



GCRO DATA BRIEF: NO. 5

Gauteng: a province of migrants

Produced by the
Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO)

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Government (GPG) and organised local government*

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1. Introduction

Gauteng is a province of migrants and has been the focus of internal and cross border migration within and to South Africa for over a century (Peberdy, 1998, 2009; Crush et al. 1991). It is the province with the highest proportion of migrants in its population (44%) (StatsSA, 2012a: 39). In Census 2011 only 6,678,316 of the 12,272,263 residents counted in the province had been born in Gauteng (StatsSA, 2012).¹ It is also the province which experienced the highest rate of growth in population between 2001 and 2011 (30%) of which 52% was a result of in-migration (StatsSA, 2013: 12). This data brief provides an overview of internal migrants (people who have come to Gauteng from other provinces in South Africa) and cross border migrants (people from other countries) in Gauteng. It encompasses demographics, housing, education, employment and income. It concludes with a brief examination of the attitudes of respondents in the Gauteng City-Region Observatory Quality of Life Survey of 2011 to cross border migrants and migration policy.

The brief is based on data from Census 2011 on migration and migrants in Gauteng alongside the findings of a survey of the quality of life of residents in Gauteng undertaken by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) also in 2011.² Census 2011 identified migrants by place of birth. The GCRO Quality of Life Survey of 2011 (QoL 2011) identified migrants by whether they had moved to Gauteng and where they had moved from. The GCRO survey examined the quality of life of residents of Gauteng Province. It asked questions relating to demography; access to services; employment, working conditions and income; transport; participation in civil society organisations; attitudes to local, provincial and national governments; problems in communities; as well as questions relating to social cohesion, including migration policy. The responses provide insights into the lives of internal and cross border migrants as well as residents who were born in Gauteng, and attitudes to cross border migration and 'foreigners'.

¹ The birthplace of 339,128 Gauteng residents was 'unspecified' or 'not applicable'.

² Results of the survey are available at www.gcro.ac.za/project/quality-life-survey-2

2. A province of migrants

Census 2011 found that only 56% of residents in Gauteng were born in the province (Table 1). The proportion of migrants in the population of Gauteng stands in strong contrast to the other provinces (Table 1). The QoL 2011 survey found as many as 62% of respondents had been born in Gauteng. The discrepancy between the percentage of the population of Gauteng that were migrants in Census 2011 and QoL 2011 is probably due to fieldworker access issues. Researchers in the QoL 2011 survey were denied access to mine compounds and security/town house complexes by security companies. Migrants are likely to be found in both of these locations. Notwithstanding the difference in the proportion of migrants found, the profile of migrants relating to race, sex and places of origin were similar in both surveys.

Census 2011 and QoL 2011 show that internal migrants (people from another province in South Africa) constitute over a third (35%) of the population of the province (Table 1). Less than 10% of the population of Gauteng were born outside South Africa. In numbers this means that of the over 5.25 million migrant residents of Gauteng counted in Census 2011, 4,120,231 had been born elsewhere in South Africa and 1,134,587 had been born outside the country (StatsSA, 2012). This means that 78% of all people in Gauteng who were not born in the province were *internal* migrants born elsewhere in South Africa (StatsSA, 2012). These findings challenge media stereotypes which can conflate ‘migrants’ and ‘foreigners’.

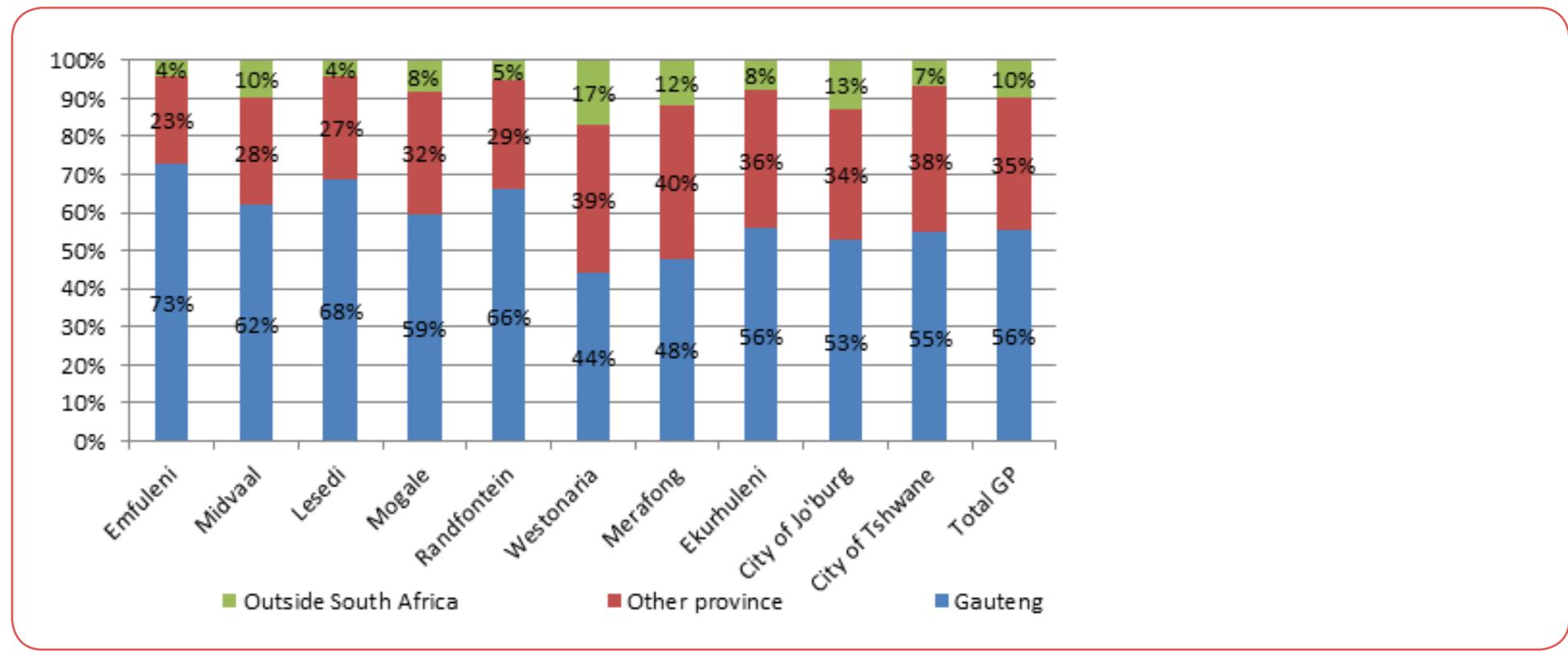
Table 1. Place of birth of residents by province, Census 2011

Province/country of birth	EC	FS	GP	KZN	LP	MP	NW	NC	WC	SA
Own province	94%	87%	56%	92%	91%	80%	78%	85%	72%	-
In another province	5%	10%	35%	6%	6%	16%	17%	13%	24%	-
Outside South Africa	1%	3%	10%	2%	3%	4%	4%	2%	5%	4%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: StatsSA, 2012a: 39.

Migrants are not evenly distributed across the province. There are considerable differences in the make-up of the migrant populations of the municipalities that constitute Gauteng. In part, these reflect the histories, sociologies and economies of the different municipalities (for example, mining towns have historically attracted migrants from in and outside the country). Census 2011 and QoL 2011 found the highest proportions of internal and cross border migrants in municipalities whose economies are linked to mining (Merafong and Westonaria) (Figure 1). These were followed by the two metros with the strongest economies (Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni).

Figure 1. Recorded place of birth of residents of Gauteng by municipality, Census 2011



Source: StatsSA, 2012, *Census 2011*, Supercross. Note: the place of birth of 3% of residents was not recorded.

2.1 Places of origin: internal migrants

People have migrated to Gauteng from all corners of the country (Map 1). Internal migrants constitute the overwhelming majority of migrants in the province. Both Census 2011 and QoL 2011 show that the majority of internal migrants were born in Limpopo Province followed by KwaZulu-Natal (Figure 2).

Map 1. Origins of internal migrants to Gauteng Province, 2011.

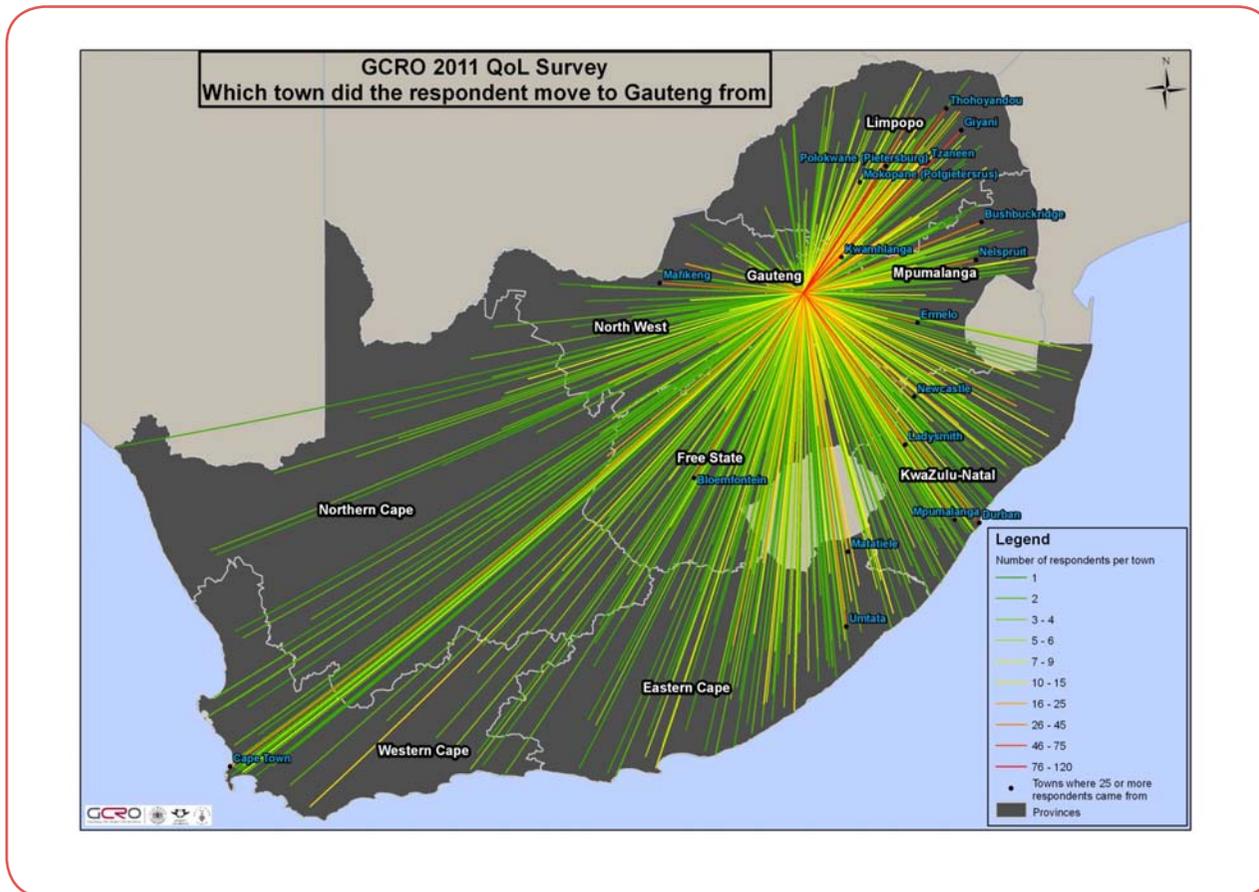
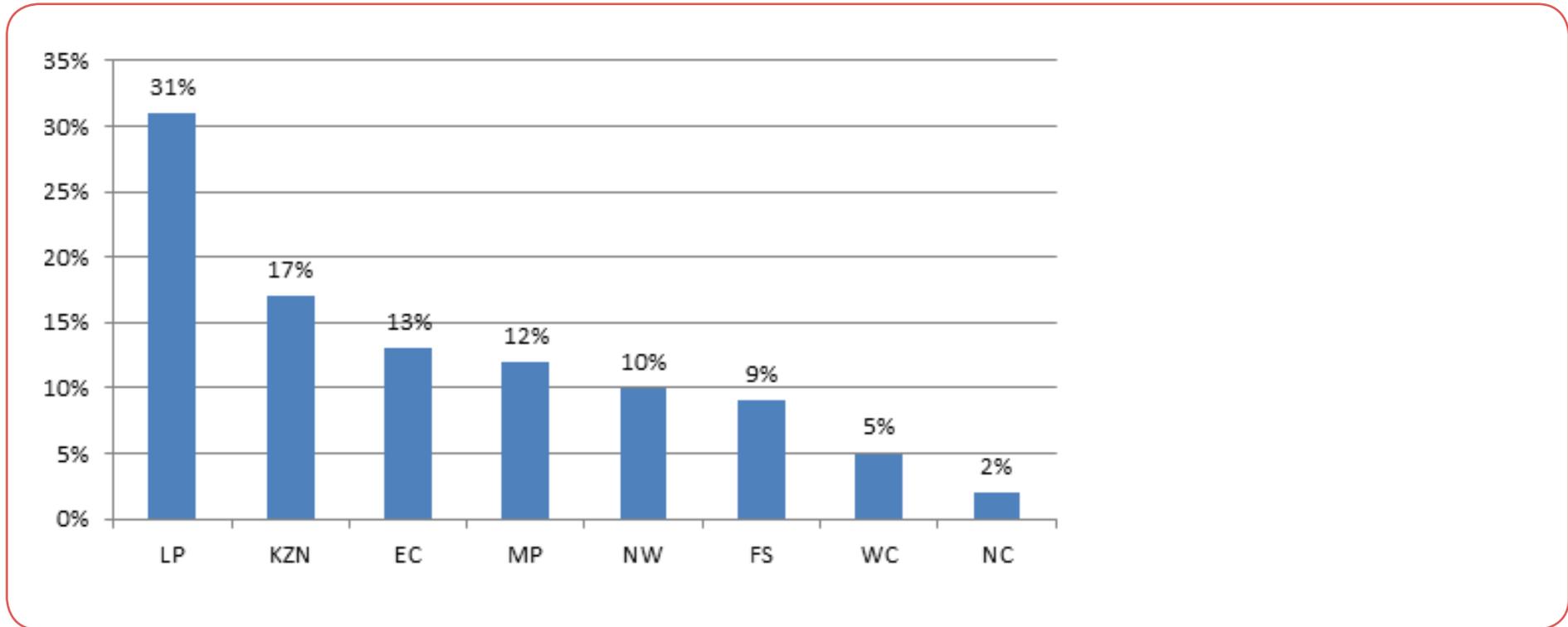


Figure 2. Province of birth of internal migrants to Gauteng, Census 2011

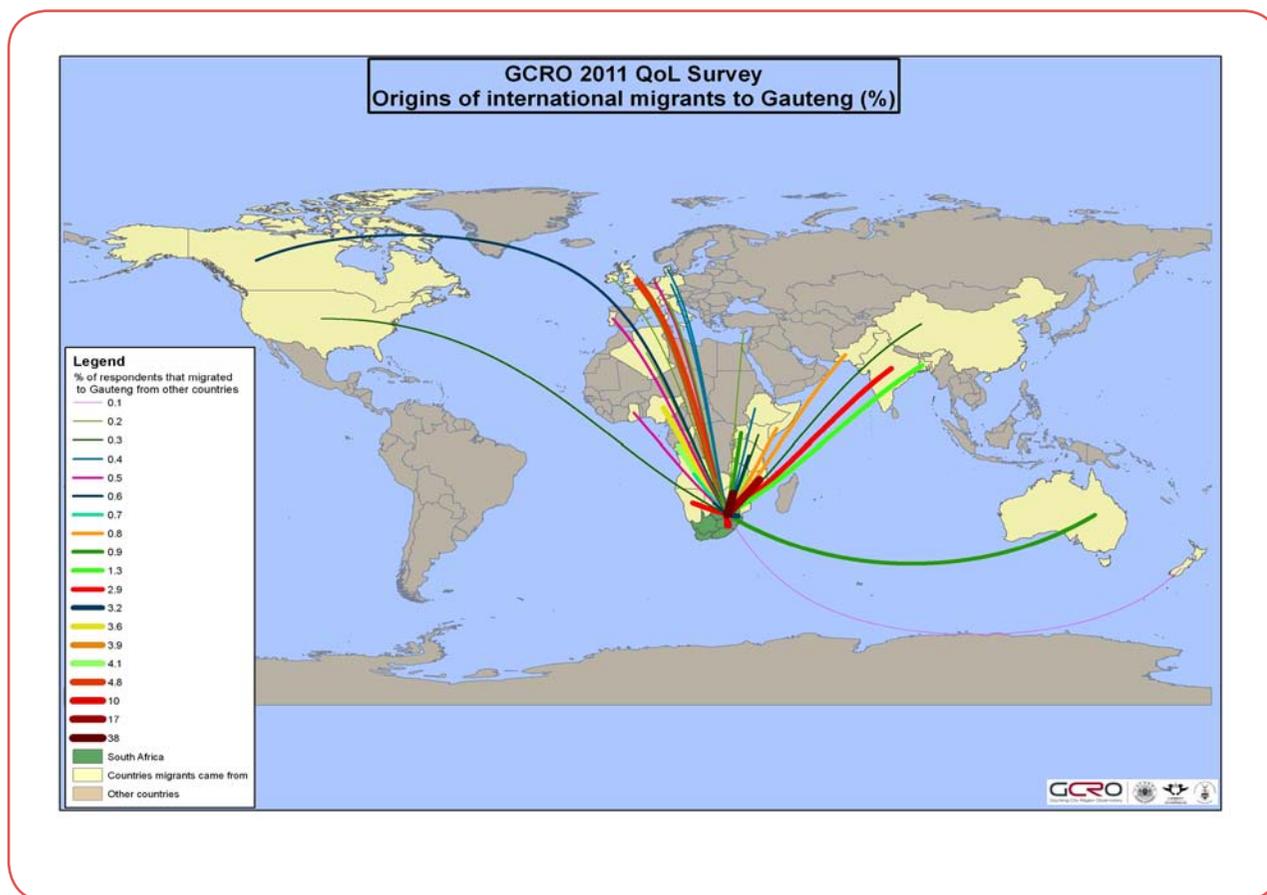


Source: StatsSA, 2012, *Census 2011*, Supercross.

2.2 Places of origin: cross border migrants

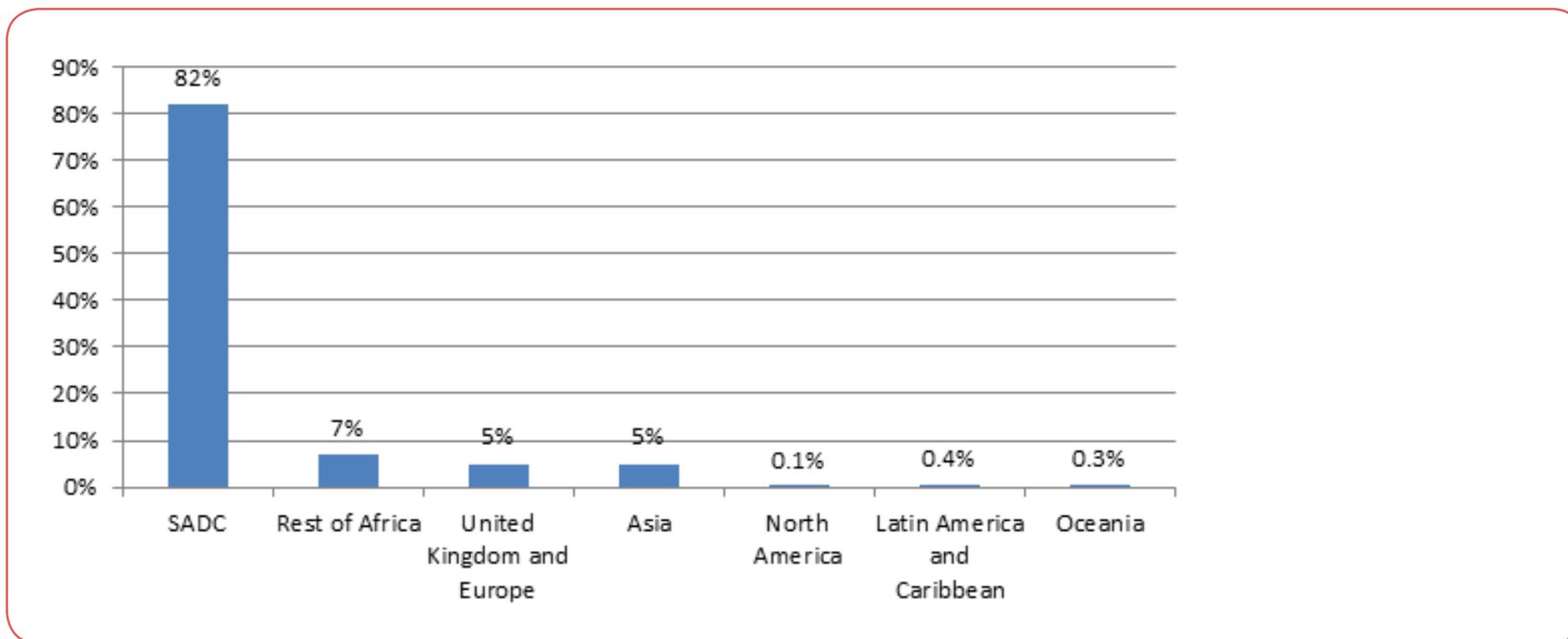
People have come from all over the world to live in Gauteng (Map 2). Not surprisingly given the colonial history of the region, the relative strength of the South African economy, its gold mining past and present as well as geographical proximity, the majority of people in Gauteng who were born outside South Africa came from Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries (Map 2 and Figure 3).

Map 2. Origins of cross border migrants to Gauteng Province, 2011.



The birthplace of 45% of people born outside the country is unspecified in Census 2011 data. Of those whose birthplace is known, Census 2011 shows 82% of people born outside South Africa were born in the SADC, 7% in the rest of Africa, 5% in Europe (including the UK) and 5% in Asia (StatsSA, 2012). QoL 2011 found just over three-quarters of cross border migrants came from the SADC, 12% from the rest of Africa, 7% from Europe and 3% from South Asia. Census data on the country of birth of migrants is not yet available. QoL 2011 found almost half of southern African migrants had moved to Gauteng from Zimbabwe, 22% from Mozambique and 13% from Malawi with all SADC countries represented in the population of the province.

Figure 3. Region of origin of cross border migrants, Census 2011.



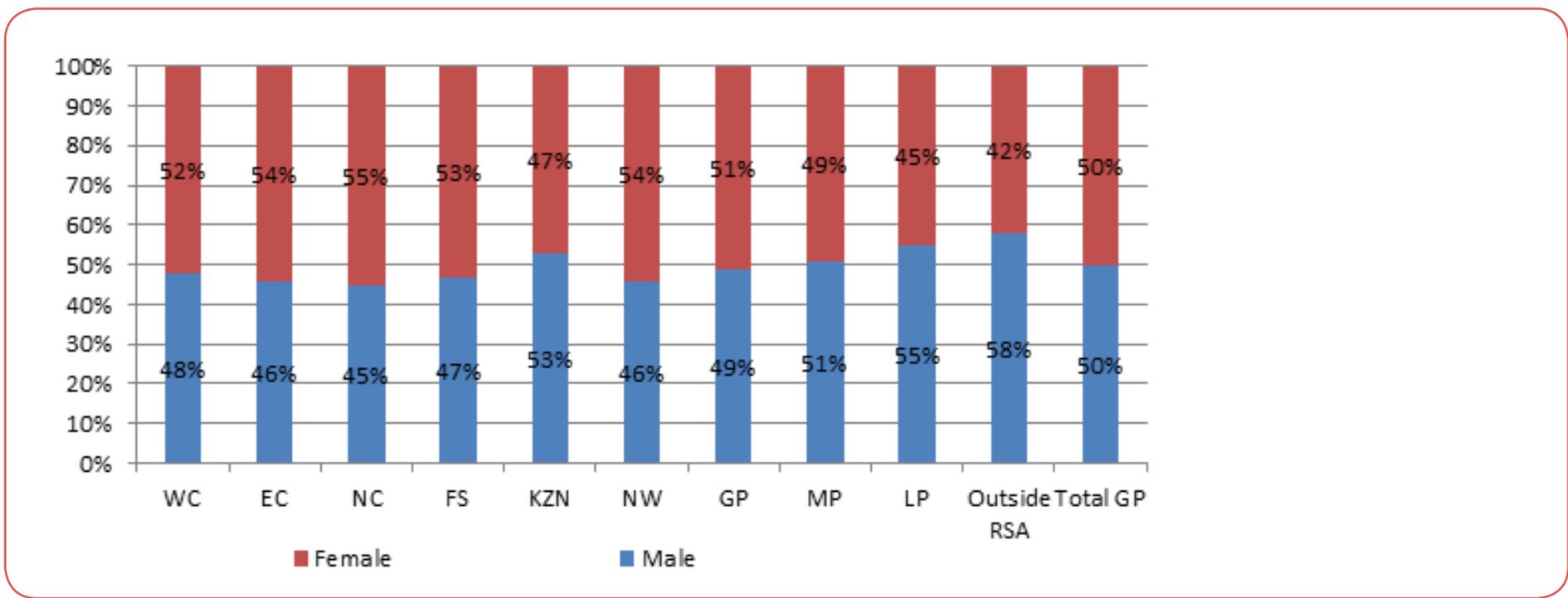
Source: StatsSA, 2012, *Census 2011*, Supercross.

3. Demographics

3.1 Sex of migrant population

Census 2011 and QoL 2011 data show that overall, male migrants (53%) outnumber female migrants (47%). However, when the sex of internal migrants is analysed by province of origin, we find that it is only among migrants from KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and Mpumalanga that men outnumber women (Figure 4). However, taken together Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal are the source of almost half of all internal migrants to Gauteng thus 51% of the internal migrant population is male. The cross border migrant population is dominated by male migrants (58%).

Figure 4. Sex of population of Gauteng by place of birth, Census 2011



Source: StatsSA, 2012, *Census 2011*, Supercross.

3.2 Race of migrant population

Data from Census 2011 and QoL 2011 show that the race profiles of people born in Gauteng and outside South Africa are similar but a higher proportion of migrants are black Africans (Table 2). Anxieties about cross border migrants and xenophobia in South Africa focus on black African migrants. Yet, nationally Census 2011 shows that only 4% of the black African population was born outside South Africa as compared to nearly 9% of the white and 7% of the Indian and Asian population groups of the country (StatsSA, 2012a: 42).

In Gauteng the picture is a little different. Within Gauteng, 9% of both the black African and white populations and 12% of the Indian/Asian population were born outside South Africa (Table 3). Not all white cross border migrants come from overseas. Census 2011 found that 7% of residents of Gauteng (or 46,584 people) who were born in other African countries were white (StatsSA, 2012).

Table 2. Race of migrants in Gauteng by place of birth, Census 2011

Place of birth	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
Gauteng	74%	5%	3%	18%	100%
Other province	83%	2%	3%	12%	100%
Outside South Africa ³	80%	1%	4%	16%	100%

Source: StatsSA, 2012, Census 2011, Supercross

Table 3. Population of Gauteng by race and place of birth, Census 2011

Place of Birth	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White
Gauteng	52%	76%	52%	65%
Other province	37%	22%	36%	26%
Outside South Africa	9%	2%	12%	9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: StatsSA, 2012, Census 2011, Supercross

³ Note the race of 4% of people born outside South Africa was classified as 'other'.

3.3 Age of migrant population

Census 2011 shows that the age profiles of people born in Gauteng, and internal and cross border migrants living in Gauteng are considerably different (Table 4). Almost a third (31%) of the population of the province is under 19 years old. However, 44% of people born in Gauteng were aged 19 or less compared to 16% of people born in other provinces and 13% of those born in other countries (StatsSA, 2012). Thus we can conclude that many internal and cross border migrants are not bringing children with them (if they have them), and despite the high proportion of the migrant population of working age (Table 4), and therefore childbearing/parenting age, it seems they may not be having children when in Gauteng or, if they have them, raising them outside the province.

Gauteng received the highest net inflow of school-age migrants between 2001 and 2007 (i.e., the largest number of school-age migrants who migrated to a province less those who left the province). However, the proportion of inter-provincial migrants aged between 6-18 years was lowest in Gauteng as compared to other provinces (17% of the school age population) (Minister of Basic Education, National Assembly, reply to question 60, 5/3/2013). The inflow of school-age migrants represented an increase in the learner population of the province of between 2-3% (*ibid.*). This indicates that migrants may be less of a burden on the education system than is sometimes claimed.⁴ Gauteng may be benefiting from other provinces and countries carrying the responsibility for raising a significant proportion of its current and possible future working age population. Or, put bluntly, Gauteng may be the beneficiary of a brain drain that operates nationally and internationally.

Table 4. Age profiles by place of birth, Gauteng, Census 2011

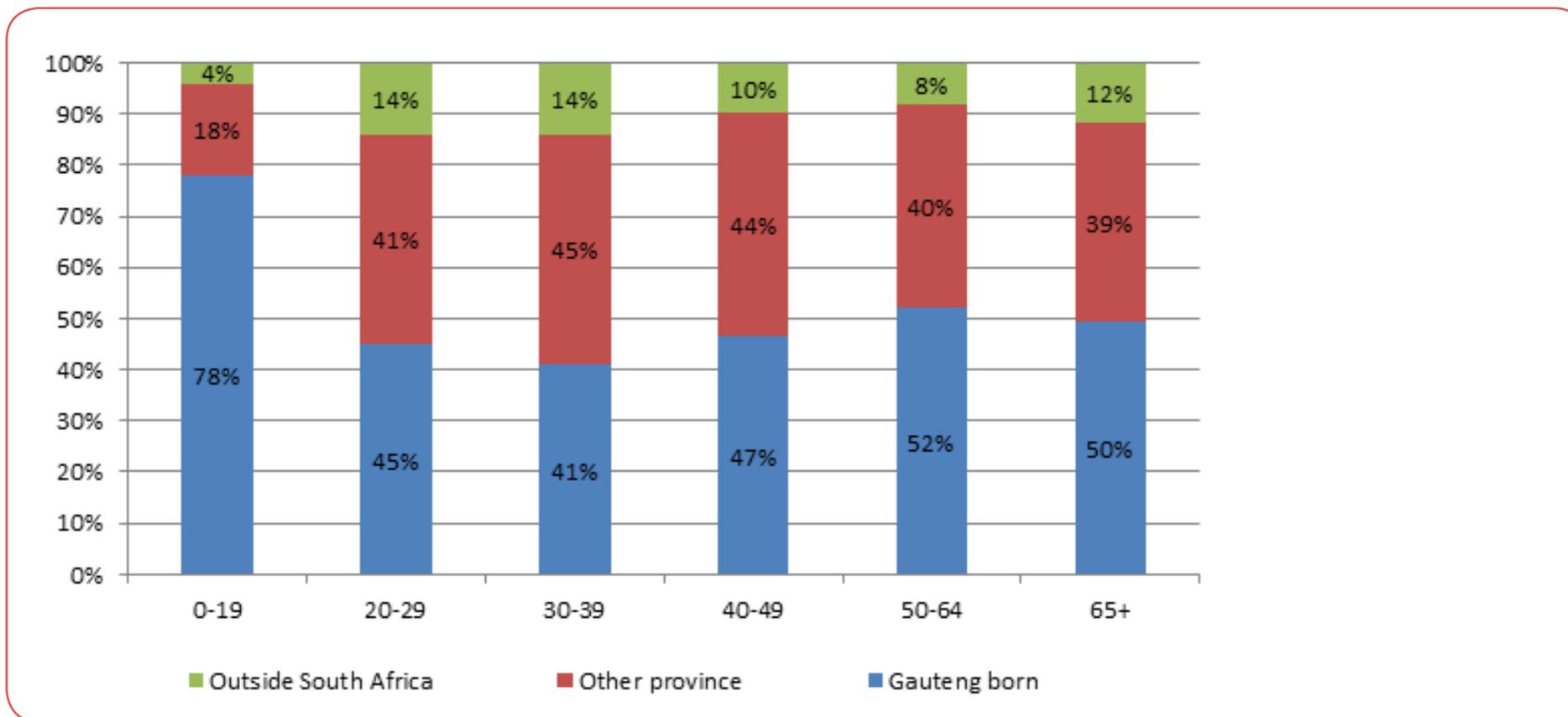
Age group in years	Gauteng	Other province	Outside South Africa	Total Gauteng
0-19	44%	16%	13%	31%
20-29	19%	27%	34%	23%
30-39	13%	24%	27%	18%
40-49	10%	16%	12%	12%
50-64	10%	12%	9%	11%
65+	4%	5%	5%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: StatsSA. 2012. *Census 2011*, Supercross.

⁴ See for instance, 'Principals complain of uncomfortable prefabs,' *Mail & Guardian*, 25 January 2013.

The internal and cross border migrant populations of the province are dominated by people of working age, particularly between 20-49 years, and when combined actually outnumber people born in Gauteng for that age cohort (Figure 5). Internal migrants alone outnumber people born in Gauteng among 30-39 year olds.

Figure 5. Proportion of age group by place of birth, Census 2011



Source: StatsSA. 2012. *Census 2011*, Supercross.

Possibly confounding expectations, proportions of the population aged over 65 years of migrants and people born in Gauteng are similar and migrants are slightly over-represented in this age group (Table 4 and Figure 5). However, older white immigrants from the UK, Europe and other African countries who entered during the influx of the 1960s (Peberdy, 2009) may be shaping the numbers of the immigrant elderly. Only 3% of the black African population of Gauteng is aged 65 years or over compared to 12% of the white population (StatsSA, 2012). Migration may be reflected in the age profile of the province as Gauteng has the lowest proportion of its population aged over 65 years (4%) of all provinces in South Africa. This suggests people in Gauteng, wherever they are born, are or have been retiring elsewhere and/or die younger than people in other provinces.

4. Housing, education and employment

4.1 Housing

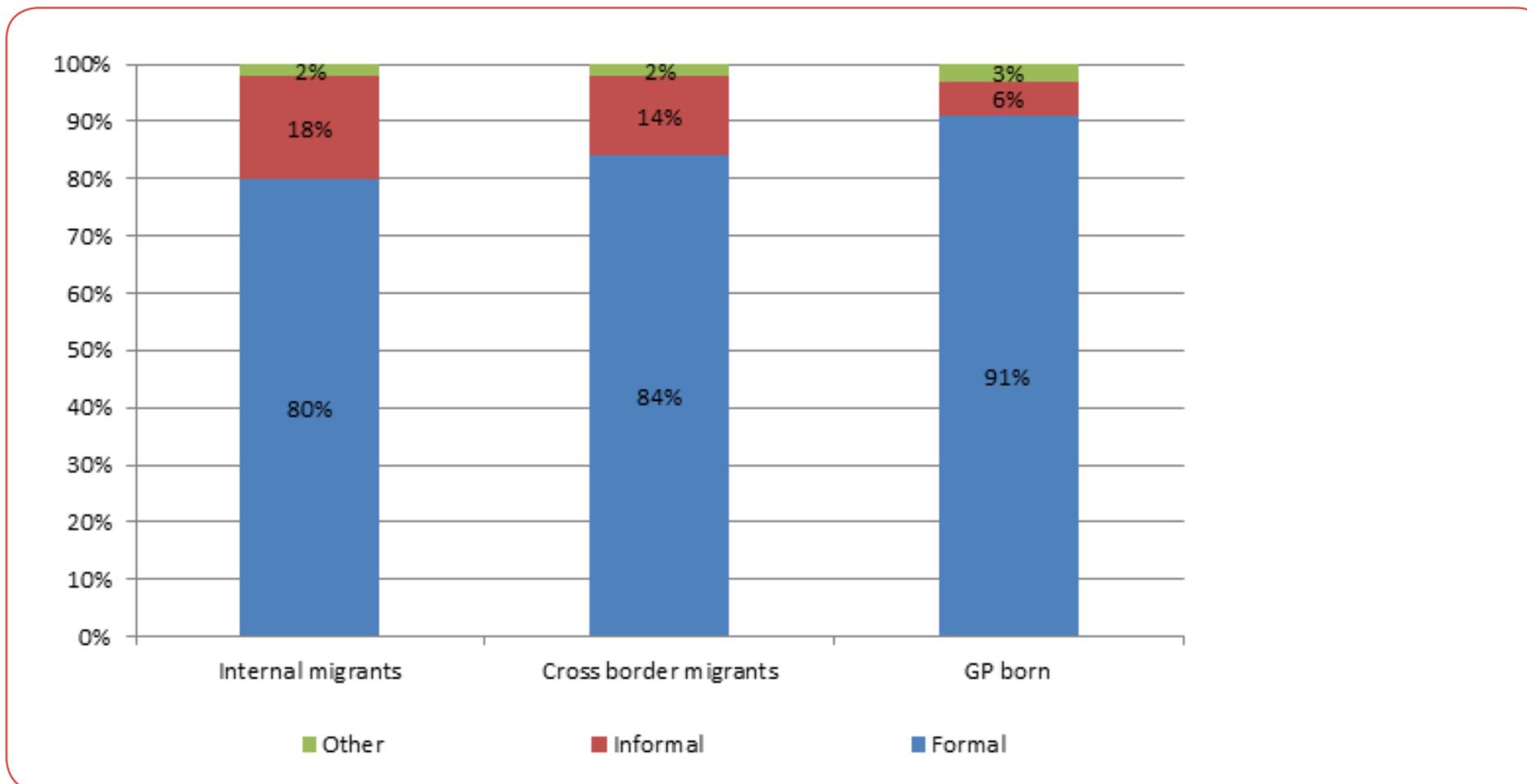
Census 2011 provides data on the type of neighbourhoods people live in. People born in Gauteng were proportionally most likely to live in formal residential areas (88%) (Table 5). People who had been born elsewhere in the country followed by cross border migrants were proportionally more likely than the Gauteng born to live in informal settlements (16% of internal migrants compared to 13% of people born in other countries and 7% of the Gauteng born) (Table 5). Although only a small number of people, and perhaps reflecting their living conditions, or employment sectors, migrants were found living in commercial and industrial areas.

Table 5. Type of enumeration area by place of birth, Census 2011

	Other province	Outside South Africa	Gauteng	Total Gauteng
Formal residential	76%	78%	88%	82%
Informal residential	16%	13%	7%	10%
Traditional residential	1%	0%	2%	1%
Farms	1%	1%	1%	1%
Collective living quarters	2%	1%	1%	2%
Industrial	1%	1%	0%	0%
Small holdings	2%	3%	2%	2%
Commercial	1%	2%	0%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: StatsSA. 2012. *Census 2011*, Supercross.

Figure 6. Type of housing by migrant status, 2011



Source: QoL 2011

The overwhelming majority of Gauteng residents live in formal housing. The QoL 2011 survey found that higher proportions of internal migrants (18%) and cross border migrants (14%) than people born in Gauteng (6%) lived in informal housing (Figure 6). This may reflect problems accessing formal housing for people arriving in the province. The QoL 2011 survey found that over half (52%) of all migrants who were living in informal housing had arrived in Gauteng between 2001 and 2011. However 46% of people who arrived in the same decade were able to access formal housing. It should be noted that wherever residents are from, living in formal housing does not necessarily preclude living in overcrowded and possibly

problematic dwellings. For instance, the QoL 2011 survey found that of all households living in formal housing, 17% of households living in one room and 23% of households living in two rooms consisted of more than six people. People born in Gauteng were found to be more likely (24%) to live in households of 6 or more people than migrants (20%) in the QoL 2011 survey. A higher proportion of respondents from Gauteng than migrant respondents in households of 6 or more people lived in one room (19% of Gauteng born compared to 13% of migrants) or two rooms (24% of Gauteng born compared to 20% of migrants).

4.2 Housing tenure type

The QoL 2011 survey found that just over half of respondents born in Gauteng (53%) owned their own house compared to just over a third of internal and cross border migrants (Table 6). In QoL 2011 a higher proportion of internal migrants (13%) than people born in the province (6%) or people who had moved to Gauteng from another country (4%) lived in a 'free RDP house' (Table 6). A higher proportion of people born in Gauteng (13%) than migrants lived in a house bought through government subsidy and their own contribution (Table 6). Cross border migrants were most likely to live in privately rented formal accommodation (27%) as compared to internal migrants (14%) or people born in the province (7%) (Table 6). This data suggests that some internal migrants are setting down roots in the province and that people are accessing housing through government housing schemes. It also indicates migrants are more likely to rent and therefore may have less security of tenure than other residents.

Table 6. Migrant status and housing tenure type, 2011

	Owned with bond & bond paid off	Free RDP house	Govt. subsidy & own contribution	Transfer of title deed of existing govt. house	Public Rental	Private rental	Informal dwelling paying rent	Informal dwelling not paying rent	Other	Total
Internal migrants	36%	13%	2%	2%	6%	14%	4%	14%	8%	100%
Cross border migrants	37%	4%	1%	1%	5%	27%	5%	9%	12%	100%
GP born	53%	6%	13%	3%	4%	7%	2%	6%	6%	100%

Source: QoL 2011

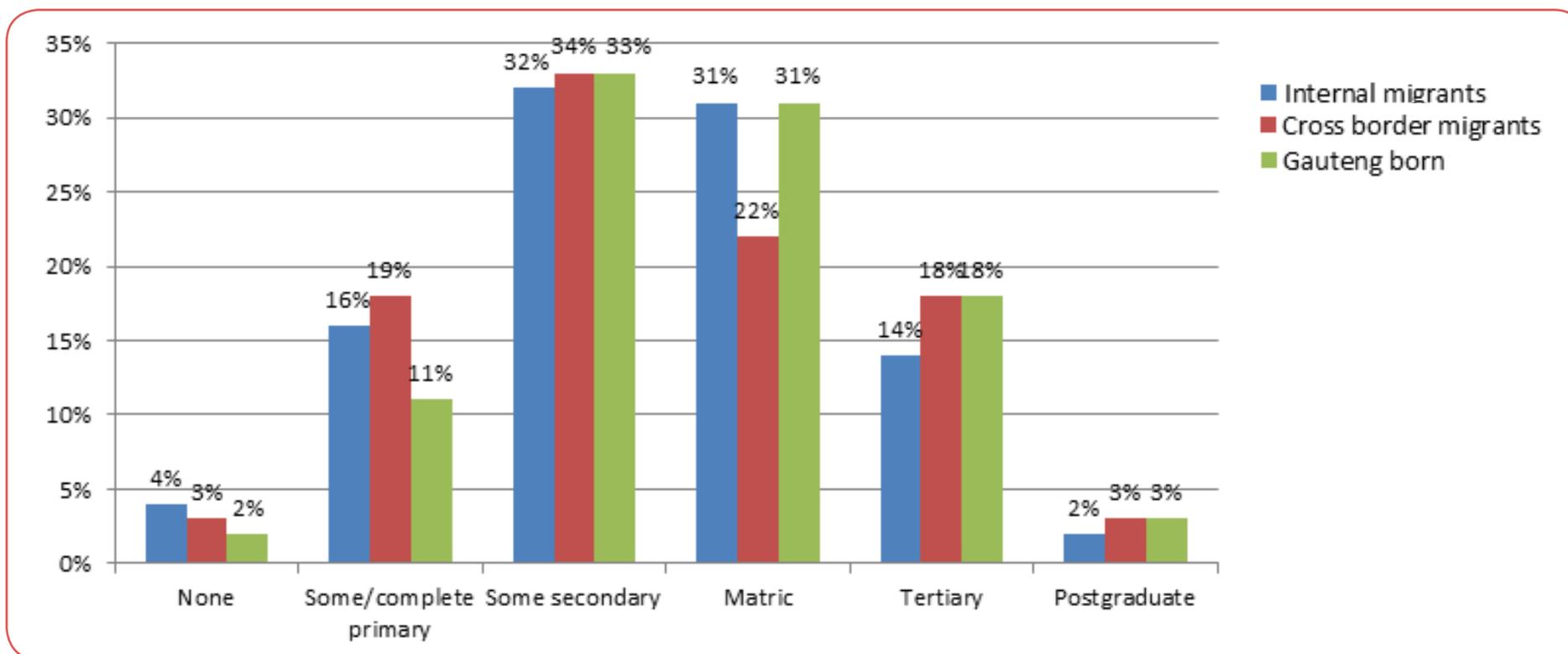
Although South Africa and the GCR have a long history of circular migration it seems that migrants are increasingly here to stay, settling in RDP houses, buying their own homes. When asked in the QoL 2011 survey 46% of migrants said that they considered Gauteng home. Furthermore migrants are active participants in the social and political life of the GCR, taking part in civil society organisations, attending ward meetings, community policing forums and active roles in religious and sports organisations in similar proportions to people from the province.

4.3 Level of education

Figure 7 shows respondents in the QoL 2011 survey born in Gauteng were likely to have the highest levels of education, particularly matric and tertiary education. Internal (20%) or cross border migrants (22%) were most likely to have no education or only primary education (Figure 7). Although cross border migrants were less likely to have completed matric, they were as likely as the Gauteng born to have tertiary and postgraduate education. Census 2011 data on the educational levels of migrants is currently not available.

Although this suggests that Gauteng is attracting large numbers of migrants with no or little education, QoL 2011 found the majority of migrants in the province with no education (63% of all migrants) or primary education (52% of all migrants) had arrived in Gauteng between 1907 and 1994. And data for 1994-2011 shows that since 1994 the education levels of internal and cross border migrants have increased. Some 69% of all migrants with secondary education, 75% with matric and 72% with tertiary education arrived in the province since 1994. However, Gauteng is still attracting people from across the educational spectrum (including those with no education). This is inevitable. What is important is how all types of migration are managed to ensure maximum value is achieved from the flow of human capital to the province.

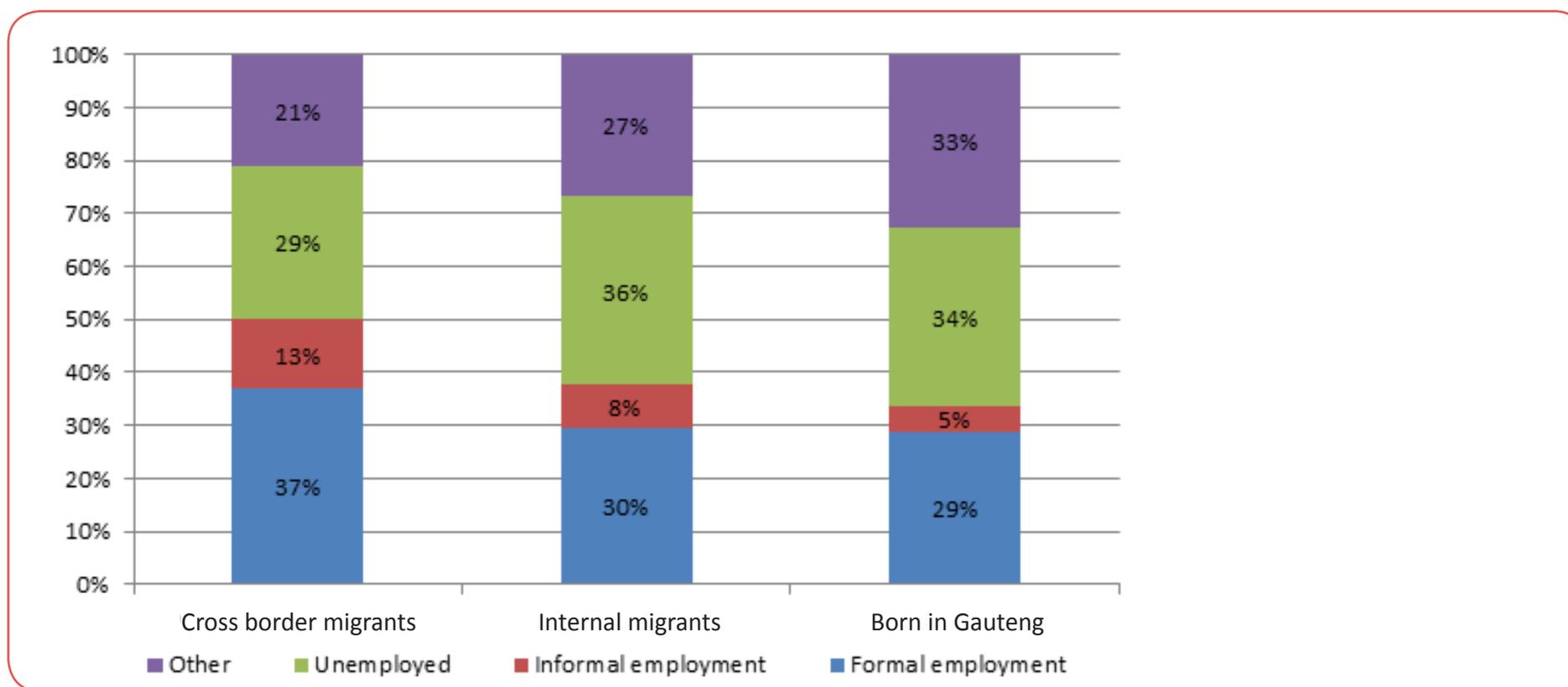
Figure 7. Highest level of education by migrant status, 2011



Source: QoL 2011

4.4 Employment

The QoL 2011 survey found cross border migrant respondents were least likely to be unemployed (29%) compared to internal migrants (36%) and the Gauteng born (34%) (Figure 8). However race made a significant difference to the employment prospects of all. Thus for black Africans, 41% of the Gauteng born and 40% of internal migrants were unemployed. Some 33% of black African, 36% of coloured, but only 13% of Indian/Asian and white cross border migrant respondents were unemployed. Cross border migrants were also more likely to be in formal employment (Figure 8). This challenges assumptions about the migration status (documented or not) of cross border migrants as it is difficult to find formal sector work without documents.⁵ Perhaps less surprising was that cross border migrants were most likely to be employed in the informal sector (Figure 8). Census 2011 data on the employment status of migrants is currently unavailable.



Source: QoL 2011

⁵ Since 1994 beside those immigrants who have applied as individuals under the various forms of immigration legislation, three ‘amnesties’ recognised the racist immigration practices of the apartheid state gave permanent residence to approximately 380,000 SADC nationals who qualified (Crush and Williams, 1999; Johnston, 2001; Peberdy, 2008). Since 1994 the South African state has recognised refugees and asylum seekers who are allowed to work.

Figure 8. Employment and unemployment by migrant status, 2011 QoL 2011 found a further 12% of all migrant respondents owned their own business (10% of respondents born in Gauteng). Taken with the 8% of all migrants who work in the informal sector (5% of people born in Gauteng) this suggests the province is attracting entrepreneurial migrants who help the economy grow.

4.5 Sector of employment

The most common sector of employment for cross border migrants in the QoL 2011 survey was in private households (21%), followed by the wholesale, retail and hospitality sector (16%) and the community, social and personal services sector (11%) (Figure 9). Although private households are also an important source of employment for internal migrants (19%), people born in Gauteng and internal migrants show similar profiles by employment sector (Figure 9). This suggests that migrants, particularly cross border migrants, are more likely to work in low paid sectors with relatively insecure employment. It seems the public sector in the province attracts people from elsewhere in the

country and is a significant sector of employment for the province.

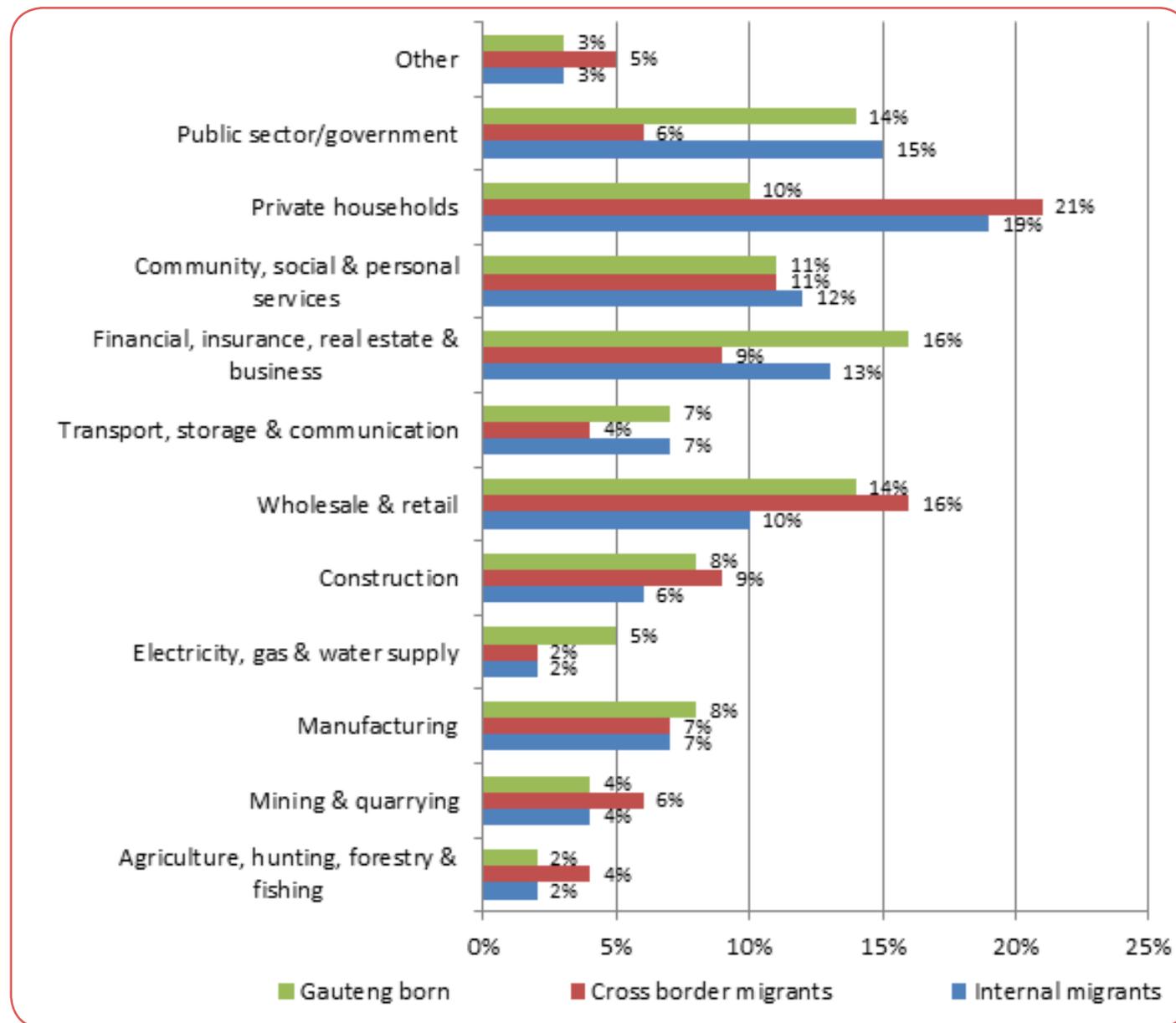


Figure 9. Employment sector by migrant status, 2011

Source: QoL 2011

4.6 Income

Income sources in part reflect employment status (Figure 10). Cross border migrant households were most likely to have income from savings and investments (Figure 10). Almost a third of people born in Gauteng (32%) and internal migrants (30%) in QoL 2011 said that they received government grants (including old age pensions) compared to 13% of cross border migrants. Suggesting stronger social networks and capital, the Gauteng born were slightly more likely to receive income from family or remittances (Figure 10). Cross border migrants were most likely to send remittances or support others outside their household (28% compared to 23% of internal migrants and 18% of the Gauteng born).

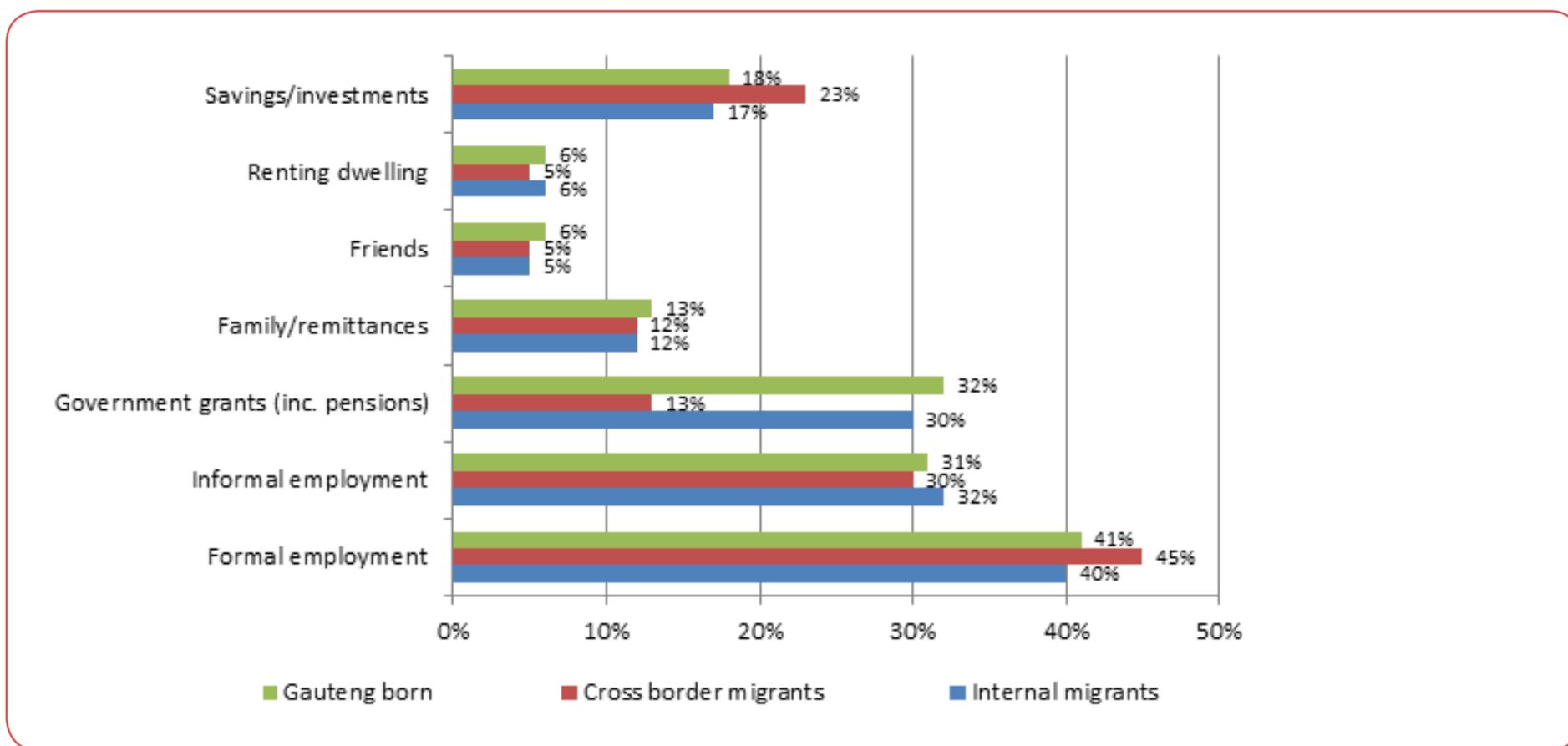


Figure 10. Income source by migrant status, 2011

Source: QoL 2011. Note: this was a multi-mention question so responses will not add up to 100%.

Table 7. Total net monthly household income by migrant status (ZAR), 2011

	GP born	Internal migrants	Cross border migrants
No income	12%	13%	12%
R1-R3200	44%	47%	45%
R3201-R6400	13%	17%	16%
R6401-R12800	12%	10%	14%
R12801-R25600	9%	6%	8%
R25601-R51200	6%	4%	3%
R51201>	3%	2%	3%

Source: QoL 2011. Note: these figures reflect the proportion of respondents who answered the question but over 40% of interviewees did not answer this question.

Data on monthly net household incomes from QoL 2011 is somewhat problematic as overall over 40% of interviewees (and 48% of cross border migrants) did not answer the question. Unfortunately data on income by migrant status is currently unavailable from Census 2011, the Labour Force survey or the Income and Expenditure survey. QoL 2011 found that the income profiles of people born in Gauteng and internal and cross border migrants were similar (Table 7). Disturbingly over half of all households in the survey that responded were living on less than R3200pm, including one in ten households with no income (Table 7). This data is reflected in Census 2011 which found six out of ten households (62%) in Gauteng lived on less than R3,200 per month including 15% of households with no income.

5. Attitudes to cross border migrants and migration

The GCRO QoL 2011 survey asked a number of attitudinal related questions. Some of these related to the attitudes of respondents to the presence of foreigners in Gauteng. In one question respondents were read the following:

Imagine that there are three friends who are talking about life in Gauteng.

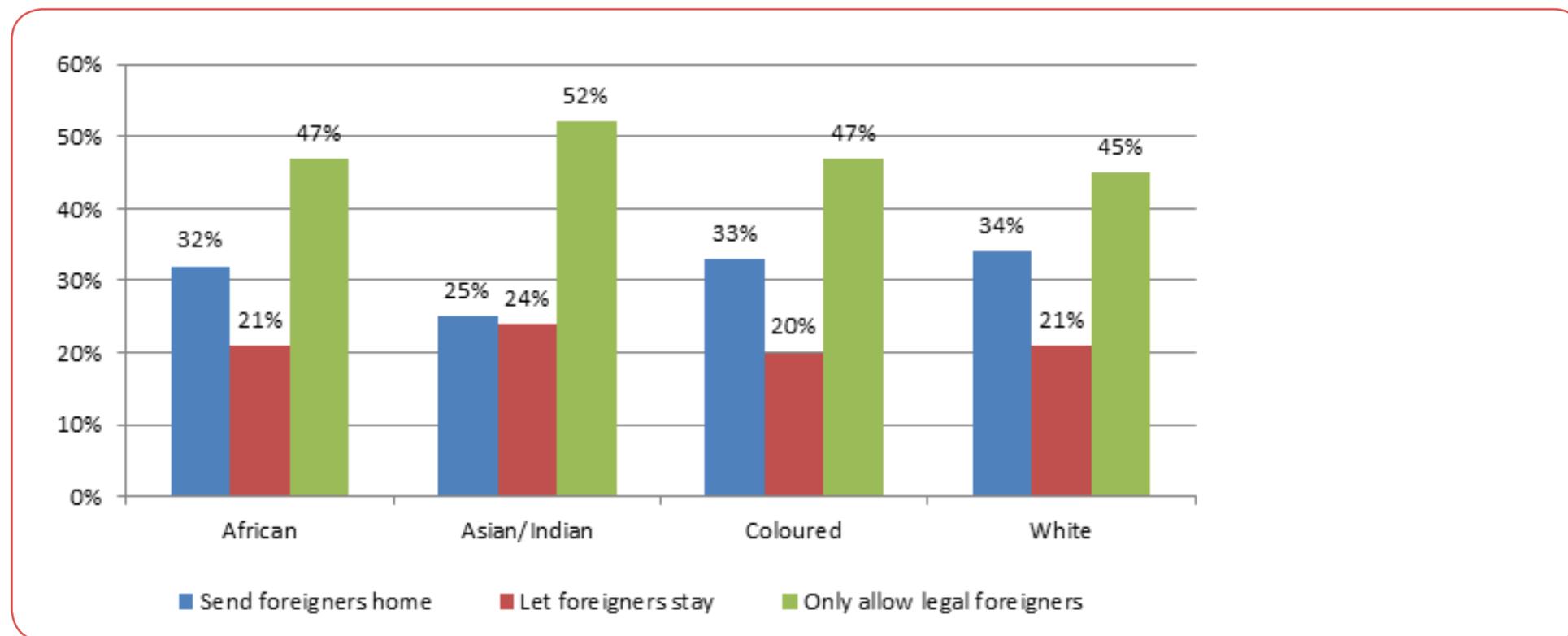
- The first one says: "Gauteng should be for South Africans only. They must send foreigners back to their countries."
- The second one says: "A lot of foreigners came to work in South Africa for poor wages under apartheid. We all suffered under the same system. They should be allowed to stay."
- The third one says, "Foreign people living in Gauteng are alright, but only if they have got legal permission from the government".

Which one person best describes how you feel?

Disturbingly, almost a third of respondents (32%) said that Gauteng is for South Africans only and foreigners should be sent back to their own countries. Almost half (47%) said that those who are in the country legally should be able to stay (although it is unclear how many they thought this would be since no figures were provided), while 21% said that foreigners should be allowed to stay.

Differences in attitudes did not reflect starkly differentiated groups with significantly different opinions. Race and sex only affected attitudes marginally suggesting that anti-foreigner sentiment is common to South Africans regardless of race, sex or other demographic differences (Figure 11). Migrant status affected the attitudes of respondents although not significantly. Gauteng born respondents held the strongest attitudes. Year of arrival in Gauteng of internal migrants appeared to have little impact on opinions.

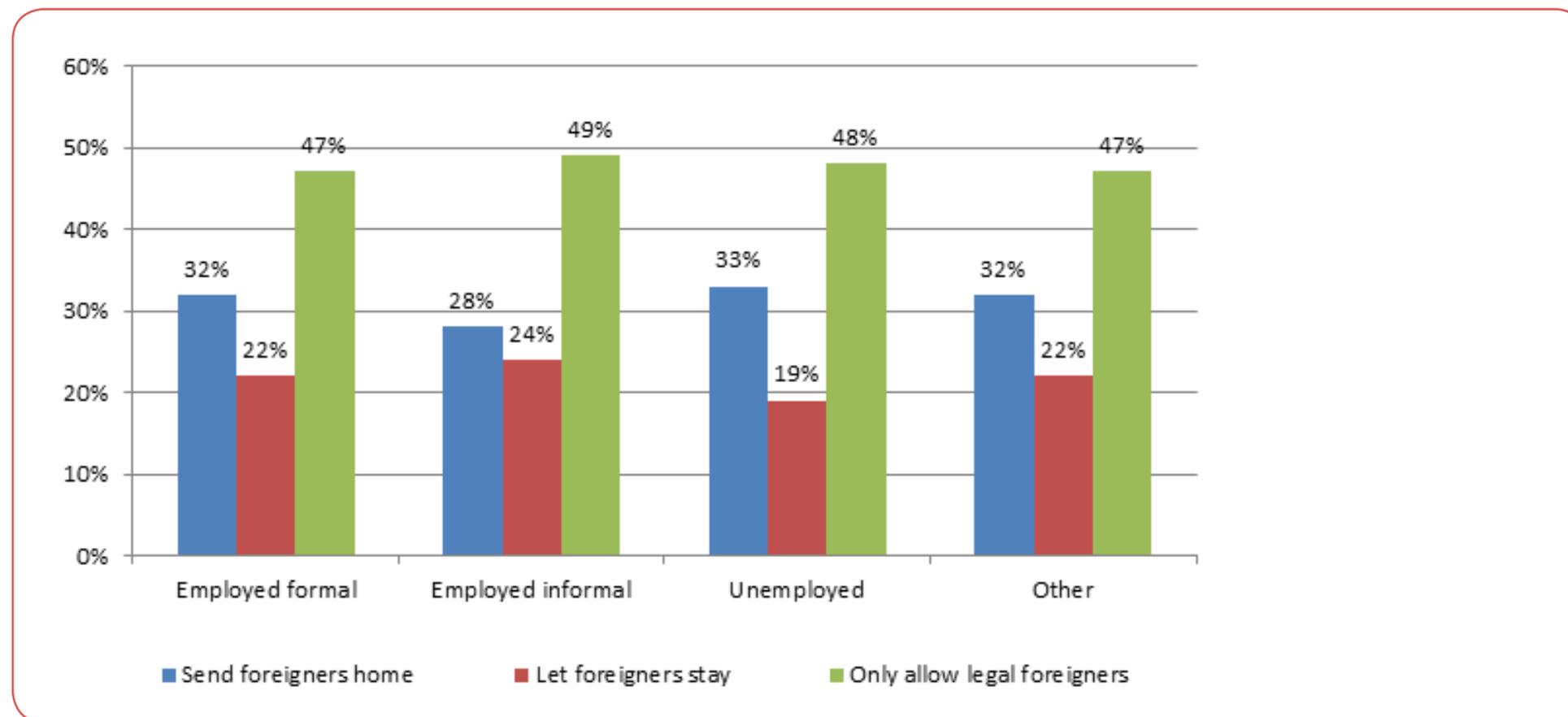
Figure 11. Race of respondents and attitudes to immigration policy, 2011



Source: QoL 2011

Employment status did not make a significant difference to respondents' attitudes in the QoL 2011 survey (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Employment status and attitudes to migration policy, 2011



Source: QoL 2011

There were differences in attitudes by employment sector, with those working in the manufacturing (36%), construction (34%), public (34%) and community, social and personal services (32%) sectors being most likely to say that Gauteng is for South Africans only and that foreigners should be sent home. Those working in community, social and personal services were least likely to say foreigners should be allowed to stay (16%). It is of concern that respondents working in the public sector and in community and social services held such strong and exclusionary opinions.

Conversely, those working in sectors where migrants have historically worked and are most likely to work were least likely to say that foreigners should be sent home. This applied to 26% of people working in private households where 25% said foreigners should be allowed to stay. Relatively high proportions of respondents working in transport and storage (26%) and mining and quarrying (37%) said that foreigners should be allowed to stay, although 30% of respondents in both sectors thought Gauteng was for South Africans only.

The type of housing people lived in seemed to make little difference to respondents' opinions, although people living in government subsidised housing (owned or rented) were most likely to want to send all foreigners home. People living in informal housing, where cross border migrants are often found living, were more likely to hold inclusive attitudes.

Although it might be thought that it would be people who are most economically and socially vulnerable that would hold the most hostile attitudes to foreigners this does not appear to be true in Gauteng. In QoL 2011 white people, people living in formal housing, living in government subsidised housing, working in the public sector or other formal sector jobs were generally as likely or more likely to say that Gauteng is for South Africans only and all foreigners should be sent back to their countries. Conversely people living in informal settlements, working in the informal sector or employment sectors where migrants are found were more likely to hold inclusive attitudes. Although apparently not true of people working in the construction sector, this data suggests that in some cases sharing work, conditions of service, living conditions and other life experiences may lead to more inclusive attitudes towards cross border migrants and migration.

Although the data relating to attitudes to migrants and migration policy from the QoL 2011 survey is of concern on many levels, not all residents are hostile to foreigners, and many residents stood up at potential cost to their own lives and livelihoods to protect foreigners in their midst during the violence of May 2008 and subsequently.

6. Conclusion

This data brief presents findings on migration in Gauteng using data from Census 2011 and the GCRO Quality of Life 2011. The findings show that demographically Gauteng is a province of migrants. The data challenges some commonly held preconceptions about the race, sex and age of migrants. The findings of the QoL 2011 survey indicate that many of the perceptions of cross border migrants may be misplaced, particularly as regards employment and incomes and to a lesser extent, levels of education.

While this data clearly shows that most migrants are of working age, the relationship between employment, unemployment and the presence of migrants is complex. This data could be seen by some as confirmation that migrants are taking jobs meant for South Africans. However, this would pre-suppose a zero-sum job market and ignores the considerable amount of literature which suggests that migrants create jobs (see for instance Black et al., 2001). Certainly this data shows that a considerable number of entrepreneurial migrants are participating in the economy of the province. Furthermore, Gauteng is the province with the highest number and proportion of migrants, but with the second lowest (but still high) unemployment rate (expanded definition) and the biggest and fastest growing economy in the country (StatsSA, 2012a). It is not possible here to investigate these relationships but they do raise questions about the role of in-migration in strengthening economies.

It is disturbing that almost a third of respondents thought Gauteng is for South Africans only and that foreigners should be sent back to their countries and not even allow those whose stay is sanctioned by immigration legislation and the government to remain. This shows a distinct lack of confidence in notions of 'diversity' and an obliteration of the history and present of Gauteng and its economy which was built, at least in part, through migration to the gold mines from the rest of the region, on the backs and even bodies of both internal and cross border migrant mine and other workers. It also indicates that people who work and live in diverse communities and workplaces are most likely to hold socially cohesive attitudes cross border migrants and migration.

Gauteng is the richest and most productive province in South Africa. It is also the most urbanised. The urbanisation process is likely to continue as the South African economy grows. Certainly the data from QoL suggests that migrants are increasingly setting down roots in the province. It is likely that Gauteng will continue to attract both internal and cross border migrants. Data from Census 2011 and QoL 2011 suggests that this process may present some obstacles, but also may present opportunities for the province and its economy. Managing in-migration to the province and finding ways to make the most of the entrepreneurial and other skills of migrants as well as their connections to other places may provide opportunities for the economy of the province and the well-being of its residents. It will also require planning to enable the province to manage new demands for space, housing, services, energy and water other than those created through natural population increase.

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