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Internal Migration and Poverty in KwaZulu-Natal: Findings from Censuses, Labour Force Surveys and Panel Data

by

Michael Rogan, Likani Lebani, and Nompumelelo Nzimande

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Internal Migration and Poverty in KwaZulu-Natal: Findings from Censuses, Labour Force Surveys and Panel Data

Michael Rogan, Likani Lebani, and Nompumelelo Nzimande¹

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¹ Researcher- School of Development Studies; Researcher- School of Development Studies; Lecturer-
School of Development Studies. <http://sds.ukzn.ac.za/>

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BACKGROUND

In a globalising world, the pace of human mobility has increased alongside flows of capital and goods. Regional integration and trade liberalisation have accompanied these trends and have, arguably, received more attention from both academic researchers and policymakers. Human movement, however, cannot be de-linked from other social and economic events and it is becoming critical to undertake research that identifies the links between human migration and these events.

In South Africa increases in both human and capital mobility have taken place in the context of deep historical processes affecting the movement and settlement patterns of the country's black majority. Concomitantly, data on the historical movements of people within South Africa is somewhat limited as black South Africans were largely excluded from censuses prior to 1996. As a result, there is a paucity of available data to compare patterns of mobility and settlement and their association with health status and poverty. Since 1992, however, various household surveys, labour force surveys, panel data sets and censuses have been conducted to address the gaps in demographic information.

While many of these data sources have not been designed to capture detailed information about migration flows in South Africa, using more than one data source can often provide a more nuanced picture of migration patterns. In particular, combining census data with data from localised panel surveys offers the potential to understand some of the causes and consequences of observable migration trends. Perhaps more importantly, however, conducting analyses of migration with multiple data sources allows for an empirical contribution to the growing body of literature arguing that migration patterns should not be studied separately from health, poverty, inequality and employment.

This report offers a provincial level analysis of migration and poverty in KwaZulu-Natal. Using available censuses, labour force surveys and panel data, the report details trends in migration unique to the province and the links that these migration flows have with several different measures of household well-being. It is hoped that the report will underscore the importance of analysing the 'inter-sections' between migration and other social and economic phenomena at an appropriate level of analysis.

1 Introduction

Migration in South Africa is often discussed in the context of the recent controversy surrounding the number of both legal and illegal immigrants crossing the country's borders. Internal migration in South Africa, however, seems to have received considerably less attention in both the popular media and in academic literature. Since the repeal of influx control laws and the associated freedom of movement for all people within South Africa after the end of apartheid, the expectation has been that patterns of internal migration would normalise. Perhaps the main assumption about the nature of post-apartheid internal migration has been that temporary labour migration would be replaced by permanent migration together with a strong trend towards urbanisation (Posel, 2003a). Recent studies have suggested, however, that labour migration has actually increased between 1993 and 1999 and that the feminisation of the work force has been contributing to the increase (Posel, 2003a, 2003b).

While it is evident that internal migration has important implications for health status, economic opportunity, and employment, the link between migration and household well-being has proven difficult to describe. Analyses of national household surveys have suggested that households with at least one migrant member are, on average, 'poorer' than non-migrant households (Posel and Casale, 2006). Similarly, some studies have shown that, while migrant households are slightly poorer than non-migrant households, they are generally not the poorest households (Pendleton et al., 2006; Posel and Casale, 2006). The importance of this distinction notwithstanding, there remains a need to understand the causal relationship between poverty and migration (Posel and Casale, 2006).

Several methodological issues appear to be preventing more analyses of migration in post-apartheid South Africa. Landau (2006), for example, argues that evidence on migration in Southern Africa is scarce due to a lack of demographers and 'migration specialists'. In terms of migration and health, Williams et al. (2002) note that there is still much to learn about the relationship between HIV and 'human mobility' in Southern Africa. This is due, in part, to a focus on the epidemic in 'receiving'

communities rather than on ‘sending’ communities (Williams et al., 2002). On the whole, it is apparent that new types of analyses of migration should ensure that the links between human mobility, poverty and health are emphasised.

In this paper, we argue that censuses and labour force surveys, together with panel data from KwaZulu-Natal can be used to offer a more nuanced understanding of migration and poverty at the provincial level. We begin with a review of the literature on migration in post-apartheid South Africa and its links with poverty and health. Next we consider the theoretical frameworks that have been used to probe the relationships between migration and poverty. In the following section we set out our own approach to investigating migration and describe the datasets we use. We then provide our findings and present an analysis of migration and poverty in KwaZulu-Natal. Finally, we offer several recommendations for further research and we repeat the call for the inclusion of more questions about migration in Statistic South Africa’s national household surveys.

2 Post-apartheid migration in South Africa

Migration in South Africa over the past several decades has been characterised by a series of complex movements together with several dominant patterns of mobility. An existing body of research suggests that the bulk of migration in South Africa is intra-district, economically motivated and increasingly female driven. Most studies also suggest that, in terms of quantities, the number of internal migrants in South Africa is increasing as these trends become more established.

2.1 *Spatial nature of migration*

Trevor Bell's seminal paper on labour migration in South Africa has prompted researchers to interrogate the complexities of migrant behaviour in post-War South Africa. Perhaps most significantly, Bell (1972: 337) argued that the implications for policy lie in,

‘...the way in which the total number of workers is distributed among the alternatives of full-time residence in the rural home, temporary migration, permanent migration and, in the case of temporary migrants, the length of the period spent in wage employment. Indeed, full-time residence in the rural home, involving zero time spent in wage employment, and permanent migration, involving continuous residence in the centres of wage employment, are simply two extremes on a continuum of what is in principle an infinite number of possible combinations of "time spent in wage employment" and "time spent in the rural home"’.

While much of the more recent policy discussion around migration in South Africa is a reaction to increasing levels of urbanisation (fitting well with Bell's labour migrant model), rural-rural³ migration likely forms the largest migration stream and, furthermore, during the 1991-1996 period, migration from rural areas to nearby towns was one of the dominant features of migration in South Africa (Khan et al., 2003; Cross, 2006).

The high rate of urbanisation in South Africa notwithstanding, rural-rural migration and migration to secondary towns remain common migration patterns in post-

³ While terms such as ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ are used throughout the migration literature, the fact that there exists no official definition for these terms in South Africa should serve as an important caveat when comparing analyses of migration trends.

apartheid South Africa although rural-rural migration may have peaked during the late to mid-1990s (Cross, 2006; Landau, 2007). Cross (2006), using the South African Migration and Health Survey (SAMHS) data, underscores the prevalence of rural-rural migration with the observation that 42% of black South Africans report themselves as migrants when defined as ever 'having moved to a different magisterial district.' Cross suggests that this finding is of significance as government planning for service delivery (Spatial Guidelines for Infrastructure Investment and Development) should begin to consider implications of both types of migration (rural-rural and rural-urban) and migrants. On the whole, most analyses of migration support the finding that a significant portion of internal migration in South Africa takes place within provinces (Wentzel et al., 2006).

Lifetime migration data (migration from place of birth to place of interview) show even higher rates of rural-rural mobility (62% of migration) in comparison with 'last move' data (Cross, 2006). On the whole, several different types of spatially defined migration patterns are identifiable in most migration data sets while the push and pull factors tend to differ for each type of migration. It is notable, however, that in the rural-origin migration streams, poverty-related factors are significant push factors (Cross, 2006). In terms of pull factors, employment, housing and education are dominant factors across all stream types (Cross, 2006).

Demographic profiles of individual migrants also say something about the type of human mobility occurring in South Africa. Much of rural-rural migration is related to labour migration or employment with a strong intention of mobility being employment among this group (Cross, 2006). Perhaps counter-intuitively, rural farm dwellers display the highest intentions of migrating while rural village dwellers show the lowest intention of all spatial categories (De Jong and Steinmetz, 2006). The rural-metro migration stream is a closer fit to the labour migrancy assumption in terms of employment and age structures. However, rural origin streams are likely motivated primarily by economic factors while urban origin streams may be motivated by housing and service delivery (Cross, 2006). On the whole, a very significant portion of adult South Africans have short term (16%) and long term (25%) plans to migrate and a broad range of demographic and socio-economic factors impact on the intention to migrate (De Jong and Steinmetz, 2006).

Despite the importance of rural-rural migration to the overall pattern of migration in South Africa over the past several decades, there appears to be an over-riding interest in rural-urban migration streams. This ‘crowding out’ of non-urban migration, perhaps borne out of the assumption that migration would consist of permanent moves to urban areas in the post-apartheid era, is seen in the distinction between migrants and labour migrants as classified in the 1996 Census (Kok et al., 2003). Similarly, most analyses of district migration patterns focus on the major migration streams (i.e. flows of large numbers of district residents to places like Gauteng) rather than on the many smaller rural-rural and intra-provincial migration flows- as a result, much of this rural-rural migration is not captured or well understood (Kok et al., 2003; Banati, 2007). Moreover, analyses of the SAMHS data do suggest that some migration streams actually move away from urban areas; perhaps supported by the finding that 25% of internal migrants in South Africa moved from Gauteng to another province (Wentzel et al., 2006).

The importance of rural-rural mobility notwithstanding, it is undeniable that, in South Africa, urbanisation has been a strong feature of migration with many households remaining spatially divided between rural and urban locations (Williams et al., 2002). Kok and Collinson (2006) suggest that, despite obvious limitations in the definition of urban vs. rural areas, an urbanisation rate of roughly 56.26% for South Africa in 2001 is likely. Supporting this finding, the 1996 Census identifies Gauteng as both the greatest source and destination of internal migration in South Africa. The fact that the majority of out-migrants from Gauteng are destined for ‘non-metro’ destinations is likely explained by return labour migration (Kok et al., 2003).

Census data suggest that in South Africa’s largest city, Johannesburg, roughly 11% of South African born residents were recent arrivals to the city and 32.5% of the city’s residents were born in another province and 6% in another country (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007; Landau, 2007). Census data also reveal extensive district out-migration of African men between the ages of 20 and 50- with Gauteng being the most likely destination as a significant driver of urbanisation (Williams et al., 2002). According to the SAMHS data, all provinces (except Mpumalanga) reported the highest proportion of possible migration destinations to be within the province and

with Gauteng as a second destination. Significantly, 'highly likely' destinations were almost exclusively the Western Cape and Gauteng (Wentzel et al., 2006).

2.2 *Financially motivated*

Monetary factors are strong determinants for internal migration in South Africa across all types of migration streams. Bell (1972), for example, found that the 'propensity' to migrate was the product of both rural earning potential (with a significant emphasis on agricultural production) and urban wage levels (under the migrant labour assumption) but argued that these economic motivations cannot be analysed in isolation from the 'social' or 'non-economic' determinants of migration. Wentzel et al. (2006), using the 2001-2 SAMHS, find that both internal and cross-border migrants in South Africa have a higher rate of labour force participation than their non-migrant counterparts.

The age of migrants does not appear to have changed much over time in South Africa as the 24-29 age group has the highest proportion of migrants (Kok et al., 2003). There does exist, however, some confusion in the 1996 census around the relationship between employment and migration. Intuitively, districts with higher employment rates are strongly correlated with high rates of in-migration. Counter-intuitively, however, districts with low employment rates are not statistically associated with higher rates of out-migration (Kok et al., 2003). On the whole, internal skills migration within South Africa has been largely market driven and features population movements between the Western Cape, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal (Waller, 2006).

Several key 'push' and 'pull' factors have been identified in the migration literature as determinants of the decision to migrate. The most common 'push' factors include: lack of employment opportunities, poor educational facilities and a lack of appropriate housing (Wentzel et al., 2006). The main destination 'pull' factors include employment opportunities and better housing. The SAMHS data also suggest that the existence of migrant networks (family or friends) at the destination site is a strong determinant of the intention to migrate (Wentzel et al., 2006). Gelderblom and Adams (2006) offer a closer look at migrant networks and their impact on migration as a

whole. They find that the range of functions of migrant networks is likely to include: encouraging, discouraging, facilitating and channelling migration (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006). Using the HSRC migration survey, the authors demonstrate that the vast majority of respondents would prefer to migrate to a destination where they have social connections of some sort. The data also show that migrant networks are an important source of information about destinations and economic opportunities and that, for poorer migrants, these social networks are even more important (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006). The authors conclude that migrant networks, while not exactly pull factors, are important facilitators of migration that are fragile and currently under threat from policy (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006).

In addition to these more obvious predictors and determinants of migration, a number of lesser researched 'economic' factors may also contribute to migration decisions, patterns and outcomes. Posel et al. (2004), for example, argue that household structures are often complex in developing countries and that they contain several generations as well as resident and non-resident household members. While some analysts have argued that receipt of the social pension in South Africa is associated with a negative impact on labour supply for beneficiary households, the authors (2004) use 1993 data to demonstrate that the social pension by female household members has a positive impact on labour supply for non-resident household members (labour migrants). Moreover, receipt of the social pension seems to facilitate the migration of women, in particular, in order to work or to look for work (Posel et al., 2004).

2.3 Migration on the rise: increasingly female driven?

Most migration analyses in South Africa suggest that internal migration, including both temporary labour migration and permanent migration, is still increasing. Khan et al. (2003), for example, find that there has been no decline in the rate of labour migration in the Agincourt surveillance area and that there has even been an increase in labour migration among young adult males (aged 15-34). Posel and Casale (2006) using nationally representative survey data also suggest that labour migration between 1993 and 2002 has increased.

The overall rise in labour migration is likely explained, in part, by a significant rise in female migrants relocating for work or in search of work (Khan et al., 2003; Posel et al., 2004; Posel and Casale, 2006). In Johannesburg, for example, census data record a significant number of female labour migrants while some national estimates suggest that there are now an equal number of male and female internal migrants (Wentzel et al., 2006; Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). Moreover, in four provinces there are now more females than males migrating to Gauteng (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). There is little reliable data on this relatively recent stream of migration, although some data suggest that over a third of female labour migrants in Gauteng work in the domestic service sector (Dinat and Peberdy, 2007). In the Agincourt surveillance area, female labour migration increased from 15% of 35-54 year olds to 25% between 1997 and 2000 (Khan et al. 2003). Posel et al. (2004) find that female migrants tend to have a higher level of education and are less likely to migrate if the household has land or a larger number of children under the age of five. Khan and colleagues (2003) also suggest that many female temporary migrants move in search of a better education and tend to become involved in informal trading networks.

3 Migration and poverty

The ‘migration-development nexus’ remains one of the more ambiguous areas of migration research. A number of studies seem to identify migrant households as being poor, but typically not amongst the poorest households. As in other studies, Posel and Casale (2006) find that migrant households report a lower level of household income and a greater incidence of poverty and ultra-poverty in comparison with non-migrant households. In a five country SADC study of migration, Pendleton et al. (2006) find that the vast majority of migrant sending households that participated in the study are poor according to a Lived Poverty Index (LPI). Posel and Casale (2006), however, note that cross-sectional data cannot tell how migrant households fare over time- only that they are poorer than non-migrant households.

The study of remittances forms a significant part of research on migration and poverty as they are relatively simple to quantify in household surveys. Pendleton et al. (2006) in a study of remittances in five SADC countries argue that remittances form a vital part of poverty alleviation but are not necessarily ‘developmental’ as the term is narrowly defined. The authors counter, however, that expanding the definitions of both remittances and development demonstrates the crucial role that remittances have in the alleviation of poverty (Pendleton et al., 2006). Linking migration to poverty, Pendleton et al. (2006) find that of all households surveyed, the vast majority received remittances and, in most cases, these remittances form the largest component of annual income- similarly food is the most important expenditure category for remittances in all five countries in the study while clothing and food are the most commonly remitted ‘goods’.

Ndegwa et al. (2004) argue that poverty and inequality analyses that do not take into account the inter-related effects of migration, urbanisation and health are ignoring important cause and effect linkages that ultimately define the South African socio-economic and spatial landscape. Using the 2000 Khayelitsha/Mitchell’s Plain Survey (KMPS), the authors suggest that, of the migrants from the Eastern Cape, all came from poorer districts (lower average imputed mean monthly expenditure than the KMP District). Income levels for African migrants to the KMP area also seem to

impact on the type of housing chosen- with a knock-on effect for health status (Ndegwa et al., 2004).

In noting a wide variety of causes of migration worldwide, Waddington (2003) observes that inequality (especially inequality in access to land and resources) is often a strong driver of migration- with evidence that these factors are particularly relevant in South Africa. He also suggests, however, that international migration is more likely to increase inequality than internal migration- this is due, in large part, to the exclusion of poorer households from certain streams of migration. Context specific studies have suggested that migration is able to both increase and decrease household vulnerability (Waddington, 2003). One of the key debates in the literature is around causality; in terms of education and income levels, the question is often whether migrants are richer or better educated because of migration or whether they migrate because they are better educated and richer (Waddington, 2003).

Determining causality with respect to poverty and the decision to migrate is, thus, one of the remaining challenges in migration research. Poverty is likely to have a complex relationship with the determinants of the decision to migrate and different types of migration are likely to have different links with poverty. With respect to the relationship to monetary income and migration, for example, Kok et al. (2003) calculate that labour migration tends to decrease as household income increases, but that migration 'proper' (i.e. household or individual relocation) is likely to increase as income increases. Similarly, lower levels of education are associated with higher levels of labour migration (Kok et al., 2003). The implication of these demographic analyses is that several well established theoretical models of migration behaviour (dual-economies and world systems) apply only to labour migration and not necessarily to migration 'proper' as popularly assumed (Kok et al., 2003). Many of the assumptions made about migration and based on these types of analyses, however, are difficult to untangle and causality is nearly impossible to determine as a result of endogeneity between variables (Kok et al., 2003). A multi-variate analysis of census data, however, does suggest that lower-income households have a very low prevalence of migration and that low-income is a predictor of low mobility (Kok et al., 2003).

Income, however, is not the only component or indicator of household well-being and several studies have attempted to demonstrate a link between household asset portfolios and migration. Kok and Collinson (2006), for instance, note that the Agincourt Health and Demographic Surveillance survey has demonstrated a positive correlation between household asset ownership and having at least one household member as a migrant. Moreover, exploratory studies are now demonstrating a link between labour migration and various components of household well-being for labour migrant households based in several of South Africa's neighbouring countries (de Vletter, 2007; Ulicki and Crush, 2007).

4 Migration, health and HIV/AIDS

The migration literature identifies a number of both positive and negative links between migration and health (Khan et al., 2003). Perhaps the most prominent health related factor associated with migration, however, is HIV/AIDS. The bulk of the literature suggests that migration is a strong driver of the epidemic. Existing research in both Sub-Saharan Africa generally and in KwaZulu-Natal specifically, for example, has found that there is a strong correlation between individual migrant status and HIV infection (Williams et al., 2002).

The relationship between migration and HIV is, however, likely to be more complex than popularly assumed. Lurie (2004) in a comparative study between migrant and non-migrant couples in the Hlabisa District, for example, uncovered both predictable and counter-intuitive findings. In particular, he found that one third of HIV discordant couples had an HIV positive resident female rather than the migrant male (Lurie, 2004). While migrant status was found to be a significant risk factor for HIV for the males participating in the study, the findings suggest that more research should be directed on the impact of migration on rural women (although interventions are more easily directed at migrant males) (Lurie, 2004). Lurie (2004) citing Sweat and Denison argues that there are four levels of possible intervention (superstructural, structural, environmental and individual) against HIV, but that, until now, there has been a predominant focus on the individual level. This, despite the fact that it is at the structural and environmental levels that interventions are likely to have the greatest impact (Lurie, 2004).

An often unexplored link between HIV and migration is the high level of infection that permeates informal urban living spaces- the typical destination for rural-urban migrants seeking greater economic opportunities (Banati, 2007). In addition to this spatial link between migration and HIV, Williams et al. (2002) note that the types of migration (i.e. spatial, temporary, permanent, labour seeking etc.) must be better understood in order to inform an analysis of the relevant health outcomes of mobility patterns. Currently there is a strong need for empirical research that focuses not on the fact that migration is linked with HIV, but rather on the 'social, behavioural and

psychological' consequences of migration- in short, a more 'nuanced' understanding of migration is needed (Williams et al., 2002).

To this end, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) organized a regional workshop in 2005 to disseminate research results and to identify priorities for future research around HIV and migration. The resulting report concludes that, while migration and HIV have each separately been researched extensively, there is a paucity of work attempting to understand their links (IOM and SAMP, 2005). This is partially the result of a lack of research focused on 'sending' communities and an almost total negligence of interventions targeting migrants and their families (IOM and SAMP, 2005). In addition to the significant gap in the literature surrounding 'sending' communities, there are very few examples of studies that have focused on migrant women (IOM and SAMP, 2005). The workshop concluded with a recommendation for more research focusing on female migrants and then repeated the call for more high-quality national research linking migration with HIV/AIDS.

The important links between migration and HIV notwithstanding, several positive health impacts of migration have also been observed. There has been, for example, an observable positive association between temporary migration and socio-economic status while studies have demonstrated that temporary female migration is not associated with increased child mortality (Khan et al., 2003). Roux and van Tonder (2006) in an analysis of the SAMHS find that, overall, the health status of migrants (with no distinction between internal and international migrants) in South Africa is good. Similarly, the authors find that, contrary to other reported findings in the literature, there is no real difference in health between migrants and non-migrants (Roux and van Tonder, 2006).

5 Gaps in migration research

The importance of the existing body of work on the ‘migration-development-health nexus’ notwithstanding, there remains a need to further investigate several key components of migration and its relationship to household well-being and poverty in particular. One of the broader recommendations stemming from the literature is for migration to be researched as a process that affects ‘communities’ rather than as a description of individuals (IOM and SAMP, 2005). Several studies also call for a clearer understanding of the types of migrations that are occurring so that research can distinguish between permanent-temporary, long-short distance and rural-urban migration (IOM and SAMP, 2005). Moreover, Kok and Collinson (2006) suggest that future research should focus on both the economic impacts, in particular, of migration on migrants and non-migrants as well as on areas of both destination and origin in South Africa. This type of research would likely have strong policy implications as the link between migration and poverty is notoriously weak; with migration being largely ignored by most poverty reduction strategies in the region (Roberts, 2006).

Information on internal migration in most African countries is, unfortunately, somewhat limited and studies investigating the links between migration and HIV often focus on the HIV prevalence of migrants rather than on the impact of HIV on migration or on the role of migration as a livelihood strategy (Black, 2004). Throughout Africa, policy responses and poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP’s) are noticeably ambivalent about migration while some national policies only perceive migration as having a negative impact (Black, 2004; Roberts, 2006). Citing Tacoli (2002), Black (2004) suggests that there is a strong link between rural-urban remittances and community development and linking source and destination markets, but that public policy often does not promote these linkages adequately.

Data limitations, to a certain extent, have contributed to the lack of analyses of migration and poverty in South Africa. Kok et al. (2003) begin their description of post-apartheid internal migration patterns with the observation that, although the 1996 census was a welcome source of data for internal migration in South Africa, there is a serious lack of historical data with which to compare it (previous censuses having

excluded the former homelands). The authors emphasise, however, that although migration data from other nationally representative surveys is available, a sound analysis of migration trends and patterns should use the 1996 and 2001 censuses as a foundation (Kok et al., 2003).

Finally, despite research linking the health impact of migration to both sending and receiving communities, there remains a paucity of literature on the bi-directional nature of urban-rural relationships. Several studies are now beginning to examine the livelihood strategies of migrant urban households and the support that they receive from rural households (Owuor, 2007; Frayne, 2007). Thus, the importance of identifying both sending and receiving communities must remain a priority and an emphasis on household well-being and migration should become a focus of migration research.

6 Objectives

In light of the complex patterns of migration in South Africa and the failure of internal migration to conform to existing assumptions, the objective of the present study is to highlight the links between migration and poverty at the provincial level in KwaZulu-Natal. Additional objectives of the study are to offer a triangulation of the link between migration and poverty across different data sets and to identify particular gaps in the existing knowledge base on migration that cannot be addressed with national household surveys as they are currently designed. Several specific objectives of the study include:

- Identifying areas of both migrant destination and origin in KwaZulu-Natal
- Investigating the economic impacts of migration on migrant households in KwaZulu-Natal
- Offering a descriptive analysis of the flow of remittances to households in KwaZulu-Natal
- Exploring the association between migration and poverty in sending and receiving districts to the extent possible
- Investigating the well-being of migrant households over time

7 Context: KwaZulu-Natal

KwaZulu-Natal is the most populous province in South Africa with a population of roughly 9.4 million according to the 2001 Census (Stats SA, 2006). Just over half (54%) of the population lived in 'non-urban' areas and 46% lived in urban areas based on Statistics South Africa's (2006) analysis of the 2001 Census. The majority (85%) of the population is classified as black South African, 8.5% Indian, 5.1% White and 1.5% Coloured (Stats SA, 2006).

The province has the highest incidence of HIV/AIDS (roughly 33%) according to estimates from antenatal screening in 2001 (Stats SA, 2006). Unemployment was roughly 28.7% according to the 2004 Labour Force Survey (Stats SA 2006). About 66.8% of households in the province live in formal dwellings and 42.9% of households are female-headed (Stats SA, 2006). The majority of households in the province reported having access to electricity for lighting (72%), 45.7% had access to phones or cell phones and 58.6% had access to piped water 'on site' (Stats SA). KwaZulu-Natal is the province with the third highest Human Development Index (after the Western Cape and Gauteng)-measured at .56 (Statistics SA, 2006).

The province recorded the second highest GDP growth rate (4.9%) between 2003 and 2004 and, at 16.7%, made the second largest provincial contribution (after Gauteng) to the South African economy (Stats SA, 2006). Manufacturing is the largest contributor (21.6%) to the provincial economy while agriculture is below 5% (Stats SA, 2006). Construction was the fastest growing sector in 2004 and has likely been fuelled by the housing boom and the infrastructure investments for the 2010 World Cup (Stats SA, 2006). Agriculture displayed the lowest growth rate of all sectors despite KwaZulu-Natal being home to about 20% of all farming operations in South Africa (Stats SA, 2006).

8 A framework for analysis

A number of theoretical frameworks attempt to explain both the economic and non-economic ‘causes and consequences’ of migration patterns (Kok et al., 2003: 8). While an exhaustive review of the theoretical frameworks underpinning migration analysis is beyond the scope of this report, this section offers a brief review of the conceptual frameworks that are often adopted by migration analysts. As a starting point, both ‘micro’ and ‘macro’ theories of migration are typically used to explain migration patterns in South Africa (Mostert et al., 1998). Macro frameworks tend to analyse the determinants of major migration streams while many of the micro analyses seek to understand individual or household motivations for migration (Mostert et al., 1998). The objective of this report is not to support or reject any of the hypotheses offered by existing theoretical frameworks, but rather to demonstrate how migration has traditionally been linked with poverty. For a fuller discussion of the theoretical work on migration and poverty, the reader is referred to Kok et al. (2003).

The causes of migration are often grouped into ‘economic’ and ‘non-economic’ factors (Kok et al., 2003). According to Massey et al. (1993) cited in Kok et al. (2003: 13), economic migration models can be further classified into four broad theories: ‘neo-classical, new economics of migration, dual labour market theory and world systems theory’. Much of the current discourse around migration issues in South Africa stems from these models as issues such as wage differentials, household decision making, industrial employment (labour migrancy), and rural emigration are important in the South African context (Kok et al., 2003). Non-economic models also contribute towards an understanding of the causes of migration, however, these are not easily investigated with the current migration data available in South Africa (Kok et al., 2003). On the whole, these non-economic models identify factors such as ‘expectancy’, ‘household demographic characteristics’, ‘social norms’, ‘perceived opportunities’, ‘levels of satisfaction’ and ‘social networks’ (Kok et al., 2003: 20-5). Kok et al. (2003) conclude that these broader economic and non-economic models of migration behaviour tend to simplify the complex fusion of factors that impact on the individual or household decision to migrate. The authors, in the end, prefer more nuanced (and more recent) models that begin with micro analyses and then move to

macro analyses of migration patterns- although they issue the caveat that South African census data is not always appropriate for these models (Kok et al., 2003).

This level of abstraction aside, most analysts, by now, accept the notion that migration is often employed as a household or individual livelihood strategy and 'development resource' by a diverse range of migrants (Crush and Frayne, 2007; Waddington, 2003). Much of migration theory also suggests that household economic well-being is a strong motivation influencing the decision to migrate. One of the main limitations of much of migration theory, however, is that it tends to only look at the macro 'causes' of migration streams once they become well established. In other words, mainstream migration theory often ignores the complex relationships and inter-relationships between the many determinants of both 'mobility' and 'immobility' (Gelderblom, 2006). Gelderblom (2006) has devised his own model that considers eight broad factor categories that explain the decision to migrate. Using this model, he provides a synthesis of the wide range migration theories that list the commonly identified 'push' and 'pull' factors as well as several less-established factors such as 'information flows', 'perceptions', 'motivations' and 'intentions' (2003: 268-72). Significantly, Gelderblom (2006) posits that the model can be used to identify the barriers to as well as the predictors of migration.

Much of migration work in the past followed the 'unitary household' assumption in understanding both the source and role of remitting behaviour (Posel, 2001). This model, however, is problematic in the South African context (and in general) as it implicitly assumes that male labour migration is caused predominantly by greater economic opportunities rather than by inter-household power dynamics (Posel, 2001). Moreover, questioning the assumption that household members are motivated by altruism allows a wider conceptualisation of remitting behaviour which, in turn, suggests new ways of understanding remittances as investments and as resources for 'development' (Posel, 2001). On the whole, then, the existing migration frameworks represent an attempt to locate the various combinations of migration 'push' and 'pull' factors within traditional assumptions regarding: micro and macro influences, economic and non-economic determinants and the interface between individual vs. household level decision making.

9 Methods and data

Before introducing the methods and data employed by the present study, a general limitation of South African household survey data must be addressed. On the whole, the challenges presented by the available South African household survey datasets are by now well known. First, as a response to the assumption that temporary labour migration was confined to the apartheid era, questions investigating the extent of labour migration have largely been removed from nationally representative surveys (Posel, 2003a). The main omissions include: greater restrictions on the definition of a household, less emphasis on the links between migrant workers and their primary households, and fewer questions around remittances (Posel, 2003a, 2003b). As a result, remittances remain a relatively neglected issue in terms of both research and policy attention (Maphosa, 2007).

Second, the definition of the term ‘migrant’ differs across survey types and sometimes even between survey waves (e.g. 1996 and 2001 censuses). Defining migration, however, remains a key step in the analysis of migration data (Kok and Collinson, 2006). For the purpose of this paper, we offer several different definitions of a ‘migrant’ based on the datasets that we use and we offer as a limitation that these definitions preclude direct comparisons between datasets.

9.1 *Census data*

1970 Census

The 1970 census was the last census (prior to 1996) to accurately measure all areas of South Africa prior to the official demarcation of the former homelands (Statistics South Africa, 2007). Subsequent surveys modelled or estimated basic demographic indicators instead of attempting to measure the changes accurately through household visits (Statistics South Africa, 2007). The 1996 census employed a similar methodology to the 1970 census and indicators such as age-sex ratios correspond closely between these two censuses. As such, the 1970 census offers a potentially valuable baseline source of data to investigate demographic trends between 1970 and 1996.

The potential value of the 1970 census notwithstanding, several issues of compatibility have prevented the use of this census as a baseline for investigating migration trends at the magisterial district level. First, the swift demarcation of district municipalities and magisterial districts in the immediate post-apartheid era prevents accurate comparisons between spatial areas. Second, key variables within the original 1970 data set are either not representative or available at the district level. Thus, despite the methodological similarities between the 1970 and 1996 census, a comparison of migration trends between these years is not possible at the sub-provincial level. In order to investigate migration trends in the province, we turn to the 1996 and 2001 censuses as the most representative and comparable data sets at the district level.

Census 1996 and 2001

Kok et al. (2003) offer a useful working definition of migration that allows a manageable approach to the census data. In defining a time and spatial parameter for the term migration, Kok et al. (2003) limit migration to ‘short-term labour migration, long-term labour migration and permanent migration’. With these three categories in mind, the authors define migration as, ‘the crossing of the boundary of a predefined spatial unit by persons involved in a change of residence’ (Kok et al, 2003: 10). In order to work with the census data then, Kok et al. (2003:10) suggest simplifying the definition to, ‘a change in the magisterial district of *usual* residence’. A labour migrant is then defined as, ‘an individual who is absent from home (or country) for more than one month of a year for the purpose of finding work or working’ (2003:10).

Despite a relatively intuitive definition of ‘migrant’ being available from the census data, the 1996 and the 2001 Census collect very different information about migration. In the 2001 version of the survey, all questions relating specifically to either migration or labour migration were removed (Posel, 2003b). As such, no direct comparisons can be made between these two surveys. In spite of this challenge, however, the following information can be obtained from the 2001 Census:

- The migration of individuals to their current residence
- A distinction between household residents and visitors (a broad category that includes labour migrants)

- The overall change in the population sizes of magisterial districts between 1996 and 2001

Migration questions in census 1996 and census 2001

The following are internal migration questions in the census questionnaire:

- Does (person) usually live in this household for at least four nights a week?
- If no, where does (person) live?
- Five years ago, was (person) living in this place? (for census 2001)
- If no, where did person move from?

The questions above are direct measures of internal migration for index persons. In addition, census 1996 captured information on the presence or absence of a migrant in each household:

- Is this person a migrant worker? (Someone who is absent from home for more than a month each year to work or to seek work)
- Is there a member of this household that is away as a migrant worker?

For comparability purposes, information on migrant workers will be presented for 1996 to better understand the pattern of migration and household well-being. However to compare between the two censuses, only patterns of *dejure* membership by magisterial districts will be compared. The main limitation of the Census data is that there are no longer migrants or labour migrant specific questions included in the 2001 census.

Measure of socioeconomic status in the census

There are several ways of measuring household well-being and evaluating the impact of migration on this phenomenon. Direct measures include household income and household expenditure. Other measures have been used as proxies to well-being. These are based on literature that has shown how these measures correlate with direct measures of well-being and at times are more reliable and less subjected to biases. These measures include a combination of sex of the household head, household size

and a measure that captures household possessions and assets. Female headed households have been shown to depict livelihoods lower than those of conventional male headed households.

Changes in the socioeconomic status (SES) of households is one of the key measures of interest and, for the census data, efforts can be made to estimate a more robust SES index that will best explore the association between migration and household well-being. Grouping together household possessions and giving them equal values tends to result in indices that do not capture the effect of each measure on the index (Duncan, 1984). More research has focused on creating and perfecting SES indices such that one has a wide variety of options to choose from depending on the intended use (Filmer and Pritchett, 2001). The method that we will explore for this study is Principal Component Analysis (PCA). This method transforms a large number of variables that are believed to combine into one measure and form smaller numbers of uncorrelated factors that preserve information from these variables. PCA is useful for its ability to assign weights to variables such that the components created explain most of the variation in the original variable and can then be used as representing them. The number of components created is based on the relationship of the original variables with one another. The first component is the linear composite of all the variables combined and is calculated as:

$$y_1 = a_{11} x_{1j} + a_{12} x_{2j} + \dots + a_{1k} x_{kj} = \sum a_{1n} x_{ni}$$

Where x_{ij} is the variable i for household j , and are factor loadings (linear coefficients) for the component n and variable i . The principal component analysis extracts factor loadings from n components, and generates scoring factors, which are weights applied to the variables normalized by their means and standard deviations (Filmer and Pritchett, 2001). The scores from this factor and the sample means and standard deviations of each variable are presented in Table A1 in the appendix.

In order to establish which variables load highly on which factors, the rotated component matrix was restricted to loadings above 0.5, and all of the indicators loaded sufficiently to the factor. All factor scores operate to increase the index, and

since all variables are binary in nature, a one unit increase in each variable can be interpreted as an increase in the asset index by scoring factor divided by the standard deviation of the variable (FS/SD). A household with a flush toilet has an asset index that is 0.471 and 0.473 times higher than a household without a flushed toilet in 1996 and 2001 respectively. This index is best used with household amenities such as whether the household has a flushable toilet, electricity, television, refrigerator, telephone, car and whether it has safe wall material. Information on availability of these amenities was collected by the population census of 1996, it was not in 2001. For comparability purposes, household amenities that were used for both years were limited to what census 2001 collected. These amenities include water source, toilet facility, and whether the household has access to electricity. The assumption made here is that these factors are accessible at household level therefore part of household consumption whose availability is determined by the affordability of the household. However, some of these are community based. For instance, water source and toilet facility is at times shared within communities such that differentiating households on these items alone may not be best indicators of household well-being. To deal with this, household income, mean household size and percentage of female headship were introduced as additional measures of household well-being at magisterial level.

9.2 *Labour Force Surveys: migrant labour supplements*

The labour force surveys (LFS) capture migrant status in two ways. First, it identifies individuals that have moved into a given area in the past 5 years. From this we are able to establish the movement of people within KwaZulu-Natal and those from outside the province. Individuals captured through this way, however, include those that have relocated from, or to a different suburb, ward, village, farm or informal settlement and are therefore not strictly migrants since they are merely relocating within the same small area. To a limited extent, labour market related issues can also be established. The second way in which the LFS captures migrants is through the use

of a proxy where the respondent is asked to identify household members that are perceived as migrant workers. In this instance migrant workers are defined as those household members that have been separated from the household for more than 5 days on average a week in the last 4 weeks.

From both sets of questions, migrant workers from KwaZulu-Natal and living in other provinces or countries may be identified. In addition to this, other demographic information on population group, marital status, education level, gender and age may be captured. While the LFS may in some instances be unreliable this is the only recent and biannual dataset that specifically looks at the migrant worker. One major drawback is that migration questions are not necessarily included in all waves of the labour force surveys. The section on labour migrants was only included in three surveys (September 2002, September 2003, and September 2005) and the data cannot be disaggregated beyond the provincial level (except to a limited extent in September 2005). Another limitation of the LFS, and more specifically the migrant dataset, is that one cannot establish the labour market characteristics of those that are perceived as migrant workers. Responses to questions in the migrant file are also likely to have problems associated with outdated, incomplete and insufficient data (i.e. responses about migrant workers may not be current as they are based on a proxy).

Questions pertaining to migration in LFS September 2005:

- Five years ago wasliving in this area?
- Place of origin
- Country of origin
- Year moved
- How long has ... been a migrant worker?
- What is the highest level of education that... has successfully completed?
- Is this person regarded as the head of the household or other member of the household?
- In which province or country does... stay or work?
- How much money has... given to this household in the last 12 months?
- What is the value of goods that... has given to this household in the last 12 months?

- What is the value of both goods and money that...has given to this household in the last month?

9.3 *KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Survey (KIDS)*

In 1993, the national project for statistics on living standards and development (PSLSD) became the first multi-topic nationally representative household survey in South Africa. The KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS) is a longitudinal dataset that was derived from the original 1993 PSLSD sample frame. There have subsequently been two more waves of the KIDS study; the first in 1998 and the second in 2004. In 1998, KIDS resurveyed a sample of the Black and Indian households in KwaZulu-Natal and more questions were added to the questionnaire. White and Coloured households have been excluded from the sampling frame due to bias and an apparent non-representativeness at the ethnic group level (May *et. al*, 2000). While the dataset is not representative at either the national or provincial level, the survey captures important socio-economic changes in the participating households over a period of time.

The KIDS survey does not contain a dedicated migration section, but there is a section of the questionnaire that aims to capture the sending of remittances between migrant workers and their respective households of origin. The data also allow us to distinguish between ‘migrant households’ (households that report at least one non-resident member) and ‘non-migrant households’ (households that report no non-resident members). Using this distinction, we compare the income levels (reported real monthly expenditures) and position relative to a constructed poverty line of migrant households with the income levels of non-migrant households. A dummy variable was created to distinguish between migrants and non-migrants (i.e. ‘0’= resident household member and ‘1’=non-resident household member). Variables were also constructed to denote household income levels (above or below the poverty line) and remittances received (remittance receiving or non-remittance receiving households).

For the purpose of this analysis, an absolute poverty line of R322 (2000 prices) per household member/month is used to calculate poverty measures. This is a consumption-based figure calculated using the 'cost-of-basic-needs' approach and is agreed to be a '...reasonable lower-bound poverty line for South Africa' (Hoogeveen and Ozler, 2004: 9). Equivalency scales are not used in this analysis as internal household consumption patterns are assumed to be complex- and particularly so in migrant households where remittances may be distributed unevenly within households (Posel, 2001). Moreover, the choice of an economy of scale parameter (0.8 in most South African analyses) is essentially an arbitrary figure and could easily be influenced by factors such as household size and location (Johnson, Ship and Garner, 1999: 20), especially where household members are dispersed spatially. Additionally, some researchers have suggested that economies of scale are not necessarily present among households whose consumption consists of only food, clothing and shelter (Lipton and Ravallion, 1997: 2575). Similarly, others have pointed out that, while children may consume a smaller amount of food, they may actually consume more in terms of non-food goods (Lok-Dessallien, 2001: 18).

Perhaps the main limitation of the KIDS data as a source of information about migration is that the data are not representative and there is no question asking about the reasons for migration. It is also not possible to determine how the money from remittances is spent- i.e. on basic necessities or on luxury items. The gender of the non-resident household members sending remittances is also not possible to identify from the questionnaire. Moreover, even though the data allow us to compare income levels and incidences of poverty over time between migrant and non-migrant households, causality remains difficult to determine with respect to the relationship between migration and poverty.

Questions that pertain to migration in the survey form include:

- Has ... lived under this roof for more than 15 days in the last year?
- Has ... lived under this roof for more than 15 days in the last month?
- What is ...'s main activity?
- What is ...'s relationship to the head of the household? In 1998? In 1993?
- Income received from non-resident household members or any other person?
- In the past 12 months, did ... send or give money to the household?

- If so, number of times? How much total in the past 12 months? How much in the past 30 days?
- In the past 12 months, did ... make a contribution in kind to the household?
- If so, number of times? Total value in the past 12 months? Total value in the past 30 days?

10 Findings

10.1 Migration trends in KwaZulu-Natal

According to the 2001 Census, roughly 145,000 people in the province had moved to KwaZulu-Natal from other provinces with the majority coming from the Eastern Cape (Stats SA, 2006). In terms of total inter-provincial migration, KwaZulu-Natal is a net sender of migrants while, of all provinces, only Gauteng and the Western Cape are net receivers (Stats SA, 2006). The District Municipality that received the greatest number of migrants was, by far, eThekweni followed by uMgungundlovu and then Ugu (Stats SA, 2006). Migrants from KwaZulu-Natal moved predominantly to Gauteng with the Western Cape receiving a significant number of KZN migrants as well (Stats SA, 2006).

Using the September 2005 Labour Force Survey, we further investigate provincial migration trends by giving an overview of the proportion of working age people that have relocated in the last 5 years (i.e. people that live in a different suburb, ward, village, farm or informal settlement to that of 2000).

Table 1 shows that the province of KwaZulu-Natal has the second highest number of working age people that have relocated since 2000 (19.5%). While such an analysis includes people that have moved within the same geographical location (city or town), it nonetheless gives an indication of population mobility within provinces. A proxy for receiving districts can be established by looking at the home districts of those that have relocated in the last 5 years. However, the data do not allow us to distinguish people moving across districts from those moving within districts except to a limited extent for the Durban Metropolitan and the Umgungundlovu District. Of those that have changed residential places and currently live in the Durban Metropolitan and Umgungundlovu district, 76% and 52% are from outside of these areas respectively. Table 2 suggests that the Durban Metropolitan and Umgungundlovu district have, in the last 5 years, received the most number of working age migrants compared to any other district in KwaZulu-Natal (51% and 14% respectively).

Table 1 Distribution of people of working age (15-69) that have relocated, by province since 2000

Province	No.	%
Western Cape	458868	11.7
Eastern Cape	379758	9.7
Northern Cape	59977	1.5
Free State	297428	7.6
KwaZulu-Natal	760548	19.5
North West	240452	6.2
Gauteng	1231523	31.5
Mpumalanga	281632	7.2
Limpopo	196670	5.0
Total	3906856	100.0

Source: Authors' calculations from LFS, Sept 2005

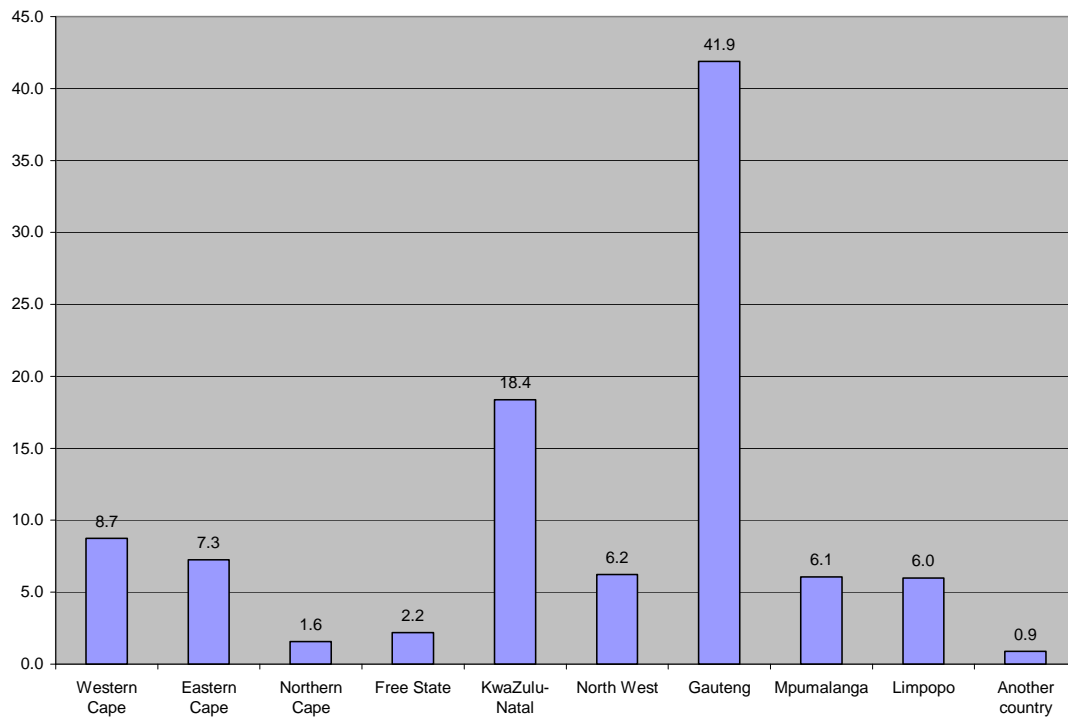
Table 2 Receiving districts, working age people, KZN

District council/metro	No.	Percent
Ugu	39077	5.1
Umgungundlovu	107570	14.1
Uthukela	30654	4.0
Umzinyathi	10221	1.3
Amajuba	18834	2.5
Zululand	25959	3.4
Umkhanyakude	24431	3.2
Uthungulu	72956	9.6
iLembe	31129	4.1
Sisonke	11639	1.5
Durban	388078	51.0
Total	760548	100

Source: Authors' calculations from LFS, Sept 2005

The same trend holds when looking at those members of the working age population that have been identified as migrant workers. Figure 1 reports the distribution of migrant-worker receiving provinces. KwaZulu-Natal receives the second highest number of immigrant workers (18.4%) after Gauteng. With respect to sending areas as indicated by place of origin, a number of places send working age people to the province of KwaZulu-Natal. A notable trend is that the sending areas are largely located within the KwaZulu-Natal province and the Eastern Cape (not shown in the figure).

Figure 1 Migrant-worker receiving provinces



10.2 Characteristics of magisterial districts

This section presents migration and household well-being for each magisterial district in 1996 and 2001. Figures A1 and A2 in the appendix show the relationship between migration within households and some characteristics within magisterial districts. As expected, magisterial districts that are mostly urban have a lower percentage of households with migrants away, likewise, households that are mostly female headed are mostly migrant households, which indicates the male oriented characteristics of migration during the 1990s.

Figure 2 Percentage of households with non-resident members by magisterial district (Authors' Calculations: Census 1996)

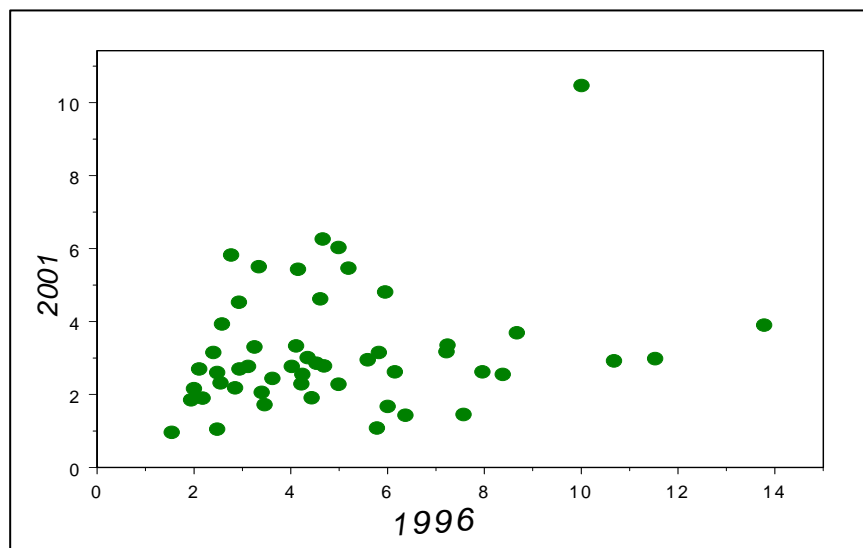


Figure 2 shows changes in the percentage of households with members that do not reside within a household for at least 4 nights a week. Each dot represents the position of a magisterial district in 1996 and 2001. As shown, there has not been much change in migration patterns within magisterial districts. Districts that had higher out-migration in 1996 still depicted the same trend in 2001. Data shown in this table is also presented in table A2 of the appendix where district names are provided. Mtonjaneni district had the highest proportion of households with absent members in 1996 and 2001, while Impendle, Mapumulo and Umvoti show a drastic drop in these proportions by 2001 (as shown in the bottom far right point of Figure 2).

Table 3 shows a better picture of patterns of migration and well-being within magisterial districts in 1996. As mentioned above, the census did ask about migrant persons who may be present or absent in households. As expected, magisterial districts that are mostly rural have higher mean household sizes and a higher proportion of households that have members away due to migration. A closer evaluation of the table above also suggests a relationship between female headship, rural/urban residence and absence of members due to migration. All magisterial districts that have more than a quarter of households with members absent are mostly rural and female headed. This is conventional given that, historically, most labour migration consisted of males moving to urban settings leaving female *defacto* heads.

Table 3 Selected household characteristics in Population Census of 1996 by magisterial district

Code	M. District	% with present migrant	% Urban	% female headed	Mean hh size	% with absent migrant
501	Durban	3.91	100	31.48	3.1	1.42
502	Inanda	5.24	78.5	29.99	4.2	2.72
503	Pinetown	5.45	93.89	29.9	3.5	2.29
504	Chatsworth	1.54	100	23.25	4.2	1.37
505	Camperdown	6.54	50.46	35.42	4.9	6.09
506	Richmond	15.42	8.18	42.08	4.6	17.29
507	Pietermaritzburg	3.73	79.35	35.65	4.2	4.56
508	Umzinto	4.42	21.72	48.12	4.8	23.99
509	Ixopo	6.39	4.5	57.31	4.8	32.52
510	Alfred	6.59	3.9	62.39	5.2	33.09
511	Port Shepstone	7.43	39.76	41.83	4.5	14.56
512	Mount Currie	13.48	58.56	36.68	3.7	5.37
513	Underberg	18.08	16.22	42.34	4	19.82
514	Polela	6.72	0.51	61.27	5.1	42.34
515	Impendle	19.42	0	45.59	5.3	41.41
516	Kranskop	11.33	2.22	62.5	4.7	34.22
517	Lions River	8.46	64.8	31.66	4.1	4.13
518	New Hanover	16.75	8.05	45.33	4.5	19.05
519	Mooi River	3.89	41.39	28.61	4.7	5
520	Umvoti	14.16	18.63	42.64	4.4	19.48
521	Bergville	5.09	5.72	54.26	5.5	34.42
522	Estcourt	10.83	23.39	40.99	5.3	21.08
523	Kliprivier	5.78	52.76	42.6	5.1	17.52
524	Weenen	4.53	19.03	46.22	5.7	33.53
525	Danhauser	5.09	7.36	46	5.8	32.09
526	Dundee	3.03	34.06	49.82	5.2	25.05
527	Glencoe	8.69	84.17	40.93	5.1	21.04
528	Newcastle	4.35	77.04	37.77	4.8	14.81
529	Utrecht	5.9	18.32	22.98	6.1	10.56
530	Babanango	9.51	7.18	60.78	6.4	54.56
531	Nqotshe	7.78	7.96	39.07	5.5	22.96
532	Paulpietersburg	6.67	14.12	45.76	5.9	26.67
533	Vryheid	7.5	43.9	37.65	5.1	13.82
534	Eshowe	6.33	19.75	49.5	5.2	23.39
535	Hlabisa	7.25	9.69	51.5	6.3	38.17
536	Lower Umfolozi	5.52	35.27	31.94	5.1	12.06
537	Mtonjaneni	3.64	7.69	53.95	6.3	40.69
538	Mtunzini	6.44	25.98	36.83	5.4	14.96
539	Ubombo	8.82	0.67	46.88	6.3	24.93
540	Lower Tugela	8.49	48.36	26.4	3.5	2.78
541	Umbumbulu	2.91	12.57	38.11	5.4	4.98
542	Umlazi	2.92	99.84	35.04	4.5	3.01
543	Ndwedwe	6.4	0	40.95	6.6	10.7
544	Mapumulu	14.82	0	50.76	5.7	37.06
545	Nkandla	5.9	0	62.9	5.9	50
546	Nqutu	3.95	17.19	56.33	5.8	42.48
547	Msinga	3.81	0	66.37	5.3	39.22
548	Mahlabatini	6.93	14.82	54.4	6.1	32.7

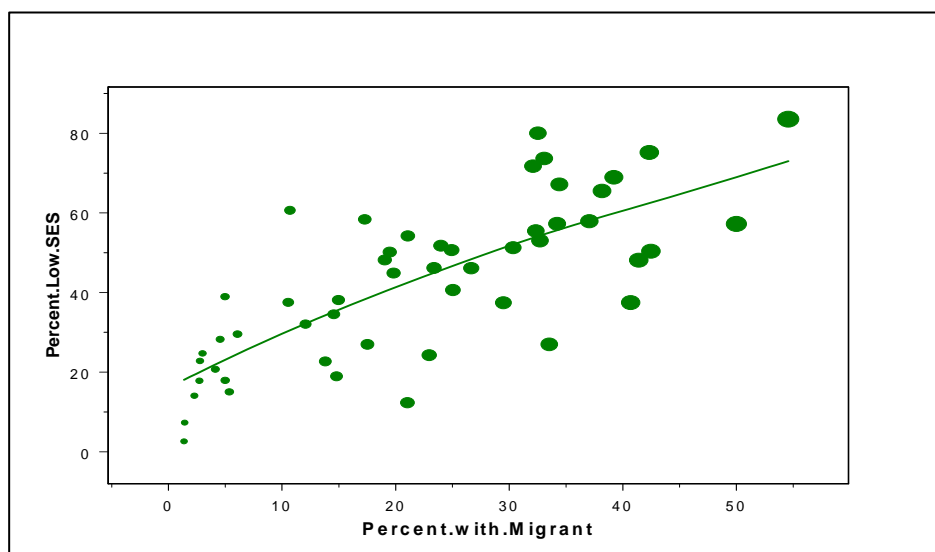
549	Nongoma	7.79	1.1	54.74	6.5	32.35
550	Ingwavuma	7.46	0.67	41.46	5.8	30.35
551	Simdlangentsha	7.34	17.45	46.87	5.9	29.5

Source: Authors' calculations from Census, 1996

Migrant receiving areas such as Durban and surrounding areas, and Pietermaritzburg have less than 10% of households with a migrant member away. These also have lower household size and lower female headship. Household size is highest in rural districts with the average close to 6 household members. Babanango is a special case with the highest percentage of households with an absent member and the second highest household size and two thirds of the households headed by females. The percentage of households that host migrants is low even for receiving districts. This may indicate that migrants reside in institutions such as hostels or assume solitary households in their areas of destination.

Figure 3 below indicates that there is a relationship between SES and migration status. Magisterial districts with a high percentage of poor households also have a high percentage of households with absent members. This outcome could be the result of one of two possibilities: (1) household send members away as a poverty reduction strategy, which does not seem to be working. (2) households are poorer because they have sent their economically active members away and they are not receiving remittances. Either way, migrant households show signs of higher poverty and lower socioeconomic status.

Figure 3 Relationship between household migration status and SES



Source: Authors' calculations from Census 1996

10.3 Characteristics of migrants and migrant workers

This section presents income and demographic information on migrants and migrant workers as reported by the household. While migrant workers are a subset of the working age population, the LFS captures these differently (the migrant worker does not qualify to be in the worker file) and hence we need to explore whether there is any convergence between those that are currently perceived as migrant workers and those that have actually moved in search of employment and related opportunities. The value of remittances, both cash and in kind, also give an indication of the extent to which the labour market impacts on the livelihoods of migrant-sending households or remittances-receiving households. A major limitation with the migrant information from this particular data set is that we are only able to identify the provinces where the migrant workers are employed and not their specific areas of origin. We therefore can only talk about migrant worker hosting provinces. Furthermore the data does not tell us the economic status or location of remittances-receiving households and hence we make broad inferences on the destination and sources of cash and in-kind transfers.

Figure 4 gives a breakdown of migrant workers in KwaZulu-Natal by gender. A substantial number of migrant workers in the province are female (42.4%). When gender is analysed across the working age groups, the male to female ratios are close except for the 30-34 years age group. Seemingly, female workers have become as mobile as their male counterparts.

Figure 4 Migrant-workers in KwaZulu-Natal, by gender

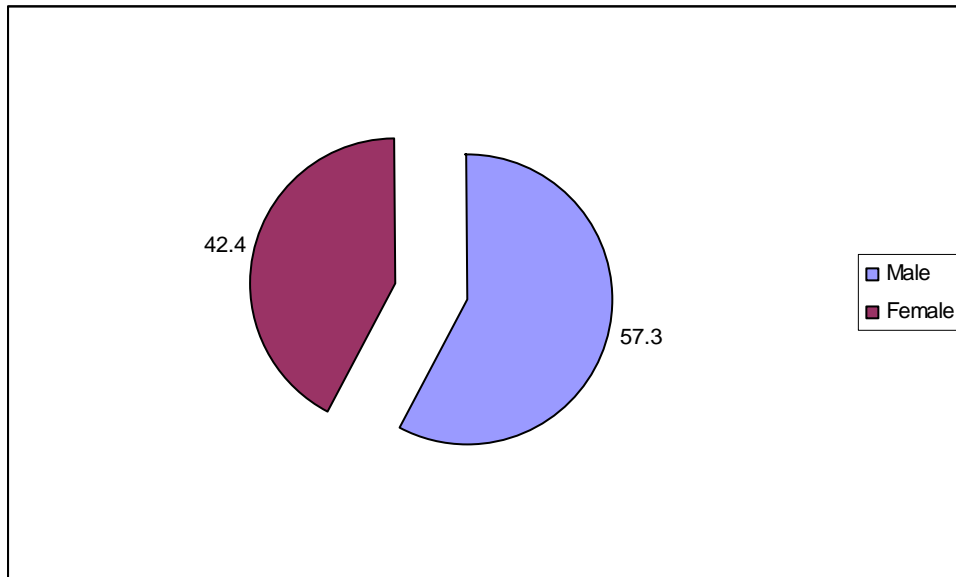
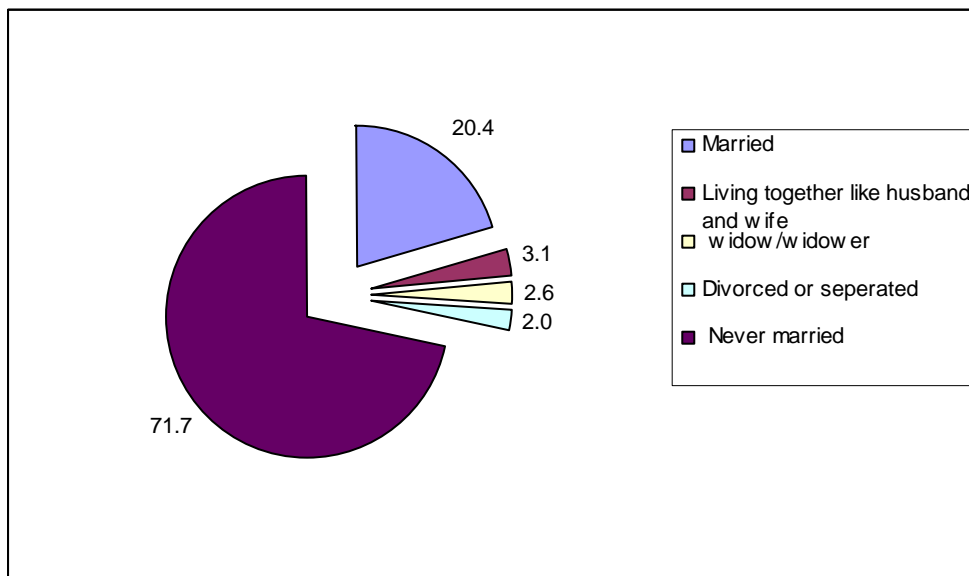


Figure 5 Marital status of migrant workers, KwaZulu-Natal



The majority (72%) of migrant workers employed in KwaZulu-Natal have never married (see Figure 5). Within the working age group, the ratio of males to females that have never married is almost identical. Given the marital status and age we can not at this stage link this to any kind of sexual behaviour and hence deduce the likelihood of engaging in risky behaviours, or more specifically the chance of contracting sexually transmitted infections like HIV/AIDS. There is, however, a need to explore the livelihood strategies of young and unmarried migrant workers in KwaZulu-Natal. With respect to the highest level of education attained, 68% of the

migrant workers in KwaZulu-Natal did not attain a matriculation certificate. At most 8% have a tertiary qualification (Figure 6).

A number of labour market studies have highlighted the link between participation, employment and remuneration (Bhorat et al., 2001; Bhorat and Leibbrandt, 1999). While the LFS does not allow us to establish the occupations and economic sectors of migrant workers in KwaZulu-Natal, it is logical to infer that the majority of migrant workers in this province are likely to be occupying low-wage employment.

Figure 6 Highest level of education, migrant workers in KwaZulu-Natal

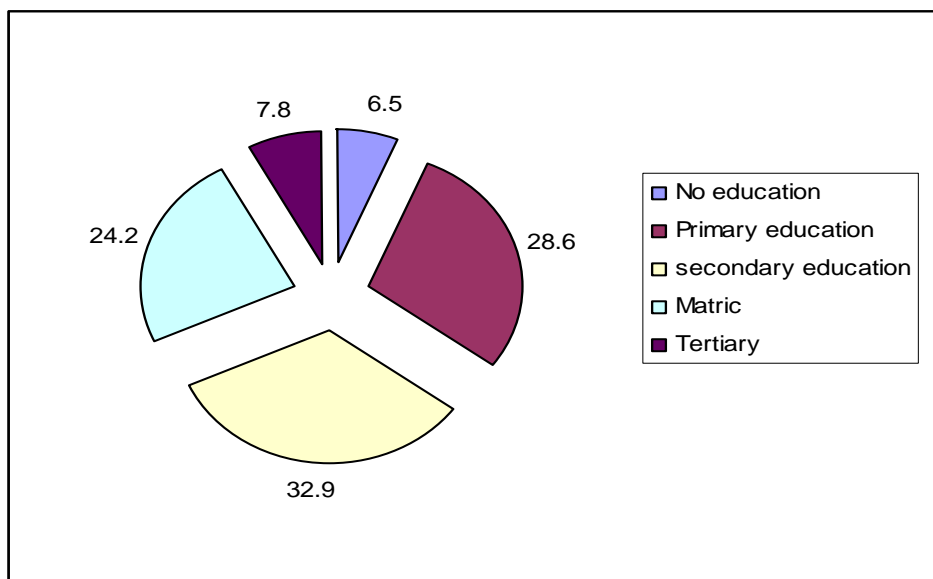
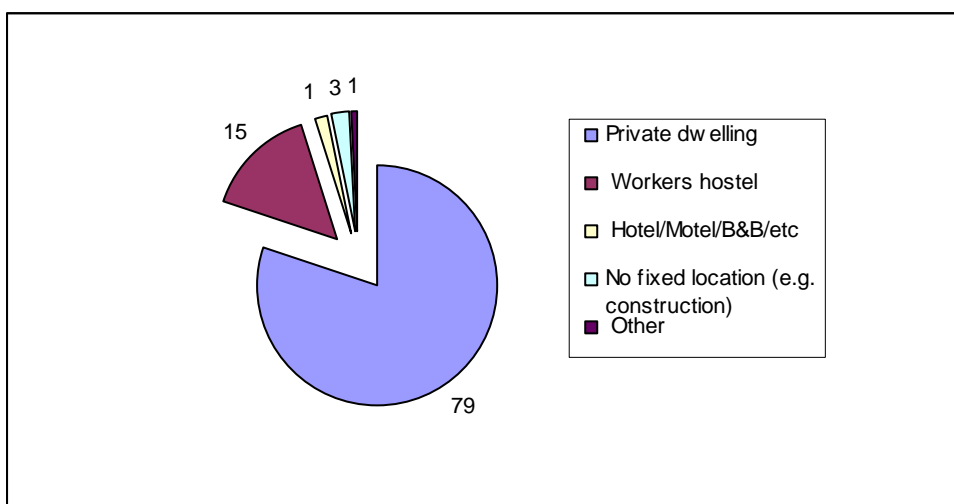


Figure 7 Place of residence, migrant workers in KwaZulu-Natal



The study by Ndegwa *et al* (2004) suggests that migrants from poor areas tend to occupy poorer residential areas in receiving areas namely, shacks in informal settlements (Figure 7). According to the LFS, there appears to be a relationship between level of education and place of residence for migrant workers in KwaZulu-Natal (Table 4). Private dwellings, however, are also occupied by a significant number of migrant workers without any form of education. Given that the LFS (migrant file) does not identify shacks from formal housing, there is high likelihood that a significant number of migrants without any education occupy such dwelling units. The inverse relationship between level of education and residence in a worker's hostel is likely the result of the employment opportunities available to migrants who have passed matric or obtained a tertiary education.

Table 4 Place of residence by education, migrant workers in KwaZulu-Natal

Residence	No education	Primary education	Secondary education	Matric	Tertiary
Private dwelling	64.3	73.6	81.7	84.9	85.1
Workers hostel	24.1	20.5	12.7	11.2	13.1
Hotel/Motel/B&B/etc	1.6	0.9	1.7	1.2	1.0
No fixed location (e.g. construction)	7.1	3.6	2.9	1.1	0.0
Other	0.0	0.6	0.7	1.3	0.0
Don't Know	2.8	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.8
Unspecified	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Authors' calculations from LFS, Sept 2005

Finally, Table 5 demonstrates a broad level of agreement across all three data sets used in this analysis. The results confirm that internal migrants in KwaZulu-Natal are increasingly female, often well educated, engaged in some form of employment, never married, and are typically the household head or the children of the household head in the sending household.

Table 5 Selected characteristics of migrants from KIDS, LFS and Census 1996

	Census 96' migrants: SA	Census 96' migrants: KZN	KIDS 2004	LFS 2004*
Gender				
Male	69.91	62.95	53.00	66.00
Female	30.09	37.05	47.00	34.00
Main Activity				
Employed	70.66	57.96	43.00	---
Unemployed	13.12	20.87	35.00	---
Other	9.90	13.05	---	---
In school	6.00	7.61	---	---
Unspecified	0.32	0.51	22.00	---
Not economically active	---	---	---	---
Not applicable (<15 or 65+)	---	---	---	---
Education Level				
No Schooling	19.30	22.86	5.00	8.20
Primary Education	30.28	30.28	27.90	26.80
Secondary Education	28.11	28.31	35.50	31.90
Matric	10.11	11.11	22.70	26.10
Tertiary Education	2.82	2.48	5.20	7.10
Marital Status				
Married/Live Together	52.03	31.93	---	38.00
Widowed	2.14	1.93	---	3.10
Divorced/Separated	2.02	0.99	---	3.00
Never Married	42.11	57.35	---	55.60
Relationship to Head				
Resident Head	32.16	32.76	3.20	---
Spouse	8.35	8.08	.40	---
Child of Head	11.01	14.98	50.60	---
Sibling	2.77	2.91	3.40	---
Grandchild	1.14	1.34	22.30	---
Other	2.08	1.85	12.10	---
Non-relative	4.53	5.13	---	---
N	1,141,311	244,029.06		

Source: Census, KIDS & LFS, Authors' Calculations

*The LFS data only includes absent household members that are either looking for or are engaged in employment (labour migrants).

10.4 Characteristics of migrant households

10.4.1 Remittances

In this section we assess the value of remittances from KwaZulu-Natal and household composition of remittances-receiving households. Table 6 tabulates the value of remittances sent by province for a one month and a twelve month period. In terms of both monetary and in-kind remittances, KwaZulu-Natal sends the second highest

value of remittances (29% money and 30% goods). Since migrant workers can only send remittances once employed, the value of remittances from the respective provinces confirm that only those provinces with better employment opportunities will, in the short to long run, positively impact on household livelihoods. The same provinces attract the highest number of migrant workers.

Table 6 Value of remittances by province, Rands. LFS Sept 2005

	Money given to HH in last 12months	%	Value of goods given to HH in last 12months	%	Value of both goods and money in last month	%
Western Cape	2,696,012,842	8.6	2,919,447,693	10.0	2,475,290,919	8.5
Eastern Cape	1,432,019,060	4.6	1,397,858,377	4.8	1,198,106,273	4.1
Northern Cape	388,817,692	1.2	697,689,520	2.4	548,311,817	1.9
Free State	605,147,315	1.9	545,904,188	1.9	517,123,063	1.8
KwaZulu-Natal	9,061,993,214	28.9	8,799,379,780	30.1	8,790,406,004	30.0
North West	4,545,003,587	14.5	4,285,664,344	14.6	4,252,345,012	14.5
Gauteng	9,956,252,881	31.8	8,033,142,192	27.5	8,886,787,721	30.4
Mpumalanga	2,174,120,266	6.9	2,337,733,910	8.0	2,501,889,365	8.5
Limpopo	482,348,568	1.5	245,601,840	0.8	102,899,473	0.4
Total	31,341,715,425	100	29,262,421,842	100	29,273,159,646	100.0

Source: Authors' calculations from LFS, Sept 2005

Table 7: Remittances by gender , Rands, KwaZulu-Natal

	Male	%	Female	%
Money given to HH in last 12months	4,885,891,274	50.6	4,173,633,428	50.9
Value of goods given to HH in last 12months	4,776,572,680	49.4	4,022,297,877	49.1
Year Total (goods & money)	9,662,463,955	100.0	8,195,931,305	100.0
Month Total (goods and money)	4,886,375,151		3,903,773,646	

Source: Authors' calculations from LFS, Sept 2005

Table 7 tabulates the proportion of men and women sending remittances. Whilst the value of remittances for men is slightly higher than that for women, there are an equal number of migrant men and women that send remittances (50%). Assuming the value of remittances is a function of the number of children left behind, we explore whether there is a difference between the values of remittances sent by migrants with children in contrast to those without children. Table 8 shows that migrant workers send remittances, and in equal proportions, irrespective of whether the migrant worker has

children or not.⁴ In value terms, migrant workers without children send 63% of the total value of money and goods. The benefits of employment therefore filter to other household members through wages and goods. To this end, the mobility of employable household members is important in terms of alleviating household poverty.

Table 8 Remittance-sending migrant workers and presence of children in sending household

	Children resident	%	No children resident	%
Money given to HH in last 12months	3,365,589,587	52.1	5,526,566,798	50.0
Value of goods given to HH in last 12months	3,092,836,487	47.9	5,536,706,462	50.0
Year Total (goods & money)	6,458,426,074	100.0	11,063,273,260	100.0
Month Total (goods and money)	3,224,328,938		5,396,240,236	

Source: Authors' calculations from LFS, Sept 2005

Table 9: Value of remittances sent and highest level of education, KwaZulu-Natal

Education Level	No. of workers	Year Total (goods & money)	Yearly Average remittances	Month Total (goods and money)	Monthly average remittances
Primary Education	154,625	1,289,548,065	8,340	756,728,571	4,894
Secondary education	177,866	3,686,815,016	20,728	1,849,873,097	10,400
Matric	131,071	3,545,237,348	27,048	1,657,704,627	12,647
Tertiary Education	42,077	2,703,149,700	64,242	1,240,323,034	29,477
Total	540,698	12,818,219,681	23,707	6,271,877,933	11,600

Source: Authors' calculations from LFS, Sept 2005

Given the association between remuneration and employment and education attainment, we explore the link between the value of remittances and the highest level of education attained by migrant workers (Table 9). Whilst caution should be exercised when dealing with income figures, we note a positive relationship between average remittances per worker and education levels. The yearly average remittances sent, for those with tertiary education, is below the annual income tax threshold for 2005 (R35, 000). The implication is that remittance-receiving households that rely on

⁴ Remittance amounts presented here should be treated with extreme caution. The fact that reported monthly remittances are roughly half of reported annual remittances is highly implausible. Seasonal variations in remittance sending are unlikely to explain the high monthly average remittances sent and received.

income from migrant workers without tertiary education survive on the margin since their total income is of a low-waged nature (using the income tax threshold as a cut off) (Valodia *et al*, 2006). Table 10 confirms that remittances are still the major source of income for migrant households in spite of the fact that members from such households are likely to occupy low paying jobs in the receiving areas. From Table 11, migrant sending households generally have a higher proportion of members in those sectors associated with unstable and low-wage employment (subsistence agriculture) and have less formal employment.

Table 10: Major source of income for migrant worker sending households

	2002	2003	2004
Salaries and wages	26.0	20.1	24.8
Remittances	37.5	41.8	34.6
Pensions and grants	30.8	33.1	34.1
Sales of farm produce	1.1	0.5	0.7
Other non-farm income	3.2	3.1	5.2
No income	1.6	1.1	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' calculations from September LFS as specified

Table 11 Proportion of migrant and non-migrant households with at least one working age member per employment sector

Employment Sector	LFS S02		LFS S04	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Formal	13.8	48.5	15.1	48.4
Commercial Agriculture	2.1	6.1	1.1	3.3
Subsistence Agriculture	12.1	4.5	8.2	2.4
Domestic Work	4.5	14.3	4.2	9.5
Informal	11.5	14.3	11.8	13.6
Unemployed	31.0	31.7	23.4	23.6
Not Economically Active	84.0	54.7	85.9	57.3
Unspecified	1.1	0.9	0.4	0.5

Source: Authors' calculations from LFS as specified

Remittances are also an important source of income for the households sampled in the KIDS survey. More than a third of all households in 1993 and 1998 received either ‘in cash’ or ‘in kind’ remittances in the year of the survey. Moreover, 20.2% of the households that were interviewed in both 1993 and 1998 received some sort of remittance in both years of the survey. The real value of remittances appears to have declined over this period, however, as the average amount (2000 prices) of cash remittances received was R 4 759 *per annum* in 1993 and R 3 794 in 1998. Of those households that reported receiving remittances in both survey years, the real value of cash remittances declined from R 5 236 in 1993 to R 4 283 in 1998. Table 12 shows the importance of remittances to migrant households in each of the survey years. Between 1993 and 1998 the proportion of households receiving some type of remittance decreased (along with the real value of remittances) and the poverty headcount increased. In 2004, the proportion of households receiving remittances returned to 1993 levels and poverty rates decreased significantly.

Table 12: Migrant households and remittances

	1993	1998	2004
Receive remittances (%)	70.1	62.5	69.3
Real monthly value of remittances (2000 prices)	R325	R245	R363
Headcount (%)	51.8	68.9	55.1
N	512	472	296

Source: Authors’ calculations from KIDS

Of the households that received some form of remittance (either cash or ‘in kind’), the ratio of monthly food expenditure to total monthly expenditure is significantly higher than for non-remittance receiving households. Food made up roughly 56% of total monthly expenditure for these households in 1993 and 45% in 1998. By contrast, non-remittance receiving households spent only 44% of their monthly income on food in 1993 and 37% in 1998. While the data do not allow us to understand exactly how remittances are spent, it is likely that a significant portion of the money received from

non-resident household members is spent on food. In terms of 'in kind' remittances, the data do not allow us to know what type of goods (i.e. food, clothing or luxury items) were sent, but only the value of the goods. Unlike the values of cash remittances, the real value of 'in kind' remittances increased slightly between 1993 and 1998. In 1993 the annual value of these remittances was worth about R 1 405 per remittance receiving household. However, in 1998 this had increased to about R 1 509 *per annum* (2000 prices).

In 1993, 10.6% of total remittances were sent from Durban and 8.1% came from other urban areas of KwaZulu-Natal. A further 4.8% came from rural areas in the province while only 10.7% were sent from what is now Gauteng. In 1998, the great majority (33%) of total remittances were sent from Durban, while 26.6% originated from other urban areas in the province. Roughly 16% of remittances were sent from Gauteng, 11% consisted of remittances sent from rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal and 10% came from the same community as the household. The significant differences in both the reported sources of remittances and the demarcation of provinces and districts between these two years suggest that caution should be exercised when comparing these findings. The data do suggest, however, that a significant number of migrants from the households participating in the KIDS surveys moved to both Durban and Gauteng between 1993 and 1998.

10.4.2 Migrant households and poverty

Turning to a description of migrant households (households that report at least one non-resident member), a number of distinguishing characteristics can be seen. As in other studies, the KIDS data (Table 13) suggest that migrant households are larger and tend to have more children (household members under the age of 16 years). Between 1993 and 1998, migrant households reported a slight increase in the number of non-resident household members (not shown in table). In terms of employment, migrant households report a higher number of unemployed household members (both resident and non-resident).

Table 13 Migrant and non-migrant households- KIDS data

	Migrant Households			Non-Migrant Households		
	1993	1998	2004	1993	1998	2004
Headcount	51.8	68.9	55.1	42*	46.1**	42**
HH size	6.9	6.8	6.3	5.7**	5.9*	5.6
Children	3.7	4.4	3.9	2.4**	2.9**	2.9**
Gap	.18	.31	.25	.16*	.20*	.20
N	512	472	296	659	699	455

*Chi-square significant at the .05 level

**Chi-square significant at the .00 level

Table 13 suggests a strong association between poverty and migration status. According to the data, households with at least one migrant member have a much higher incidence of poverty (and a larger poverty gap) than households that do not in each of the survey years. The difference becomes pronounced over the first two years of the survey as the prevalence of household poverty was 51.8% of migrant households in 1993 and 68.9% in 1998. This suggests that, although the incidence of poverty increased overall during the 1993-1998 period, the increase was much more dramatic for migrant households when compared with non-migrant households.

Table 14 describes how households have fared between the first two waves of the KIDS survey. Households are broken into two categories (migrant and remittance receiving) and the table should be read from left to right. Beginning with migrant

households in 1993, this group is relatively poor with 49.2% of these households below the poverty line in 1993 and 66.7% of those that were re-interviewed in 1998 below the poverty line in that year (rates of attrition reported below). Of these households, 59.9% were categorised as migrant households again in 1998 and 69.3% received some form of remittance in 1993.

Table 14 Migrant and remittance receiving households between 1993 and 1998

	Migrant Households in 1998	Households Receiving Remittances in 1993	Households Receiving Remittances in 1998	Households Below the Poverty Line in 1993	Households Below the Poverty Line in 1998
Migrant Households in 1993 (N= 593)*	59.9%	69.3%	53.5%	49.2%	66.7%
Households Receiving Remittances in 1993 (N= 488)**	63.3%	N/A	58.4%	51.8%	67.6%

* Attrition rate of 18 % for migrant households between 1993-1998

** Attrition rate of 20 % for remittance receiving households between 1993-1998

Source: Authors' calculations from KIDS

Of those households that received remittances in 1993 (either cash or 'in kind'), 63.3% of those that were re-interviewed in the 1998 wave were classified as migrant households. A smaller number of those households (58.4%) reported receiving remittances again in 1998 although poverty seems to have increased from 51.8% to 67.6% of this group between these two years. These findings suggest that a significant proportion of migrant households receive remittances and that levels of poverty are similar for migrant and remittance receiving households. Moreover, this assumption fits with the large body of empirical evidence suggesting that many migrants move in search of work and may not find employment or, alternatively, may not earn enough to send home.

10.5 The well-being of migrant households over time

The panel nature of the KIDS data affords an opportunity to understand how households with a history of migration have fared over time. For the purpose of this

analysis, households were classified retrospectively into three categories. As such, only households that participated in all three waves of the study were included in the classification. The three categories of households include: a) long term migrant households where households reported at least one migrant member in each of the years b) short term migrant households where households reported at least one migrant member during at least one of the interview years and c) never migrant households where households reported no migrant members during any one of the survey years. While this classification does present some obvious problems (i.e. it does not account for migration between the survey years), it does allow for a fairly transparent grouping of households based on the available migration data as self-reported. The breakdown for these categories is presented below in Table 15.

Table 15 Migrancy status 1993-2004

	N	Percent
Long term migrant household	120	16.1
Short term migrant household	408	54.6
Never migrant household	219	29.3
Total	747	100.0

Source: Authors' calculations from KIDS

Using the categories set out in Table 15, households were further classified by their position relative to the poverty line (R322 per capita per month). Position relative to the poverty line serves as a proxy for income group. This information was then entered into a traditional poverty transition matrix as seen in the example below

(Table 16). Mobility is then determined by the percentage of households that change positions relative to the poverty line between survey years. The highlighted cells in the table denote the largest percentage for each row (i.e. the largest 1998 income group for the selected 1993 income group). As the table suggests, there was very limited upward mobility for long term migrant households between 1993 and 1998 with most 1993 income groups demonstrating downward mobility in 1998. The objective of constructing these transition matrices for each of the migration categories is to compare how these types of households have fared over time. In the absence of

dedicated migration data, this type of analysis offers the best opportunity to try to understand how households might be affected by migration over time.

Table 16 Transition matrix for long-term migrant households 1993-1998 (N=120)

	<.5PL (98)	<PL (98)	<1.5*PL (98)	<2*PL (98)	>2*PL (98)	N
<.5PL (93)	52.9%	41.2%	5.9%	0%	0%	17
<.PL (93)	46%	42%	8%	2%	2%	50
<1.5*PL (93)	9.1%	48.5%	18.2%	18.2%	6.1%	33
<2*PL (93)	13.3%	40%	6.7%	20%	20%	15
>2*PL (93)	40%	20%	0%	0%	40%	5

Source: Authors' calculations from KIDS

Table 17 and Table 18 summarise household mobility derived from the transition matrices. As Table 17 shows, long term migrant households displayed the lowest percentage of upward mobility of all household types between 1993 and 1998. Never migrant households reported the least amount of overall mobility (45% reported no change in income category) and the least amount of downward mobility (30%) between these years. Both short and long term migrant households displayed a fairly high level of downward mobility (45%).

Table 17 Household mobility 1993-1998 (Col %)

	Long term migrant households	Short term migrant households	Never migrant households
Upwardly mobile	21	24	25
No change	34	31	45
Downwardly mobile	45	45	30
N	120	408	219

Source: Authors' calculations from KIDS

Between 1998 and 2004, a slightly different pattern of mobility is evident. Overall there is a much higher rate of upward mobility for all three migration categories in line with an improvement in household income and a decrease in the incidence of poverty within the KIDS sample. Short term migrant households, however, reported the largest amount of upward mobility with 45% of these households moving into a higher income group (Table 18). Long term migrant households again report the highest level of downward mobility (24%) but a notable improvement in upward mobility (36.7%). Perhaps the most significant findings from the table are that never migrant households report a very high level of stability (53% report no change in income category) together with very little downward mobility (17%). In both tables, then, never migrant households are characterised as being relatively stable with less downward mobility than the other two categories.

Table 18 Household mobility 1998-2004 (Col %)

	Long term migrant households	Short term migrant households	Never migrant households
Upwardly mobile	36.7	45	30
No change	39.3	36	53
Downwardly mobile	24	19	17
N	120	408	219

Source: Authors' calculations from KIDS

These differences in mobility, however, only tell a part of the migration and poverty story. As Table 19 shows, the starting points for the two 'extreme' household categories of migration differ significantly. Long term migrant households experienced significantly higher rates of poverty than never migrant households in all three of the survey years. Both the incidence of poverty and the poverty gap were larger for long term migrant households. As such, the lower rates of income mobility

experienced by never migrant households represent stability above the poverty line.⁵ Concomitantly, the upward mobility experienced by households with some form of migration history does not necessarily represent a move above the poverty line. Not surprisingly, long term migrant households were located predominantly in the bottom two income categories in all three survey years (55.8%, 75% and 66.7% respectively).

Another notable finding is that the poverty headcount for long term migrant households fluctuated to a much greater extent than that of never migrant households. In 1998, the incidence of poverty jumped by 20% for long term migrant households but by only 3.7% for never migrant households. This suggests a certain level of vulnerability for long term migrant households. Other significant differences between these two categories of household can be found in the composition of households. Long term migrant households are significantly larger and tend to have more children than either of the other two types of households.

Table 19 Migration history and selected indicators

	Long Term Migrant Households			Never-Migrant Households		
	1993	1998	2004	1993	1998	2004
Headcount	55.8	75	66.7	33.3*	37**	31.1**
HH size	7.7	7.5	7.2	5.6*	5.8*	5.5*
Children	4.4	5	4.2	2.3*	2.6*	2.6*
Gap	.19	.33	.30	.12	.15*	.15*
N	120	120	120	219	219	219

*Chi-square significant at the .05 level

**Chi-square significant at the .00 level

Source: Authors' calculations from KIDS

⁵ The real extent of mobility for this group is not captured in this analysis as the income categories selected were clustered around the poverty line with the highest income category being only twice the poverty line.

11 Conclusion

A provincial level analysis of migration and poverty using census data, labour force surveys and panel data has revealed a significant association between migration status and household well-being. Regardless of the measure of household well-being used (i.e. monetary poverty line, asset index, type of dwelling), the analyses in this study have demonstrated a strong link between migration and well-being at both the household and magisterial district level. Moreover, labour force surveys and the KIDS data underscore the importance of remittances to migrant households in the province. These significant differences in well-being between migrant and non-migrant households and the importance of remittances suggests that ‘monetary’ factors are likely to influence migration decisions in KwaZulu-Natal.

The results of the study have also confirmed that migration within the province is significant, with the majority of those migrating to a district in KwaZulu-Natal coming from another district in the province or from the Eastern Cape. This finding supports the overall conclusion of the migration literature that rural-rural, intra-district and intra-provincial migration streams are still an important part of migration patterns in post-apartheid South Africa. Similarly, the findings of this study, together with a review of the migration literature, offer a strong motivation for investigating migration trends at the provincial level. Statistics South Africa’s analyses of census data as well as our own calculations from the labour force surveys demonstrate that migration patterns differ significantly by province.

In terms of the well-being of migrant households, it becomes clear, based on the results from the panel data, that households with a history of migration have not fared well over time. While it is tempting to draw conclusions regarding the role of migration as a livelihood strategy from this finding, the fact remains that we still cannot tell how these households *would* have fared without the impact of migration. Moreover, the causal link between household poverty and the decision to migrate remains difficult to unpack. At best, we can note that remittances are an important source of income for migrant households and that these households appear to be more vulnerable to fluctuations in income poverty over time. Both the KIDS and census data also demonstrate that the composition of these migrant households are

significantly different and that they come from predominantly rural districts, are often female headed, and have a higher number of children.

We conclude with a call for census questionnaires to include more information about migration- especially about migration intentions and outcomes (in both sending and receiving households) in order to determine the *types* of migration trends that are occurring in South Africa. Distinguishing between the different types of ‘non-resident’ household members would contribute to a greater understanding of current migration streams. In particular, re-introducing a distinction between migrants and labour migrants to the census questionnaire would offer a more detailed picture of migration within South Africa and would allow for a greater level of comparison between data sets. This type of information, as suggested in the literature, would be of additional interest for spatial development frameworks, provincial poverty alleviation strategies, health care delivery, employment creation as well as sectoral development initiatives.

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13 APPENDIX

**Table A1: Factor scoring from principal component analysis
KWAZULU NATAL PROVINCE**

Census 1996 Factor analysis

	Factor loading	factor scores	Mean	SD	FS/SD
pipewater	0.8361	0.2303	0.6039	0.4891	0.4708
flush toilet	0.9061	0.2495	0.5010	0.5000	0.4991
has electricity	0.7963	0.2193	0.5010	0.5000	0.4386
refuseremoved	0.9158	0.2522	0.5405	0.4984	0.5061
refuse other	-0.7990	-0.2200	0.3619	0.4805	-0.4579

Census 2001 Factor Analysis

	Factor loading	factor scores	Mean	SD	FS/SD
pipewater	0.7622	0.2269	0.6419	0.4794	0.4733
flush toilet	0.8375	0.2493	0.4258	0.4945	0.5042
has electricity	0.7586	0.2259	0.4902	0.4999	0.4518
refuseremoved	0.9222	0.2745	0.5057	0.5000	0.5491
refuse other	-0.8067	-0.2402	0.3924	0.4883	-0.4918

Figure A1: Relationship between migration and % urban by magisterial district (census 1996)

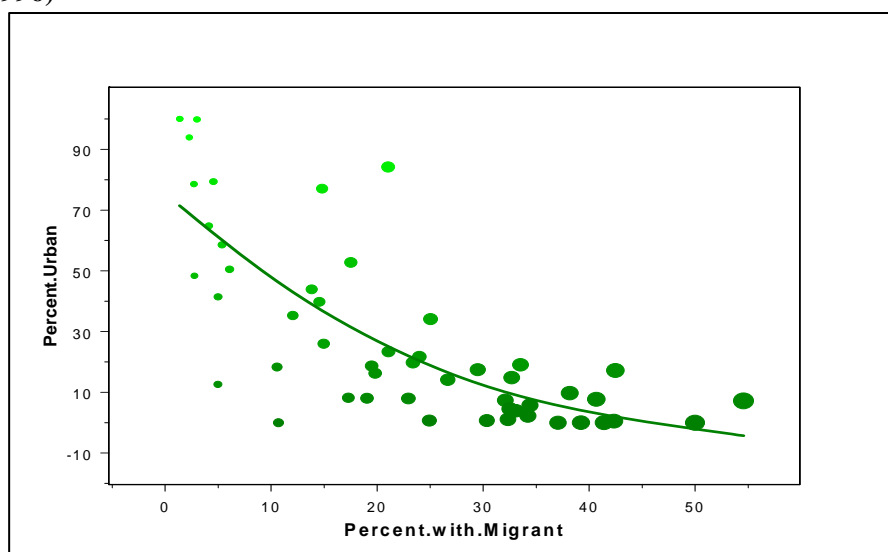


Figure A2: Relationship between migration and female headship by magisterial district (census 1996)

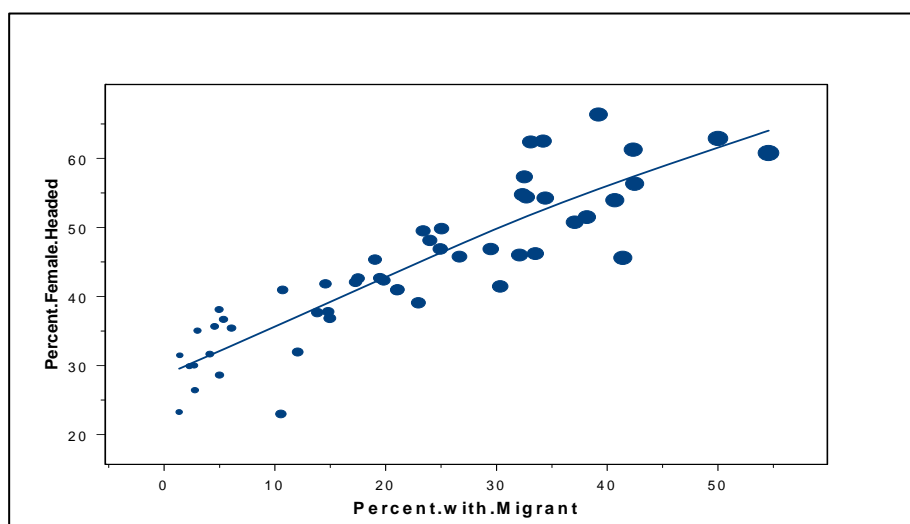


Table A2: Percentage of households with a non-resident member by Magisterial district

		1996	2001
510	Alfred	4.43	1.91
530	Babanango	4.66	6.26
521	Bergville	4.99	2.28
505	Camperdown	6.00	1.67
504	Chatsworth	1.54	0.96
525	Danhauser	2.00	2.16
526	Dundee	3.46	1.72
501	Durban	2.18	1.9
534	Eshowe	4.99	6.03
522	Estcourt	8.38	2.55
527	Glencoe	6.15	2.62
535	Hlabisa	3.34	5.5
515	Impendle	13.78	3.9
502	Inanda	2.55	2.32
550	Ingwavuma	5.19	5.46
509	Ixopo	3.62	2.44
523	Kliprivier	4.24	2.55
516	Kranskop	5.82	3.15
517	Lions River	5.78	1.08
540	Lower Tugela	2.58	3.93
536	Lower Umfolozi	4.53	2.86
548	Mahlabatini	3.25	3.3
544	Mapumulu	11.53	2.98
519	Mooi River	1.94	1.85
512	Mount Currie	6.37	1.43
547	Msinga	7.96	2.62
537	Mtonjaneni	10.01	10.47
538	Mtunzini	4.61	4.62
543	Ndwedwe	7.24	3.35
518	New Hanover	7.57	1.45
528	Newcastle	3.12	2.77
545	Nkandla	5.59	2.95
549	Nongoma	5.95	4.81
531	Nqotshe	2.77	5.82
546	Nqutu	4.02	2.77
532	Paulpietersburg	2.93	4.53
507	Pietermaritzburg	2.48	2.6
503	Pinetown	3.40	2.06
514	Polela	7.22	3.17
511	Port Shepstone	4.35	3.01
506	Richmond	4.69	2.78
551	Simdlagentsha	2.85	2.18
539	Ubombo	4.15	5.43
541	Umbumbulu	2.94	2.7
542	Umlazi	2.48	1.05
520	Umvoti	10.68	2.92
508	Umzinto	2.11	2.7
513	Underberg	2.40	3.15
529	Utrecht	8.67	3.69

533	Vryheid	4.11	3.33
524	Weenen	4.22	2.29

The Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit

The Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) conducts research directed at improving the well-being of South Africa's poor. It was established in 1975. Over the next two decades the unit's research played a central role in documenting the human costs of apartheid. Key projects from this period included the Farm Labour Conference (1976), the Economics of Health Care Conference (1978), and the Second Carnegie Enquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa (1983-86). At the urging of the African National Congress, from 1992-1994 SALDRU and the World Bank coordinated the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (PSLSD). This project provide baseline data for the implementation of post-apartheid socio-economic policies through South Africa's first non-racial national sample survey.

In the post-apartheid period, SALDRU has continued to gather data and conduct research directed at informing and assessing anti-poverty policy. In line with its historical contribution, SALDRU's researchers continue to conduct research detailing changing patterns of well-being in South Africa and assessing the impact of government policy on the poor. Current research work falls into the following research themes: post-apartheid poverty; employment and migration dynamics; family support structures in an era of rapid social change; public works and public infrastructure programmes, financial strategies of the poor; common property resources and the poor. Key survey projects include the Langeberg Integrated Family Survey (1999), the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey (2000), the ongoing Cape Area Panel Study (2001-) and the Financial Diaries Project.

Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit
School of Economics
University of Cape Town
Private Bag, Rondebosch, 7701
Cape Town, South Africa

Tel: +27 (0) 21 650 5696
Fax: +27 (0) 21 650 5697

Email: brenda.adams@uct.ac.za
Web: www.saldru.uct.ac.za

