

The relationship between employment and migration – the case of Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain

Susan Ziehl

Abstract

This paper focuses on migration into Cape Town primarily from the Eastern Cape. The main concern is with what happens once migrants arrive in an urban area, in this case Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain. It provides information on routes to urbanization and the type of accommodation rural dwellers occupy once in the city. The employment status of migrants and non-migrants are compared to determine which group is more likely to be employed, unemployed and economically active. The paper can therefore contribute to debates about whether in-migration increases unemployment in urban areas. A comparison with 2001 Census data for the Western Cape Province is also provided. One of the major findings is that, in contrast to the census figures for the Western Cape and other studies, migrants to Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain were less likely to be employed than non-migrants. They were more likely to be unemployed, especially when the expanded definition of unemployment is considered. This is because they are more inclined to be actively searching for work and therefore also more likely to be economically active than non-migrants. The explanation offered for these findings is that migrants tend to be younger than non-migrants and therefore more likely to move in search of work or better work opportunities than older people. The importance of non-economic factors on migration (such as family ties) is emphasised. The author calls for more research on the migration of children and migration studies with a gender focus.

The **Research Project on Employment, Income Distribution and Inclusive Growth** is based at SALDRU at the University of Cape Town and supported by the National Treasury. Views expressed in REDI3x3 Working Papers are those of the authors and are not to be attributed to any of these institutions.



The relationship between employment and migration – the case of Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain

Susan C. Ziehl

(Freelance researcher, Cape Town)¹

1 Introduction

Migration has gained prominence in public and academic debates in recent times. It is a leading and divisive issue in the 'Brexit' decision in the UK and in the presidential race in the United States. While not as pronounced in the political discourse leading up to the local government elections in South Africa, it has flared up in the form of violent xenophobic episodes from time to time in this country. In response, the African Centre for Migration and Society at Wits University launched a xenophobia monitoring project called 'Xenowatch' only a few days ago (ACMS 2016). See also Human Rights Watch 2016.

While debates around migration usually take the form of comparing immigrants to citizens and therefore involve cross border movement, the issues also pertain to movement within countries. This is particularly the case in South Africa where the socio-economic differences and therefore inequalities between provinces are stark and the movement of people is primarily towards the two major wealthy urban centres: Gauteng and the Western Cape.

One of the central aspects of the debate is whether migrants add to or detract from the communities they join and, in particular, whether they 'take jobs away from locals'. Addressing this issue is a complex matter involving *inter alia* levels of unemployment and non-economic activity among locals as well as conceptions of what constitutes a 'proper job'. The purpose of this paper is more modest. It is to compare levels of economic activity (including unemployment) of migrants and non-migrants where the latter refers to people who reside in their province of birth. Its primary focus is on migration from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape. This is achieved through the presentation of the results of some previous research and an analysis of the findings of the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey (KMPS) 2000. Census 2001 and 2011 results on migration into the Western Cape are also presented and discussed. It is hoped that future research will draw on Community Survey 2016 to update the historical trend.

The terms 'labour market status', 'labour force participation' and 'employment status' are closely related and in many ways synonymous. 'Labour market status' refers to "the

¹ The financial assistance of RED13x3, the Research Project on Employment, Income Distribution and Inclusive Growth is acknowledged. Findings, opinions and conclusions are those of the author and are not to be attributed to said Research Project, its affiliated institutions or its sponsors.

situation” of individuals “regarding the labour force” (ILO, 2016:np). The labour force, refers to individuals, above a certain age, who are either employed or unemployed. To be employed, an individual must have engaged in ‘income-earning activities’ for an hour or more in the preceding week. An unemployed person is someone to whom this does not apply and is willing to work (ILO, 2016; Nattrass, 2003). The latter can express itself either through the person actively seeking paid employment (strict definition) or indicating they are available to work (broad definition). Non-labour force participants are individuals over a certain age to whom these criteria do not apply. It is a residual category made up of those not currently in paid employment, not actively seeking paid employment and/or describing themselves as available to work. Nattrass (2003) makes the important point that, depending on how unemployment is defined, the size of the labour force and therefore of the non-labour force will differ. Using the strict definition (must actively seek work) reduces the size of the unemployed and increases the size of the non-labour force category.

Migrant status can be defined in at least two ways. It can refer to whether or not a person was born in the place where they were living at the time of a study. In terms of this definition, a migrant is someone who was *not* born in the country, province, town or village where they presently reside. The second definition is sometimes referred to as ‘recent migration’ and pertains to whether the person was present in their current place of residence at a particular point in the past. As used in South African censuses, this can refer to five or ten years prior to enumeration (See Ziehl 2015 and 2016a,b). In this paper the first definition is used and the data is therefore derived from the variable ‘place of birth’. Additional concepts are: immigrant (someone who is living in a different country to their country of birth) and in-migrant (someone who is living in a different province to their province of birth).

2 Previous research

2.1 Naidoo, Leibbrandt and Dorrington (2008)

Using census data for the periods 1991 to 1996 and 1996 to 2001, Naidoo *et al* (2008) have investigated the relationship between migrant and employment status in an effort to determine whether the factors affecting migration from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape have changed significantly over time. In their analysis, a migrant is “a person who moved suburb, ward, village, farm or informal settlement at least once during the five-year period prior to the date of the census” (2008:32)ⁱ and an unemployed person is someone who is not working, would like to work but has not necessarily taken any steps to find work (expanded definition) (2008:45). Their analysis further “only looks at the economically active people as defined in the censuses (i.e. between the ages of 15 and 65)”ⁱⁱ (2008:45). The table below is a re-working of their migrant status categories (see end note 1), presents the data for blacks only and refers to migration within the country as a whole.

Table 1: Migrant and employment status 1, SA 1991 to 2001 (blacks only)

	Period	NA	Employed	Unemployed	Not EA
Non-migrant	1991-1996	31%	17%	18%	34%
	1996 – 2001	32%	17%	24%	27%
Migrant	1991-1996	20%	37%	21%	22%
	1996 - 2001	19%	33%	27%	21%

Source: Adaptation of Table A3 in Appendix, Naidoo et al, 2008:62.

NA: Not applicable (-15 and 64+); Not EA: Not economically active.

The authors do not comment specifically on this data. It shows that migrants were more likely than non-migrants to be both employed and unemployed. It also shows that since 1991 the unemployment rate increased (by 6%) among both non-migrants and migrants and that the employment rate has decreased (by 4%) in the case of migrants only.

The table below combines Naidoo *et al*'s findings with respect to movement from and within particular areas, notably from Eastern Cape to the Western Cape.

Table 2: Migrant and employment status 2, SA 1991 to 2001 (%)

Blacks only	Period	NA	Employed	Unemployed	Not EA
Non-Migrant					
SA	1991 - 1996	31	17	18	34
	1996 – 2001	32	17	24	27
EC	1991 - 1996	35	9	18	38
	1996 – 2001	38	9	21	19
Migrant					
SA	1991 - 1996	20	37	21	22
	1996 - 2001	19	33	27	21
EC	1991 - 1996	22	29	20	29
	1996 - 2001	22	25	26	27
EC to WC	1991 - 1996	15	34	28	23
	1996 - 2001	15	28	38	19
EC to SA	1991 - 1996	11	41	32	16
	1996 - 2001	12	32	36	20

Source: Adaptation of Tables A4 and A5 in Appendix, Naidoo et al, 2008:62.

NA: Not applicable; Not EA: Not economically active.

While acknowledging that part of the explanation for the trends revealed by the data “lies in the slightly different questions asked in each census”, the researchers conclude “the most striking observation” from the data above “is the general increase in unemployment rates of migrants between the 1991-1996 period and the 1996-2001 period” (2008:45). They also conclude that migrants from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape are worse off than those moving from the Eastern Cape to other parts of South Africa and that their employment situation has become worse over time when compared to migrants to the rest of South Africa:

“Of the people moving into the Western Cape in the five years prior to Census 2001, 38 per cent were unemployed, while 36 per cent of those moving to the rest of South Africa fell into this category. The corresponding 1996 census data give rates of 29 (sic) per cent and 32 per cent respectively. The changes in rates between the two censuses seem to point to a worsening of economic status of those moving to the Western Cape, relative to those moving to the rest of South Africa” (2008: 45-46).

The researchers further observe that migrants show a high level of “keenness for work”. This is because almost two thirds of those leaving the EC for the WC showed a willingness to work within one week compared to only 33% of non-migrants in the EC and 45% of migrants who stay in the EC (2008:46). Another reported finding is that migrants are generally more likely to be economically active than non-migrants. This, the researchers claim, explains the high level of employment among migrants compared to non-migrants. “The higher levels of employment of African migrants both out of, and within, the Eastern Cape would seem to indicate that those with jobs are willing to undertake the risks of migrating in search of potentially better jobs” (2008:48-49).

Finally, the researchers claim that the worsening of the labour market situation of migrants since 1991 and the concomitant “lowering of expected returns from migration” is reflected in the decline or stabilization of migration among Blacks throughout the country (2008:56). Migration nevertheless continues (albeit at a slower rate) because of the persistence of poor infrastructure and poverty in the sending areas, in particular, in the Eastern Cape relative to the Western Cape.

The general conclusions that can be drawn from this study of census data for the period 1991 to 2001 are:

1. There has been an equal increase in unemployment among migrants and non-migrants (by 6%).
2. Employment among non-migrants has remained static.
3. Employment among migrants has decreased (by 4%).
4. Migrants are more likely to be employed than non-migrants (37% and 33% vs 17%).
5. Migrants are substantially more likely to be economically active than non-migrants (20% difference).
6. While the expected returns from migration (in the form of employment and wages) has reduced since 1991, migration continues.

One of the drawbacks of the above research is that its population base is individuals of all ages, not those of working age (15 to 64 years). Since the data is only presented in percentage form, it has not been possible to rework the information. If that had been done, the percentages above would have been higher.

2.2 Migrating for Work Research Consortium (2014)

Budlender (2014) has analysed the relationship between employment and migrant status using data from the migration module of the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (LFS) conducted by

StatsSA in 2012. Her analysis distinguishes between individuals who were born in the province where they were living at the time of the survey (non-movers); were born in another province (movers or migrants) and in a foreign country (immigrants). The latter constituted 4% of working age individuals (Budlender, 2014). On the basis of ‘work status’ data, she presents information for four employment indicators as listed below:

Table 3: Work status by place of birth (QLFS 2014)

Status	This province	Other province	Other country	All
Employed	10 082 015	2 760 077	803 216	13 645 308
Unemployed	3 722 727	796 600	148 006	4 667 333
Discouraged	1 987 732	145 715	36 402	2 169 849
NEA	11 255 197	1 032 828	247 063	12 535 088
All	27 047 672	4 735 219	1 234 688	33 017 579
Labour force participation	51%	75%	77%	55%
Employment rate	37%	58%	65%	41%
Official unemployment rate	27%	22%	16%	25%
Expanded unemployment rate	36%	25%	19%	33%

Source: Budlender, 2014:19. NEA = Not Economically Active (students, home makers and others who do not wish to work).

As can be noted, labour force participation (working, not working and wishing to work) was highest for immigrants (77%) followed by local migrants (75%) and then non-movers (51%). The same pattern was found when one considers the employment rate: highest for immigrants (65%), followed by local migrants (58%) and lowest for non-movers (37%). The proportion of the working age population that was not working but had taken steps to seek work, was also lowest for immigrants (16%), followed by local migrants (22%) and highest for non-migrants (27%). The same pattern was found with respect to the expanded definition of unemployment (including non-job seekers); 19%, 25% and 36% respectively.

Focussing only on the distinction between immigrants and those locally born, Budlender compares the LFS 2012 and NIDS 2008 for adults with Census 2011 for the entire population. She finds a discrepancy with respect to the proportion of the population that was foreign born (7% in the Census, 4% in the LFS and 3.3% in NIDS). She describes the higher census figure as ‘counter intuitive’ as LFS only focusses on the 15 to 64 year age category and one would expect children to be less mobile than adults. This is an interesting finding and one I will return to in the conclusion to this paper.

However, when comparing the proportions in the various labour force categories, Budlender finds broad agreement between the LFS 2012 and Census 2011.

“The Census confirms the finding that the employment rate and labour force participation rate are higher for foreign born than locally-born, while the unemployment rate is lower” (2014:39). This pattern held regardless of the region of origin. See table below.

Table 4: Labour market status, SA and regions 2012

Region of birth	Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Labour force participation rate
South Africa	38	31	55
SADC	62	20	78
Rest of Africa	68	12	77
United Kingdom and Europe	69	5	73
Asia	73	4	77
North America	67	4	70
Latin America and Caribbean	65	7	70
Oceania	72	5	76
Total	39	30	56

Source: Budlender, 2013: Table 19.

The regional comparison above shows that South Africa has the lowest proportion of the working age population in employment (38% compared to 62% for SADC countries, for example) and the lowest labour force participation rate (55% compared to 77% in Asia and 78% in SADC countries or example). As regards the unemployment rate, South Africa has more in common with other African countries in the region as all are 20% or more, but South Africa also stands out as having the highest rate (31% vs 12% in Africa other than South Africa and SADC countries).

Comparing South Africa to the 28 individual countries listed in the OECD data base, Budlender describes the South African pattern as ‘unusual’. On the question of labour force participation rates (employed and unemployed combined), she found that none of the 28 countries had rates as low as that for South Africa. In other words, the proportion of the working age population that was not working and not wishing to work was much higher in South Africa than in the OECD countries. Moreover, while in South Africa the labour force participation rate of foreign-born individuals was higher than that for locally born, this applied to only about half (15 out of 28) of the OECD countries. When employment rates are taken on their own, she notes that in most cases this is higher for local born individuals in OECD countries than in South Africa. More particularly, the South African pattern of foreign born individuals having higher employment rates than those locally born, applied to only 8 of the 28 countries. As far as unemployment is concerned she finds that only two OECD countries (Spain and Greece) have rates as low as that for South Africa and in only 5 countries was unemployment among locally born individuals higher than that for the foreign born. (Budlender, 2014:11). See Tables 46 and 47 in Appendix.

2.3 Yu and Nieftagodien (2008)

Having the explanation of poverty as their main research goal, Yu and Nieftagodien use data from the Khayelitsha/Mitchell’s Plain Survey to analyse “the impact of migration on the structure of poverty” (2008:12). They also “explore the relationship between migration status of the black population . . . and their economic status, with reference to their labour force participation, probability of being employed, and wage earnings” (2008:12). To that end they characterise the black population of KMP by gender and year of arrival in the area and use the following categories: Established Male (EM); Established Female (EF); New Male (NM) and New Female (NF) migrant. An established migrant was born in Cape Town or moved there

before 1990 and a new arrival is someone who was born outside Cape Town and moved there between 1995 and 2000 (2008:19). The researchers were not able to clearly identify those who migrated to Cape Town between 1990 and 1994 and they were thus excluded from the analysis.

In terms of income, they found that established males earned the highest income followed by established females, new males and then new female migrants. On the other hand, they found that new migrants were more educated than established ones. This paradox, they claim, “might be explained both by the role of social networks in job search (in which established migrants have a relative advantage)” and with reference to youth unemployment as most of the new migrants were younger than 30 years (2008:21). On the question of employment status, Yu and Nieftagodien (2008) found that established male and female migrants were more likely to be employed than their newer counterparts. The differences were quite marked: 10% in the case of males and 18% in the case of females. In the case of unemployment, gender played a role in that both established and new male migrants were more likely to be looking for work than their female counterparts. By contrast, females were more likely to express the desire to work without having taken active steps to look for employment. Non-labour force participation rates were similar regardless of gender or migrant status.

2.4 Ndegwa, Horner and Esau (2004)

Ndegwa, Horner and Esau (2004) provide an analysis of migration and work among residents of Khayeltisha/Mitchell’s Plain for Blacks and Coloureds separately. They find that 63% of Coloured (adult) residents are employed compared to 49% of Blacks; 35% are unemployed (broadly defined) compared to 51% of Blacks. The latter were therefore less likely to be employed and more likely to be unemployed than Coloured residents. The overall labour force participation rate for Blacks was found to be higher (88%) than that for Coloureds (79%) reflecting a lower non-labour force participation rate among them (12% vs 21%) compared to Coloured residents.

Ndegwa et al, do not provide an analysis of the relationship between migration status and employment status. They do, however, make the following comment:

“What is striking if somewhat puzzling is that those in wage-employment reflect very precisely the population share of the place of origin as can be seen in appended Table 18. Birth in Cape Town does not seem to confer favourable access to the labour market” (2004:19).

The appended table shows that 12% of those in wage employment were born in Cape Town.

In what follows data from the KMPS is categorised in a way that it can be compared to the first two studies mentioned above. In other words, the relationship between employment status and migrant status for all respondents in the KMPS is presented, analysed and discussed.

3. The Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey

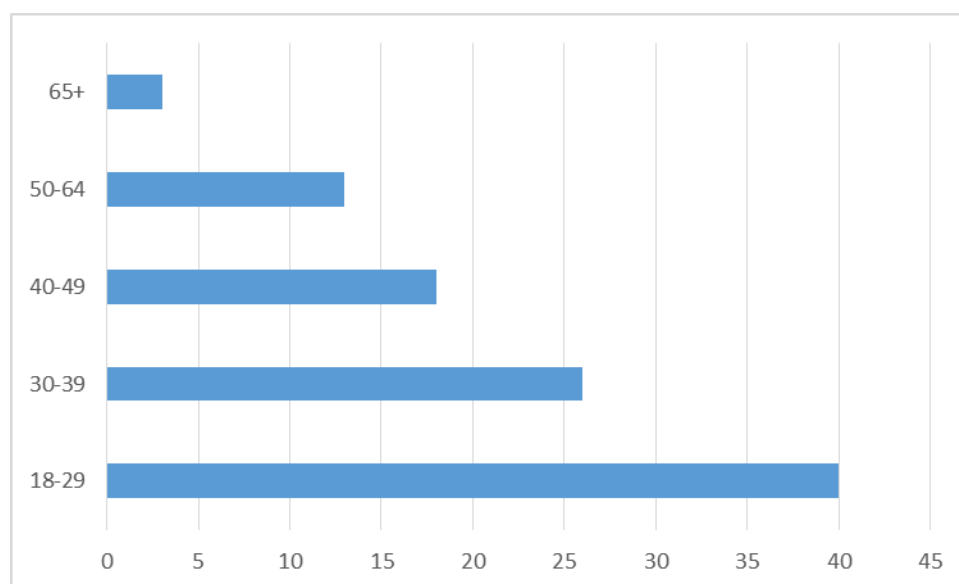
Mitchell's Plain magisterial district formed the geographic base of the survey. At that time it was home to more than two-thirds of the African and a fifth of the coloured population of Cape Town. It was chosen because it had a relatively high unemployment rate and encompassed four African townships (Khayelitsha, Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga) as well as some informal settlements (Crossroads and Browns Farm). The main purpose of the survey was to obtain data on labour market issues.

Data was collected in 2000 and produced information for just over 1 000 households and 5 000 individuals. Of the 3 110 adults recorded on the household roster, only 2 644 adult questionnaires were returned (response rate of 85%). The migration history and labour market status of these individuals form the basis of the analysis that follows. (Saldru *et al*, 2003:1-4).

3.1 Demographic features study population

The sampled population contained significantly more women than men (57% female) and far more people designated 'African' (70%) than 'Coloured' (29%). In terms of age, the mode was 18-29 years of age (40%) followed by 30-39 years (26%) and progressively declined until the 65+ age category (3%). Exactly two thirds (66%) had a highest level of education of Standard Six or Grade Eight and above. (See Ziehl, 2016 and Ziehl et al, 2016).

Figure 1: Age distribution (% 18+) for KMPS 2000



Only a third (33%) of the sample population was born in Cape Town and a further 5% in the Western Cape compared with 57% who were born in the Eastern Cape. A very small proportion was born elsewhere in South Africa (5%) or in a foreign country (0.2%).

Table 5: Place of birth, KMPS 2000

Birth Place	N	Percent		Cape Town	Western Cape
Cape Town	773	33%		Non-Migrant 33%	Non-migrant 38%
Other W. Cape	125	5%		Migrant 77%	Migrant 62%
Eastern Cape	1312	57%			
Other Province	106	5%			
Not SA	6	0%			
Total	2322	100%			

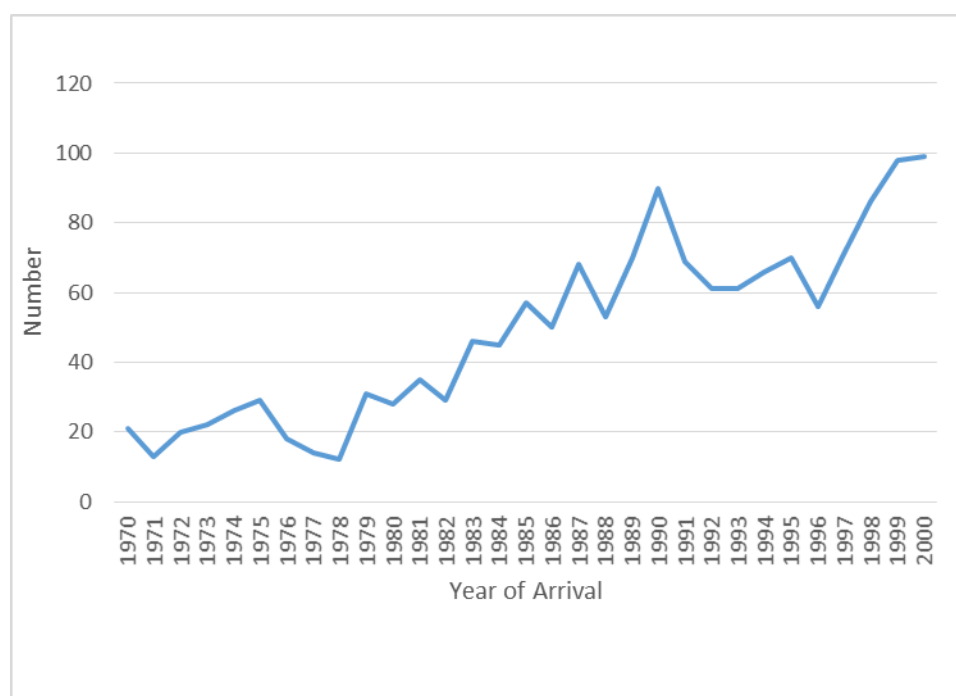
Source: Own Calculations from KMP Data at Data First (STATA).

If a non-migrant is defined as someone who was born in Cape Town, then 77% of the population were migrants. If birth in the Western Cape is taken as the criterion, then this figure drops to 62%. The first definition is used in the rest of this analysis.

3.2 Migration history

Of those not born in Cape Town, the vast majority (79%) moved to the city in or before 1996 (Q b6). The figure below shows the number of migrants who first arrived in Cape Town for each year from 1970 to 2000. It shows an overall increase in in-migrants over the period. It also shows a decline from 1975 to 1985, followed by a more or less steady increase until 1990, a sharp drop until 1996 and a sharp increase thereafter.

Figure 2: Year first arrived in Cape Town



The table below shows the year of first arrival grouped into periods. It shows that about half (45%) of those who moved to Cape Town, did so in the post 1990 period.

Table 6: Period moved to Cape Town

Period	N	%	Cum%
1883-1950	31	2%	2%
1951-1960	45	3%	5%
1961-1970	84	5%	10%
1971-1980	213	13%	23%
1981-1990	543	33%	56%
1991-2001	738	45%	100%
	1654	100%	
NA	674		
Other	4		
Total	2332		

Those born in rural areas (1 271) were asked to indicate the name of the first township or suburb they moved to stay in. Answers to this question give an indication not only of migration patterns but of routes to urbanisation. The data show that the vast majority of previous rural dwellers (79%) moved directly to Cape Town. Less than 3% first moved to another area in the Western Cape and only about 7% first moved to another part of the Eastern Cape.

Table 7: First place since rural area

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. Cape Town white and coloured suburbs	106	8	8
2. Cape Town old African Townships	365	29	37
3. Khayelitsha informal settlements	527	42	79
4. Other areas in Western Cape	36	3	81
5. Ciskei	12	0.9	82
6. Transkei	23	2	84
7. Other areas in Eastern Cape	51	4	88
8. KwaZulu/Natal	15	1	89
9. Free State	14	1	90
10. Northern Cape	3	0.2	90
11. Gauteng	77	6	97
12. Other and unidentifiable	42	3	100
Total	1 271	100	
Source: Own calculations from Recoded values for qb4 -Saldru UCT: What is the name of the first township or suburb you moved to stay in?			

When focussing on those who previously lived in the Eastern Cape, the pattern is exactly the same since the vast majority of previous rural dwellers (94%) came from the Eastern Cape.

3.3 First type of accommodation in Cape Town

Those born in rural areas were asked to identify the type of accommodation they occupied when they or their household first moved to live in a township or a suburb (Qb5, pg 9 of

Adult questionnaire). About a fifth (20%) moved in with a family already occupying a formal house, 45% moved to a shack of some kind and 3% to a back yard dwelling made of brick. Together, these account for 70% of the types of accommodation used upon first arrival in the city. A significant proportion (16%) moved into a hostel while a very small percentage rented their own formal house (5%). It should not be surprising to discover that female arrivals were more likely to move into an existing family home (23% vs 14%) while males were more likely to live in hostels (26% vs 9%).

Figure 3: Accommodation on arrival in Cape Town

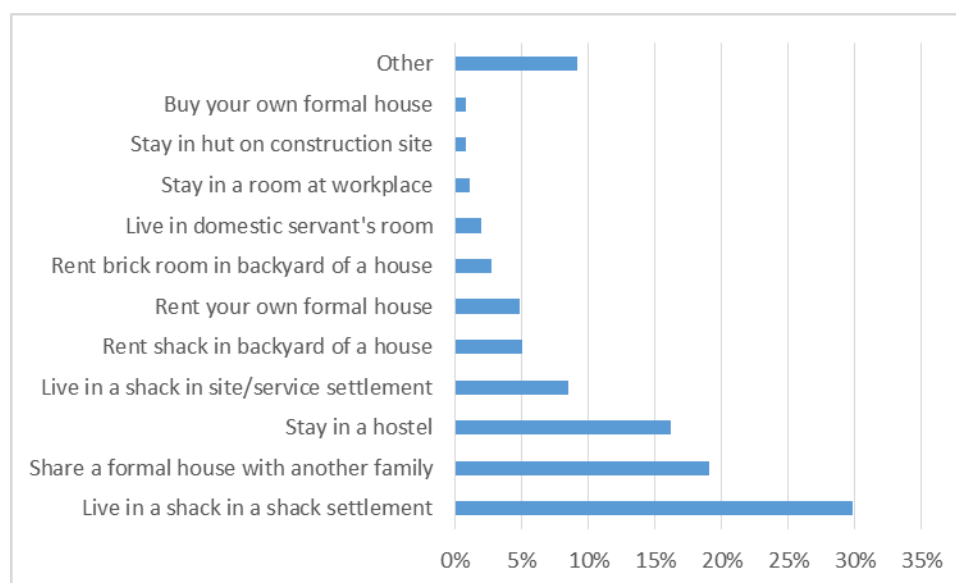


Table 8: First dwelling by gender

	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1. Rent your own formal house	26	38	64	5%	5%	5%
2. Share a formal house	80	173	253	14%	23%	19%
3. Rent brick room in back yard	15	21	36	3%	3%	3%
4. Rent shack in back yard	24	43	67	4%	6%	5%
5. Live in a shack in shack settlement	162	234	396	29%	31%	30%
6. Live shack in site settlement	40	73	113	7%	10%	9%
7. Live in domestic servant's room	6	20	26	1%	3%	2%
8. Stay in a hostel	150	65	215	26%	9%	16%
9. Stay in a room at workplace	10	5	15	2%	1%	1%
10. Stay in hut on construction site	4	7	11	1%	1%	1%
11. Buy your own formal house	4	6	10	1%	1%	1%
996. Other	46	76	122	8%	10%	9%
Total	567	761	1328	100%	100%	100%
Pearson chi2(11); = 90.548; 9 Pr = 0.0 0						

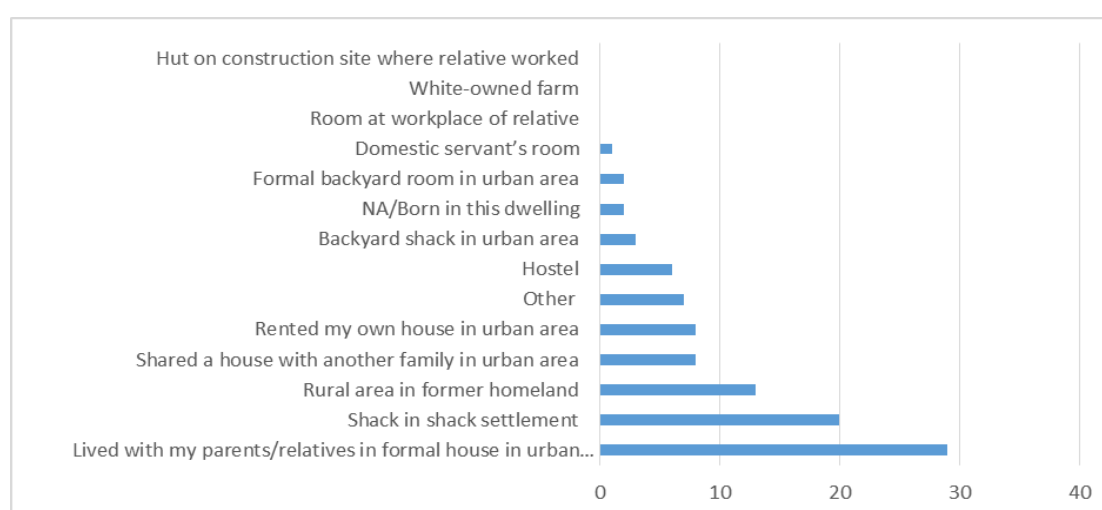
Question b8 asked: “What is the last type of place that you lived in before you moved to stay in this dwelling?”

Table 9: Place before present dwelling

		N	%	Cum. %
0	NA/Born in this dwelling	53	2.17	2.17
1	Lived with my parents/relatives in formal house in urban area	702	28.71	30.88
2	Rented my own house in urban area	194	7.93	38.81
3	Shared a house with another family in urban area	205	8.38	47.20
4	Formal backyard room in urban area	36	1.47	48.67
5	Backyard shack in urban area	83	3.39	52.07
6	Shack in shack settlement	487	19.92	71.98
7	Domestic servant’s room	29	1.19	73.17
8	Hostel	154	6.30	79.47
9	Room at workplace of relative	12	0.49	79.96
10	Hut on construction site where relative worked	1	0.04	80.00
11	White-owned farm	12	0.49	80.49
12	Rural area in former homeland	318	13.01	93.50
996	Other	159	6.50	100.00
	Total	2,445	100.00	

About 40% moved from a house in the city they shared with relatives (1&3) while 20% moved from a shack settlement. Only 13% moved to their present dwelling from a rural area. This means that although it is the statistical norm to move directly from a rural area to the city, there is also a significant amount of change in dwellings once in the city. The figure below presents the types of accommodation in order of frequency.

Figure 4: Accommodation before present dwelling



The response categories used for capturing data on the reasons for leaving the previous dwelling were problematic as just under half of responses were captured as ‘other’.

Table 10 Reasons for leaving previous dwelling

		Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	NA/Born in this dwelling	73	3.06	3.06
1	I married recently and did not want to continue living in my parents' home	97	4.06	7.12
2	Married recently and wanted my own place	237	9.92	17.04
3	Tired of sharing a house with another family	255	10.68	27.72
4	Was tired of renting a shack in someone's backyard	48	2.01	29.73
5	Evicted by owner	42	1.76	31.49
6	I could no longer afford to pay the rent	22	0.92	32.41
7	Family not allowed to live with me there	27	1.13	33.54
8	I was retrenched or fired from my job	12	0.50	34.05
9	My wages were too low	12	0.50	34.55
10	I went on pension (and could not afford to live there)	3	0.13	34.67
11	Violence/crime	83	3.48	38.15
12	Left my job/was fired and moved here to find work	104	4.36	42.50
13	I wanted to move closer to my place of education	119	4.98	47.49
14	Forcibly removed by apartheid government	85	3.56	51.05
15	NA/Non-response	5	0.21	51.26
996	Other	1,164	48.74	100.00
Total		2,388	100.00	

The results shown above have been combined with an analysis of those captured as 'other' and presented in terms of five categories: 'Family', 'Work', 'Education', 'Political/Violence' and desire for 'Own Home' in table below. It is acknowledged that these categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. However, the use of fewer categories allows for an easier interpretation of the data.

Table 11: Reasons for moving re-categorised

Family 1	589	Family	834	36%
Family 2	245	Work	319	13%
	834	Education	131	5%
Work 1	201	Political/Violence	115	5%
Work 2	118	Own Home	381	16%
	319	Sub Total	2 388	75%
Education 1	119			
Education 2	12			
	131			
Political/Violence 1	112			
Political/Violence 2	3			
	115			
Own Home 1	255			
Own Home 2	126			
	381			
1 = Original Categorisation; 2 = Categorisation of 'other' specified. N= 2388				

This re-categorisation shows that family-related reasons are the mode, accounting for over a third of responses (36%), followed by the desire for an own home (16%) and work-related reasons (13%).

3.4 School Attendance and Migrant Status

A very small proportion of those interviewed (7%) were still at school and there is no difference whatsoever by migration status.

Table 12: School attendance

	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Non-Migrant	56	764	820	7%	93%	100%
Migrant	120	1 544	1 664	7%	93%	100%
Total	176	2 308	2 484	7%	93%	100%

However, when the data is broken down by the specific area of origin, those born outside Cape Town but in the Western Cape and outside South Africa were significantly less likely to be at school (0% and 1% vs 7%) while those born in the Eastern Cape were most likely to still be at school (8%).

Table 13: School Attendance by place of birth

Place Birth	School Attendance (Full Time)					
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Cape Town	56	764	820	7%	93%	100%
WC	1	125	126	1%	99%	100%
EC	115	1 307	1 422	8%	92%	100%
SA	4	106	110	4%	96%	100%
Not SA	0	6	6	0%	100%	100%
Total	176	2 308	2 484	7%	93%	100%

4. Labour market status and migrant status KMPS

Working with different scenarios in terms of definitions of labour force participation and also questions on the questionnaire used to classify labour market status, Natrass presents two versions of labour market status population covered by the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey. She calls these the original and looser approaches to labour market status.

Table 14: Labour market status

	Original		Looser	
Employed	1 127	47%	1 219	47%
Unemployed	972	41%	1 052	41%
Non-Labour Force Participants	301	13%	309	12%
Total	2 400	100%	2 580	100%
Source: Saldru et al, 2003: 69.				

While the application of these two approaches alters the numbers of individuals with a labour market status and increases the number of employed and unemployed persons, it does not alter the proportions. We therefore note that just under half (47%) were employed, 41% were unemployed and about 12% were not economically active.

4.1 Methodology

Respondents who were not attending school were asked: “What proportion of your weekdays since leaving school have you been working, looking for work, or doing domestic duties/child care or other things?” (D2). Eight response categories with Likert-style options ranging from “almost all of the time” to “none of the time” were provided. For present purposes, ‘almost all of the time’ to ‘some of the time’ have been combined under ‘Yes’ and ‘none of the time’ under ‘No’. These have then been cross tabulated with migrant status (place of birth).

4.2 Wage employment

As can be noted from the table below, migrants were less likely than non-migrants to be employed in wage work (62% vs 78%).

Table 15: Wage work by migrant status

Migrant Status	Wage Work					
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Non-Migrant	605	168	773	78%	22%	100%
Migrant	962	587	1549	62%	38%	100%
Total	1567	755	2322	67%	33%	100%

When broken down by place of birth, we notice that those born in the Eastern Cape were significantly less likely to be in wage employment than those born in the Western Cape (59% vs 84%). Individuals not born in South Africa were least likely to be in wage employment.

Table 16: Regular wage work by place of birth

Birth Place	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1. Cape Town	605	168	773	78%	22%	100%
2. Other Western Cape	105	20	125	84%	16%	100%
3. Eastern Cape	771	541	1312	59%	41%	100%
4. Other Province	84	22	106	79%	21%	100%
9. Not SA	2	4	6	33%	67%	100%
Total	1567	755	2322	67%	33%	100%

4.3 Casual Work

Migrants were slightly less likely than non-migrants to be involved in casual work (4% difference).

Table 17: Casual work by migrant status

Casual Work	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Non-migrant	341	426	767	44%	56%	100%
Migrant	624	917	1541	40%	60%	100%
Total	965	1 343	2 308	42%	58%	100%

Table 18: Casual work by place of birth

Place Birth	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1. Cape Town	341	426	767	44%	56%	100%
2. Other WC	54	68	122	44%	56%	100%
3. Eastern Cape	526	781	1 307	40%	60%	100%
4. Other SA	43	63	106	41%	59%	100%
5. Not SA	1	5	6	17%	83%	100%
	965	1 343	2 308	42%	58%	100%

When broken down by place of birth we notice that this difference is accounted for almost exclusively by the very low proportion of foreigners who were involved in casual work (17%).

4.4 Self-employed

Migrants were almost twice as likely as non-migrants to be self-employed.

Table 19: Self-employed by migrant etatus

Self-Employed	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Non-migrant	81	682	763	11%	89%	100%
Migrant	300	1236	1536	20%	80%	100%
Total	381	1918	2299	17%	83%	100%

Those born in the Eastern Cape were the most likely to work for themselves (21% vs 7%). Foreigners were also more likely than Cape Town born individuals to be self-employed.

Table 20: Self-employed by place of birth

Birth Place	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
1. Cape Town	81	682	763	11%	89%	100%
2. Other WC	9	112	121	7%	93%	100%
3. EC	274	1030	1304	21%	79%	100%
4. Other SA	16	89	105	15%	85%	100%
5. Not SA	1	5	6	17%	83%	100%
Total	381	1918	2299	17%	83%	100%

4.5 Family business

Migrants were slightly less likely to be part of family businesses or a family farm than non-migrants (4% difference).

Table 21: Family business by migrant status

Family Business	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Non-migrant	43	717	760	6%	94%	100%
Migrant	156	1 373	1 529	10%	90%	100%
Total	199	2 090	2 289	9%	91%	100%

On the other hand, those born outside South Africa were far more likely than the locally born to be involved in a family business. This difference is particularly stark when the foreign born are compared to those born in Cape Town or the Eastern Cape (33% vs. 6%).

Table 22: Family business by place of birth

	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
CT	43	717	760	6%	94%	100%
WC	7	115	122	6%	94%	100%
EC	135	1 161	1 296	10%	90%	100%
SA	12	93	105	11%	89%	100%
Not SA	2	4	6	33%	67%	100%
Total	199	2 090	2 289	9%	91%	100%

4.6 Work seeking

Migrants were more likely than non-migrants to be looking for work (8% difference).

Table 23: Looking for work by migrant status

	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Non-migrant	410	351	761	54%	46%	100%
Migrant	955	579	1534	62%	38%	100%
Total	1365	930	2295	59%	41%	100%

However, foreign born individuals were far less likely to be job seekers (17%) than others, particularly those born in the Eastern Cape (63%).

Table 24: Looking for work by place of birth

	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
CT	410	351	761	54%	46%	100%
WC	75	47	122	61%	39%	100%
EC	817	485	1302	63%	37%	100%
SA	62	42	104	60%	40%	100%
Not SA	1	5	6	17%	83%	100%
Total	1365	930	2295	59%	41%	100%

4.7 Domestic work

Migrants were more likely to be involved in domestic work than non-migrants (5% difference).

Table 25: Domestic work by migrant status

	Yes	No	Total
Non-migrant	218	542	760
Migrant	519	986	1505
Total	737	1528	2265
Non-migrant	29%	71%	100%
Migrant	34%	66%	100%
Total	33%	67%	100%

As is to be expected, females were more likely to be engaged in domestic work than males (32% difference). While a three-way analysis (gender, migrant status and domestic work) has not been done, it is to be expected that female migrants would be more engaged in domestic labour than male migrants.

Table 26: Domestic work by gender

	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	137	603	740	14%	46%	33%
No	818	716	1534	86%	54%	67%
Total	955	1319	2274	100%	100%	100%

4.8 Employment, unemployment and labour force participation

Jakoet (2006) has combined all forms of employment, unemployment and non-labour force participation in the KMPS in one analysis. As can be noted below, her findings are the same as those above for the various forms of employment presented individually: Migrants are less likely to be in wage employment but more likely to be in self and casual employment than non-migrants. (The percentages for the latter are low and the differences few).

Table 27: Labour force status, KMPS

	Migrant	Non-M	Migrant	Non-M	
Employed	N	N	%	%	
Wage	515	334	33	42	-9%
Self	158	44	10	6	4%
Casual	47	17	3	2	1%
Unemployed					
Actively Seeking	326	107	21	14	7%
Network searching	111	57	7	7	0%
Marginally unemployed	257	119	16	15	1%
Not Economically Active	157	114	10	14	-4%
Total	1571	792	100	100	
Source: Jakoet, 2006:11 (modified).					

Given the distinction drawn above between those actively seeking work and those not, we can present the data in terms of the two major definitions of unemployment.

Table 28: Labour force status by migrant status

	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	
	N	N	%	%	Difference
Employed	720	395	46	50	-4
Unemployed (active seeker)	326	107	21	14	7
Unemployed (other)	368	176	23	22	1
Unemployed (all)	694	283	44	36	8
Not EA	157	114	10	14	-4
Total	1571	792	100	100	
Source: Jakoet, 2006:11 (modified).					

Here we note that the differences between migrants and non-migrants in terms of unemployment is almost exclusively accounted for by the fact that migrants are more likely to be actively seeking work than non-migrants (7% difference vs 1% difference). This further corresponds to the finding that migrants are more likely to be economically active (work or want to work) than non-migrants (4% difference).

This is partly though not exclusively accounted for by the fact that migrants are, on average, younger than non-migrants and are therefore better represented in the economically active age category (15 to 64) than non-migrants.

Table 29: Migrant status by age

	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Difference
18-22	255	183	15%	22%	-7%
23-29	398	167	24%	20%	4%
30-39	476	188	28%	22%	6%
40-49	289	163	17%	19%	-2%
50-64	211	113	12%	14%	-1%
65+	62	22	4%	3%	1%
Total	1691	836	100%	100%	

While migrants are better represented in the 65+ age category than non-migrants, the difference is minor compared to that which applies to the 23-29 and 30-39 age categories (4 to 6%).

4.9 Comparison with previous research

There are some important differences and similarities between these findings and those of previous studies. Whereas Naidoo et al (2008) and Budlender (2014) found that migrants were more likely to be employed than non-migrants, the KMP study showed migrants to be less likely to be employed than non-migrants. The difference here is, however, small (4%).

Budlender found that migrants were less likely to be unemployed using the strict definition whereas Naidoo et al found that they were more likely to be unemployed using the expanded definition. In the KMP survey migrants were more likely to be unemployed using either of the definitions. The difference was almost the same for each definition as migrants were more likely to be actively looking for work and to be economically active (working or looking for work) than non-migrants.

Table 30: Labour force status, expanded definition, KMPS

	Migrant	Non-Migrant	Difference
Employed	46	50	-4
Unemployed: Active seekers, network seekers and marginally unemployed.	44	36	8
Not Economically Active	10	14	-4
	100	100	0

Table 31: Labour force status, strict definition, KMPS

	Migrant	Non-Migrant	Difference
Employed	46	50	-4
Unemployed: Active seekers only.	21	14	7
Not Economically Active	33	36	-3
	100	100	0

5. Census 2001

Data from the 10% sample of Census 2001 have been used to determine the relationship between migration and employment status for the Western Cape as a whole. A migrant is defined as someone who was present in the Western Cape in October 2001 but was born elsewhere. This category is further broken down by the specific place of origin: ‘Eastern Cape’; ‘Other Province in South Africa’ or ‘Foreign Country’.

5.1 Working

StatsSA defines working persons as “those aged 15 - 64 years who, during the reference week, did any work for at least one hour, or had a job or business but were not at work (temporarily absent)” (StatsSA, 2016:22). Below, responses to the question of whether the person was working or not have been cross tabulated with migration status for the population as a whole. The question was posed to those aged 10 years and older.

Table 32: Working by migrant status

	Non-Migrant	Migrant	Total
Yes	1 056 213	433 690	1 489 904
Not Now	10 007	8 437	18 445
No	1 574 395	621 278	2 195 673
NA	725 054	84 131	809 185
Total	3 365 669	1 147 537	4 513 206
	Non-Migrant	Migrant	Total
Yes	31%	38%	33%
Not Now	0%	1%	0%
No	47%	54%	49%
NA	22%	7%	18%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Recently Employed: Any work in the seven days before 10 October; Not Now: Has work but was temporarily absent; Not applicable: Aged under 10 years. Source: Own Calculations from 10% Sample of Census 2001 (Nesstar). Accessed 14 July 2016.			

It will be noted that migrants were more likely to be working *and* to be ‘not working’ than non-migrants (difference of 7% in each case). It is important to note, though, that not all ‘not working’ people are officially or unofficially ‘unemployed’ as only some of them wish to work and can therefore be classified as ‘economically active’.

5.2 Employment status

The classification of individuals as ‘unemployed’ falls under the heading of ‘employment status’ and refers to the strict definition only (excludes those not actively seeking work).

“**Unemployed** persons are those (aged 15-64) who: a) were not employed in the reference week; **and** b) actively looked for work or tried to start a business in the four weeks preceding the survey interview; **and** c) were available for work i.e. would have been able to start work or a business in the reference week; **or** d) had not actively looked for work in the past four weeks but had a job or business to start at a definite date in the future and were available” (StatsSA, 2016:xxi) (emphasis in original).

Table 33: Employment status by migrant status (strict definition)

Employment status (official definition)	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total
NA	1 237 395	213 472	1 450 867	37%	19%	32%
Employed	1 054 921	436 889	1 491 810	31%	38%	33%
Unemployed	295 413	229 707	525 119	9%	20%	12%
Not economically active	777 940	267 469	1 045 409	23%	23%	23%
N=	3 365 669	1 147 532	4 513 201	100%	100%	100%
NA: Under 15 or over 64 years.						

The same pattern is observed as in the case of working: Migrants are more likely to be employed and unemployed. The difference is however much greater in the case of unemployed (11% difference). This suggests that migrants are more likely to be wanting to work and looking for work than non-migrants.

Table 34: Employment Status by migrant status (expanded definition)

	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total
NA (-15, 64+)	1 237 395	213 472	1 450 867
Employed	1 054 921	436 889	1 491 810
Unemployed	347 663	256 209	603 871
Not economically active	725 690	240 967	966 657
N=	3 365 669	1 147 531	4 513 200
	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total
NA (-15, 64+)	37%	19%	32%
Employed	31%	38%	33%
Unemployed	10%	22%	13%
Not economically active	22%	21%	21%
N=	100%	100%	100%
Weight: Population weight(s); NA: Under 15 or over 64 years.			

In the last few tables the base has been the population of the Western Cape as a whole (all ages). We note, though that the proportion of non-migrants that fall outside the age category where people are normally working (15-64) is larger than it is in the case of non-migrants (37% vs 19%). When we remove these individuals from the calculation, a different pattern emerges: Migrants are less likely to be employed than non-migrants (47% vs 50%). The other features of the pattern remain: migrants more likely to be unemployed and to be economically active than non-migrants. (See Also Figure in Appendix: Migrant Status by Age).

Table 35: Census 2001: employment and migrant status for 15 to 64 only

	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total
Employed	1 054 921	436 889	1 491 810
Unemployed	347 663	256 209	603 871
Not economically active	725 690	240 967	966 657
N=	2 128 274	934 065	3 062 338
	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total
Employed	50%	47%	49%
Unemployed	16%	27%	20%
Not economically active	34%	26%	32%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Weight: Population weight(s); NA: Under 15 or over 64 years.			

5.3 Work status

Data on ‘work status’ refers to the type of employment an individual engages in. Here we note migrants are more likely to be paid employees (difference 4%); self-employed (2%) and employers (1%), than non-migrants. They were also more likely to be economically active (7% difference) than non-migrants.

Table 36: Work status by migrant status

Place of birth	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total
Work status						
Paid employee	960 888	376 950	1 337 838	29%	33%	30%
Paid family worker	22 730	6 525	29 255	1%	1%	1%
Self-Employed	66 717	49 484	116 201	2%	4%	3%
Employer	12 281	7 299	19 581	0%	1%	0%
Unpaid family worker	3 604	1 869	5 473	0%	0%	0%
Not applicable (unemployed or not economically active)	2 299 449	705 409	3 004 858	68%	61%	67%
N=	3 365 669	1 147 537	4 513 206	100%	100%	100%
Weight: Population weight(s).						
Not applicable: unemployed or not economically active.						

5.4 Available to work

Another question to consider is whether the person is available to work and if so, the period of time within which they are available. Below, responses ranging from ‘available within one week’ to ‘sometime after 4 weeks’ have been combined under ‘yes’.

Table 37: Available to work

	Non-Migrant	Migrant	Total
Availability			
Yes	516 023	309 874	825 896
Does not choose to work	1 058 372	259 670	1 318 042
Not applicable	1 791 275	470 593	2 261 867
Total	3 365 669	1 040 136	4 405 806
Availability			
Yes	15%	30%	19%
Does not choose to work	31%	25%	30%
Not applicable	53%	45%	51%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Here we note that migrants were twice as likely as non-migrants to be available to work (30% vs 15%) and a lower percentage chose not to work (25% vs 31%).

5.5 Looking for work

Migrants were also twice as likely as non-migrants to have taken active steps to look for work (25% vs 12%). The specific question was, if the person was not working, have they taken active steps to find employment in the last four weeks. For example, the person “went to visit factories or other employment places, placed or answered advertisements, looked for land or a building or equipment to start own business or farm.”ⁱⁱⁱ

Table 38: Actively seeking work by migrant status

Place of birth	Non-Migrant	Migrant	Total
Active steps			
Yes	413 293	281 467	694 760
No	1 161 101	339 812	1 500 913
Not applicable	1 791 275	526 258	2 317 533
N=	3 365 669	1 147 537	4 513 206
	Non-Migrant	Migrant	Total
Yes	12%	25%	15%
No	34%	30%	33%
Not applicable	53%	46%	51%
N=	100%	100%	100%
NA: Under 10 years of age.			

This was particularly the case when those born in the Eastern Cape were compared to those born in the Western Cape (more than 20% difference).

Table 39: Actively seeking work by place of birth

Place of birth	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Other Province	Not SA	Total
Active steps					
Yes	413 293	248 847	26 960	5 660	694 760
No	1 161 101	175 267	118 471	46 075	1 500 913
Not applicable	1 791 275	302 812	167 780	55 666	2 317 533
N =	3 365 669	726 926	313 211	107 400	4 513 206
Place of birth	WC	EC	Other Province	Not SA	Total
Yes	12%	34%	9%	5%	15%
No	34%	24%	38%	43%	33%
Not applicable	53%	42%	54%	52%	51%
N=	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

5.6 Reasons for not working

Migrants were twice as likely as non-migrants to mention ‘could not find work’ as the reason for not working (24% vs 11%).

Table 40: Reasons for not working by migrant status

Place of birth	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total
Reason why not working			
Scholar or Student	596 361	162 493	758 854
Home-maker or housewife	194 076	48 981	243 057
Pensioner or retired person/too old to work	231 734	92 039	323 774
Unable to work due to illness or disability	76 684	18 020	94 704
Seasonal worker not working presently	31 594	8 666	40 260
Does not choose to work	68 678	20 760	89 438
Could not find work	375 266	270 320	645 586
Not applicable	1 791 275	526 258	2 317 533
N=	3 365 669	1 147 536	4 513 206
Place of birth			
Reason why not working	Non-migrant	Migrant	Total
Scholar or Student	18%	14%	17%
Home-maker or housewife	6%	4%	5%
Pensioner or retired person/too old to work	7%	8%	7%
Unable to work due to illness or disability	2%	2%	2%
Seasonal worker not working presently	1%	1%	1%
Does not choose to work	2%	2%	2%
Could not find work	11%	24%	14%
Not applicable	53%	46%	51%
	100%	100%	100%

Again, this was particularly the case when those born in the Eastern Cape were compared to those born in the Western Cape (33% vs 11%).

Table 41: Reasons for not working by place of birth

Place of birth	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Other Province	Not SA	Total
Reason why not working					
Scholar or Student	18%	14%	17%	9%	17%
Home-maker or housewife	6%	3%	7%	8%	5%
Pensioner or retired person/too old to work	7%	4%	12%	23%	7%
Unable to work due to illness or disability	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%
Seasonal worker not working presently	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Does not choose to work	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%
Could not find work	11%	33%	7%	5%	14%
Not applicable	53%	42%	54%	52%	51%
N=	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

6. KPMS and Census 2001

The 2001 Census findings do not confirm the KPMS finding that migrants are less likely to be employed than non-migrants. Rather, they support the findings of Naidoo *et al* (2008) as well as Budlender (2014) in that 38% of the migrant WC population was employed compared to only 31% of non-migrants. Census 2001 confirms the findings of the KMP survey with respect to unemployment. Migrants were significantly more likely to be unemployed than non-migrants. The respective figures are 20% vs 9% using the strict definition and 22% vs 10% using the expanded definition.

While KPMS showed migrants to be more economically active than non-migrants (74% vs 66%), Census 2001 for the Western Cape shows no differences (23% in both cases).

Because the studies discussed above are based on different populations/geographic areas, they do not allow for exact comparisons. The KPMS is for one magisterial district within the Western Cape, the Census 2001 data for the Western Cape as a whole, Naidoo *et al* (2008) present data for both local and international migrants for South Africa as a whole and for movement from EC to WC but for Blacks only whereas Budlender (2012) presents data for South Africa as whole but focusses mainly on the distinction between immigrants and locally born. To obviate these problems and to document the historical trend, migration and employment status data for the Western Cape for local and international migrants and using the expanded definition of unemployment are presented below.

7. Census 2001 and Census 2011

The table below presents the results of the 10% sample of Census 2011 with respect to migrant and employment status for those aged 15 to 64 years. It shows that migrants were more likely than non-migrants to be employed (7% difference); unemployed (4% difference) and economically active (10% difference).

Table 42: Census 2011, employment status by migrant status

Province of place of birth	Non-migrant	Migrant	DNK	Unspecified	Total
Expanded Definition of Unemployment					
Employed	1 246 952	736 396	1 459	24 612	2 009 419
Unemployed	504 512	315 186	143	13 594	833 435
Not economically active	774 344	275 119	247	13 725	1 063 436
N=	2 525 808	1 326 698	1 848	51 931	3 906 285
	Non-migrant	Migrant	DNK	Unspecified	Total
Employed	49%	56%	79%	47%	51%
Unemployed	20%	24%	8%	26%	21%
Not economically active	31%	21%	13%	26%	27%
N=	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Data excludes those under 15 and over 64 years of age.					

Table 43: Census 2011, Employment status, local and international migrants

	Non-Migrant	Local Migrant	Immigrant	Total
	WC	OP	Not SA	Total
Employed	49%	53%	67%	51%
Unemployed	20%	26%	14%	21%
NEA	31%	21%	19%	27%
N=	100%	100%	100%	100%

NEA: Not Economically Active. OP: Other Province.
Source: Own calculations from Stats SA website, Nesstar, 10% Accessed 16 August 2016. Data excludes those under 15 and over 64 years of age.

As found by Budlender from Labour Force Survey 2012 for South Africa as a whole (see Table 46 in appendix), Census 2011 shows that immigrants to the Western Cape have the highest rate of employment followed by local migrants and then non-migrants. The same pattern applies, but in reverse, for the (expanded) unemployment rate. These data also show that immigrants were most likely to be economically active, followed by local migrants and then those born in the Western Cape.

When these findings are compared to those for 2001 we note that employment among migrants (all) has increased (by 9%); unemployment has declined (by 3%) and labour force participation has increased (by 5%). In the case of non-migrants, the employment rate has remained more or less the same while the unemployment rate has increased (4%) and labour force participation has also increased (by 3%).

Table 44: Census 2001 and 2011

	Non-migrant		Migrant		Total	
	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
Employed	50%	49%	47%	56%	49%	51%
Unemployed	16%	20%	27%	24%	20%	21%
Not economically active	34%	31%	26%	21%	32%	27%
N=	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

2001: Weight: Population weight(s); 2011: Weight: Person 10% sample weight. Excluding NA; NA (-15, 64+);
2001: n=1 450 867. 2011: Excl DNK and Unspec = 53 779.

Another way of looking at these figures is to say that whereas in 2001 migrants were less likely to be employed than non-migrants, the opposite was true in 2011. Similarly, whereas the unemployment rate among migrants exceeded that for non-migrants by 11% in 2001, this difference had reduced to 4% by 2011. In 2001, labour force participation among migrants exceeded that of non-migrants by 8% and by 2011 this difference had increased to 10%.

8. Conclusion

This paper has relied on only one definition of migrant: someone who was not born in the place where they resided at the time of the study. There is therefore room for further analysis using the concept of 'recent migration' (individuals who moved into an area five or ten years before the study). Another limitation of this paper is that it has not dealt with occupations or sectors of employment. No information has therefore been given on whether migrants are

more likely to be found in low or high skilled jobs, with one exception. The data presented above shows that migrants were more likely to be engaged in self and casual employment and therefore to be better represented in the informal sector than non-migrants. The above data also do not pertain to whether migrants are more or less likely to be employed in the government or private sectors. There is room for further analysis here too.

This paper has shown that, because of their age, migrants are more likely to be economically active than non-migrants. This further means that they are also more likely to be both unemployed and employed when compared to non-migrants. These findings correspond to the view that migration is primarily motivated by the desire for employment or for better jobs.

We should be wary, though, of approaching migration in wholly 'economistic' terms. We know that age correlates with the family life cycle and older people are more likely to be married, have children and feel more settled in their communities than younger people. We also know that family dynamics in an African environment are significantly different to those characteristic of Western societies and that family ties are a resource individuals draw on and to which they contribute. There is therefore also room for much more research on the impact of family needs and opportunities in the motivation to migrate - particularly in the case of children. Migration studies that focus primarily on children and on non-economic motivations to migrate would be a valuable adjunct to existing migration studies.

References

- African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS). Wits University. Launch of Xenowatch. 10 August 2-16. <https://www.wits.ac.za/events-archive/2016/launch-of-xenowatch-monitoring-xenophobic-violence-in-south-africa.html>. Access 12 August 2016.
- Budlender, D. 2014. Executive Summary - Migration and Employment in South Africa: Statistical analysis of the migration module in the Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 3rd quarter 2012. Wits University. Miworc. www.miworc.org.za. Paper No 5.
- Human Rights Watch 2016 World Report 2016: South Africa. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/south-africa#28ab32>. Accessed 12 August 2016.
- ILO, International Labour Organisation. 2016. Online. Definitions https://www.ilo.org/ilostat/faces/home/statisticaldata/conceptsdefinitions?_afLoop=604264419745897#%40%3F_afLoop%3D604264419745897%26_adf.ctrl-state%3Dr3860ro5l_4 Accessed 27/7/2016.
- Jakoet, J. 2008. Assimilation of Immigrants to the Cape Town Labour Market. SALDRU Working Paper Number 06/03, University of Cape Town, September 2006.
- Naidoo, N.; Leibbrandt, M and Dorrington, R. 2008. Magnitudes, Personal Characteristics and Activities of Eastern Cape migrants: A comparison with other migrants and with non-migrants using data from 1996 and 2001 censuses. Southern African Journal of Demography. 11 (1) 29-66 (2008).
- Nattrass, N. Part "Unemployment and the Labour Force". In SALDRU *et al.* (2003) *Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey 2000. Survey report and baseline information.* Cape Town: UCT, pp 69-77.

- Nhate, V. 2003. Local and Migrant Labour in Khayelitsha: An Analysis of Labour Market Positions. Unpublished Honours Thesis, UCT School of Economics, Cape Town.
- SALDRU *et al.* (2003) *Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey 2000. Survey report and baseline information.* Cape Town: UCT.
- Statistics South Africa. 2012. Provinces at a Glance. Report No. 03-01-43. Pretoria: Government Printers.
- Statistics South Africa. 2016. Quarterly Labour Force Survey. Quarter 1. 2016. Statistical Release P0211. Pretoria: Government Printers.
- Walker, R. 2003. "Reservation wages – Measurement and Determinants: Evidence from the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain (KMPS) Survey. CSSR Working Paper No.38. August 2003.
- Ziehl, S.C. 2016 a. Reliability and Validity in Migration Studies – Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey; Provincial Government Survey and Census 2001. Working Paper. Under Review. SALDRU UCT. REDI Project.
- Ziehl, S.C. 2016b. How accurate is our migration data? Online. www.econ3x3.org. June 2016.
- Ziehl, S.C. 2015. Comparing Migration data from Post-Apartheid Censuses: The Case of the Western Cape. Submitted for publication. SIMA Journal

Appendix

Table 45: Comparison of previous research findings

	Naidoo <i>et al</i>				Budlender	
	1991-1996		1996 - 2001		2012	
	Non-Migrant	Migrant	Non-Migrant	Migrant	Non-Migrant	Migrant
Employed	17%	37%	17%	33%	37%	58%
Unemployed (expanded)	18%	21%	24%	27%		
Unemployed (strict)					36%	25%
LFP Rate	35%	58%	41%	60%	73%	83%
LFP: Labour Force participation rate. Aged 15 to 64 who are employed, unemployed and wanting to work.						

Figure 5: Census 2001 age by migrant status Western Cape

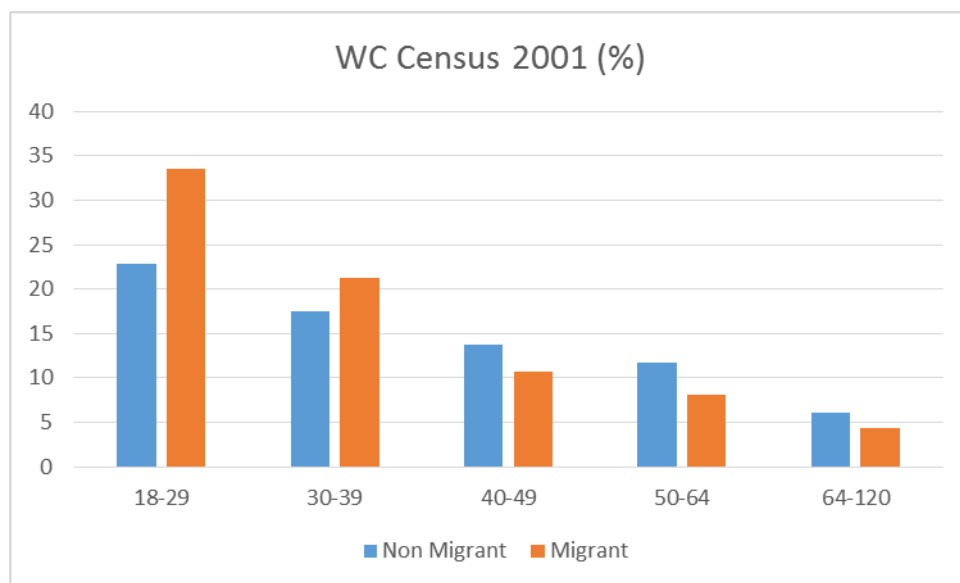


Table 46: Labour force status by local and international migrants

LFS 2012	Non-migrant	Migrant (local)	Immigrant	
	This Province	Other Province	Other Country	All
Employed	10 082 015	2 760 077	803 216	13 645 308
Unemployed	3 722 727	796 600	148 006	4 667 333
Discouraged	1 987 732	145 715	36 402	2 169 849
NEA	11 255 197	1 032 828	247 063	12 535 088
	27 047 672	4 735 219	1 234 688	33 017 579
Employed	37%	58%	65%	41%
Unemployed	14%	17%	12%	14%
Discouraged	7%	3%	3%	7%
NEA	42%	22%	20%	38%
	100%	100%	100%	100%
LFPR	51%	75%	77%	55%
Employed	37%	58%	65%	41%
Source: Budlender, 2014. Labour Force Survey 2012.				

The **Research Project on Employment, Income Distribution and Inclusive Growth (REDI3x3)** is a multi-year collaborative national research initiative. The project seeks to address South Africa's unemployment, inequality and poverty challenges.

It is aimed at deepening understanding of the dynamics of employment, incomes and economic growth trends, in particular by focusing on the interconnections between these three areas.

The project is designed to promote dialogue across disciplines and paradigms and to forge a stronger engagement between research and policy making. By generating an independent, rich and nuanced knowledge base and expert network, it intends to contribute to integrated and consistent policies and development strategies that will address these three critical problem areas effectively.

Collaboration with researchers at universities and research entities and fostering engagement between researchers and policymakers are key objectives of the initiative.

The project is based at SALDRU at the University of Cape Town and supported by the National Treasury.

Consult the website for further information.

Tel: (021) 650-5715

www.EDI3x3.org

