

MIGRANTS IN THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

A Report for the City of Johannesburg

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Migrants in the City of Johannesburg¹

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1. INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

Johannesburg is South Africa's largest city, situated in the country's most populous province, Gauteng. As the financial and manufacturing centre of South Africa, the city has seen a concentration of wealth and production. However, the wealth of Johannesburg masks inequalities in wealth and access to resources for its residents that are symptomatic of South Africa's past history of racial exclusion and inequality. Migrants, while part of the growth and economic and social dynamism of the city, as well as its potential, may also have particular vulnerabilities to social and economic exclusion and poverty.

Of all provinces in the country, Gauteng has the highest proportion of its 8.8 million population born in other provinces, and born outside the country (473,073 or 5.3%) (Statistics South Africa, 2003). Between 1996 and 2001, Gauteng showed the greatest increase in population born outside the province of all provinces. The increase in the population born outside South Africa was lower, growing from 4.6% of the province's population to 5.3% between 1996 and 2001.

Census 2001 counted 3,225,816 people in the City of Johannesburg living in 1,006,933 households of about 3.2 people per household (www.statssa.gov.za). Growing out of the development of South Africa's gold and diamond mining industries, Johannesburg has always attracted migrants, from South Africa, the region, the rest of Africa, as well as from overseas. Census 2001 counted 1,136,851 South Africans born outside Gauteng in the CoJ, or, 35.2% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2004). And, Census 2001 counted 216,715 people born outside South Africa in Johannesburg, or, 6.7% of the city's population.

Surprisingly, given their comprehensive nature, Johannesburg's two main policy frameworks, Joburg 2030 and the Integrated Development Plan effectively do not mention migration (CoJ,2003; CoJ, 2002). Yet, migration is a key feature of the city and has been since its earliest years.

¹ Thanks to Statistics South Africa for kindly supplying the unpublished Census 2001 data presented here.

Migrants, already living in Johannesburg, and future migrants are part of the City, and its developmental future. Migrants have the potential to add value to the CoJ, particularly as, like other parts of the country, it faces skills loss through emigration, and the impact of HIV/AIDS. However, migrants may also be part of the CoJ's population which is socially and economically marginalised, and which the City is aiming to develop.

When Joburg 2030 and the IDP are reviewed, relevant areas are plans for:

- human resource development
- housing and service delivery
- SME development
- trade
- informal sector development
- employment
- HIV/AIDS education and prevention

As migrants, particularly those from other parts of the country, constitute a relatively significant and sustained part of the population of Gauteng, and Johannesburg, any development policies for the city need to account for migrants and migration. This report focuses on identifying differences in the lives of those who were born in Johannesburg, and internal migrants born outside the CoJ, and those born outside South Africa's borders. The report centers on those migrants who are finding it difficult to survive in the city, and any particular needs they may have.

Yet, many migrants are surviving and others thriving. Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell from Census data whether those who are struggling are new arrivals, or whether they have been struggling ever since they arrived in the city, or where they are located in the city. The focus on those migrants who are struggling and facing poverty, means that less attention will be paid in this report to those migrants who are contributing to the development of the city, whether they have come from inside or outside the country's borders.

This report also sits against a background of hostility to foreigners, or xenophobia. This can be manifested in the attitudes of Johannesburg residents and which can find its way into service provision. Studies of South African attitudes to non-nationals have found some of the highest levels of negative attitudes when compared to similar studies in other countries across the region and across the world (Mattes *et al.*, 1999). These negative attitudes are most strongly felt against African migrants and attitudes have at times included physical attacks on non-nationals (*ibid.*, Majodina and Peberdy, 2000). Therefore, policies undertaken by the CoJ need to take cognisance of prevailing attitudes.

Some of the hostility to non-nationals may reflect, in part, the difficult situation that many South Africans find themselves in. Although this report focuses on the problems of migrants, South African and otherwise, in Johannesburg the problems faced by migrants are, at times, people who were born and raised in Johannesburg. However, as this report suggests, migrants may experience these in different ways, and solutions may need to take cognisance of the specificity of migrants situations.

1.1 Methodology

The report draws on data provided by Census 2001 that refers to the City of Johannesburg and Gauteng.² It also draws on research on regional migration undertaken by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in neighbouring countries and in South Africa. Unfortunately, the SAMP research does not specifically refer to migrants in Johannesburg, although migrants who live in and had lived in Johannesburg were part of the studies. Finally, the report draws on other secondary sources that refer to migration in Johannesburg.

In this report, following Statistics South Africa, internal migrants are identified by their province of birth. People born in Gauteng are taken as non-migrants, although, some may have come from other parts of Gauteng to live in Johannesburg. However, migrants from within Gauteng are less likely to experience the same problems as those who have come from further away. Furthermore, a small number of non-nationals, for instance the children of non-nationals born in South Africa may be included in those counted as internal migrants.

Cross border migrants are identified here as those who were born outside South Africa, however, some of these people may hold South African citizenship. It is not possible to identify the legal status of those born outside South Africa who are living in Johannesburg from any available data. It is not possible to know from Census 2001 whether any irregular (or other) cross border migrants evaded being counted, or declared themselves to be South Africans. Thus, Census 2001 may have underestimated the number of people born outside South Africa, but it is not possible to be sure, or to know by how much.

2. LEGAL STATUS OF MIGRANTS AND CITIZENS

Before going further, it is worth identifying the different kinds of legal status that migrants can hold, and the rights and entitlements that are affected by a persons' migration status. Internal migrants are likely to be nationals of South Africa. Although citizens of South Africa are entitled to all rights in Table 1, those citizens without ID books will find it difficult, if not impossible to access these rights/services.

Cross border migrants may, or may not, hold South African citizenship. Census 2001 counts 94,195 non-South African citizens (2.9% of the CoJ) as compared to 216,715 (6.7% of the CoJ) people born outside South Africa in Johannesburg (Statistics South Africa, 2004). While some of the discrepancy may be accounted for by the return of South Africans born outside the country, it is likely that most can be attributed to the acquisition of citizenship by cross border migrants. People who have gained South African citizenship after arrival in South Africa, are entitled to the same rights as other South African citizens. Some SADC nationals were granted permanent residence under two amnesties for mineworkers and SADC nationals in 1995 and 1996-1997 respectively (Crush and Williams, 1999). This enabled approximately 50,000 mineworkers, and approximately 124,000 SADC nationals who had previously

² Most of the Census 2001 data was kindly supplied by Statistics South Africa as a special request, some of the data is available at www.statssa.gov.za.

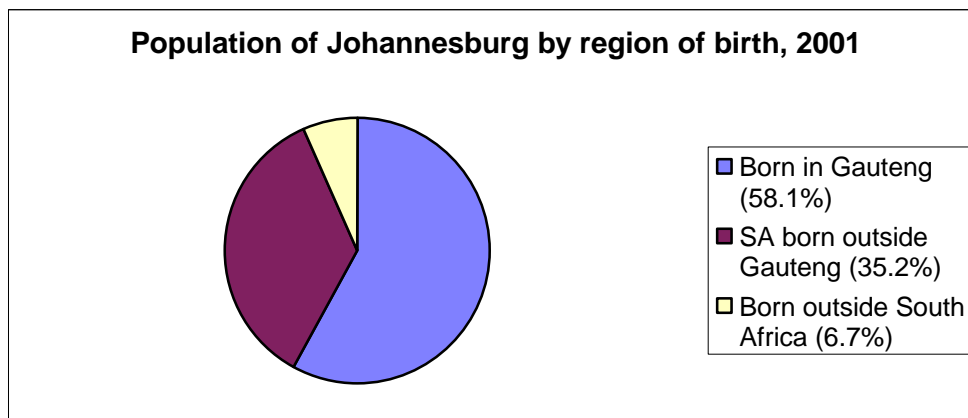
been in the country without permits, to get permanent residence status (*ibid.*: 5-7). Some of these migrants may now have become South African citizens.

One of the four Department of Home Affairs Refugee Centers (where asylum seekers and refugees make their applications), is located in Rosettenville. It has recently been relocated from Braamfontein. The relocation has caused a significant drop in the rate of issue and renewal of asylum seeker and refugee permits. This compromises the security of asylum seekers and refugees who may now lack the proper papers through no fault of their own.

3. ORIGINS OF MIGRANTS

As noted above, Census 2001 counted 3,225,830 people in the City of Johannesburg (www.statssa.gov.za). Of the South African born population of the city, 35.2% were born outside Gauteng (Statistics South Africa (SSA), 2004). Some 6.7% were born outside South Africa (*ibid.*). It is not possible to know how long those people born outside Johannesburg and South Africa have been living in Johannesburg.

Figure 1.



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

3.1 Internal Migrants

Internal migrants are people who have migrated from elsewhere in the country to Johannesburg. Gauteng shows the highest increase of all provinces in internal migration between 1996 and 2001, and this is likely to be true of Johannesburg, the major metropolitan attraction in the Province.

Some 35.2% of the CoJ's South African born population (or 1,136,851 people) were born outside Gauteng. The majority of South Africans born outside Gauteng who lived in Johannesburg in 2001 come from Limpopo (27.0%), followed by people born in KwaZulu-Natal (25%), and the Eastern Cape (14.9%) (Figure 1; Table 2 in Appendix 1).

Table 1. The rights and entitlements of citizens and migrants in South Africa.

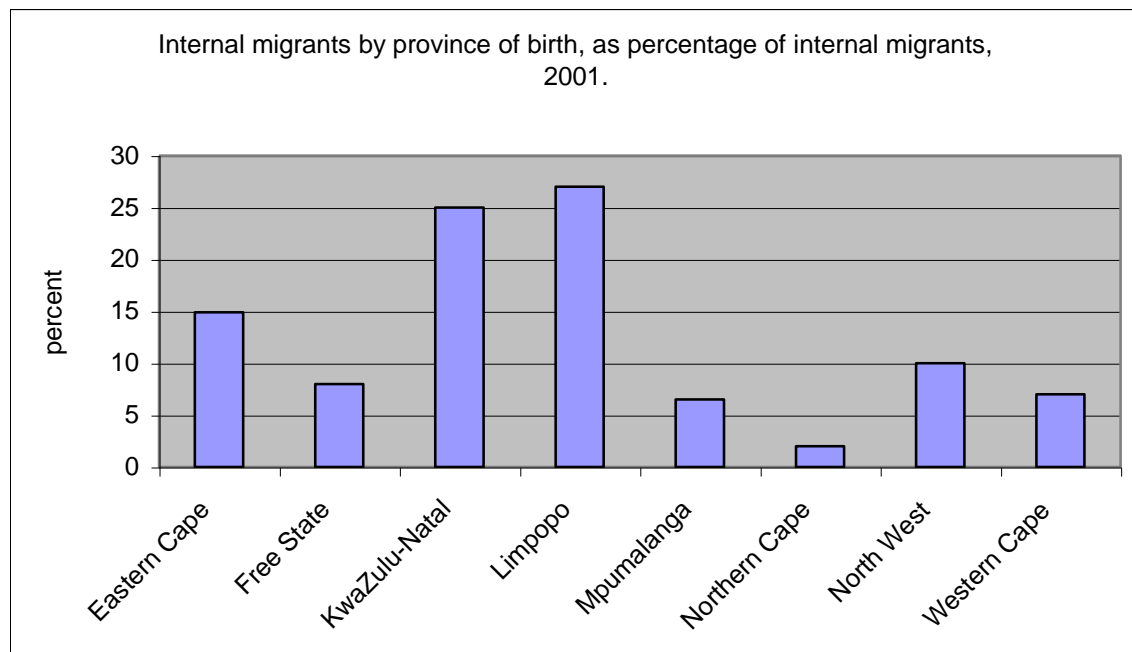
Rights/services	Citizen*: Born in South Africa, or to South African parents, or acquired citizenship under the SA Citizenship Act	Permanent resident: Indicates intention to remain permanently in South Africa. Status acquired prior to, or after arrival under immigration legislation	Temporary resident: Status/permit for specific purpose of entry and for specified time period under immigration legislation. Permits may be renewed. Reasons for temporary permit issue include: Visitor Work Business Study Medical Transit Crew Family reunification	Refugee: Permits issued under SA Refugee Act, 1998 (effective 2000). Must meet 1951 UN Convention and/or 1967 OAU Convention definitions of refugees.	Asylum seeker: Permit 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 to be made	Irregular migrant: (undocumented, illegal) 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
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 - children only until December 2002	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	?

* 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 who is in a life-threatening situation, whatever their migration status.

*** 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.

Figure 2



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

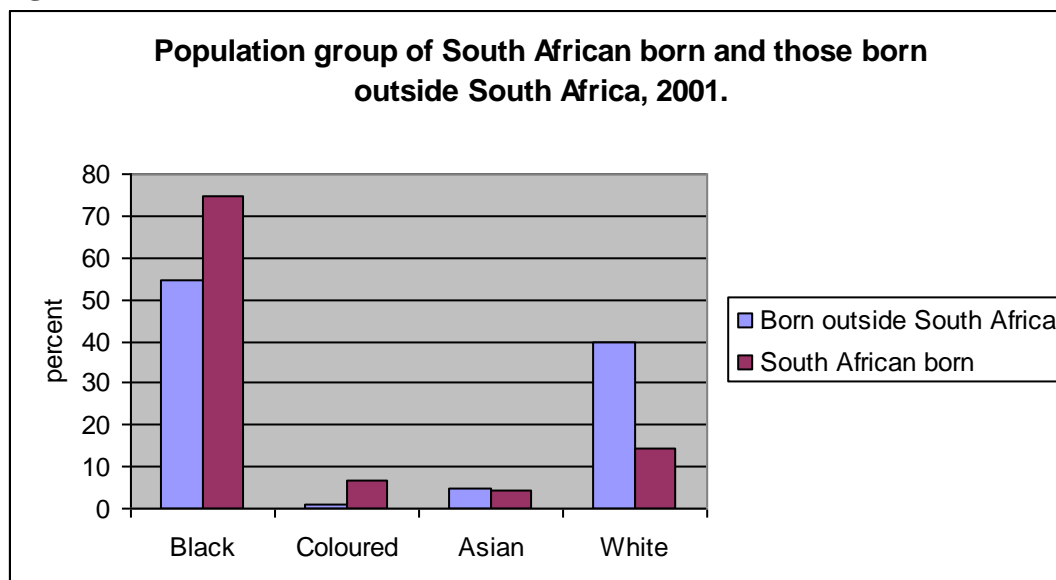
There is no existing research encompassing all internal migrants that indicates the strength of ties to the areas they were born in. However, research with South African female migrant domestic workers in Johannesburg indicates that they, at least, have strong ties to their home areas, and that many would prefer to be living there. So although, 52% of the 1,100 women interviewed said they called the Johannesburg area home, some 86.1% said they had a home outside Johannesburg (Dinat and Peberdy, 2004). Of these women, some 71.9% said they would rather live there than in Johannesburg if they could have the same job with the same conditions (*ibid.*). This suggests, at least for these women, strong ties to sending areas.

It is likely that the majority of new arrivals in Johannesburg may find life harder than those who have been in the city for some time. However, this may depend on the social networks available to migrants, which may depend on where they come from. These social networks are also likely to shape a migrants experience of the city.

3.2 Cross border migrants

Cross border migrants come from all over the world to South Africa. 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 the CoJ, and the city's relatively large white population may in part reflect past exclusionary immigration policies (Figure 3; Appendix 1). 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 wished to foster (e.g. Taiwan, Zaire – now DRC) (Peberdy, 1999).

Figure 3.



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Notwithstanding racial restrictions on migration, black African migrants, mainly from the region, still entered South Africa. Immigration legislation allowed for the entry of contract workers from the region to 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 had free movement 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). SAMP research in the region, interviewing over 4,500 people in 5 countries in the region reflects these long cross-generational family histories of migration (Table 2).

Table 2. 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
Sn. Mozambique*	29	53	32
Zimbabwe	38	24	23

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

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, the increase 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 2)
- between 1998-2000 the number of people entering South Africa for work purposes fell slightly (*ibid.*; see Appendix 2)
- between 1998-2000 the number of people entering South Africa for business purposes fell slightly (*ibid.*; see Appendix 2)
- between 1998-2000 the number of people entering South Africa for holiday purposes increased (*ibid.*; see Appendix 2)

There is no way of knowing how many irregular or undocumented migrants are living in South Africa, or in Johannesburg. Estimates that are bandied about are likely to be exaggerated, and have no foundation (McDonald, 2000).

Table 3 shows the population of Johannesburg born outside South Africa, by region of birth, counted in Census 2001. This study has used place of birth as an indicator of migration, rather than citizenship, as migrants may have acquired South African citizenship after arrival. It is not possible to know the migration status of those born outside South Africa living in Johannesburg, for instance if they are permanent or temporary residents. The majority of cross border migrants in Johannesburg are black African migrants from the SADC, and particularly Mozambique and Zimbabwe (see Table 5, Appendix 1).

Table 3. Region of birth as percentage of population born outside South Africa and as percentage of total population of Johannesburg, 2001.

Region of birth	% of population born outside South Africa	% total population of Johannesburg
South Africa	-	93.3
SADC countries	58.7	4.0
Rest of Africa	6.8	0.5
Europe	26.0	1.7
Asia	5.7	0.4
North America	1.2	<0.1
Central and South America	1.2	<0.1
Australia and New Zealand	0.5	<0.1
Total born outside South Africa	100.0	6.7

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Research by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in neighbouring countries and with African migrants in South Africa suggests that the majority of regional migrants are likely to come from urban areas (McDonald, 2000). Research with refugee and asylum seeker communities indicates the same (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000; CASE, 2003).

It is not possible from Census 2001 data to know how long cross border migrants have been living in South Africa, or how long they intend to stay. However, research by SAMP suggests that the majority of cross border migrants do not intend to stay permanently in South Africa (McDonald, 2000; McDonald *et al.*, 1999). So, a study

of 501 migrants living in urban areas of Gauteng, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal found that 68% of respondents wanted to retire in their home countries and only 18% in South Africa (McDonald *et al.*, 1999: 29). And, only 9% wanted to be buried in South Africa (*ibid.*). Refugees and asylum seekers also indicate that they wish to live elsewhere in the long term (CASE, 2003).

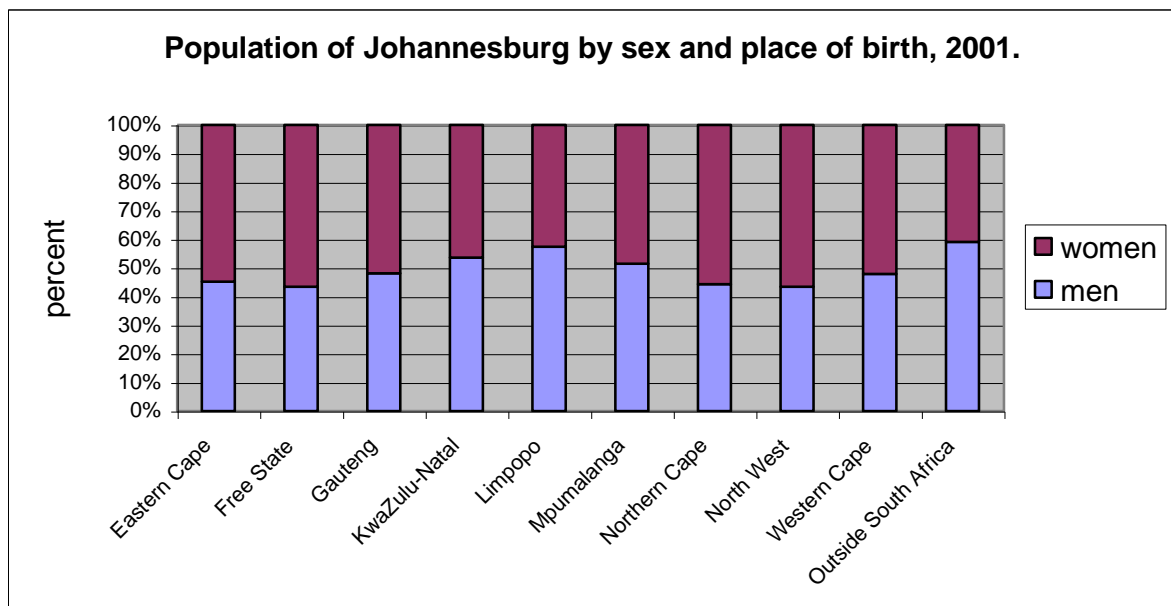
4. DEMOGRAPHICS OF MIGRANTS

4.1 Sex

If asked to imagine a migrant in South Africa, most people would picture a man, alone, usually black. Women are often only seen as the partners of male migrants, as part of his luggage. For much of South Africa's history, migrants have been male, particularly as the apartheid regime encouraged the migration of black males within the country for labour. Cross border labour migration has been dominated by the mining sector which almost exclusively recruited male labour. However, women have always been part of migrant flows within and to South Africa. (REFS).

And, Census 2001 data suggests that, following global trends, women are increasingly migrants in their own right, as well as being the partners of migrants. Figure 4 shows the province of birth of the South African born in Johannesburg by sex (see also Appendix 1). It shows provincial variations in the proportions of male and female migrants. So, women migrants from the Eastern Cape, Free State, Northern Cape and Western Cape exceed the number of male migrants. Men dominate migrants from other provinces, while the population born in Gauteng shows a near 50:50 balance.

Figure 4.

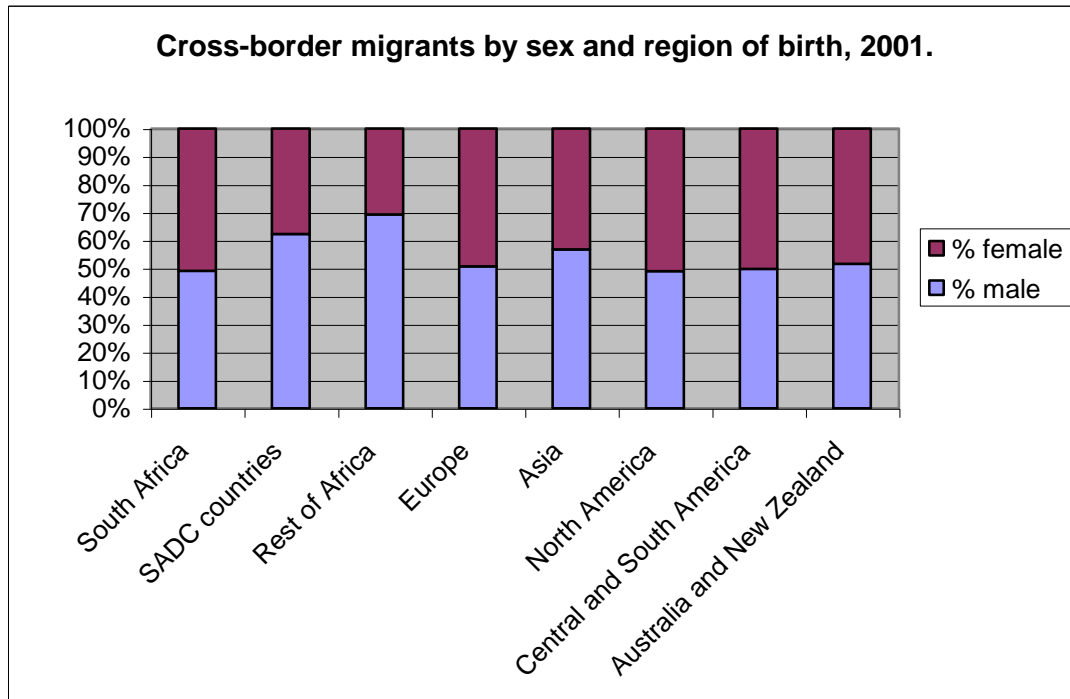


Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

As Figure 5 shows, data for cross border migrants is slightly different. Cross border migrants are more likely to be male than South African migrants, and those born and bred in Johannesburg. When country of birth is considered, migrants from African countries (particularly from outside the SADC), China, India and Pakistan, are more

likely to be male (Figure 5: Appendix 1), than their North American and European counterparts. 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 (Peberdy and Majodina, 1998).

Figure 5.



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

4.2 Age

Table 4 breaks down the population of the CoJ by those born in Gauteng, internal migrants and cross border migrants by age. It shows that migrants are more likely than the Gauteng born to be of prime working age, between 20-39 years. It also shows that migrants often travel without their children. And that although South African born migrants are more likely than cross border migrants to have children with them when they migrate, they are less likely to have children with them than non-migrants (or those born in Gauteng). It is not possible to know from the Census data, whether migrants are childless, or have left their children elsewhere. However, SAMP research and data from a study of 1,100 domestic workers in Johannesburg suggests that migrants leave their children elsewhere when they migrate for work (Dinat and Peberdy, 2004).

So, it seems that suggestions that children from other provinces and outside South Africa are brought or sent to Johannesburg to take advantage of good schooling are not supported by Census data.

Table 4. Population of Johannesburg by age and area of birth, 2001

	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
0-4	11.2	4.8	1.5
5-9	9.8	4.6	1.8
10-14	9.7	4.4	2.3
15-19	9.9	5.9	4.3
20-29	20.0	27.8	27.9
30-39	15.7	22.3	23.0
40-49	11.6	12.7	14.8
50-59	6.5	8.0	11.1
60-69	3.4	4.2	6.8
70-79	1.5	2.5	4.1
80+	0.6	1.1	2.0

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

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

- Migrants are looking to their home area rather than building their lives in Johannesburg.
- Separation can cause psychosocial problems for parents as well as children.
- Creates particular demands for housing, particularly for single person housing. Furthermore, migrants may not wish to invest in housing (rental or bought) if supporting family members elsewhere and looking to a future elsewhere. However, shortages of affordable family housing may encourage migrants to leave children and spouses in home areas.
- Remittances take money out of the city's economy. However, remittances may be sent in goods, which conversely adds to the city's economy.

There are not significant inter-provincial differences in the age structure of internal migrants (see Appendix 1). However, there is some variation between cross border migrants. So, European migrants are likely to be older than their counterparts from Africa and Asia (Table 5).

Table 5. Age groups as percentage, by region of birth, 2001.

Age	SADC countries %	Rest of Africa %	Europe %	Asia %	Johannesburg population %
0-19	11.7	12.1	4.5	12.7	30.8
20-29	37.9	38.2	6.0	20.2	24.1
30-39	25.7	29.0	15.7	21.7	18.9
40-49	13.6	10.5	18.3	14.9	12.7
50-59	5.7	4.5	24.4	10.9	7.1
60+	5.2	3.9	30.9	19.6	6.2

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Tables 4 and 5 suggest that, overall, cross border migrants either retire elsewhere, or have a relatively short lifespan. European migrants are an exception and show an

aging population, which may create specific demands for services for the elderly from the CoJ.

Therefore data on the ages of migrant populations suggests that Johannesburg gains from migrants in their most productive years, but at times is spared the cost of educating and caring for their children, or from providing for migrants as they enter old age.

4.3 Household size

Data on household size indicates that migrant households are more likely to be smaller than households where the household head was born in Gauteng. So, migrants are almost twice as likely to live in single person households as compared to the Gauteng born.

Household size has implications for the demand for housing stock, and the kind of housing that needs to be available in the city if current migration patterns continue. However, it is possible, that available housing and other services also shape migrant households. If sufficient adequate, affordable and appropriate housing and education services are not available, it may discourage migrants from bringing their families with them.

With the exception of migrants from the Western Cape, there are not significant inter-provincial variations in household size (Appendix 1). Cross border migrants from Africa are likely to live in smaller households than their European counterparts.

Table 6. Household size by place of birth of household head, 2001.

Household size	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
1	12.1	23.2	21.9
2	19.5	24.4	29.6
3	19.7	16.6	18.2
4	19.5	13.6	15.2
5	12.4	10.2	7.5
6	7.4	5.7	3.7
7	4.2	3.3	1.7
8	2.4	1.8	0.8
9	1.5	1.1	0.5
10+	1.2	1.0	0.5

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

4.4 Marital status

Table 7 shows the marital status of cross border migrants by sex. The lower proportion of single, never married people among internal and cross border migrants reflects the higher proportion of adults in these populations. It also suggests that for internal migrants:

- Single, never married women are less likely to migrate than their male counterparts
- Male migrants are slightly more likely to be married than their female counterparts.
- Widowhood, separation and divorce are motivators for the migration of women.

For cross border migrants it suggests:

- Higher rates of marriage for male and female migrants than for South Africans
- Single, never married women are less likely to migrate than their South African counterparts.
- Widowhood, separation and divorce may be motivators for women's migration.

Table 7. Marital status of cross border migrants by sex, 2001.

	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
Male			
Married civil/religious	19.1	21	34.4
Married traditional/customary	3.4	12.7	10.5
Polygamous marriage	<0.1	0.2	0.2
Living together like married partners	5.2	12.5	12.9
Never married	69.3	51.1	37.7
Widower/widow	1.1	1	1.5
Separated	0.5	0.5	0.5
Divorced	1.5	1.1	0.2
Female			
Married civil/religious	18.7	19.4	38.4
Married traditional/customary	3.3	9.6	7.8
Polygamous marriage	-	-	-
Living together like married partners	5.2	13.1	11
Never married	63.5	48.2	28.2
Widower/widow	5.3	5.7	8.4
Separated	0.9	1	0.9
Divorced	3.1	2.9	5.2

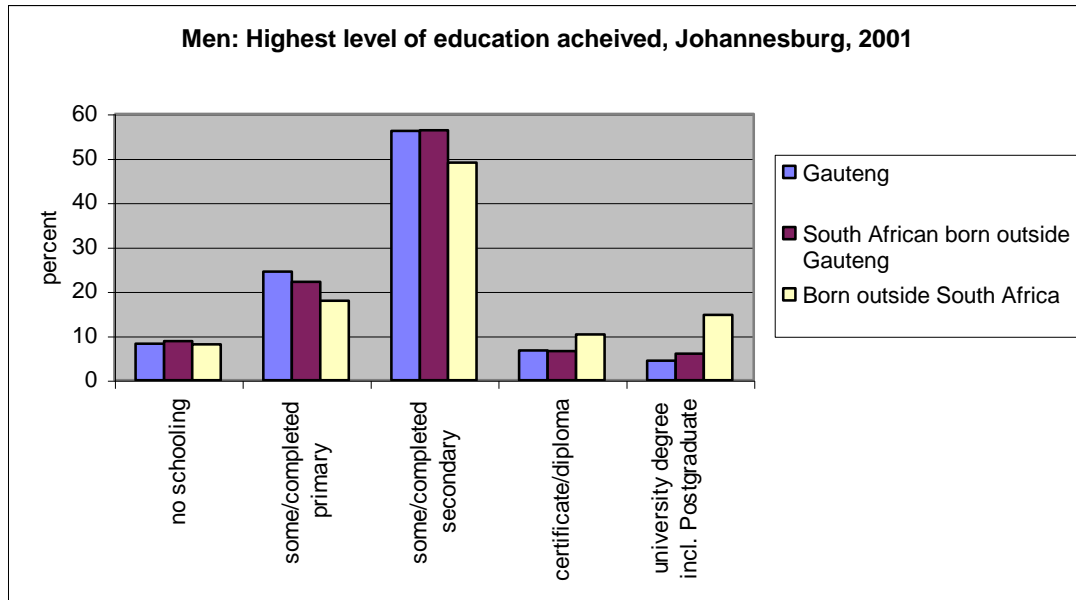
Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

4.5 Education levels of migrants

The education levels of migrants affect their ability to enter the job market, and the incomes they can earn. It should be noted, that migrants allow access to skills and education that has not been paid for by the province (or South Africa in the case of cross border migrants). These migrants therefore, represent a gain to the CoJ and a loss of investment in education by the home area.

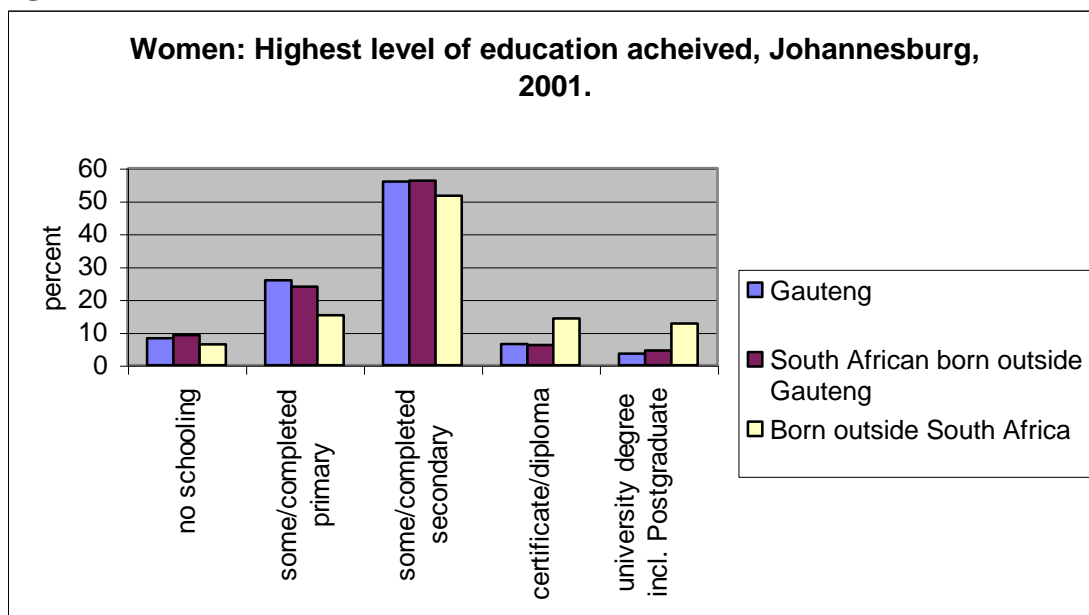
Figure 6 shows differences in the highest level of education achieved by male Gauteng born, internal migrant and cross border migrant CoJ residents. Figure 7 shows the same for women (see also Appendix 1). Overall, they show relatively small differences in educational levels achieved between migrants and non-migrants. However, cross border migrants are more likely to have tertiary education than South Africans, and overall, match South African education levels. They also show that although overall, women have slightly lower levels of educational achievement than men female cross border migrants have higher levels of education.

Figure 6



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Figure 7



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Education levels of internal migrants are also affected by gender and province of origin with migrants from KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and the Free State showing the lowest levels (Table 12, Appendix 1). Research with female domestic workers in Johannesburg found some provincial differences in education levels attained by domestic workers, and that they showed relatively low levels of education (perhaps reflected by the sector they are working in) (Dinat and Peberdy, 2004; see Table 13 Appendix 1).

Census results which show that cross border migrants are relatively well educated and have higher levels of tertiary education are also reflected in other research with migrants and refugees (Table 14 and 15, Appendix 1). A SAMP study of 501 African migrants in Gauteng, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal found relatively high levels of education, however this varied by nationality and across nationalities (McDonald, 2000; Table 14, Appendix 1). Research with SADC nationals in the handicraft curio sector and involved in cross border trade indicate that they tend to have higher levels of education than the national average of their home countries (Peberdy and Crush, 1998). Research with refugees and asylum seekers also show relatively high levels of education, which tend to be higher than South African averages (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000; CASE, 2003; Table 14, Appendix 1).

Significantly, and perhaps counter-intuitively, Census 2001 shows that overall, female cross border migrants have higher levels of educational achievement than their male counterparts (Table 8). It also shows, however, variations within regions. So, the highest proportion of people with no schooling are Asian women, but, they also show the highest proportion of women with tertiary education.

Table 8. Highest level of education achieved by cross border migrants by sex and region of birth, 2001.

	South Africa	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia	Total Cross border migrants
Male						
no schooling	8.4	10.9	5.5	1.7	5.9	8.1
some/complete primary	26.2	26.0	7.0	5.0	11.5	17.9
some/completed secondary	55.3	51.3	52.3	42.4	46.5	49
certificate/diploma	5.8	5.6	14.2	20.9	10.3	10.3
university degree incl. Postgraduate	4.3	6.1	21.0	30.0	25.6	14.7
Female						
no schooling	8.7	8.3	6.7	2.4	11.8	6.3
some/complete primary	25.0	21.2	11.1	6.0	15.8	15.2
some/complete secondary	56.1	54.0	47.3	52.0	39.6	51.6
certificate/diploma	6.5	9.7	17.6	21.5	11.6	14.2

university degree incl. Postgraduate	3.6	6.7	17.3	18.1	21.3	12.7
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Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

So, it seems that although internal migrants show perhaps slightly lower levels of education than the Gauteng born, the education levels achieved by cross border migrants generally match, including African migrants, and in some cases exceed those of South Africans. This contradicts some commonly held views that migrants from the rest of Africa, including the SADC are uneducated and unskilled.

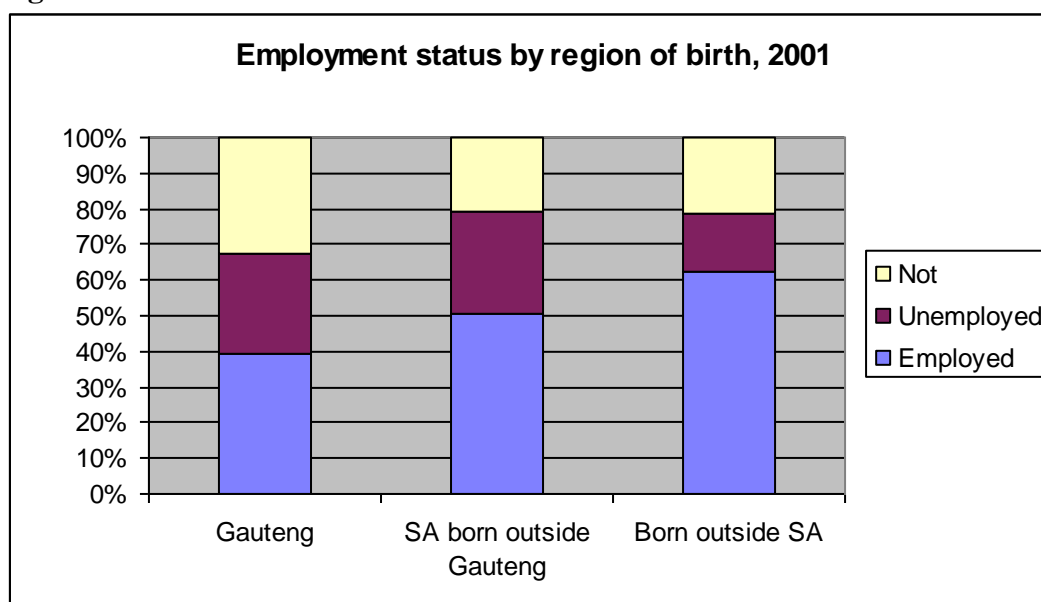
5. EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND INCOME

5.1 Employment status

It is commonly held that people migrate for economic reasons, for work and opportunities to maximise incomes. Census 2001 data on the employment status of internal and cross border migrants shows that they are more likely to be employed than South Africans (Figure 8, Table 15, Appendix 1). However, internal migrants show marginally higher levels of unemployment than those born in Gauteng. The high rates of employment of migrants may reflect that:

- Migrants made a decision to move and may have sorted out jobs to go to before they migrate.
- They are less likely to have social networks that can support them when unemployed (noting that migrants are more likely to live in single person households) and so may return home if work is not found.
- May have skills that are attractive to employers.

Figure 8.



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

For internal migrants there are provincial differences in employment levels with male migrants from the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal and female migrants from

Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal showing the highest levels of unemployment (Table 9).

Table 9. Employment status and province of birth, 2001.

	Eastern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	North West	Western Cape	Internal migrants	Gauteng
Male										
Employed	53.4	57.3	57.5	59.6	59.4	62.2	59.1	52.8	57.7	42.8
Unemployed	30.5	23.9	28.8	26.1	24.2	19.8	24.3	19.2	24.6	27.5
Not active	16.1	18.6	13.8	14.3	16.4	18.1	16.6	28.1	17.8	29.7
Female										
Employed	40.3	46.8	43	34.6	44.1	52.1	55.6	44.7	45.2	36.5
Unemployed	34.5	26.7	31.1	38.3	28.9	20.1	23.6	19.9	27.9	27.9
Not active	25.1	26.5	25.9	27.1	27	27.6	20.8	35.4	26.9	35.6

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Cross border male migrants show the highest levels of employment of all migrants (Figure 9). There are however, significant gender and regional differences between the employment levels of cross border migrants from different regions (Table 10). So, migrants from Europe and Asia show very low levels of unemployment. Female migrants from SADC countries show the highest level of unemployment followed by male migrants from the Rest of Africa (Table 10). Female migrants are more likely than their male counterparts to be not economically active.

Table 10. Employment status by region of birth and sex, 2001.

	South Africa	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
Male					
Employed	50.1	68.7	62.8	83.1	72.2
Unemployed	29.8	22.7	24.8	4.1	8.4
Not active	20.1	8.6	12.7	12.8	19.4
Female					
Employed	39.1	32.5	41.5	60.1	33.5
Unemployed	33.5	38.2	23.9	3.1	4.8
Not active	27.5	29.4	34.6	36.9	61.7

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Research with refugees and asylum seekers suggest that they may find it harder to get work than other cross border migrants (CASE, 2000; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000).

This may be because:

- Asylum seekers who arrived after April 2000 were not allowed to be employed, except with special permission, until December 2003.
- Refugee and asylum seeker papers are often not recognised by employers.
- Asylum seekers and refugees may have had to flee without and proof of qualifications and may even if they have them find it difficult get them verified and recognised (interview, Lawyers for Human Rights, January 2004).

- They may have greater language problems than other cross border migrants
- They may lack the social networks available, for instance to many regional migrants, which assist in finding employment.
- Available evidence suggests that refugee communities provide assistance where they can to members of their communities in need – even if they have no social ties to them.

The relatively high rates of employment of migrants as compared to the Gauteng born may raise fears that internal and cross border migrants are taking employment opportunities from long term Johannesburg residents. However:

- Cross border migrants only constitute 6.7% of the CoJ population and less than 80% are in the job market. Furthermore, as tables below suggest, many are likely to be self-employed rather than employed.
- There is not a zero sum job market, i.e., a person who is employed may create other jobs directly and indirectly. Certainly self-employed cross border migrants and refugees are creating jobs for South Africans (Peberdy, YEAR; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000).

Unemployment of migrants is of concern as they may lack the social networks available to the Johannesburg born to support them in times of need. Therefore, they may be hardest hit by unemployment, to the extent, it may be difficult for them to return home.

5.2 Employment sector

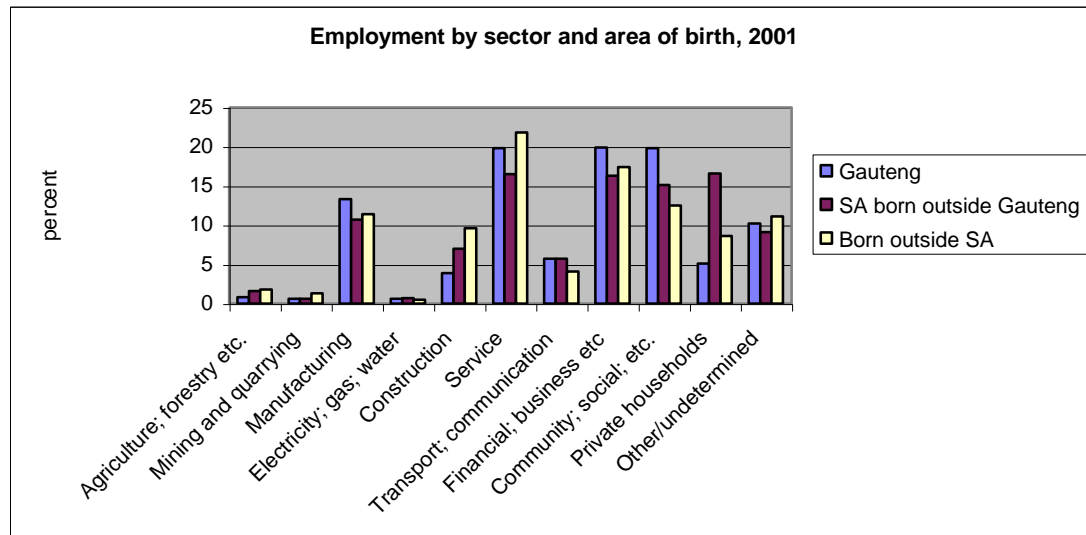
So, for those migrants that are employed, where are they employed? Sectors of employment may affect income earning potential, as well as job security. Figure 9 (see also Table 16, Appendix 1) shows employment sector by area of birth. It shows that overall, the dominant areas of employment in the CoJ are the service, financial, community services, manufacturing sectors along with private households. Migrant employment rates follow these dominant sectors. Relatively high rates of employment in the financial sector may reflect the high levels of tertiary education of migrants in Johannesburg. Relatively high rates of employment of internal and cross border migrants in community services indicate that they make more than an economic contribution to the city.

Internal migrants are most likely to be found working in the service, financial, community, manufacturing sectors as well as private households. The disproportionate rate of employment in private households possibly reflects the high number of women migrants, but also has implications for income levels. Income levels in sectors of employment where internal migrant are represented (are at times low and employment insecure).

Cross border migrants are disproportionately represented in the construction, service, and financial sectors and show relatively high rates of employment in private households. Again, these sectors of employment have implications for the income levels of migrant workers, job security and conditions of work.

Therefore, the sectors of employment of both cross border and internal migrants indicate that they are sectors which include low paid, insecure employment. However, it should also be noted that it is not possible to know at what level migrants are employed in these sectors, or the security of employment. Census data on the occupation of migrants is really too vague to be of use.

Figure 9.



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

5.3 Income

It is commonly held that migrants, particularly irregular cross border migrants depress wages, and undercut South Africans in the job market. And, therefore, that migrants are overexploited, underpaid and overworked. This would mean, therefore, that some employers would be taking advantage of migrants need for employment and, where relevant, insecure legal status.

Income levels are an indicator of poverty levels and marginalisation, especially when those individuals with no income are considered. As Table 11 shows significant proportions of the population of CoJ have no income. However, this figure will include scholars and those who are not economically active. Highest rates are found among those born in Gauteng, and are lowest among cross border migrants. These discrepancies also reflect: the higher rates of employment of migrants and the smaller social support networks of migrants. The impact of having no income may be much greater for migrants who may lack social networks to provide alternative means of support.

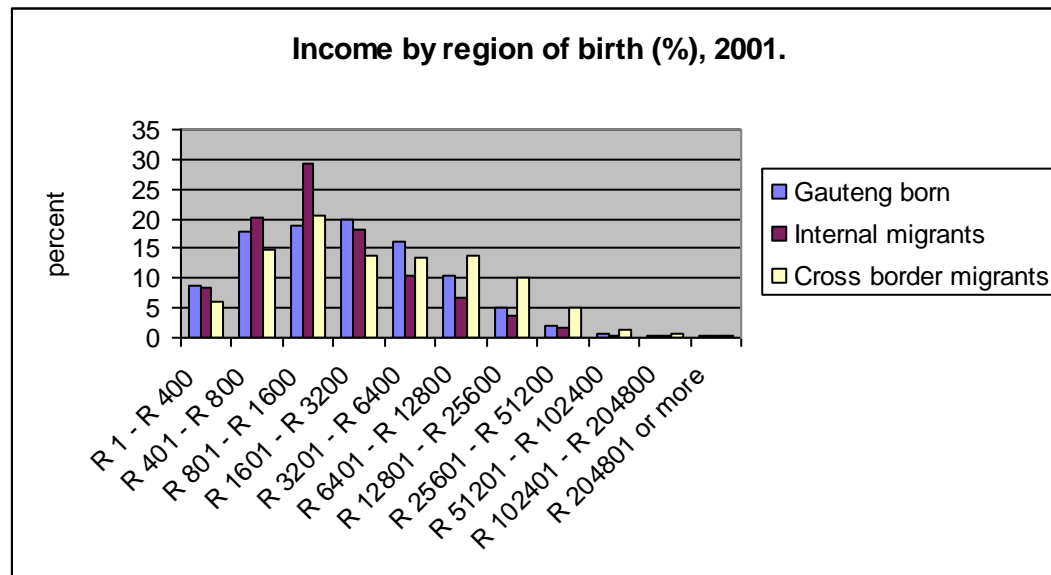
Table 11. Percentage of population without income by area of birth, 2001.

Income level	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
No income	66.5	51.1	35.7

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

When income levels are considered alone, they show that internal migrants are likely to be lower income earners than those born in Gauteng, while cross border migrants have, on average, slightly higher incomes than South Africans (Figure 10: Table 17 Appendix 1). However, when cross border migrants are considered by region of birth, regional variations appear. SADC migrants are likely to be lower income earners than South Africans, while migrants from Europe and Asia are relatively high income earners (Table 12).

Figure 10.



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

The data for cross border migrants, is of concern. Although the levels of people earning no income are lower than for South Africans, not only are social support networks likely to be weaker, the pool of scholars and economically inactive people is lower for cross border migrants.

Table 12. Income level by region of birth and for non-South Africans (%), 2001.

	South Africa	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
No income	60.6	40.5	43.0	21.9	41.2
R 1 - R 400	3.3	5.5	2.8	1.3	14.1
R 401 - R 800	7.4	12.2	6.7	4.9	8.9
R 801 - R 1600	9.3	17.9	11.8	5.0	7.8
R 1601 - R 3200	7.4	8.2	11.5	9.1	9.9
R 3201 - R 6400	5.3	4.9	9.2	16.3	9.9
R 6401 - R 12800	3.4	4.7	6.8	18.1	9.8
R 12801 - R 25600	1.7	3.4	3.8	13.4	6.0
R 25601 - R 51200	0.7	1.6	2.5	6.5	3.0
R 51201 - R 102400	0.2	4.4	0.7	2.0	1.0
R 102401 - R 204800	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.9	0.6
R 204801 or more	<0.1	0.1	0.2	0.7	0.3

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Income is also affected by gender. Women traditionally earn lower incomes, in part because they tend to work in low income earning sectors. Table 13 shows that across the board, women earn less than their male counterparts. However, it also shows that female internal migrants are most likely to earn the lowest incomes, and, that female cross border migrants tend to do better. However, it should be noted that the figures for female cross border migrants are skewed by European migrants. So, women from the SADC earn incomes comparable to South African female migrants. The study of female domestic workers in Johannesburg found over 75% earned less than R1000 per month even though

Table 13. Income by area of birth and sex (%), 2001.

	Gauteng born		Internal migrants		Cross border migrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
R 1 - R 400	7.8	9.4	6.4	10.8	5.9	6.2
R 401 - R 800	13.5	22.1	14.5	27.8	14.3	15.8
R 801 - R 1600	18.7	18.7	31.7	26.5	23.3	14.9
R 1601 - R 3200	20.7	18.6	22.7	12.5	13.8	13.5
R 3201 - R 6400	15.9	16.6	10.3	10.7	10.7	18.9
R 6401 - R 12800	11.2	9.5	6.4	7.2	11.9	17.6
R 12801 - R 25600	7.1	3.3	4.4	2.8	10.8	8.4
R 25601 - R 51200	3.1	1.0	2.2	0.9	6.5	2.9
R 51201 - R 102400	0.9	0.4	0.6	0.3	1.7	1.1
R 102401 - R 204800	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.6
R 204801 or more	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.2

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Although the Census 2001 data challenges ideas that cross border migrants from SADC countries are severely undercutting wages of South Africans, it does suggest that a significant proportion of the population of the CoJ, migrant and non-migrant are surviving on very low incomes. Furthermore, it should be remembered that some migrant households will be trying to sustain two households on these low incomes. And, therefore migrants on low incomes are likely to be disproportionately poorer than their non-migrant counterparts.

5.4 Trade and self-employment

Thusfar, we have focused on the employment and incomes of migrants, and shown that work appears to be a key reason for migration. However, research by the Southern African Migration Project indicates that finding work is not the only reason regional migrants come to South Africa (Table 14). Table 14 shows that, at least before the collapse in the Zimbabwean economy and with the exception of Mozambicans, migration for work is only one of the reasons that people come to South Africa and Johannesburg. Other reasons include trade and shopping, and to visit family and friends.

Table 14. Reasons for visiting South Africa, 1997-1998.

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.

Migrants who come to Johannesburg to start shop, trade and for entrepreneurial reasons are not on the margins, they do make contributions to the city's economy:

- Traders contribute to the wholesale and retail economies
- Traders in handicrafts and curios contribute to the tourism sector
- Traders and entrepreneurs 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). A study of 70 African migrant SME entrepreneurs in Johannesburg found they employed 270 people (Peberdy and Rogerson, 2000).

The informal retail sector provides opportunities for migrants and refugees who are probably over-represented in this sector.

5.5 Skilled migration (immigration & emigration)

While this report is concerned with migrants who are living on the margins in Johannesburg, it is worth briefly considering the immigration and emigration of skilled professionals. Since 1994, the recorded number of self-declared emigrants have been almost double the number of immigrants (Brown, *et al.*, 2000; Statistics South Africa. 2003, 2002). And, the actual numbers of skilled emigrants are likely to be as much as three times higher than self-declared emigrants (Brown *et al.*, 2000).

The loss of skilled emigrants represents:

- a loss of human capital, that could be being utilised for economic and social development whether in the private or public sectors. It can impact on the development of the CoJ and the delivery of services to communities;
- a loss of state investment in education and training by the state and private sectors as well as know how and experience, which, although new workers may be available, takes time to replace;
- difficulties for planning development programs as it planning for staffing and labour requirements;
- and, it can represent a loss of confidence in a city or country (Crush and McDonald, 2002; Peberdy, 2003).

The in-migration of skilled professionals can go some way to alleviating these losses, and represents a gain in human capital, without investment in training and education.

It can also promote investment and trade. But in-migration, even of skilled workers can carry problems:

- High rates of in-migration may contribute to already relatively high rates of anti-foreigner sentiment;
- In-migration may, if not properly managed, hamper attempts to promote black economic empowerment and programs to develop previously excluded workers.

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, women play an increasingly significant role in the flow of regional skilled migrants (Dodson, 1998).

Therefore, while there is a pool of South African labour to draw on, migrants represent opportunities for the CoJ to replace lost skills in the public and private sectors. Creating an environment conducive to skilled immigrants could be in the interests of the CoJ and its residents.

6. HOUSING AND FACILITIES

It is often held that migrants come to Johannesburg and South Africa not just for work but, to get access to better housing and services. SAMP research with migrants in their home countries explored whether people thought they had better access to services such as land, water, and housing in South Africa or their home country (McDonald, 2000). Responses to these questions suggest that these services are not the main attraction for migrants:

- 81% of Basotho, 74% of Mozambican, 75% of Zimbabwean and 58% of Namibian respondents said they had better or the same access to land in their home countries than in South Africa. They gave similar responses to the availability of water in their home countries (*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.*).
- When asked for the primary reason they came to South Africa on their current visit, 35% of African migrants said to work or look for work, and only 7% cited overall living conditions and 1% the availability of decent schools (McDonald *et al.*, 1999).

These responses suggest that people are not coming to South Africa for these services. Furthermore, a study of access to housing in Cape Town found that migrants do not have expectations that the South African government should provide them with housing (McDonald, 1998). A study of Somali refugees in South Africa found that the majority, surprisingly perhaps, said they had better housing conditions in Somalia than in South Africa (Peberdy and Majodina, 2000).

6.1 Housing type

Housing is a major issue for the city and a signifier of social and economic exclusion (Harrison, 2001). Although houses are being built by the Province, and the CoJ, as well as by the private sector significant numbers of the population of the CoJ live in sub-standard housing (Figure 11: Table 18, Appendix 1). Migration places greater pressure on the existing housing stock of the CoJ as well as attempts to upgrade and increase the housing stock. Concern has also risen over the deterioration of existing housing stock through overcrowding, particularly in the flatlands of the CBD, Hillbrow and Yeoville as well as areas such as Bertrams. Furthermore, the CBD, in particular, has seen the development of the inappropriate use of office buildings for residential use.

Movement into the city started before apartheid racial restrictions on where people could live were lifted. However, the 1990s has seen radical changes in where people can and do now live. Particularly affected have been the CBD, Bertrams, Hillbrow, Mayfair, Fordsburg and Yeoville. Migrants have been part of this change. Areas like Yeoville and Hillbrow have traditionally been home to migrants. In the apartheid years, these migrants were largely white. Today, they are largely black Africans from elsewhere in the city, South Africa, and Africa.

Areas like Fordsburg and Mayfair from where Indian South Africans were removed, have been repopulated by some of the original residents. Home to a relatively strong Muslim community, they have attracted Muslim migrants and refugees, particularly from India, Pakistan and Somalia. These changes have been reinforced by faith based social networks, where the Muslim community provides support and rents housing to non-nationals sharing the same faith (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000).

Cross border migrants, particularly those from the rest of Africa rather than the SADC, are more likely to live in the inner city and suburbs than in township areas. Wealthier migrants, particularly white migrants, are likely to live in traditionally white areas of the city. Research suggests that xenophobia plays a part in these decisions (Parnell and Wooldridge, 2001; Peberdy and Majodina, 2000; CASE, 2003). Migrants from outside Southern Africa are less likely to have existing social networks than those from the SADC. Furthermore, they are more visible and are less likely to speak South African languages. Thus, the inner city, although seemingly hostile to many, may provide a safer place to live than townships.

Census 2001 data displayed in Figure 11 shows that:

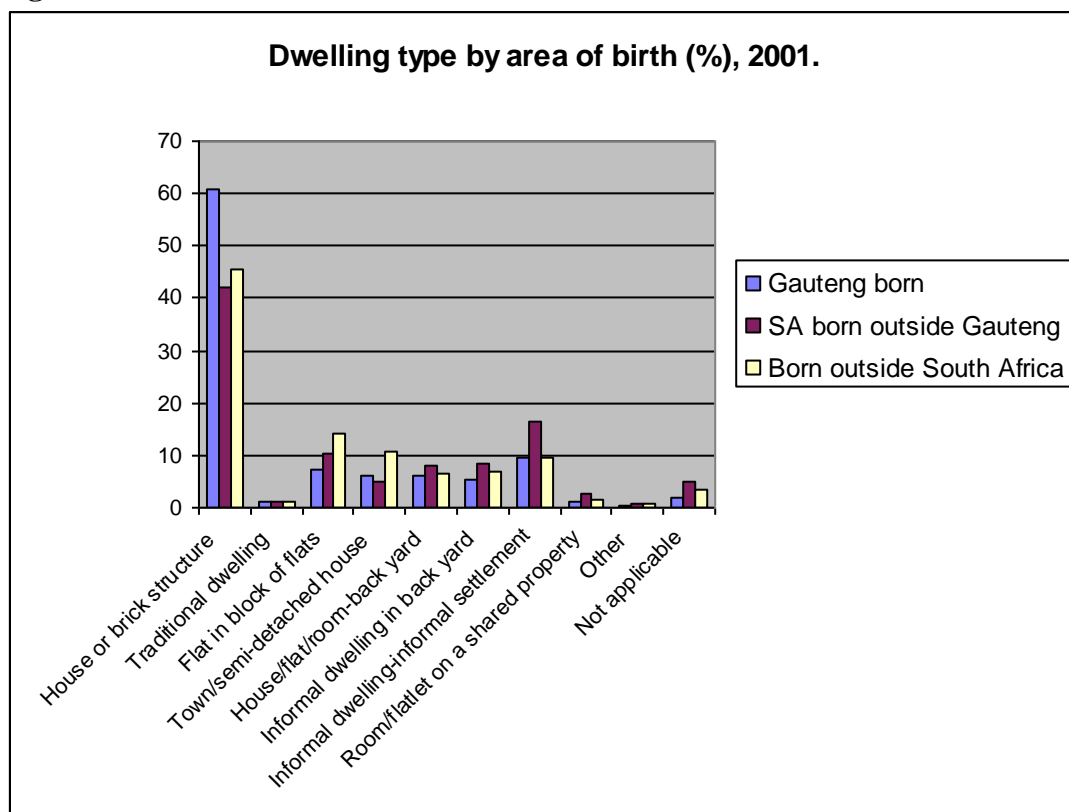
- Internal and cross border migrants are less likely than the Gauteng born to live in a house or brick structure on its own stand.
- Internal migrants are most likely to live in an informal dwelling in back yards and in informal settlements as well as in back yard rooms.
- Cross border migrants are most likely to live in flats and town houses.

This suggests that internal migrants are most likely to live in poor housing conditions. That more cross border migrants are living in flats reflects suggestions that they are concentrated in the flatlands of Hillbrow and Yeoville. However, the Census data

does not show how people are living in their houses flats and brick structures, or how many people are living in them.

The data also does not identify who are living in the hostels of the CoJ. It is known that internal migrants are most likely to be living in the hostels of the city's townships, often in extremely poor and overcrowded living conditions. For instance, a study of Dube Hostel in 2001 found that hostel residents, most of whom came from KwaZulu Natal, were enumerated in their rural homes in the 1996 census (Parnell and Wooldridge, 2001). Other residents were foreign migrants from neighbouring states. The hostel community remained isolated from surrounding areas. And, the study found that living standards in the hostel, including waste, water, electricity and social services were lower than in the surrounding areas, with high levels of overcrowding (*ibid.*).

Figure 11.



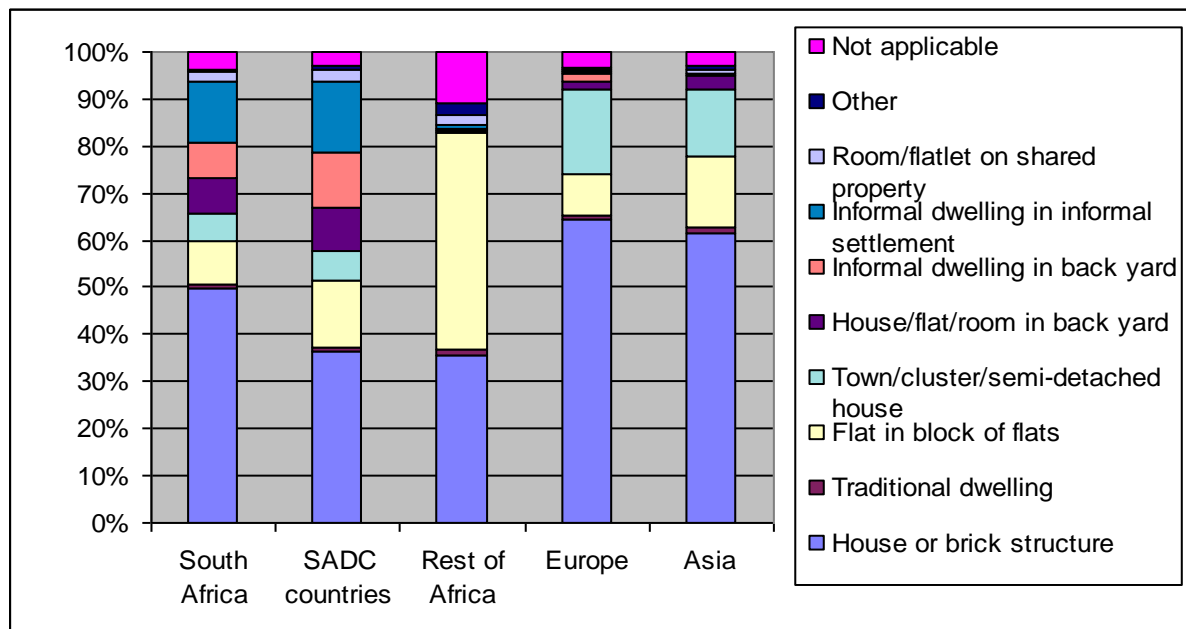
Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

A study of backyard shacks found that they constitute a significant proportion of housing in the city (e.g., 37% of Sowetans live in backyard shacks (*ibid.*: 12). And while Census 2001 shows that internal migrants are most likely to live in backyard shacks, some 16% of backyard residents in Soweto were foreign, mainly from neighbouring states (*ibid.*: 12; Statistics South Africa, 2004). The study found that access to water, sanitation and electricity is problematic for backyard residents, but that it is a preferred housing option for some, and for foreign residents perhaps their only option (*ibid.*).

Census data shows that internal migrants are more likely than the Gauteng born and cross border migrants to be living in informal shacks in informal settlements. However, it should be noted that, given their overall numbers, the Gauteng born are likely to outnumber internal migrants in informal settlements. Overall, cross border migrants are almost as likely as the Gauteng born to be living in informal settlements. However, when this figure is broken down by region of birth, migrants from the SADC are more likely to be living in informal settlements than the Gauteng born (Figure 12, Table 19, Appendix 1).

A study of Hospital Hill informal settlement found significant numbers of non-nationals, particularly from Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland as well as Nigeria (Parnell and Wooldridge, 2001: 13). In this particularly marginalised informal settlement, the study found that few residents could afford alternative accommodation, but that also, many found it a useful place to live as they could avoid legal scrutiny – whether they were in the country illegally or involved in illegal activities (*ibid.*). As in some informal settlements, waste and sanitation services fell below minimum standards and other services such as policing were lacking (*ibid.*). Informal settlements are likely to be home to the most socially and economically marginalised, whether Gauteng born, internal or cross border migrants. Uplifting the lives of the residents of these settlements, whether they are in the country legally or not, is a priority for the CoJ and the Gauteng Provincial government.

Figure 12. Dwelling type by region of birth (%), 2001.



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Cross border and internal migrants are most likely to live in flats in blocks of flats (Figure 12; Table 19, Appendix 1). Some of these may be converted office blocks in the CBD. A study of Hillbrow found that foreign migrants, particularly those without papers or from outside the SADC found it easier to get accommodation in Hillbrow because landlords often don't ask for identification documents, and they face less xenophobia and prejudice (*ibid.*). Studies of refugees and asylum seekers, who are

most likely to come from Africa outside the SADC have also found that they are find it difficult to find accommodation outside these areas, and face prejudice (at times including physical attacks) when they try to live in township areas (Peberdy and Majodina, 2000).

Although the high proportion of cross border migrants, and to a lesser extent internal migrants, who live in houses and flats suggests that they may have better living conditions than many South Africans, Census data does not provide any information on levels of overcrowding. Studies of refugees and asylum seekers suggest, that at least for the most marginalised, four brick walls may be an advantage, but the only advantage. As noted above, most cross border migrants, and even some refugees say they had or have better access to better housing in their home countries. They also suggest that many cross border migrants live in very overcrowded conditions.

So, a study of Somali refugees found 70% lived in a room in a house and 11% in a room in a flat (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000: 20). And, some 77% only had access to that one room (*ibid.*). Only 7.6% of respondents did not share the room they lived with, but 53.3% shared their room with between 3-5 other people and some 7.3% lived in a room with more than 10 people (*ibid.*). These people were not always family members. So, over 80% of respondents said they shared their bedroom with non-family members. Somali refugees over 50 years and young men were likely to live in the most overcrowded conditions, mainly on grounds of affordability (*ibid.*). A study of asylum seekers and refugees across four South African cities, including Johannesburg, similarly found that 75% rented a room in a house or flat and that over 33% shared that room with at least one other person (CASE, 2004: 135).

Internal migrants, and cross border migrants those from SADC countries may make similar arrangements to find affordable accommodation. However, SADC migrants are more likely to be able to find places to stay in townships and informal settlements than their counterparts from other African countries, as they are more likely to be less visible and may have established social networks in these areas.

This data on dwelling type starts to highlight the marginalisation of migrants and their different experiences from the Gauteng born. It also indicates shortages affordable types of housing, particularly for single person and small households. This moves people to share accommodation, which in the case of flats and converted office blocks can overstretch the infrastructure of buildings, particularly sanitation. In turn, this devalues the housing stock and compromises the health of residents.

This data suggests consideration needs to be given as to how to deal with backyard shacks. They meet certain needs of residents, and it seems, residents of most backyard dwellings do not have alternatives, and are not on re-housing lists. So, solutions to the problems raised by backyard dwellings need to be addressed. Similarly, the hoped for eventual dismantlement of informal settlements raises questions. While it is obviously desirable to enable people to live in houses with services, their elimination will have an impact on irregular cross border migrants (and some internal migrants) and may even further marginalize them.

Furthermore, the size of migrant households suggests that many migrants leave partners and families behind. As noted above, evidence suggests that many migrants, both internal and cross border migrants, do not want to live permanently in South Africa, thus there is likely to be a continuing demand for affordable rental housing in the CoJ.

6.2 Source of water

Source of water is an indication of poverty and exclusion. Lack of access to appropriate water sources is a health risk, particularly to the elderly, children and the sick (particularly those with AIDS). Poor health affects people's ability to work effectively. People living in informal dwellings in informal settlements and are most likely to have problems accessing safe water. Table 15 suggests that according to Census 2001 most Johannesburg residents have access to safe water as they fall under regional or local water schemes. And, only less than 1% are using rivers, streams, dams etc.

Table 15. Source of water, Gauteng born, internal migrants, cross border migrants (%), 2001.

	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
Regional/local water scheme	96.4	96.4	94.7
Borehole/spring	1.2	1.2	1.8
Rain-water tank	0.3	0.3	0.5
Dam / pool / stagnant water	0.2	0.2	0.4
River/stream	0.1	0.1	0.2
Water vendor	1.2	1.2	1.7
Other	0.5	0.5	0.7
Not applicable	<0.1	<0.1	

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 16. Source of water by region of birth of household head (%), 2001

	South Africa	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia	total foreign born
Piped water inside dwelling	49.4	50.1	86.5	90.2	90.4	67
Piped water inside yard	35.2	32.7	9.1	5.2	5.4	21.1
Piped water on community stand: under 200m away	6.5	7.7	1.2	1.2	0.8	4.9
Piped water on community stand: over 200m away	5.9	6.3	2.9	3.1	3	4.9
Other*	2.8	2.7	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.4

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

* Other includes borehole, spring, rainwater tank, dam, pool, stagnant water, river, stream and water vendor

Table 16 shows how people get the water provided in their regional or local water scheme. Unfortunately it was not possible to get data for internal migrants. Table 16 seems to reflect where cross border migrants are living and the kind of dwelling they are living in. So, the source of water of migrants from SADC countries is similar to that of South Africans. That some 46.7% of people born in SADC countries are reliant on piped water in their yard or from stand pipes outside their yard indicates that they are likely to be living in townships and informal settlements. That 86.5% of migrants from the rest of Africa have piped water in their homes indicates that many are living in houses and flats in the inner city and surrounding suburbs. However, it seems that although many people may have to walk a long way to get piped water, it is available.

6.3 Sanitary facilities

Toilet facilities are also an indicator of poverty and economic exclusion. Again, poor sanitary facilities may compromise people's health. Tables 18 and 19 show the sanitary facilities available to Johannesburg residents by area of birth. They indicate that overall, Johannesburg residents have relatively good access to sanitary facilities. However, migrants from the SADC are most likely to have to use pit latrines, and buckets, perhaps reflecting the type of housing they are living in (Table 19). It should also be noted, that although people may have access to flush toilets, their efficiency is likely to be hampered by overuse through overcrowding. The study of Somali refugees found that almost 90% shared their toilets with non-family members (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000: 22).

Table 18. Sanitary facilities by area of birth (%), 2001.

	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
Flush toilet (connected to sewerage system)	85.3	78.7	85.1
Flush toilet (with septic tank)	2.6	3	3.5
Chemical toilet	1.4	2.1	1.2
Pit latrine with ventilation (VIP)	1.3	1.5	0.8
Pit latrine without ventilation	5.4	6	3.9
Bucket latrine	1.9	5.2	2.6
None	2	3.6	2.7

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 19. Sanitary facilities, by region of birth of household head, 2001.

	South Africa	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia	Total foreign born
Flush toilet (sewer system)	82.2	78.4	95.7	95	96	85.6
Flush toilet (septic tank)	2.7	3.8	2.3	3.4	2.4	3.5
Chemical toilet	1.7	2.1	<0.1	<0.1	<0.1	1.2
Pit latrine with ventilation (VIP)	1.3	1.3	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.7
Pit latrine without ventilation	5.3	6.4	0.3	<0.1	0.2	3.7

Bucket latrine	3.7	4.3	0.1	<0.1	0.1	2.5
None	2.8	3.6	1.3	1.2	1	2.5
Not applicable	<0.1	<0.1	<0.1	<0.1	<0.1	<0.1

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

6.3 Source of energy for cooking, lighting and heating

Energy sources are another indicator of poverty. And, it should be noted, that even if people have electricity in their houses, they may not be able to afford to use it, or may only use it sparingly. In households without electricity:

- children may struggle to do their schoolwork in the evenings;
- households which have to use solid fuel to cook may have to work harder and longer to produce food;
- the use of paraffin and solid fuel for heating and candles for lighting puts people at risk of fire.

Census 2001 data suggests that people have relatively good access to electricity. However, perhaps reflecting their dwelling types, internal migrants are most likely to use paraffin and solid fuel as a source of energy for cooking (Table 20).

Table 20. Source of fuel for cooking by area of birth, 2001.

	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
Electricity	84.3	72.7	82
Gas	2	3.1	4
Paraffin	12.1	22.5	12.8
Wood	0.3	0.3	0.3
Coal	0.8	0.8	0.3
Animal dung	0.1	0.2	0.2
Solar	0.2	0.2	0.2
Other	0.1	0.1	0.1

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

7. OTHER POVERTY INDICATORS

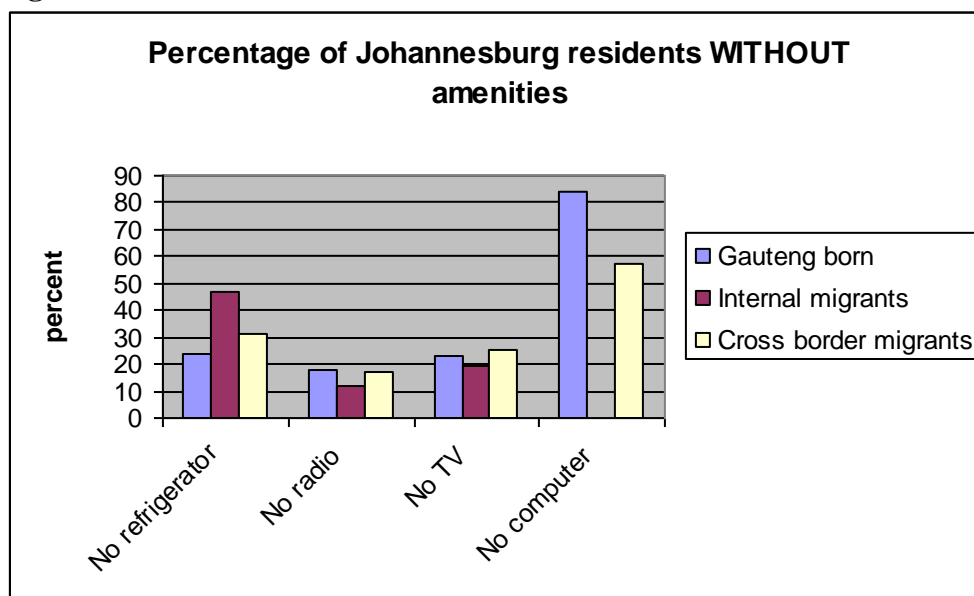
7.1 Access to household goods

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 save food safely, which has both health and financial implications.
- Households without cold storage facilities cannot take advantage of bulk buying.
- Access to TV 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.

- Access to computers is not just a sign of wealth, but which households are geared up to, and able to participate in the City's move to a knowledge economy.

Figure 13.



Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Figure 13 (see also Table 20, Appendix 1) shows that significant numbers of Johannesburg residents live without key amenities. Households headed by internal migrants are least likely to have access to a refrigerator (46.9%) as compared to cross border migrants (31.2) and the Gauteng born (24.1%) (see Table 20, Appendix 1). That migrant households are less likely to have refrigerators may reflect their dwelling type and living conditions, the place where they live, as well as their migrant status. Is it worth investing in a relatively expensive household good if you do not intend to stay long, or see Johannesburg as your second home?

Table 21. Residents WITHOUT amenities by region of birth (%), 2001.

	South Africa	SADC Countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia	Total Foreign Born
No Refrigerator	37	48	28	2	6	31
No TV	21	37	19	5	11	25
No Radio	15	24	16	5	11	17
No Computer	84	79	66	38	46	25

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Johannesburg residents have access to information, but over 10% of all households do not have a radio and on average 20% do not have a television (Table 20, Appendix 1). That some 17% of cross border migrant households do not have a radio and 25% do not have a suggests they will be harder to reach in education and information campaigns. Census 2001 data shows that when cross border migrants are considered,

households from SADC countries are least likely to have refrigerators (48%) or access to radios (24%) and televisions (37%) (Table 21). Over 15% of households from the rest of Africa are also likely to find it difficult to access information through radio and television. Lack of access to these amenities can also increase senses of isolation and indicate exclusion from the wider society they are living in.

7.2 Access to telephones

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

Table 22. Residents without access to telephones by region of birth (%), 2001.

	South Africa	SADC Countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
No Cellphone	54	52	22	20	24
No Telephone	67	69	52	10	17

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 22 shows those without access to cell phones and landlines by region of birth. Perhaps reflecting a need to be in contact with dispersed social networks inside and outside South Africa, migrants from the rest of Africa outside the SADC are relatively well connected. Migrants from SADC countries and South Africans are least likely to have a telephone.

However, although people may not have their own phone they may be able to access a phone elsewhere. Table 23 shows where people without phones go to make a phone call.

Table 23. Access to telephones for households without their own phone (%), 2001

	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
At a neighbour nearby	4	5	3
At a public telephone nearby	30	37	24
At another location nearby	1	10	1
At another location not nearby	0.5	1	0.5
No access to a telephone	2	2	1
Not applicable	64	55	71

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

8. HEALTH ISSUES

8.1 Access to health care

As shown in Table 1, migrants have differing rights of access to health services. 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 25 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 25. Female domestic workers who had used named health facility in the past year, 2003.

Facility used	% of respondents using facility in past year (N=1,100)
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 decent health care was more available in South Africa than in their home country (McDonald, 2000: 238; Oucho *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 (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 22 shows who had refused them assistance. Table 23 shows the reasons that were provided to them for refusing emergency medical care. Some of these problems are also experienced by South Africans, 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 23. Refusal of medical care to refugees and asylum seekers, 2003.

Who refused assistance	% of respondents (N=165) refused emergency medical care	% respondents (N=113) 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 24. Reasons given to asylum seekers and refugees for refusal of medical care, 2003

Reason given	% respondents (N=165) reason for refusal emergency health care	% respondents (N=113) reason for refusal non-emergency health care
Don't know	29	-
Unable to pay required fee	26	24
Did not have an appointment/referral letter	-	21
Did not accept my documents	14	15
No ID document/permit	10	17
Services provided only to South Africans	6	12
Asked for proof of residence (e.g. bills)	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.

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.

8.1 HIV/AIDS and other 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 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 the region, which often involve circular migration, where the migrant goes alone, leaving their partner behind in their home area and only returning intermittently make migrant 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). In Southern Africa, migrant workers (and their sexual partners) have a higher level of infection than the general population (*ibid.*). Refugees and internally displaced persons have also been found to be especially vulnerable to HIV infection. Different forms of migration lead to different social and geographical forms of migrant ‘community,’ and thus to different risk.

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 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 in order 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. As most migrants today are still male, this could lead to an increase in female migration.
- 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.

The CoJ, 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 25 shows, the 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 25. Role of HIV/AIDS in lives of domestic workers, 2003

Role of HIV/AIDS	% positive (yes) response
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 26).

Table 26. Risk of domestic workers to HIV/AIDS infection

Risk	% positive (yes) response
Think you have ever been exposed to the AIDS virus (N=1,100)	11.6
Ever used a condom (N=1,100)	39.1
Ever used a condom with a new partner (N=432)	64.8

Source: Dinat and Peberdy, 2004.

Their knowledge around HIV/AIDS issues is weak (Table 27). 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 and show that this section of Johannesburg's population, of whom the majority are (South African) migrants are in need of education and prevention 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 27. Knowledge of HIV/AIDS issues of domestic workers in Johannesburg, 2003

Issue	Correct answer	Not heard of it
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.

8.3 Disability

Table 28. Disabilities by area of birth (%), 2001.

	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
Male			
No disability	96.3	96.8	96.8
Disability	3.7	3.2	3.2
Type of disability			
Sight	21.8	30.6	24.4
Hearing	9.9	12.7	18.9
Communication	3.7	3.1	3.2
Physical	28	25.1	27.2
Intellectual	13	9.4	7.4
Emotional	14.6	10.2	6.4
Multiple	9.1	9.5	12.4
Female			
No disability	96.4	96.1	95.9
Disability	3.6	3.9	4.1
Type of disability			
Sight	29.1	34.6	23.6
Hearing	10.2	11.6	17.8
Communication	3	2.4	2.2
Physical	25.5	22.9	27.4
Intellectual	10.1	7.1	6.8
Emotional	11.5	9.8	7.7
Multiple	10.5	11.6	14.5

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Research on cross border migrants suggests that most want to return home at least when they retire, if not before. Therefore, often the cost of caring for the disabled and ill born is by home areas as people return to where they come from when they get sick or become disabled. Table 28 shows levels of disability by area of birth. It suggests that levels of disability are not much higher than those of the Gauteng born. Given the relatively small numbers of disabled people, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from the data. It does suggest, however, that male migrants may be more likely to return to their home areas when they become disabled than female migrants. It is difficult to know what proportion of these disabilities may be work related, but that significant proportions are connected to sight and hearing suggest they may be a function of age.

9. MIGRANTS WITH PARTICULAR VULNERABILITIES

Some migrants face particular issues that may make them more vulnerable than others.

9.1 Women

As shown above, women constitute an increasing part of the migrant flow to Johannesburg, and in some cases, for instance those from the Free State, may exceed the number of male migrants. This does not necessarily suggest vulnerability. However women migrants generally may be more vulnerable than their male counterparts:

- They are more vulnerable to sexual assault and abuse, particularly when travelling and when arriving in a strange city without support networks.
- They are more likely to find themselves working in sectors with low incomes and poor job security. Domestic work, which comprises a significant area of employment for women migrants is notoriously underpaid and isolating.
- They are more likely to have to manage childcare issues and separation from children.
- Separation from partners may make them more vulnerable to HIV infection.

Cross border women migrants face particular issues:

- The legal framework makes it harder for women to migrate legally (Dodson, 1999).
- Irregular or undocumented migrants may be vulnerable to demands for sexual favours from officials rather than bribes.
- Irregular or undocumented migrants may find it difficult to report instances of sexual assault and domestic violence to authorities.
- Irregular migrants may find it difficult to access reproductive health care.
- Access to shelters can be difficult for non-nationals, and particularly irregular migrants.

And, the evidence presented here suggests that women migrants whether cross border or internal, tend to have lower levels of education and income than their male counterparts and may work in vulnerable sectors of employment. That significant numbers are single, divorced or separated suggests that they are heads of households and lack the support of a partner. As women migrants are poorer, they are likely to

experience all that goes along with poverty, which affects access to housing, services and amenities.

9.2 Children

This study suggests that migrants often leave their children in their home areas.

Migrant children may be particularly vulnerable in certain areas:

- Xenophobia can make school a hostile environment.
- Children of irregular migrants will find it hard, if not impossible to access education.
- Refugee children may struggle to access schools as they may arrive with language and emotional problems related to their refugee status. A study of Somali refugees in Johannesburg found over 70% of children of school going age were not attending school (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000).
- Unaccompanied refugee children find it hard to access social services and Children's Courts to get the necessary protection and services (interview, Lawyers for Human Rights, 2004).

9.3 Irregular migrants

Irregular migrants face particular problems related to their lack of legal status. It is not known how many irregular migrants are living in Johannesburg. They are most likely to come from neighbouring states, particularly Mozambique and Zimbabwe. While some may argue that the problems faced by migrants are a consequence of their illegal status in the country, they also sometimes compromise their human rights. So irregular migrants:

- Find it difficult to access health services, even in emergency situations, compromising their health.
- May be excluded from health education, prevention and treatment programs.
- Are potentially vulnerable to exploitation by employers and are therefore likely to earn lower incomes.
- Are more likely to work in vulnerable and low paid areas of employment.
- May find it difficult to access formal sector housing as they lack papers.
- Have no access to the banking system.
- Find it difficult to access the criminal justice system and are therefore more vulnerable to crime.
- Are vulnerable to exploitation and corruption by officials.
- Live with the fear and insecurity of arrest, detention and deportation.

Notwithstanding these points of vulnerability, the data from Census 2001, suggests that overall, the incomes and living conditions of cross border migrants are not that different from those of South Africans. However, irregular migrants are most likely to be found in the most vulnerable, or poor, groups of cross border migrants.

9.4 Refugees and asylum seekers³

No data is gathered on where asylum seekers and refugees live in South Africa. A significant number are likely to live in Johannesburg. Certain countries are seen as refugee producing, while nationals of these countries and other countries may also claim asylum as a way of gaining legal entry to South Africa. Table 4 shows the countries of birth of residents in Johannesburg. Asylum seekers and refugees are likely to be found amongst residents from Burundi, Congo, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Somalia. Genuine asylum seekers and refugees may also come from other countries, as asylum is sought on an individual not national basis. However, the processing of asylum claims can take over two years. Therefore, some people see claiming asylum as an alternative route to gaining access to South Africa.

Refugees and asylum seekers face particular problems as migrants:

- Until December 2003, adult asylum seekers who arrived in South Africa after April 2000 were not allowed to work, study, or be self-employed. They are currently allowed to do so.
- There is no regular support from the state or UNHCR for refugees or asylum seekers – some emergency support is available.
- Asylum seekers documents, and sometimes refugee permits are usually issued for 3-6 month periods making it difficult to find work and/or rental housing or open a bank account. Service providers may not recognise their documents.
- Refugees are supposed to be issued with ID documents. Delays in this process mean refugees have documents which are often not recognised by employers, service providers, banks and landlords.
- Refugees and asylum seekers are more likely to have language problems than other migrants as they may not have prepared for departure to South Africa.
- Refugees and asylum seekers may have experienced trauma prior to exile, and even on the journey to South Africa. They may have been separated from, and unable to contact family members. Therefore, they may have particular psychosocial needs.
- Refugees and asylum seekers show relatively high levels of poverty. A study by CASE found that 44% of respondents usually only ate one meal per day, and that 21% went without food often or very often (CASE, 2003: 139-140).

10. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper suggests that many migrants are no more vulnerable than many South Africans, and in the case of cross border migrants constitute only 6.7% of the population of the CoJ. The paper also shows that many migrants are surviving and even thriving in the city while making a contribution to the city's economy and social life. Yet, the paper also highlights points of vulnerability. The challenge for the CoJ is to identify vulnerable migrants, and to ensure that services reach migrant populations and account for their needs, as well as those who were born and raised in the city.

³ See CASE, 2003, for a baseline survey of refugees living in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria.

- *Education:* Migrants, and particularly migrant children, may find it difficult to access schools and tertiary education. Evidence suggests that skilled refugees find it difficult to find employment which matches their skills.
- *Employment:* Internal and cross border migrants are more likely to be employed than the Gauteng born. However, those who are unemployed may find it harder to survive as they may lack social and economic support networks.
- *Employment sector:* Migrants are more likely to be employed in low paid and vulnerable sectors of employment with little job security. Irregular migrants in particular may be vulnerable to over exploitation by employers and lack recourse to labour laws.
- *Income:* Although there are not great differences, overall, in the incomes earned by migrants as compared to the Gauteng born, those with low incomes and no income are likely to find it harder to survive as they lack social networks. Furthermore, they are more likely to be maintaining two households on their low income. They may also lack the economic and material capital that long-term Johannesburg residents may have accumulated to see them through difficult times.
- *Housing:* Some, internal migrants and cross border migrants from the SADC and the rest of Africa appear to have particular housing problems. While many of these may be shared by some of the Gauteng born, migrant households, which often consist of one person households, do not appear to be accounted for in available affordable housing stock.
- *Access to water and sanitation facilities:* Overall, the residents of Gauteng have relatively good access to water and sanitation facilities. Access is largely defined by housing type, so, those living in informal settlements and backyard shacks are likely to have problems with access to water and sanitation. Internal migrants and migrants from the SADC are disproportionately likely to live in informal dwellings and backyard shacks. Even though cross border migrants from the rest of Africa outside the SADC are likely to live in brick structures with electricity and water, overcrowding may cause problems with plumbing infrastructure.
- *Ownership of refrigerators:* Internal migrants and cross border migrants from the SADC are least likely to have a refrigerator. This indicates levels of poverty and investment in their lives in the CoJ. It may compromise their health and adds to the cost of food purchases.
- *Access to TV, radio and telephones:* Internal and cross border migrants from the SADC show relatively low levels of ownership of radios and televisions. This compromises their access to education and information programmes. Furthermore, it may indicate exclusion and separation from the wider world they live in.
- *Access to health education, prevention and treatment:* Research suggests that cross border migrants are particularly vulnerable to exclusion in these areas, and particularly irregular migrants. Exclusion from these services can compromise the health of South Africans as well as the migrants themselves. Those without access to radios and TV, and who do not know South African languages may be excluded from health education.

- *HIV/AIDS*: Migrants, wherever they are from, are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS than non-migrants. They are more likely to be excluded from education, prevention and treatment programmes. While migration patterns affect migrants vulnerability to HIV, HIV/AIDS also has the potential to change patterns of migration.

This paper suggests points of intervention by the CoJ and where policy implementation should ensure that migrants, whether cross border or internal, are included. Recommendations include:

- *Employment*: While the enforcement of labour regulations is the remit of national government, council officials should be aware of the possible over exploitation of migrants, whether South African or otherwise.
- *Street trading and SME development policies*: This paper indicates that the retail sector and street trade constitutes a significant sector of employment for migrants, particularly cross border migrants. They make an important contribution to the retail economy of the city. Efforts should be made to ensure that migrant entrepreneurs are not excluded, and their skills are developed along with those of South Africans.
- *Skilled migrants*: Skilled immigrants have the potential to contribute to the city and to compensate for skills loss through emigration. Efforts could be made to ensure that the CoJ is marketed to potential immigrants.
- *Housing*: The CoJ faces problems dealing with the apartheid legacy in housing. Migrant households are likely to be smaller than non-migrant households. When planning the development of new housing stock and managing existing housing stock, consideration should be given to the provision of affordable, adequate rental housing for single person households.
- *Education and information programmes*: Care should be taken to include migrants in these programmes. At times this may require providing information in non-South African languages and using media other than radio and television. The new information centre being developed could include services and specific information relevant to migrants to encourage them to feel part of the CoJ, as well as to provide necessary information.
- *Health*: While the provision of health services falls largely under the remit of the Gauteng and national governments, where the CoJ is involved in the delivery of health services, care should be taken that non-national migrants who are entitled to services are not excluded.
- *Vulnerable groups*: This paper has briefly identified vulnerable groups of migrants. The CoJ should take cognisance of these groups and ensure that they are not excluded and are included in relevant programs that target vulnerable populations.
- *Xenophobia*: As noted in the introduction, xenophobia can cause exclusion, and not just social exclusion. It creates an environment where it some service providers think it is acceptable to exclude non-nationals even if they are entitled to the service. As many service providers are unaware of migrant entitlements, consideration should be given to training city officials on the rights of migrants. Furthermore, a public education campaign could go someway towards creating a more open and welcoming environment for non-nationals.

PART 2 ORGANISATIONS PROVIDING SERVICES TO MIGRANTS

There are only a limited number of organisations which directly provide services to migrants. The majority of these are directed towards assistance to refugees and asylum seekers. Migrants, refugees and otherwise, rely heavily on faith based organisations and networks, including churches and mosques for assistance (CASE, 2003; Peberdy, 2004; Majodina and Peberdy, 2000). Because of the limited number of organisations providing services to migrants and refugees, they do not limit their activities by region of the city, rather their criteria are set by whether the client lives in Johannesburg and meets their delivery criteria.

Faith based organisations and churches are not included in the table below as they are many and scattered. Faith based organisations and networks provide assistance with housing, emergency food parcels, advice, child-care, and social support (*ibid.*).

Community/country based organisations are more common amongst the refugee community, perhaps reflecting their lack of social networks as compared to South African based migrants, and non-South Africans from the region. These provide a social networking and support role.

It should also be noted, that migrants, both internal and cross border are also active in the NGO and CBO sector. Census 2001 data presented in Figure 9, shows that between 10-15% of internal and cross border migrants are employed in the community service sector (Statistics South Africa, 2004).

Type of Organisation	Organisation	National Address & Contact Details	Joburg Office Address & Contact Details	Services Provided	Client Base
South African National Government	Department of Home Affairs-Ministry	10 th Floor, Civitas Building 242 Struben Street, Pretoria 0001 Tel: (012)326 8081	17 Harrison Street, Cnr Plein & Harrison Tel: (011) 834 1164	Offers a wide range of services to SA citizens, as well as foreigners wishing to stay in SA	SA citizens & Non Citizens
		Refugee Affairs Sub-Directory Dr Maleboge Machele Private Bag X114 Pretoria 0001 Tel: (012) 316 7043	Refugee Reception Office Temporarily based at 15 Market Street Tel: (011) 832 2511	Applications for asylum seekers	Asylum seekers
		Lindela Repatriation Center Main Hostel Westrand Conf Krugersdorp 1739 Tel: (011) 660 8766		Detention Centre for Illegal immigrants	Illegal Immigrants
	Department of Social Development	HSRC Building, Wing, 134 Pretorius Street, Pretoria 0001 Tel: (012) 312 7500	91 Rissik Street Tel: (011) 374 1718		
		International Social Services Frances Viviers 134 Pretorius Street, Pretoria Tel (012) 312 7790	1 Commissioner Street, Private Bag X19 JHB 2000 Tel: (011) 497 7000	Provide services relating to International Social Services	Migrants and other organisations

	South African Police Services	236 Pretorius Street, Koedoe Building, Pretoria			
UN Organisations & International Organisations	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	351 Schoeman Street Pretoria Tel: (012) 338 5301		The UNHCR works with implementing partners in assisting refugees on social and legal levels.	NGOs dealing with Refugees
	International Organisation for Migration	826 Government Avenue Arcadia Pretoria Tel: (012) 342 2789		Transportation and voluntary repatriation of refugees	Refugees
NGOs	Lawyers for Human Rights		Refugees Rights Project Auckland House, 2 nd Floor, Cnr Smit & Biccard Street, Braamfontein Tel: (011) 339 1960	Legal assistance regarding unlawful arrest, detention and deportation, advice services.	Asylum seekers
	Wits University Law Clinic		Witswatersrand University, Empire Road, Braamfontein Tel: (011) 717 8552	Advice and assistance with asylum procedures, appeals and reviews in cases of rejected asylum applications, durable solutions , such as vulnerable repatriation, family reunification relocation, resettlement. Advise on socio-economic rights, unlawful	Refugees and legal migrants

	Black Sash		1 st Floor Khotso House 25 Anderson Street, Marshalltown Tel: (011) 834 8361/5	detention and repatriation Paralegal assistance. Help with accommodation through JRS.	Refugees and legal migrants
	The Trauma Clinic of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation		4 th Floor, Braamfontein Centre 49 Jorissen Street Braamfontein Tel: (011) 403 5102	Individual counselling to victims/survivors of violence. Educative talks and workshops dealing with trauma and its reactions. Specialist services for the psychiatric management of traumatised victims	Victims of violence
	National Consortium For Refugee Affairs	Kutlwanong Democratic Centre 357 Visagie Street Pretoria 0001 Tel: (012) 320 2943		Network: promotion of refugee issues through research, lobbying, advocacy and monitoring at a national level	Refugees
	International Committee for the Red Cross	Cnr Campbell and Drieshoek Road, Germiston Tel: (011) 873 9009		Helps in re-establishing contact and family tracing.	Refugees
	Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS)		5 th Floor Omnia Centre 84 Frederick Street Marshalltown Tel: (011) 331 0037	Limited accommodation and assistance for new arrivals and vulnerable groups. Business loans & skills training, funeral financial assistance, social counselling,	Refugees

				primary school enrolment, medical assistance, emergency food parcels	
CBOs	Co-ordinating Body for Refugee Communities (CBRC)		3 rd Floor Auckland House 185 Smit Street Braamfontein Tel: (011) 403 4429	Referrals to the relevant service provider. Emergency accommodation for new arrivals. Contacts with other refugees.	Refugees
	Johannesburg Refugee Network		5 th Floor Omnia Centre 84 Frederick Street Marshalltown Tel: (011) 331 0037	A network of refugee organisations and NGOs working with refugees in the Johannesburg area	Refugees
General	South African Qualifications Authority	Private Bag X06, Waterkloof 0145 Pretoria Tel: (012) 482 0800		Evaluates foreign academic records and certifies their standard in South Africa	All foreign nationals needing assistance
	Public Protector	Private Bag X677 Pretoria 0001 Tel: (012) 322 2916		If you want to complain about unfair treatment by a government department	
	Independent Complaints Directorate	Private Bag X463 Pretoria 0001 Tel: (012) 339 1554		If your rights have been violated by the police	
	Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration	Private Bag X94 Marshalltown 2107 Tel: (011) 377 6625		If your employer has violated your rights	

	Commission on Gender Equality	10 th Floor Braamfontein Centre 23 Jorrisen Street Braamfontein 2017 Tel: (011) 403 7182		If you were being discriminated against because of your gender	
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APPENDIX 1

Supplementary tables on migrants in Johannesburg

Table 1. Population of Johannesburg by birth place and population group, 2001

Born in Gauteng (%)	Born in South Africa outside Gauteng (%)	Born outside South Africa (%)
1,872,251 (58.0)	1,136,851 (35.2)	216,715 (6.7%)

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 2. Internal, migrants by province of birth as a percentage of those born outside Gauteng and as a percentage of the total population of the CoJ, 2001.

Province of birth	Number	% of SA born outside Gauteng	% total CoJ pop
Eastern Cape	168,973	14.9	5.2
Free State	90,797	8.0	2.8
KwaZulu-Natal	284,344	25.0	8.8
Limpopo	307,324	27.0	9.5
Mpumalanga	73,328	6.5	2.2
Northern Cape	22,653	2.0	0.7
North West	111,455	10.0	3.4
Western Cape	77,977	7.0	2.4
Total SA born outside Gauteng	1,136,851	-	35.2
Gauteng	1,872,251	-	58.1

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 3. Region of birth and population group of Johannesburg residents, 2001

Region of birth	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Total
South Africa	2,252,460	204,131	123,811	428,697	3,009,099
SADC countries	103,454	1,475	840	21,352	127,121
Rest of Africa	11,876	180	393	2,220	14,669
Europe	1,428	246	339	54,211	56,224
Asia	589	130	8,566	3,123	12,408
North America	296	48	80	2,103	2,527
Central and South America	143	39	31	2,313	2,526
Australia and New Zealand	21	3	49	1,167	1,240
Total	2,370,267	206,252	134,109	515,186	3,225,870

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 4. Population group by region of birth, as percentage of regional population, 2001

Region of birth	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White
South Africa	74.9	6.8	4.1	14.2
SADC countries	81.4	1.2	0.7	16.8
Rest of Africa	81.0	1.2	2.8	15.0
Europe	2.5	0.4	0.6	96.5
Asia	4.7	1.0	69.0	25.2
North America	11.7	1.9	3.2	83.2
Central and South America	5.7	1.5	1.2	91.6
Australia and New Zealand	1.7	0.2	4.0	94.1

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 5. Place of birth of Johannesburg residents by selected country of citizenship, 2001

	Male	Female	Total
SADC			
Angola	1,050	732	1,782
Botswana	516	421	937
DRC	799	479	1,278
Lesotho	2,013	3,869	5,882
Malawi	3937	874	4811
Mozambique	15,182	4,802	19,984
Namibia	106	93	199
Swaziland	615	554	1,169
Tanzania	540	91	631
Zambia	849	828	1677
Zimbabwe	10,975	6,420	17,395
Rest of Africa			
Congo	1,371	954	2,325
Ethiopia	333	155	488
Kenya	419	338	757
Nigeria	2,297	281	2,578
Rwanda	123	99	222
Somalia	130	77	207
Europe			
Germany	1,316	1,103	2,419
Portugal	1,015	751	1,766
United Kingdom	6,079	5,707	11,786
Asia			
China	299	231	530
India	936	508	1,444
Pakistan	549	105	654
Taiwan	134	108	242

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 6. Population of Johannesburg by region of birth and sex, 2001.

Region of birth	male	female	total	% male
South Africa	1478963	1530136	3009099	49.1
SADC countries	79190	47931	127121	62.3
Rest of Africa	10165	4504	14669	69.3
Europe	28511	27713	56224	50.7
Asia	7045	5363	12408	56.8
North America	1238	1289	2527	49.0
Central and South America	1260	1266	2526	49.8
Australia and New Zealand	641	599	1240	51.7

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 7. Internal migrants by age and province of birth (%), 2001.

	Eastern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	North West	Western Cape	All born outside Gauteng
0-4	3.9	2.8	3.6	5.1	3.6	2.7	3.5	13.2	4.8
5-9	3.9	2.8	3.3	4	3.8	3	3.5	11	4.6
10-14	4	3.2	3.4	3.5	3.9	3.3	3.7	10	4.4
15-19	6.2	3.7	5.8	5.1	6.1	5.1	5.7	9.2	5.9
20-29	30.1	24.5	33.1	33	30.6	23.3	29.4	18	27.8
30-39	22.6	23.1	25.3	24.7	24	23	22.1	13.3	22.3
40-49	8.7	9.1	13.3	14.2	13.5	17.2	15.9	9.9	12.7
50-59	7.7	8.9	6.5	6.7	7.4	9.9	9.5	7.2	8
60-69	3.6	6	3.2	2.4	4.1	6.1	3.9	4.3	4.2
70-79	1.8	4.2	1.6	0.9	2.1	4.	2	2.6	2.45
80+	0.8	2	0.5	0.4	0.7	2.1	0.7	1.3	1.1

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 8. Cross border migrants by region of birth and age, 2001.

Age	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
0-4	2356	305	342	168
5-9	2443	461	562	284
10-14	3024	447	765	459
15-19	7038	557	896	665
20-29	48334	5603	3398	2512

30-39	32725	4523	8812	2695
40-49	17304	1536	10310	1844
50-59	7246	658	13740	1353
60-69	3613	298	9228	1126
70-79	2212	192	5329	894
80+	828	81	2842	407
Total	127123	14661	56224	12407

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 9. Cross border migrants by age as percentage, by region of birth, 2001.

	SADC countries %	Rest of Africa %	Europe %	Asia %	Johannesburg total population %
0-19	11.7	12.1	4.5	12.7	30.8
20-29	37.9	38.2	6.0	20.2	24.1
30-39	25.7	29.0	15.7	21.7	18.9
40-49	13.6	10.5	18.3	14.9	12.7
50-59	5.7	4.5	24.4	10.9	7.1
60+	5.2	3.9	30.9	19.6	6.2

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 9. Household size by province of birth of household head, 2001.

Household size	Gauteng	Eastern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	North West	Western Cape	Total internal	Not applicable
1	12.1	23.0	20.1	25.8	27.8	23.2	17.9	26.7	9.1	23.2	21.9
2	19.5	25.7	24.6	25.2	25.9	25.2	25.1	26.7	17.3	24.4	29.6
3	19.7	17.3	17.2	16.7	17.8	17.1	17.1	16.0	14.1	16.6	18.2
4	19.5	14.2	14.9	13.8	12.0	13.7	15.8	12.6	12.4	13.6	15.2
5	12.4	8.7	9.6	8.3	7.1	8.8	10.6	8.0	20.4	10.2	7.5
6	7.4	5.1	5.9	4.6	4.3	5.2	6.2	4.6	11.0	5.7	3.7
7	4.2	2.8	3.2	2.5	2.4	3.1	3.4	2.5	6.8	3.3	1.7
8	2.4	1.5	1.9	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.7	1.3	3.7	1.8	0.8
9	1.5	0.9	1.1	0.8	0.7	1.0	0.9	0.8	2.5	1.1	0.5
10+	1.2	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.9	1.2	0.7	2.6	1.0	0.5

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 10. Household size by region of birth of household head (%), 2001.

	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia
1	23.4	22.0	17.5	11.1
2	27.1	27.8	13.7	22.5
3	18.4	17.9	18.1	19.0
4	14.1	14.7	17.8	20.0
5	7.6	7.7	7.1	12.4
6	4.1	3.9	2.6	7.2
7	2.1	2.0	1.0	3.5
8	1.1	1.0	0.4	1.7
9	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.8
10+	0.2	2.4	0.5	1.6

Table 11. Highest level of education achieved by area of birth, 2001.

	Gauteng	South African born outside Gauteng	Born outside South Africa
male			
no schooling	8.2	8.8	8.1
some/completed primary	24.5	22.2	17.9
some/completed secondary	56.2	56.3	49.0
certificate/diploma	6.7	6.6	10.3
university degree incl. Postgraduate	4.4	6.0	14.7
Female			
no schooling	8.2	9.2	6.3
some/completed primary	25.9	23.9	15.2
some/completed secondary	55.9	56.2	51.6
certificate/diploma	6.4	6.1	14.2
university degree incl. Postgraduate	3.5	4.5	12.7

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 12 . Highest level of education achieved by province of birth and sex, 2001.

	Eastern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	North West	Western Cape	All SA born outside Gauteng
Male									
no schooling	8.6	8.7	10.3	9.4	10.4	6.3	8.6	7.8	8.8
some/completed primary	26.6	23.1	20.7	21.9	23.4	15.9	22.8	23.8	22.2
some/completed secondary	54.1	54.9	58.1	61.1	56.4	58.8	58	48.7	56.3
certificate/diploma	5.3	6.3	6	5.4	5.6	9.1	6.3	8.6	6.6
university degree incl. Postgraduate	5.2	6.7	4.9	2.1	4.2	9.9	4.2	11.2	6
Female									
no schooling	7.2	11.2	10.3	11.2	11.6	6.5	8.7	7.2	9.2
some/completed primary	22.1	29.7	22.1	23.1	24.4	18.1	27.3	24.8	23.9
some/completed secondary	60.1	52.3	59.7	57.8	54	59.8	54.9	51.1	56.2
certificate/diploma	6.8	2.4	2.9	5.9	6.2	9.4	5.9	9.2	6.1
university degree incl. Postgraduate	3.8	4.4	5.1	1.9	3.7	6.1	3.1	7.6	4.5

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 13. Highest level of schooling of female domestic workers in Johannesburg, by place called home, 2003

	Johannesburg/ Gauteng	Mpumalanga	Limpopo	KwaZulu- Natal	Northern Cape	Eastern Cape	Total
No Schooling	13.9	19.1	10.4	12.6	13.5	9.7	13.3
Some primary	25.0	27.9	22.6	30.3	32.4	17.9	27.0
Completed primary	8.3	14.7	13.9	15.1	13.5	20.9	16.4
Some secondary	52.8	38.2	52.2	41.2	40.5	50.7	42.9
Some tertiary	-	-	0.9	0	0	0.7	0.3
Don't know	-	-	-	0.8	-	-	0.1

Source: Dinat and Peberdy, 2004.

Table 14. Highest educational level of African Migrants (SAMP study, 1999) and refugees and asylum seekers (CASE study, 2003)

	African migrants	Refugees & asylum seekers	Black Africans Johannesburg
No schooling	1.0	3.0	9.0
Some primary	15	1.0	12.8
Completed primary	11	6.0	6.7
Some secondary	17	24	38.3
Completed secondary	18	34	26.1
Some tertiary	18	25	-
Completed tertiary	17	8.0	6.9
Other	3.0	-	-

Source: McDonald, 2000: 289; CASE, 2004: 445; Census 2001, provided by StatsSA.

Table 15. Employment status and area of birth (%), 2001.

	Born in Gauteng	Born in South Africa outside Gauteng	Born outside South Africa
Employed	39.5	50.6	62.4
Unemployed	27.7	28.8	16.5
Not economically active	32.8	20.6	21.1

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 16. Sector of employment by area of birth (%), 2001.

	Gauteng	SA born outside Gauteng	Born outside SA
Agriculture; hunting; forestry and fishing	0.8	1.6	1.8
Mining and quarrying	0.6	0.6	1.3
Manufacturing	13.3	10.7	11.4

Electricity; gas and water supply	0.6	0.7	0.5
Construction	3.9	7	9.6
Wholesale and retail trade; repairs; hotels and restaurants	19.8	16.5	21.8
Transport; storage and communication	5.7	5.7	4.1
Financial intermediation; insurance; real estate and business services	19.9	16.3	17.4
Community; social and personal services	19.8	15.1	12.5
Private households	5.1	16.6	8.6
Other and undetermined	10.2	9.1	11.1

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 17. Income levels of income earners by area of birth (%), 2001.

	Born in Gauteng	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
R1-400	8.6	8.4	6
401-800	17.9	20.3	14.8
801-1600	18.7	29.4	20.5
1601-3200	19.7	18.2	13.7
3201-6400	16.3	10.5	13.5
6401-R12,800	10.3	6.7	13.8
12801-R25600	5.1	3.7	10
25601-51200	2	1.6	5
51201-102400	0.6	0.5	1.4
102401-204800	0.4	0.3	0.7
Over R204801	0.2	0.2	0.5

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 18. Housing type by area of birth of household head, 2001

	Gauteng born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
House or brick structure	60.9	42.2	45.5
Traditional dwelling	1.1	1.2	1.1
Flat in block of flats	7.3	10.2	14.1
Town/semi-detached house	6.2	4.8	10.6
House/flat/room-back yard	6.3	8.1	6.5
Informal dwelling in back yard	5.2	8.5	6.9
Informal dwelling-informal settlement	9.4	16.4	9.4
Room/flatlet on a shared property	1.2	2.7	1.6
Other	0.3	0.7	0.6
Not applicable	1.8	5.1	3.5

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

Table 19. Place of birth outside South Africa of household head and housing type (%), 2001.

	South Africa	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia	Total foreign born
House or brick structure on separate stand or yard	49.7	36.2	31.2	65.5	61.5	46.6
Traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Flat in block of flats	9.1	13.9	40.1	8.8	15.3	13.8
Town/cluster/semi-detached house (simplex: duplex)	5.6	6.4	0.2	18.1	14.3	10.7
House/flat/room in back yard	7.9	9.4	0.2	1.8	2.7	6.2
Informal dwelling/shack in back yard	7.4	11.4	0.4	1.9	0.1	6.6
Informal dwelling/shack NOT in back yard e.g. in an informal settlement	12.9	15.3	0.7	0.5	0.5	8.9
Room/flatlet not in back yard but on a shared property	2.1	2.3	2	0.4	0.6	1.6
Other	0.3	0.8	2.1	0.4	1	3.1
Not applicable	3.9	3.1	9.5	3.3	2.9	3.5

Source: Census 2001, Statistics South Africa, 2004.

APPENDIX 2

National migration figures, permanent residents, temporary residents and refugees and asylum seekers.

Table 1. 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

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.

Table 2. Nationalities of travellers entering South Africa for work purposes, 1998-2000.

Work	1998	1999	2000
Africa			
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
Total Africa	14118	13258	11061
Asia			
Rep of China/Taiwan	853	723	615

China	1047	1106	1440
India	2041	2212	1830
Japan	1369	1382	1283
Other Asia	1901	1861	1857
Total Asia	7211	7284	7025
Europe			
United Kingdom	10749	9885	8272
Netherlands	2133	1954	1806
Germany	4894	4776	4377
France	2925	3107	2836
Other Europe	7299	6938	6237
Total Europe	28030	26660	23528
Total North America	7322	6912	6150
Total Australasia	1635	1688	1360
Total Middle East	489	465	470
Total S America & Caribbean	1093	787	967

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

Table 3. Travellers entering South Africa for business purposes, 1998-2000

Business	1998	1999	2000
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
TOTAL AFRICA	476665	414916	431075
India	7294	7303	7034
Japan	4969	4529	4716
Peoples Rep of China	6141	6046	5305
Other Asia	8472	7737	7156
TOTAL ASIA	26876	25615	24211
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

Total Europe	115863	141083	136915
Total North America	37496	32880	33950
TOTAL Australasia	10274	10227	10281
Total Middle East	4436	4626	5005
Total S America & Caribbean	3596	2933	3725
Total other	529	546	404

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

Table 5. Travellers entering South Africa for holiday purposes, 1998-2000

Country	1998	1999	2000
Africa			
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
Asia			
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
Middle East			
Israel	11 399	12 304	10 283
Europe			
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
North America			
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.

Table 5. Place of birth of Johannesburg residents by selected country of citizenship, 2001

	Male	Female	Total
SADC			
Angola	1,050	732	1,782
Botswana	516	421	937
DRC	799	479	1,278
Lesotho	2,013	3,869	5,882
Malawi	3937	874	4811
Mozambique	15,182	4,802	19,984
Namibia	106	93	199
Swaziland	615	554	1,169
Tanzania	540	91	631
Zambia	849	828	1677
Zimbabwe	10,975	6,420	17,395
Rest of Africa			
Congo	1,371	954	2,325
Ethiopia	333	155	488
Kenya	419	338	757
Nigeria	2,297	281	2,578
Rwanda	123	99	222
Somalia	130	77	207
Europe			
Germany	1,316	1,103	2,419
Portugal	1,015	751	1,766
United Kingdom	6,079	5,707	11,786
Asia			
China	299	231	530
India	936	508	1,444
Pakistan	549	105	654
Taiwan	134	108	242
Other			
United States	682	617	1,299
South Africa	1,548,021	1,583,601	3,131,622