

Internal Migration to the Gauteng Province

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Abstract

Gauteng, South Africa's economic powerhouse, has long been dependent on immigration to supply its labour requirements, a phenomenon deeply rooted in the province's early economic history and the development of mining and heavy industry. Although migration has contributed to the development of the province, it also poses challenges to the provincial government partly through the added burden on state-financed services and programmes.

In this context, this study aims to quantify and describe migration to and migrant labour in Gauteng by using the 2001 Census and the September 2002 Labour Force Survey. South African immigrants to the province (or in-migrants) were defined in one of two ways: individuals who were born in South Africa, but outside of Gauteng, or individuals whose most recent move in the 1996-2001 period was to Gauteng from one of the other eight provinces. In-migrants are described in terms of their demographics and educational and employment status. Further, in-migrants' access to public services including electricity and water and other indicators of their living standards, such as housing, were analysed. As far as possible, the analysis compared in-migrants to non-migrants and intra-Gauteng migrants in order to provide insight into special benefits or challenges that in-migrant households may present. The Labour Force Survey module on migrant labour allowed the profiling of migrant labourers and the approximation of economic links between Gauteng and other provinces as represented by remittances.

The study found that a large proportion of Gauteng residents were born outside the province, or moved into the province in the inter-census period, indicating a relatively mobile population. Although in-migrants constitute approximately half of the population with post-matric qualifications, they are overall less educated than the rest of the Gauteng population and are more often engaged in relatively lower skilled occupations and sectors. It is concluded that significant levels of in-migration are likely to continue for at least the medium-term, with in-migrants posing important challenges specifically in the areas of health, housing and infrastructure provision. Through remittances, the economic situation of the province and of migrant workers may also have important consequences in the rural areas of the provinces of Limpopo, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga.

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
2. The Data.....	2
3. South African Migration to Gauteng.....	3
3.1 The Extent of Internal Migration to Gauteng.....	3
3.2 Characteristics Of South African Migrants In Gauteng.....	9
a. Race, Age and Gender.....	9
b. Educational Attainment.....	13
c. Labour Market Characteristics.....	14
d. Income.....	19
e. Disability.....	20
3.3 Access to Public Services.....	21
3.4 Other Indicators of Living Standards.....	26
3.5 Summary.....	28
4. South African Migrant Workers.....	29
4.1 Migrant Labour in Gauteng in the National Context.....	29
4.2 Profile of Migrant Workers in the Gauteng Province.....	30
4.3 Remittances.....	38
4.4 Summary.....	41
5. Conclusion and Implications.....	42
Concluding Comments.....	47
6. References.....	48
Appendix A.....	49
Appendix B.....	50

1. Introduction

Gauteng, while the smallest province geographically, is the second most populous after KwaZulu-Natal and, in 2001, was home to 8.8 million people. The province is also the economic powerhouse of South Africa, accounting for around one-third of Gross Domestic Product in 2001 (Statistics SA 2003a: 53). Production in value terms is concentrated in *Manufacturing* (20.2 percent), *Finance, Real Estate and Business Services* (20.0 percent) and *General Government Services* (17.4 percent).

South Africa's political history and the mining roots of Gauteng's economic development have resulted in the province's heavy reliance on immigration to provide labour. Thus, immigration from outside South Africa's borders as well as from within the country itself, have played an integral role in the development of Gauteng, particularly since the discovery of mineral wealth. Today, immigrants continue to play an important role in fulfilling provincial labour requirements, with in excess of one-third of the SA-born provincial population having been born outside of the province and a further 5 percent having been born outside of the country altogether. Consequently, in 2001, immigrants constituted approximately two-fifths of the provincial population. The current rate of immigration to Gauteng is rapid, with a net increase in the number of SA-born immigrants of around 430 000 during the inter-census period of 1996-2001, and this has contributed to the province having the highest population growth rate in the country.

The aim of this study, commissioned by the Office of the Premier in the Gauteng Provincial Government in 2004, was to quantify and describe internal immigrants to Gauteng through Census 2001 and other household surveys and try to assess the impact of such migration on the province. The study formed one half of a larger report that also analysed cross-border immigration to Gauteng. Section provides a brief description of the data sources utilised in the study. Section investigates the extent of migration to Gauteng as reflected in the 2001 Census and describes migrants according to various demographic and socioeconomic variables. Further, access to public services as well as various other indicators of living standards are analysed. In section , we profile migrant workers based on the Labour Force Survey of September 2002. Finally, some implications of migration to Gauteng are presented in section . Throughout the study, the particular focus has been on migrants' ability to support themselves and possible stresses that migration to Gauteng may place on provincial resources.

2. The Data

This study uses data from two sources, namely the national 2001 Census and the September 2002 Labour Force Survey (LFS), both of which are conducted by Statistics South Africa. This study differentiates between two forms of intra-SA migration to Gauteng: 'permanent' migrants, who do not return periodically to the sending households, and migrant workers. Data on the former group is obtained from the Census, while data on the latter comes from the LFS.

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

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

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

The major constraint experienced was the fact that we did not have the Census dataset at our disposal. This made deeper investigations of migration impossible and, in various instances, left 'second-round' questions unanswered. Further, the LFS module on migration missed certain important information. Understandably, the survey is constrained in that asking too detailed questions of sending households may elicit inaccurate answers. However, sending households were asked about migrant workers' education levels but were not asked to

indicate their age, about which the sending household is likely to have a more accurate idea than education levels.

3. South African Migration to Gauteng

3.1 The Extent of Internal Migration to Gauteng

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

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

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

Source: Census 1996, 2001 (Statistics SA)

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

Arguably, from a policymaking perspective, recent migrants (those who have moved in the last five years) may be of greater interest than the group of individuals who merely no longer live where they were born. The latter group conceivably encapsulates up to a century of

migration, while the former is much more tightly defined in terms of time. The first step in the analysis of migration into Gauteng is to quantify the phenomenon.

The province of Gauteng is divided into three metropolitan municipalities – Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg and Tshwane – and three district councils, Metsweding, Sedibeng and West Rand (see). The metropolitan municipalities account for 7.2 million (or almost 82 percent) of the provincial population.

Table 2 provides a view of migration in Gauteng relative to the provincial population.¹ In 2001, 1.75 million Gauteng residents indicated that they had moved during the preceding five years, equivalent to nearly one-fifth of the population. Across the sub-regions, this figure ranges between 17.7 percent in Sedibeng and 26.5 percent in Metsweding, with only Ekurhuleni of the three metropolitan municipalities that has a below average proportion of migrants. Overall, the metropolitan municipalities account for close to 84 percent of all migrants, a proportion not substantially greater than their share of the total provincial population.

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

Figure 1: Gauteng and its District Councils and Metropolitan Municipalities



Source: Municipal Demarcation Board 2004 (<http://www.demarcation.org.za/>)

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

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

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

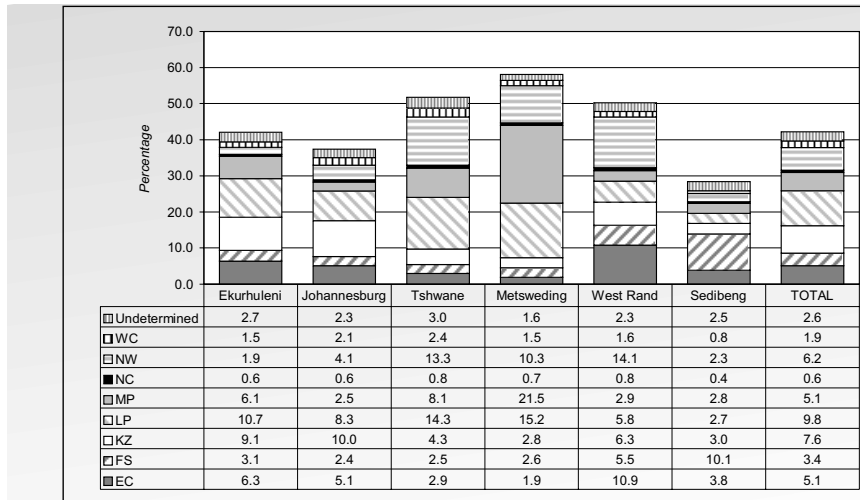
Notes: 'Metro Total' provides statistics for the Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane metropolitan municipalities combined.

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

As indicated earlier, the majority of migrants in Gauteng are intra-Gauteng migrants, the remaining 42 percent having migrated from one of the eight other provinces. The extent of intra-Gauteng migration also varies between the various regions within the province, accounting for more than 70 percent of migrants in Sedibeng and only 42 percent in Metsweding. Tshwane and the West Rand also have above average levels of in-migration from other provinces. Overall, the largest number of in-migrants ('immigrants' from South Africa's other provinces) comes from Limpopo, accounting for 9.8 percent of all migrants in the province (see Figure 2), followed by KwaZulu-Natal (7.6 percent) and the North-West (6.2 percent). Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape each account for 5.1 percent of all migrants.

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

Figure 2: Province of Previous Residence of Recent Migrants in Gauteng, 2001



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

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

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

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

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

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

The Census data does not make quantifying the rate of in-migration to Gauteng easy. Approximately 20 percent of the province's population has moved at least once during the inter-Census period (see Table 4).² At first glance, it may appear that the rate of migration has picked up: only 0.7 percent of the provincial population moved during 1996 compared to 5.5 percent in 2001. However, this is unlikely to be the case since the Census question referred to an individual's *most recent* move and, as time passes, a rising proportion of individuals who migrated in 1996 will have migrated in ensuing years. This is perhaps confirmed by the similar proportions of regional populations who last moved in 1996, compared to the relatively large differences for later years. Data on migrant workers presented in section also indicates relative stability in terms of the province's migrant worker population, with a substantial proportion of this group having been migrant workers for longer periods of time.

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

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

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

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

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

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

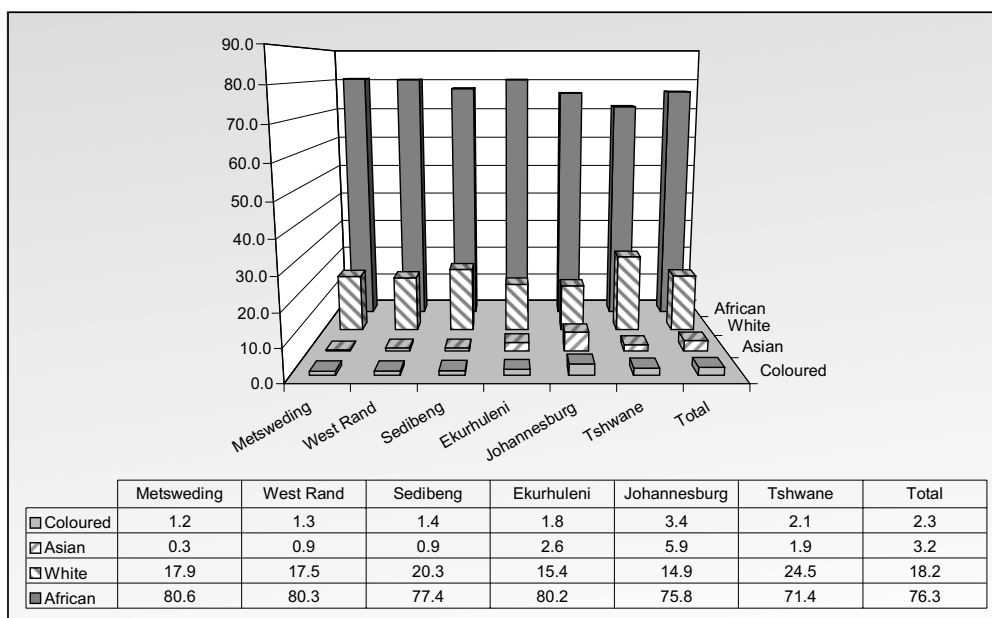
The Census data unfortunately does not provide a complete and fully-accurate picture of migration to Gauteng, making reliance on specific numbers of individuals moving into and within Gauteng risky. Further, the structure of the Census questionnaire prevents the quantification of the rate of in-migration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

3.2 Characteristics Of South African Migrants In Gauteng

a. Race, Age and Gender

Three-quarters of in-migrants to Gauteng are African, with just under one-fifth being White (see Figure 3). Coloureds and Asians account for the remaining 5.5 percent of Gauteng's in-migrant population. Within the province, though, the racial composition of migrants varies. Specifically, Metsweding and the West Rand are virtually identical with the ratio of African to White to other races being about 80:18:2. Nearly half of all Coloured in-migrants live in Johannesburg, resulting in that group's high share of all in-migrants there. Johannesburg is also home to 60 percent of Asian in-migrants. White in-migrants are least likely to live in Johannesburg (15 percent of all in-migrants compared to its provincial share of 18.2 percent), instead living in Tshwane (24.5 percent of all in-migrants) and Sedibeng (20.3 percent). In general, Johannesburg lures the largest proportion of African, Asian and Coloured migrants.

Figure 3: Racial Breakdown of Recent In-Migrants in Gauteng, by District Council



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

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

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

in-migrants are more often single, or more career-oriented than family-oriented relative to their peers in other provinces (although the Western Cape has a similar, but slightly less skewed profile).

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

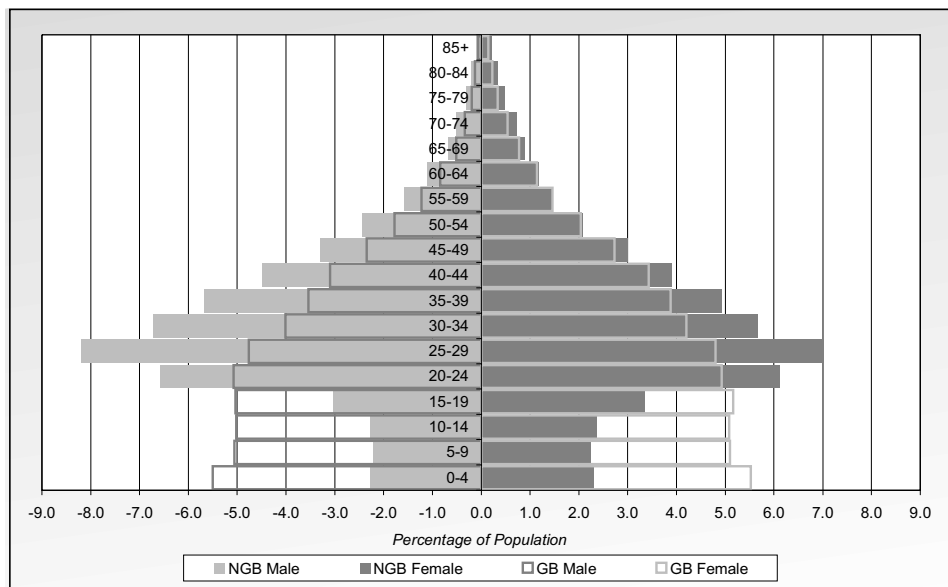
Table 5: Age and Gender Profile of South African-Born Gauteng Residents

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

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

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

Figure 4: Age-Group and Gender of Gauteng Residents, by Migration Status



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Notes: NGB = Non-Gauteng Born; GB = Gauteng-Born.

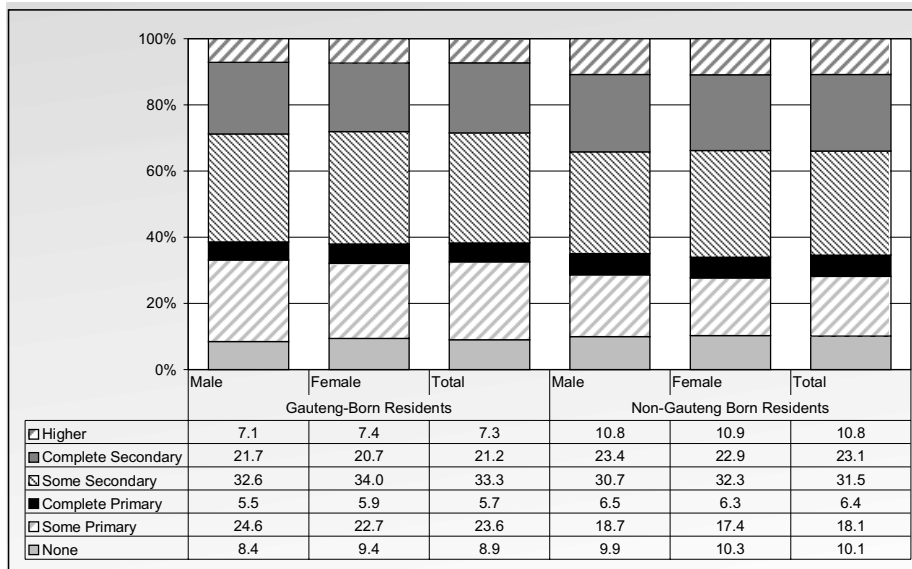
In contrast, the 'pyramid' for Gauteng residents born in the other provinces is not a pyramid at all, being very narrow at the youngest age-groups and displaying a bulge between 20-24 years and 55-59 years. It is also slightly lopsided in that it moves further out to the left than to the right, indicating a larger proportion of males than females in those groups in particular.

b. Educational Attainment

Educational attainment of individuals provides a useful clue as to their probable socio-economic status. In terms of in-migrants to Gauteng therefore, government's position is likely to be made easier (or at least not more difficult) if in-migrants are better educated than the average resident. Figure 5 presents a breakdown of educational attainment of Gauteng residents according to gender and migration status. Unfortunately, the Census data at our disposal does not distinguish between adults and school-aged children, although it does exclude children under the age of five years.

The first thing that can be seen in the figure is the highly similar pattern of educational attainment of males and females, given their migration status. Amongst both groups though, females are slightly more likely than males to have no education, some secondary education or higher education. At first glance, NGB Gauteng residents seem in general to be slightly better educated than their GB counterparts. Nearly 11 percent of the former have attained a higher education qualification as opposed to just over 7 percent amongst the latter. While a similar proportion of both groups have some or completed secondary education (around 54.5 percent), a smaller proportion of NGB than GB residents have only completed primary education or less (34.6 percent vs. 38.2 percent respectively). However, it is important to highlight an important caveat here. As mentioned previously, the age pyramids for these two groups differ markedly, with significantly more children as a proportion of the total population amongst GB residents than NGB residents. The implication is that the different age structures will distort the real profile of educational attainment, biasing them downwards, and this will be more pronounced for GB residents. This is likely to result in a reversal of the pattern observed above since 5-19 year olds account for a mere 14.5 percent of the NGB resident population and 30.4 percent of the GB resident population.

Figure 5: Highest Educational Attainment of Gauteng Residents, Aged 5 Years and Over



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

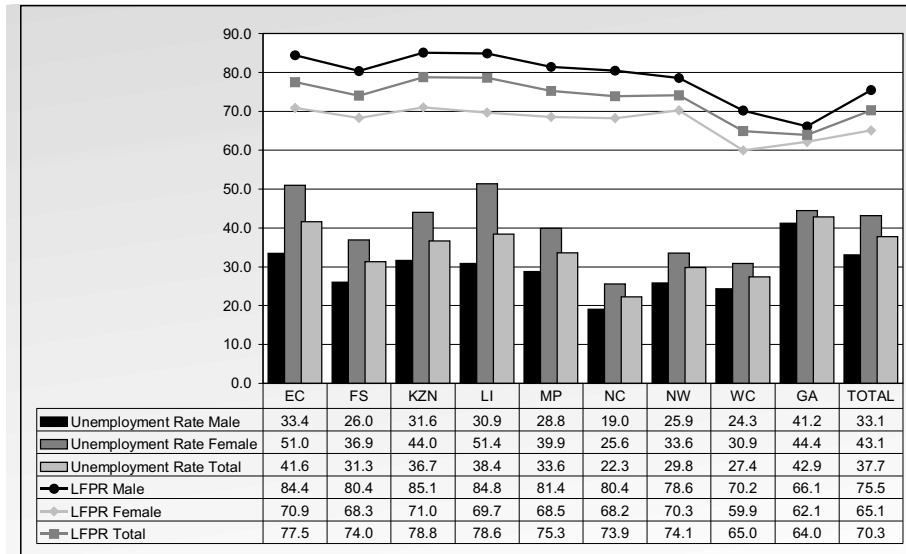
Therefore, although the exact figures are uncertain, it is highly probable that the influx of in-migrants is not raising the overall educational profile of the Gauteng province. In fact, evidence of this can be seen in the proportion of individuals with no education since this category is relatively free of the bias induced by the difference in age structure. One can safely assume that a large proportion of those individuals with no education are in fact aged 5, 6, and even 7 years and have not yet started Grade 1. Even with the greater proportion of children amongst GB residents, relatively more NGB residents have no education at all.

c. Labour Market Characteristics

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

According to the Census 2001, unemployment stood at 37.7 percent for Gauteng residents born in South Africa (see Figure 6), with a relatively large difference in unemployment between males and females (the female unemployment rate is nearly one-third higher than that of males). The pattern of higher unemployment rates for females is observed irrespective of the province of birth, with only the size of the difference that varied. The largest differences between male and female unemployment rates are for individuals born in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape, while for those born in Gauteng there is a relatively small difference. Labour force participation is relatively high overall at just over 70 percent and, for all provinces, is higher amongst males than females.

Figure 6: Labour Market Status of Gauteng Residents, by Province of Birth



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

Interestingly, those Gauteng residents who were born in the province have the highest unemployment rates at 42.9 percent, with very little difference between males and females. Individuals born in the Northern Cape, Western Cape, North-West and Free State have the lowest unemployment rates, 22.3 percent, 27.4 percent, 29.8 percent and 31.3 percent respectively. Apart from Gauteng-born individuals, the highest unemployment rates are to be found amongst those born in the Eastern Cape (41.6 percent) and Limpopo (38.4 percent). This pattern is perhaps unexpected particularly given that those born in Gauteng could be assumed to hold an advantage in terms of social networks and, consequently, a greater likelihood of finding employment. Individuals born in the Northern Cape, Western Cape, North-West and Free State, though, constitute a relatively small proportion of the total labour force (28.3 percent), which may mean that individuals from those provinces may differ markedly from the average in-migrant from other provinces. Unfortunately, without more detailed data, it is not possible to provide grounded reasons for this phenomenon. Gauteng-born individuals may have higher unemployment rates as higher living costs in Gauteng compared to other provinces makes it possible for NGB individuals to undercut them (lower remittances in absolute terms from NGB individuals to their families in their home provinces could still be higher in real terms than remittances to Gauteng-based families). Possibly, in-migrants from these four provinces have a better educational profile than average, placing them in skill categories that are in greater demand. This might probably be the case for individuals born in the Western Cape, a province which, according to preliminary investigation of Statistics SA's Census 2001 online database, does have relatively more educated residents. Western Cape-born Gauteng residents also have lower labour force participation rates, which may point to relatively more individuals being able to withdraw from the labour force due to spouses, partners or relatives earning relatively better salaries.

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

Table 6: Relative Unemployment Rates, 2001

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

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

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

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

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

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

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

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

The general pattern of sectoral distribution of employment is that NGB individuals tend to be more concentrated in the less skills-intensive, secondary sectors, as well as in Agriculture and domestic work, than their Gauteng-born counterparts. NGB individuals are more likely than GB individuals to be employed in *Agriculture* (2.8 percent vs. 1.8 percent respectively), *Manufacturing* (3.5 percent vs. 1.4 percent), *Construction* (6.6 percent vs. 4.1 percent) and *Private Households* (14.2 percent vs. 6.2 percent), while for *Utilities* the proportions differ only slightly. Most of the differences between GB and NGB individuals can be explained by significant differences within a certain gender group. Approximately 10 percent of SA-born residents of Gauteng are engaged in domestic work (the Private Households sector). The proportion of employed NGB individuals engaged in this sector is 14.2 percent, more than twice that of employed GB individuals at 6.2 percent. The data suggests that this difference is due to a large in-migration of women from outside the province who have found domestic work employment, with 31.5 percent of employed female NGB individuals active in this sector. Employed NGB males are considerably more likely than their GB counterparts to be engaged in Manufacturing and Construction, resulting in the higher proportions of employed NGB individuals in those two sectors. A greater proportion of employed GB individuals than NGB individuals is engaged in the Internal Trade, Finance and CSP Services sectors. In the case of the latter two sectors, this is due to greater engagement amongst employed GB females, while for the former, engagement is higher irrespective of gender.

The picture emerging – that in-migrants are more often employed in less skills-intensive sectors – is confirmed and strengthened by the occupational distribution of employment presented in Table 8. Specifically, there is an over-representation of NGB individuals employed as Service and Sales and Crafts workers, as Operators and in Elementary occupations, with these four occupational categories accounting for 61.9 percent of

employment of NGB individuals as opposed to 43.7 percent of GB individuals. The difference is made even clearer when aggregating to Skilled, Semi-Skilled and Unskilled categories. Although the proportion of workers employed in semi-skilled occupations does not differ between GB and NGB workers (around 46 percent), there is a greater proportion of GB workers in skilled occupations (30.6 percent vs. 20.4 percent) and a correspondingly greater proportion of NGB workers in unskilled occupations (26.8 percent vs. 15.3 percent).

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

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

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA).

Notes:

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

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

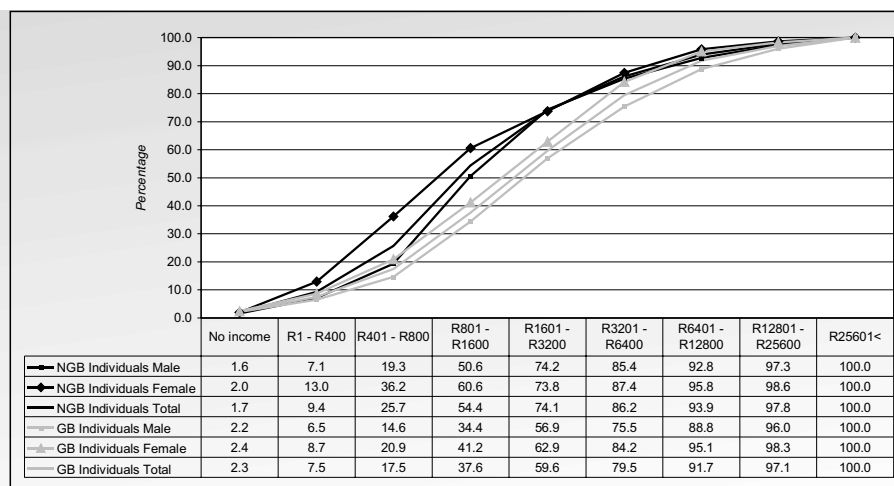
There is some interesting detail that emerges from the table, linking with the sectoral patterns described earlier. In excess of two-fifths of employed NGB females are engaged in elementary occupations, which is twice the average for the province. Up to three-quarters of these women are domestic workers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

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

d. Income

The labour market patterns discussed above are likely to have a bearing on the incomes of employed Gauteng residents. Indeed, demonstrates a marked difference in the incomes of Gauteng-born and NGB residents, with the latter group generally earning less. Cumulative income distribution graphs illustrate the proportion of individuals below a specific income. Consequently, where one group's graph lies consistently higher than another's, that group can be said to be poorer than the second, irrespective of the chosen 'poverty' cut-off. Comparison of employed GB and NGB Gauteng residents reveals that the former group is consistently better off in terms of income than the latter, except if only those employed individuals with no income are considered. However, the accuracy and validity of the figures in the 'no income' category are not assured: individuals report they are employed, but claim to receive no income at all. Despite this, at all other income categories, the cumulative proportion of NGB individuals is greater than that of GB individuals. For example, 9.4 percent of employed NGB individuals earn less than R400 per month, compared to 7.5 percent of GB individuals. Those that earn R1600 per month or less include 54.4 percent of employed NGB individuals but only 37.6 percent of employed GB individuals.

Figure 7: Cumulative Monthly Income Distribution of Employed SA-Born Gauteng Residents



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

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

e. Disability

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

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

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

Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

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

3.3 Access to Public Services

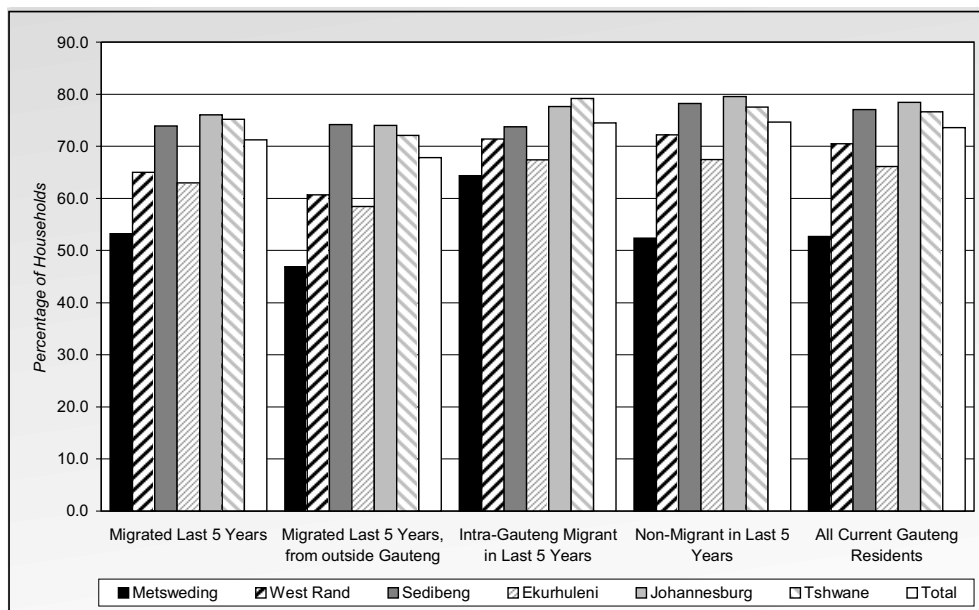
The 2001 Census provides a variety of information on individuals' and households' access to services, such as water, sanitation, and electricity. In this section, we look at households' access to electricity (for cooking, heating and lighting), to water and to telephony. In this section, the focus is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

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

Figures 8, 9 and 10 illustrate that intra-Gauteng migrant households and non-migrant households enjoy slightly better access to electricity for cooking, heating and lighting purposes, compared to those households that are relative newcomers from other provinces. Overall, in most regions, non-migrant households have slightly better access to electricity than those households that have migrated between the two Censuses. Intra-Gauteng migrant households fare significantly better than those households that have migrated to Gauteng from other province, except perhaps in Sedibeng where migrant households have similar levels of electricity access.

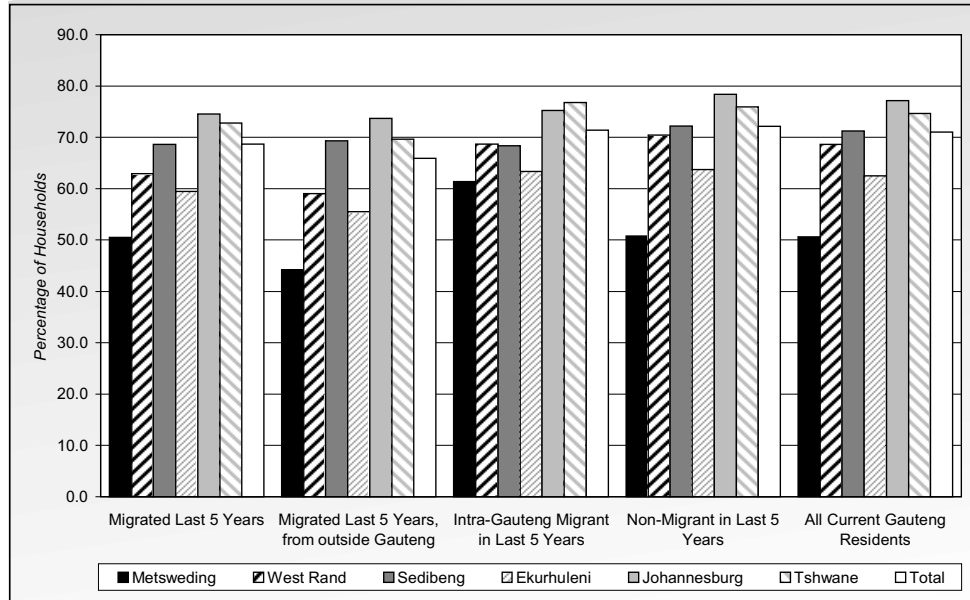
The overall pattern of electricity usage indicates lowest access amongst in-migrant households. Only in Sedibeng do intra-Gauteng migrant households appear to have lower access, although, as stated earlier, differences in access between non-migrant, intra-Gauteng migrant and in-migrant households are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

Figure 8: Household Use of Electricity for Cooking, by Migration Status



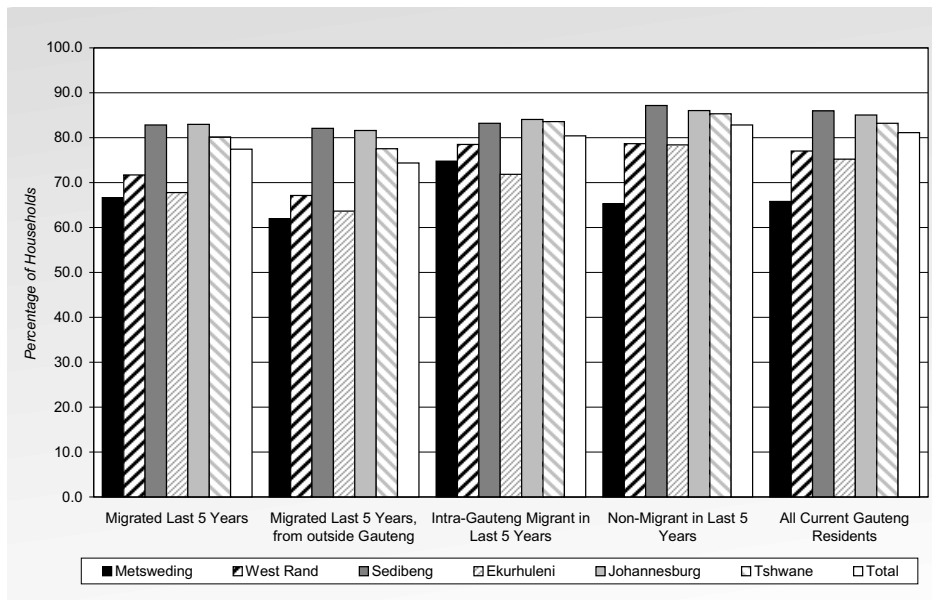
Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

Figure 9: Household Use of Electricity for Heating, by Migration Status



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

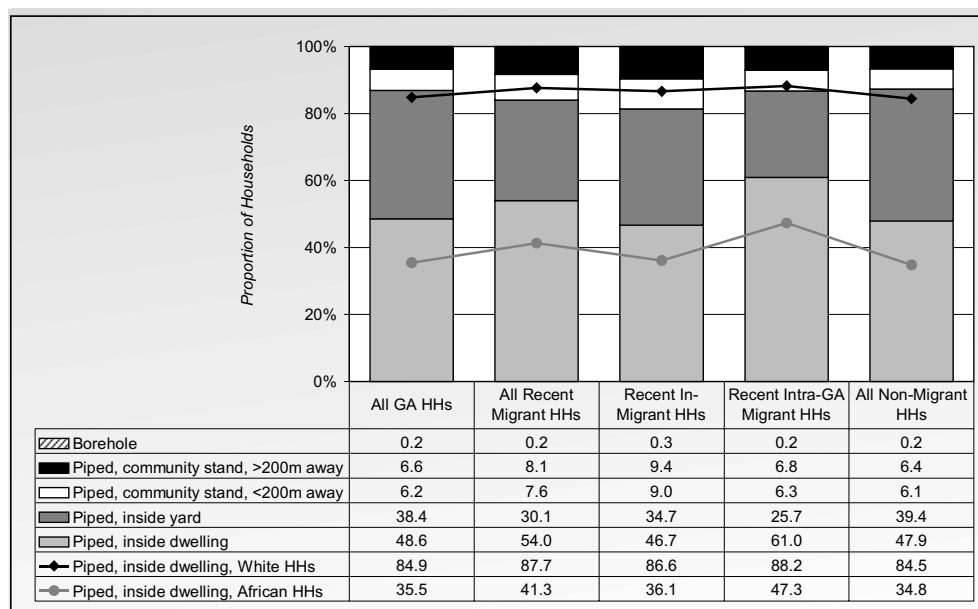
Figure 10: Household Use of Electricity for Lighting, by Migration Status



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

Most households in Gauteng have access to piped water (see). Statistics SA estimates that only 2.5 percent of households in the province lack access to piped water (Statistics SA 2003: 84). Consequently, the focus turns to households' type of access to piped water. Interestingly, in contrast to the pattern of electricity access being best amongst non-migrant households, intra-Gauteng migrant households are best off in terms of access to piped water inside their dwellings (61.0 percent). In contrast, in-migrant and non-migrant households have significantly lower rates of access to piped water inside their dwellings at 46.7 percent and 47.9 percent. This means that, overall, 48.6 percent of Gauteng households have piped water in their dwellings. However, once piped water inside their yard is included, access rates rise to 81.4 percent, 86.7 percent and 87.3 percent for in-migrant, intra-Gauteng migrant and non-migrant households respectively.

Figure 11: Households' Main Source of Piped Water, by Migrant Status



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

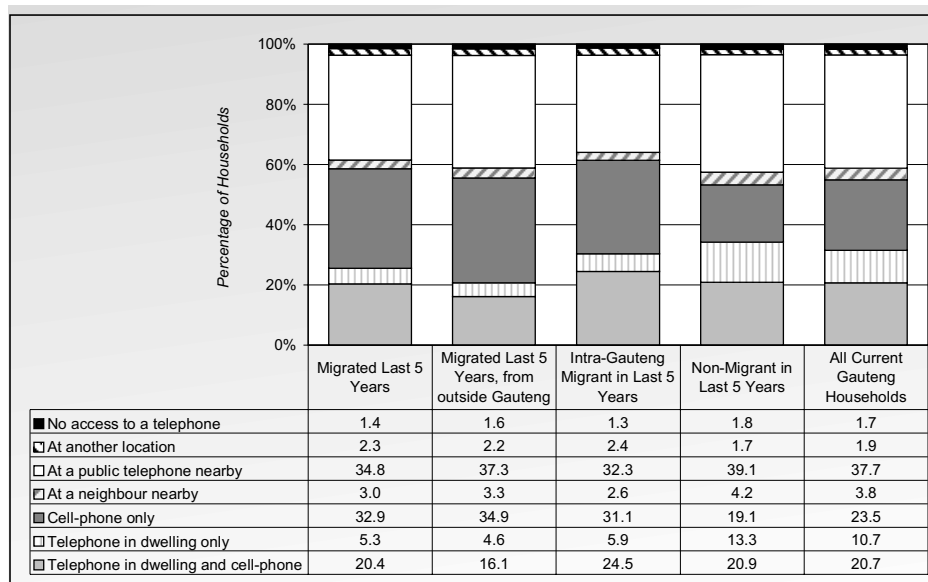
Looking at the other side of the spectrum, nearly 13 percent of households or more than 1 million households obtain piped water from a community stand, as do more than 18 percent of in-migrant households. For all groups, irrespective of migrant status, slightly more than half of those who obtain water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

The differences in proportions of households with access to piped water inside their dwelling according to migrant status reflect to a great extent differences amongst African households. The average rate of access to indoor piped water amongst White Gauteng households is around 85 percent, varying only slightly by migrant status. In contrast, though, the relevant proportion of African Gauteng households is only 35.5 percent, with access ranging from only 34.8 percent of African non-migrant households to 47.3 percent of African intra-Gauteng

migrant households. Despite this, the pattern within White households is virtually identical to that within African households, albeit considerably less pronounced.

A similar pattern is revealed in terms of households' access to telephony networks (see Figure 12). Approximately 55 percent of Gauteng households have access to a landline telephone in their dwellings and/or a cellular phone, while a further two-fifths have access to a telephone nearby (either public or a neighbour's). Only 1.7 percent of households have no access whatsoever. Intra-Gauteng migrant households have above average telephone access with 61.5 percent enjoying access to a landline and/or a cellular telephone. However, this is mainly due to the relatively large proportion of these households that have access to both landline and cellular telephony (24.5 percent). This appears to provide some indication that recent intra-Gauteng migrant households may on average be better off than non-migrant households. This is further supported by the fact that non-migrant households seem more reliant on landline telephones in their dwellings and have the lowest rate of access to cellular telephony (two-fifths in total compared to more than one-half of recent migrant households).

Figure 12: Households' Telephone Access, by Migration Status



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

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

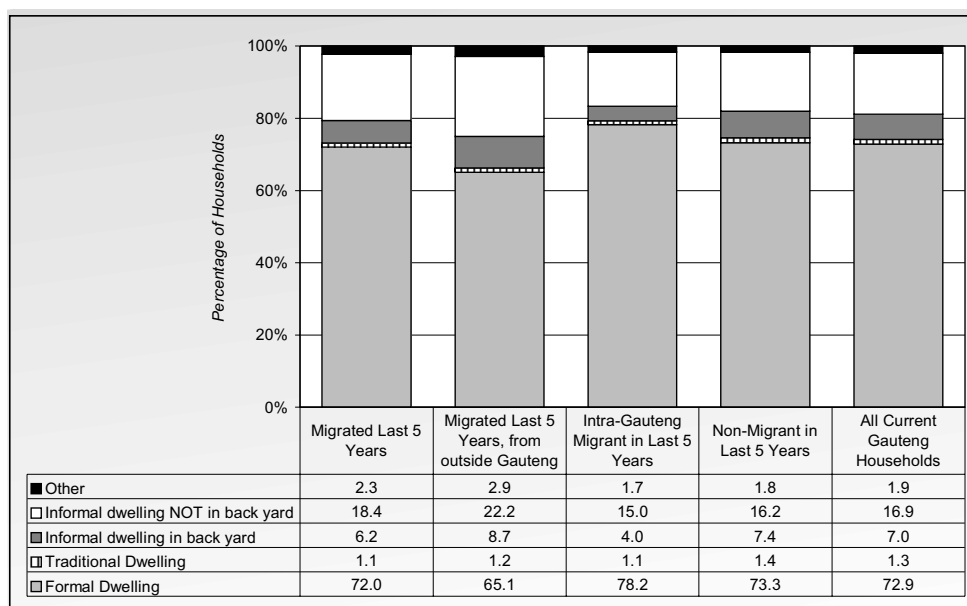
The impression of recent intra-Gauteng migrant households being better off than non-migrant and in-migrant households is extended, with the former group's superior access

to telephones (both landline and cellular) in their households. In-migrant and non-migrant households appear to be less well off, with the former's low rate of access to landline telephones in their dwellings and the latter's restricted access to cellular telephones and both groups' heavy reliance on public telephones.

3.4 Other Indicators of Living Standards

This section deals with two main living standards indicators, namely dwelling type and access to certain household goods, in an attempt to discern a difference (or not) between intra-Gauteng migrants, in-migrants and non-migrants in Gauteng. Figure 13 presents data on the types of dwellings in which Gauteng residents reside. The first feature of the figure is the dominance of formal housing in the province: overall, almost three-quarters of Gauteng households reside in formal or modern housing. Around 17 percent of households live in informal dwellings in informal settlements (categorised as 'informal dwelling not in back yard'). The remaining 10 percent of households reside in informal dwellings in backyards (7.0 percent), traditional dwellings (1.3 percent) and other types of dwellings (1.9 percent).

Figure 13: Type of Dwelling, by Migration Status



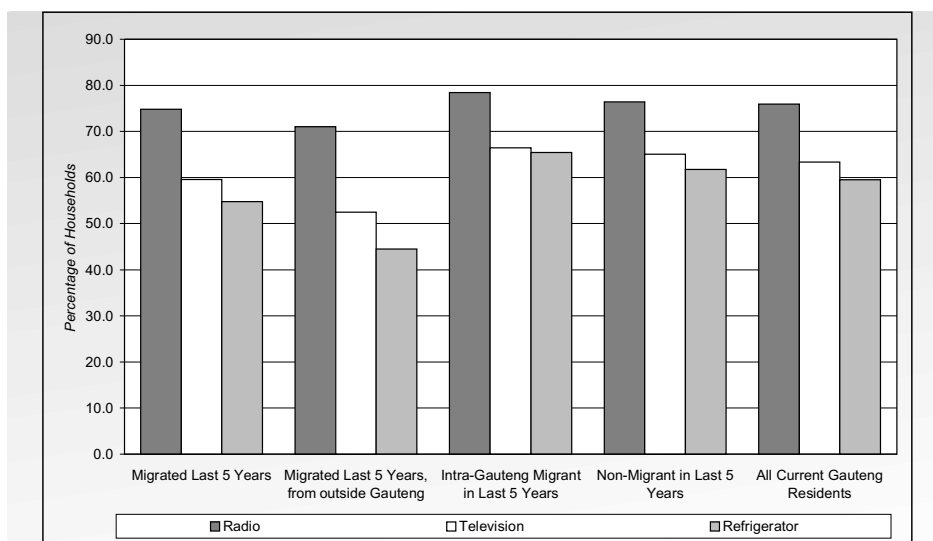
Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

The main difference arises between intra-Gauteng migrant households and in-migrant households (i.e. those from outside of the province), illustrated in the second and third columns of figure 13. The pressure of in-migration on housing services in the province is apparent as 65 percent of in-migrant households reside in formal dwellings compared to 78 percent of intra-Gauteng migrant households. Correspondingly, 22 percent of in-migrant households live in informal settlements along with 15 percent of intra-Gauteng migrant

households. In total, 30.9 percent of in-migrant households reside in informal dwellings compared to only 19.0 percent of intra-Gauteng migrant households. What could be interesting to investigate is the reason for intra-Gauteng migration, as it is conceivable that at least some proportion is due to relocation of households from informal to new formal dwellings, such as 'RDP houses'. This could help explain the relatively high proportion of intra-Gauteng migrant households that reside in formal dwellings, compared to non-migrant households.

A household's access to various household goods is a useful indicator of the standard of living experienced by its members. Three household goods, namely radios, televisions and refrigerators, have been used here in an attempt to gauge differences in living standards between recent migrants and non-migrants in Gauteng (see Figure 14). As would be expected, household ownership of radios, at more than three-quarters of all Gauteng households, is significantly greater than ownership of televisions and refrigerators (around 60 percent of households). Radio ownership is higher than average for intra-Gauteng migrant households as well as non-migrant households, meaning that households that have moved to Gauteng from the other provinces between the Censuses are relatively less likely to own a radio. Television ownership follows a similar pattern, although at a lower level of around 65 percent of intra-Gauteng migrant and non-migrant households and slightly more than half of in-migrant households. Refrigerator ownership exhibits a broadly similar pattern, although the differences are slightly more pronounced. While around 65 percent of intra-Gauteng migrant households own refrigerators, the proportion of non-migrant households is just over 60 percent, dropping to less than 45 percent of in-migrant households. Overall, therefore, households that migrated from the other provinces to Gauteng between the Censuses are less likely to own radios, televisions and refrigerators.

Figure 14: Household Access to Selected Household Goods, by Migration Status



Source: Census 2001 (Statistics SA)

These two figures (13 and 14), detailing dwelling types and access to radio, television and refrigeration, indicate lower living standards amongst in-migrant households relative to intra-Gauteng migrant and non-migrant households. What is perhaps unexpected is that according to these measures, intra-Gauteng migrant households are better off than their non-migrating counterparts. This may be due to a number of reasons, which are not necessarily verifiable given the current data. On average, though, intra-Gauteng migrant households appear to enjoy slightly better standards of living than non-migrant households. The former's greater access to formal housing may be linked *ex ante* with better standards of living (better off households may be more mobile, and more able to afford various household goods), although greater access to formal housing may actually promote the purchase of these household goods (formal housing provides better shelter for and protection of these goods, while being accompanied by better access to modern water and electricity supplies). The fact that in-migrant households are more likely to locate themselves in informal settlements and informal housing outside of informal settlements – informal housing is used by more than 30 percent of in-migrant households – goes some way in explaining this group's relatively poorer access to electricity, water and telephones.

3.5 Summary

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

The attraction of Gauteng deriving from the perceived greater availability of job opportunities is clearly visible with more than four in five NGB Gauteng residents being between the ages of 15 and 64 years. The preponderance of males amongst recent in-migrants makes the province unique in South Africa in that males outnumber females. Although the available educational data is not able to prove it categorically, there is very strong evidence from the sectoral and occupational breakdowns of employment, as well as from income data, that NGB Gauteng residents tend to be less educated than their Gauteng-born counterparts. This does not mean, however, that the province does not attract highly skilled and highly educated individuals from all over the country.

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

4. South African Migrant Workers

4.1 Migrant Labour in Gauteng in the National Context

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

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

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

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

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA)

Where the analysis of migrant labour on a provincial scale is concerned, with the strain on current and future public facilities and social spending, it is important to discern between migrant workers and immigrant workers. This is due to the fact that individuals that migrate into a specific province – in this case, Gauteng – from other provinces are more likely to pose an added burden to provincial government than individuals migrating intra-provincially (in other words, individuals moving in search of work from one area in Gauteng to another area of Gauteng). In late 2002, there were approximately 1.9 million inter-regional migrant workers, accounting for close to two-thirds of all migrant workers. The relative proportions of inter-regional migrants and intra-regional migrants differ vastly across the provinces. At one end of the spectrum are the Eastern Cape and Limpopo provinces, where inter-regional migrant workers account for a mere 3.9 percent and 9.0 percent of all migrant workers respectively. In contrast, 91.4 percent of Western Cape migrant workers are from outside the province. In Gauteng, the proportion is even higher at 97.9 percent. This means that Gauteng receives 71.8 percent of all inter-regional migrant workers.

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

4.2 Profile of Migrant Workers in the Gauteng Province⁴

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

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

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

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

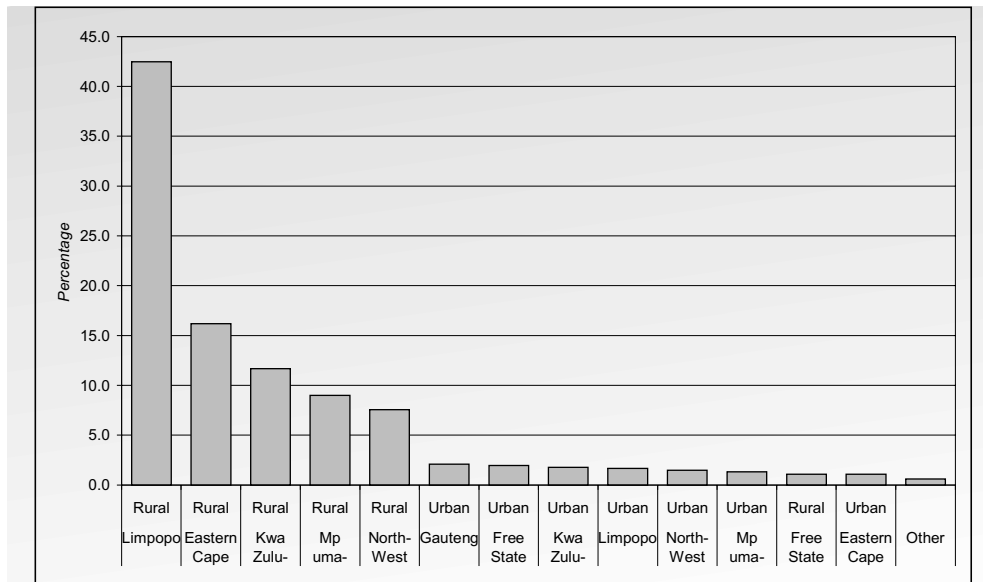
		<i>Migrant Workers</i>			<i>Gauteng Labour Force</i>		
		<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
African	Thousands	889.9	478.0	1369.1	1783.0	1516.2	3301.3
	<i>Share of Total (%)</i>	64.2	34.5	98.8	39.5	33.6	73.1
Coloured	Thousands	4.0	6.0	10.0	89.8	95.3	185.1
	<i>Share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

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA)

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

Migrant workers' sending households are most often located in rural areas. In fact, nearly nine-tenths of migrant workers are from rural households. Figure 15 presents the areas, defined by province and rural/urban split, from which most South African migrant workers travel to find work in Gauteng. By far the largest share of migrant workers have their sending households in rural areas of Limpopo, this being linked to the high levels of poverty and unemployment found there. Rural Eastern Cape accounts for 16.2 percent of migrant labourers, while rural KwaZulu-Natal, rural Mpumalanga and rural North-West account for 11.7 percent, 9.0 percent and 7.6 percent of migrant workers respectively. Thus, the five most important sending areas representing 86.9 percent of all migrant workers in Gauteng are all rural areas of the country's poorest provinces. In total, five provinces, namely Limpopo, the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and North-West, account for 94 percent of all migrant workers, with more than 44 percent from Limpopo alone. These figures are broadly similar to the breakdown of the province's population by province of birth, according to which Limpopo, KZN and the Eastern Cape are the provinces of birth of more than one fifth of the population.

Figure 15: Location of Sending Households of Migrant Workers to Gauteng, 2002



Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA)

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

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

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

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

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

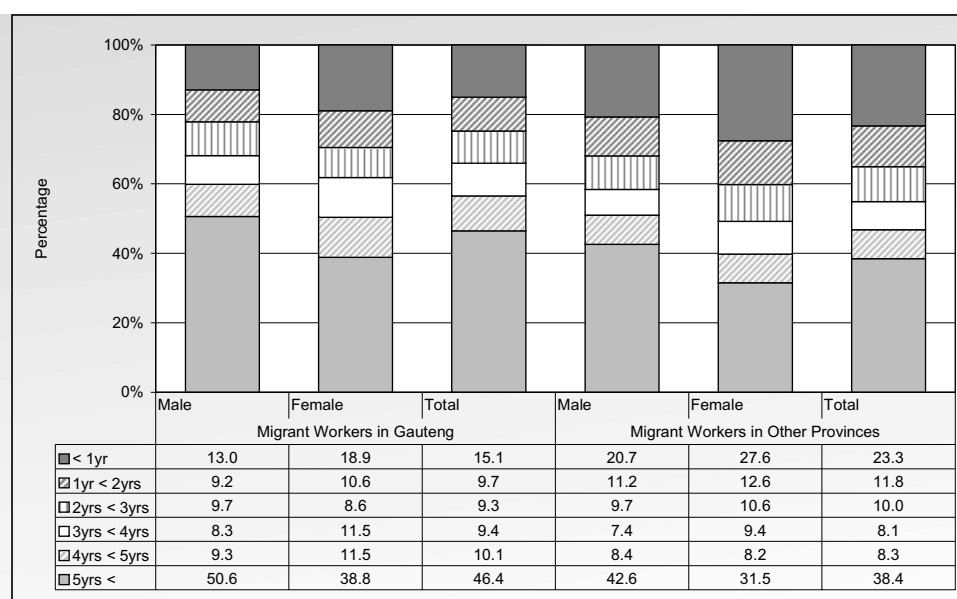
	<i>Migrant Workers</i>			<i>Gauteng Non-Migrant Labour Force</i>		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
None	8.1	7.7	8.0	17.8	17.1	17.4
Incomplete Primary	21.3	17.5	20.0	17.4	17.3	17.4
Complete Primary	8.1	6.7	7.6	3.9	4.8	4.3
Incomplete Secondary	33.9	35.7	34.5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

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA)

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

One important question regarding migrant workers surrounds their permanence. In other words, is the group of migrant workers in Gauteng in, say, 2002 likely to be very different or very similar to the group a few years later (or earlier)? This is important for a number of reasons, not least of which is the issue that policies aimed at migrant workers at one point in time may target a very similar (or very different) subset of individuals at another time. This question is at best partially addressed in Figure 16, which presents the distribution of migrant workers in Gauteng according to the length of time they have spent as migrant workers.

Figure 16: Length of Time as Migrant Worker, by Gender, 2002



Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA)

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

Gauteng migrant workers' sending households are not typical of South African households. The first difference is in terms of the size of the sending household (see Table 13). Households that have at least one member engaged in migrant work consist of an average of 4.9 individuals, excluding the migrant workers themselves. Here, the sending households of Gauteng migrant workers do not differ from all other sending households. In contrast, those households that do not have members engaging in migrant work are smaller, consisting of 3.6 individuals on average. This is linked to the fact that migrant workers are likely to come predominantly from poorer households, which tend to be larger than better off households. Within their sending households, around one-third of migrant workers in Gauteng are regarded as the head of their respective households. The proportion of male migrant workers

who are heads of their sending household is significantly higher, at 41.6 percent, than that of female migrant workers (16.7 percent). Male and female migrant workers differ markedly in terms of marital status. Thus, while more than half (52.1 percent) of male migrant workers are married or living together, the relevant proportion for females is barely one-fifth (20.3 percent). This is due to the fact that female migrant workers are more often widowed, divorced or separated or have never married than their male counterparts. Two-thirds of female migrant workers have never been married, compared to 44.2 percent of males. These differing proportions suggest that the ages of male and female migrant workers differ noticeably.⁶

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

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

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

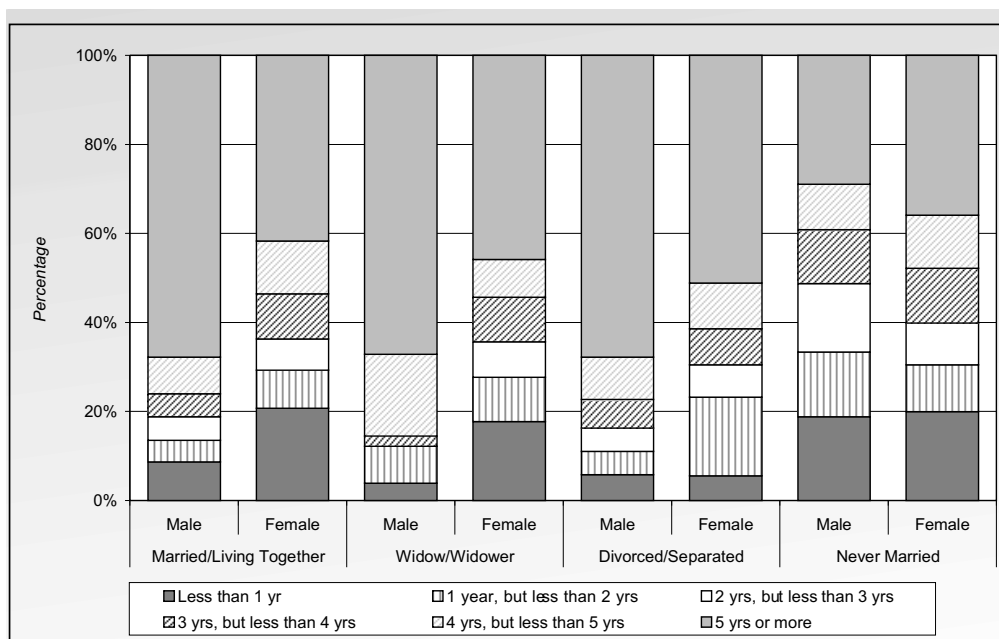
Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA)

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

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

Recognising differences in marital status provides interesting insight into migrant work. Specifically, differentiating between the marital status of male and female migrant workers when analysing the length of time spent as migrant workers yields important differences between the two groups (see Figure 17). Amongst those migrant workers who have never been married (who would perhaps tend to be younger than the others), females are more often 'longer-term' migrant workers than males. For example, almost 36 percent of female migrant workers in Gauteng who have never been married have been migrant workers for upwards of 5 years, compared to 29 percent of their male counterparts.

Figure 17: Marital Status, Gender and Time Spent as Migrant Worker, 2002



Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA)

4.3 Remittances

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

Table 14: Remittances of Migrant Workers to Sending Households

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

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA)

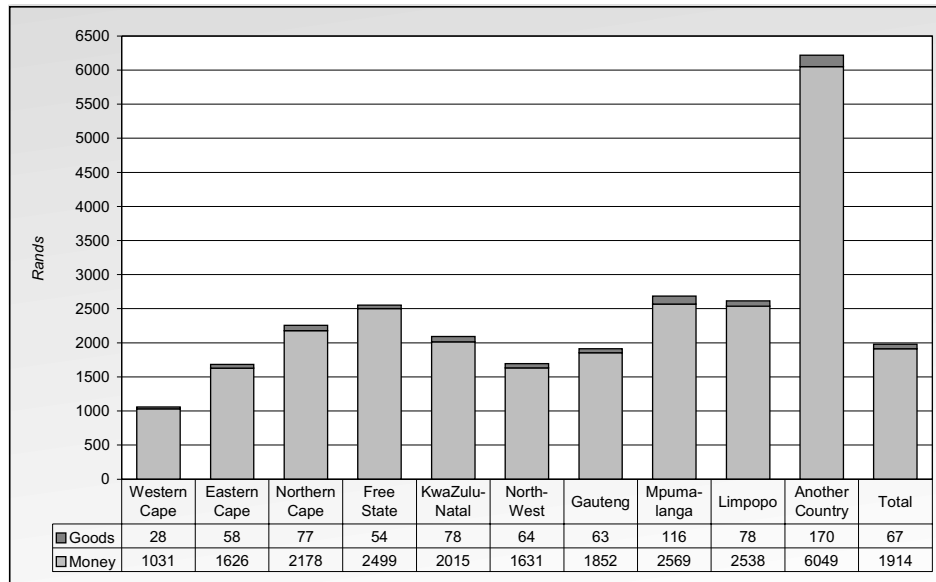
Remittances from migrant workers working in Gauteng amounted to R2.5 billion in money and R85 million in goods (R2.6 billion in total) in the twelve months before the survey, and R42 million worth of goods and money in the month leading up to the survey, equivalent to 1.6 percent of the total. Gauteng,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

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

Remittances from Gauteng are slightly lower than the average of remittances to South African households. In Figure 18, the average remittances of money and goods for the twelve month period preceding the LFS of September 2002 are presented according to the province to which the migrant worker moved. Remittances from migrants engaged in work in other countries are more than three times the national average, at just over R6 000. However, this figure is due to the earnings of highly qualified individuals who work on contract basis overseas. Remittances are also higher than average for migrants in Mpumalanga (R2 685), Limpopo (R2 616) and the Free State (R2 553). Migrant workers in the Western Cape, North-West and Eastern Cape remit the least to their sending households.

Gauteng's remittances for the period of R2.5 billion are distributed to South Africa's provinces as set out in Figure 19. Average remittances are highest to sending households in the Western Cape (R5 834), followed by Gauteng (R3 273) and the Free State (R2 914). This is linked directly to the inferred skills profile of Gauteng migrant workers from these provinces. For example, around two-thirds of Gauteng migrant workers from the Western Cape have a complete secondary or tertiary education, compared to the average of one-quarter. However, Gauteng migrant workers from these provinces are relatively few and high mean remittances do not necessarily translate into high shares of total remittances from Gauteng migrant workers.

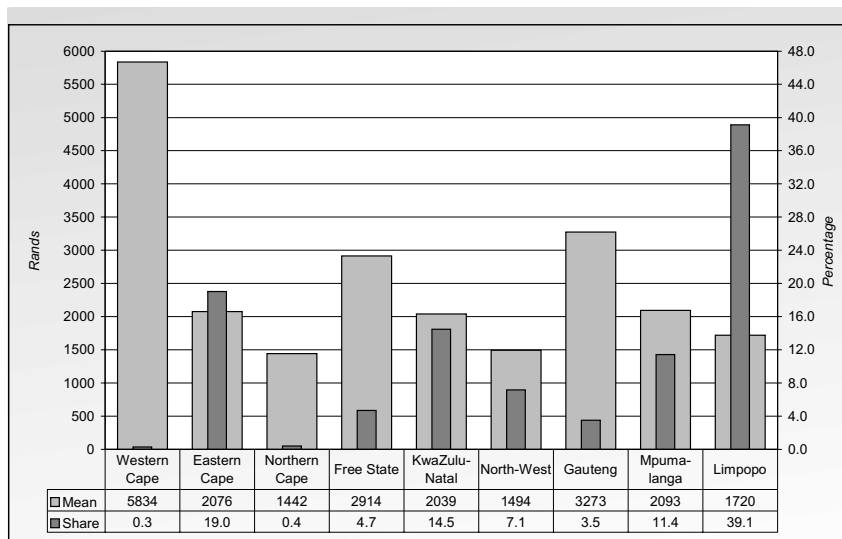
Figure 18: Remittances of Money and Goods, by Migrant Workers' Destination Province, 2002



Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

Notes: Figures are for the twelve month period preceding the survey.

Figure 19: Remittances of Money and Goods from Gauteng to Other Provinces, 2002



Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA).

Notes: Figures are for the twelve month period preceding the survey.

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

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

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

4.4 Summary

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

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

Overall, migrant workers tend to be unmarried, although this is more often the case for females than males, while their sending households are significantly larger than the average household size. Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine whether or not migrant workers take their children to Gauteng with them and if they do, how many children do they take. However, if the Gauteng population pyramids presented in for Gauteng-born and non-Gauteng-born residents are any indication, relatively few children accompany their migrant worker parents to the province. Links with sending households are confirmed by remittance data which, although the accuracy of actual figures is doubtful, indicate strong links particularly between migrant workers and their sending households in Limpopo, the Eastern Cape, KZN and Mpumalanga.

5. Conclusion and Implications

Internationally, governments are responsible for, amongst other things, the provision of certain basic services to local populations and the establishment and maintenance of a suitable social and economic climate. Their success or not in fulfilling expectations in these spheres are often key factors, particularly in democratic societies, in determining the longevity of specific governments. It is for this reason, therefore, that both international and intra-national migration issues have assumed their current level of importance throughout the world, since migration can have serious consequences for the attainment of goals in the two spheres mentioned above, namely the provision of services and the maintenance of a desirable social and economic climate. Excessive in-migration may constitute a significantly increased burden on state-funded services and programmes, with in-migrants often being accused of 'stealing' jobs, thereby raising regional unemployment and leading to antagonism between in-migrants and local residents.

Migration and migrants are an integral feature of Gauteng society. Migrants constitute a large proportion of the Gauteng population, irrespective of definition (whether one refers to individuals born outside the province, individuals who moved to the province from elsewhere in South Africa, or migrant workers from other provinces). At the same time, the SA-born population is highly mobile within the province. However, it is extremely difficult to determine the 'added' burden placed on the provincial government by in-migration from other provinces and countries, since current national surveys do not include information on individual's full migration histories or information on the moves of cross-border migrants over the inter-census period or information on non-SA migrant workers. These deficiencies lower the ability of terms such as 'Gauteng-born' and 'intra-Gauteng migrants' to accurately separate in-migrants on the one hand and intra-Gauteng migrants and non-migrants on the other. Although out-migration from Gauteng to the other provinces is not explicitly quantified or described in this study, it is implicitly calculated in that out-migrants are no longer in Gauteng, thereby lowering the number of non-migrant and migrant households and individuals in the province. It is not possible to know the extent of the emigration of skilled and other South

African workers from Gauteng to other countries. And, even though it appears that rural areas are hardest hit by skilled emigration, the loss of skilled workers raises questions for the Gauteng government particularly around service delivery in the health, education and welfare sectors.

This investigation into in-migration into the Gauteng province has yielded a number of important insights into the phenomenon that are relevant from a policy-making perspective, while also identifying areas requiring future research.

The labour pool available to Gauteng, more than any other province, stretches far beyond the province's geographic boundaries and job-seeking in-migration is bound to continue as long as (relative) economic problems exist in the other provinces. The Gauteng economy is therefore likely to be less skills-constrained than other provincial economies.

The attractive force of the Gauteng labour market can not be denied or discounted. Improved employment prospects in the province represent an important pull factor promoting in-migration, with unemployment rate differentials indicating a significant incentive underlying in-migration to the province. While the obvious conclusion here may be that Gauteng-born workers are being displaced from employment in the province by those born in other provinces, this is not necessarily true and further research is required in order to validate or refute such a claim. Cross-border migrants are more often employed than the general population, although female migrants from the rest of the continent experience greater unemployment than their male counterparts and greater unemployment and economic inactivity than the province's total female population.

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

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

Although often portrayed as being a drain on destination economies, migrants are not necessarily such and can often contribute significantly to the receiving economy. However, what is clear is that migration creates important economic linkages between Gauteng and other provinces through remittances.

Most remittances by internal migrants to sending households are in the form of cash rather than goods. In contrast, cross-border migrants, because of the high transaction costs and difficulties related to international money transfer, are more likely to make their remittances in goods.

Technically, remittances of cash to households outside Gauteng constitute a leakage from the provincial economy, while remittances of goods do not. Most of the value of remittances to other provinces is in the form of cash and, while this may represent a 'drain' on the provincial economy, this money is spent on goods and services in the sending regions, possibly indirectly stimulating inter-provincial economic activity. The linkages between Gauteng and the other provinces are evidenced by the outflow of remittances, particularly in the case of Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, which account for close to three-quarters of remittances sent out of Gauteng.

South African in-migrants represent an increased burden on the education, health and social service systems, although the magnitude of this burden is difficult to determine. Unfortunately, the updated equitable share data is unlikely to fully accommodate the increased pressure.

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

However, these norms are constructed given a certain demographic profile, in which particularly the age profile plays a central role. The Western Cape's age profile is characterised by 28 percent of the population being between the ages of 5 and 19 years. The age pyramids represented in indicate that, relative to the Gauteng-born population, South African NGB individuals are less likely to be very young (0 to 19 years) and more likely to be over 65 years of age. Specifically, relevant to education, only 14.5 percent of the NGB population of Gauteng are aged 5 to 19 years, or around one-half the Western Cape rate. Rough adjustment of the Western Cape norms would entail a doubling of the population required for both primary and secondary schools. These adjusted norms reveal that the average annual net increase in the Gauteng population due to in-migration would require the establishment of twenty new primary and ten new secondary schools annually. The province

is currently home to approximately 2.1 million children between the ages of 5 and 19 years, of whom three-quarters were born in Gauteng. Consequently, NGB children represent an increased demand for education of around one-third above the demand deriving from Gauteng-born children.

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

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

The average employed in-migrant appears to earn less than the provincial average, although exact figures cannot be calculated from the categorical income variable. However, nearly 55 percent of employed in-migrants (including 61 percent of female in-migrants) earn less than R1 600 per month compared to 38 percent of their Gauteng-born counterparts. Despite these figures, it is not possible to answer the question of whether in-migrants undercut Gauteng-born workers, resulting in the latter losing jobs to the former as differing skills mixes in the two groups will affect incomes. What is clear, though, is that in-migrants are generally likely to face more severe budget constraints than Gauteng-born individuals, particularly as many will be supporting two households, making them more vulnerable to shocks and more likely to access state grants.

Raised pressures on the education, health and social security systems should, however, be automatically addressed through the equitable share formula. This formula is updated annually with available data and is comprised of seven components, namely an education share, a health share, a welfare share, a basic share, a backlog component, an economic output component and an institutional component. The education, health, welfare and basic shares account for 85 percent of the total state transfer to the provinces (National Treasury 2004: 259). Of these four components, the 2004 National Budget Review indicates that new data is used for the education and basic shares and partly for the welfare shares, allowing the equitable share allocations to account for in-migration to the province. However, calculations of the health component and sections of the welfare component are based on 1995 Income and Expenditure Survey data, raising questions regarding the accuracy of the calculated allocations for 2004 in the absence of extra-formula adjustments.

In-migrants to Gauteng require housing and, as a result, the provincial government is likely to face important challenges in addressing the existing housing backlog. Access to electricity and water is good and is only slightly lower for recent SA-born in-migrants.

The provision of suitable housing for the province's population remains an important government responsibility. Gauteng is fortunate in that a relatively high proportion of households live in formal dwellings. Despite this, nearly one-quarter of households reside in informal dwellings. Recent in-migrant households reside in informal dwellings more often than any other group – three in ten recent South African in-migrant households indicated that they lived in informal dwellings, both in informal settlements and in backyards in formal areas. Even assuming four persons per household⁷, the average annual inflow of in-migrants between 1996 and 2001, if it continues, would require around 40 000 dwellings each year. Put differently, without the provision of an extra 40 000 dwelling units per year, given the average annual inflow of in-migrants from the rest of the country, the housing backlog in the province would not be successfully addressed even if sufficient housing required to accommodate natural population increase were to be provided.

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

In-migrants from other provinces have lower access to selected household goods, including radios and televisions, making them less able to engage with those forms of mass media.

NGB in-migrants are less likely to own refrigerators, radios and televisions. This not only suggests greater levels of poverty and poorer housing quality, but perhaps also lower levels of commitment to living in Gauteng. People who are here as migrant workers and who have homes elsewhere, as well as those who live in informal dwellings, are less likely to invest in household goods for their home in Gauteng.

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

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

Concluding Comments

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

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Appendix A

Location of Sending Households of Migrant Workers to Gauteng, 2002

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

Source: LFS 2002:2 (Statistics SA)

Appendix B

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

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

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