside South Africa also show relatively good access to electricity and water, even SADC migrants, who are least likely to have piped water inside their homes. However, access to water and electricity is also a function of the kind of housing people live in. So, people living in informal settlements and backyards are least likely to have less easy access to water and electricity.

▪ **Access to information and living standards**

When access to selected household goods are reviewed, NGB in-migrants and those born in SADC countries are less likely to own refrigerators, radios and televisions. This not only suggests levels of poverty, but also commitment to living in Johannesburg, and where people live. People who are here as migrant workers and who have homes elsewhere, as well those who live in informal dwellings are less likely to invest in household goods for their home in Gauteng.

Perhaps of most interest to the government are the significant proportion of the whole population of Gauteng, and particularly those born outside the province and South Africa, who do not have access to radios and televisions. Over 25% of all residents and NGB migrants, as well as 30% of the SADC born do not have access to radios. Some 40% of all residents, 45% of NGB migrants and almost 50% of the SADC born do not have access to television. The lack of access to these media should be considered when developing provincial education and information campaigns.

▪ **HIV/AIDS**

HIV/AIDS is endemic in Gauteng, with serious implications for economic growth and human development. Migration and HIV/AIDS are closely tied. Migrants are particularly vulnerable to HIV, but are not the cause of the epidemic and nor can they be blamed for the epidemic and the transmission of HIV. Gauteng, which has such a high proportion of its population who are cross border migrants, including, around 1.4 million South African migrant workers and other non-South African migrant workers needs to take cognisance of the multiple relationships between migration and HIV and their implications for governance.

Further research and information is needed to better understand how HIV/AIDS may affect present and future patterns of migration as the epidemic takes hold. The impact of AIDS on the most productive age group of residents is likely to increase the demand for new workers. New patterns of migration may also emerge as losses of family members to AIDS may lead to new and different household members migrating. These relationships are complex and, at this stage, largely speculative, however consideration needs to be given to understanding them and their implications for policy, the effective management of HIV/AIDS and for service delivery.

Mobile and migrant communities are harder to reach in education, prevention and treatment programs. The relatively low levels of access to radio and television among South African and non-South African born migrants may compound this problem. Research with domestic workers in Johannesburg of whom over 80% were internal migrants, indicates that at least this group of

migrant workers have not benefited from education, prevention and treatment programs. Consideration therefore needs to be given to ensuring these programs are designed to incorporate mobile populations and to evaluate their impact on mobile populations.

- **Women**

Often we imagine migrants, whether South African or not, to be male. This report shows that, women constitute a significant proportion of in-migrants to Gauteng, and, in the case of inter-provincial migrants from some provinces actually exceed the number of male migrants. Women migrants are more likely to be single, widowed, divorced or separated than their male counterparts, suggesting that many are household heads in their own right.

Although women migrants show higher rates of unemployment and being not economically active than male migrants, significant numbers are in Gauteng to work, including in skilled occupations. However, women are much more likely to be employed in low skilled, low paid, insecure employment, particularly in private households.

Female migrants have largely been ignored in research on migration. Further information is needed on the living conditions, and migrancy patterns of internal and cross border women migrants. Gender roles and expectations may mean that the experiences of male and female migrants are different.

- **Concluding comments**

The decision to migrate is not based solely on the characteristics of the destination region. Instead, the decision is generally reached through comparison of the potential migrant's current location and his or her proposed location. Furthermore, many if not most migrants (specifically migrant workers) retain strong links with their 'home location' or sending households. This means that changes that occur in Gauteng are not the only factors that potential and current migrants consider, with changes in other provinces and other countries being important too. Consequently, as long as Gauteng remains a more desirable place to live and work relative to other regions and countries, the province is likely to experience in-migration. And, cross border migrants will be more likely to choose Gauteng as a destination than other provinces. In particular, this will be driven by perceptions of better employment and economic prospects in the province. In-migration, particularly in the form of migrant workers, to Gauteng is likely to play an important role in the other provincial economies through the improvement of the financial positions of sending households, thereby stimulating local economies and helping relieve the burden of otherwise destitute households on the provincial governments of the poorest provinces. At the same time, the in-migration of South Africans from other provinces as well as non-South Africans presents opportunities for the province and may contribute to its economic growth and vitality.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bekker, S.B. 2002. *Migration Study in the Western Cape 2001*. Commissioned by the Provincial Government of the Western Cape. Available [online]: [http://www.capegateway.gov.za/eng/publications/reports\\_research/M/11369](http://www.capegateway.gov.za/eng/publications/reports_research/M/11369).

Bhorat, H., and Oosthuizen, M.J. 2004. *Labour Market Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa, 1995-2003*. Unpublished paper.

Brown, M., Kaplan, D., and Meyer, J.B. 2000. "An outline of skilled emigration from South Africa," *Africa Insight*, 30(2): 41-47

Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE). 2003. *National Refugee Baseline Survey: Final Report*.

Crush, J. and Peberdy, S. 2004. "Mainstreaming Migration in Southern Africa," unpublished report for the British Department of International Development.

Crush, J. and V. Williams. 1998. *The New South Africans? Immigration Amnesties and their Aftermath*. Cape Town: Idasa.

Dinat, N. and Peberdy, S. 2004. "Domestic workers in Johannesburg: migrancy, HIV and reproductive health," unpublished research findings, SAMP and PHRU, Johannesburg.

Dodson, B. 1998. "Women on the move: Gender and cross-border migration to South Africa," SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 9, Cape Town and Kingston.

Lawyers for Human Rights, interview, January 2004.

Majodina, Z., and S. Peberdy with the Somali Association of South Africa. 2000. "Finding a new home: A report on the lives of Somali refugees in Johannesburg," Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand, August 2000.

Mattes, R., Taylor, D., McDonald, D., Poore, A., and Richmond, W. 1999. 'Still Waiting for the Barbarians: SA Attitudes to Immigrants and Immigration', Migration Policy Series No. 14, Southern African Migration Project, Cape Town and Kingston

McDonald, D. 2000. *On Borders: Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa*, St Martin's Press: New York.

McDonald, D. 1998. "Left out in the Cold? Housing and Immigration in the New South Africa," Migration Policy Series No. 5, SAMP: Cape Town.

McDonald, D. and Crush, J. (eds.) 2002. *Destinations Unknown*. Africa Institute and SAMP: Pretoria & Kingston.

McDonald, D., L. Mashike, and C. Golden. 1999. *The Lives and times of African migrants and immigrants in post-apartheid South Africa*, SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 13, SAMP: Cape Town.

Oucho, J., Campbell, E., and E. Mukamaambo. 2000. *Botswana: Migration Perspectives and Prospects*, SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 19, SAMP: Cape Town and Kingston.

Parnell, S. and Wooldridge, D. 2001. "Social Capital and Social Exclusion in the City of Johannesburg: Overview Report," in S. Parnell and J. Beall (eds.) *Social Capital and Social Exclusion in the City of Johannesburg: The Implications for Urban Governance*, unpublished paper for the City of Johannesburg.

- Peberdy, S. 2004. "Migration issues in Southern Africa," unpublished paper presented to the South African National Intelligence Agency, Bloemfontein, January 2004.
- Peberdy, S. 1999. "Selecting immigrants: nationalism and national identity in South Africa's immigration policies, 1910-1998," unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's University, Canada.
- Peberdy, S. 1998. "Obscuring history? Debating regional immigration policy in South Africa," in D. Simon (ed.), *South Africa in Southern Africa: Reconfiguring the Region*, James Currey, David Phillips, Ohio University Press: London, Cape Town and Athens.
- Peberdy, S. and Crush, J. 1998. *Trading Places: Cross-border Traders and the South African Informal Sector*. SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 6, SAMP: Cape Town.
- Peberdy, S. and Rogerson, C. 2002. "Transnationalism and non-South African entrepreneurs in South Africa's small, medium and micro-enterprise economy", in J. Crush and D. McDonald (eds.) *Transnationalism and new African immigration to South Africa*. SAMP and CAAS: Toronto.
- Posel, D. 2003a. *Have Migration Patterns in Post-Apartheid South Africa Changed?* Paper prepared for Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa, 4-7 June 2003.
- Posel, D. 2003b. The collection of national household survey data in South Africa (1993-2001): rendering labour migration invisible. *Development Southern Africa* 20(3): 361-369. September.
- Rogerson, C. 1999. *Building Skills: Cross-border Migrants and the South African Construction Industry*. SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 11, SAMP: Cape Town.
- Rogerson, C. 1997. *International Migration, Immigrant Entrepreneurs and South Africa's Small Enterprise Economy*. SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 3, SAMP: Cape Town.
- Southern African Migration Project. 2003. "Attitudes of citizens of Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe to migrants, immigrants and refugees and migration policy," unpublished paper.
- Statistics South Africa. 2004. *Census 2001*, unpublished results kindly supplied by StatsSA.
- Statistics South Africa. 2003a. Gross Domestic Product. *Statistical Release P0441*. November. Available [online]: <http://www.statssa.gov.za>.
- Statistics South Africa. 2003b. *Labour Force Survey, September 2002*.
- Statistics South Africa, 2003c, *Census 2001*, unpublished results kindly supplied by StatsSA.
- Statistics South Africa. 2003d. *Census in Brief*. Pretoria: Own publication.
- Statistics South Africa. 2003e. "Tourism and Migration, December 2002," P0351, Government Printer: Pretoria.
- Statistics South Africa. 2002. "Tourism and Migration, December 2001," P0351, Government Printer: Pretoria

## APPENDIX A

Location of Sending Households of Migrant Workers to Gauteng, 2002

	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Total</b>
Western Cape	0.11	0.01	0.12
Eastern Cape	1.08	16.20	17.28
Northern Cape	0.41	0.09	0.50
Free State	1.96	1.10	3.06
KwaZulu-Natal	1.79	11.67	13.46
North-West	1.49	7.56	9.06
Gauteng	2.09	0.02	2.10
Mpumalanga	1.33	8.99	10.32
Limpopo	1.66	42.46	44.11
Total	11.91	88.09	100.00

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

## APPENDIX B

Estimated Impact of In-Migration on Provision of Education and Health Infrastructure

	<b>Metsweding</b>	<b>West Rand</b>	<b>Johannesburg</b>	<b>Sedibeng</b>	<b>Ekurhuleni</b>	<b>Tshwane</b>	<b>Total</b>
In-Migrants (1996-2001)	22 307	65 073	238 603	39 895	186 003	242 811	794 692
Average In-Migrants p.a.	4 461	13 015	47 721	7 979	37 201	48 562	158 938
<b>Western Cape Norms</b>							
Extra population to justify new primary school	4 000 (1 000 households of 4 persons on average)						
Extra population to justify new secondary school	8 000 (2 000 households of 4 persons on average)						
Extra population to justify new clinic	10 000						
<i>Population Increase Due to In-Migration Requires Annual Establishment of ...</i>							
New Primary Schools	1.1	3.3	11.9	2.0	9.3	12.1	39.7
New Secondary Schools	0.6	1.6	6.0	1.0	4.7	6.1	19.9
New Clinics	0.4	1.3	4.8	0.8	3.7	4.9	15.9
<b>Adjusted Norms</b>							
Extra population to justify new primary school	8 000 (2 000 households of 4 persons on average)						
Extra population to justify new secondary school	16 000 (4 000 households of 4 persons on average)						
Extra population to justify new clinic	10 000						
<i>Population Increase Due to In-Migration Requires Annual Establishment of ...</i>							
New Primary Schools	0.6	1.6	6.0	1.0	4.7	6.1	19.9
New Secondary Schools	0.3	0.8	3.0	0.5	2.3	3.0	9.9
New Clinics	0.4	1.3	4.8	0.8	3.7	4.9	15.9

Source: Bekker (2002: 75); Census 2001 (Statistics SA).



## APPENDIX C

Documented immigrants and self-declared emigrants from South Africa and net gain/loss, 1990-2002

Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net gain/loss
1990	14 499	4 722	+ 9 777
1991	12 379	4 256	+ 8 123
1992	8 686	4 289	+ 4 397
1993*	9 824	8 078	+ 1 746
1994	6 398	10 235	- 3 837
1995*	5 064	8 725	- 3 661
1996*	5 407	9 078	- 3 671
1997*	4 103	n/l	n/l
1998	4 371	8 276	- 3 905
1999	3 669	8 487	- 4 818
2000	3 053	10 262	-7 209
2001	4 832	12 260	- 7 428
2002	6 545	10 980	- 4 345

**Source:** Peberdy, S. 1999. "Selecting immigrants: Nationalism and national identity in South Africa's immigration policy, 1910-1998," unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's University, Canada. Central Statistical Services. 2003. "Tourism and Migration, December 2002," P0351, Government Printer: Pretoria. Central Statistical Services. 2002. "Tourism and Migration, December 2001," P0351, Government Printer: Pretoria.

Nationalities of travellers entering South Africa for work purposes, 1998-2000.

<b>Work</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>
<b>Africa</b>			
Botswana	994	808	782
Ghana	508	456	470
Kenya	598	676	654
Lesotho	727	531	303
Malawi	322	229	287
Mozambique	1743	1751	863
Namibia	492	358	295
Nigeria	891	929	759
Swaziland	1187	1177	892
Zambia	665	685	714
Zimbabwe	3191	2990	2918
Other Africa	2800	2668	2124
<b>Total Africa</b>	<b>14118</b>	<b>13258</b>	<b>11061</b>
<b>Asia</b>			
Rep of China/Taiwan	853	723	615
China	1047	1106	1440
India	2041	2212	1830
Japan	1369	1382	1283
Other Asia	1901	1861	1857
<b>Total Asia</b>	<b>7211</b>	<b>7284</b>	<b>7025</b>
<b>Europe</b>			
United Kingdom	10749	9885	8272
Netherlands	2133	1954	1806
Germany	4894	4776	4377
France	2925	3107	2836
Other Europe	7299	6938	6237
<b>Total Europe</b>	<b>28030</b>	<b>26660</b>	<b>23528</b>
<b>Total North America</b>	<b>7322</b>	<b>6912</b>	<b>6150</b>
<b>Total Australasia</b>	<b>1635</b>	<b>1688</b>	<b>1360</b>
<b>Total Middle East</b>	<b>489</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>470</b>
<b>Total S America &amp; Caribbean</b>	<b>1093</b>	<b>787</b>	<b>967</b>

Source: Unpublished data kindly supplied by the South African Department of Home Affairs, 2001.

Travellers entering South Africa for business purposes, 1998-2000

<b>Business</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>
Angola	3800	3095	3225
Botswana	47725	32554	28050
Kenya	4751	4654	4670
Lesotho	276395	220383	225428
Malawi	6147	6201	6762
Mozambique	19967	41237	57705
Namibia	37573	29954	28177
Swaziland	16652	12236	10403
Zambia	8740	9695	10554
Zimbabwe	31992	33389	31339
Other Africa	22923	21518	24762
<b>Total Africa</b>	<b>476665</b>	<b>414916</b>	<b>431075</b>
India	7294	7303	7034
Japan	4969	4529	4716
Peoples Rep of China	6141	6046	5305
Other Asia	8472	7737	7156
<b>Total Asia</b>	<b>26876</b>	<b>25615</b>	<b>24211</b>
Belgium	4195	3995	4312
France	11856	10489	10357
Germany		17339	18009
Italy	5759	5674	5529
Netherlands	7584	7456	7665
U K	54972	50656	50284
Other Europe	31497	45474	40759
<b>Total Europe</b>	<b>115863</b>	<b>141083</b>	<b>136915</b>
<b>Total North America</b>	<b>37496</b>	<b>32880</b>	<b>33950</b>
<b>Total Australasia</b>	<b>10274</b>	<b>10227</b>	<b>10281</b>
<b>Total Middle East</b>	<b>4436</b>	<b>4626</b>	<b>5005</b>
<b>Total S America &amp; Caribbean</b>	<b>3596</b>	<b>2933</b>	<b>3725</b>
<b>Total other</b>	<b>529</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>404</b>

Source: Unpublished data kindly supplied by the South African Department of Home Affairs, 2001.

## Visits to South Africa, 1998-2000

Country	1998	1999	2000
<b>Africa</b>			
Botswana	396 730	469 776	470 745
Ghana	3 390	4 152	3 909
Kenya	9 870	8 008	7 116
Lesotho	1 345 519	1 338 763	1 276 824
Malawi	59 488	62 728	63 589
Mozambique	282 936	362 586	374 938
Namibia	131 887	138 418	139 344
Nigeria	2 653	3 316	4 355
Swaziland	711 750	745 212	704 579
Zambia	51 659	56 469	63 157
Zimbabwe	475 530	449 432	423 674
<b>Asia</b>			
Rep of China/Taiwan	13 675	14 880	12 654
China	6 937	14 757	12 680
India	20 281	26 184	27 729
Japan	15 162	16 820	16 058
Pakistan	5 672	7 821	7 089
<b>Middle East</b>			
Israel	11 399	12 304	10 283
<b>Europe</b>			
United Kingdom	299 803	318 411	323 454
Netherlands	77 163	81 622	83 993
Germany	175 400	191 357	189 662
France	61 799	75 332	78 438
Ireland	17 729	18 942	19 023
<b>North America</b>			
Canada	23 995	24 367	24 395
USA	132 256	137 992	142 294

**Source:** Unpublished data kindly supplied by the South African Department of Home Affairs, 2001.

Country of citizenship, selected countries, Gauteng, 2001.

<b>Country</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
Lesotho	13967	10610	24577
Namibia	542	411	953
Botswana	2886	807	3693
Zimbabwe	15566	8671	24237
Mozambique	52063	13799	65862
Swaziland	3719	1480	5199
Democratic Republic Of The Congo (Zaire)	1019	606	1625
Malawi	6902	1671	8573
Zambia	1487	1355	2842
Burundi	224	94	317
Ethiopia	434	197	631
Kenya	601	504	1105
Nigeria	2833	414	3246
Rwanda	202	156	359
Somalia	186	102	288
United States	1061	1020	2081
Bangladesh	181	34	214
India	1339	741	2079
Pakistan	1006	183	1190
China	625	500	1125
Taiwan Province Of China	250	210	460
United Kingdom/Great Britain	11409	10800	22209
Germany	2571	2111	4681
Italy	1172	999	2170
Portugal	2200	1642	3841

Source: Statistics South Africa, 2004