

INTRODUCTION TO THE 2001 MIGRATION STUDY PROJECT IN THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE

The reasons behind the Migration Study in the Western Cape

The principle of cooperative government established by the 1996 SA Constitution refers to local, provincial and national spheres of government. This principle implies that when these spheres of government plan and act, they should do so in complementary fashion and should share responsibility for the outcomes of state action, in particular for service delivery.

Since the areas of jurisdiction of these spheres of government differ, the movement of people across the boundaries of these different areas is of direct significance to them. This significance refers to all inhabitants of the country and of the province – hence the need to include everyone in the migration profile. Given government priority to meet the needs of the poor, planning and providing economic and social infrastructure is of particular significance – hence the need to pay particular attention to spatially-informed pull and push factors affecting the migration decisions of the poor. Employment possibilities are critical here. Third, since there is a qualitative difference between service delivery in urban and in rural areas, state planning and action are continually influenced by urbanisation processes – hence the need to determine conditions in both urban and rural areas.

Three particular issues of relevance warrant mention. The first is simply the fact that after one migration move, some households move on. The decision to move on is influenced by socio-economic and service delivery conditions both in the current area of residence and in other areas. Turbulence brought about by the moving on of many households challenges service delivery projections. Second, poor households and individuals residing in regions that are poorly resourced may well move in search of improved state services. State schools for the young, and state medical institutions for the sick and for the elderly appear to be two primary causes. Accordingly, in the third case, we note that the allocation of national government funding for provincial and local government service delivery (education and health included) is partially based on the number of people living in the areas of jurisdiction of these government authorities. Migration streams across borders may imply significant potential adjustments in such inter-state transfers.

An overview of what is known about migration into, within and out of the Western Cape Province

Migration streams are primarily shaped by human flows from sending areas of relative poverty to receiving areas of relative affluence. Recent ***migration trends into and out of the province*** are complex. There has been a measure of emigration of skilled and experienced Whites and Coloureds out of the province and the country. There has been sustained large-scale in-migration of unskilled Blacks from rural areas of the Eastern Cape on a coastal route through the Southern Cape and Overberg to the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA); a sizeable in-flow of Whites from other provinces, and a measure of southward migration of Black entrepreneurs and other skilled persons. The large majority of Coloured provincial residents have remained in their province. The phenomenon of foreign Africans has also become visible, particularly in the CMA and large provincial towns.

For low-income households, the main attractors in the province, and anchors to remain within the province, are jobs and related household income levels, as well as access to economic and social infrastructure. Infrastructural development in the Western Cape, particularly in regional and smaller towns, has been substantial. This is probably considered by low-income Coloured and Black households alike as an important attractor. Decisions for its implementation appear to have been reactive - provision taking place only after the demographic need became apparent - and such infrastructure is mainly located on the main route of migration from the Eastern Cape through Outeniqua towards Cape Town.

Circumstances in the (former homeland) rural areas of the Eastern Cape have deteriorated to such an extent that it is becoming less and less possible for rural households to sustain a rural livelihood strategy at their rural homes. Migration becomes their only option. Most migration takes place *within* that province (rather than to the Western Cape or to Gauteng) but these streams may shift if the relative provincial weights of affluence and poverty are maintained or diverge further. Results from a 1998 survey of Black and Coloured households in the Western and Eastern Capes suggest that, for households *incomparable types of communities*

- the proportion of household heads holding down jobs
- per capita monthly income figures, and
- access to basic needs (such as water, electricity, and housing)

was uniformly higher and better in the Western Cape. Survey results also suggest that circulatory migration between Western and Eastern Cape (where households return at some point in their life cycle to their rural homes) has also declined as these rural areas lose their economic and social bases. In contrast, it appears that a significant number of Coloured households return, after unsuccessful sojourns in the CMA or upon retirement, to their rural communities in the Western Cape.

For higher -income households, the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA) and its immediate hinterland act as a major attractor. These households tend to be highly mobile during their middle -life cycles, migrating between South Africa's metropolitan areas and large towns. Once these households reach retirement age, many appear to be settling in the province in a ribbon of retirement towns on the coast and close to the CMA.

Within the province , migration is taking place at high levels, suggesting that communities are much less rooted than expected. It is likely that only one Coloured family in three has remained settled during their lifetime. Virtually all Black families have migrated at least once, and in the CMA where some information on White family mobility is available, only one family in twenty appears never to have left its current neighbourhood. Migration within the Western Cape appears to be largely *a gravity -flow stream* where households leave rural areas and smaller towns and head for larger urban places. Large streams of Coloured households from the rural regions of the Western Cape, as well as from the Northern and Eastern Cape, entered the CMA in the seventies and eighties. Streams now appear to be directed much more clearly to other urban areas in the province, particularly towns in the better -endowed wetter regions of the Western Cape. As an exception to these destinations, migration of Coloured farm -worker households appear to remain largely bounded within the farming sector. Within the CMA, the majoritarian Coloured grouping is clearly the most rooted - a large majority of households have remained within the metropolitan areas since 1975.

Given the province's history of apartheid and racial labour preferential policies, it is apparent that a continuous stream of rural Black households from the Eastern Cape has been entering urban areas of the Western Cape since the abandonment of these restrictions. This stream is highly visible because it has been highly concentrated and has led to a public perception that the receiving area is exclusively the CMA. The rate of increase into the CMA appears to have peaked in the late eighties and early nineties and has subsequently diminished to its former high level. Simultaneously, it appears that a significant stream of Black households has settled recently in the Winelands/

Breede River region (with its economically robust towns and irrigated agricultural sector) and in Outeniqua (which is close to the Eastern Cape and which offers economic and infrastructural opportunities significantly better than the Eastern Cape). In short, the Western Cape has become an established destination for rural Xhosa speaking households originating in the Eastern Cape. Pushed by rapidly deteriorating conditions in the former homelands of Transkei and Ciskei, these households are settling in the CMA and increasingly in the more prosperous urban areas of the Western Cape, in the Outeniqua/Mossel Bay region in particular.

The purpose of the 2001 Migration Study in the Western Cape

The purpose of the Migration Study was to establish a reliable profile of migration into, within and out of 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 Districts. All residents of the province were included.

Professor Simon Bekker of the University of Stellenbosch was appointed to undertake the study that was managed by a Steering Committee comprising provincial officials as well as senior academics from the University of Stellenbosch, the University of Cape Town, and the University of the Western Cape. A representative team of researchers and fieldworkers (from Datadesk) worked on the project. The study period was from April 2001 to March 2002 and comprises of an executive summary, a main report and six project reports.

Presentations on the findings of the Migration Study

Presentations on the findings of the migration study was made at the Provincial Top Management meeting on the 11 September 2002 at which all heads of departments were present, to the Acting Minister of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning on the 27 November 2002 and to the Provincial Cabinet on 4 December 2002 and 26 February 2003. This was followed up by presentations to the City of Cape Town, and to all the District Municipalities with the Local Municipalities in attendance during April 2003.

The Migration Study comprises of the following

Executive Summary

Main Report

Hiv-Aids and Migration

Foreign Migrants

Out Migration

Education and Health facilities and Migration

Case Studies: Education and Health

Monitoring Model

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