



PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Migration Study in the Western Cape 2001

Main Report

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Compilation of the main report.

Catherine Cross of the HSRC made a major contribution to the main report. The executive summary and the main report were compiled from the following research reports which form part of Migration Study in the Western Cape in 2001:

1. **The relationship between migration and the HIV-AIDS pandemic: a preliminary South African analysis by S B Bekker and K Swart (University of Stellenbosch).**
2. **Foreign African migrants in the Western Cape by B Boaden (University of Cape Town).**
3. **Estimation of the extent of out-migration from the Western Cape 1999-2001 by R Dorrington and T Moultrie (University of Cape Town).**
4. **The influence of state educational and health facilities on migration into Western Cape, an Exploratory study by P Cloete (University of Stellenbosch).**
5. **Resident's perceptions regarding migration and social service delivery (especially health and education): Case studies in George and Cape Town by Robert Mongwe (University of Stellenbosch)**
6. **Migration Monitoring Model: The establishment of techniques for local municipalities to monitor migration streams within the Western Cape Province by J D Paul and K Swart (University of Stellenbosch).**

The study was managed by a Steering Committee comprising provincial officials as well as senior academics from

- the University of Cape Town (Prof R Dorrington),
- the University of Stellenbosch (Prof S Bekker), and
- the University of the Western Cape (Prof Y Amoateng)

Table of Contents.

Chapter 1	Introduction	1
	1.1 The brief.	
	1.2 Structure of this report	
	1.3 What is migration?	
Chapter 2	Describing the residents of the Western Cape	5
	2.1 A bio-physical overview of the province	
	2.2 A demographic and ethnic profile of the province	
	2.3 Poverty and associated factors	
	2.4 A lifetime migration profile	
Chapter 3	Entering the Western Cape	13
	3.1 Provincial comparisons of major push and pull factors in migration.	
	3.2 The origins of the Western Cape adult population and the periods of arrival of in-migrants	
	3.3 Dates of entry into Western Cape for migration streams	
	3.4 The role of infrastructure and services, education and health as migration attractors.	
	3.5 Foreign African migrants in the Western Cape.	
	3.6 The relationship between migration and the HIV-AIDS epidemic	
Chapter 4	Migrating within the Western Cape	40
	4.1 Population flow between Cape Town and its hinterland.	
	4.2 Population flow between the Districts of the Western Cape	
	4.3 Instability potential and on-migration	
Chapter 5	Out-migration and net migration estimates	67
Chapter 6	Conclusions	75
<i>Appendix 1</i>	<i>Research reports and researchers</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Appendix 2</i>	<i>A snapshot of HIV/AIDS in the province</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Appendix 3</i>	<i>Survey method and research design</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Appendix 4</i>	<i>Secondary references</i>	<i>ix</i>

Tables

Table 2.1	National and Provincial Population 1996 Proportions by ethnic group and urban/rural	7
Table 2.2	Estimated population of the Western Cape Province 2001, by District and ethnic group	8
Table 2.3	Household access to basic infrastructure: selected factors in the Western Cape	8
Table 2.4	Selected characteristics of households and heads of household 2001, by ethnic group	9
Table 2.5	Educational qualifications and unemployment rates in the Western Cape 2001	9
Table 2.6	Lifetime migration of Western Cape heads of households 2001, by ethnic group	11
Table 3.1	Selected labour force indicators, by Cape region provinces and nationally	14
Table 3.2	Selected poverty, educational and health indicators, by Cape region provinces and nationally	15
Table 3.3	Shares of total lifetime migration into the Western Cape, by ethnic group	20
Table 3.4	Periodised rates of in-migration into the Western Cape, by ethnic group	22
Table 3.5	In migration flows into the Western Cape Proportion of total resident population	25
Table 3.6	Main migration attractors during the period 1995-98 & 1999-2001, by ethnic group and class	29
Table 3.7	Enrolments and transfer in WCED schools 2001	30
Table 4.1	Western Cape recent migration flows, by ethnic group	45
Table 4.2	Infrastructural services in relation to potential on-migration, by ethnic group and sub-region	62
Table 5.1	Annual migration rates in and out of the Western Cape, by ethnic group	71
Table 5.2	Migration flows in and out of the Western Cape, by ethnic group	72
Table 5.3	Estimates of in-migration flows into the Western Cape and its metro and non-metro regions from outside the province 2001	73
Table 5.4	Estimates on current net flows Western Cape, 73 by ethnic group	

Map

The Western Cape and its Unicity and District Municipalities	6
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Chapter 1 Introduction

This report describes the results of a migration study commissioned by the Department of Planning, Local Government and Housing of the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape. Three topics are considered in the introduction.

- The brief for the study (1.1)
- The structure of the report (1.2)
- A short overview of the matter under consideration: *migration* (1.3)

1.1 The brief.

The purpose of the study was to establish a reliable profile of migration into and within the Western Cape province, and to identify a method that could be employed by municipal officials for the systematic monitoring of future migration streams. Migration within the province was analysed along two dimensions: in terms of the three settlement categories: rural, small town and 'metro', and, spatially, in terms of migration between the (new, *i.e.* 2001) District boundaries, of which there are five (together with Cape Town Unicity). All residents of the province were included. The period April 2001 to March 2002 was given as the time frame for the study which was managed by a steering committee comprising senior academics from the Universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch and the Western Cape together with provincial officials.

To execute the study, six research projects were undertaken. Draft reports on these projects were presented and scrutinised at a validity testing workshop held in April 2002 and were amended accordingly. This report which is largely based on these project documents was then finalised. An Executive Summary of this report has also been written.

The projects were (i) the execution, and drafting of an analysis of, a provincial sample survey, (ii) estimates of the nature and scope of provincial out-migration, (iii) estimates of the nature and extent of in-migration from foreign African sending areas to the province, (iv) the influence of educational and health provincial state services on migration into the province, (v) the relationship between migration streams and the spread of the HIV-AIDS epidemic in the province, and (vi) the establishment of techniques that may be utilised by municipal officials to monitor migration streams into the province.

A separate report on the last project (vi) – the monitoring of migration by municipal officials within their municipal areas – has been submitted. This report includes a monitoring model developed with municipal officials in the province as well as a set of recommendations on how this initiative may be launched.

1.2 Structure of this report

Chapter 2 develops **a profile of residents** of the Western Cape that is relevant for later demographic analysis. Thereafter, **migration into the province** is scrutinized in Chapter 3. Differences in infrastructural provision between the Western Cape and its two neighbouring provinces are identified; migration streams into the province are established and analysed in terms of different periods of entry; the role of educational and health provincial services as attractors discussed; and the nature of migration into the province of migrants from other African countries addressed. The chapter closes with a short consideration of the nature of the relationship between migration and the HIV-AIDS epidemic with reference to the Western Cape province. A profile of the scope of the epidemic in the province is provided in Appendix 2 of this report.

Chapter 4 focuses on **migration within the province**. Consideration is first given to migration between the Cape Town Unicity and the rest of the province and subsequently to migration between the Districts of the province. The chapter closes with an analysis of the potential for on-migration within the province. Chapter 5 addresses the issue of out migration. It begins with a brief analysis of attempts to measure these flows by using sample survey techniques and then focuses on the development of **net migration** estimates for the province, based on **quantitative results**.

The Conclusion draws these different strands together. In a series of four appendices, the research reports accompanying this report together with researchers involved in this study and its validity testing workshop are listed (Apx 1). A snapshot of HIV/AIDS in the province is provided (Apx 2). The survey method and research design used for the first project is then described (Apx 3) and a list of references used in the study brings the report to a close (Apx 4).

1.3 What is migration?

Simply put, migration is about leaving home, typically but not always leaving the place of one's birth. A person may leave with or without family members, for short or long periods, or for ever. **Lifetime migration** refers to migration streams of

individuals or households from birth place to present residence. Often, when migration is voluntary as it typically is in South Africa nowadays (though not in the past when influx control was operating), these streams are from the rural birthplaces of people to towns and cities. Then, the process is called **urbanization**. Migration from a sending area to a receiving area is called **in-migration** whereas the difference between migration in one direction and the opposite direction is called **net migration**.

In South Africa's recent past, many rural-born young men and women – from the Transkei for instance - have over the years left their rural homes, gone to town and spent most of their working lives in town. Throughout, they have planned to retire to their rural ancestral homes. When they do this, once the circle has been completed, **return migration** is said to have taken place. A variation on this simple circular movement is **oscillatory migration**. In this case, a person regularly leaves to work elsewhere for a series of time periods – on a mine for instance – whilst returning home in between. Accordingly, whilst this person is away from home for most of the overall period, he or she returns home regularly.

Migration streams however ought not to be thought of in terms of single moves. Much population change involves more than one move and is then known as **step-wise migration**. The common though by no means universal migration flows of people from rural areas to neighbouring towns and subsequently to cities may therefore be called **step-wise gravity flow** migration, comparing these migration streams to water flowing downhill. The metropolis, in this model, is found at the bottom of the hill.

Why do people migrate? By and large, they migrate in search of income and jobs; more accurately, in search of more income and better jobs. This is the primary engine of migration, pushing people out of poorer regions and pulling them toward better-off regions. This engine driving people from one place to another operates on the basis of a migrant's experience in the sending area and the migrant's knowledge of the receiving area. Good knowledge about possible receiving areas, in other words, is crucial and may be obtained – incomplete though it surely will be - from family and friends in these areas, from return migrants or from other institutional sources such as the workplace or the mass media.

What however happens when poor households get to know that, by moving, their chances of landing a permanent job and receiving a predictable income are minimal? Under these conditions, such households often migrate, as a second-best option, in

search of superior infrastructure – land and improved housing, water and sanitation, electricity, and better transport (known as economic infrastructure) as well as better school and health facilities (known as social infrastructure) This second engine of migration operates for many poor South African households at the moment.

There are two things about this second engine worth mentioning. The first is that the first engine never shuts down completely. Thus, if a poor household migrates to a town and settles in a new state-subsidised housing scheme, this household may well up and leave this town and the new house if household members remain unemployed and hear about job opportunities elsewhere. The second thing is that, for poor households driven by this second engine, the positioning of state subsidized housing schemes and their associated infrastructure will influence the direction of migration flows for this infrastructure often acts as an attractor for households forced to leave impoverished regions.

Finally, the economic explanations for migration sketched above though probably the most fitting, remain incomplete. Political factors which are usually weaker when voluntary migration is at issue, complement these explanations. Anxieties about a secure living environment or about deteriorating state services in a sending area, for example, may act as an important push factor in migration decisions. In equal measure, differing perceptions about such conditions in a potential receiving area could influence a migrant's choice of destination. Political factors such as these ought to complement economic explanations (Cross, Proceedings of a graduate workshop..., 2000).

Chapter 2 Describing the residents of the Western Cape

2.1 A bio-physical overview of the province (Gasson 1998, Bioregional Planning Framework ..., 2000).

Simply put, the Western Cape comprises three major landscapes -

- the plains of the Great Karoo which stretch far beyond the boundaries of the province and which are liable to desertification,
- the coastal plain which skirts the province between the coastline and the uplands and mountains, and
- the mountain-valley landscapes which run broadly parallel to the coastline and produce much of the province's annual rain.

It is of interest to note that the plains and lowlands constitute about one half, and the hills and mountains the other half of the total area of the province, which covers some 130 000 square kilometres of land.

Using this simple classification of the province into landscapes, three regions within which agricultural activities and the development of towns and cities together with their associated economies have had very different histories, may be identified.

The first region may be called The Arid Interior and Arid Coastal Plains of the West Coast.

Economies in this region are sectorally narrow and stagnant; populations are scattered, services are often inadequate; and settlements are small and widely-spaced. Less than 10% of the province's population lives in this region.

The second region may be called *The Moist Grainlands and Fishing Rimland*

These are situated on the seaward side of the Cape Fold Belt mountains on the coastal plain and include the Swartland and the Overberg. Less than 15% of the province's population lives in this region and most of these residents are economically dependent on rain-fed wheat, barley, rye and related small stock farming, fishing and tourism.

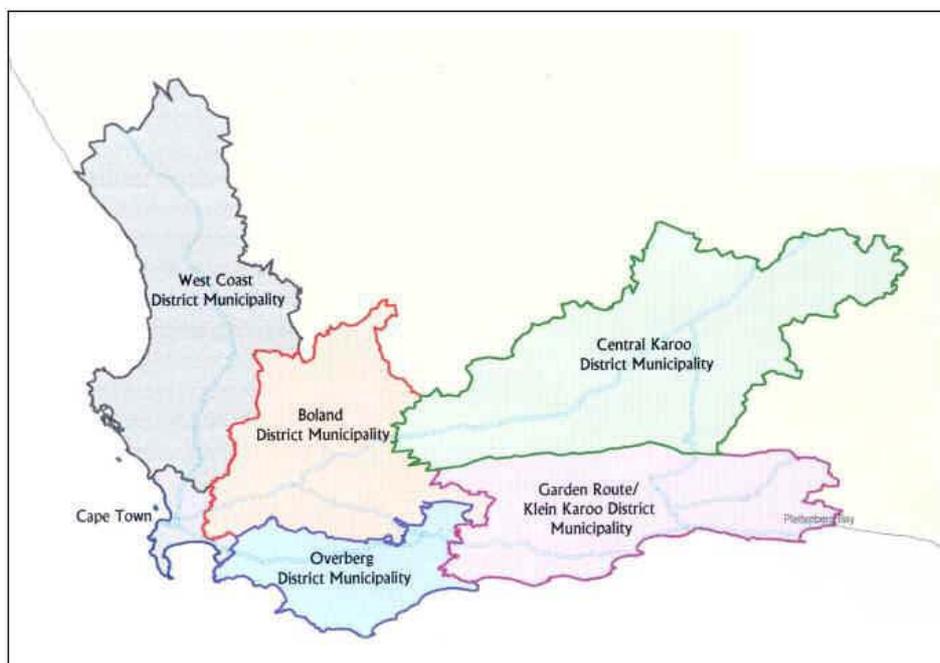
The third region may be called *The Wet Mountain- and Valleylands and Outeniqualand*

This region comprises three areas associated with the mountains of the Cape Fold Belt - Outeniqua, the Boland and Cape Town Unicity. Collectively, they cover about 18% of the province's area and are home to over 3 million people who represent more than 80% of the province's population.

2.2 A demographic and ethnic profile of the province

Accordingly, it is not surprising that the province is highly urbanised (89% in 1996 (SSA 1998a)) and that a large majority of the population live in the three Mountain and Valleyland areas of the province in which a favourable combination of moisture, temperature and soils have established the foundations for dense sustainable settlement and vigorous urban and rural economies. These dense settlements are dominated by Cape Town Unicity in which approximately two-thirds of the provincial population reside. Associated with the Unicity in the neighbouring Boland District, an agricultural sector enjoying the same favourable combination of bio-physical factors, thrives. An equivalent though smaller mix of urban and rural-agricultural settlements is found in the Garden Route/Klein Karoo District at Outeniqualand. Comparisons between District populations show Cape Town Unicity as majoritarian in the province, followed by the Boland and the Garden Route/Klein Karoo. The West Coast and the Overberg, both falling largely within the second bio-physical region are next and the arid Central Karoo District reveals the smallest resident population (Map 1).

Map 1 The Western Cape and its Unicity and District Municipalities



(PGWC 2002)

Though it should not be necessary at this point to analyse demographic information in terms of the ethnic identities of provincial residents, there remain important differences in the life chances and living conditions of the members of the three main ethnic groups in the province: those who classify themselves as Coloured, as African and as White. Asians make up a very small proportion of the provincial population (<1% in 2001) and have accordingly been excluded from part of this analysis. In addition and of direct relevance to this report, the migration histories of individuals and households within each ethnic group share much more in common than individuals and households drawn from across groups. The largest ethnic group in the province is the Coloured group which is majoritarian in the each of the five Districts and makes up approximately 50% of the population of the province. The African and White groups are of approximately equal size. One outstanding feature of the African population is the fact that it is overwhelmingly urban (95% in 1996) in the province whereas 50% of African households in the country as a whole are rural. This is particularly relevant since most African adults in the Western Cape are rural-born.

To illustrate this demographic and ethnic profile of the province, two tables have been developed. The first (2.1), based upon 1996 census results, compares the Western Cape to the country as a whole in terms of ethnic proportions. It also compares urban-rural ratios within ethnic groups.

Table 2.1 National and Provincial Population 1996
Proportions by ethnic group and urban/rural

	Asian	Coloured	African	White
South Africa	3	9	77	11 =100
Western Cape	1	54	21	21...=97*
% urban & rural in South Africa	97 : 3	83 : 17	43 : 57	91 : 9
% urban & rural in Western Cape	99 : 1	84 : 16	95 : 5	93 : 7

* According to SSA 1998, 3% of respondents did not specify 'race'.
Source: SSA 1998 & 1998a

The second table (2.2) presents estimates of the province's population in 2001, disaggregated at subprovincial District level, by ethnic group

Table 2.2 Estimated population of the Western Cape Province 2001

By District and ethnic group

Districts & Unicity	Asian	Coloured	African	White	TOTAL
Cape Town	38 900	1 396 100	931 400	697 700	3 064 100
Boland	1 560	403 100	113 000	112 000	629 660
Overberg	180	103 700	29 500	39 200	172 580
Central Karoo	50	43 400	7 500	7 600	58 550
Garden Route/KK	560	241 800	76 500	96 200	415 060
West Coast		196 600	16 000	52 800	265 940
TOTAL	41 800	2 384 700	1 173 900	1 101 000	4 601 400

Source: van Zyl 2002

2.3 Poverty and associated factors

Poverty is a pervasive issue in many Western Cape households. Poverty and standard of living are directly related to resource allocation and income. Such basic ingredients as access to water, shelter, knowledge, health care, employment and other productive resources impact directly on the risk that individuals and households are threatened by poverty. (UNDP 2000).

The brief summary presented here illustrates this issue by first presenting profiles of infrastructure and housing provision in the province (drawn from secondary sources), and subsequently profiles, by ethnic group, of selected household and head of household characteristics as well as educational qualifications and unemployment rates of adults (both drawn from survey data). Subsequently, a short interpretation of these profiles is made.

Table 2.3 Household access to basic infrastructure: selected factors in the Western Cape
% of all households

% living in informal dwellings (1996)	16.6
Estimated housing shortage (1998)	215 642
% without electricity in dwelling (1996)	17.8
% without tap in dwelling (1996)	24.7

Source: SAIRR 2000

**Table 2.4 Selected characteristics of households and heads (HoHs) of household 2001
by ethnic group**

	Coloured	African	White
Mean hhold size	4.35	4.25	2.79
% hholds with per capita income > R1000/mnth (*)	34	12	60
% HoH with > 6 years formal education	71	66	99
% HoH older than 44 years	50	36	64
% female-headed households	37	37	25
n =	676	474	455

Source: PGWC provincial survey 2001 (weighted) (15% missing values)*

**Table 2.5 Educational qualifications and unemployment rates in the Western Cape 2001
(all adults 20yrs+)
% by ethnic group and gender**

	Coloured	African	White
% with less than 7yrs formal education	49%	50%	1,3%
	n=1509	968	770
Unemployment rate (expanded definition)	28	40	3
	n=1151	856	390
Unemployment rate (expanded definition) Women only	37	46	3
	n=508	403	121

Source: PGWC provincial survey 2001 (weighted)

It is apparent from these two tables that risk of poverty is a major development challenge in the province and that risk is high in the Coloured ethnic group and highest in the African ethnic group. It is also higher in the female categories. The better off minority population in the province (defined here as households in which per capita income is more than R1000 per month in 2001) is particularly small (12%) in the African population. The occurrence in the province of a growing HIV-AIDS epidemic is addressed in the next chapter.

2.4 A lifetime migration profile

Within the Cape regional system (defined as comprising the three provinces of Eastern, Northern and Western Cape), survey results indicate that the Western Cape's Coloured and African adult population is of local origin. In aggregate, Coloured and African in-migration does not come from further away than Eastern Cape and Northern Cape (See Table 2.6 below).

The rest of South Africa contributes very little population flow to Western Cape for these ethnic groups. From the northern tier of provinces – Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Northern Province, and North West – virtually no migration flow was recorded. The same holds true for KwaZulu-Natal in the east, and very low levels of foreign inflow into Western Cape were also recorded for these groups on a percentage basis. Foreign inflows from other African countries are addressed in the next chapter.

Instead, for the Coloured population the main flow is out of Northern Cape and the blighted Karoo districts. This flow is relatively slow and moderate. At about 7 percent in total, it is relatively small compared to the share of the population in this ethnic group which originates inside Western Cape itself.

For the African population, the key migration streams originate from southern Transkei and the Eastern Cape cities and farms, and flow into Cape Town and the Districts in the east and south of the province. These streams are powerful and fast, and probably represent the largest and most rapid demographic flow in South Africa. Going by the survey sample, just under three quarters of the present adult African population of Western Cape would have been born in Eastern Cape.

The situation for the White population of Western Cape is significantly different (see Table 2.6 below). Half of adult Whites living in Western Cape came from outside the province originally, but only about 8 percent came from elsewhere in the greater Cape regional system, from Northern Cape and Eastern Cape. This level of demographic contribution from the Cape hinterland to the White population is similar to the pattern for the Coloured population, though it differs from the African ethnic group.

However, the remaining 42 percent of the White Western Cape category is accounted for by flows from much further away. Gauteng contributes 16 percent of Western Cape Whites and flows from other northern and eastern provinces some 8 percent. The overseas contribution was also large, representing more than 15 percent of the total. As in other parts of the country, it seems that the Western Cape White population is of far-flung origins.

In contrast to the African and Coloured population groups, Whites have good access to information, a housing market that meets their needs, and also financial resources

on the order needed to fund long-distance moves. The tendency of South African Whites to migrate freely over large distances on an individual or family basis follows from their greater access to resources, and their lower reliance on family networks for support in new places. For the Coloured and African ethnic groups, moves are much more difficult to bring together, and housing at the destination points is often very difficult to locate for an individual or family alone. Moves in these communities tend to rely more on social resources, and migrants travel mainly over familiar routes to well-established destinations.

These patterns of population movement can be seen clearly in relation to the Cape regional demographic system. The overall impact of this aggregate population flow on the resident population acts to determine the future character of development for the whole greater Cape region.

Results show that population flows within the greater Cape move mainly from the declining hinterland provinces of Northern Cape and Eastern Cape into the more prosperous Western Cape, with its greater economic activity and lower unemployment. Most of this population movement is poverty-driven. Only the White population, with its concentration of resources and greater freedom of movement, draws inflows from further away. In relation to these demographic flows, the Coloured and African groupings bring in potential young and ambitious workers as a demographic resource, while the older and relatively small White grouping contributes few workers but brings in economic resources of capital and skills from far beyond the borders of the greater Cape.

**Table 2.6 Lifetime migration of Western Cape heads of households
2001, by ethnic group
% by columns**

<i>BIRTH AREA</i>	<i>COLOURED</i>	<i>AFRICAN</i>	<i>WHITE</i>
Western Cape	90	20	50
Eastern Cape	3	74	4
Northern Cape	4	2	4
CAPE SYSTEM	97	96	58
Gauteng	1	1	16
Other SouthAfrica	1	2	8
Foreign	- =100	1 =100	18 =100
n =	647	476	447

Source: 2001 PGWC migration survey (weighted)

Overall, the regional demographic system centred on Western Cape is self-contained and sealed with regard to the African and Coloured flows except in the case of significant Coloured out-migration to the north (see Chapter 5). Only the White component (and, probably, the much smaller Asian ethnic group) connects the Cape's demography to the rest of South Africa and the rest of the world.

The overall result is a regional demography where strong outflows from the Northern Cape (in economic decline) contribute 4 percent to both the Coloured and White populations of Western Cape. At the same time, the Northern Cape parent population is very small, so that the total impact on the White and Coloured groupings is not large. Coloured in-migration is small overall, and the greater part of the larger White in-migration comes from further afield, outside the Cape regional system.

In contrast, the consequences of economic decline in the very large and heavily populated Eastern Cape province are much more far reaching for the regional system. The great majority of adults in the expanding African population in Western Cape has come from this source, and is now also contributing significant natural increase from among families that have established themselves at their destinations. Compared to the Eastern Cape African stream, the Coloured and White outflow from Northern Cape has much less demographic impact.

Chapter 3 Entering the Western Cape

This chapter discusses in-migration streams of individuals and households entering the Western Cape.

Voluntary migration is driven by push factors from the sending area and by perceptions about pull factors in the receiving area. Typically, people who migrate are attracted by better opportunities in the labour force and by greater chances to improve their and their families' standard of living. Such opportunities and chances only operate as attractors if knowledge about them is accessible in sending communities. As was shown in the preceding chapter, the fact that most Coloured and African migrants follow established routes to planned destinations implies that such knowledge is probably generally available. For higher income people, such knowledge is also usually readily available. Simultaneously, migration is driven by push factors. For many households, poverty in sending areas is the major factor.

The *first section* (3.1) of this chapter compares indicators of such pull and push factors within the three provinces that make up the greater Cape region.

The *second section* (3.2) focuses on lifetime in-migration streams within the three main ethnic groups and analyses these in terms of different periods of entry into the province. This section concludes with a general profile of in-migration trends analysed in terms of different periods of entry into the province.

The *third section* (3.3) addresses the role that state infrastructure plays in attracting migrants into the province. Particular attention is paid to the influence played by state educational and health infrastructure in this regard.

The *fourth section* (3.4) focuses on migration into the province of immigrants from other African countries.

The *fifth section* (3.5) introduces the relationship between the spread of the HIV-AIDS epidemic and migration in the province.

3.1 Provincial comparisons of major push and pull factors in migration.

The primary engine of migration is the search for jobs and income. Comparisons between the labour forces in the three provinces of the Cape region shed light on both unemployment push factors and the attraction of opportunities in the labour market of the receiving province. Table 3.1 draws comparisons between unemployment rates, between the proportion of the population that is economically active as well as between income strata of the employed. As is apparent from these indicators, the economies of the Northern Cape and the Eastern Cape in particular offer few residents opportunities to be economically active and when they do succeed, low remuneration is common and high remuneration rare. The comparative situation in the Western Cape is evident.

Table 3.1 Selected labour force indicators by Cape region provinces and nationally

	Eastern Cape	Northern Cape	Western Cape	South Africa
Unemployment rate (strict def) 2000*	32.0	26.1	18.4	29.5
<i>males only</i>	31.1	23.3	16.5	26.1
<i>females only</i>	32.9	31.1	20.7	33.1
% population economically active 1999	27.4	38.1	44.2	36.8
% employed earning < R500/month 1996	31.5	42	18.4	26
% employed earning > R4500/month 1996	8.5	8.1	12.4	10.7

Sources: SAIRR 2000 & ()Labour Force Survey Sept 2001 SSA release P0210, 2002*

The secondary engine of migration is the search for improved living conditions – both social infrastructure (education and health in particular) as well as economic infrastructure (housing, electricity, water, transport and so on). This ‘engine’ typically comes into operation when poverty in the sending area acts as a major push factor and employment opportunities appear to be out of sight in receiving areas.

Within the Eastern, Northern and Western Cape, Table 3.2 draws comparisons between poverty levels by using the *provincial human poverty index*, defined on the basis of deprivation in longevity (age), in living standards and in knowledge (education) (UNDP 2000:62). Simultaneously, the table compares the three Cape provinces in terms of recent matriculation results and the availability of health services. The same comparative provincial profile as that above returns: the incidence of poverty as well as poor matric results and inferior delivery of health

services is apparent in the Eastern and Northern Cape. The Western Cape is substantially better off on all three counts.

**Table 3.2 Selected poverty, educational and health indicators
by Cape region provinces and nationally**

	Eastern Cape	Northern Cape	Western Cape	South Africa
Human poverty index* 1996	23,34	17,95	9,68	17,46
Matric pass rate (%) 1999	40,2	64,3	78,8	48,9
Matric exemption rate (%) 1996	6,8	11,3	24,2	12,5
Number doctors per 10 000 people 1998	1,8	2,0	6,5	2,9
Number nurses per 10 000 people 1998	32,2	21,7	41,4	32,4

Sources: SAIRR 2000 & () UNDP 2000*

3.2 The origins of the Western Cape adult population and the periods of arrival of in-migrants

This section uses information on the place of birth, current place of residence and date of entry into the province of survey respondents. Accordingly, the analysis focuses on adults rather than children. Two separate themes are discussed. The first comprises the lifetime migration profiles for the three main ethnic groups in the province. These are presented separately and complement the provincial profile of lifetime migration presented in the previous chapter. Survey results are presented in Table 3.3 below. It is apparent that these three ethnic migration profiles differ on important issues from one another. The second theme periodises these population flows into the province. The periods selected for comparison coincide with important events in the country and the province as well as a short (less than three year) 'present day' period leading up to the date of the survey. The theme is first discussed with regard to dates of entry of adults in the three ethnic groups and is subsequently examined in general. Survey results are presented in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 below.

3.2.1 Western Cape Coloured origins

For the Coloured population, most Western Cape residents are locally born in the Unicity, at 60 percent. The next largest fraction come from the non-metro districts of Western Cape itself, at 31 percent of the total. Northern Cape accounts for another five percent, and the non-homeland areas – the cities and farms – of Eastern Cape for three percent. Most of this Eastern Cape flow probably comes from the southern and eastern districts, the hinterland of Port Elizabeth, where numerous extensive

farms have in the past employed Coloured work forces and where Afrikaans is the dominant language.

That is, the Coloured population is confirmed as relatively rooted, and not much inclined to migrate over substantial distances whether for economic or other reasons. Most of the Western Cape Coloured population is born within the province, and only small flows come from the adjacent areas of Northern Cape and Eastern Cape. In spite of the very weak economies in these neighbouring provinces, the flow of Coloured population across the Western Cape border is relatively small. Close to 90 percent of the Western Cape Coloured population is born within the province.

Of those who come from outside the province, the largest single source has been Northern Cape at 5 percent. This leaves 5 percent coming from other areas, including about 3 percent from Eastern Cape.

Within the province, the metro Cape Town area accounts for over half of the Coloured population by birthplace. Of these respondents, the largest share said they were born in the central Cape Town (MLC) municipality itself where the older Coloured townships are concentrated.

Outside the Cape Town Metro area, where most of the provincial Coloured population originates, the most significant districts were the West Coast and Boland, at 8 percent, followed by the Garden Route/Klein Karoo and the Central Karoo districts at 5 percent. Together, these three sub-regions accounted for nearly one third of the total Coloured residents of Western Cape. In spite of the character of Western Cape as a highly urbanized province with a very high share of its residents living in its primate city, many of the Western Cape Coloured adult population originate in the districts.

3.2.2 *Western Cape White origins*

Like the Coloured population, a substantial share of the White Western Cape population which is born inside the province seems to be more often of rural origin than born inside the metro. 28 percent of the White survey respondents said they were born inside Cape Town municipal boundaries, against 21 percent who said they were non-metro, rural-born. Overall, these two categories account for 50 percent of the Western Cape White population.

Of the Whites who reported they were born outside the Western Cape, 5 percent came from Northern Cape, and only four percent from Eastern Cape. This 9 percent inflow from the outer provinces of the greater Cape system represents less than a fifth of the total White inflow into Western Cape from across its borders. Much of this outside flow represents older White families moving to the Cape to retire under attractive conditions.

The remaining 39 percent came mainly from Gauteng, at 16 percent, making Gauteng the main source of White in-migration from inside the country into Western Cape. However, the stream of in-migrants from overseas who are attracted to a high-quality, low-cost destination represents another large fraction, with a further 18 percent.

Other parts of South Africa represented minor shares of total White inflow. The Free State and North West together accounted for 4 percent of Whites, the Northern Province and Mpumalanga for 2 percent together, and KwaZulu Natal by itself for another 2 percent. Therefore there is no part of South Africa that does not contribute at least a small share of the Western Cape's White in-migration stream, so that Western Cape links up through migration connections to all parts of the country, and to countries overseas as well.

Inside the Western Cape's own boundaries, most of the metro White local-origin population report that they were born in the Cape Town (MLC) municipality itself. Based on the survey, other municipalities inside the Unicity accounted for relatively small shares of the White provincial population.

3.2.3 Western Cape African origins

The adult African population of Western Cape is unambiguously of majority non-metro rural origin, though 14 percent of the total African respondents reported that they were born inside Cape Town Metro. Another 5 percent said they were born inside Western Cape in the non-metro districts, and the remaining 81 percent came originally from outside the province.

Collectively, the northern tier of South Africa's provinces accounted for three percent of the African survey samples. The foreign African component, often thought to make up a relatively large new element in Western Cape population inflows, was

represented by three individuals and contributed marginally in terms of the survey sample.

As with the other population groups, most of the African respondents who indicated they were born in Cape Town Metro said they came originally from the Cape Town (MLC) municipality itself. This is where the old African townships are located, and this fraction came to 10 percent. No other municipality recorded as much as two percent of the African survey sample, but South Peninsula, Tygerberg and Helderberg were named as birthplace by two or three respondents in each instance. It appears to be the case that the metro-born fraction of the African sample is closely connected to the long-established African townships, while the population of the informal settlements is almost entirely in-migrant.

The non-metro districts of Western Cape were cited as their point of origin by significantly less respondents than referred to the metro areas. Out of this five percent, the largest number of respondents came from Boland at just over three percent, with the Garden Route/Klein Karoo following with one and a half than three percent. Other Districts reflect little local African born. However, it has become extremely difficult anywhere in South Africa to get agreement from employers to survey farmworkers, and it is possible that a larger farm sample might have picked up representation from more African individuals born on farms in the non-metro districts of Western Cape (See Box).

Coming in numbers from outside the Western Cape itself, the large Eastern Cape migration stream was dominated by people from former Transkei. This stream accounted for almost 50 percent of the total African sample. Most of this flow comes from the districts of southern Transkei which are in contact with the Border Corridor, the ribbon of former White towns and farming districts running inland from the coast and separating former Transkei from former Ciskei. These districts on the Border represent the most mobilized parts of the old Transkei homeland, with the most immediate access to transport links out of the interior and down the coast to Western Cape.

However, the Eastern Cape also sources two other migration streams to the Western Cape. The larger flow comes from the farms and cities outside the homelands, and accounts for 18 percent of the total migration from Eastern Cape to Western Cape. Results from a 1999 study (Cross & Bekker) indicate that for the African migration

flow the importance of this non-homeland source is increasing, while the importance of the Transkei outflow may be falling in relative terms.

African farmworkers in the Western Cape – a qualitative picture

It proved not possible to gain access to African farmworker communities during the survey. Accordingly, a convenience sample of 100 African farmworkers living on dairy, vegetable and equestrian stud farms was drawn in the Boland and in the Garden Route/Klein Karoo and respondents were asked the same questions as those posed during the survey.

Three per cent of respondents were born on the farms themselves whilst, as in the case of the wider representative African sample, some 94% were born in the Eastern Cape.

Household sizes were small (2,4) and some 40% of respondents lived alone, without family members. The vast majority were male. This small farmworker population moreover appeared to be significantly better off than their African counterparts in urban areas of the province:

- one in four had a monthly income greater than R1000 per month (compared with 12% in urban areas);
 - 88% had electricity in their homes (compared with 74%);
- and, of most importance,
- everyone was employed (compared with an expanded unemployment rate of 40%).

Though it is not possible to generalize from this small convenience sample, it does appear that at least a substantial section of the African farmworker population in the Western Cape enjoy acceptable work and living conditions.

In addition, there is a small flow out of Ciskei itself to Western Cape, representing 6 percent of the African survey sample. Overall it appears that out-migration from Ciskei goes mainly to East London and perhaps to destinations north of the Cape system, so that Ciskei migrants do not currently reach Western Cape in great numbers. At the same time, there are signs that the Ciskei flow to Cape Town may

also be increasing off its current low base level. This stream tends to be somewhat better educated and more urbanized than the flow from Transkei.

On a lifetime basis, the Transkei migration stream has been the key demographic flow within the Cape system, and has transferred very large numbers of single individuals and families from the poverty-stricken rural districts of Eastern Cape. This flow has increased the labour capacity and human resources available to Western Cape. At the same time, it has triggered a need for rapid delivery of housing and services. However, not all Eastern Cape in-migrants are from the same source districts, and any major shift taking place in the Ciskei/Transkei migration balance in future could change the level of capacity brought into the Western Cape economy by arriving in-migrants from Eastern Cape.

**Table 3.3 Shares of total lifetime migration into the Western Cape, by ethnic group (heads of household)
% distribution by column**

Birth region	Coloured	African	White
Unicity Cape Town (metro)	59,4	14,2	27,9
West Coast	8,4	<1	2,9
Boland	8,1	3,2	9
Overberg	3,4	<1	4
Central Karoo	5,3	<1	1,7
Garden Route/KK	5,5	1,5	4,1
Eastern Cape	2,8	73,2	3,9
Northern Cape	4,8	2,3	4,6
SA Northern Provs	1,2	2,8	7,8
Gauteng	1	1	16,2
Foreign	<1	<1	18

Source: 2001 PGWC migration survey (weighted)

3.3 Dates of entry into Western Cape for migration streams

Periodising migration flows into Western Cape is a complex task. The three main ethnic groups have followed different trajectories in terms of how inflows into Western Cape have risen or fallen, and have shifted position in relation to how much of the total, all-ethnic in-migration flow each population group represents at any given time. It is not certain whether clear time trends that will carry on into the future can be identified on the basis of survey results obtained in 2001.

The general picture – as will become apparent below - is one in which African in-migration was numerically the largest fraction of the total provincial inflow, while White in-migration has been low and steady, and Coloured migration inflows to Western Cape have been very small relative to the other two ethnic groupings.

However, the survey results suggest that in the last three years the Coloured in-migration stream suddenly seems to have increased, while the share of the other two groups has declined. As of the time of survey, results suggest that the total in-migration flow coming into Western Cape was nearly half African, but also carried Coloured and White in-migration which made up about a quarter of the total each. Whether this realignment of the total in-migration stream will continue into the future cannot be determined from the information available now.

3.3.1 Periodising Coloured migration into Western Cape

Overall, it appears true that the Coloured in-migration flow coming in from other parts of the Cape regional system across the borders of Western Cape has tended to remain very small. Three-quarters of the locally born Western Cape population on the survey was represented by the Coloured grouping, and only about 13-15 percent of the Coloured survey respondents identified themselves as in-migrants from outside Western Cape. About half of this small Coloured in-migrant population had already entered the province and was in place in Western Cape before 1986, the year used here as a standard datum point because it marked the lifting of influx control.

The remaining 7 percent of the Coloured sample represents in-migration since 1986. In terms of the numbers of Coloured in-migrants identified in the sample, total inflow in the Coloured grouping remained stable between 1986 and 1998, but then ticked up, either as a new trend or as a demographic hiccup. Coloured in-migration stabilised at 0.4 percent yearly of all Western Cape in-migration in the periods 1986-94 and 1995-98, and then doubled to 0,8 percent between 1999 and the date of survey (Table 3.4).

No identifiable reason appears in the data for why the Coloured stream has apparently risen strongly as the other two flows have declined. Likewise, the raw numbers involved remain small, so that it is difficult to draw any strong conclusion. However, it is possible that bad economic and services conditions in the main source areas for the Coloured population in the interior have finally led to an increase in migration out of the arid Karoo and into Western Cape. At the same time, it needs to be borne in mind that not all provincial in-migrants stay in the Western Cape once they have come in (see Chapter 5). It is very difficult to determine accurately how many of the Coloured in-migrants estimated to have entered Western Cape since 1999 have already left the province or may leave: It appears to be characteristic of

the Coloured population that unsuccessful moves to the metro area are often followed by return migration. Return migration of this kind may have been involved in reducing the numbers of Coloured in-migrants from earlier periods who have remained in Western Cape to be counted in the recent survey data, and these effects are difficult to measure or to model. In this light, apparent trends need to be evaluated with care.

At the same time, it appears clear that an increase in Coloured in-migration relative to the other ethnic groups has taken place over the last three years. It is not possible to determine whether this increase will be sustained, since this will depend not only on conditions in the Coloured source areas and in the major destination areas for the Coloured population, but also on events affecting the African and White provincial in-migration streams as well.

**Table 3.4 Periodised rates of in-migration into the Western Cape,
by ethnic group (heads of household)**
% distribution by column

	Coloured	African	White
Born Western Cape and never left	85,4	17,1	44,5
Entered before 1986	7,2	21,8	21,6
1986-94 <i>annualised</i>	3,5 0,4	30,8 3,9	16,2 2,0
1995-98 <i>annualised</i>	1,7 0,4	21,1 5,3	11,3 2,8
1999+ <i>annualised</i>	2,2 0,8	9,2 3,5	6,4 2,4
n=	100% 676	100% 475	100% 463

Source: 2001 PGWC migration survey (weighted)

3.3.2 Periodising White migration into Western Cape

White in-migration to the Western Cape as reflected in the survey data has never reached large numbers in any recent year, though roughly half the present White population was born outside the province. Whites make up about a quarter of the resident population born inside Western Cape, so that significant numbers of Whites have entered during the lifespan of the current provincial population. However, survey results suggest that one third of this in-migration took place more than fifteen years ago, and that White inflows have been small as a share of total in-migration since that time.

According to the White respondents, more than a third of the total White lifetime in-migration stream was already settled inside the province by 1986, at 39 percent of all White in-migrants to Western Cape. This relatively heavy inflow represented 13 percent of the total lifetime inflow across all ethnic groups. Since that date, White inflow first declined in absolute numbers, then rose, and now seems to have fallen again.

Sample numbers reflect 29 percent of the White in-migration flow taking place from 1986 to 1994, the date of the independence elections (calculated from Table 3.5). Another 20 percent entered in the initial period under the new democratic government, between 1995 and 1998. In the last three years up to the date of survey, from 1999 to 2001, 11 percent of the total White inflow crossed the Western Cape borders and settled.

This means that on an annualised basis, 2.0 percent of the White outside in-migration stream came in every year on average during 1986-94, increasing to 2,8 percent annually from 1995-98. However, this flow now appears to have tailed off, so that over the last three years an average 2,4 percent of the White total inflow has been arriving (Table 3.4). Whether these fluctuations are related to political or economic factors is difficult to determine, but it looks likely that both may be involved, and that the small spike in White in-migration in the period after the democracy elections may be related to White anxieties around that time. However, it is important to remember that half the Whites who have migrated into Western Cape had already entered before the national political situation began to come close to resolution, and that total White inflows after 1986 may have been no higher on a yearly average than flows taking place much earlier.

In terms of how the White in-migration flow relates to the total flow into Western Cape over time, it seems clear that the relative White contribution was heaviest in the period prior to 1986. During this period, in-migration from the Coloured and African groupings was light. In aggregate, White inflows represented 37 percent of all recorded in-migration for all ethnic groups up to that year (calculated from Table 3.5), reflecting the relatively large numbers of Whites entering during that period. In the time since 1986, the relative White contribution has become much smaller as the weight of in-migration in other ethnic groups has increased.

This change in the overall distribution of the ethnic groups in regard to the in-migration flow does not indicate an overall fall in White in-migration, which was at a higher level over 1999-2001 than in 1986-94. Over time, survey results seem to indicate that White in-migration to Western Cape has probably been fairly stable and constant if short-term spikes are smoothed. Instead, the relative decline in White in-migration contribution shows a continuing realignment in terms of Coloured and African rates of entry, which as a combination are still gaining in-migration share.

3.3.3 *Periodising African migration into Western Cape*

The main recent African migration into Western Cape shows up in the survey data as taking place since 1986: It should be remembered that this new wave of African arrivals is partly replacing people expelled from Western Cape under the application of Coloured labour preference policies which took place earlier.

For the African population, the main flow into Western Cape seems to have taken place on a rising curve which began before the lifting of influx control. A relatively strong stream of in-migration has entered during and after the 1980s, accounting for nearly two-thirds of the Western Cape African population. At the same time, the survey data suggests that this flow may now be tailing off somewhat, and returning to what may become a slightly lower steady rate. Given the powerful differentials in employment rates between Eastern Cape and Western Cape together with the better quality of jobs, wages, services and accommodation available in Western Cape, it is not likely that in-migration from the poverty reservoirs of Eastern Cape will fall spontaneously to a low level in the foreseeable future.

Relatively few of the Western Cape African sample reported that they were born in Western Cape. That is, less than 10 percent of the adults in the total survey sample who said they had lived in Western Cape all their lives were Africans, confirming that the current Western Cape inside-born population is predominantly Coloured, with a substantial share of Whites.

Of the roughly 80 percent of the African population who have in-migrated during their lifetimes, 22 percent reported that they entered Western Cape before 1986, leaving 78 percent to arrive after the lifting of influx control (calculated from Table 3.5). 31 percent arrived in the nine years to 1994, and 21 percent in the four years to 1998. In the most recent period from 1999 to 2001, 9 percent of the African respondents arrived.

This recent period represents a proportional drop in the African in-migration flow into Western Cape. On an annualised basis, the African contribution to in-migration from 1986 to 1994 stood at 2,17 percent of the overall lifetime flow for provincial in-migration. This already represented the largest share for this period, but African in-migration rose to 3,19 percent as a yearly average between 1995 and 1998. This was the highest rate computed using the survey data (Table 3.5). This relative rate of flow which followed the democracy elections is remarkably high, and may represent pent-up migration forces held back by what were previously perceived as hostile institutional and political conditions in Western Cape relative to African migrants from Eastern Cape. For the period 1999 to 2001, the African share dropped to 2,05 percent of the overall lifetime flow for provincial in-migration. This is still the largest share of inflow for this recent period, but it now represents only about 46 percent of in-migration during this period, against 22 percent in the Coloured population and 32 percent among the Whites.

**Table 3.5 In migration flows into the Western Cape
% of total resident population (heads of household)**

	Coloured	African	White
Entered before 1986	8.6	13	12.8
1986-94 <i>annualised</i>	4.3 0,55	18.3 2,17	9.8 1,22
1995-98 <i>annualised</i>	2.1 0,55	12.6 3,19	6.9 1,67
1999+ <i>annualised</i>	2.6 0,98	5.5 2,05	3.8 1,43

Source: 2001 PGWC migration survey (weighted)

There is no way of telling at this point whether a trend is developing that will continue to bring African in-migration down relative to the rising Coloured stream in particular. But it is worthwhile noting that, as reflected in the survey, absolute African in-migration levels as of 1999-2001 were similar to those that prevailed in 1986-94. At the same time, the Coloured population is still not highly mobile compared to either the African or White population groups.

In this light, it looks unlikely that African population inflow will decline to a point level with or below inflow in the Coloured sector. Instead, the very high levels that are recorded between 1995 and 1999 are likely to represent a point-specific response to the political conditions of the time acting on pent-up demand in the impoverished

Eastern Cape. That is, a share of potential African migration which may have been held back from entering Western Cape between 1986 and 1994 was released by the political fact of the elections, and instead arrived between 1995 and 1998.

These conditions are unlikely to be repeated. Likewise, the apparent falling trend in the migration rate from Eastern Cape may be largely an illusion, occasioned by the political changeover of the 1994 elections, which first held back and then released a significant share of in-migration from among the poor in Eastern Cape. If so, if this blocked flow had not been held back, the rate of African in-migration into Western Cape might have held closer to a steady 2.4 or 2.5 percent of all in-migration over the total period 1986-2001.

3.3.4 Summary: periodising all ethnic groups migration into Western Cape

Overall, it appears that Coloured migration into Western Cape, which comes almost entirely from within the greater Cape system and mainly from Northern Cape, may have been rising over the last three years. From a relatively small share of total in-migration, Coloured inflows have relatively suddenly assumed a much more significant role in the total picture for outside in-migration, and as of the date of survey had come close to half the scale of the province's African inflows.

The reasons for this sudden apparent uptick in Coloured entries is not obvious, and it is difficult to forecast whether a trend has been established, or whether this flow will drop back. This demographic shift does not bear any obvious relation to political developments, and is perhaps more likely to be economically determined in relation to the collapse of the Cape farm sector and increased labour shedding linked to the destruction of the interior economy in the Karoo. Without being able to make any clear prediction, it would seem that ***the provincial government of Western Cape should at least be alert to the possibility that public provision may be needed in relation to a further increase in Coloured in-migration from outside Western Cape.***

For African and White outside migration, the picture is to some extent the opposite. That is, prior to 1994 White migration into Western Cape was well-established and probably not far off steady and moderate, while African migration had risen significantly around and before the lifting of influx controls. However, both African and White migration after 1994 spiked briefly, and this rise for both groups probably related to the same events.

The political developments around the democracy elections raised levels of anxiety for Whites across the country, but also weakened the perceived barriers to entering Western Cape for the African population. As a result, flows into Western Cape increased significantly for both groups at the same time, but for different reasons. Likewise, for both groups this peak flow was followed by a relative falling back, returning their rates of in-migration to somewhere close to the rates which prevailed before 1986. Extrapolating from the survey data, it looks as if the fact that the African share of Western Cape in-migration has come down below where it was calculated in the 1986-94 period is due to the relative rise in Coloured entries, rather than to any clear fall in the numbers of African in-migrants coming into Western Cape.

In terms of public provision, it would therefore appear risky to assume from the findings of the survey that less budget provision will be needed in the upcoming years to deal with the demands of bringing both disadvantaged and advantaged in-migrants securely into the economy and society of Western Cape. So long as powerful differentials in availability of jobs, housing and services prevail within the greater Cape system, it looks probable that the young and highly mobile African population will continue to respond rationally with high levels of migration. If relative poverty deepens in Eastern Cape, then a corresponding rise in movement to Western Cape will be likely to follow. ***Careful monitoring of migration levels would appear to be the only effective response to the need to adjust public budgets against the demands of outside migration entering Western Cape in future.***

Rather than assuming that public expenditure needs will fall, due provision will continue to be needed to clear the backlog for poor in-migrants which was created by the spike in disadvantaged inflows during 1995-98. In addition, further consideration will have to be given to provision for the Coloured outside inflows, and this stream will also need to be monitored to track its continuing needs for public goods.

3.4 The role of infrastructure and services, education and health as migration attractors.

This section addresses the second engine of migration – population movement primarily in search of superior economic and social infrastructure and services. What role, recently, have infrastructure and services in general played as migration attractors and what roles have education and health played? The roles these factors

play in the willingness of households to move on from their present dwelling is analysed in the next Chapter.

3.4.1 Infrastructure and services as migration attractors

Recent state policy has led to massive infrastructural provision for poor households in South Africa. Housing and associated services, water and electricity are good examples. Implementation however has been spatially uneven and the Western Cape has a significantly better infrastructure than its neighbouring provinces. To what extent has this infrastructural base acted as a primary attractor for households seeking a better future?

The focus here is on the last two periods during which migration trends have been compared: 1995-1998 and 1999-2001. Survey information was assembled by asking respondents for their main reason for migrating. Data was collected for each move, both into as well as within the province. It is apparent (Table 3.6) that the promise of work opportunities is the main reason for migrating. In all cases but one, this attractor was selected by a majority of respondents. The exception is the case of Coloured migrating households during the mid-nineties period where infrastructure and services emerged as equally important. It is probable, in the case of Coloured households, that this result is linked to the longstanding shortage of adequate housing in the metro. After this period, a substantial shift in attractors has taken place. The search for work opportunities jumps to 75% in the late nineties, reflecting deteriorating economic conditions both in the hinterland as well as in Cape Town itself. The proportionate drop in the selection of infrastructure and services (from 39% to 22%) is probably due more to this economic deterioration than to an improving housing delivery process. This shift moreover is also found in the White and better-off minority populations in the province.

The fact that this shift toward greater emphasis on the search for work from the mid-to the late nineties is not found in the migrating African population is largely due to the fact that the search for jobs remained the highest priority during both periods. Results for African migrating households during both periods (78% & 75%) represent the highest scores in the survey. These results do not imply that quality and scope of infrastructure and services are unimportant attractors. Rather, they underline the fact that a poor household may well up and leave their present dwelling if household members remain unemployed and hear about job opportunities elsewhere.

Table 3.6 Main migration attractors during the period 1995-98 & 1999-2001

By ethnic group and class

% selecting each reason for all moves, by period*

	Main reason for moving	Coloured	African	White	PCI hhld income > R1000/mnth
Period 1995-1998	Better economic circumstances	38%	78%	63%	54%
	Better infrastructure & services	39%	17%	26%	25%
	n=	97	85	35	100
Period 1999-2001	Better economic circumstances	75%	75%	70%	64%
	Better infrastructure & services	22%	22%	20%	19%
	n=	65	65	19	25

Source: 2001 PGWC migration survey (weighted)

(*Columns do not add to 100% since there were other possible responses)

3.4.2 State education in the Western Cape as an attractor.

Perceptions exist among provincial officials and in the mass media that a large influx of learners from the Eastern Cape enters the Western Cape school system each year (van der Berg & Agterbosch 2001). Two introductory comments will be made before this issue is assessed. First, this report estimates the rates and sizes of annual in migration flows into the province, *inter alia* from the Eastern Cape. These flows are large and bring with them children of school going age. Second, in ethnic terms, households differ both in terms of composition and size. Survey results reveal, in the households surveyed, that 21% of all Coloured individuals are school learners, 30% in the case of Africans, and 15% in the case of Whites. In the African (overwhelmingly Xhosa-speaking) case, on average, each household entering the province includes one potential school learner. The influx of learners from the Eastern Cape may be estimated in these terms.

The question remains whether learners are entering the province *specifically* to seek out better educational opportunities, with or without their parents. In the former case, as shown in the section above, though improved education may be one of a number of attractors for the household, it is rarely the main attractor. What then of the case of children migrating without their parents?

The Western Cape Education Department (WCED) aggregates annually enrolment and transfer information at its schools. Transfer information is captured in terms of the provincial location of sending schools and may therefore be classified into intra-

and inter-provincial transfer categories. Recent research (van der Berg & Agterbosch 2001) into this issue has revealed that transfers are high and enrolments 'volatile'. Other results are

- overall enrolments show a stable pattern over time
- the mobility between schools is more connected to "school searching" than migration into Western Cape from other provinces.
- Consequently, the extent of *intra provincial* transfers should be more of a concern than *inter provincial* transfers.

Further use of WCED data (Cloete 2002) reveals that intra-provincial transfers stood at 10% and inter-provincial transfers at 2% of total enrolments in 2001 (Table 3.7). The second figure does not reflect net figures, only learners who enter the province, not those who leave. In the case of 'dominant Xhosa' schools, on the other hand, the figure of 1,4% is probably close to a net transfer since it is known that out migration of African households is minimal. 1,4% represents an in-migration rate less than that calculated for in migrating African households in the period 1995-1998 and than that calculated for the period 1999 – 2001 (see Table 3.4 above). Given that some children join their parents after they have established themselves and that children of migrating households may enter school at a later age than normal, it does not appear from these figures that large streams of learners are entering the province on their own in search of better education.

Table 3.7 Enrolments and transfer in WCED schools 2001

Schools Home language	Enrolment	Intra provincial transfers as % of total enrolment	Inter provincial transfers as % of total enrolment
Dominant Xhosa (50%+ home language)	178 966	2,1%	1,4%
Other	702 410	7,9%	0,6%
All schools	881 376	10,0%	2,0%

Source: WCED unpublished data

This conclusion however does not imply that migrant learners remain with their parents (or parent) during migration. Qualitative work in George (Mongwe 2002) points to cases of African households entering the province, settling in Thembalethu, enrolling learners in local schools and then moving on in search of better employment without these learners. Such 'moving on' moreover may hold negative consequences for the learners left behind. In addition, it has been established that

African households entering the province often do so without children who join them at a later stage once parents have established themselves (Bekker 2001).

Survey results estimate that 9% of Coloured households, 21% of African households and 1% of White households include children who have migration histories different from those of the head of household. In the case of these African households, 45% of these children had migrated over the past three years and close to half these children (41%) came directly from the Eastern Cape to their present dwelling. In the case of the significantly smaller sample of Coloured households, most migration was local. This latter result is supported by qualitative data (Mongwe 2002) in Cape Town where Coloured learners often lodge with kin to be able to access better schools in the metro.

It would appear therefore that provincial perceptions regarding learner inflows into the province need to be qualified. From the Eastern Cape, the influx of learners is very similar in size to the influx of households. This does not imply that children always migrate with their household. Some arrive later and some lodge with kin or friends when their parent or parents move on. This contributes to the volatility of enrolments that is a problem for a large number of schools as parents and learners compete with one another in search of schools and teachers with good reputations.

3.4.2 State health in the Western Cape as an attractor.

Provincial perceptions regarding an influx of patients to the Western Cape in search of better health care are similar to those regarding education. It is apparent that potential patients enter the province within the migration streams identified elsewhere in this report and that these streams are substantial. Simultaneously, with regard to the migrant African population, the largest stream, most migrants are young and will accordingly be less amenable to illnesses associated with the aged. Survey results reveal, in the households surveyed, that 15% of all Coloured individuals are 50 years of age or older, 8% in the case of Africans, and 27% in the case of Whites. This judgement however needs to be qualified by the potential incidence of illnesses associated with all individuals, the HIV-AIDS epidemic in particular. The final section of this chapter addresses this issue separately.

It is clear accordingly that demand for state health services will rise in the province as migrating households enter the province. The question remains whether patients are

entering the province *specifically* to seek out better health services. Two sets of information may be used to answer this question.

The Western Cape Department of Health (WCDH) aggregates the home addresses of all patients at its hospitals. In a 1999 study done using these data (London & te Water Naude), it was found that 5,3% of all in-patients counted (n= 8 723) gave addresses outside the province and that these patients were mainly admitted to specialized academic and psychiatric hospitals in Cape Town. These patients are drawn from all ethnic and class groups. In the second place, using similar unpublished WCDH data for the period 1999 to 2001 which relate to both in- and out-patients, Cloete (2002) found that 0,3% of patients and 2,2% of patient-days could be attributed to people with addresses outside the province. The patient-day trend of such non-provincial admittances, moreover, dropped from 2,5 in 1999 to 2,2 in 2000 and to 1,8 in 2001. The most important sending provinces were the Eastern Cape (36%) and the Northern Cape (29%). Two qualifications about this information are in order before other information is examined and a conclusion drawn. Substantial anecdotal information points to numerous poorer patients giving false local addresses to hospitals since they fear discrimination from hospital staff if they give their extra provincial addresses. In the second place, these data refer exclusively to hospitals, not to clinics and day hospitals.

Qualitative work done for this study researched clinics in two poor urban areas: Thembaletu in George and Delft in Cape Town (Mongwe 2002). In both cases, clinics were found to be understaffed and overworked, with patients complaining of inadequate supplies, long waits and unfriendly staff. In the former case, they had little choice but to endure these conditions since alternative clinics were at considerable distance and cheap public transport unavailable. In the latter case, many patients travelled within the metro to alternative clinics they believed were superior in service. It is also important to note that in the case of Thembaletu, widespread traditional health services were available and many patients used these to complement clinic and hospital services.

This anthropological work also confirmed perceptions that hospital services in the Western Cape are viewed as significantly superior to those of the Eastern Cape. Two brief respondent quotes drawn from Thembaletu data illustrate this:

“Although my grandmother lives in a rural area she does not like the hospitals there. There are no medicines in these hospitals and usually it is not safe for the elderly to go there when they are sick. If you are sick and old you should not go to hospitals because if you go there you will not come home alive...”

“Life in the Eastern Cape is very difficult. I remember when I was pregnant with my first child, it started to rain and I started getting pains. They rushed me to the clinic and when we arrived there, there was no ambulance to take me to the hospital. First we had to get private transport to take us to the hospital. On arriving there the hospital was so full that some of the women who were already discharged had to sleep on the floor in order to make way for those who were arriving. Since I came to George, I have not heard similar things happening to women in labour.”

What conclusions may be drawn from these quantitative and qualitative data? In the first place, it is probable that there is not a large influx of patients entering the province specifically for hospital admission though trends given above may well be under reported. To travel long distances to a hospital is most often prohibitively expensive for poor patients who will undertake such a temporary journey only if they have both financial and kin support in the area of the hospital. Under these conditions, they may well decide to remain after being discharged. In the second place, clinic services in the overcrowded informal settlements of the Western Cape appear to be struggling to cope. The health advantage related to settling in the metro is apparent since it is easier to find alternative health services in Cape Town. Though they are also available in Cape Town, George does appear to offer alternative traditional health services on scale. Finally, perceptions appear general among the poor that hospital services in the Eastern Cape have deteriorated seriously. This ‘push’ factor has probably already been factored into decisions taken by migrants to leave. It may well rise in importance as knowledge about HIV infected status becomes more widespread (see 3.6 below).

3.5 Foreign African migrants in the Western Cape.

Research into foreign communities within countries that are perceived by economic migrants to be attractive receiving areas is extremely difficult to carry out. Drawing a representative sample in the absence of reliable information is daunting and interviewing respondents about issues they perceive as potentially threatening to their presence in the receiving country becomes impracticable. Accordingly, research reported on here was qualitative rather than quantitative and is largely based on secondary sources and interviews with Western Cape officials and residents, not foreign African migrants. Results need to be viewed in this light: figures are at best estimates and *interpretations are mainly based upon perceptions and*

opinions of others. Nonetheless, research outcomes do provide a general context within which planners and policy makers may locate their decisions.

These results are presented first by listing and answering a series of relevant questions. Subsequently, other findings are addressed. The research report (Boaden 2002) on this project contains more detail about these results and the research method used.

From which countries have these people migrated ?

Exact figures are not available. All SADC countries appear to be well represented except Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana which provide very few migrants. From elsewhere in Africa, Nigeria, Somalia, Angola, Congo, Kenya and Tanzania are the most frequently mentioned. It is interesting to note that Somalians, although not as numerous as other nationalities, receive a lot of attention in newspaper reports and in the interviews held.

Where is the settlement taking place ?

Mostly in Cape Town but also in many small towns in the province. However, in recent years, with a decline in the rural economy people have been moving from these towns to Cape Town.

Into what category do these residents fit: refugees, people seeking employment opportunities, people seeking business opportunities, or any other ?

Most migrants are here seeking business and employment opportunities. However, in order to obtain legitimacy many foreigners who continue to stay here illegally, seek asylum which gives them the refugee status which entitles them to obtain work.

Gender and age breakdown ?

The overwhelming majority of foreign African migrants appear to be males between the ages of 20 and 30. Families from their home countries very seldom join foreign migrants.

Is the nature of their migration from other countries permanent, temporary or circulatory ?

In most cases it is permanent possibly due to the large distances involved. In some cases, however, people see their stay in the Western Cape as temporary while they seek means of obtaining passage to countries overseas

What are the living conditions of these people – particularly with respect to housing, health and education ?

Housing conditions are reasonable for those living in the lower-density areas where they usually rent either a house or a shack and live together in groups. In higher-density areas such as Sea Point and Muizenberg, living conditions are particularly bad where they are subject to exploitative practices such as gross overcrowding by slumlords. With regard to health and education, conditions are as good as those for the locals since they have full access to both. They do, however, experience problems with xenophobic attitudes of administration officials when first trying to access these two social services

How well are they integrated or assimilated into local communities ?

Apart from problems experienced with local owners of competing businesses, foreigners appear to integrate well with local communities while remaining in their groups and retaining their cultural identities.

How strong are links with the countries from which they migrated ?

Due to the fact that a special questionnaire survey of foreigners was not conducted, this question is not answered in this study. It was ascertained that money was sent back and that on occasions families followed the menfolk to this country.

What are the attitudes of local residents towards these foreigners ?

Discussion with local residents indicated a relatively high level of goodwill and respect towards foreigners particularly with regard to their skills and apparent success. This finding is in contrast to the xenophobic outlook usually portrayed in the news media.

In broad terms, what is the extent (including growth trends) of foreign settlement in the Western Cape ?

While it was not possible to obtain accurate figures, it is clear that there are significant number of African foreigners in the Western Cape – probably between 30 000 and 50 000. Numbers have grown consistently since 1994. The Western Cape, with approximately 10% of the country's population, probably has a significantly smaller proportion of foreign migrants. This is possibly attributable to the fact that the province, and Cape Town in particular, are further from foreign borders than most other centres.

Other findings are as follows:

- While problems definitely exist with respect to foreign migrants in the Western Cape, it would appear that this 'problem' aspect is overstated and that in many ways the presence of these migrants contributes positively to the economic and cultural development of the region. Ways and means must be

found to build on the positive aspects of foreigner migration rather than to adopt a reactionary approach as is presently the case.

- Legislation affecting immigrants to this country, in particular the Refugees Act (1998), is far-sighted and based on democratic principles. However, the regulations and the administration of them by government officials is not always sympathetic to foreigners. There does appear to be a contradiction between government policy, as portrayed in the legislation, and public pronouncements by politicians. These contradictions lead to frustrations on the part of those attempting to apply the legislation. The legislation has also resulted in the emergence of a large and expensive bureaucracy concerned solely with this issue.
- There are two types of business activity that divide foreigners into two distinct groups. The one group, which is legal and quasi-legal, such as street vending, is run by small-time entrepreneurs versus big-time entrepreneurs or criminals who engage in drug-dealing, car-stealing, false document production, pimps, arms dealers, protection rackets and seafood smuggling. It was not possible in this study to identify the proportion of migrants involved in each of these two types of business.
- Foreigners are, in many ways, able to out-compete the locals for scarce resources. In the main, they appear to be better equipped with respect to skills, education, work ethic and entrepreneurship. This superiority is well known and understood by the locals, some of whom view them as role models; in other cases it fuels attitudes of xenophobia.
- Foreigners create work opportunities for locals on a significant scale. They also pay rent and purchase dwelling units and, in isolated cases provide loans. Their relative success at wealth creation results in additional spending power in residential neighbourhoods.
- There are two basic types of living arrangement which separate migrants into two distinct groups. There are those who live in low-density, subsidised housing and shacks versus those who live at the behest of slumlords in older, higher density areas such as Sea Point.
- Foreigners now come directly to Cape Town rather than via Johannesburg since Johannesburg is regarded as being over-saturated and therefore more competitive.
- For some foreigners living in former Coloured areas was preferable to living in the African 'townships' because they were treated better by the locals and anticipated that there would be less crime.

- Fraternisation and marriage with local women are a source of much distress amongst locals – particularly insofar as foreigners are often able to seduce the local women with money. Another major source of anger is the ability of foreign entrepreneurs to underprice the locals and to accept much lower wages.
- Strong support structures exist within foreigner groups although conflict sometimes occurs between foreigner groups – not necessarily according to nationality.
- Negative and sensational newspaper reporting would appear to contribute to the xenophobic attitude held by some – particularly since so few people have actually met these foreign migrants.
- Surprisingly, the threat of HIV/AIDS posed by foreign migrants to the Western Cape did not feature as an issue in this study – particularly from amongst the local residents surveyed notwithstanding the fact that they were offended by foreigners fraternising with and marrying the local young

3.6 The relationship between migration and the HIV-AIDS epidemic

To our knowledge, there has been no research undertaken in South Africa on this topic. Simultaneously, migration findings presented in this report underline the importance of getting to grips with links between population movements and the most serious epidemic South Africans have ever had to address. As an example, recent research conducted in Kenya concluded that ***'migration is a critical factor in high-risk sexual behaviour and that its importance varies by gender and by direction of movement'***.

Work done for this report is preliminary and further research is urgently recommended. Three main outcomes of our work will be discussed below. Details on these outcomes as well as a profile of the epidemic in the Western Cape are available in the project research report (Bekker & Swart 2002).

3.6.1 The relationship.

The relationship between migration and the spread of the epidemic is reciprocal in the sense that not only does migration influence the spread of the epidemic but that consequences of the epidemic affect the nature of migration. This may be expressed as (migration \leftrightarrow spread of the epidemic).

* In terms of influence from left to right (migration → spread of the epidemic), it is important to note that migration is selective *inter alia* in terms of age, gender, class and marital status and accordingly, the profile of a sending community and of a receiving community typically differ in terms of such selectivity. In the second place, the nature of trust and ties, of social capital, in such a sending and receiving community will differ, particularly for migrant individuals and households. Third, migration is often step-wise. Individuals and households move more than once. These three dimensions may significantly influence the sexual behaviour of migrants and may potentially place them in situations where they may have multiple sexual partners.

* In terms of influence from right to left (migration ← spread of the epidemic), once an individual becomes aware of HIV-infection, or of being AIDS-sick (or aware of someone in this condition within the household) there are (at least) three pertinent motivational factors leading to a migration decision related to the epidemic:

- infected persons may decide to migrate (with or without their households) in search of improved medical services;
- in search of improved family or kin support; or
- to return to their community of birth to die (and accordingly to be buried in their ancestral home)
- (A fourth reason mentioned was migration consequent upon job loss due to infection or sickness)

It is important to note that these hypotheses assume that the individual in question is aware of his or her medical status. Currently, the large majority (probably in the region of 90%) of HIV-infected persons in South Africa are unaware of this status. Other than for those who *anticipate* the need for improved medical services or better kin support, the HIV-infected status in itself will have no effect on migration decisions.

As self knowledge of infected status becomes more current (as will probably be the case in the South African infected community during the next five years), the effect on migration decisions will increase, potentially dramatically.

3.6.2 Data available.

At present, no reliable data relating migration to the epidemic exist for the South African case. A HSRC survey using saliva testing to establish infection prevalence is currently in its planning stages. This study will also generate migration history data for respondents. It represents the first possible source of representative data on the relationship. The study will face the challenge of possible refusal by respondents to

donate saliva for the test. It should also be noted that HIV-AIDS epidemiological data in general are fragmented and sometimes unreliable - for a series of reasons.

3.6.3 *The Western Cape context.*

Compared to other South African provinces, the Western Cape is highly urbanized, at long distances from the Gauteng-Durban space economy, and dominated by the Unicity of Cape Town (in which two-thirds of the provincial population reside). It is also significant to repeat that if the Cape regional system - comprising the three province of Eastern, Northern and Western Cape - is viewed as a 'cell', lifetime migration for Coloured and African individuals and households takes place, overwhelmingly, within this cell. White individuals and households move within a much larger national and international context.

According to available epidemiological data, ***it appears that infection rates in the African Western Cape community are high and comparable to those of the Eastern Cape. Rates in the Western Cape for other ethnic groups appear to be significantly lower. In so far as such profiles are made public, there is a danger that ethnic stereotyping and stigmatization may take place, in both civil society and state bodies.***

Chapter 4 Migration within the Western Cape.

This chapter contains three sections. The first (4.1) addresses the last reported move of respondents which are analysed in terms of flows between Cape Town and the rest of the province. The second (4.2) addresses migration streams between the five Districts of the province, and the third (4.3) the potential for 'moving on', based on respondents' responses to factors they believe would induce them to migrate once again.

4.1 Population flow between Cape Town and its hinterland – last move.

This section looks at immediate migration flows, in terms of the Western Cape population moving from region to region. That is, it considers direct flows, those from the last place of residence directly to where respondents were living at the time of the survey. The focus on lifetime migration from birthplace to current residence which was used in the previous chapter therefore shifts to a close look at the immediate origins of population flows affecting the Western Cape.

Looking at the data this way shows similar shares of population for all the ethnic groups which have moved internally within the metro, from one Cape Town Metro locality to another. Rather more than half said their last move started from within Cape Town – that is, they moved either from one Cape Town district to another, or from metro Cape Town to another region.

However, not all these moves went to the same destinations. Movement within the metro itself was noticeably more important in the Coloured grouping than for the other ethnic groups. Approaching 96 percent of the Coloured respondents who had made their last move from inside the city said their last move started and ended within Cape Town Metro. For the African grouping the corresponding figure was 90 percent, and for Whites it was lower still at 88 percent. That is, more African and White (than Coloured) respondents had moved from the metro to destinations outside the metro boundary. At the same time, more African and White respondents were also reported moving in. That is, exchanges of population between the rural and metro urban sectors were much more active for the African and White populations than for the Coloured grouping.

As a proportion of all moves, this difference was not accounted for by direct flows from inside the Western Cape. A smaller share of Coloured than White or African respondents had made a last move into the metro from somewhere else in the Western Cape, at 5 percent against 10 percent for Whites and 8 percent for Africans (Table 4.1). On these figures, the share of the African and White groups who said they had most recently moved into Cape Town from other parts of Western Cape was significantly larger than that for the Coloured grouping. The flows of Africans (at 18%) and Whites (at 18%) making a last move directly into the metro from somewhere outside the province were stronger than a 10 percent flow for Coloureds and point to much more African and White population interchange between the metro and other places than in the case of the members of the metro Coloured community who appear to confine themselves to migration within the city.

By contrast, the share of each ethnic group who made their last moves from somewhere in the Western Cape outside the metro enclave differed considerably, reflecting the relative size of the rural population of each ethnic group inside the Western Cape. 22% of the Coloured sample said their last stop was inside the Western Cape but outside the metro, compared to 11% percent of Whites and 8% of Africans.

4.1.1 Coloured metro and non-metro migration in the Western Cape – last move

For the Coloured population fraction, the picture for migration flows appears to be complex. For the Coloured respondents who were living inside the Western Cape but outside the metro area, 22 percent of last moves were from and to non-metro Western Cape localities, indicating again that the Coloured Western Cape population is strongly local in its origins and migration patterns. Respondents moving from outside the metro sector into the metro itself were 5%, and those from outside the province moving to a non-metro area 10% of the total sample. These results suggest a substantial amount of migration within the non-metro rural sector for the Coloured respondents.

If migration streams into the metro from all non-metro areas are analysed over time, moreover, they appear to be dropping: before 1995, the total inflow accounted for 14% of all moves terminating in the metro, between 1995 and 1998 for 11% and during the past three years, less than 10 percent. Accordingly, most exchanges in total Coloured migration have been rural to rural, excluding the metro.

It appears possible that this grouping – Coloured Western Cape non-metro rural – is not only increasing its relative numbers in relation to migration flows, but may also be moving from place to place without entering the metro sector. Much of this rural to rural migration is likely to be sparked by past and current labour shedding in the large farm sector. If so, it would suggest that the Coloured metro population may be relatively isolated from the Coloured population in the rest of the province. While this metro Coloured population shows considerable mobility within the metro environment, there seems to be less interchange than might be expected between the primate city population and that of the Cape and Western Cape countryside and smaller towns. Overall, the Coloured metro urban population does not seem to be increasing greatly due to migration. However, the rural Coloured population may be in fact increasing as a result of migration and a resulting shift of population.

These changes in the pattern of Coloured urbanisation have been researched elsewhere (Bekker & Cramer 2002). One finding was that significant numbers of farmworker households were leaving their on-farm dwellings. Perhaps not surprisingly, dismissed and stranded farmworkers may not be moving into the metro, a process which takes both urban knowledge and resources to fund a move. Instead, this farm-origin population may rather be going to the nearest town they have become familiar with as part of their lives and travel patterns while employed on the farms. If this initial move does not allow the recently unemployed to make a living in Cape towns with deteriorating economies, then desperation may result in further moves, possibly including attempts at the metro or even further afield. If so, then farm labour shedding both inside Western Cape and also more generally in the Cape system may be contributing to substantial population instability in the rural sector, which may not yet have hit the metro sector as hard as may be the case in future.

4.1.2 White metro and non-metro migration in the Western Cape – last move

For the Whites, the picture seems to be different. The share of recorded last moves which took place within the metro was higher, at 47 percent of the metro sample than the share that took place between destinations outside the metro, at 11 percent of the rural respondents. Though this level of flow was considerably lower in proportional terms than the level for the Coloured respondents, this result does suggest that there may be somewhat greater mobility in the metro White population than in the non-metro White sector.

Though less Whites have made a last move from outside the province into the non-metro countryside (at 8%) than moved from outside the province into the metro (18%), it is clear that White in-migration from outside the province is also reaching the countryside in significant numbers. This White in-migration to the Western Cape rural sector will be acting to sustain the White population in the countryside in spite of significant migration into Cape Town, at 10 percent of last moves sourcing from the non-metro Western Cape. Overall, the recorded White flow into metro is strong, with 28 percent of all recorded last moves by Whites going from non-metro districts inside and outside the province into the metro.

Therefore, there is not a suggestion at this stage that the White rural population is moving to the metro without any replacing flow. Instead, the numbers of the White rural population look likely to be fairly stable in migration terms. There may well be more than enough inflow into the countryside from outside the province to balance rural to urban migration on the part of Western Cape Whites.

At the same time, the apparent White population flow out of the metro to rural non-metro destinations also appears to be proportionately larger than it is for the Coloured sample. 6 percent of last moves by Whites in the non-metro rural sector were recorded as moves out of Cape Town and into the countryside, either to rural towns or to farms. Though the urban outflow here appears to be smaller than the combined inflow into the city, it is still substantial, and the highest recorded for any ethnic group.

If migration streams into the metro from non-metro areas are analysed over time, moreover, they appear to be dropping: before 1995, the total inflow accounted for 44% of all moves terminating in the metro, between 1995 and 1998 for 35%, and during the past three years, for 21%. For the White grouping, demographic flows between the city and the country are relatively high, with the metro and non-metro populations actively exchanging households, and also receiving significant flows from outside the province.

4.1.3 African metro and non-metro migration in the Western Cape – last move

Urban and rural migration trends for the African population look less complex than those for the Coloured population, but seem to reflect a new rural population emerging alongside the established metro urban population. Results draw attention

to the relative balance between the metro urban migration stream and that for the rural countryside.

In the African grouping, the relative level of internal metro urban flow compared to flows into the metro from outside was at 64 percent. This was close to that recorded for Whites, and much lower than that for Coloureds. That is, like the Whites, the African population reported a strong inflow, though not perhaps as strong as might initially be expected. A relatively high share of reported moves ending in the metro came from outside the city, either from the Western Cape countryside at 8 percent or from outside the Western Cape at 18 percent. However, in the light of the dominant share of African metro residents reporting that they were born in Eastern Cape, this rate of metro internal flow probably implies a large share of what appears to be on-migration, where people born in the Eastern Cape have already arrived in the city and have then made another move within the metro area. In this case, the respondents' last moves are recorded as urban to urban migration rather than as entry into the metro from outside. The total number of recorded direct moves into the city becomes smaller as a result, not reflecting the lifetime total of entries.

Likewise, as with the White sample but to a much greater degree, a similar number of the African respondents said they moved directly from outside the province into the Western Cape countryside – at 22 percent of all recorded last moves. This relative rate of flow was more than double that recorded for the Coloured population, and significantly larger than that for the Whites.

The difference here between the tabulated strength of the migration streams into the metro and into the rural sector would appear to have more to do with much higher rates of urban on-migration than with fewer migrants from outside the province moving into the metro sector. That is, it seems that the people mainly from Eastern Cape who arrive in the Western Cape countryside do not move nearly as often from where they first settle as do the Eastern Cape in-migrants who move to the metro, who regularly move on within the city. However, it is clear that very substantial numbers of African in-migrants from outside the province arrive in the rural sector, and it looks likely that many or most of these stay on at whatever place they first arrive. The African samples recorded less rural to rural migration within Western Cape, at 8 percent of last moves, than did either the Coloureds or the Whites in the survey, who recorded 22 percent and 11 percent.

From the African population in the Western Cape non metro sector, including both in-migrants and those who were born there, only 8 percent were recorded as having moved to the metro from their last stop. It seems that the very large migration stream from Eastern Cape splits as it enters, with one large grouping entering the metro, and another settling promptly in the rural Western Cape. It is not clear how many of this second group then move on to Cape Town, but the survey figures give little evidence of rural to urban step migration on a large scale. The total African urban to rural migration outflow from the metro into the countryside looked smaller in the results, at 4 percent of recorded last moves, than the African rural to urban flow from the countryside into the city (at 8 per cent). This urban-rural flow is higher than the relative level for the Coloured grouping, and approaches that of the comparatively footloose Whites.

These high recorded levels of flow for the African respondents into the non metro Western Cape seem to signal a demographic sea change. We seem to be seeing an autonomous African non metro population establishing itself in the Western Cape countryside, more or less independent of the large flow into the metro city. While this African rural population in the Western Cape is probably relatively concentrated now, and not large or well established compared to the metro African population, the high apparent rate of inflow from outside, the significant outflow contributing from the metro, and the seeming tendency to settle and stabilize all suggest that this non metro African population is in line to grow rapidly due to migration dynamics. In short, the common wisdom of an African step-wise gravity flow migration flow from the Eastern Cape down the south coast of the Western Cape and on to Cape Town is being replaced by these two split flows, one toward Cape Town and the other toward selected Districts.

Table 4.1 Western Cape recent migration flows, by ethnic group

Total % distribution within each ethnic group

<i>Last stop before present</i>	Coloured households		African households		White households	
	To metro	To non metro WC	To metro	To non metro WC	To metro	To non metro WC
From metro	51	2	40	4	47	6
From non metro WC	5	22	8	8	10	11
From outside province	10	10	18	22	18	8
n=	532		419		389	

Source: 2001 PGWC migration survey (weighted) (Only migrating respondents included)

4.2 Population flow between the Districts of the Western Cape

This section focuses on out- and in-flows for each of the five provincial Districts. Information drawn from survey data related to lifetime and last move migration histories of, in the first place, respondents and of, in the second place, employed respondents. In order to obtain trends, this information has been periodised into moves that took place before 1991 and over the past decade. Sample sizes were too small either to periodise into shorter periods or to estimate migration flows (numbers of migrants) between Districts. More detailed research at District level is needed to generate estimates of such numbers. The relevant tables – nineteen in all – are available on request from the Department of Planning, Local Government and Housing, PAWC. It ought also to be kept in mind that no information regarding migration from these Districts out of the province was available. As is shown in the next Chapter, significant Coloured out-migration flows appear to be taking place at present.

This information is analysed separately by ethnic group, within each District, for the total populations as well as with regard to the employed. The employed have been treated separately since they represent individuals who with their households have succeeded in establishing a regular income for themselves. In this sense at least, they – the ‘currently employed’ - represent privileged populations in each District. In order to keep relative population sizes in mind, each analysis below begins with the estimated 2001 population of the District.

4.2.1 The West Coast.

	Asian	Coloured	African	White	TOTAL
West Coast 2001		196 600	16 000	52 800	265 940

Source: van Zyl 2002 (See Table 2.2)

Coloured outflows and inflows: The West Coast Coloured sample has to be read against the background of the District's former boom conditions of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Strong interacting flows linked the West Coast to the metro during this period, though these flows seem to have had more impact on the West Coast than on Cape Town. Only 60 percent of the Coloured sample population recorded as born in the West Coast were still living there. About half had moved to Cape Town, and Overberg and Central Karoo accounted for most of the rest. In this light, it appears that population interaction between the West Coast and the metro for the Coloured

sample is strong, fairly exclusive, and goes in both directions. A migration cell has been operating here, but these flows are dropping.

Simultaneously, a substantial share of the total inflow on a lifetime basis arrived from Northern Cape, at 29 percent. Much of this stream into the West Coast was direct point to point migration, and has risen during the last ten years. Whether direct migration from Northern Cape to West Coast is still on the increase now that the economy has turned down is not entirely clear. However, it seems evident that much of the population flow over the last ten years from Northern Cape into Western Cape went not into the metro area but into attractive District destinations such as the West Coast. The only remaining significant flow into West Coast came from Boland, at 11 percent on a lifetime basis. For the last ten years this direct flow seems to have declined, suggesting that this stream is no longer a strong one, and has apparently fallen relative to the flow from Northern Cape. These non-metro rural streams seem to have been the only significant ones into West Coast which appears therefore to be a relatively important destination in the total pattern of Western Cape migration, but one with mainly District significance. Migration results among the employed reflect similar patterns. There appears to have been a brief flowering of employment opportunities in the District that had a very powerful effect on the adjacent farming area. This attracted individuals from the other Districts, the Overberg in particular. Simultaneously, the number of currently employed entering the District from other provinces has dropped significantly over the past decade.

West Coast African outflows and inflows: The West Coast, which has a relatively small and recently arrived African population, had very slight recorded outflows to other migration regions. No locally born respondents were interviewed in West Coast, though out-migrants turned up in the metro and in Boland, which may suggest that a small share of the district African population is dispersing from the West Coast rather than concentrating there. The inflow from the metro, from Northern Cape, and from Boland and the Garden Route/Klein Karoo were all very small in comparison with the Eastern Cape in-migrant component. Simultaneously, in terms of last stop migration, about 20 percent of direct movement into West Coast came from the metro region, rising to 25 percent in the last ten years. These are probably cases of on-migrants who first settled in the metro and then moved to this District. In fact, it looks as if the African population in the West Coast has only begun to become established, with over 90 percent of its lifetime population sourced from outside the province.

With regard to the currently employed, inflows from Cape Town have risen over the past decade whilst those from the Eastern Cape have dropped. It would seem accordingly that the West Coast has become established as a known destination for internal flows of the employed African population. At the same time, it is not clear what will happen to the African population which has recently concentrated in the District now that its economy has turned down – international developments in relation to steel tariffs will probably have important migration effects on all ethnic groups in this regard.

West Coast White outflows and inflows: The West Coast had the fewest Whites remaining in their region of birth of any of the Western Cape Districts, and therefore also had the largest proportional outflows. Only 35 percent of the Whites in the West Coast sample reported that they had been born in that region. The largest share of these Whites turned up in the metro and in Overberg. On this basis, Whites appear to have left the West Coast in greater proportionate numbers than the Coloured respondents have done. Dominant inflows were from the metro itself, at 26 percent, from Gauteng at 14 percent and from other countries at 11 percent (half the level of the foreign flow to the metro). Other lifetime flows of Whites into West Coast from the rest of South Africa include substantial streams from Boland and from Northern Cape. These are the closely adjacent regions on the South African side. Migration into the District of the currently employed has remained constant over the two periods but the inflow from the metro has doubled and inflows from elsewhere dropped sharply.

The overall picture for migration into the West Coast appears to be one where during its expansion phase the District was drawing in population from its regional immediate neighbours, but also from as far away as Gauteng and the north, and also from other countries. The slowing of these flows can be read mainly from the strong recorded outflows in the same time span, which are untypical of areas with powerful continuing in-migration.

4.2.2 The Boland.

	Asian	Coloured	African	White	TOTAL
Boland 2001	1 560	403 100	113 000	112 000	629 660

Source: van Zyl 2002 (See Table 2.2)

Boland Coloured outflows and inflows: The birth population of the Boland appears to migrate in some considerable numbers inside the Western Cape. In terms of the survey sample, only 56 percent of the population born in Boland seems to have stayed at home. However, the spatial scope of these flows seems to be fairly limited. The main outflow has been to the adjacent Overberg region at 25 percent and then to Cape Town and the West Coast (each at 8%). The recorded non-provincial flows into Boland came from all over, but none were strong. The biggest flows into the Boland were from Northern Cape and the Garden Route/Klein Karoo, both at just under 6 percent of the Boland sample. The Cape Town contribution came to less than 5 percent, Central Karoo came to under 4 percent, and the rest ranged downward from there. It also appears that much of the movement into Boland has been indirect, and represents on-migration, arriving indirectly after some intermediate stop. Migration of the currently employed into the District has picked up from the metro and has dropped from other Districts and sharply from other provinces.

Boland African outflows and inflows: The Boland has a significant African population established in its farming sector, and is located adjacent to the metro, but at the same time has been facing a declining economy which promotes population outflow. Only 40 percent of the African population born in Boland was living there at the time of survey. A quarter of the Boland-born African population had moved to the metro, against 5 percent who had migrated to the West Coast and as many as 30 percent had moved to the Garden Route/Klein Karoo. The outflows from Boland accordingly look likely to be a second future source of African regional population exchanges in the eastern and central part of the province. Simultaneously, the African population of Boland is better established than that of West Coast and is probably the first Western Cape farming district to have developed a locally born African population. External in-migration from Eastern Cape represented 83 percent, a fairly moderate level on a comparative basis.

Looked at in terms of recent direct migration, Boland has drawn an increasing flow from the metro, up to 7 percent in the last ten years. On the same basis, the direct flow from Eastern Cape came to 66 percent, indicating that many of the Eastern Cape-born people moving to Boland arrived indirectly, having made at least one intervening stop. The proportion of currently employed entering the District from the metro and provincial Districts has diminished whereas those entering from outside the province has picked up slightly.

Boland White outflows and inflows: The total share of the White sample population which has remained in Boland is relatively small, at 43 percent, the second lowest. Outflows are recorded as having taken place to all the other migration regions, to the metro and the Overberg in particular. Boland Whites therefore recorded a pattern of migration which was not greatly different from that of the Coloured respondents from the same district. However, the Whites were more likely to move to the metro than to try another District, so that Cape Town rather than the Overberg ranked as the main destination for Boland Whites leaving the region. In the case of Whites, the population of Boland appears as one of the more stable in spite of the recorded widespread and fairly strong outflows. Nearly 45 percent of the Whites in the Boland sample were locally born, the highest share for any of the Districts. Main lifetime inflows came from the metro, at 13 percent, and from the northern tier of provinces, at 11 percent. Gauteng itself, and foreign countries collectively, provided 7 percent each. In terms of direct, last-stop migration coming into the Boland region, significant amounts of internal movement may have been taking place, with 68 percent of recorded last moves happening within the Boland itself. The main share of direct moves from outside on a lifetime basis was from the metro, at 16 percent. Gauteng, the northern provinces and foreign countries provided 10 percent, and Eastern Cape and Northern Cape 3 percent each.

Flows of the currently employed into the Boland have diminished significantly over the past decade. Earlier flows from the metro and sending areas outside the province have dropped. Migrants from elsewhere in the province have only partially replaced these falling flows. It may well be that retirees now make up a significant portion of in-migration flows.

4.2.3 The Overberg.

	Asian	Coloured	African	White	TOTAL
Overberg 2001	180	103 700	29 500	39 200	172 580

Source: van Zyl 2002 (See Table 2.2)

Overberg Coloured outflows and inflows: The birth population of the Overberg appears to be better off than that of Boland, and has apparently been more likely to remain inside its home region. About 79 percent of the Coloured respondents who said they were born in the Overberg were also living there at the time of the survey, more than 40 percent more in proportional terms than the figures recorded for Boland. The Overberg-born respondents who were interviewed in other regions were

mainly part of a 15 percent outflow to metro, or of a much smaller flow into the Boland at 6 percent. Accordingly, there seem to be significant population exchanges between Boland and Overberg, but they are not symmetrical. Boland has sent its largest lifetime flows to Overberg, but Overberg residents did not reciprocate, preferring to move to the metro some time ago and remaining more recently.

The demographic situation in the Overberg resembles a mirror image of the situation in Boland, with strong Coloured in-migration. Only 37 percent of the current Overberg sample was actually born in the region whereas, at 39 percent, a slightly higher share were actually born in Boland and moved into the Overberg at some point during their lifetimes. This appears to be the single strongest inter-District flow in the province for the Coloured samples, and it is one which moved away from the metro, deeper into the rural sector. In terms of direct migration flows, the most important contribution remains that of Boland, at 30 percent, suggesting a high level of deliberate and immediate moves from the other Districts into Overberg. However, this stream flow may be declining, since during the last ten years its share of total direct migration into Overberg fell from 30 percent to 25 percent of the recorded total. For the employed, Overberg appears as an alternative destination to the West Coast. Currently employed workers from other Districts enter this District in proportionately high numbers, particularly more recently.

Overberg African outflows and inflows: Like the West Coast, the Overberg has a developing African District population which is still small. No measurable outflows to the other Districts were recorded on the survey. By comparison with Boland, Overberg's African population is isolated, and appears to be small and recent. Although the area appears to be doing well economically, there is little sign that it is drawing strong African in-migration flows from Western Cape Districts other than from the metro itself. About 90 percent of the sample came in from Eastern Cape during the lifetime of the respondents, against 5 percent from distant northern or foreign sources, and 6 percent who said they were born in the metro. On these figures, the Overberg African population is likely to be about 95 percent of external origin, born outside Western Cape. A look at the patterns of last-stop African direct flows suggests that this pattern is approximately self-sustaining. For the currently employed, flows from the Eastern Cape and from Cape Town are dropping whilst flows from other provincial Districts are on the rise.

Overberg White outflows and inflows: White migration flows for the Overberg itself appear as more simple, and more restricted in spatial scope than the flows for Boland. The Overberg population was comparatively much more stable, and much more likely to remain in its District of birth. 69 percent of the Overberg-born White sample was interviewed in the Overberg. The metro was the single most popular destination for those Whites who left the District, accounting for ten percent of the sample. However, the second most common destination was the Garden Route/Klein Karoo, with perhaps an estimated 8 percent. On a lifetime basis, recorded White population flows into the Overberg have generally been larger in relation to Western Cape source areas than those into Boland, though Overberg has apparently experienced somewhat less in-migration from outside the province. But in the past ten years, migration patterns appear to have diverged significantly, and in-migration into Overberg has probably been rising.

Over 80 percent of Overberg's recorded last-stop direct moves by Whites over the past ten years have been attributed to outside in-migration. The single largest source has been the metro at 21 percent, followed by Gauteng and the other northern provinces at 17 percent in each case. Gauteng and the northern provinces, previously weaker source areas, appear to have increased their flow levels to Overberg significantly. However, the White flow level recorded for foreign countries has not risen appreciably. Boland itself has contributed 10 percent to the White direct-move sample in the last ten years, while Northern Cape, West Coast and the Garden Route/Klein Karoo have made smaller contributions. Based on these figures, Overberg has become the single migration region within Western Cape which apparently receives the highest levels of White outside population inflow on a percentage basis. Simultaneously, no significant change in the scope or source of currently employed migrants was found in the data, suggesting that a sizeable proportion of new migrant households are retirees.

4.2.4 The Garden Route/Klein Karoo.

	Asian	Coloured	African	White	TOTAL
Garden Route/KK 2001	560	241 800	76 500	96 200	415 060

Source: van Zyl 2002 (See Table 2.2)

Garden Route/Klein Karoo Coloured outflows: For the Garden Route/Klein Karoo, a relatively low share of the local-born Coloured sample was living inside the region at the time of the interviews, at 68 percent. Fairly large flows seem to have gone into

nearly all the other regions, again with the exception of the West Coast, where none were recorded. In terms of direct flows, most moves were internal to the Garden Route/Klein Karoo area, at 82 percent. Results suggest that most local-born Coloured residents of the Garden Route/Klein Karoo region who were there at the time of the survey had already moved at least once inside the region. However, relatively few of these moves took place within the last ten years. This apparent lack of recent internal movement may suggest a relatively stable Coloured population in the District. The metro, West Coast and Boland together recorded about twice as many direct migration moves to Garden Route/Klein Karoo as lifetime moves, indicating a significant level of return migration. Currently employed migrants from within the province have declined in number recently whilst currently employed migrants from other provinces have climbed quite steeply.

If a migration cell is operating here in the east of Western Cape, it would rather loosely tie together Central Karoo and the Garden Route/Klein Karoo, which reflect similar migration patterns, but which also have only moderate levels of direct population exchange. The cell would be a large one spatially, incorporating not only the adjacent Central Karoo and the metro area located at the terminus of its transport routes, but also the Overberg and Boland regions. It would leave out only West Coast, the most remote area of Western Cape from the south-eastern Districts, and levels of exchange with the metro would be low to moderate rather than high.

Garden Route/Klein Karoo African outflows and inflows: The Garden Route/Klein Karoo is the District which looks likely to be particularly significant for African population migration in the future. The Garden Route/Klein Karoo African sample showed significant outside demographic linkages, and also represented a significant local-born population - Garden Route/Klein Karoo received outside flows from the metro at 4 percent and from Boland at 12 percent, against an indigenous African population accounting for 20 percent of the total sample. There were no recorded inflows from the distant northern and other sources. External inflows from Eastern Cape accounted for 60% of the Garden Route/Klein Karoo African sample, and Northern Cape added a further 6 percent. Before 1992, there were few employed in the District. During the past decade, more currently employed migrants came from Western Cape Districts (at 53%) than from either the Eastern Cape (at 27%) or from the metro (at 20%). This finding is significant in that the largest flows into the African District population are from the Eastern Cape. Migrants already in the province

appear to have an advantage in finding employment, possibly related to their knowledge of Afrikaans.

Garden Route/Klein Karoo White outflows and inflows: The Garden Route/Klein Karoo itself reflects a wider pattern of migration. While 69 percent of the sample of Whites from the Garden Route/Klein Karoo region were locally born, so that this category was large in relation to outflows found elsewhere, White outflows were also recorded in all other regions. The largest single flow was to metro, at ten percent, followed by 8 percent to the Overberg. Like the Coloured respondents, the White population of the Garden Route/Klein Karoo clearly does maintain demographic connections to the advantaged west central areas of the province, and the flow patterns out of the Garden Route/Klein Karoo are fairly similar to what is reflected in the Coloured sample. However, Whites showed somewhat more movement to the metro relative to moves into the farming Districts, and fractionally less into Central Karoo.

On a lifetime basis, the Garden Route/Klein Karoo has experienced its largest inflows from other South African provinces and those lying adjacent to the Western Cape in particular. In the last ten years, the share of White migration arriving as direct point to point moves from within Western Cape has remained fairly steady for the Garden Route/Klein Karoo region, though numbers of cases in the sample are too small for reliable generalization. However, the share of migration coming from directly across the provincial borders may have declined. Six percent of White in-migrants have come from Eastern Cape, and 3 percent from Northern Cape, down from 12 and 10 percent on a lifetime basis. In contrast, direct migration from the north of South Africa has increased slightly on a proportional basis, with Gauteng contributing 12 percent and the northern tier of provinces 15 percent. It appears that the Garden Route/Klein Karoo as a destination for Whites may be developing the kind of reputation on a national basis which promotes long-distance lifestyle migration of the same kind that Cape Town attracts. This possibility is supported by the sharp rise in currently employed migrants entering recently from the northern provinces and from foreign destinations.

4.2.5 The Central Karoo.

	Asian	Coloured	African	White	TOTAL
Central Karoo 2001	50	43 400	7 500	7 600	58 550

Source: van Zyl 2002 (See Table 2.2)

Central Karoo Coloured outflows: Most of the locally born Coloured population of the Central Karoo sample was still residing there at the time of survey, at 90 percent. This is likely to be the case because the outflows to other areas all around Western Cape are small in proportion to those samples, so that these outflows may be harder to pick up than their importance to their parent area would suggest in itself. That is, these streams from Central Karoo may be relatively large but in absolute terms still small, so that they have little demographic impact on their destination areas.

On a lifetime basis, only 66 percent of the Coloured sample for Central Karoo represented born residents who were there at the time of the survey. On this result, about a third of the Central Karoo Coloured population may actually represent in-migration. In view of the known high rate of population outflow, and the depressed state of the District economy as rail transport has been withdrawn and public services have attenuated, it is important to examine the kind of in-migration taking place in this part of the Great Karoo. Results suggest that there had been several significant population inflows relative to the local-born component of the Coloured population. These arriving flows included about 16 percent of the Central Karoo sample recorded as born in Northern Cape, and 7 percent born in the Garden Route/Klein Karoo and Southern Cape region. This pattern suggests a very significant Coloured inflow of population from Northern Cape, a regional economy probably at least as badly off as that of the Western Cape section of the Great Karoo. However, there has also been some inflow, at a lower level, from the more prosperous Districts to the south. It is not entirely clear what the attractors have been for Coloured citizens born in the more advantaged south, but possibilities could include civil service jobs.

The overall picture for the Coloured population of Central Karoo seems to be one of substantial out-migration, but it is also one with some inflows in the Coloured population arriving from disadvantaged regions lying to the north and east and deeper in the interior. These source areas were chiefly in the Northern Cape and in the southern and western districts of Eastern Cape, which also form part of the Karoo. In terms of dynamics, it appears that for the Coloured population group the Central Karoo may act as one of the gateways to the Western Cape. The section of the N1 national road which passes through Beaufort West seems to be bringing in population from more northerly and easterly areas outside the Western Cape, as it also carries out locally born population moving westward. However, not all the moves into Central Karoo from Northern Cape came in directly, which would appear

to suggest many of the Northern Cape in-migrants deliberately chose Central Karoo after trying some other region. In terms of direct, last-stop migration flows affecting Central Karoo, relatively few respondents in the sample recorded a last move within Central Karoo itself, at 39 percent. It looks as if most of the local-born Coloured population has never moved, which may imply that once a Coloured Central Karoo household does move, perhaps as a result of evictions or dismissals, they may leave the region rather than relocate within it. Currently employed migrants from the rest of the province had fallen and from the Northern Cape had risen, suggesting that this District is also an entry point for the employed.

Central Karoo African outflows: The small Central Karoo sample appears largely self-contained at present. Only one individual case of out-migration was reported, into Boland. Since Central Karoo is not on a major migration route for the country's African population, it does not appear likely that large outflows from other Western Cape migration regions will be found in Central Karoo in future. Like those in West Coast and Overberg, Central Karoo's African population again appears as a small and relatively isolated grouping. However, a substantial share of the small District sample identified themselves as local-born, representing 67 percent of the total. In contrast, the share of the sample originating in Eastern Cape was unusually small at 29 percent, and an additional 5 percent from Northern Cape has not contributed significantly to the total external inflow. The sample population was therefore two thirds local-born, against one third from outside the boundaries of Western Cape. The Central Karoo African District sample was the only one for which the size of the local-born component was larger than the external component. It would appear that even on a long-term lifetime basis, Central Karoo has not been attractive to active in-migration, so that a small local African population may be surviving with little outside demographic input. Numbers of currently employed migrants were very small in the sample.

Central Karoo White outflows: As reflected in the survey sample, the White population of the Central Karoo has not moved widely. About 76 percent of the Whites born in Central Karoo were interviewed there. However, both the White Central Karoo population and the Central Karoo sample are small, and results need to be treated with caution. As with the Coloured population but to a greater degree, numerically small outflows of Whites are difficult to pick up in other regions to which out-migration may be taking place. This factor gives proportionately greater prominence to those remaining behind in a population which is declining overall.

Like Boland, Central Karoo in the eastern migration cell has received White population from a wide range of source regions on a lifetime basis, but has also faced a falling-off of White direct in-migration during the last ten years. For lifetime migration, flows of Whites into Central Karoo have come from nearly all migration regions. However, most of these streams have been shallow. The single exception was Northern Cape, which lies to the north of the eastern migration cell, with a long shared border. On its own, Northern Cape contributed 30 percent of White in-migration to Central Karoo. Here the White demographic flow pattern resembles that for the Coloured respondents, where Northern Cape sent 16 percent of total lifetime in-migration into Central Karoo. However, the flows of Whites from Northern Cape across the provincial border into Central Karoo appears to be almost twice as strong as the corresponding Coloured flow, suggesting perhaps a faster and easier out-migration process for Whites from the very weak economy of the Karoo interior outside the Western Cape. For the last ten years, direct movement by Whites into Central Karoo has declined sharply. It is difficult to avoid the tentative conclusion that the downturn of the Western Cape economy has had severe demographic effects at a District level, which are reflected in high out-migration and very low in-migration among Whites and Coloureds in Central Karoo. Sample sizes were too small for significant results regarding the currently employed migrants in the Central Karoo.

4.3 Instability potential and on-migration

Willingness to move on – established on the basis of responses to questions listing attractors - varied a great deal, between areas and between ethnic groups. The most powerful factors for on-migration overall were the chance of better work, along with access to housing. But overall, the Coloured population remained the least likely to express willingness to move, and the African population the most likely. The Whites fell in between, but were inclined to be relatively mobile.

At the same time, willingness to move often tended to be lower for all ethnic groups overall in the Garden Route/Klein Karoo than in other districts or the metro. It would appear that many of the migration-related needs affecting Western Cape respondents were being better supplied in the Outeniqua region on the south coast than in most of the non metro section, and in some cases better than in the metro sector as well.

4.3.1 Work as an attractor of potential on-migration

Work opportunities are widely recognized as the main engine of rural to urban migration, and also as a powerful migration incentive in any other context. For the Western Cape samples, work was not a strong incentive to on-migration in the metro Coloured grouping, but was a majority factor for the rural Coloured samples, and was very powerful for both metro and non metro African respondents in almost all Districts. Whites saw moving to get better work as much less important, but there was considerable variation between Districts. The Garden Route/Klein Karoo was conspicuous for a relatively lower interest in on-migration for work opportunities on the part of all ethnic groups. However, even so only the Whites in that district showed less than a fifth willing to move on for better work, with over 40 percent of Coloured and African respondents still saying they could move on for work opportunities.

For the Coloured population, willingness to move was generally higher in the areas outside Cape Town Metro, but this did not follow for all the African and White respondents. For the Coloured population in the metro urban area, better work specifically was not a major factor in expressed mobility in the urban areas, but was still powerful in the Districts. Only 27 percent of the metro urban Coloured respondents said they were willing in principle to move to get a chance of a better job, but in the rural Districts of Western Cape the corresponding figure was 56 percent - very much higher, but still not high overall (Table 4.2).

For the West Coast, the Boland and the Overberg, the share of Coloured respondents saying they would move was in the neighbourhood of 60 percent or higher. But for the southern coastal areas along the Garden Route/Klein Karoo, only about 42 percent were willing to move for work, a significantly lower share which brings on-migration potential down to a minority for the Coloured sample as a whole.

The White grouping - older and containing more retired heads of household, and assessed from a smaller sample - seemed to see work opportunities differently. Only a third of the metro urban Whites overall indicated they were willing to move again for better work, and these respondents were concentrated in the Cape Town district of the larger metro, in and around the CBD. For the Districts, the overall share willing to move was almost exactly the same, but specific regions split into a group with high willingness to move for work, and another group with very low willingness.

Those Whites who were willing were concentrated in the Boland, the West Coast, and the central Karoo, all areas which are economically relatively behind the most developed areas of the Western Cape province, and/or which have been badly affected by the collapse of many agricultural sectors in the province. These regions reported White willingness to move for work at levels above two thirds.

However, White respondents from the better off districts on the Garden Route/Klein Karoo and in the Overberg took a completely different view, with less than 20 percent in each case saying they could move for work opportunities. It appears that White willingness to consider migration for work objectives is not at all constant across the Districts. It is high in some areas, but depends as might be expected on relative prosperity and perhaps also on how well connected the district is to the outside economy.

For the African population of the Western Cape, 80 percent of respondents overall said they would move on for better work. There was no large difference between the metro area of Cape Town and the rest of the province. The great majority of African respondents nearly everywhere in the Western Cape said they were willing to move on to have a chance of a better job.

However, recorded willingness to move for work was higher for the metro areas than in the countryside. 82 percent of the metro urban samples from Cape Town said they would move to get better work, against 70 percent in the rural districts. In the rural sector, low willingness to move on from the Garden Route/Klein Karoo - at 47 percent - again pulled down the overall result, which otherwise was at or above 80 percent, level with the urban samples. It appears striking that the Outeniqua/ Garden Route/Klein Karoo sub-region appears as the only part of the Western Cape that does not generate high willingness to move on for economic inducements among African respondents, and that the Cape Town Metro samples expressed significantly more on-migration potential - and therefore lower presumed satisfaction - than did the southern coastal districts. If lower expectations are implied, it is possible that the known more rural, farm-origin character of the in-migrant population coming from the Eastern Cape farm districts into the adjacent districts of Western Cape has some bearing on low expressed willingness to move among African respondents on the Garden Route/Klein Karoo.

Overall, for the White grouping, better work as an incentive to move on was equal overall between the metro urban and rural districts reporting, at 34 percent willing to move in each case. On these average figures, Whites were well under half as willing to move to get better work as the African respondents, but were still more willing to move for work than were the urban Coloured respondents overall. Work in general looked less important for both Whites and Coloured respondents than for the African grouping, but at the same time both Whites and Coloured groupings were generally more settled and more rooted than the African population, and were also better catered for in terms of public provision.

4.3.2 Services as an attractor of potential on-migration

The pattern of results across districts and ethnic groups is not greatly different for services in general than for work opportunities: that is, services appear at least in principle as an equally powerful attractor of migration, though it is not clear that it is the same people who would be willing to move in both cases. Going by the sample, 40% the Western Cape Coloured population and over three quarters of the African grouping are willing to move on again to get better general services: for Whites, less than a third probably see infrastructural services as a strong factor in relation to moving again. There were also few strong differences between the metro urban population and the rural sector. Instead, the attraction of better services was powerful across the entire province.

The general ranking for services as a potential attractor of on-migration came in higher than that reported for work opportunities for both Whites and Coloureds, and approximately equal for Africans (Table 4.2). That is, infrastructural services ranked second or third overall as an attractor for on-migration: only housing was a more consistent inducement to move again.

Respondents from the metro Coloured population reported a greater willingness to move for services access at 36 percent than they did for work opportunities at 27 percent. For the rural sector, the Coloured respondents recorded an overall average 54 percent willing to move for better services, just on level with work opportunities at 56 percent. The West Coast had by far the highest desire for services at 72 percent willing to move, against 42 percent each in the central Karoo and Garden Route/Klein Karoo. In that the Garden Route/Klein Karoo appears relatively well provided while the Central Karoo has suffered considerable breakdowns and loss of services, it is possible that most of the Central Karoo respondents willing to move to get better

services have already left the area, leaving behind people who may give less weight to service provision.

The White grouping had the best current delivery of services, but services were thought by respondents who gave qualitative interviews to have deteriorated in some areas. On the survey, Whites still expressed a significant level of commitment to moving on in order to get improvements. Just under 40 percent of the metro urban Whites said they could move on to get better services, as against 28 percent of the rural White samples overall. Metro Whites were therefore slightly more interested in moving to improve services than metro Coloured respondents, but rural Whites were much less interested.

White metro willingness to move to find better services was not equal in the rural districts. The West Coast again scored highest at 88 percent - with more potential onward movement attaching to services than to job opportunities - but fell to 18 percent in the Overberg and 8 percent on the Garden Route/Klein Karoo. Rural attraction to services as a factor in on-migration therefore varied very widely by district in the White grouping. The Garden Route/Klein Karoo again appears as a well-satisfied and presumably well-provided population.

The Western Cape African population has services far inferior to those of Whites, and is much younger and more mobile generally. In the Cape Town Metro itself, 81 percent of African respondents said they would move on to get better services, as against 82 percent willing to move to get better work. In the non-metro rural districts, willingness to move to find better services reached 77 percent, higher than the 70 percent willing to move for work opportunities. It is clear that the Western Cape will need to come to grips with the general state of service delivery for the expanding in-migrant African population if the provincial administration has intentions of working to stabilize its population.

Outside the metro sector, services demand in the African population was marginally lower, pulled down by relatively low demand on the Garden Route/Klein Karoo at 46 percent. However, for all other rural Western Cape districts where an African sample of reasonable size could be accessed, interest in general services as expressed in on-migration potential ranged between 86 and 89 percent. The Central Karoo African sample was too small to generalize from.

4.3.3 Specific services as attractors of potential on-migration

Data was also collected at district level on several specific services which recorded a large potential role in Western Cape on-migration. These included transport, water, schools and health services. In addition, information has also been collected in relation to housing delivery, and to freedom from violence and crime. These are presented together with data on the on-migration potential of jobs and services in a summary table below. This sub-section discusses the relative on-migration role of specific types of infrastructural services.

**Table 4.2 Infrastructural services in relation to potential on-migration, by ethnic group and and sub-region
Percentage distribution, ‘yes’ replies only**

Would you move again to obtain...?	Coloured Total reply ‘yes’	Coloured Metro urban	Coloured Non metro rural	African Total reply ‘yes’	African Metro urban	African Non-metro rural	White Total reply ‘yes’	White Metro urban	White Non-metro rural
Better jobs	32	27	56	80	82	70	34	34	34
Housing	46	43	59	83	84	81	44	46	33
General services	39	36	54	79	81	77	32	36	28
Health	35	32	51	70	68	78	20	19	24
Transport	25	21	45	58	55	74	17	16	19
Schools	31	28	48	57	54	71	14	15	12
Water	12	7	34	44	39	71	9	10	8
Peace	42	43	38	68	66	76	25	29	18
n=	384	155	229	204	68	136	232	97	135

Source: 2001 PGWC migration survey (weighted)

4.3.3.1 Health services as a factor in on-migration:

If infrastructural services as a category rank high for all ethnic groups, health services specifically appear to hold the highest priority within the services category. Health services were recorded as a potential reason to move on by 35 percent of all Coloured respondents, 20 percent of Whites, and 70 percent of Africans.

For the metro Coloured population, overall, 32 percent of the Coloured metro sample said they could move again for better health services. The metro Coloured population is not as old as the metro White population on average, but it seems to be old enough to see health care as important. Outside the metro, the ranking of health as a reason to move again rose to 51 percent for Coloured respondents in the rural sector. The West Coast showed the strongest identified need, with 66 percent identifying health services as a possible reason to move again. The Boland reflected a lower priority at 40 percent and the central Karoo 42 percent, with the Overberg and Garden Route/Klein Karoo falling in between. In view of the relatively complete state of infrastructural delivery for the Coloured population in the Western Cape in

general, the high minority ranking given to health services may reflect a deterioration in the state of services already delivered.

For the White population in Western Cape, delivery of services can be considered more or less fully complete at a high standard, but significant cut-backs for budget reasons have been experienced even in the high-income urban sector, and reportedly also in the countryside. In the non-metro rural sector, health services as a reason to move were cited by just under a quarter of White respondents overall. The priority was very high in the small West Coast sample, at 80 percent, trailed by the Central Karoo at 38 percent. The Boland, the Overberg and the Garden Route/Klein Karoo all came in much lower, at less than 20 percent.

For the African population the opposite situation prevailed. Health services are being improved but still fall far short of full delivery at a decent standard. At the same time, this relatively young population group contains strong health services needs in relation to reproductive health and child care particularly, as well as in relation to the HIV/AIDS epidemic as it strikes the young-adult age group.

Nearly 70 percent of the African metro population in the Western Cape still saw improving access to health services as a good reason to move again. The African population in the rural districts of Western Cape has received less health delivery than the metro areas, and at 78 percent more rural than urban African respondents gave health access as a potential reason to move. The highest response for health services came from the West Coast at 94 percent: this was the highest response for any ethnic group by district, suggesting a perilously low level of perceived delivery standards for the African population as well as the Coloured population and the Whites in this sub-region. Boland and the Overberg scored in the 80s for the African respondents, but the Garden Route/Klein Karoo sample recorded 49 percent, relatively the lowest migration priority for health in the African rural sector.

4.3.3.2 Transport services as a factor in on-migration:

Given the great distances in Western Cape and the relatively weak state of metro urban transport delivery, transport services showed the next-ranking priority to health among infrastructural services. Overall, 25 percent of the Coloured samples, 17 percent of Whites and 58 percent of African respondents referred to transport services as a possible reason to move on.

For the Coloured metro population, 21 percent overall saw transport problems as a potential reason to move on. In the rural sector, the demand for better transport was considerably higher than in the metro urban districts. About 45 percent of the Coloured sample overall said they could move again to get better transport access. Demand reached 61 percent on the West Coast, as against 53 percent in the Overberg, 40 percent in the Central Karoo and 29 percent in the Boland. For transport, the motivation to move again was relatively high on the Garden Route/Klein Karoo at 45 percent.

The White population seemed to be much less affected by the transport shortfalls which have been perplexing planners. Overall potential on-migration connected with transport needs came to 17 percent of Whites overall, with not a great differential between the metro urban sector and the surrounding countryside.

In the metro districts, 16 percent of White respondents saw transport problems as serious enough to make them think about moving on. The White countryside did not show a much stronger concern for transport infrastructure than the metro itself, suggesting that available services are affordable in terms of time and money. The overall level of White response on the transport factor was 19 percent, concentrated on the West Coast at 60 percent. The next highest response stood at 25 percent, from the central Karoo districts, and then from Boland at 21 percent. For Whites, the Garden Route/Klein Karoo was apparently well served with affordable transport options, with only 11 percent of Whites there considering moving to improve their transport situation.

Delivery for the African population appeared to split strongly between the urban and rural sectors. The overall response was 58 percent, but the metro urban residents appeared much better off, with about 55 percent seeing transport as a strong reason to consider another move. In contrast, nearly three quarters of the rural African respondents recorded transport as a possible cause of on-migration. Either way, the shortfall in viable transport options for the African population is clear from the responses recorded.

The rural districts appeared very badly provided with transport connections for Africans. The overall response rate for the question on transport as a factor in on-migration was 74 percent. The West Coast and Boland reported transport as a serious enough problem to lead to a move at 88 and 85 percent, with Overberg

residents coming in lower at 77 percent. However, the Garden Route/Klein Karoo samples again pulled down the overall rate of response. The Garden Route/Klein Karoo African respondents recorded only 49 percent, making this the only rural district to fall below half in taking a serious view of the transport issue.

4.3.3.3 Schools as a factor in on-migration:

Overall, and for all ethnic groups, the state of schools in the Western Cape may not appear to be as serious a problem in relation to promoting on-migration and population instability as health or transport. If so, this finding would be in keeping with the relatively good results achieved by Western Cape schools in the national examination results at matric level. However, with the overall rate of response to the schooling question at 31 percent among the Coloured respondents and 57 percent for Africans, it appears that the schools issue ranks ahead of transport as a possible cause of on-migration for the Coloured population, and only just behind it for Africans. In this light, the lower priority for Whites, at 14 percent overall, does not define the strength of schools access as a factor in Western Cape migration decisions.

The metro urban Coloured population seems relatively well served in relation to schooling of children, so that the overall response to schooling as a factor in on-migration came in at 28 percent. For the rural Coloured communities, schooling delivery is clearly more marginal in a number of regions. The overall rate of response for schooling as a factor in on-migration came to nearly half, at 48 percent. The greatest concern again came from the West Coast, at 66 percent. However, it was the Garden Route/Klein Karoo that followed, with 57 percent of Coloured respondents identifying schooling shortfalls as a possible reason to move away. Other rural Coloured districts showed less response, ranging down from 45 percent in the Central Karoo to about 38 percent in the Boland and Overberg. However, it is clear that concern for children's schooling remains strong in rural Coloured communities, and is capable of affecting migration flows for the Coloured population.

In the White samples, concern over schooling is relatively low, and not as high in the rural districts as in the metro itself. The overall level of concern among Whites around schooling as a factor in moving on was 14 percent, a relatively low level. The metro White samples reflected 15 percent, but for the rural districts, where many White children attend boarding schools, the schooling issue was identified only by 12 percent of Whites. The White rural samples generally reflected less concern, with the

West Coast at 44 percent and the Central Karoo at 25 percent as partial exceptions. Other districts showed levels of concern able to encourage on-migration in the vicinity of 10 percent, with the Garden Route/Klein Karoo Whites reflecting only 4 percent. Outside of the West Coast, it does not appear that perceived deficiencies in children's schooling are likely to drive significant on-migration among rural Whites in the Western Cape.

The situation in the African samples is different again. 57 percent of the African respondents overall cited schooling concerns as a possible reason for moving again, with the rural districts at 71 percent significantly worse off than the metro urban areas at 54 percent. However, in either case, the level of response suggests that for the African population, children's schooling is probably already an important factor in on-migration decisions.

The African samples in the rural sector were not able to afford boarding schools for the majority, and are suffering from withdrawal of services and funding to farm schools. Respondents showed a high level of concern around schooling delivery in the established farming districts particularly. The Overberg scored highest at 85 percent, followed by Boland and West Coast at 77 percent each. The Central Karoo followed with 67 percent, and the more urbanized Garden Route/Klein Karoo reached nearly to the halfway mark at 49 percent. It looks probable that the schooling crisis in the rural districts of Western Cape is already having an important effect on decisions to on-migrate among the underserved African population.

Chapter 5 Out-migration and the quantification of current provincial migration flows.

5.1 Out-migration data.

A summary of two efforts made to estimate the extent and patterns of out-migration from the Western Cape are given. The first attempted to use survey data generated within the migration study, the second South African census data (together with these survey data). After applying the first method (which has never been attempted in South Africa before) it was decided to use the second method since it is in current use in the country. A fairly detailed summary of this first method is included since it is not known in South Africa. Reasons for deciding on the application of the second method are also given. A brief overview of the second method is also included. More details may be found in the research report (Dorrington & Moultrie 2002)

5.1.1 Using study survey data to estimate out-migration

By its very nature (because the people one wants to enumerate are no longer in the survey area) out-migration is usually considered impossible to measure by a survey in the area from which the out-migration has occurred. However, for this study, it was decided to experiment with a technique devised by Basia Zaba and Ken Hill (Zaba, 1985). An outline of the method used is summarised below.

5.1.1.1 Data and weighting

The survey asked respondents how many sons and how many daughters their mother had; where these children were living; if they had moved from the Western Cape in the previous 12 months; and how many of these children had died. From this, numbers of children ever born to mothers, by age of respondent, can be derived. The data need to be corrected for the fact that siblings living in the same household should, of course, report the same number of children borne by their mother. To avoid the bias introduced through this double-counting, the data were weighted by the reciprocal of the number of children borne by the respondent's mother who are resident in the Western Cape, an approach endorsed by Zaba (Zaba, 1985). Further, the survey did not employ a self-weighting sampling frame. Weighting for both survey sub-regions and ethnic groups as described in Appendix 3 was applied.

5.1.1.2 Recent out-migration from the Western Cape

A crude estimate of the recent out-migration of respondent's siblings (brothers and sisters) from the Western Cape is derived from the division of the number of siblings who had left the Western Cape in the 12 months before the survey by the number of siblings living in the Western Cape 12 months before the survey:

$$\frac{\text{Siblings left WC in 12 mo.}}{\text{Siblings living in WC 12 mo. ago}}$$

This is only a rough estimate, since no information was collected on either the time, or place, of death of siblings. Consequently, dead siblings were included in neither the numerator nor the denominator. This will almost certainly bias the estimates at very old and very young ages, while AIDS-related deaths in early and middle adulthood may also be significant. However, the epidemic is not as severe in the Western Cape as in other provinces, and so this last distortion may not be as important. In general, the rates derived may be overstated because of the exclusion of dead siblings from the calculations. The numerator is calculated from the sum of siblings who left the Western Cape in the 12 months before the survey, and are now living elsewhere in South Africa or outside the country. The denominator is derived from the sum of the numerator and the number of siblings still living in the Western Cape.

5.1.1.3 Age-specific migration rates

The second investigation pursued was the application of Zaba's (1985) technique of estimating age-specific migration rates based on reported numbers of emigrant siblings. In addition to accommodating the bias introduced by respondents living in large families, the approach also allows estimation of the number of entire sibling groups that may have left the region, thereby biasing estimates of migration downwards. Age-specific migration rates are derived from the weighted numbers of emigrant and resident siblings reported by survey respondents of a given age, and assuming that the number of emigrant siblings of respondents of a given age and family size follows a binomial distribution. Family size (the number of surviving siblings borne of the respondent's mother) is assumed not to affect the probability of migration, thereby allowing a mathematical simplification of the age-specific migration rates, based on the number of emigrant siblings among people of a given age with family size 2 (Zaba, 1985: 63ff).

5.1.1.4 Application of this method to the survey data.

Unfortunately the decision to measure out-migration using this method was taken quite late in the planning of the survey and since researchers had neither experience with the technique nor any text describing the technique, they were forced to contact Basia Zaba directly and ask her for the questions that should be included in the survey. It was only upon receiving a copy of the Zaba text, a day before the questionnaire was due to be printed, that the researchers realised that the questions would at best elicit long-term migration levels and patterns (an average of the previous 30 years or so). Thus it was somewhat hurriedly decided to include a couple of questions asking about migration in the previous 12 months. However, these questions had not proven to be very useful in the original survey and are clearly biased to an unknown extent in that they cannot capture whole households that have migrated. In addition to this, the questions which were originally designed to measure international emigration were modified to try to measure migration out of the province both to other provinces and to other countries. For these and other reasons relating to problems both with the conducting of the survey and with the processing of the results, the researchers concluded that no reliance can be placed on the results obtained using this method.

5.1.2 Using census results to estimate out-migration

Three sets of data are used to estimate current provincial out-migration flows. First, current population estimates are used to calculate migration flows from migration trends. Current population estimates are given in Chapter 2 of this report. Secondly, based upon survey data generated within this study, current in-migration trends are estimated. This has been done in Chapter 3 of this report. In the third place, current net migration trends are calculated on the basis of 1991 and 1996 census results. Out-migration flows are then defined as the difference between net migration and in migration flows. It is clear that a number of assumptions will need to be made regarding the use of each set of data in calculations. These are spelled out in detail in the research report (Dorrington & Moultrie 2002).

5.2 Quantification of current migration trends and flows

Three sets of results are included in this section. It is important to point out that, for each, results must be treated with some degree of scepticism. Errors could have occurred at a number of points in the generation of data employed in their

calculation. It is best to think of them as broadly indicative of trends and sizes of population change rather than as correct figures.

The first set (Tables 5.1 & 5.2) comprises *annualised migration rates in and out of the Western Cape*, averaged over the 1999-2001 period. These rates are calculated on the basis of migration into and out of the nine South African provinces and the rest of the world (treated technically as an additional province). Separate calculations for the three main ethnic groups are included. A second table establishes *migration flows in and out of the Western Cape* for the three year period, 1999 to 2001.

The second set (Table 5.3) comprises *current (2001) annual in-migration flows into the Western Cape* and, from outside the province, into the Cape Town metro and the rest of the province. Separate calculations for the three main ethnic groups are included.

The third set (Table 5.4) comprises a table estimating *current (2001) annual provincial net migration flows* in the case of the Western Cape.

Migration flows between Districts were not calculated since sample sizes were too small to produce useful estimates.

The chapter ends with a short set of observations about these tables.

**Table 5.1 Annual migration rates in and out of the Western Cape
(averaged for the 1999-2001 period)
by ethnic group (Coloured, African, White)**

Coloured

Origin	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	G	M	NP	Total
Western Cape		0.4%	0.4%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%	1.5%
Eastern Cape	0.3%									
Northern Cape	0.4%									
Free State	0.0%									
KwaZulu-Natal	0.1%									
North West	0.0%									
Gauteng	0.1%									
Mpumalanga	0.0%									
Northern Province	0.0%									
Total	0.8%									

African

Origin	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	G	M	NP	Total
Western Cape		0.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
Eastern Cape	3.2%									
Northern Cape	0.1%									
Free State	0.0%									
KwaZulu-Natal	0.1%									
North West	0.0%									
Gauteng	0.1%									
Mpumalanga	0.0%									
Northern Province	0.0%									
Total	3.6%									
Immigrants	0.9%									

White

Origin	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	G	M	NP	Total	Emigration
Western Cape		0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.1%
Eastern Cape	0.4%										
Northern Cape	0.2%										
Free State	0.2%										
KwaZulu-Natal	0.3%										
North West	0.1%										
Gauteng	1.2%										
Mpumalanga	0.1%										
Northern Province	0.0%										
Total	2.4%										

Results by gender available in research report (Dorrington & Moultrie 2002)

**Table 5.2 Migration flows (numbers of migrants) in and out of the Western Cape
(for the 1999-2001 period)
by ethnic group (Coloured, African, White)**

Coloured

Origin	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	G	M	NP	Total
Western Cape		26036	29091	4734	6083	9602	24214	3546	616	103921
Eastern Cape	19059									
Northern Cape	25613									
Free State	1375									
KwaZulu-Natal	3545									
North West	584									
Gauteng	7753									
Mpumalanga	450									
Northern Province	131									
Total	58509									

African

Origin	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	G	M	NP	Total
Western Cape		6346	910	2194	1720	1982	5764	1543	599	21057
Eastern Cape	110580									
Northern Cape	2405									
Free State	1183									
KwaZulu-Natal	1787									
North West	412									
Gauteng	4331									
Mpumalanga	379									
Northern Province	365									
Total	121440									
Immigrants	29554									

White

Origin	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	G	M	NP	Total	Emigration
Western Cape		3077	1481	1122	1487	3037	6108	695	134	17141	2994
Eastern Cape	11154										
Northern Cape	5112										
Free State	6082										
KwaZulu-Natal	9096										
North West	2357										
Gauteng	36187										
Mpumalanga	1917										
Northern Province	1120										
Total	73025										

Results by gender available in research report (Dorrington & Moultrie 2002).

Table 5.3 Estimates of in-migration flows into the Western Cape and its metro and non-metro regions from outside the province 2001

5.3.(i)The Western Cape

	Asian	Coloured	African	White
Estimated. in-migration rate	(2,4)	0,8	3,4	2,4
Estimated population	41 800	2 384 700	1 173 900	1 101 000
Estimated annual flow	1 000	19 000	39 900	26 400

5.3.(ii)The Cape Town metro

	Asian	Coloured	African	White
Estimated. in-migration rate		0,4	3,1	2,7
Estimated population		1 396 100	931 400	697 700
Estimated annual flow (*)		5 600	28 900	20 000

**from outside the province only*

5.3.(iii)The rest of the province

	Asian	Coloured	African	White
Estimated. in-migration rate		1,3	4,5	1,5
Estimated population		988 600	242 500	403 300
Estimated annual flow (*)		12 800	11 000	6000

**from outside the province only*

Table 5.4 Estimates on current net flows (population exchange) 2001 Western Cape by ethnic group (figures rounded off to nearest '000)

Net migration flows 2001	Asian	Coloured	African	White
	(+1 000)	-15 000	+35 000 – + 43 000*	+23 000

* range based on different estimates for number of foreign Africans entering the province

- The Western Cape emerges as a net receiving province with an estimated annual inflow of approximately 48 000 people. The largest proportion are Africans though a sizeable net inflow of Whites are included.
- The Coloured population shows a significant outflow, probably toward northern provinces and Gauteng in particular. This outflow probably originates from the Cape Town residential population whilst other regions of the province are experiencing a significant Coloured inflow (Tables 5.3. (ii) & (iii)).

It is probable that these out-migrants comprise skilled white-collar workers as well as a substantial number of labour migrants who may return after completing their work periods in the north.

- Return migration which characterised many lives of Africans of rural origin in the twentieth century appears to be in sharp decline in the Western Cape (Bekker 2001). Few aged African provincial residents appear to return to their rural homes in the Eastern Cape to retire. As the African population ages, accordingly, the elderly will remain.
- International migration on scale only appears in two categories: Whites emigrating and foreign Africans immigrating (Table 5.2). The number of such foreign Africans entering the province is unclear and estimates of net African migration accordingly have been placed within a range (Table 5.4).

6 Conclusions

The Western Cape is currently a net receiving province in South Africa. It is estimated that on balance some 48 000 people enter the province each year. This represents an increase due to in-migration of more than one per cent of the total population. The main reasons are the perceived better job opportunities, more accessible and effective infrastructure, and superior quality of life available in the Western Cape. These differences are particularly striking with regard to the two contiguous provinces of the Eastern and Northern Cape from where much migration originates. Economies are stagnant and infrastructure inferior in this region, leading to continuing in-migration streams of poor individuals and families which are shallow from the under populated Northern Cape and powerful and fast from the heavily populated Eastern Cape. This second stream may well represent the largest and most rapid demographic flow in South Africa at the moment. Simultaneously, the Western Cape continues to offer work, infrastructure and a quality of life perceived to be good enough to attract better-off individuals and families arriving from a much larger national and international region. There is no good reason to believe that these trends will change in the near future.

In the light of this large annual net in-migration flow, it is apparent that provision of housing and its associated infrastructure as well as of town and regional planning will need to extend beyond existing backlogs. Estimates of the annual scope of such additional provision regarding housing, schools and clinics, based upon mean household sizes and PGWC norms, are given in a footnote below.¹

1

- Using a mean household size of 4, some 12 000 households are expected to enter the province annually on a net basis. This figure may be taken to represent demand for dwelling units.
- Education planners in PGWC use as a norm 1 000 households to justify the establishment of a primary school and 2 000 households to justify the establishment of a secondary school (verbal communication, Mr G Visser, Educational Planning, PAWC). Accordingly, as a result of net migration, 12 new primary and 6 new secondary schools will be required on an annual basis.
- Health planners in PGWC use as a norm a local population of between 7 500 and 10 000 in a greenfield residential area (such as an informal settlement) to justify the establishment of a new clinic. Since existing clinics in urban areas are perceived to be underutilized, especially in the afternoons, this norm is applied in new residential areas at some distance (5km or more) from existing clinics (verbal communication, Dr HA van der Merwe, Health, PAWC). Accordingly, rather than estimating that 5 or 6 new clinics will be required on an annual basis, it is more appropriate to assume that one half of the in-migrant individuals will take up residence at some distance from existing clinics and in this case, the requirement will be in the range of 2 to 3 new clinics per annum.

For historical reasons, the present migration patterns of each of the three main ethnic populations of the province are reasonably coherent whilst differing sharply from one another. The long established Coloured population is deeply rooted in both Cape Town and its hinterland Districts. These two subpopulations however appear to be dividing with diminishing exchange and a consequent loss of family ties taking place between metro and non metro. An increase in provincial in-migration from neighbouring provinces is currently underway, aimed at non metro Districts whilst, largely from Cape Town, substantial out-migration to the north of the country of skilled workers and labour migrants appears to be taking place. The White population also contains an important deeply rooted subpopulation whilst many are migrants from far afield. Many Whites accordingly appear to be footloose, migrating both into, as well as between, metro and non metro areas within the Western Cape. Net White flows are clearly into the province. A large majority of adults in the African population are recent Western Cape residents with roots in the Eastern Cape, in the former Transkei in particular. A large youthful population has settled in Cape Town and is contributing significant natural increase from among families that have established themselves here. Simultaneously, it appears that a new non metro subpopulation is establishing itself in the east of the province. In so far as this is continuing, the common perception of step wise gravity flow migration from the Eastern Cape down the south coast and on to Cape Town is being replaced by one of two split flows, one toward Cape Town and the other to selected Districts. Overall, net African flows are high and into the province.

In the light of these intra-provincial migration flows, it is apparent that demand by in-migrating poor households for appropriate infrastructure in the Districts is rising and that planning for urban consolidation, probably in the east of the province, is required.

Within the province, substantial population exchanges continue between Cape Town and provincial Districts. These are significantly higher for the African and White than for Coloured populations. Simultaneously, most Districts have recently been suffering from economic recession in the agricultural sector and, in the case of the West Coast, in manufacturing and commerce. This has led to substantial population instability in non metro areas, driving Coloured farmer workers toward provincial towns and African and White non metro residents toward the metro. The one exception to these trends is found in the Garden Route/Klein Karoo where residents appear to be more satisfied with both their economic situation and the state of infrastructure and services. Accordingly, residents in these areas appear to be

staying put and migrants picking up. At District level, the West Coast and Central Karoo are entry points into the province for Coloured households from depressed areas in the Northern and Eastern Cape. Though small, these streams appear to be picking up. Substantial African populations are establishing themselves in the Garden Route/Klein Karoo and the Boland and, more recently, in the West Coast District. Whites are the most footloose of the three ethnic populations and are migrating both into the metro and toward the coastal Districts of Garden Route/Klein Karoo, Overberg and the West Coast, frequently to retire.

Poverty in the province is widespread among Coloured and even more so among African households. Women and female-headed households in particular are more at risk than men. Accordingly, it has been the search for work that has driven poor households to enter, and move within, the province. This is particularly true for African households who often move on in search of work without their children who join them later. In the last three years, moreover, this engine has increasingly been driving poor Coloured households. Simultaneously, demand for improved infrastructure also drives these households. The pull of improved housing and health services, in the first place, and the push of poor transport services in the Districts, in the second, stand out as factors. Educational services appear to be less important as an attractor. Demand for improved infrastructure appears to be highest in the West Coast District, lowest in the Garden Route/Klein Karoo and variable in Cape Town.

In the light of these push and pull factors, it is apparent that the location of housing and health services in relation to potential economic growth and job opportunities ought to be a critical planning tool.

- Individuals decide to migrate for a number of reasons, most of which are related to their households and its members. The search for state educational and health services is seldom the main reason though these become important issues once a household settles. Accordingly, though it is rare that children and the sick migrate specifically in search of such services, demand for them will rise as migrant households enter the province, its Districts and the metro.
- The phenomenon of foreign African residents in the province is a new one. Though it proved difficult to research their migration histories, it appears that numbers are not large, probably significantly smaller proportionately than in the north of the country. These migrants are found overwhelmingly in Cape

Town and are involved in a spectrum of economic activities, most of which are beneficial for the local economy. ***The symbolic issue of perceptions by the public, civil servants and the mass media of the presence of this migrant population is a sensitive one.***

- Links between population movements and the most serious epidemic South Africans have ever had to address is a serious issue in the province. No data on the relationship between migration and the spread of the HIV-AIDS epidemic exist at present. The relationship is reciprocal – migration is selective in that those who are mobile tend to be younger and more motivated as well as sharing fewer social ties than residents in receiving areas. Consequently, they may be more at risk as a result of their sexual behaviour. Simultaneously, once individuals become aware of infection, they may well decide to migrate in search of improved medical service, in search of more family support, or to return to their communities of birth to die. ***More research on these issues is urgently required.***

As a net receiving province, populations arriving and settling in Cape Town and provincial Districts may be viewed as contributing demographic resources to the Western Cape. Coloured and African populations bring in potential young and ambitious workers as a demographic resource whilst the older and relatively small White population contributes few workers but brings in economic resources of capital and skills from far beyond the borders of the greater Cape region.

Appendix 1 Research reports and researchers.

This Main Report – ‘Migration into and within the Western Cape’ – has been compiled by the project director, Prof. S Bekker. It synthesizes relevant results flowing from interpretations made by researchers involved in the study. An important part of the Report relies on survey analysis undertaken by Catherine Cross, whose contribution is hereby gratefully acknowledged. In addition, six separate research reports have also been produced. These are included below in Appendix 4.

Researchers involved in the study were

Simon Bekker	UStell
Bruce Boaden	UCT
Pieter Cloete	UStell
Catherine Cross	HSRC
Rob Dorrington	UCT
Robert Mongwe	UStell
Tom Moultrie	UCT
Gerald Muller	Datadesk
John Paul	UStell
Kozette Swart	UStell

In addition, Datadesk recruited 53 fieldworkers to execute the survey. 30 were Afrikaans-speaking, 20 Xhosa-speaking and 3 English-speaking.

Steering Committee members comprised

Yaw Amoateng, Professor in the Institute for Child and Family Development, Univ of Western Cape,

Simon Bekker, Professor of Sociology, Univ of Stellenbosch (project director),

Rob Dorrington, Professor of Actuarial Science, Univ of Cape Town,

Lehan Fouche, Provincial Administration Western Cape.

Once drafts of reports had been completed, a one day workshop was organised during which these drafts were discussed and criticised so that they could be improved. Steering Committee members and provincial officials were involved in these discussions as well as four experts who were invited to attend and to comment on selected draft reports. These experts were

Prof A Mabin, School of Public Administration, Wits U.,

Prof L Pretorius, Sociology, UNISA,

Dr O. Sichone , Anthropology, UCT,

Dr GN van Zyl, a Cape Town-based planner.

Appendix 2. A snapshot of HIV/AIDS in the province (R Dorrington)

Overall spread of the epidemic

The HIV/AIDS epidemic in the Western Cape not only lags the epidemic in other provinces by a number of years but prevalence levels are expected to plateau at a significantly lower level, as can be seen from Figure 1, which compares the antenatal prevalence levels as projected by the ASSA2000 model. The lag is undoubtedly due to physical location of the province while to a large extent the lower plateau is a function of the different demographic mix of the population in the Western Cape.

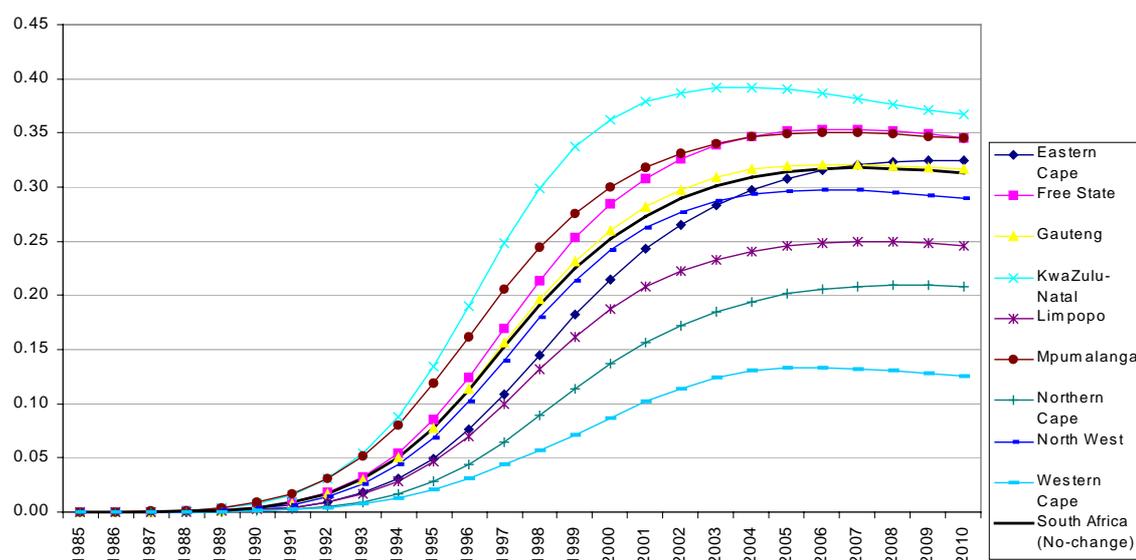


Figure 1. Comparison of the projected antenatal prevalence by province

Figure 2 shows the fit of the model to the antenatal survey points. Although the fit appears to be very good, there is some evidence, perhaps because the model does not adequately allow for in-migrants with a higher prevalence than the population they are joining, that the projections are on the high side.

Undoubtedly one of the major vectors spreading the epidemic into the black African townships in the early years was migrants from the Eastern Cape. However, prevalence levels in these townships are now comparable with those in the Eastern Cape and so it is unlikely that migration of infected people now has a major impact on the epidemic.

Calibration Data (HIV prevalence) - Total Population

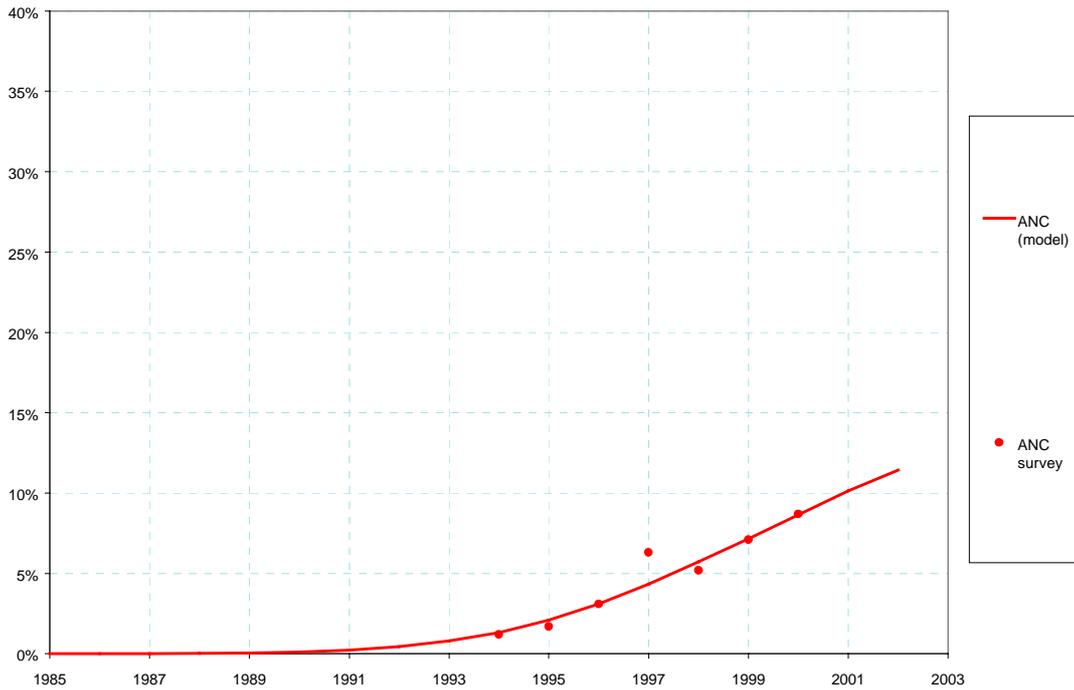


Figure2. Comparison of the model with the antenatal survey results

Geographical spread within the province

Although the province, for the first time last year, collected antenatal data from all the clinics, these results have not yet been made public, so the best we can do at this stage is consider the results of models set up to project the population by municipal and magisterial district. These results suggest the follow prevalence levels by district:

<i>District</i>	<i>Prevalence among pregnant women (%)</i>	<i>Range (by municipal/magisterial boundaries) (%)</i>
Cape Town	9.2	4.4 – 16.4
DC1 (West Coast)	4.7	3.5 – 7.1
DC2 (Boland)	6.9	5.6 – 7.3
DC3 (Overberg)	7.4	4.1 – 10.2
DC4 (Grdn R/KK)	7.3	3.6 – 11.3
DC5 (C Karoo)	5.7	3.9 – 7.8

To a large extent the range of prevalence rates merely reflect the differences in demographic mix of the various districts. In addition to this, some districts are comprised of municipalities that are similar, and hence the prevalence rates are similar (e.g. DC2) and others, such as Cape Town, are very different, where prevalences range from a low of 4.4% for Bellville to a high of 16.4% for Mitchell’s Plain. However, once the results of the testing data are released one will get a much more accurate picture.

Appendix 3 Survey Method and Research Design.

The purpose of the study was to inform the Western Cape Provincial Administration regarding migration into and out of, as well as within, the province. Migration within the province is analysed along two dimensions:

In terms of three settlement categories: rural, small town and city, and spatially, in terms of migration between the (new, ie 2001) District boundaries, of which there are six (including the Unicity).

All residents of the province are included in the study.

The study comprised six subprojects. The research design of five of these subprojects is discussed within their respective technical reports. The research design outlined here is that of the *provincial sample survey*.

The basic *unit of spatial analysis* is called a *settlement area* and defined as a 'named localised settled area' (or farm). Migration is defined as a change of residence between (not within) settlement areas. In so far as possible, the boundaries of settlement categories have been defined to coincide with those of settlement areas. The distinction between 'rural' and 'urban' is based upon the classification of Enumerator Areas (EAs) as either urban or non-urban (assigned a 'NU' label). These EAs which have been developed by Statistics SA for census purposes and for which maps showing residential units were available for the province as a whole, formed the basis on which random stratified sampling was carried out. This design is discussed below.

Information informing the interpretation of survey results was collected from three sources:

- I. secondary sources;
- II. qualitative information from 4 settlement areas in the study's focus area;
- III. a sample survey in the focus area, comprising 1621 households which in turn comprised 5778 individuals.

- I. A bibliography of work consulted is included (Appendix 4).
- II. As part of the pre-survey qualitative research, 4 urban places were selected, in different provincial Districts. These were Beaufort West, Cape Town, George, and Worcester. Within each place, nine interviews were conducted. The main aim of the interview was to establish the recent migration history (over the past five years) of both the respondent and of each member of the respondent's household, if these differed from that of the respondent. Each of the three researchers involved was instructed to approach one rank-and-file residential household in the urban place and to interview the head of household at home, as well as to identify one adult male and one adult female from a neighbouring workplace (factory or commercial outlet or school or hospital) and to interview this

male and female respondent at their workplaces. Each researcher was assigned respondents who were either Coloured (Afrikaans-speaking), White or African (Xhosa-speaking). The interviews took place in the preferred language of the respondent. Accordingly, thirty-six such interviews were conducted. Interviews were also conducted in each of the four urban places with one community leader. The purpose of this interview was to obtain a residential and migration profile of the urban place.

These qualitative data were used when the survey questionnaire was finalized. (See III below).

- III. A sample survey of 2016 randomly-selected WC provincial residents was designed. First, a list of all Enumerator Areas (EAs) falling within the province (n=7203) was obtained from the Statistics South Africa (SSA) office in Cape Town. These EAs are available according to District (and Unicity). Secondly, using random selection techniques, EAs were selected in the six geographic Districts shown in the table (A.1) below. These were then listed, identified as settlement areas in terms of their urban places' former group area racial classification and rank-ordered so as to conform to the needs of the table below. Subsequently, for those entered into the table, EA maps were obtained from SSA and dwelling units shown on each map were selected on a random spatial basis. 32 dwellings in each EA were selected in this fashion. The survey research team subsequently visited each of these areas during the period July - October 2001. 1621 survey interviews were completed, in the dominant language of the neighbourhood (Afrikaans, Xhosa or English).

Representation of stratified sample of enumerator areas (EAs).

Geographic Districts

	Unicity	West Coast	Boland	Central Karoo	Garden Route/KK	Overberg
Former Coloured Residential EAs	6 (one in each MLC)	3 (two urban and one nonurban)				
Former African Residential EAs	6 (one in each MLC)	3 (two urban and one nonurban)				
Former White Residential EAs	6 (one in each MLC)	3 (two urban and one nonurban)				
Total EAs	18	9	9	9	9	9

32 interviews within each EA = 63 x 32= 2016

The execution of the survey.

In six cases, EA maps proved unusable and were replaced by randomly selected equivalents. Of the 63 EAs approached by the survey team, 11 were (dense, urban) informal settlements. There were very few refusals once the interviewer had identified the respondent and explained the purpose of the survey. Thirteen such refusals were recorded by the survey teams. In each case the closest homestead to that selected was used as a replacement. On the other hand, obtaining access in the rural areas to both farmer households as well as to farm worker households proved a particularly difficult task. Farmers have become suspicious of strangers who enter their properties and particularly so if these strangers seek permission to interview farmworker households. The basic reason why the final sample of 1621 households only reached 80% of the planned sample was this – in total, survey questionnaires were successfully applied in twelve of the fifteen selected non-urban EAs in the Districts but researchers were not able to complete the entire planned sample in each. Less than 50% of the planned sample for rural White households was successfully completed; some 70% of the rural Coloured sample was completed; and, in the case of African rural households, no more than 4 (out of a planned 160) could be completed.

Given this weakness in the sample executed, a minisurvey of African rural households was designed and executed. 100 households in a convenience sample were identified, with the following specifications: at least one third were to be in the Southern Cape, none in the Unicity region, and no more than 10 respondents could be interviewed on a single farm. This minisurvey (which used the same survey instrument as the main survey) was successfully executed in early December 2001 and the sample comprised 242 individuals. The datasets of the main survey and this minisurvey were not integrated during analysis.

The main survey was executed by Datadesk, a Stellenbosch-based survey unit. The minisurvey was executed by Goldin Impact, a Cape Town-based survey unit.

The survey instrument.

A questionnaire which has been applied in earlier migration studies (Cross et al. 1997, 1999; Cross & Bekker 1999) was used as a point of departure. This instrument is focused on households and the head of household (HoH) as respondent provides information both about other members of the household as well as the migration history of the household (assumed to be the same as the migration history of the HoH respondent). Two separate datasets are generated by using such an instrument – one comprising household data and a second individual data. SPSS techniques are used to analyse these data. This questionnaire is designed to cover the following relevant issues: household member and socio-economic information, housing and infrastructure, migration history of HOH, issues relating to social capital, retirement plans and potential for 'moving on', and HoH attitudes to migration.

Three substantive changes were made to this instrument before it was tested and applied in the main survey. The first relates to an attempt to use kin-related survey data to estimate the extent and patterns of outmigration from the Western Cape. This method is based upon work done by Zaba and Hill and is fully reported in the relevant research report (Dorrington & Moultrie 2002).

The second and third amendments flowed from the outcomes of the qualitative fieldwork reported above. In the first place, it became apparent during this fieldwork that homesteads in both poor as well as middleclass residential areas often comprised multiple households. Accordingly, survey researchers were instructed, after establishing whether more than one household lived at the homestead, alternatively to select the main and a secondary household. (These secondary households ranged from backyard shacks and lodger families to separate households in 'granny flats'). Survey results point to a high incidence of multi-household homesteads in former Coloured residential areas (20%), an incidence of 14% in former African residential areas, and of 1% in former White residential areas. In all three cases, higher incidences were found outside the Unicity than within.

The final amendment addressed the question whether the migration history of the HoH could reliably be used as indicative of the migration history of the household as a whole. This was one of the main purposes of the pre-survey qualitative fieldwork. Results pointed clearly toward reliability regarding migration histories of adults in the selected households. In only one case was there a household adult who did not share the respondent's recent migration history and this was a case of temporary separation. This finding however did not hold for children within the household. Accordingly, the survey questionnaire included a section probing whether children in the household had had migration histories that differed from that of the HoH. Survey results point to a high incidence of different child migration histories in former African residential areas (21%), an incidence of 7% in former Coloured residential areas, and of 2% in former White residential areas.

An electronic copy of the questionnaire instrument (in English) is available on demand from the Department of Sociology at the University of Stellenbosch.

Five qualifications regarding the data described above will be noted.

1. The main weakness in the sample relates to an under-representation of rural households, African and White rural households in particular. Since the Western Cape is highly urbanized (approx 90%), this weakness is not too serious but ought nonetheless to be kept in mind when generalizations are made. The minisurvey of African rural households has been used to address this issue in qualitative analysis. Quantitatively, the weakness remains.

2. The use of HoH migration data as a proxy for household migration information has been criticized by certain South African demographers (See Kok in Proceedings of a workshop on City Comparison 2001). Though pre-survey qualitative work tended to support this approach, the case of children in households stood out as a weakness. The phenomenon of African children joining their parents after they have migrated and settled in a new place within the Western Cape has been noted in previous publications (Bekker 2001). Little is known however of the migration patterns of such children before they arrive at their new parental home. It is worth noting that the phenomenon of 'street children' without fixed abodes cannot be identified and analysed within survey data since dwelling addresses drawn from EA maps formed the basis for household identification. It is also worth noting that the sample included a large proportion of single households in all three ethnic groups: 6% in the case of the Coloured household sample, 11% in the African and White cases.
3. Survey information regarding individual and household income are notorious regarding their non-reliability. This is particularly true in the case of higher income households. Such data need to be handled with circumspection.
4. Only two respondents in the main survey assigned the label of Indian to themselves and their households. This ethnic group is very small in proportion to the three main groups in the province. Nonetheless, it is said to be increasing rapidly (Dorrington, verbal communication) and should not be overlooked.
5. The sample selected was designed to be both a stratified and random sample. To generalize, weighting of the data is required. Weighting in relevant calculations took place on two levels.
 - The ratio of the Unicity to the rest of the Western Cape (WC) populations is approximately 2:1. Since sampling was stratified spatially within the WC as follows: Unicity 2: each other of the 5 Districts: 1, weighting introduced a multiple of 5 for the Unicity sample. (Unicity x 5 + district 1 +2 +3 +4 +5).
 - The approximate demographic ratio of the three main ethnic groups in the Western Cape is Coloured 2: African 1: White 1. These ratios were used as the basis for weighting when generalizations to the population as a whole were calculated.

These qualifications notwithstanding, what is presented in this report is drawn from both the large body of secondary and qualitative work and the analysis of the sample survey data. The survey data are based on random sampling and should accordingly allow broad estimates of the size of migration flows in the Western Cape province to be developed, particularly within the settlement and ethnic categories selected to guide analysis.

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