RETURN FLIGHT: THE EXODUS OF PROFESSIONALS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Project submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters in Population Studies



Supervisor: Dr. Henry V. Doctor

University of the Western Cape
Faculty of Science
Department of Statistics

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Declaration

I, Constance S. Mtsweni hereby declare that

RETURN FLIGHT: THE EXODUS OF PROFESSIONALS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted from have been acknowledged by way of a complete list of references. This Research Project has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.

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Signed by CS Mtsweni	Date

Dedication

I dedicate this project to my loving family (my three parents, sisters, brothers, nephews and nieces) who are proud of this accomplishment. Special thanks to my father who gave me continuous encouragement and educational support.

Thanks to my honorable parents for being the excellent role models and my pillar of strength. The connection goes deep and defies any words I could write here.



Acknowledgements

First I would like to give God the glory for providing me strength to achieve my goal. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude all parties who assisted in the production of this project. I am greatly indebted to the National Research Foundation which funded my studies. I am also thankful to my supervisor Dr. H V Doctor, your constructive comments, support and concern were instrumental to my achievement of this project. To people who are precious in my life that I had to put aside in order to complete this project. To everyone who went beyond the boundaries to help me in this project, your friendship is deeply appreciated.

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Abstract

Research shows that more than 60 percent of South African born professionals, who graduated from South African universities, are leaving the country to work abroad in search of better working environments and financial rewards.

This research assessed the intention to migrate and a number of factors that are likely to influence intentions to migrate such as age, professional group, education, gender, and population group. The research also examined the countries to which people intend to migrate.

Using survey data on migration from the Human Science Research Council of South Africa, descriptive and multivariate models were used to assess the relationship between various socio-demographic factors and the intention to migrate. For the multivariate models, logistic regression technique was used in analyzing migration trends. Results show that age and education have major influences on the intentions to migrate. It was also found that gender, marital status and population groups are significant factors when assessing the migrants.

About 88 percent of respondents do not **intend** to migrate permanently to another area in South Africa or to another country in the next 12 months. About 97 percent are not **planning** to move temporarily, and 98 percent do not

consider migrating. Thus, majority of respondents do not intend or plan to migrate either permanently or temporary. This also means that, assuming that all expressed intentions turn into behaviour, migratory moves might decrease.

Those who are likely to move would do so mainly to Australia (26 percent), Great Britain (19 percent), United States of America (19 percent), and Canada (7 percent). The least popular destinations, amongst others, were Angola, Egypt, France, and Germany (about 1 percent of respondents would consider moving to each of these countries). Those who intend to move within South Africa account for 85 percent and those intending to move outside South Africa account for 15 percent. This implies that there is a high possibility that we will observe more internal than international migration in the near future.

Younger people aged between 18-24 years old were more likely to move than those between 35-45 years. It is evident that males were more willing to move abroad than females and more women were likely to move within South Africa. Of those who do not have any formal education, none would want to move abroad, but some would consider moving within South Africa. Those with a bachelor's degree are the most likely to move abroad, followed by those with honours degree or superior qualification. About 37 percent of those married or currently living together were unlikely to plan to move permanently. Fifty four percent of those who are married or currently living together said that they were unlikely to plan to move temporarily. We find that Indians/Asians are 74 percent

less likely to plan to move out and return to their current place of residence at a later date. Africans/Blacks are more likely to move within South Africa than any other races. Whites and Indians are less likely to move within South Africa.



CS Mtsweni Date: January 2007

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to Study

Demographers define migration as the movement of individuals from one place to another, either temporarily or permanently. Generally, migratory movements are permanent, although temporary movements are common among people worldwide (Edmonston and Michalowski, 2004). Two broad categories of migration exist: international and internal migration. The former involves movement across international boundaries, whereas the latter involves movement within a specified geographic boundary. This research focused mainly on international migration and gave the glance of internal migration.

WESTERN CAPE

Migration studies are very important because, amongst other things, migration impacts on the growth of the country, since it is the third factor of population change. Furthermore, migration also affects the size of the economy by either increasing or decreasing the size of the labor force. Nevertheless, migration studies are often problematic due to the nature of the available data, especially with respect to internal migration.

South Africa is currently experiencing a lot of migratory movements across different age groups with a peak observed among young adults aged 18 to 30

years. South Africa has a rich history of migrant mineworkers and other labourers from neighboring Southern African countries. As a result, contemporary South Africa continues to experience substantial numbers of documented and undocumented migrants. Efforts to study the determinants of such moves are often thwarted by lack of reliable data sets. Even in the presence of reliable data, analysis of migration is a challenge, because there are a number of observed and unobserved factors that influence migration. For example, individuals may decide to migrate based on a number of factors which are not easily quantifiable in social surveys. Findings of this research showed that, assuming that all expressed intentions turn into behaviour, international migration could decrease and internal migration could increase.

With a thriving economy, South Africa continues to offer a safe haven for most migrants within the Southern African belt. However, within this prevailing prosperous economy, a number of South Africans are allegedly migrating to other countries, particularly those in the developed world such as the United States, United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to mention a few. Such migratory movements have negative consequences for the economic performance of the country. For example, if medical doctors are leaving South Africa in search of better jobs and living conditions elsewhere, the country will, in the long run, experience a shortage of skilled personnel in the health sector.

Against this background, it is imperative for researchers to study the determinants of migration with particular attention to international migration.

Since the first step in the migration process is to have an intention to migrate, we analyse, in this project, the different intentions of South African professionals who are contemplating leaving the country. These are often called international migrants or migrant Diasporas. International migrants are described as "those who reside in countries other than those of their birth for more than one year" (Sorensen, 2002: 3). Migrant Diasporas are defined as being "constituted by people dispersed among diverse destinations outside their home country, transnational practices as activities carried out by migrant Diasporas over several locations" (*ibid.*, 2002: 15). Specifically, we focus on a number of factors that are likely to influence intentions to migrate such as age, professional group, education, gender and population group. We also examine the countries to which they intend to migrate and other factors. The aim is to increase our understanding of the expected level of emigration, or what has become known as the 'brain drain', in South Africa.

1.2 Changing Migration Patterns in the Pre- and Post Apartheid South Africa

Migration trends give a signal of where people are moving to, which has a direct impact on the increase or decrease of population. In the post apartheid era, migration has a direct bearing on the planning processes of social policies such as provision of houses, health facilities and jobs. During the pre- apartheid era

research on migration was mainly focused on labour migrant system. However, in the post apartheid era the focus shifted. During the apartheid era, movement of migrants/Blacks were controlled through the legislation and that legislation was cancelled at the end of apartheid and people were free to move. According to Pose (2003), migration has increased because after apartheid families could also migrate to be with the head of the household in his place of employment and possibly relocate permanently. Before then the gender pattern of migration were men and their families were not allowed to migrate with.

As urbanisation became more widespread in South Africa during apartheid, so is the international migration in the post-apartheid era. Posel (2003) identified three national trends of migration and these are: Internal migrant labour has increased, female labour migrants specifically have risen and rural African labour migrants continued to retain economic ties with their households of origin. They retained that because of insecurities of labour markets and as their places of retirement.

Cities are the most popular when it comes to migration destinations. Results from the Census 2001 indicated that in Johannesburg and Pretoria the population of foreigners increased from 4.8 percent in 1996 to 5.4 percent in 2001. Absolute losses were experienced in the non-metropolitan areas. Regions of out migration show a relationship with those identified as areas that are deteriorating in economic activities. This is caused by the free movement as the results of democracy and the cancellation of migrant labour system. According to Mattes

et al (2000), reflecting South Africa pre-1994, immigration policies, the major source of immigrants is Europe accounting for 47 percent, UK by 31 percent and 41 percent from other parts of Africa. This points to the newer post-1990 trend in South Africa's immigration experience, the movement of skilled Africans to the country following the demise of apartheid. Due to apartheid, many people were not counted during census taking and migration movements were also not captured. Until 1996 (post- apartheid) former homelands were excluded from census and those people who were migrating as labourers were not recorded. There were also Acts that were used to control influx of blacks from going to and settling in the cities.

Due to insufficient data on migration, it is not easy to formulate probable assumptions on migration intentions. The estimates made by Stats SA on migration are integrated with assumptions using published and adjusted migration data and other sources. According to results from Census 2001, it is estimated that the large out-migration of white population will be a continuation of positive in-migration of African population. Stats SA reports that the number of out-migrants increased from 2002 to 2003, which accounted for 49 percent, of which 78 percent were South African citizens. The standard age of the migrants ranged between 25 to 34 years (Stats SA, 2003). On internal migration, the provinces that have a more positive net migration are KwaZulu-Natal, Western Cape and Gauteng whereas the Eastern Cape and Limpopo are having the highest outflow of people (Stats SA, 2005).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Although South Africa experienced a booming economy between September 2004 and September 2005, the unemployment rate is still estimated at 27 percent (Stats SA, 2005). As such, a number of people still find the economic situation very challenging and embark on other income-generating activities. While the government may view the prevailing economic situation as befitting the average South African, this may not be the case for some people. Few studies have analysed the extent to which people intend to migrate within South Africa and across its borders largely in search of employment. The present study aims to fill that gap in order to determine the number of people who intend to migrate in search of employment. This will be done by examining the demographic factors associated with the intention to migrate. Studies of this nature are crucial to the assessment and planning of socio-economic policies. The key assumption in this study is that every intention to migrate results in actual migration later in an individual's life.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to examine the intentions of people who want to migrate within or outside the borders of South Africa. Specifically, the study attempts to:

- Assess the socio-economic and demographic factors that influence intentions to migrate.
- Assess the extent of the intention, that is, whether it is temporary or permanent migration.
- Identify the countries or regions to which people intend to migrate.



Chapter Two

Literature Review

Different papers, journals and books contain information on the African Diaspora. However, different authors have different views. On the one hand there is the motion to keep the professionals of the country at home in order to improve the status of the country, whereas, on the other hand, the motion is to retain their skills obtained from abroad. Some authors feel that connecting the current African Diaspora and African reparations is important, because it is the same loss to the sending countries, even though it is in a different context.

Migrating from a country of origin to another is not a new tendency. Writers and scholars of the 18th century debated the relationship between the African Diaspora and migration. They concentrated much on art, music and history. Contemporary writers and scholars are focusing on professionals migrating to work in more developed countries for economical and political reasons. Brown *et al* (2001) stated that more than 77 percent of South African migrants to the United States have tertiary education.

There are four different forms of migration that are mentioned by McNeill (1984).

These are (a) radical displacement of one population by another as a result of a

systematic exercise of force; (b) conquest of one population by another, leading to symbiosis of two previously diverse communities on the same ground; (c) infiltration by outsiders with some degree of acquiescence from existing populations and without displacing existing rulers; (d) importation of individuals or even of whole communities that had been forcibly uprooted from their initial place of residence by slave raiders and/or traders.

The causes of these were, among others, warfare amongst tribes. If they were fighting, the victorious tribe would move into and own the conquered land.

Climate was the other cause of these movements. If people were staying in a place where the weather was intolerably harsh, they would move from that place to a better one. Due to the lack of manpower in urban areas and on the plantations, slaves were also forcibly transported to go and work in those areas.

Often slaves were taken from beyond the borders of that particular state and into more underdeveloped areas. Through all these movements, these people were carrying their skills and knowledge with them, as well as accumulating more.

Sorensen (2003) argues that negative or low economic growth, population growth, and high unemployment rates combined with unequal income distribution and high pressure on land and urban environment are some of the factors that perpetuate international labour migration. To understand the dynamics of international labour migration, one has to analyse migrants' motivation, attitudes and understanding of the structure within which they act. Mattes *et al.* (2000) also

argues that the majority of immigrants in South Africa had full-time employment at home before they left. While we cannot discount improved job opportunities and prospects as a motive for migration, it is clear that unemployment per se is not the only reason for skilled immigrants to leave their home country and come to South Africa. Some factors responsible for migratory moves may also include political and civil strife, particularly in some African countries that have been ravaged by war.

Sorensen also points out that something good for the sending countries can come from migration, depending on the income that the migrants receive.

Quoting Athukorala (1993), Sorensen points out that 'migrant remittances' benefit local households in less developed countries by sustaining daily living and debt repayments. Over time remittances may be invested in consumer durables, better housing, education and the purchase of land or small business. National level remittances contribute positively to the balance of payments by providing much-needed foreign exchange. Ideally, migrants are expected to have saved capital and acquired skills abroad that can be productively invested in the sending country. Nevertheless, evidence suggest that migrants, unless highly skilled, often do not acquire skills abroad that are useful at home. Recently, Maloka (2004: 3) quoted that:

"It is estimated that up to five million African professionals ...are living and working outside the continent. As a consequence of this migration ... Africa

spends billions of dollars each year on salaries for foreign experts who provide technical assistance... it is a shame that our government should spend such huge sums of money on foreign expatriates, to provide the same kind of services that could be provided by their many highly skilled professionals."

Table 1 shows the number of professionals in South Africa who are 'lost' to the more developed countries. However, the data may be an underestimate of the true population that is lost, since not all moves may be captured. When comparing data of migrants that other countries have, all foreign countries have higher numbers than the South African data. For instance, there is a three quarters' difference when you compare the total number of New Zealand and South Africa. The numbers are rapidly increasing each year in all countries. According to foreign data, amongst countries chosen by migrants, the UK absorbs the most migrants and New Zealand absorbs the least. Also, according to South African data, the UK is still the country that absorbs most people, but the country that attracted the least was the United States of America. Table 1 further shows that the number of migrants was much higher in 1987. In 1988 they drastically decreased in almost all the countries. However, from 1988 onwards, the numbers started to gradually increase.

Table 1. South African Emigration to Five Major Recipient Countries, 1987-1997.

Country	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	Total
New Zealand data	632	246	209	202	223	422	2054	2638	2046	2648	2689	14009
South Africa data	411	176	83	64	50	126	242	1465	939	1266	1157	5979
Australia data	3792	3024	2424	2084	1274	1021	1654	2792	3190	3211	4281	28747
South Africa data	3484	2588	1275	1292	928	694	1309	1298	1507	1767	1508	17650
United Kingdom data	6700	7000	11700	6400	8000	6900	9400	8100	4200	11400	10988	90788
South Africa data	3817	2295	1420	1804	1800	1987	3716	2880	2045	2243	2162	26169
Canada data	1748	1672	1558	1083	1014	1141	1822	2910	1753	1526	1898	18125
South Africa data	755	722	454	349	266	285	566	947	679	774	557	6354
United States data	1741	1832	1899	1990	1854	2516	2197	2144	2560	2966	2563	46724
South Africa data	543	325	174	278	307	314	566	752	882	963	832	5936

Source: Brown, et al (2001).

There are a number of migration theories discussed by Massey *et al.* (1993). First, neoclassical economic migration is caused by the different earnings and working conditions of different countries. Employees who are paid less in their country would migrate to a country that would pay them more. These individuals calculate their expected gain against what they will lose from migrating, and then take a decision based on what they will gain. This theory suggests that if salaries in different countries can be the same, then migration would be limited and the government should control those movements.

Second, the new economic migration theory states that the decision to migrate is most often taken by the family, not by individuals as in neoclassic economic migration theory. In this form of migration different salaries do not matter much and it does not impact on the families' decisions. Third, dual labour market migration is the result of 'pull factors' of the countries to which they migrate. Most migrants go to richer countries in order to improve their status such as paying their debts, buying properties and improving their lifestyles.

Fourth, the world systems theory states that migration is caused by the increment of international trades in political and economical organization. Those proprietors, who are keen to get higher returns, gain access to underdeveloped countries to search for cheaper labour, terrains and treasures. The government can control this type of migration by modifying foreign investment activities of organizations and monitoring the global stream of resources and merchandise. Further, this

theory states that migrants do not mind much about the earnings. This theory of migration follows from the forces of market conception and the structure of the international financial affairs (*ibid.* 1993).

Lastly, there are new causes of the continuation of migration and they are covered under network theory, institutional theory cumulative causation and migration systems theory. The new reasons why people migrate are that other people have migrated. If one of the family members has migrated it makes it easier for someone else to follow. This is because the cost of migration will be reduced, as they will have a place to stay when they get to their destination.

Opportunities of securing a job are higher and there is a sense of belonging. The other reason is that in the contemporary world there are agencies that assist potential migrants. These agencies make migration easier, because they help individuals to secure a job and accommodation in the country of destination.

They assist the migrants with all legal aspects associated with migration, in particular those related to contracts between the employers and the migrants.

The continuation of migration is not only perpetuated by the income of the individuals, it is also encouraged by people who want to improve the earnings of other household members. It is also believed that once a migrant, always a migrant. If a person migrated once, it is most likely that they will migrate again and they find it difficult to cope with home environment. People who are most likely to migrate are those that are educated, skilled and professional. Others

migrate due to the contracts that are made between different countries in trading of goods, capital and people.

Castles and Miller (2003) point out that in some instances migration initially takes place as a temporary movement, which eventually transforms to permanent settlement. This phenomenon has been with humankind since time immemorial. With socio-political changes in the world, reasons for migrating increase and take different forms, such as political, ecological and demographic demands. International migration goes beyond individual actions in which people, seeking a better life, or fleeing problematical political environments, leave their countries of origin to countries perceived as stable by political standards. It is the movement of people resulting from change in their social circles and it affects both the sending and the receiving countries. People will always move as long as the expected rate of economic growth, or rate of return from their wages in the destination countries, is greater than the costs incurred through migration. If the mobility will lead to higher return on their human capital investments, skilled specialists will migrate.

It remains vital however that, migrations need not only be explained through income differences, but also through other factors such as job security, risk management sustainability and inflation level. In the 18th century migration was seen as a way of mobilizing cheap labour for capital and this, when poorly managed, indeed led to uneven growth distribution among different countries.

The Diaspora concept goes back to ancient times and was at that time used to refer to displacement of people by force and led, moreover, to transnational communities. Recently migration is to a large extent a result of workers choosing freely to migrate to other areas where they hope to receive the highest income leading to better lives (Castles and Miller, 2003).



Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1 Data

Due to lack of information on the causes of migration in South Africa the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in South Africa conducted a survey on migration in 2001. The aim of the survey was to evaluate data taken from the census and other secondary sources conducted by other stakeholders. Another aim was to assess the significance of economic and non-economic causes of migration patterns in South Africa and other parts of Southern Africa. The migration survey forms part of a comprehensive study on people's movements, especially within the borders of South Africa and particularly on the reasons for migration (HSRC, 2002).

In a previous study that was done to analyse the census and other secondary national data in order to compare migration during the apartheid-era and in the early post-apartheid years, it was found that, regardless of political and economic changes since the late 1970s and early 1990s, migration levels have not changed a great deal in South Africa. The results of that study also indicated that there is a need to analyse causes and patterns of migration. It also became obvious that census and other secondary data do not gather sufficient

information to assess reasons for migration, particularly why some residents of an area move while others in the same area do not. It was also essential to establish whether local economic development initiatives have an influence on people's decisions to migrate and whether such places succeed in attracting and keeping these migrants (*ibid.*, 2002).

A preliminary survey on migration was done with the main purpose to assess the validity and potential reliability of 179 possible scale items, and with a view to reducing these items to an absolute minimum for the purpose of the main survey. This survey was planned to produce important information on migration in the past and present-day South Africa (*ibid.*, 2002).

The migration survey by HSRC was administered through a questionnaire that had household and individual sections. It was conducted for a period of two months in 2000 in 9 provinces of South Africa. The intended overall sample size was 1 000 households. However, due to limitations, such as people who refused to respond, inaccessibility of households and loss of forms, the final sample size was 911 households. The HSRC research team built upon the previous analysis of the census, other secondary data and the initial survey described above, to design and conduct a comprehensive sample survey (covering 3 618 respondents/households). The survey was based on a stratified, clustered random (complex) sampling design. The explicit strata used in the sampling design were the following: (a) census-based population group (African, Coloured,

Indian or White); (b) metropolitan/non-metropolitan location; (c) whether in a so-called spatial development area or not, and (d) census-based locality type (rural/urban). Six households were allocated per enumerator (*ibid.*, 2002). The data are available for public use from the National Research Foundation South African Data Archive (http://www.nrf.ac.za/sada/).

3.2 Variables

The study focuses on the following key variables: gender, age, marital status, population groups and education. In a study of migration in South Africa, Crush (2000) found that more Africans/blacks are likely to leave South Africa on a temporary (i.e. two years or less) basis, whereas the white population tends to leave on a permanent basis. We are focusing on educational level, because the previous studies have shown that skilled/educated individuals tend to migrate more. Kok *et al.* (2003) supports the theory that tertiary graduates are the ones who migrate more often.

In South Africa, males have a tendency to migrate more in search for work in urban areas. The gender distribution of professionals/skilled in South Africa includes predominantly males, accounting for 61 percent of professionals, which is dominated by whites. Females account for 39 percent of professionals, which is dominated by Africans/blacks at 64percent (Crush, 2000). A number of studies, such as the Southern African Migration Project (Dodson, 2002), show that men

tend to migrate more than women. Among those women who choose to migrate it would in most cases occur on a temporary basis, compared to men who choose to migrate permanently. Again, women who do migrate on permanent basis, usually do so through marriage. Most women who are already married or living together with their families would, even if they migrate temporarily, still worry about their family's welfare and security (Crush, 2002), and therefore would most likely return. Most women who migrate willingly, are single or divorced. The other reason that keeps women from migrating is that they are satisfied with the quality of life they are living in terms of access to social and economical amenities. Findings from other studies also show that men are more willing to give up their South African citizenship, to retire and be buried in another country, than women are (ibid., 2002).

Also writers such as Kok *et al.* (2003) show that, worldwide, most migrants are men. Indeed, there has been exceptionally small numbers of female migrants. Sinclair (2000) indicates that the extent of female immigration has risen. He stated that the reason that such a small number of female migrants are recorded is due to the tendency to emphasise the invisibility of female migrants in statistics on international migration. This is related to the fact that recorded demographic information often ignored the question of gender, hence it was always perceived that only males are migrating. "Mostly in these cases female migrants are inferred from categories such as spouse... women have tended to be secondary

migrants, accompanying their male partners as wives and mother of the children" (Sinclair, 2000: 36).

There is proof that the tendency for young people in particular to migrate is an international phenomenon. Crush (2000) found that among South African migrants, the most skilled age group is between 35 and 49 and accounted for 45 percent of the sample of the survey done by HSRC. In this sample, the least skilled age group was between the ages of 18 and 24, which accounts for only 6 percent (Crush, 2000). Conventional wisdom suggests that older people have a lower emigration potential than younger people, owing to factors discouraging emigration, such as ownership of fixed property and long-established professional and social networks in a particular place (Crush, 2000: 10). Kok *et al.* (2003) points out that people between the ages of 15 and 44 years were predominantly prone to migrate.

This study will also analyse the intentions of individuals for migrating, which were ascertained by the following questions in the survey:

- Do you plan to move away from this area to settle permanently in another area in South Africa or in another country in the next 12 months?
- Do you plan to move to another area in South Africa or abroad in the next
 12 months temporarily to work or for other reasons and then return to this area?

 Have you ever considered moving away from this area to settle elsewhere in South Africa or abroad, whether for a long time or only temporarily, for whatever reason? If yes, which country would you move to?

The HSRC migration study focused on individuals aged between 18 and 69 years. However, for our study we restrict the analysis to individuals aged between 18 and 45 years, because it has been observed that individuals in this age range are more likely to make migratory movements. Further, individuals in this age range are more economically productive than their counterparts. Under marital status this study has combined "married" with those "living together", and "widow/er," "divorced" and "separated" as another group, because the sample sizes were small. Population group is used as classified in the census, that is, black/African, coloured, Indian/Asian, and whites. For education, we examine six categories: 1) no formal education, 2) grade 1 to grade 7, 3) grade 8 to grade 11, 4) grade 12, 5) college and bachelor degrees, 6) honours and above.

3.3 Methods

We used descriptive and multivariate models to assess the relationship between various socio-demographic factors and the intention to migrate. For the multivariate models, we use the logistic regression technique based on the fact that the dependant variable is dichotomous taking on the value '1' for individuals intending to migrate and '0' for those who do not intend to migrate.

The logistic regression model takes this form:

$$Logit(p_i) = Ln(p_i/[1 - p_i]) = b_i x_i;$$

Where p_i is the probability that an individual intends to migrate; b_i is estimated regression coefficient, and the x_i 's are the independent covariates. The ratio $(p_i/[1-p_i])$ is the odds of individuals with a given set of characteristics intending to migrate. The estimate of b_i for particular covariates x_i is interpreted as the difference in the predicted log odds between those who fall within that category of characteristics and those who fall within the reference or omitted category for that characteristic. If we take the exponent of each estimated b_i (exp[b_i]), the results can be interpreted as the relative odds of intending to migrate for those individual with characteristics x_i relative to those individuals in the reference group.

Chapter Four

Results

4.1 Background Characteristics

Table 2 presents the background characteristics of the respondents aged 18-45 years in the study sample. The results show that there are more females (at 62 percent) than males. Further, those aged 18-24 years account for 27percent of the sample group, whereas those aged 25-34 years and 35-45 years account for 34 percent and 39 percent respectively. Under marital status this study has combined those married with those living together which accounts for 48 percent, followed by those who have never married at 45 percent. The last group of marital status comprising the widowed/divorced/separated accounts for 6 percent of the sample. Africans/blacks are in majority at 45 percent, followed by coloureds and Indians at about 19 percent each and whites at 12 percent. The study sample further shows that a majority of 38 percent have reached the level of education of grade 8 to grade 11, followed by those who have attained grade 12 (25 percent), grade 1 to grade 7 (13 percent), and those who have attained college/technical education account for 10 percent of the sample. Those with at least a bachelors degree account for 10 percent with the smallest group being those with no education at 3 percent.

Table 2. Background characteristics for the study population, migration in South Africa: The 2001-02 HSRC Migration Survey

Characteristic Characteristic	Number	Percent
Sex		
Male	917	37.72
Female	1,514	62.28
Age group		
18-24	663	27.26
25-34	820	33.72
35-45	949	39.02
Mean age*	31.20	
Marital status		
Never married	1,106	45.48
Married/Living together	1,173	48.23
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	153	6.29
Population group		
African/Black	1,201	49.55
Coloured	469	19.35
Indian/Asian	454	18.73
White	300	12.38
Highest education		
No formal education	61	2.51
Grade 1 to Grade 7	325	13.36
Grade 8 to Grade 11	934	38.40
Grade 12	606	24.92
College/Technical UNIV	$_{\mathrm{ERSI}}$ 248, $_{\mathrm{the}}$	10.20
Bachelor degree	143	5.88
Honours degree and above	115	4.73
Total	2,432	100.00

Source: HSRC Migration Study; **Note:** *Mean age for those aged 18 to 45 years.

Table 3 presents the intentions to migrate among the respondents. Although the literature shows that there is a high volume of out-migration, findings from this study are contrary to expectation. When asked whether respondents **planned** to move away from a specific area to settle **permanently** in another area in South Africa or in another country in the **next 12 months**, about 88 percent of respondents said they did not intend to migrate. There were no "don't know responses" or missing cases to this question. For those who were asked if they

were planning to move temporarily, about 97 percent said that they were not planning to do so. Again, when asked whether respondents considered moving to another place to stay temporarily or for a long time, 98 percent said they do not consider moving. When they were asked how likely or unlikely it was for them not to move to another area, 32 percent of them said that they are very likely not to move. About 19 percent said they are likely to move out of their area. About 11 percent are unsure whether they would never move from their current places of residence, whereas 12 percent said that it is unlikely that they would never move. Those who consider themselves very unlikely never to move from their area account for 21 percent of the sample.

Of those that were likely to move, most would like to go to Australia (26 percent), Great Britain (19 percent), United States of America (19 percent), and Canada (7 percent). The least popular destinations, among others, were Angola, Egypt, France, and Germany (about 1 percent each). When the respondents were asked if they intend to move within or outside South Africa, about 85 percent still said no. As a summary, those who intend to move within South Africa account for 85 percent and those intending to move outside South Africa account for 15 percent. For those intending to move within South Africa, major destination areas include Johannesburg (16 percent), Cape Town (10 percent), Durban (6 percent), Bloemfontein (3 percent), Pretoria and Port Elizabeth at 2 percent each. The rest include destinations in other parts of South Africa.

Table 3. Intentions to migrate among respondents, migration in South Africa: The 2001-2002 HSRC Migration Survey.

	02 HSRC Migration Survey.		
Characteristic		Number	Percent
Do you plan to move away fr			
permanently in another area			
country in the next 12 month	is?	000	40.40
Yes		296	12.19
No		2,133	87.81
Do you plan to move to anoth			
abroad in the next 12 month			
other reasons and then return	n to this area?	50	0.00
Yes		56	2.99
No	and an array form this area to	1,815	97.01
Have you ever considered n			
settle elsewhere in South Afri	•		
long time or only temporarily	for whatever reason?	00	0.04
Yes		36 4.705	2.04
No	t vou will nover make asset	1,725	97.96
How likely or unlikely is it that	you will never move away		
from this area?		00	E 00
Do not know		98 624	5.09
Very likely		363	32.43
Likely Noither likely per uplikely		208	18.87 10.81
Neither likely nor unlikely		206 224	11.64
Unlikely Very unlikely		407	21.15
If yes, which country would ye	ou move to?	407	21.13
Angola		1	0.89
Australia		29	25.89
New Zealand		9	8.04
Botswana		2	1.79
Canada		8	7.14
Egypt		1	0.89
France		1	0.89
Germany		1	0.89
Great Britain		21	18.75
Japan		1	0.89
Lesotho		3	2.68
Netherlands		4	3.57
Nigeria		1	0.89
Rest of Asia		3	2.68
Rest of Europe		2	1.79
Spain		1	0.89
United States of America		21	18.75
Saudi Arabia		2	1.79
Cameroon		1	0.89
Where intends to move?			
Outside South Africa		112	15.11
Within South Africa		629	84.89

Table 4 provides the results on the study concerning the regression of the effect of age on whether respondents plan to move from their area to settle **permanently** in another area in South Africa, or in another country in the **next 12 months.** In Model 1, we present the baseline effect of age on the intention to move, and then control other variables in subsequent models. Model 1 shows that older people (35-45 years) are about 56 percent less likely to consider moving out than younger people (18-24 years). When we control for gender in Model 2, the results do not change. That is, gender is not a significant influence in the decision to migrate since the odds do not change substantially from those reported in Model 1.

Controlling for education and marital status in Model 3 shows that education does not influence the intention to move. However, age group proves significant, given that older people are about 44 percent less likely to plan moving than younger people and marital status also maintains some significance. Those who are married or currently living together are about 37 percent less likely to plan to move.

The final model controls for population group and results show that older people (35-45 years) are about 46 percent less likely to plan on migrating than younger people, whereas those who are married/living together are about 31 percent less likely to plan to move than those who are single. Compared to Africans/blacks,

we find that coloureds and Indians/Asians are less likely to plan on moving (odds ratios = 0.53 and 0.55 respectively).

Table 4. Odds ratios of do you plan to move away from "this area" to settle permanently in another area in South Africa or in another country in the next 12 months

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age group				
18-24	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
25-34	0.770	0.775	0.900	0.860
35-45	0.444***	0.446***	0.559**	0.540**
Gender				
Male		1.000	1.000	1.000
Female		0.801	0.844	0.819
Highest education level				
No formal education			1.000	1.000
Grade 1 to Grade 7			1.249	1.327
Grade 8 to Grade 11			1.209	1.374
Grade 12			1.051	1.232
College/Technical			1.938	2.232
Bachelor degree			1.597	1.839
Honours degree and above			1.567	1.698
Marital status				
Never married			1.000	1.000
Married/Living together			0.627**	0.685*
Widowed/Divorced/Separate	ed		1.132	1.272
Population group				
African/Black				1.000
Coloured				0.534***
Indian/Asian				0.546**
White				1.030
N	2,429	2,428	2,428	2,420
LR Chi2	28.34	31.29	52.46	72.73
Log likelihood	-886.06	-884.45	-873.87	-860.72
Prob > chi2 Notes: ***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.01	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000

Source: HSRC Migration Study

Table 5 presents similar information to the one presented in Table 4 but focuses on the regression of the factors associated with whether respondents **plan** to move to another area in South Africa or abroad in the **next 12 months temporarily** to work or for other reasons and then return to their area. Model 1, presents the baseline effect of age on the intention to move, and then control other variables in subsequent models. Model 1 shows that individuals aged 25-34 are about 47 percent less likely to move to another area whereas those aged 35 years and above are about 75 percent less likely to move. Controlling for gender in Model 2 shows no change in the direction of the estimates. That is, the odds of the intention to move are similar as those observed in Model 1.

Including education and marital status as controls in Model 3 shows that education does not influence the intention to move. Significance is only observed for marital status. Those who are married or currently living together are about 54 percent less likely to plan to move. In the final model, where we control for population group, we observe a significant change in results for Indians/Asians only. That is, they are 74 percent less likely to plan to move out and return to their area at a later date.

Table 5. Odds ratios of whether respondents plan to move to another area in South Africa or abroad in the next 12 months temporarily to work or for other reasons and then return to this area

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age group				
18-24	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
25-34	0.528*	0.527*	0.709	0.606
35-45	0.253***	0.254***	0.487	0.434
Gender				
Male		1.000	1.000	1.000
Female		1.085	1.230	1.143
Highest education level				
No formal education			1.000	1.000
Grade 1 to Grade 7			0.534	0.567
Grade 8 to Grade 11			0.803	0.966
Grade 12			1.656	2.450
College/Technical			1.328	1.880
Bachelor degree			2.627	3.733
Honours degree and above			1.987	3.235
Marital status				
Never married			1.000	1.000
Married/Living together			0.457*	0.640
Widowed/Divorced/Separated			0.254	0.357
Population group				
African/Black				1.000
Coloured				0.510
Indian/Asian				0.261***
vvnite				0.349
N	1,871	1,870	1,870	1,865
LR Chi2	16.15	16.20	32.75	44.75
Log likelihood	-243.58	-243.52	-235.24	-229.09
Prob > chi2 Notes: ***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05	0.0003	0.0010	0.0006	0.0000

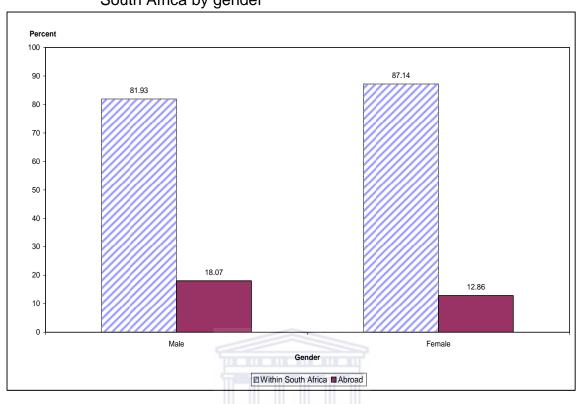


Figure 1. Percentage of respondents who want to move within or outside South Africa by gender

In Figure 2, we present similar results to those displayed in Figure 1 by focusing on educational level. Our results show that there are significant differences in the desire to move abroad or within South Africa according to educational level (chisquare = 67.27; p=0.000). It is significant that none of those with no formal education want to move abroad. There are fewer job opportunities for those who have acquired grades 1 to 7, whereas those with bachelor's degrees are most likely to move abroad. They are followed in number by those that have an honours degree and above. On the other hand, there are many people with either no education or grades 1 to 7 schooling who would want to move within South Africa. This might be attributed to the fact that they are not willing to travel far

(outside South Africa) to get employment. Most of those who have graduate or post-graduate degrees are less likely to move within South Africa, because they may have job security, or would consider their chances of being employed as high.

Percent 120 100 80 60 40 20 Grade 1 to 7 Grade 8 to 11 College and No Education Grade 12 Bachelors degree Honours+ Technikon **Education Level** ■Within South Africa ■Abroad

Figure 2. Percentage of respondents who want to move within South Africa or outside South Africa by education level

Source: HSRC Migration Study.

Figure 3 also provides information on differences in population group concerning the desire to move abroad or within South Africa. The results are significant (p=0.000) in that we observe that Africans/blacks are most likely to move within South Africa than any other race. Whites and Indians are less likely to move within South Africa.

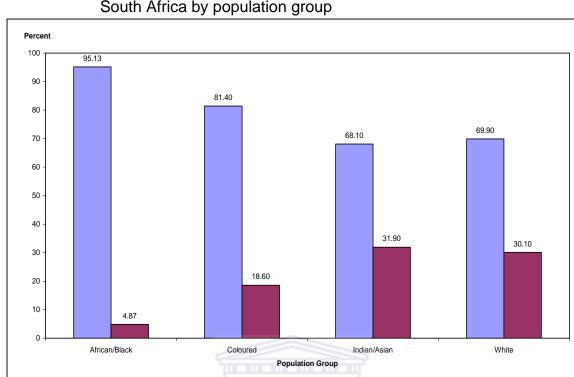


Figure 3. Percentage of respondents who want to move within or outside South Africa by population group

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■Within South Africa ■Abroad

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Discussion

In this study, we were interested in analysing the intentions of people to migrate within or outside South Africa. The analysis included an examination of gender, educational level and population group if respondents did have the intention of moving within or outside South Africa. The results show that majority of respondents said they did not **intend** to migrate **permanently** to another area in South Africa or to another country in the next 12 months. Secondly, we find that, for those who were asked if they were **planning** to move temporarily, virtually all respondents said no. Thirdly, 98 percent of the respondents do not consider migrating. Fourthly, when they were asked how likely or unlikely it was for them not to move to another area, 32 percent of them said that they are very likely not to move. About 19 percent said they are likely to move out of their area. About 11 percent are unsure whether they would never move from their current places of residence, whereas 12 percent said that it is unlikely that they would never move. Assuming that all expressed intentions turn into behaviour, the results show that migratory moves might decrease in the long run.

Another major finding is that for those who are likely to move, majority would like to move to Australia, Great Britain, the United States of America, or Canada. The least popular destinations, among others, were Angola, Egypt, France, and Germany. This is in contrast to the findings of Brown *et al.* (2001), who rated

preferred destination countries in the following manner according to foreign data: the United Kingdom as favourite, with the United States second and Australia third. According to South African data, the United Kingdom also comes first, Australia comes second and Canada comes third. This implies that the destination areas of intending migrants might have changed from the United Kingdom to Australia and from Canada to the United States of America.

The last finding is that those who intend to move within South Africa account for 85 percent and that those intending to move outside South Africa account for 15 percent. This implies a big possibility of more internal than international migration in the near future. This is commonly as a result of urbanization, when people leave rural areas to look for employment in urban areas.

The baseline effect of age on the intention to move when controlled with other variables showed that younger people aged between 18-24 years old are more likely to move than older people aged between 35-45 years. This could be due to the fact that, between the ages of 18 and 24 years, intending migrants are still young and ambitious, with a greater need for money to improve their lives. However, while age group maintains significance (older people are about 44 percent less likely to **plan** to move than younger people) we find that those in the age group 35-45 years are about 46 percent less likely to plan on migrating than younger people.

It is evident that it is mostly males who are willing to move abroad rather than females, and these differences are significant at the 5 percent level.

Traditionally, males are more likely to seek jobs in industrial areas than females and these results are consistent with the conventional expectation. Taking this into consideration, more women are likely to move within South Africa.

Our results show that there are significant differences in the desire to move abroad or within South Africa according to educational level. It is significant that none of those without education want to move abroad, whereas there's a little chance for those who have acquired grades 1 to 7. Those that have a bachelor's degree account for the majority of people who are likely to move abroad, followed by those that have an honours degree or superior qualification. However, there are many people either with no education with grade 1 to 7 schooling who would want to move within South Africa. This might be attributed to the fact that they are not willing to travel far (outside South Africa) to get employment. Most of those who have tertiary qualifications are less likely to move within South Africa, because they may already have job security where they are.

Those who are married or currently living together are about 37 percent less likely to plan to move. When asked whether respondents **plan** to move to another area in South Africa or abroad in the **next 12 months temporarily**, to work or for other reasons, and then return to "this area," 54 percent of those who

are married or currently living together said that they are less likely to plan to move.

Compared to Africans/Blacks, we find that coloureds and Indians/Asians are less likely to plan on moving (Odd ratios = 0.53 and 0.55 respectively). Indians/Asians are 74 percent less likely to plan to move out and return to their area at a later date which indicates the significant difference to other races. Africans/blacks are more likely to move within South Africa than any other race. Whites and Indians are less likely to move within South Africa.

The results presented here show that, contrary to expectation, and following a huge migration of people due to political reasons prior to 1994 and economic empowerment thereafter, lately people choose not to migrate anymore, whether within South Africa or abroad, whether permanently or temporarily. This could be because South Africa in general is boasting a stable socio-economic and political environment, with job opportunities readily available.

In general, the results presented here are consistent with the literature reviewed earlier. Specifically, the effect of gender on intention to migrate is consistent with findings by contemporary scholars, which show that females are less likely to migrate than males. Although there are few changes concerning the order of preference of countries to which individuals migrate, the top five receiving countries remain the same. These findings call for further studies to examine

people over time and assess whether their intentions lead to actual migration, since it is reasonable to expect that not all expressed intentions may translate into actual behaviour.



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