# BLACK IN-MIGRATION FROM THE EASTERN CAPE INTO THE CAPE METROPOLITAN AREA

*Profile of the Migrant and Reasons for Moving*

## A A BRITZ
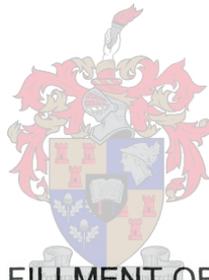
THESIS PRESENTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE MASTER OF ARTS (SOCIOLOGY) AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH

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## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and I have not previously in its entirety, or in part, submitted it at any university for a degree.

# Black In-Migration from the Eastern Cape into the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA):

## *Profile of the Migrant and Reasons for Moving*

## Abstract

Migration is the (usually free) movement of individuals from one place to another. Migration is formally conceptualized as the movement of households from relatively poorer regions -- the sending areas -- to relatively better-off regions -- the receiving areas -- thereby enhancing the households' chances of improved access to resources. The migrant can be defined as a person that has gone out of his/her own free will from one place to another. In this sample and study, a distinction will be made between household heads born in the CMA, household heads that arrived before 1994, and household heads that arrived in the CMA in 1994 and thereafter. These migrants will be called "Household Head Born CMA", "Household Head older migrants", and "Household Head recent migrants" respectively.

Informal squatter settlements are mushrooming at the outskirts of the CMA and very little is known about the motivation of migrants to leave their rural areas. In explaining the occurrence of migration and of why people migrate, one has to consider the push-pull theory. In the sending areas there are certain push factors, pushing the migrant out of the area. In the receiving area, there are pull factors, pulling the migrant towards the area. Migrants are also not a random selection of people. They have specific traits and differ from non-migrants in certain respects (age, life-cycle stage, marital status, education, occupation and status, cultural attributes and traditionalist vs. innovator). It was found in this study that the CMA as opposed to the Eastern Cape has certain differences, thereby pulling and pushing the migrant into and out of the areas respectively. Also, migrants seem to have different characteristics than that of the non-migrant.

# Swart In-Migrasie vanaf die Oos Kaap tot die Kaapse Metropolitaanse Area (KMA):
## *Profiel van die Migrant en Migrasie Redes*

## Oorsig

Migrasie is die (gewoonlik vrye) beweging van indiwidue van een plek na 'n ander. Migrasie word formeel gedefinieer as die beweging van huishoudings vanaf afsend-areas tot ontvangs-areas. Die huishouding se kanse op beter toegang tot hulpbronne word verbeter. 'n Migrant is 'n persoon wat uit vrye wil van een area na die volgende trek. Onderskeid word gemaak tussen die huishouding-hoof wat gebore is in die KMA, die huishouding-hoof wat die KMA binne-getrek het voor 1994, en die huishouding-hoof wat die KMA binnegetrek het tydens 1994 en daarna.

Informele nedersettings, oftewel plakkerskampe, is besig om vinnig toe te neem aan die buitwyke van die KMA en baie min inligting is beskikbaar oor wat potensiële migrante motiveer om die landelike gebiede te verlaat. Wanneer daar na die beweegredes gekyk word, is dit noodsaaklik om die "stoot en trek" teorie te oorweeg as 'n moontlike verduideliking. Migrante is ook nie 'n lukrake versameling van mense nie. Hulle het baie spesifieke eienskappe wat verskil van nie-migrante in sekere opsigte (ouderdom, lewens-siklus fase, huwelikstatus, opvoeding, beroep en status, kulturele eienskappe en so meer). In hierdie studie is gevind dat die Ooskaap en die KMA so verskil dat migrante na die KMA aangetrek word.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I want to extend my sincere thanks to all of the people who have helped me make my dream become a reality.

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# INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of migration of households and individuals has been with societies for as long as they have existed. Migration has an enormous impact on the population-resource balance in both the net-sending and net-receiving areas such as, for example the Eastern Cape and the Cape Metropolitan Area. The important point ensuing from this study and the issue that is given attention to is not the act of migration or its perceived consequences, but the circumstances which cause some people to remain immobile and others to move away from the area of origin to the area of destination.

In June 1998 the University of Stellenbosch (US) conducted a migration study in the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA) for the Cape Metropolitan Council (CMC). This was the first comprehensive study of its nature after the democratic elections in 1994. The study found that population migration patterns in the CMA are changing. In a press release from the CMC it was stated that "The traditional circulation of migrants to and from the Eastern Cape has virtually come to an end, with most [migrants] opting to stay in the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA). Migration is now one-way, namely to the CMA" (CMC Press Release, 26 August 1999). The main objective of the study was to determine the nature and extent of migration in the CMA.

There were some profound and interesting results. The study reveals that the stream of migrants to the CMA has slowed from 57 000 between 1989 and 1993 to 49 000 from 1994 to 1998. Table A shows the trends:

**Table A**

**Estimated Size of Annual Migration Flows into the CMA by Race**

**5 year averages**

| RACE | 1984-1988 | 1989-1993 | 1994-1998 |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Coloured | 8 000 | 10 000 | 8 000 |
| Black | 22 000 | 37 000 | 22 000 |
| White | 12 000 | 10 000 | 19 000 |

The chart below dramatizes:

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Figure A

**Estimated Size of Annual Migration Flows into the CMA by Race**

**5 year averages**
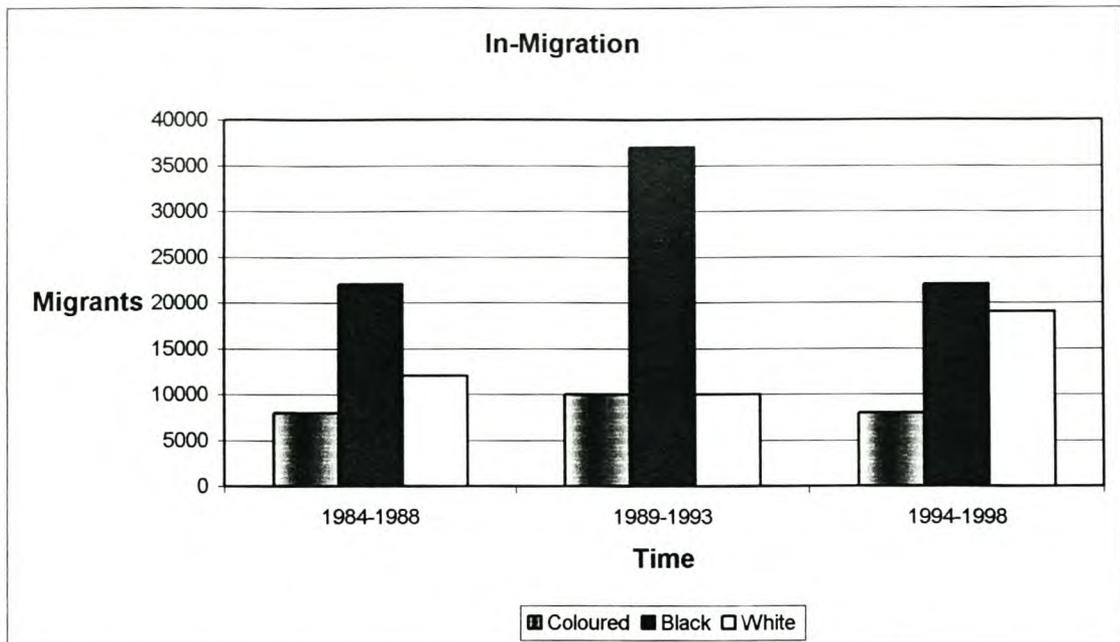


Of particular interest is firstly the stabilization of the black migration flow after the democratic elections in 1994, and secondly the extent of black in-migration. These statistics only serve here as stimuli to spark interest in migration study and to introduce the black migrant (head of the household) as the unit of analysis.

## MIGRATION FROM THE EASTERN CAPE INTO THE CMA: OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

To start the discussion a motivation for the study is given, explaining why studies of this particular nature are so crucial. Migration has fundamental implications and there are some significant and very real consequences. Following the rationale is a brief overview of the methodology and then there is a chapter on migration theory. This chapter is initiated with a definition of migration after which a general conceptualisation follows. In this section then, demography and demographical processes in general and migration in particular are conceptualised. Types of movement and types of migration are explained and the differences between these concepts are explicated. The second section of the chapter focuses on the actual theories of migration.

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The stages of migration are discussed, but specific focus falls on the well-known push-pull theory. Then follows a discussion on migration selectivity, mentioning factors such as age, gender, life-cycle stage, marital status, education, occupation and status. The understanding of migration and the processes involved necessitates a short overview regarding the theories on the initiation and perpetuation of migration patterns. Consequently time is devoted as to why people migrate. The theory chapter is concluded with some concluding comments. A discussion follows in the next chapters with a profile of black CMA residents in general and black migrants in particular with a comparison between the Eastern Cape and the Cape Metropolitan Area to form an argument as to why people migrate applying a simple push-pull model of migration. The structure of argumentation is ultimately led by the outline of the aims of the research, with finer refinement stemming from the chapter on migration theory, applying the theoretical approach in the results to finally find conclusions. The conclusions reached are by no means exhaustive and should not be taken as an absolute.

## MOTIVATION / RATIONALE

White and Woods (1980:42) argues that population migration is a field of study of importance to several different disciplines. Then they propose that it is possible to go further to suggest that the analysis of migration is fundamental to the understanding of many aspects of man and society. "One of the tasks of all social sciences is to explain diversity... The movement of people across the earth's surface has been, and still is, a major force in both perpetuating and creating diversity... Migration has an impact at many different scales and on many aspects of human activity" (White & Woods, 1980:42).

"Historically the volume of migration has increased as technological development has occurred... Ravenstein (1885) recognized the importance of economic development in stimulating migration..." (White & Woods, 1980:7). "In the premodern world, rates of migration typically were fairly low, just as birth and death rates were generally high. The demographic transition helped to unleash migration, and it is reasonable to suggest that a migration transition has occurred in concert with fertility and mortality transitions[1]" (Zelinsky, 1971). Weeks (1996:216) suggests that people do not tend to move someplace at random - they tend to go where they believe opportunity exists. When motivating the study of migration, it might be useful to look at two questions in particular. The first is why is it important to study migration i.e. the movement of people from one place to another on a permanent basis and secondly why a study of this particular focus is of any consequence.

Why, then, is the study of migration in general of any consequence? The process of migration has both individual and group consequences (Weeks, 1996: 227). "Although the consequences of migration for the individual are of considerable interest (especially to the one uprooted), a more pervasive aspect of the social consequences of migration is the impact on the demographic composition and social structure of both the donor and host areas. The demographic composition is influenced by the selective nature of migration, particularly the selectivity by age. The donor area typically loses people from its

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[1] Cited in Weeks, 1996: 216

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young adult population, those people then being added to the host area. The host area has its level of natural increase at the expense of the donor area[2]" (Weeks, 1996:229). Weeks (1996:229) suggests that of the three demographic processes (mortality, fertility and migration) migration has the greatest short-term impact on society. In order then to cater for the needs of both the host and donor areas, it is thus crucial to draft a profile of who the migrants are. The study of migration in South Africa is of particular importance seeing that it is part of the first study on migration in the CMA since the democratic elections in 1994 (the first democratic elections in the history of South Africa).

The second question is why a study of this particular focus is of any consequence. First one should develop a profile of the migrants. This is necessary because migrants are not a random selection from the population of the place of origin and migrants do not form a random cross-section addition to the population of the place of destination (White & Woods, 1980:12). "Migrants are thus always in some way differentiated from the mass of the populations with which they come into any form of contact, and from this fact flows much of the explanation for the specific impacts of the migration phenomenon" (White & Woods, 1980:12).

Weeks (1996:246) argues that intimately bound up with the reasons for moving and the number of people who migrate is the question of where people go. Migrants tend to go where they *perceive* opportunities to be the greatest - whether this is really the case or not. Several theories are suggested as to why people migrate, of which the push-pull theory is probably the best known. Also, "important within the analysis of why migration occurs is the perception of the spatial differentiation of opportunities - the idea that different geographical locations offer different levels of potential well-being to various sections of the human population. It is these perceived differences between places that are important rather than any simple 'push' or 'pull' mechanism" (White & Woods, 1980:7). Why then is it meaningful to study why people move from rather Transkei than Ciskei to the CMA?

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[2] When migration occurs with any substantial volume, it has a significant impact on the social, cultural, economic and political structure of both the areas of origin and destination.

We need to understand what it is that motivates a person to migrate. As already stated earlier, migration has demographic consequences for "the migrants themselves, from the areas from which they came, and for the areas to which they go" (Weeks, 1996:249). Compiling a profile of the migrants in question may lead to some answers of what the consequences are for the areas in question, specifically for the CMA. If the consequences can be pinned down, it becomes possible to predict future patterns and plan ahead to make provision for the addition to, or subtraction from, the population of an area.

White and Woods (1980:1) reason that the "redistribution of population through migration can have profound effects on the whole spatial patterning of human activity…". "Although it is not always apparent, the quality of our everyday life is greatly affected by the process of migration…" (Weeks, 1996:249).

Migration has played a vital role in the process of urbanization throughout the world and of rural depopulation in many industrially developed countries (White & Woods, 1980:2). "But migration is important not just because of the redistribution of population *per se*" (White & Woods, 1980:2). White and Woods (1980:2) suggest that because the migrants have different attributes, the process of migration also cause the redistribution of these attributes. This in turn leads to a restructuring of the spatial patterns of a plurality of demographic variables.

## AIMS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the migration study done for the CMC was defined as investigating the migratory patterns in the CMA, covering all population and income groups resident in the CMA. "This purpose was further refined by identifying three particular questions that would be examined separately. These were:

What are the nature and the extent of intra-CMA migration taking place

- between settlement categories?
- between spatially defined zones?

What are the nature and extent of migration into and out of the CMA?" (Bekker, Cross & Eva, 1999:A1,I). It is precisely this last question that is of concern here.

The study found that population migration patterns in the CMA are changing. In many ways, the migration patterns from 1984 up to 1998 shows some interesting trends and changes. The trends regarding the in-migration of black migrants are especially fascinating. It seems that there was a substantial increase in in-migration from the period 1984-1988 to the period 1989-1993, whereas the in-migration after 1993 to 1998 stabilized to the figures reported during the period 1984-1988. The majority of these black migrants originate from the Eastern Cape, specifically from Transkei.

People tend to move to where they believe opportunity exists. We need to understand what it is that motivates a person to migrate. The aim of the thesis is to explain why these migrants continue to enter the CMA from the Eastern Cape (principally from Transkei). In order to do this it is necessary to compile a profile of black CMA residents in general and then a profile of black migrants in particular. Subsequently, a simple push-pull model will be applied to seek explanations for recent migration streams.

# METHODOLOGY

## Introduction

"Migration data are basically of three kinds: continuous data, survey data, and that derived from population censuses" (White & Woods, 1980:5). In this study, survey data was the main source of information. "The importance of survey data is that such sources often deal in great detail with the characteristics of migrations and migrants, usually in terms of individuals as opposed to groups" (White & Woods, 1980:5). Although some data is available on the entire household, only the data on the head of the household will be used in this study.

## The Migration Project of 1998

In 1998 the CMC approached the University of Stellenbosch to conduct an extensive study on migration in the Cape Metropolitan Area. The metropolitan planning region is the focus area of this migration study (see Addendum A for a map of the CMA). That is: the CMA and its fringe not going beyond the Hottentots-Holland mountain range in the east or Atlantis and Mamre to the north. This area includes the six municipalities of the CMA, namely Helderberg, Oostenberg, Tygerberg, Cape Town, South Peninsula, and Blaauwberg. The *basic unit of spatial analysis* was settlement area, defined as "named, localized settled area". Migration is simply defined as a change of residence between (not within) settlement areas. That includes in-migration from areas other than those inside the Cape Metro, including the Eastern Cape. The boundaries of zones and settlement categories will be defined to coincide with those of settlement areas. Field research started off by gathering qualitative information to establish overall dynamics and explore specific areas and cases before quantitative data were obtained through a questionnaire sample survey. This initial field research was the pilot study of the migration project done early 1998. This pilot study was also part of the training of the field workers used during July 1998 to collect the data. Using the information of the pilot study, a questionnaire was developed for the quantitative study. During June and July 1998 a quantitative survey study was done on migration in the CMA.

Respondents who were heads of households (or their spouses) were selected for the interviews and information was collected about the migration history of the head and the members of the household. To clarify: the head of the household was not necessarily the main breadwinner or the male figure in the household. The other members of the household determine the person with the most authority as the head of the household. In many cases this person was the oldest of the persons living there and also female. Of all the enumeration areas (EAs) used in the census of 1996 (in the CMA), 25 were selected on a random basis. The areas selected for the interviews fell in five different settlement types: hostels, black formal, coloured formal, white formal, and black and coloured informal. The areas selected for the interviews were Ilitha Park, Guguletu, Nyanga KTC, New Crossroads, Heideveld, Morning Star, Elsies River, Schotschekloof, Macassar, Atlantis, Wynberg, Retreat, Woodstock, Sun Valley in Fish Hoek, Pinelands, Kempenville in Bellville, Rugby, Strand, Bloekombos, Vietnam in Phillipi, Imazamo Yethu in Hout Bay, Khayelitsha Site B, Khayelitsha Site C, Wallacedene, and Langa Zone 2 (hostels).

A total of 1000 interviews were conducted (that is, 40 interviews in each of the 25 EAs) where after the data was transformed to electronic format with the use of SPSS. Additional qualitative work comprised thumbnail sketches completed at the end of 1998. This qualitative and base data were analysed (and in some cases coded) to provide a base for developing a migration database in the Cape Metro. During December 1998 and January 1999 the dataset was refined and the appropriate recodes were done. Specific frequency tables and cross tabulations was executed (Bekker, Cross & Eva, 1999).

To explore the reasons why the migrants moved to the CMA, an extensive historical overview of the areas of origin is also necessary. "Migration is an activity (changing residence) carried out by people (the migrants) under varying legal and socio-political circumstances" (Weeks, 1996:212). An event such as migration always takes place within a certain context, whether it be socio-economic, socio-political or socio-environmental. Often it is the context that serves as a great motivator in migration.

## The Questionnaire[3] and Data Analysis

The questionnaire used in the quantitative study during July 1998, consisted of 11 sections and they are the following:

A: Questionnaire information and the genogram of the household

B: Demographics of the whole household in question

C: Housing and infrastructure

D: Migration history of the head of the household

E: Options, contact and connections

F: Migration within the area

G: Retirement plans and moving out of the area

H: Cultivation

I: Attitudes to in-migration

J: Perceptions of the living environment

K: Dual based housing

An interview lasted about two hours and during the interview the fieldworkers had the opportunity to add some additional information by mere observation. Information was collected about the household, their socio-economic circumstances, migration history about the last eight moves of the head of the household and the possibility of returning to the area of origin.

For analysis, the sample areas were categorized in the following ways: settlement type (black formal, white formal, coloured formal, black and coloured informal, and the black hostel areas), the six municipalities in the CMA (Tygerberg, Oostenberg, Blaauwberg, Helderberg, South Peninsula, and Cape Town), the city zones as categorized by the researchers (done on the basis of transport in the CMA).

The information was used to obtain profiles of the respondents in terms of the following variables: race (black, white, coloured), class (merge between income, occupation and education), gender of the head of the household, timeframe in which the CMA was entered (before 1984, between 1984 and 1993, after 1993).

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[3] See Addendum B

**Difficulties Encountered during the Research**

Information for this study was collected from secondary sources, qualitative work done in 25 selected settlements in the CMA and from a sample survey of 1000 cases selected randomly from 25 Enumerator Areas (EAs). Though EAs do not all comprise exactly the same number of dwelling units, little variation is found except in one important case. The mean number of households in EAs falling within former Coloured and White Group Areas is more or less 180 whilst that within former Black formal areas as well as informal areas is roughly 110. Accordingly, the random selection of EAs (and a selection of 40 within each) leads to an over-representation of Black respondents and of residents in informal settlements. The fact that most analyses are undertaken either within racial or settlement type categories leads to little bias in results that are based upon these categories. Unweighted aggregations across race groups and settlement categories, on the other hand, may lead to unreliable results. In this study no such aggregations are made because the focus point is expressly black migrants. Numerous difficulties in the field were experienced. Of these, the following difficulties deserve mention. One of the fieldwork teams was hijacked during the data collection phase in one of the informal settlements, resulting in the loss of several interviews, the money to pay the fieldworkers, a vehicle of the University of Stellenbosch and the consequent emotional trauma experienced by the fieldworkers themselves. This evolved into another implication, namely a reluctance to continue with the work with some of the other fieldworkers. People were unwilling to co-operate in general, especially when sensitive questions were asked. Some difficulties with the conceptualisation were experienced especially with regards to the definition of migration, the head of the household and the migrant.

**Sources of this Study**

The data from the migration study is used to compile a profile of the black migrants in the Cape Metropolitan Area. Further sources like Statssa, the Cape Metropolitan Council profile of the CMA and the State of South Africa's Population Report 2000 was used for the profile of blacks in the CMA and for socio-economic indicators in the region.

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# CHAPTER 1
# THEORY

## 1.1. Introduction

Many theories have been developed regarding the process of migration and why migration occurs but "there are so many different aspects to the process of migration that no one yet has produced an all-encompassing theory of migration" (Weeks, 1996:221). It is, however, important to know what all these theories entail. No one theory is entirely correct or incorrect, but in order to cover the many different aspects of migration, it is vital to know these theories.

"Migration occurs because migrants believe that they will be more satisfied in their needs and desires in the place that they move to than in the place from which they come. An important emphasis must be placed on the word 'believe'" (White & Woods, 1980:7). Emphasis is placed on the migrant's perception of reality rather than objective reality. Should the individual believe there exists better opportunity elsewhere, the possibility of migration is strengthened. "Migration occurs as a result of decisions made by individuals in the light of what they perceived the objective world to be like: it does not matter if the migrant holds an erroneous view - it is that erroneous view that is acted upon rather than the objective real-world situation" (White & Woods, 1980:7).

### 1.1.1. Defining Migration

There are several definitions that attempt to explain what migration is and migrants are. Conceptually, it is fairly easy to define migration, but to put the definition into practice is an entirely different matter. "In the form of a simple concept the definition of migration is straightforward: in operational terms any workable definition is likely to be both complex and only partial" (White & Woods, 1980:3). This is true for any research project: when sitting down a definition is easy to find, but when the actual research begins, the limits of definitions and abstract concepts come to light.

Subsequently, the limitations to possible definitions have to be considered also. Migration can be defined as a permanent change in residence. This definition might seem adequate, but there are several complications when applied to practice. Phenomena like the nomads, university students and tourists complicate matters when trying to define migration. Amidst all the difficulties, it remains important to define migration in order to understand population dynamics.

### 1.1.2. This Chapter

In this chapter an attempt is made to capture the essence of migration theory and also to conceptualise migration and the different types of migrants. The theory discussed is by no means exhaustive, but it is applicable to the study. Firstly, there is a brief conceptualisation, discussing demography in general and migration in particular. The types of movement, types of migrants, and types of migrations are discussed in more detail. Then follows the theory on migration, looking at the stages of migration, the well-known push-pull theory, migration selectivity, the initiation and perpetuation of migration patterns and a normative discussion on why people migrate. Lastly follows a short conclusion on what migration is and why people migrate, combining the push-pull theory with other aspects like social capital and a tradition of migration.

## 1.2. Conceptualisation

### 1.2.1. Demography and Demographical Processes

The term demography is usually reserved by scientists for the formal study of population structure and population change, as determined by the so-called vital population processes of fertility, mortality and migration. Raubenheimer (1987:1) initiates the discussion on demography and demographical processes by looking at some historical events like the publication of the British priest and historian Thomas R. Malthus' famous Essay on the Principle of Population in 1798. In the context of appalling life circumstances during the first decades of the British industrial revolution, Malthus demonstrated the constant exchange between population figures and means of livelihood. Populations tend to increase faster than the means of livelihood and if population figures are not artificially controlled (e.g. by celibacy or birth control), this increase in population figures will be controlled by nature (epidemics, famine, moral decline and so forth).

According to the distinction Peter Cox made of the so-called demographic occurrences in a population Rhoodie[4] suggests that facts are accumulated in terms of the basic material in the following way: (1) changes in the size, composition, and distribution of populations because of the exchanges between births, deaths, migration and socio-economic changes; (2) the biological-genetic characteristics of a population of which sex, lifetime or age, and race are the most important; (3) the socio-cultural attributes of a population like language, education and literacy, social dependency and marital status; (4) the economic attributes of populations for example occupation, income, economical dependency, and labour force; and (5) the ecological and spatial characteristics of populations, including density, distribution, dwelling, and the diffusion and organization of people in terms of juridical, political, economical, administrative and residential units (Raubenheimer, 1987:2-3).

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[4] Rhoodie and Swart, 1973:30-31

It is clear that demography and demographical processes are complex subject matter and there are several important factors to keep in mind when studying population. Even though migration is a small part of population study, it is an important and complex one.

## 1.2.2. Defining Migration

Historically, migrations have faced tremendous physical boundaries such as mountain chains and oceans. However, in more recent times physical boundaries take a back seat to political boundaries. Technology has allowed us to overcome the concrete restraints; but it does not physically affect the political, economic and social ones.

"The dictionary definition of the verb 'to migrate' is to 'move from one place (country, town, house) to another'. The geographer's simple definition of migration is not very different from this general view: a migration is a change in the place of residence. Such a change of residence necessitates movement, although at a scale varying from a transfer between dwellings both in the same street to, at the other spatial extreme, inter-continental movements. Migrations, or changes of residence, form only a small part of all the movements across the surface of the globe undertaken by mankind, and a distinction is often made between migration (involving change of residence) and 'mobility' or 'circulation'" (White & Woods, 1980:3). Hagerstrand (1957:27-28)[5], has defined migration as the change in the centre of activity of an individual's mobility pattern. The destinations of the mobility flow need not, themselves, change as a result of the change in their centre of activity.[6]

These definitions are fairly vague and Weeks (1996:211) recommend the following: "Migration is defined as any permanent change in residence. It involves the 'detachment from the organization of activities at one place and the movement of the total round of activities to another'".[7]

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[5] Cited in White & Woods, 1980:3
[6] Cited in White & Woods, 1980:3
[7] Cited in Goldscheider, 1971:64

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Migration is thus the "fairly permanent move of an individual or group from one distinct place to another, or kind of administrative system to another – out of some designated area into another. At the same time the move has to be permanent, or at least fairly long term[8]" (Bekker et. al. 2000:12). One of the most important aspects of migration is that it is spatial by definition and to "overcome the problems of such phenomena such as business journeys, holiday movements or pilgrimages the simple definition of migration is often extended to the form of 'residential changes of a permanent or semi-permanent nature' to eliminate transitory and immediately reversed flows" (White & Woods, 1980:4).

These definitional propositions are of great avail, yet there may be problematic cases where the application of such concepts is impossible. "Nomads and vagrants are without a fixed residential base and are in a sense, permanently migrating" (White & Woods, 1980:3). A second uncertainty group is those owning two houses because they have two centres of activity. Related to the last mentioned group are tourists since "the holidaymaker takes up 'residence' in a resort and 'circulates' or tours from that base" (White & Woods, 1980:4).

It is clear then that defining migration is no easy task, that there are definite conceptual difficulties, and exceptions to all the rules. Bekker (1999:3): "Migration may usefully be conceptualised as the movement of households from relatively poorer regions -- the sending areas -- to relatively better-off regions -- the receiving areas -- thereby enhancing the households' chances of improved access to resources", placing the emphasis on the sending[9] and receiving[10] areas and why people migrate rather than on the migrant. Migration is defined as the long-term relocation of an individual, household, or group to a new location outside the community of origin. This concept of human mobility - the movement from one place to another - is of central interest because this movement creates routes or streams of change.

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[8] Catherine Cross on migration theory.
[9] Also referred to as source areas by Catherine Cross (Bekker et.al., 2000:15).
[10] Also referred to as destination areas by Catherine Cross (Bekker et.al, 2000:15).

Raubenheimer (1987:22) distinguishes between two types of migration. Migration here is defined as being either internal (within a country) or external (international or between states) on a temporary or permanent basis. "The major distinction is between internal and international migration. Internal migration involves a permanent change of residence within national boundaries. With reference to your area of origin (the place you left behind), you are an out-migrant, whereas you become an in-migrant with respect to your destination. If you move from one country to another, you become an international migrant - an emigrant in terms of the area of origin and an immigrant in terms of the area of destination" (Weeks, 1996:212). We need to differentiate between migrants who cross international borders (external migrants) and those who move only within national borders (internal migrants) because of the large-scale migrations that have been, and still are, occurring. As you might expect, internal migrants greatly outnumber external migrants, however, external migrants often generate change within the new homeland by changing economies and influencing political standings.

Thus, migration is the (usually free) movement of individuals from one place to another. Migrants are then people "who have gone of their own free will from one place to another, and they tend to be a self-selected population which has different characteristics form the general population[11]" (Bekker et.al. 2000:12). In terms of international migration, a distinction is made between immigration (people entering a new country's living, working, social, economical and political arena) and emigration (people leaving a country and entering another country). The difference here is then in terms of international borders. Refugees (economical or political) are not included here, because the migration is forced as opposed to free migration. In terms of internal migration a distinction is made between being an out-migrant and in-migrant, between the area of origin and area of destination respectively. The migrant is then an out-migrant regarding the area of origin (sending area) and an in-migrant regarding the area of destination (receiving area).

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[11] Catherine Cross on migration theory.

Consequential in the study of migration are the effects of the migration, on the individual, the area of origin and also, the area of destination. "Yet the residential movements of the human population have spatial manifestations other than through the transitory nature of flows of migrants. Redistribution of population through migration can have profound effects on the whole spatial patterning of human activity, the repercussions of which may be felt long after the migration events themselves have taken place" (White & Woods, 1980:1). But "migration is important not just because of the redistribution of population *per se*. Each migrant has certain attributes - for example age, sex, family status, occupation, intelligence, educational attainment, social and cultural attitudes, language and religious affiliation. Migration brings out much more than simple population redistribution; it also leads to the redistribution of such attributes, or of social, occupational or religious groups, and to a restructuring of the spatial patterns of a multiplicity of demographic variables. Such structural changes can be termed 'geographical impacts of migration'; they are those structural changes in the distribution and organization of human activities which are brought about by population migration" (White & Woods, 1980:2).

It is clear then that the movement of population and migration as such, are not simple concepts to define and to understand. "The entire undertaking of theorizing migration is basically about identifying the factors the determine migration behaviour – when people migrate, where they go, and why – and also about being able to show how in terms of numbers and actual data how these factors have their effect[12]" (Bekker et al. 2000:23). It is a complex process, with many attributes and profound implications and consequences. Important in the understanding of migration is that there are different types of movement, and different types of migration, all of which will be discussed accordingly.

## 1.2.3. Types of Movement

Both environmental perception and activity space affects the decisions and choices to migrate. Indeed, depending on which society we examine, the process and scale of migration (and the ideas of environmental perception and

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[12] Catherine Cross on Theory and Migration in South Africa.

activity space) will vary considerably. There are several types of movement that can be classified in the following broad categories. These categories are by no means exhaustive, but serve as a useful aid to classification. The different types of movement are cyclic movement, periodic movement and migratory movement.

### 1.2.3.1. Cyclic movement[13]

Cyclic movement is also known as repetitive periodic moves. Examples of this are daily journey to work or classes at a university or school, or weekly shopping trips. The basic idea behind this type of movement is that we begin and end at our home base. These types of movements may occur daily, weekly or even annually. Consider seasonal movements that occur every year that are cyclic - vacations, business trips, holiday travels. You must also consider that some of these movements, although cyclic, may be irregular. That is to say that some movements may occur every year but not at the same time. Since movement in this case is often dependent on the season, and the time of seasonal change may vary from year to year, similar travels[14] between places may occur at different times. This type of movement is not of a permanent or even semi-permanent nature and cannot be classified as migration as defined earlier. Cyclic movement is too irregular.

### 1.2.3.2. Periodic movement[15]

This form of movement is very similar to cyclic movement but there is one distinction. Periodic movement may begin and end at home base and takes place over a long time span. Movement away to college, military service, and migrant labourers fall into this category. This form of movement takes place between two points - one of which represents new pastures. The actual period of movement is small and travel is planned and direct. Even though the time

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[13] http://www.cat.cc.md.us/msedevision/
[14] For instance vacations, business trips and holiday travels
[15] http://www.cat.cc.md.us/msedevision/

frame is of a longer period, it is far from permanent or even semi-permanent. This type of movement is also not defined as migration.

### 1.2.3.3. Migratory movement[16]

Migratory movement is different from cyclic or periodic movement in that you don't go back to the area of origin. This movement involves a permanent change in location. Even with the phenomena of circular migration, (different from circulatory movement), the key here is that the migrant has changed his/her centre of activity. This type of movement is seen as migration in this study.

### 1.2.4. Types of Migration

Migration can be classified in terms of four key factors namely the distance travelled, the time period over which the migration is effective, the basis of the areas of destination and origin, and the attributes of the migrants themselves, (that are added to the area of destination and subtracted from the area of origin).

"First of all it is possible to classify migrations according to the distance travelled. The availability of information on this is extremely variable for migrations occurring within one administrative area are rarely dealt with in official figures, while the collection of distance data is often haphazard and may relate to the difference between residences at the time of two successive censuses, ignoring intermediate moves. There is some doubt about the significance of geographical distance on its own: in terms of migration impact the social or cultural distance moved (immeasurable though these may be in practice) are arguably of greater importance" (White & Woods, 1980:18). The focus of this study is on the black migrant originating from the Eastern Cape, specifically Transkei.

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[16] http://www.cat.cc.md.us/msedevision/

A second means of categorizing migration is concerned with the time-period over which migration is effective. "At one extreme are short-term labour migrations on a seasonal basis; at the other are permanent moves from which the migrant never returns. In between are various forms of return migration occurring over periods ranging from a few months to a number of years. The role of the returning migrant in producing change in his home community is highly significant for the migrant brings back information gathered about other places, and may have adopted new attitudes and aspirations which he communicates to his stay-at-home compatriots" (White & Woods, 1980:18).

Many of the migrants in this study stated their intention to return home one day, but "this is seen as unlikely given the few opportunities offered by the rural economy" (CMC Press Release, 26 August 1999). But as White and Woods say, even if these migrants return only to visit their families, this temporary return has to be viewed as significant seeing that information is brought back to the area of origin.

"Temporary migration often paves the way for permanent migration in succeeding years," (White & Woods, 1980:19), as can be seen in the study of Bekker, Circulatory Migration linking Cape Town to the Eastern Cape: Some Reflections. According to Bekker, circular migration in South Africa is declining and the migration patterns are of a more permanent nature than previously, with the migrants not returning to their homes - mostly in rural areas. "There are nevertheless, disadvantages in the classification of migration on the basis of a time-scale" (White & Woods, 1980:19). Firstly the identification of return migrants in any migration stream is somewhat troublesome. Secondly, classification at one extreme of the timescale cannot be achieved until the migrant dies. Several studies have shown that migrants often intend to return to their place of origin, but that intention is not always made a reality.

"A third, and very common, method of classification of migrations is on the basis of the environments of origin and destination or, occasionally, of destination alone. The terms 'rural-urban', 'inter-urban', 'suburban' and 'frontier ward' migration are all well established in the literature (Zelinsky, 1971) and provide a convenient set of generalized terms which can be applied to most migration

flows with some profit in terms of description. Classification of migration on the basis of the reasons behind it has been commonly adopted and the terms 'economic migration', 'retirement migration', or 'educational migration' are familiar ones. Yet the most usual route to the adoption of the first of these terms lies through the process of ecological correlation analysis, considering the attributes of the places left behind and comparing these with the destinations." (White & Woods, 1980:19). The discussion of the push-pull theory later in this chapter deals with the reasons behind migrating. To put it briefly, the push-pull theory argues that there are push and pull factors in the areas of origin and destination respectively that influence the decision whether to migrate or not. These factors as reasons for migrating act interchangeably. No one factor is solely responsible for the decision to migrate.

"The final method of classification in common use deals with the migrants themselves. In terms of understanding the impact of migration the last-named classification scheme has obvious advantages, because the impact of migration is derived in part from the characteristics of the migrants themselves in relation to their subtraction from one area and their addition to another" (White & Woods, 1980:19). When discussing reasons for a migration then, it is crucial to consider the push-pull factors in context with the individual attributes of the migrants.

Another way to look at migration is to classify it as voluntary of forced. *Voluntary migrations* on the one hand are those migrations where people choose to move freely for reasons of bettering their standing in life. While there are many reasons that facilitate voluntary migration, economics is one of the prime movers - the idea of "Greener Pastures". *Forced migrations,* on the other hand, are unpleasant and made without the freedom of choice. Any migration associated with slavery or imprisonment falls into this category. The typical example in South Africa was the implementation of the Group Areas Act. People were no longer able to migrate as they please, forcing especially the black migrants to live in mainly rural areas like the former Transkei and Ciskei,

better known as the former homelands in the Eastern Cape[17]. The annulment of the Act also caused some irregularities in the migration pattern in South Africa where migration figures escalated. Additionally, in apartheid South Africa particularly, decentralisation policy had the motive of curbing the influx of black populations into 'white' South Africa, through repressive influx control legislation. Since the abolition of *Influx Control Legislation* in 1986, Cape Town, as many other cities on South Africa, experienced a dramatic increase of migrants. In Cape Town they originate generally from the economically neglected former *Homelands Transkei and Ciskei*. This rural urban migration not only resulted in a dramatic increase of squatters and backyards shacks in the former Africa townships but also in mushrooming informal squatter settlements on free urban land in and around the city. (See table A and figure A in the Introduction.)

## 1.3. Theories of Migration

### 1.3.1. Introduction

Whatever the reason, people who migrate think in terms of "direction" and "distance". Both of these are thought of in "absolute" and "relative" terms. With respect to direction, "absolute" direction refers to a compass direction, that is, the compass direction you are going to or coming from. "Relative" direction is more perceptual, for example, if you were to move to the southern portion of the Cape Metropolitan Area there are different interpretations of where the "south" begins.

In the event of discussing the theories of migration, the stages of migration, the push-pull theory, migration selectivity, and the initiation and perpetuation of migration patterns have to be considered in order to derive reasons migrants may have to migrate. This approach combines theoretical perspectives with the individual attributes of the migrants.

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[17] "Former" refers to the status of especially the Transkei as a self-governing and independent homeland for blacks from 1963 to 1994; the Transkei remains a discreet geographical, demographic and economic region within the newly established Eastern Cape Province. (Fay, 2000:12).

### 1.3.2. Stages of Migration

According to DeJong and Fawcett (1981) in their conceptual model of migration decision-making, there are three major stages in the migration process.[18] These stages are: "(1) The propensity to migrate in general; (2) the motivation to migrate to a specific location; and (3) the actual decision to migrate" (Weeks, 1996:221). Migration is not a one-off event; it is a process, directed by stages. It is complicated to construct a model of migration decision making, seeing that migration is a process and different stages are involved that differ for each migrant. "The migration process begins with individuals and household members in the context of a given culture and society. The decision about who will migrate, when, and to where may often be part of a household strategy of improving the group's quality of life – consistent with the perspective of demographic change and response" (Weeks, 1996:221).

The context also deserves consideration. "Furthermore, the household decision is not made in a vacuum; it is influenced by the socio-cultural environment in which the household members live. Individual and household characteristics are important because of the selectivity of migrants – households with no young adults are less likely to contemplate migration. Social and cultural norms are important because they provide the context in which people might think consciously of migration as a necessary or desirable thing to do" (Weeks, 1996:221).

It is evident that the definition of migration is confounded by the fact that migration is an activity (changing residence) carried out by people (the migrants) under varying circumstances (context). Migration is not a random ad hoc process. The individual, the context the individual resides in, and the prospects of a better life influence it.

### 1.3.3. The Push-Pull Theory

Consider the definition of migration: "Migration may usefully be conceptualised as the movement of households from relatively poorer regions -- the sending

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[18] Weeks, 1996:221-222

areas -- to relatively better-off regions -- the receiving areas -- thereby enhancing the households' chances of improved access to resources" Bekker (1999:3). The push-pull theory is a perspective that attempts to explain why people migrate. According to this theory there are certain push and pull factors that influence the migrant's decision to move. The push factors are usually located in the area of origin, pushing the migrant out of the area, and the pull factors in the area of destination, pulling the migrant to the area.

To identify the specific causes of why an individual migrates is complex. More often than not, there are many inter-related reasons for changing residence on a permanent basis. However, we can categorize the primary reasons for migration into the following: economic reasons, political factors, cultural tradition, and technology and the environment.

## 1.3.3.1. Economic reasons[19]

The prospect of a better way of life is a major reason for migration. The perceived opportunity of improving one's lot in life has historically driven large-scale migration. The emphasis here is on 'perceived opportunity'. What the migrant believes is better opportunity is a powerful motivator to migrate.

## 1.3.3.2. Political factors[20]

This is generally not a "passive" reason for migration. Very often migration resulting from political factors is forced upon a population, resulting in forced migration. Political factors may also be subtler like political unrest and high rates of violent crimes.

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[19] Adapted from http://www.cat.cc.md.us/msedevision/
[20] Adapted from http://www.cat.cc.md.us/msedevision/

### 1.3.3.3. Cultural Tradition[21]

Factors such as religious and ethnic ties often induce rapid migrations between areas that share similar belief systems. It makes sense that individuals move to specific geographic areas - similar languages, and religious beliefs make the trauma of migration easier to deal with. This implies that in certain areas there is a tradition of migration. People in certain areas tend to migrate to specific locations. The information available about an area is spread through this tradition. If one argues logically, people often return to their place of origin, even if only to visit kin. Information about possible locations to migrate to is spread, and a tradition of migration to a specific area is established.

### 1.3.3.4. Technology and Environmental Barriers[22]

The development of rapid and efficient methods of transportation has facilitated the ease and speed with which migration can take place. In the past, geographical topographical difficulties (like mountain ranges, rivers, and oceans) made it difficult to migrate. The CMA is a good example of this. With the advent of technology, these barriers fell quickly.

### 1.3.3.5. The Push-Pull Theory

The above-mentioned factors are just broad categories to present possible explanations and reasons for migrating. To explain in more detail reasons for migration, the push-pull theory is utilised. "Over time, the most frequently heard explanation for migration has been the so-called push-pull theory, which says that some people move because they are pushed out of their former location, whereas others move because they have been pulled or attracted to someplace else" (Weeks, 1996:216).

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[21] Adapted from http://www.cat.cc.md.us/msedevision/
[22] Adapted from http://www.cat.cc.md.us/msedevision/

People do not move someplace at random. The perceived opportunity another area poses has to motivate the migrants in such a way that they would actually be willing to uproot themselves and in many cases their families too. This idea was first put forward by Ravenstein (1889). He also concluded that pull factors were more important than push factor. Thus, Ravenstein noted that it is the desire to get ahead more than the desire to escape an unpleasant situation that is most responsible for the migration of people. "Davis argued that it is the pursuit of pleasure or the fear of social slippage, not the desire to escape from poverty, that motivates people to" (Weeks, 1996:217) migrate. In everyday language, the factors that might push a person to migrate are labelled as stress or strain. However, it is probably rare for people to respond to stress by voluntarily migrating unless they feel that there is some reasonably attractive alternative, which is called a pull factor. The potential migrant weighs the push and pull factors and moves if the benefits of doing so exceed the costs.[23]

When trying to simplify the migration process, it really comes down to a cost-benefit analysis. The migrant then decides to move, if greater opportunity exists elsewhere. "Were this to be measurable it would be found that the place utility for any specific locality would differ markedly between the different individuals for two reasons. Firstly, different individuals would consider different attributes of a place in their scale of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Secondly, different individuals evaluate the objective world in varying ways as a result of the differential availability of more or less biased information about places" (White & Woods, 1980:8).

Whatever the specific reason for moving there are two sides to the 'migration-coin': (1) the reasons an individual want to leave an area (push factors), and, (2) the reason why an individual wants to move to a new area (pull factors). An individual will choose to migrate out of an area for specific, well-understood reasons, for example changing climate, changing political stability, rising crime, deteriorating economy or the lack of infrastructure. These factors will be readily felt by anyone who develops the 'need' to migrate. *Pull* factors on the other hand are usually more vague and affected by a person's perception of the area

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[23] Cited in Kosinski and Prothero, 1975; Stone 1975; Massey, 1990

of destination. In most every case, the end-point is better looking than where you are currently (before the migration occurred). "If it is assumed that individuals spend much of their lifetimes pursuing various goals, then migration may be seen as a possible means - an implementing strategy - whereby a goal (such as a better education, a better job, a nicer house, a more pleasant environment, and so on) might be attained" (Weeks, 1996:217). "Migration associated with career advancement, as happens so often in the military, in academics, and in large companies, illustrates the hypothesis that migration decisions 'arise from a system of strategies adopted by the individual in the course of passing through the life cycle'."[24] Bear in mind that the decision to migrate is not an overnight decision. "The decision to move usually occurs over a fairly long period of time, proceeding from a *desire* to move, to the *expectation* of moving, to the actual *fact* of migrating."[25] (Weeks, 1996:217). (See Figure 1.1.). The decision then is a process that occurs over time, and differs between migrants.

It is not only the push and pull factors that should be taken into account when analysing migration. It is also important to "focus on the characteristics of the migrants as well as their family and social networks" (Smelser, 1994:216). In other words: "…migration rates reflect a whole spectrum of attitudes, ranging from people who are 'entrenched non-movers' (who have no desire to move and no expectation of moving, and who do not migrate) to 'consistent decision-maker movers' (who desire to, expect to, and do migrate)" (Weeks, 1996:217). In short, "Lee (1966)[26] has observed that two of the more enduring generalizations that can be made about migration are:

1.  Migration is selective (that is, not everyone migrates, only a selected portion of the population).
2.  The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life cycle is important in the selection of migrants" (Weeks, 1996:218). (See Figure 1.1.)

When trying to explain why people migrate, reference is usually made to the so-called push- and pull-factors. Push-factors usually 'push' the migrant out of a

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[24] Stone, 1975:97; cited in Weeks, 1996:217
[25] Cited in Rossi, 1955
[26] Cited in Weeks, 1996:218

certain area towards another, more appealing area. Such factors include lack of job opportunities, unemployment, political, ethnic or religious discrimination, few opportunities for personal development, natural disasters, war and revolutions' political unrest, economic and financial decay, and even changing structures of communities. Pull-factors on the other hand, are just the opposite. Increase in income, better job opportunities, education, better infrastructure, better housing, better climate, family and friends whom have already migrated to the area in question, recreational opportunities, and other attractions that promises a brighter future. (See Figure 1.1.)

**Figure 1.1.**
**The Migration Process:**

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Context

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Push-Pull Factors

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**Desire to Move ↔ Expectation of Moving ↔ Fact of Migrating**

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Time

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

**Individual Attributes**

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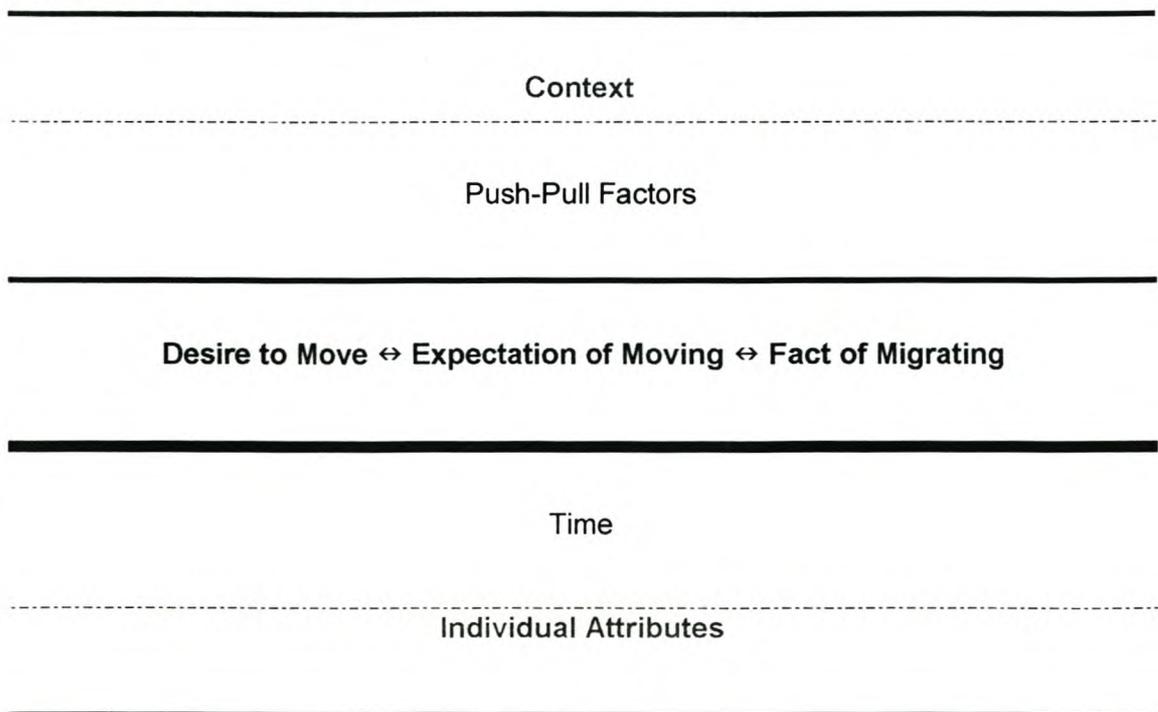
### 1.3.4. Migration Selectivity

Specific groups of people are more likely to migrate than others. "A prime determinant of the impacts of migration on both the areas of origin and destination is the character of the migrants - their personal and attitudinal attributes. In this context two generalizations concerning the migrant may be put forward.

1. Migrants are not a random selection from the population of the place of origin.
2. Migrants do not form a random cross-section addition to the population of the place of destination.

Migrants are thus always in some way differentiated from the mass of the populations from which they come into any form of contact, and from this fact flows much of the explanation for the specific impacts of the migration phenomenon" (White & Woods, 1980:12). In other words, some vague generalizations can be made as to who the migrant is in terms of age, gender, life-cycle stage, marital status, education, occupation and status, cultural attributes, and innovator vs. traditionalist.

Particular groups of potential migrants are likely to react in distinct ways to the differentiation of places: they are likely to value different characteristics of places, to have different information available to them, and therefore to react in different ways. "It has been suggested that movement between stages in the life-cycle is an important cause of migration, and it can be argued that within each stage there may be less migration since fewer alterations are likely to take place to the composition of the list variables considered" (White & Woods, 1980:13). In the following sections, migration selectivity is considered in terms of gender, age, life-cycle stage, marital status, education, occupation and status, cultural attributes of the migrant; and finally whether the migrant is typically a traditionalist or an innovator by nature.

### 1.3.4.1. Gender

The gender composition of migrants, according to Raubenheimer (1987:22), is influenced by social, economic and cultural circumstances that benefit one gender over the other at the area of destination. More unmarried young men migrate to areas where mining, forestry and heavy industries are prevalent. Services and administration attract more females. This is not as apparent in large cities or metropolitan areas like the CMA, seeing that there is a combination of several types of jobs.

"Ravenstein noted that there were certain sex differences in migration. He wrote in 1885 that 'woman is a greater migrator than man', although he elaborated this conclusion by adding that men were more migratory over long distances and especially in international migration. Sex may therefore be a basis for selectivity in migration, but it does not operate in all cases, nor need it operate always in the same way" (White & Woods, 1980:15). Consequently, no real generalizations can be made regarding the gender of the typical migrant, but it is an important factor when considering the attributes of the migrant.

### 1.3.4.2. Age

Weeks (1996:218) stated "young adults are far more likely to migrate than people at any other age..." Age is an important determinant of migration because it is related to life-cycle changes that affect most humans in most societies. White and Woods (1980:14) support this notion: "Age is of particular importance in explaining the likelihood of migration occurring. Customarily the propensity to migrate is greatest in the young-adult age groups, particularly between school leaving and the age of 30 in economically advanced societies. Such migration is generally associated with the search for a job, and with job-changes occurring at the lower rungs of a career ladder. After the age of 30, migration is generally reduced and residential stability becomes the norm. At the ages of 60 to 65 a further peak of migration may occur involving a change of residence at retirement". It is thus more likely for young people to migrate, in search for better opportunities elsewhere. It is easier to migrate when one is young, for it is less difficult to uproot and start a centre of activity elsewhere. Younger people are not as closely bound to the environment as older people are. Young people are socialized in such a manner that greater mobility is possible. "There is a close correlation, but not a direct one, between migration and age; it may suggested that the direct association is between migration and life-cycle stages. Each stage in the life cycle is associated with a particular age group and this gives the link to age. Certainly, migration may be particularly prevalent among those moving between the two stages of the life cycle, and it may be that life cycle is more important than age. Both age and life cycle have

some independent importance and ideally both should be considered as significant factors of migrant selection" (White & Woods, 1980:14).

### 1.3.4.3. Life Cycle Stage

Weeks (1996:218) noted that there exist certain structures within families, and children are socialized to act in certain ways. Whether they do or not, people tend to follow trends. These trends are part of the life cycle. Most groups expect that young adults will leave their parents' home, establish an independent household, marry, have children, and/or pursue a career. "Some people choose to ignore one or more of these expectations, of course, but they exist nonetheless as behavioural guidelines" (Weeks, 1996:218).

Weeks (1996:220) made some generalizations regarding the migration patterns of families. "Furthermore, the largest families were the most likely to move. This probably reflects at least three different phenomena: (1) as families grow larger, the need or desire for a larger house increases; (2) as families grow larger, the need to move to a better paying job may increase; and (3) those persons with the highest incomes tend to be the most frequent movers" (Weeks, 1996:220). Although "migration, in its turn, may temporarily disrupt family building activity" (Weeks, 1996:220), "the relationship between family cycle and migration constantly changes." The suggestion then is that according to their life cycle stage people migrate for different reasons as a result of the consideration of different attributes of the various places for which information is available. "Although each individual probably has a unique perception of place utilities there are likely to be certain broad similarities between the groups of people who consider the same variables to be important" (White & Woods, 1980:10).

### 1.3.4.4. Marital Status

The possibility for migration increases, according to Raubenheimer (1987:28), once a person gets married. "People whose marital status changed between two consecutive interviews are far more likely to have moved than those whose marital status remained unaltered" (DeAre, 1990; cited in Weeks, 1996:219).

"Once married the incidence of migration also varies according to the number and ages of children" (Weeks, 1996:219). As with gender and age, marital status is also interconnected with life-cycle stage. Marriage is more prevalent in certain stages of one's life than in others and consequently, because of a change in marital status, one becomes more likely to migrate.

### 1.3.4.5. Education

Raubenheimer (1987:22-23) found that in most countries large-scale migration takes place with migrants with the highest education from rural to urban areas. Intra-urban migration takes place under migrants with better jobs, better education and higher salaries. "It has generally been found that those who spend a longer time in education are more migratory than those who spent fewer years in school. Those who went on to higher education are even more migratory, although there are problems because in many cases individuals wishing to obtain higher education must first make a residential move from their home" (White & Woods, 1980:15).

"There is a clear pattern; for migration rates to go up as educational attainment goes up..." (Weeks, 1996:220-221). Theory suggests that those individuals with better education seem to migrate more often. The problem with this is, as confirmed by White and Woods (1980), that the most migrants need to migrate first in order to better their education. Accordingly, education plays one of two roles: migration is more likely either because of high educational attainment, or it occurs simply because the migrant wants to better his/her education.

### 1.3.4.6. Occupation and Status

Raubenheimer (1987) maintains that certain occupational groups tend to migrate more than others, especially professionals and semi-professionals. "Migrant selectivity according to occupation has often been shown to be present among migratory flows. Selectivity operates in favour of the professional or white-collar element in the employed population and consequently, these

sectors are over-represented among migrants, while in developing countries migration is more common among those of low economic status. Nevertheless, there are distinct exceptions to these generalizations. Some apparent occupational differentiation in migration may be caused by the fact that different socio-economic groups migrate in response to different stimuli, with manual and unskilled workers moving for higher wages and the professional classes moving in anticipation of future promotion opportunities which carry with them higher social status as well as higher remuneration" (White & Woods, 1980:15-16). Again, there are exceptions to the generalizations, but the interrelated relationship that exists between life-cycle stage, and occupation and status is apparent.

### 1.3.4.7. Cultural Attributes

"The distinction between social and cultural attributes is a difficult one to make with any clarity, but it has been found in certain studies that such factors as religion or language use may single out migrants from non-migrants. However, the cultural attributes of a population appear to have been more important in the past than at the present time" (White & Woods, 1980:17). Language may play a part in the decision-making process when selecting an area of destination. Similarities between the area of origin and area of destination regarding language and religion make the trauma of migration easier to deal with.

### 1.3.4.8. Innovator vs. Traditionalist

"Migration always involves an element of uncertainty since all migration is based on expectations of the future quality of life elsewhere rather than on past experience. To certain individuals this element of uncertainty is more important than to others, and some individuals have very high thresholds of certainty that must be exceeded before they will make a residential move. The innovative elements in a population are over-represented among migrants, while others have noted the effect of this in removing social leadership and drive from the remaining population. The later migrants reduce uncertainty about destinations

by waiting until they have the experiences of the early innovative migrants to add to their stock of available information" (White & Woods, 1980:17). Hägerstrand (1957) has called these two groups 'active' and 'passive' migrants. "Thus while migration in the first place may be innovative it may in the long run become a traditional aspect of society. Petersen (1958:265) has provided a reminder that in some cases migration involves the traditionalists while the innovators stay at home: the traditionalists are moving in order to be able to maintain an old way of life away from the changes occurring in their historic places of residence" (White & Woods, 1980:17). This element is difficult to measure and other factors like economic need may have a greater influence on the migration decision and selectivity process.

### 1.3.4.9. Concluding Comments

No one of these selection factors can be seen in isolation or as the most important of all factors. There is no such thing as the model migrant, because all migrants differ and their reasons for migrating differ. However, it is possible to draw some generalizations from the theory. (In the concluding chapter comparisons will be made between theory and practice.) The different attributes of the migrant, hence the elaboration on migration selectivity, can be categorized into two main sections as shown in figure 1.2.

**Figure 1.2.**
**Migration Selectivity:**

| Age | | Gender | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Marital Status | Life Cycle Stage | Cultural Attributes | the Migrant / Other Attributes of |
| Education | | Innovator vs. Traditionalist | |
| Occupation and Status | | | |
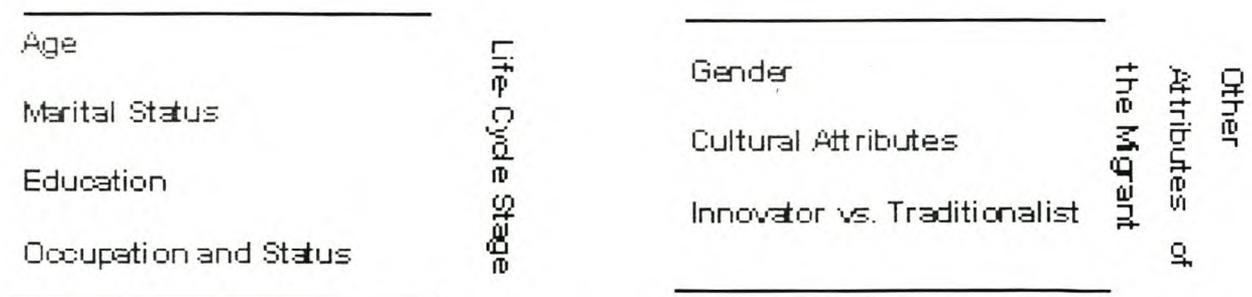
### 1.3.5. Theories on the Initiation of Migration Patterns

### 1.3.5.1. The Neoclassical Economic Approach

By applying the standard supply and demand model to migration, the Neoclassical Economic Approach argues that migration is a process of labour modification caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour. A region "with a growing economy and a scarce labour force has higher wages than a region with a less developed economy and a large labour force. The differential in wages causes people to move from the lower wage to the higher wage region. This continues until the gap in wages is reduced merely to the costs of migration (both monetary and psychosocial). At the individual level, migration is viewed as an investment in human capital. People choose to migrate to places where the greatest opportunity exists. This may not be where the wages are currently the highest, but rather where the individual migrant believes that, in the long run his or her skills will earn the greatest income. These skills include education, experience, training, and language capabilities. This approach has been used to explain internal as well as international migration" (Weeks, 1996:225). Again, it is perceived opportunity rather than the objective reality that initiates migration.

### 1.3.5.2. The New Household Economics of Migration

The Neoclassical Approach used the individual as the unit of analysis, but the New Household Economics of Migration perspective argues that decisions about migration are often made in the context of what is best for an entire family or household. This approach acknowledges the idea that people act collectively not only to maximize their expected income, but also to minimize risk. "Thus, migration is not just a way to get rid of people; it is also a way to diversify the family's sources of income. Migrating members of the household have their journey subsidized and then remit portions of their earnings back home. This cushions the household against the risk inherent in societies with weak institutions. If there is no unemployment insurance, no welfare, no bank from

which to borrow money or even to invest money safely, then the remittances from migrant family members can be cornerstones of a household's economic well-being" (Weeks, 1996:225). Where the Neoclassical Approach's focus was on the individual, and why the individual migrates, the New Household Economics of Migration takes, like the name suggests, the context of the family into consideration when trying to explain the initiation of migration patterns.

### 1.3.5.3. Dual Labour Market Theory

This theory offers a reason for the creation of opportunities for migration. "It suggests that in developing regions of the world there are essentially two kinds of jobs – the primary sector, which employs well educated people, pays them well, and offers them security and benefits; and the secondary labour market, characterized by low wages, unstable working conditions, and lack of reasonable prospects of advancement. It is easy enough to recruit people into the primary sector, but the secondary sector is not so attractive" (Weeks, 1996:225-226). Keep in mind, however, that, as will be seen later, the secondary sector of the CMA is much more attractive than the rural life in Transkei, or perceived as being the case. So what does this theory mean when drawn back to the practical realm? Firstly there are two sectors in both the areas: the primary and the secondary. Then, according to this theory, people migrate to improve their standard of living on an economic level. Even if they move from the secondary sector in Transkei to the secondary sector in the CMA, the standard of living is improved.

### 1.3.5.4. Additional Comments

All the theories discussed here focus on the economic factors of why people migrate. There are some other factors to consider like the social, psychological and institutional factors. The migrant gives several reasons for moving to another area, where economic reasons are usually the strongest motivator. Some of these additional reasons will be mentioned later.

### 1.3.6. Theories on the Perpetuation of Migration Patterns

### 1.3.6.1. Network Theory

Once migration has begun, it may well take on a life of its own, quite separate from the forces that got it going in the first place. Network theory argues that migrants establish interpersonal ties that "connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (Weeks, 1996:226).[27] Once started, migration sustains itself through the process of diffusion until everyone who wishes to migrate can do so. In developing countries, such migration eventually may become a rite of passage into adulthood for community members, having little to do with economic supply and demand.

### 1.3.6.2. Institutional theory

Once started, migration may also be perpetuated by institutions that develop precisely to facilitate (and profit from) the continued flow of migrants. "These organizations may provide a range of services, [legal or illegal]. [Such] organizations help perpetuate migration in the face of government attempts to limit the flow of migrants" (Weeks, 1996:226-227).

### 1.3.6.3. Cumulative Causation

The Cumulative Causation "perspective recognizes that each act of migration changes the likelihood of subsequent decisions about migration because migration has an impact on the social environments in both the sending and receiving regions. In the sending [areas], the sending of remittances increases the income levels of the migrants' families relative to others in the community, and in this way may contribute to an increase in the motivations of other households to send migrants. Migrants themselves may become a part of a

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[27] Cited in Massey et al, 1993:449

culture of migration and be more likely to move again, increasing the overall volume of migration. In the receiving [area], the entry of [migrants] into certain occupational sectors may label them as 'migrant' jobs, which reinforces the demand for migrants to fill those jobs continually" (Weeks, 1996:227). Hence, a tradition of migration is established, where migrants from certain areas would rather migrate to specific locations rather than others. The migrant as an individual may also become engulfed in a tradition where migrating becomes a way of life.

### 1.3.7. Why do people migrate?

"In the premodern world, rates of migration typically were fairly low, just as the birth and death rates were generally high. The demographic transition helped to unleash migration, and it is reasonable to suggest that a migration transition has occurred in concert with the fertility and mortality transitions..." (Weeks, 1996:216). The theory of demographic change and response suggested that migration is a ready response that humans can make to the pressure on local resources generated by population increase. However, people do not tend to move someplace at random - they tend to go where they believe opportunity exists. "Because the demographic transition occurred historically in the context of economic development, which involves the centralization of economic forces in cities, migrants have been drawn to cities, and urbanization is an important part of the migration transition" (Weeks, 1996:216).

So apart from the pressure of local resources, the question of why people migrate remains. Previously, emphasis was placed on the push-pull theory and the consequential cost-benefit analysis. What follow in this discussion is a quick review on the push-pull theory and a discussion on some other reasons why people migrate.

The push-pull theory supports the idea of a cost-benefit analysis, weighing the costs against the benefits. This approach also sustains the idea of push and pull factors in the areas of origin and destination respectively. "Demographic characteristics are viewed as combining with societal and cultural norms about migration to shape the values that people hold with respect to migration. Such

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values or goals represent clusters of motivations to move, including the desires for wealth, status, comfort (better living or working conditions), stimulation (including entertainment and recreation), autonomy (personal freedom), affiliation (joining family or friends), and morality (especially religious beliefs). At the same time personal traits (such as being a risk-taking person) combine with the opportunity structure for migration to affect one's value system with respect to migration" (Weeks, 1996:223).

All of these personal and social environmental factors blend to affect a person's expectation of achieving the goals they have in mind that might be facilitated by migration. This represents the results of a cost-benefit analysis that a person (probably in correspondence with other household members) has made about migration. If the benefits appear to outweigh the costs, then the person may decide to migrate. "Internal migration is typically 'free' in the sense that people are choosing to migrate or not, often basing that decision on economic factors" (Weeks, 1996:224).

The majority demographical investigations and research, (Raubenheimer, 1987:22) indicated that the improvement of social and economical circumstances are the most important considerations with nearly all migrants. People also migrate for political reasons, religious freedom, or for personal reasons. Along with the above, also "important within the analysis of why migration occurs is the perception of spatial differentiation of opportunities - the idea that different geographical locations offer different levels of potential well-being to various sections of the human population. It is these perceived differences between places that are important rather than any simple 'push' or 'pull' mechanism" (White & Woods, 1980:7).

The migrant him/herself has to be considered also. Not only the environment, but also the individual is important when analysing why people migrate. "Personal traits are important because some people are greater risk takers than others. Rajulton (1991) has suggested that people can be scaled along a dimension of migrability, reflecting the probability that, all things being equal, they would risk a migration" (Weeks, 1996:223).

Thus far, the environment, push and pull factors and the individual were discussed in trying to explain why people migrate. These explanations may seem adequate, but there is another factor to deliberate, namely social capital. Social capital consists of social networks and kin, like family, friends and acquaintances. Social networks are the underlying structures with the people therein that are responsible for supplying information to the prospective migrant about a certain area. "Such information may take the form of recollections of personal visits, letters from past migrants, conversations with friends who have visited other places, or books, newspapers and broadcasts. This 'information flow' is vitally important in enabling the potential migrant to develop a place utility idea for a range of competing places, and it is divergences between the information flow and objective reality that will in large measures provide the differences between the individual's perception of that reality and the actual facts of other places" (White & Woods, 1980:8). The amount of information a person has about the parallel benefits of moving further endows to the expectation of attaining migration values or goals. "Goals and expectations jointly influence the intentions that a person has toward migration" (Weeks, 1996:223). "Migrating households consider their social networks, and their kin networks in particular, as important resources and members of these households accordingly continually invest in the maintenance of these links, in the caring of this social capital" (Bekker, 1999:9).

Finally, "the opportunity structure must exist if migration is to occur. People may move if they think that "the grass is greener on the other side of the fence," but if they cannot see over the fence, they may be less likely to contemplate a move" (Weeks, 1996:223). This is where social capital plays a vital role. Social kin and networks supply the information, and the migrant can 'see over the fence' and can make the decision whether to migrate or not. "Thus there may be cases where migration occurs despite the lack of an objective reason for it, and other cases where an objective appraisal of the world, were it possible, might suggest that migration should occur where it is, in fact, absent. For this reason normative explanations of migration, for example as a response to economic wage-rate fluctuations, are only partial explanations in that they neglect consideration of the perceptions prevalent among the potential migrants, although attempts have recently been made to incorporate the

subjective appraisals of migrants in cost-benefit models of migration flows" (White & Woods, 1980:7).

"The most important elements in explaining migration in the modern world appear to be: (1) the creation of new opportunity structures for migration, which raise the benefit of migrating (pull factors) partly by undermining existing local relationships between people and resources (push factors); while (2) cheaper and quicker transportation and communication increase the information that people have about a potential new location (lowering the risk of migration by closing the gap between anticipated benefits and the perceived likelihood of attaining those goals; and (3) making it easier to migrate and to return home if things do not work out (also lowering the risk of migration by making the decision to migrate more reversible)" (Weeks, 1996:223-224).

### 1.3.8. Concluding Comments

### 1.3.8.1. Which theories are best?

The available evidence supports each of the theories in some way or another and, in particular, none of the theories is entirely fallacious. This serves only to underscore the point made earlier: migration is a very complex process. No single theory seems to be able to capture all its nuances, but all of the previous positions add something to our understanding of migration. "Recognizing now that there are numerous and complex reasons for migrating, we also need to bear in mind that when people migrate, the impact is felt deeply at both the individual and at all societal levels" (Weeks, 1996:227). Even in defining migration, a simple starting point in the research thereof, difficulties are experienced in doing so. No one theory is entirely correct or incorrect, and as Weeks rightfully says, no one theory entirely explains what migration entails. The current theories are important though, because they provide a starting block for any research done about the subject matter and further encourage more theory.

### 1.3.8.2. What is Migration?

"What seems at first to be a simple conceptual definition of migration becomes, when it is applied in practice, either a matter of arbitrary destinations, or of the total acceptance of all residential changes as migrations. Neither of these definitional procedures is entirely satisfactory" (White & Woods, 1980:4). One can easily be trapped into relativism at worst and at best be deterred from trying to find an adequate definition of migration. Although defining migration is a tedious task, it is an important one. Even if the definitions given are not perfect, they help us to further understand what migration is. For the purposes of this study, the working definition used when the research was conducted (for the Cape Metropolitan Council), is the best possible definition for migration. Bekker (1999:3): "Migration may usefully be conceptualised as the movement of households from relatively poorer regions -- the sending areas -- to relatively better-off regions -- the receiving areas -- thereby enhancing the households' chances of improved access to resources."

### 1.3.8.3. Consequences of Migration

The consequences of migration do not really form part of the thesis, but it is useful to touch on the subject to emphasize the complexity of the migration process. Migration has some severe consequences, for the individual, for the group, for the area of destination and for the area of origin. "The process of migration has both individual and group consequences. For the individual, migration may produce anxiety and stress, as a new social environment has to be negotiated. For communities, especially in the receiving region, the result may be xenophobia, the fear and mistrust of strangers, and this may lead to discrimination and even acts of violence against the [migrants]" (Weeks, 1996:227-228). Consider that each migrant has certain attributes and when he/she migrates, the area of destination gains that attributes and the area of origin loose those attributes. Where the typical migrant is usually economically active, the aforementioned area gains and the last mentioned area looses a part of its workforce. The consequences of migration are not to be underestimated and can have profound effects on the areas of destination and origin, the group dynamics of a community and the migrant him/herself.

# CHAPTER 2
# THE MIGRANT vs. THE NON-MIGRANT: MIGRATION SELECTIVITY

## 2.1. Introduction

Cape Town faces significant challenges that will affect the good or bad outcomes of its urban endeavour. These challenges centre on (1) outside migration and its impact on the local economy, delivery needs and the structure of the city; and (2) internal population movements, especially those associated with the informally housed population and the more settled poor.[28] This stresses the importance of migration studies, compiling profiles of the typical migrant, finding reasons why people migrate, and determining the rate of migration inflow and other additional information. When the migration patterns are determined, and the migration process understood, then provision can be made for infrastructure and the like.

From the sample drawn, the following information was obtained for black heads of households. Interestingly, 2% of the black population was born in the CMA, 67% entered before 1994 and, 29% entered after 1994[29]. The sample size of the black household heads for the entire sample is n=432.

Particular groups of people are more likely to migrate than others. Migrants are not a random selection from the population and do not form a cross-section addition to the population of the CMA. These people tend to have certain characteristics, but care should be taken before generalizing from a sample that is as small as the sample from this study. Nonetheless, some vague generalizations can be made as to who the typical migrant is. Why the migrant migrates can only be answered after a profile is compiled of the typical migrant. Questions like what are the race, age, and sex of the migrant will be investigated. Bear in mind, however, that the sample of the study was fairly small and it is dangerous to generalize to the whole population. The migrant can

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[28] Bekker, Cross and Eva. Occasional Paper 6a. En Waarheen Nou? Migration and Settlement in the CMA.

[29] Information from the executive summary of the report for the Cape Metropolitan Council compiled by S.B. Bekker, 1998.

be defined as a person that has gone out of his/her own free will from one place to another. Migrants tend to be a self-selected population that has different characteristics from the general population. In this sample and study, a distinction will be made between household heads born in the CMA, household heads that arrived before 1994, and household heads that arrived in the CMA in 1994 and thereafter. The reason for choosing 1994 as the cut-off point is the political change in 1994. These migrants will be called "Household Head Born CMA", "Household Head older migrants", and "Household Head recent migrants" respectively.

## 2.2. Recent Migrants, Older Migrants and Non-Migrants: A Profile

### 2.2.1. Race[30]

**Table 2.2.1.1.**

**A summary of the race of the head of the household (the whole sample)**

| Race | F | (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Coloured | 353 | 35.8 |
| Black | 432 | 43.8 |
| White | 179 | 18.1 |
| Indian | 23 | 2.3 |
| Total | 987 | 100 |

Firstly, the above distinctions are made as they were during the course of the actual fieldwork. Not only are the respondents defined as black because of their skin colour, but also on the grounds of other cultural attributes like language. Mainly, however, the fieldworker had to ask the respondent, how they define themselves as. Black migrants, then, was usually a migrant whose first language was one of the traditional black languages like Xhosa or Zulu and defined themselves as black. From table 2.2.1.1. it is clear that the majority of the respondents (43.8%) from the sample are black. Seeing that this particular

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[30] The race or ethnic group of a person is often difficult to define. In terms of biology, it is measured in terms of slight biological differences. On a social level it is more complicated and goes far deeper. Race is defined in terms of not only the colour of a person's skin, but also in terms of cultural attributes like language.

study focuses on the black migrant, a profile will be compiled of the typical black migrant.

**Table 2.2.1.2.**

**A summary of the initial movement of the head of the household (the black population)**

| Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| F | % | F | % | F | % |
| 8 | 2 | 290 | 67 | 125 | 29 |

Missing Values: 9, N=432

Clearly, very few of the black migrants in the sample were born in the CMA. The majority entered before 1994, but a relative large percentage (nearly 30% entered after 1994). In this profile, the following features in conjunction with the theory (especially migration selectivity) will be discussed: gender, age, life-cycle stage, marital status, education, occupation and status, cultural attributes like language, and innovator vs. traditionalist. This analysis is only for the head of the household.

**2.2.2. Gender**

**Table 2.2.2.1.**

**Gender of the Head of the Household (black population, entire sample)**

| Gender | F | (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Male | 247 | 57.2 |
| Female | 185 | 42.8 |
| Total | 432 | 100 |

**Table 2.2.2.2.**

**Gender of the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Gender | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| Male | 5 | 63 | 155 | 53 | 81 | 65 |
| Female | 3 | 37 | 136 | 47 | 44 | 35 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 291 | 100 | 125 | 100 |

For black migrants (head of the household), more households are male headed than female headed. 57.2% of the households are male headed and 42.8% are female-headed households. The percentage female-headed households are large, which has profound implications, seeing that female-headed households are more vulnerable to poverty than male headed households.[31] For the selected recent migrants (migrants that entered the CMA after 1994), a larger percentage male than female-headed households entered the area. When older migrants are compared to this group, it is clear that relatively more male-headed households are entering now than what was the case before 1994. The larger percentage of female household heads (especially those who entered the area before 1994) is possibly a result of "normalising" the gender balance after scrapping the 1986 influx control measures.

The gender composition of migrants is influenced by the circumstances that benefit the one gender over the other in the area of destination. Gender may be a basis for selectivity in migration, but it does not operate in all cases or in the same way. For black migrants in this sample, more households are male headed than female headed. The percentage female-headed households are large and continue to increase over time with the increasing involvement of women in the labour market.

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[31] State of South Africa's Population Report 2000.

### 2.2.3. Age

Considering the ages of the black migrants, most of the migrants are between the ages of 30 and 50 years.

**Table 2.2.3.1.**

**Age Categories for the Head of the Household (blacks, entire sample)**

| Age | F | (%) |
|---|---|---|
| 0-14 | --- | --- |
| 15-29 | 54 | 12.5 |
| 30-44 | 213 | 49.3 |
| 45-59 | 125 | 28.9 |
| 60+ | 40 | 9.3 |
| Total | 432 | 100 |

**Table 2.2.3.2.**

**Age Categories of the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Age | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| 0-14 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 15-29 | 1 | 12.5 | 26 | 8.9 | 25 | 19.8 |
| 30-44 | 2 | 25 | 131 | 45 | 78 | 61.9 |
| 45-59 | 3 | 37.5 | 98 | 33.7 | 21 | 16.7 |
| 60+ | 2 | 25 | 36 | 12.4 | 2 | 1.6 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 291 | 100 | 126 | 100 |

Of the recent migrants in the sample, 61.9% of them are between the ages of 30 and 45. The bulk of the black migrant group is economically active, and supports a household. Age is an important factor when considering why people migrate because it is intimately related to life cycle changes. Writers like Weeks, and White and Woods argue that young adults are more likely to migrate than any other age group. This may be because people of that age are more mobile

and in search of a career and better employment. For this age group it is easier to migrate because it is less difficult to uproot and start a new centre of activity elsewhere. Younger people are not as closely bound to the environment and are socialized in such a manner that makes it easier for them to move. So, even if there is no direct link between age and the likeliness of migrating, there is definitely a correlation, seeing that migration can be linked to life-cycle stage. Interestingly, the mean ages of migrants in the sample are higher than the mean age for the black population the CMA. Most of the black migrants are between the ages of 30 and 45 years, with a mean age of 42, and a median age of 40,for the entire sample. For the recent migrants, however, the mean age is 37 and the median is 36. Evidently, the recent migrants are a bit younger than the rest of the sample.

### 2.2.4. Life Cycle Stage

As mentioned by Weeks (1996:218) there exist certain structures in society with relation to migration. People tend to follow trends. These trends are part of the life cycle. People expect of their children to eventually move out, marry, establish their own households, and follow a career. Some people choose to ignore it, but these are the behavioural guidelines regarding life-cycle stage as a possible cause for migration. Age, marital status, education and occupation and status can all be grouped under the life-cycle stage. Consequently, at certain ages and certain education levels people tend to migrate, because of societal structures. Also, as soon as a person gets married, or starts a family, the need for a home or larger dwelling develops. Furthermore, people tend to migrate to enhance their status and social standing in society. Seeing that the majority of the migrants are older than what was expected, they most likely are migrating to increase their income, and to make a better life for themselves and their families. The following sections will illustrate this point with a cross comparison between non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants.

### 2.2.5. Marital Status

The life-cycle stage of the migrant is a more complicated migrant profile element than a simple distribution like in the previous tables. To see in what

stage the migrant is in the life cycle, age, marital status, education, occupation and status should be evaluated in combination.

**Table 2.2.5.1.**

**Marital Status for Household Heads (blacks, entire sample)**

| Marital Status | F | % |
|---|---|---|
| Never married | 102 | 23.6 |
| Married | 211 | 48.8 |
| Widowed | 53 | 12.3 |
| Divorced | 11 | 2.5 |
| Separated | 11 | 2.5 |
| Living Together | 30 | 6.9 |
| Living together to be married | 14 | 3.2 |
| Total | 432 | 100 |

**Table 2.2.5.2.**

**Marital Status of the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Marital Status | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| Never married | 1 | 12.5 | 70 | 24 | 30 | 23.8 |
| Married | 5 | 62.5 | 134 | 46 | 67 | 53.2 |
| Widowed | 1 | 12.5 | 46 | 15.6 | 6 | 4.8 |
| Divorced | 1 | 12.5 | 8 | 2.7 | 2 | 1.6 |
| Separated | --- | --- | 7 | 2.3 | 4 | 3.2 |
| Living together | --- | --- | 18 | 6.7 | 11 | 8.7 |
| Living together to be married | --- | --- | 8 | 2.7 | 6 | 4.8 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 291 | 100 | 126 | 100 |

Missing values: 7

The typical black migrant is either married (over 48%), or never has been married (over 23%). The same trend appears with both the older migrants and the recent migrants. When compared with the age distribution, it becomes clear that such a person (the black migrant, and head of the household) is between

the ages of 30 and 45 (economically active), and is married or single rather than separated, divorced, widowed or living together. Marital status is also a factor to consider when analysing migration, simply because when at that stage of the life cycle, people getting married's propensity to migrate increases. The ages and amount of children in the household correspondingly influence migration patterns. The majority of the black migrants in the sample are already married. The second largest percentage of migrants are those who have never been married as opposed to a small percentage of the migrants who are divorced or living together.

### 2.2.6. Education

The average black migrant in this sample has very little education. That is to be expected, seeing that most of these migrants reside in informal settlements with little educational opportunities, are relatively poor and originate mostly from rural areas in the Eastern Cape.[32]

**Table 2.2.6.1.**

**Education Qualification in Categories for Household Heads (blacks, entire sample)**

| Education | F | % |
|---|---|---|
| No Education | 32 | 7.4 |
| Grade 1 & 2 | 7 | 1.6 |
| Grade 3 to 7 | 137 | 31.7 |
| Grade 8 to 11 | 197 | 45.6 |
| Matric and higher | 57 | 13.2 |
| Total | 430 | 99.5 |

Missing Values:2

It is clear from table 2.2.6.1. that only a small percentage (13.2%) of the sample has matric or any other higher qualification. The majority of the sample never even finished matric and nearly 41% has no high-school education. The following table indicates the educational qualifications for the sample broken up in three categories as before.

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[32] See section 3.3.

**Table 2.2.6.2.**

**Education Qualification of the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Education | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| No Education | 2 | 25 | 24 | 8.2 | 6 | 4.8 |
| Grade 1 & 2 | 1 | 12.5 | 6 | 2.1 | --- | --- |
| Grade 3 to 7 | 1 | 12.5 | 102 | 35.1 | 32 | 25.8 |
| Grade 8 to 11 | 3 | 37.5 | 131 | 45 | 60 | 48.4 |
| Matric and higher | 1 | 12.5 | 28 | 9.6 | 26 | 21 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 291 | 100 | 124 | 100 |

Clearly, as seen before, a large percentage of the sample does have a school education. A very small percentage, on the other hand, has a post-matric qualification. But the recent migrants (those who entered the CMA after 1994), have a marginally better education than the older migrants. Table 2.2.6.4. indicates whether those migrants with matric have a post-matric qualification or not. Of those that finished matric, a small cut has a post-matric qualification, usually a diploma or a certificate (10.6%). Only a fraction of the sample has a university degree (0.7%) (See table 2.2.6.6.).

**Table 2.2.6.3.**

**Post-matric qualification for Household Heads (blacks, entire sample)**

| Qualification | F | % |
|---|---|---|
| No Post Matric Qualification | 384 | 88.9 |
| Post-Matric Qualification | 46 | 10.6 |
| Total | 430 | 99.5 |

Looking at further education after school level, 88.9% of the blacks in the sample have no post-matric qualification whatsoever. Those who has a post-matric qualification (10,6% of the migrants who has post-matric qualifications), usually does not have a university degree or training.

**Table 2.2.6.4.**

**Post-Matric Qualification of the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Education | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| No Post Matric Qualification | 7 | 87.5 | 268 | 92.1 | 102 | 82.3 |
| Post-Matric Qualification | 1 | 12.5 | 23 | 7.9 | 22 | 17.7 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 291 | 100 | 124 | 100 |

Of the 10.6% of the blacks in the sample, table 2.2.6.5. indicates the small percentage of people with a post-matric qualification and the table also differentiate between older migrants, recent migrants and non-migrants. This table shows that the same trend applies. There is an indication, on the other hand, that recent migrants are slightly better qualified than the older migrants. Table 2.2.6.6. further shows that within the small category of people with a post-matric qualification, that those people rarely have a University degree.

**Table 2.2.6.5.**

**Adults' highest post-matric qualification for Household Heads (blacks, entire sample)**

| Qualification | F | % |
|---|---|---|
| None | 384 | 88.9 |
| Certificate | 23 | 5.3 |
| Diploma | 20 | 4.6 |
| B-degree | 3 | 0.7 |
| Total | 430 | 99.5 |

Missing Values:2

The following table dramatizes:

**Table 2.2.6.6.**

**Post-Matric Qualification of the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Education | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| None | 7 | 87.5 | 268 | 92.1 | 102 | 82.3 |
| Certificate | --- | --- | 14 | 4.8 | 9 | 7.3 |
| Diploma | 1 | 12.5 | 8 | 2.7 | 11 | 8.9 |
| B-degree | --- | --- | 1 | 0.4 | 2 | 1.6 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 291 | 100 | 124 | 100 |

Even here, there is a slight difference between the recent migrants and the older migrants. The recent migrants seem to have a marginally better post-matric qualification level than the older migrants.

Writers and theorists such as Raubenheimer (1987); Weeks (1996) and White and Woods (1980) all feel that the higher the educational attainment, the more migratory the migrants are. But White and Woods, (1980) saw the problem for what it is – most migrants need to migrate to better their educational attainment. The average black migrant in this sample has very little education. The majority has no post-matric qualification and 41% of the sample does not have high-school education. Of those who have a post-matric qualification, only a few have a university degree. The question of course is, did the respondents have these qualifications when they migrated, or did they obtain it since they arrived in the CMA?

**2.2.7. Occupation and Status**

To determine the migrant's occupation and status, one has to look at his/her economic status and employment, illustrated in the following tables. Table 2.2.7.1. portrays the economic status of the blacks in the sample, table 2.2.7.2

the economic status of the black migrant, table 2.2.7.3. employment in the formal or informal sectors for every black person in the sample, table 2.2.7.4. employment of migrants, and table 2.2.7.5. the income of the black migrant.

**Table 2.2.7.1.**

**Economic Status for Household Heads (blacks, entire sample)**

| Economic Status | F | (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Scholar | 2 | 0.5 |
| Student | 2 | 0.5 |
| Retired | 37 | 8.6 |
| Permanently disabled | 7 | 1.6 |
| Housewife without work | 18 | 4.2 |
| Unemployed, seeking work | 58 | **13.4** |
| Working | 261 | **60.4** |
| Self-employed | 47 | 10.9 |
| Total | 432 | 100 |

From these results it is clear that very few of the migrants are students and are in a position to further their education (1%). They are mainly here to find work and from the statistics, most migrants (71.4%) in this sample are working of which 15.3% are self-employed. Not to be discarded are the unemployed category. 13.4% of the black migrants are unemployed and looking for work in the CMA.

**Table 2.2.7.2.**

**Economic Status of the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Economic Status | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| Scholar | --- | --- | --- | --- | 2 | 1.6 |
| Student | --- | --- | 2 | 0.7 | --- | --- |
| Retired | 1 | 12.5 | 33 | 11.4 | 2 | 1.6 |
| Permanently disabled | 1 | 12.5 | 4 | 1.4 | 2 | 1.6 |
| Housewife without work | 1 | 12.5 | 16 | 5.5 | 1 | 0.8 |
| Unemployed, seeking work | 2 | 25 | 37 | 12.7 | 19 | 15.1 |
| Working | 3 | 37.5 | 166 | **57** | 86 | **68.3** |
| Self-employed | --- | --- | 33 | 11.3 | 14 | 11.1 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 291 | 100 | 126 | 100 |

Again, it would seem that recent migrants are younger and economically active as compared to the older migrants. To emphasize the above, one can also look at whether those with work are working in the formal or informal sector. These statistics evidently excludes the unemployed, disabled, students, school going, retired and housewives without other work (these are the missing values).

**Table 2.2.7.3.**

**Employed in the Formal or Informal Sector for Household Heads (blacks, entire sample)**

| Sector | F | % |
|---|---|---|
| Formal Sector | 262 | 85.1 |
| Informal Sector | 46 | 14.9 |
| Total | 308 | 100.0 |

Of the working group of blacks in this sample, 85% are working in the formal sector. The following table shows the statistics for the recent migrants, older migrants and non-migrants.

**Table 2.2.7.4.**

**Employed in the Formal or Informal Sector for the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Sector | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| Formal Sector | 3 | 100 | 166 | 83.4 | 87 | 87 |
| Informal Sector | --- | --- | 33 | 16.6 | 13 | 13 |
| Total | 3 | 100 | 199 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Of these people employed in the different sectors of the market, there seems to be a trivial difference between the older and recent migrants. More recent migrants are employed in the formal sector.

Also important in analysing occupation and status is income. However, income has some conceptualisation difficulties. How does one determine if someone has a good or a bad income? Where can the poverty line be drawn? Surely, such boundaries seem arbitrary. Some indication can be reached because the purpose here is to establish different patterns of higher and lower income groups. Nonetheless, an idea can be formed of occupation and status when looking at income levels for blacks (migrants and non-migrants) in the CMA.[33]

**Table 2.2.7.5.**

**Monthly Income in 5 Categories for Household Heads (blacks, entire sample)**

| Income | F | % |
|---|---|---|
| Below R1000 | 77 | 21.15 |
| R1000-R1300 | 84 | 23.08 |
| R1301-R1500 | 94 | 25.82 |
| R1501-R1800 | 82 | 22.53 |
| Above R1800 | 27 | 7.42 |
| Total | 364 | 100 |

---

[33] Take into account that the missing values are usually due to problems encountered during the fieldwork. Many people do not feel comfortable discussing their incomes with strangers, regardless the validation and reassurance the fieldworkers gave.

It would seem that the higher the income category, the fewer the migrants. A lot less people in this sample earn more than R1800 a month. What can be said is that most blacks in this sample (92.58%) earn less than R1800 a month.

**Table 2.2.7.6.**

**Monthly Income in 5 Categories for the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Monthly Income | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| Below R1000 | 2 | 25.0 | 62 | 25.1 | 12 | 11.2 |
| R1000-R1300 | --- | --- | 55 | 22.3 | 28 | 26.2 |
| R1301-R1500 | 2 | 25.0 | 61 | 24.7 | 28 | 26.2 |
| R1501-R1800 | --- | --- | 57 | 23.1 | 24 | 22.4 |
| Above R1800 | --- | --- | 12 | 4.8 | 15 | 14.0 |
| Total | 4 | 100 | 247 | 100 | 107 | 100 |

Again, the recent migrants earn a marginally better income than the old migrants do.

As with all the other possible factors that cause migration, occupation and status should not be seen in isolation. Also, no distinct generalizations can be made. Yet, the occupation and status of the migrant may have an influence. In developing countries, migration is more common among those of low economic status. This is probably because of the perceived better opportunities in the area of destination. Remember, however, that different socio-economic groups migrate in response to different stimuli (White and Woods, 1980:15-16).

In summary, a very small percentage of the sample are students looking to further their educational attainment. They are mainly here to find employment and a large percentage of the sample are employees - few are self-employed. Of the sample, only a relatively small percentage of the sample is unemployed and looking for work. The majority of those who are employed are employed in

the formal sector. When considering income, some definite difficulties were experienced in the analysis of the data and the fieldwork. Respondents were hesitant when questions regarding their income were asked. That accounts for some of the missing values. It is also difficult to say if the respondent was telling the truth or not. It would seem that nearly two-thirds of the respondents earn less than R1500 a month.

## 2.2.8. Cultural Attributes

Determining cultural attributes of a group of people proves a difficult task. Statistics on factors such as language and religion are not too hard to obtain, but to interpret these characteristics and applying it to theory and migration selectivity is not as easy as it would appear.

**Table 2.2.8.1.**

**Home Language for Household Heads (blacks, entire sample)**

| Home Language | F | % |
|---|---|---|
| Afrikaans | 3 | 0.7 |
| Xhosa | 412 | 95.4 |
| English | 9 | 2.1 |
| Sotho | 5 | 1.2 |
| Other | 3 | 0.7 |
| Total | 432 | 100 |

From these figures it is evident that the majority of the respondents (95.4%) speak Xhosa in their homes. Even when the black sample is broken down to older migrants and recent migrants, no difference is evident. Also, there is no significant difference between older and recent migrants (table 2.2.8.2. illustrates this).

**Table 2.2.8.2.**

**Home Language for the Head of the Household (black population, calculated in timeframes, non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants)**

| Home Language | Born CMA | | Entered CMA <1994 | | Entered CMA 1994+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| Afrikaans | --- | --- | 2 | 0.6 | 1 | 0.7 |
| Xhosa | 6 | 75 | 283 | 97.4 | 117 | 92.9 |
| English | 2 | 25 | 4 | 1.4 | 3 | 2.4 |
| Sotho | --- | --- | 2 | 0.6 | 3 | 2.4 |
| Other | --- | --- | --- | --- | 2 | 1.6 |
| Total | 8 | 100 | 291 | 100 | 126 | 100 |

Unfortunately there are no statistics available from this study regarding religion. Lastly, one has to determine whether the typical black migrant is a traditionalist or an innovator. This is difficult to achieve seeing that being either a traditionalist or an innovator are difficult concepts to measure. One has to assume that the typical migrant in this case has a tendency to be more innovative than traditional, wanting to better their circumstances. This is only an assumption and should be regarded as such.

**2.2.9. Innovator vs. Traditionalist**

Harder to determine is the personality traits of the migrants. Theory suggests that the innovative element is over-represented among migrants. Also, according to Hägerstrand (1957) there are mainly two types of migrants, namely active and passive migrants. The active migrants are those who migrate to an area more easily, therefore being more innovative. The passive migrants wait longer in order to get some information about the area of destination before they move – thus being less innovative. As the process progress, migration may become a tradition. It was also mentioned that at times it might be the innovators that stays home and the traditionalists that moves away in order to

maintain an old way of life. From the study it is difficult if not impossible to determine these traits amongst migrants. It is maybe safe to say that the migrants are a combination between active and passive migrants, with the passive element more dominant. This is because a tradition of migration has developed over the years and information is readily available to prospective migrants. Moreover, social kin and networks already in place make it easier for people to migrate to the CMA.

Social and cultural attributes such as language and religion may also single-out the migrant from the non-migrant. This can also be related to social networks in the area of destination. One would rather move to an area where perceived opportunities are better and where there is something familiar, whether it be someone you know, or where people speak the same language as the people in the area of origin. It makes the trauma of uprooting the centre of activity easier to deal with. The majority of the sample is Xhosa speakers, a language spoken to a large extent in the CMA.

# CHAPTER 3

## THE EASTERN CAPE AND THE CAPE METROPOLITAN AREA: ORIGIN OF RESIDENCE AND REASONS FOR MOVING - THE PUSH-PULL THEORY

### 3.1. Origin of Residence

An additional question that needs to be regarded is: from where does this typical black migrant originate? Three questions follow from this:

1. Do most of the migrants come from the Eastern Cape?
2. If this is the case, where specifically in the Eastern Cape?
3. And thirdly, why do these migrants originate from this specific area (Transkei) rather than others?

This section will address the first two of these questions and explanations as to why people migrate, will be commented upon in the following sections.

**Table 3.1.1.**

**Distribution of HH Heads by Race and Spatial Sector: Area born (% by rows)**

| Race of Head of HH | Born CMA | Outside CMA; Born Rural | Outside CMA; Born Urban |
|---|---|---|---|
| Coloured | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| Black | 15 | **75** | 10 |
| White | 45 | 37 | 17 |
| N= | 410 | 450 | 90 |

Several interesting conclusions can be made from table 3.1.1. A large proportion (75%) of the black migrants are born in rural areas outside the CMA and the question remains: from where in particular do these migrants originate? To determine that, a cross tabulation was made between the following variables: birthplace of the head of the household by type of settlement area. Most of this stream of black migrants find its way into the informal areas, though some families have been able to locate in the higher quality built environment of the townships. Black migration continues to come predominantly from the former Transkei, from areas with least access to local employment.

**Table 3.1.2.**

**Origin of CMA Pop, Birthplace of HH Head by Area Type (% by columns)**

|  | Black formal | Coloured formal | Former white | Informal | Hostels |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CMA | 29 | 75 | 41 | 6 | 8 |
| Other WC[34] | 4 | 14 | 21 | 4 | 8 |
| **Transkei** | **47** | --- | --- | **63** | **55** |
| Other EC[35] | 16 | 3 | 6 | 21 | 30 |
| Other SA | 3 | 5 | 20 | 4 | --- |
| Foreign | --- | 2 | 13 | 1 | --- |
| N= | 156 | 354 | 197 | 229 | 39 |

Of main concern for this study are the migrants living in the formal black, informal settlements and hostel areas. Of the 156 migrants living in formal black areas, 47% originated from Transkei. Of the 229 migrants living in informal settlements, 63% originated from Transkei, and of the 39 migrants in hostels, 55% originated from Transkei. These figures are proportionately larger than migrants originating from any other area in the country. To make this point even more evident:

**Table 3.1.3.**

**Birthplace of the Household Head: Eastern Cape Black Migrants HH's**

|  | Black |
|---|---|
| Transkei | 74% |
| Ciskei | 7% |
| Other E-Cape | 20% |

From the evidence, it is apparent that the majority of the black migrant population originate from the Eastern Cape, specifically from Transkei. When trying to explain why these people migrate to the Cape Metropolitan Area, it is necessary to look at several plausible and possible explanations. The dominant of these is the push-pull theory. To apply this theory to practice, the relevant areas of origin (Eastern Cape) and destination (CMA) needs to be compared,

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[34] WC: Western Cape
[35] EC: Eastern Cape

namely the Eastern Cape with the Western Cape, and the Cape Metropolitan Area.

The majority of the black migrants were born outside the CMA in rural areas. These migrants originate mostly from the Eastern Cape, specifically Transkei, more so than from any other region in the Eastern Cape. These migrants mostly move to the formal black areas, informal black and coloured areas and the hostels in the CMA as shown in the following table:

**Table 3.1.4**

**Type of area - birthplace * C Classification Crosstabulation**

| | | | C Classification | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Black form | Col form | White form | Informal | Hostels | Total |
| Type of area - birthplace | Metro urb black | F | 24 | 2 | | 16 | 6 | 48 |
| | | %C Class | 18.6% | 40.0% | | 9.6% | 15.0% | 14.0% |
| | Farm | F | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| | | %C Class | | | | .6% | | .3% |
| | Metro urb coloured | F | 16 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 19 |
| | | %C Class | 12.4% | 20.0% | 33.3% | .6% | | 5.5% |
| | Metro urb white | F | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| | | %C Class | | | 66.7% | | | .6% |
| | Metro urb inf settle | F | 1 | | | 2 | | 3 |
| | | %C Class | .8% | | | 1.2% | | .9% |
| | Other city | F | 4 | | | 6 | 2 | 12 |
| | | %C Class | 3.1% | | | 3.6% | 5.0% | 3.5% |
| | Rural small town | F | 10 | | | 11 | 5 | 26 |
| | | %C Class | 7.8% | | | 6.6% | 12.5% | 7.6% |
| | Rural homelands | F | 73 | | | 129 | 27 | 229 |
| | | %C Class | 56.6% | | | 77.2% | 67.5% | 66.6% |
| | Outside SA | F | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | 4 |
| | | %C Class | .8% | 40.0% | | .6% | | 1.2% |
| Total | | F | 129 | 5 | 3 | 167 | 40 | 344 |
| | | %C Class | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Reasons for moving often relates to both the sending and receiving areas. Therefore the current state of the CMA and the Eastern Cape has to be evaluated in order to find the applicable push and pull factors in the sending and

the receiving areas. From the evidence it will be plain that the Eastern Cape is clearly worse-off than the CMA in terms of infrastructure (water, sanitation, electricity, etc.), housing, basic services, employment, health services, income, and so forth. If the potential migrant evaluates the differences between the areas, the lack of the abovementioned services serves as the push factors in the Eastern Cape, and the availability of these services in the CMA serves as the pull factors, pushing the potential migrant out of the Eastern Cape and attracting the potential migrant to the CMA. The question remains why the migrant specifically wants to move to the CMA and not Durban or Gauteng. The answer to this question lies in the use of their social kin and networks and will be discussed later in the chapter.

## 3.2. The Eastern Cape and the Western Cape

Black migration continues to come primarily from the former homeland of Transkei, from areas with least access to local employment. "The land-based household economy has declined seriously in these source areas, helping to ensure a continuing flow of work seekers to the CMA. For black migrants, routes and reception areas are well known to people in the source areas. Flows enter the CMA and find initial accommodation easily, either on a temporary basis with contacts or in potentially permanent housing in the informal areas" (Bekker et al. 1999:3).

The definition of migration includes people who migrate from relatively worse-off regions (area of origin) to relatively better-off regions (area of destination). "Decisions leading to a household migrating relate to which resources members of the household expect to access at their destination. As Cross et al (1999) put it, 'Migration decisions around where to go relate not only to immediate questions like site access or job access, but also stretch outward further to include the entire range of resources the household expects to access through its acquisition of a site. Social, informational and environmental resources are locality-bound, and change with migration" (Bekker, 1999:4). Although this is usually a perception of the migrant, it is a well-established fact that the CMA poses better opportunities for the migrant. According to the National Population

Unit "the legacy of the apartheid era is that these areas [the former homelands] still have some of the lowest levels of services, infrastructure and employment in the country. Despite major improvements during the past five years, the backlog is still formidable" (The State of South Africa's Population Report, 2000:18). "The Eastern Cape was the poorest in terms of average monthly expenditure. The wealthiest was Gauteng, followed by the Western Cape" (Cokayne, 2000:12). Later in the article Cokayne also mentioned that the Eastern Cape was the province in most need of infrastructural development (such as clean water and sanitation) and improvement of life circumstances (such as employment creation and family planning). It is therefore necessary to compare the CMA to the Eastern Cape. Through this comparison, it will become obvious that the push-pull theory has definite relevance in the study where the push-factors are located in the Eastern Cape and the pull-factors in the CMA. First follows some tables and graphs that compare the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape and South Africa in general. Following this is a profile of the CMA with a comparison between the Eastern Cape and the CMA. For the discussion that compares the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape, the following statistics are used. Figure 3.2.1. reviews demography figures by province (the Eastern Cape compared to the Western Cape), figure 3.2.2. socio-economic indicators by province, and figure 3.2.3. health status indicators by province. Thereafter follows some statistics on the CMA in particular. From these indicators, it will become indisputable that the Western Cape and the CMA better off is compared to the Eastern Cape.

**Figure 3.2.1**

**Demography by Province[36]**
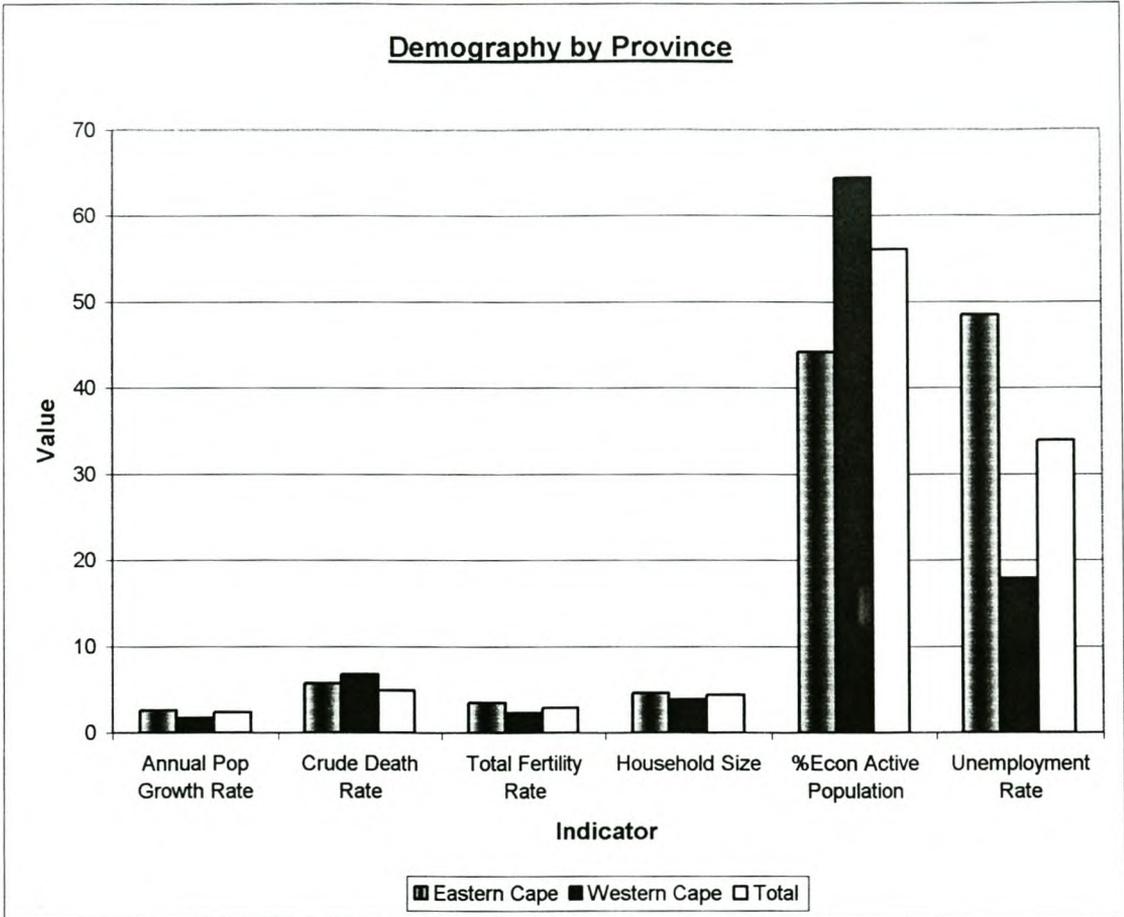


The population growth rate of the Eastern Cape is higher, with a lower mortality rate and a higher fertility rate than the Western Cape. The average household size according to Census '96 is greater in the Eastern Cape, but the Western Cape's economically active population is larger. Unemployment in the Eastern Cape is also much more extensive than in the Western Cape, 48.5% in the Eastern Cape and 17.9% in the Western Cape. The unemployment rate is also higher in the Eastern Cape compared to the rest of South Africa.

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[36] See the Addendum for tables

**Figure 3.2.2**

**Socio-Economic Indicators by Province[37]**
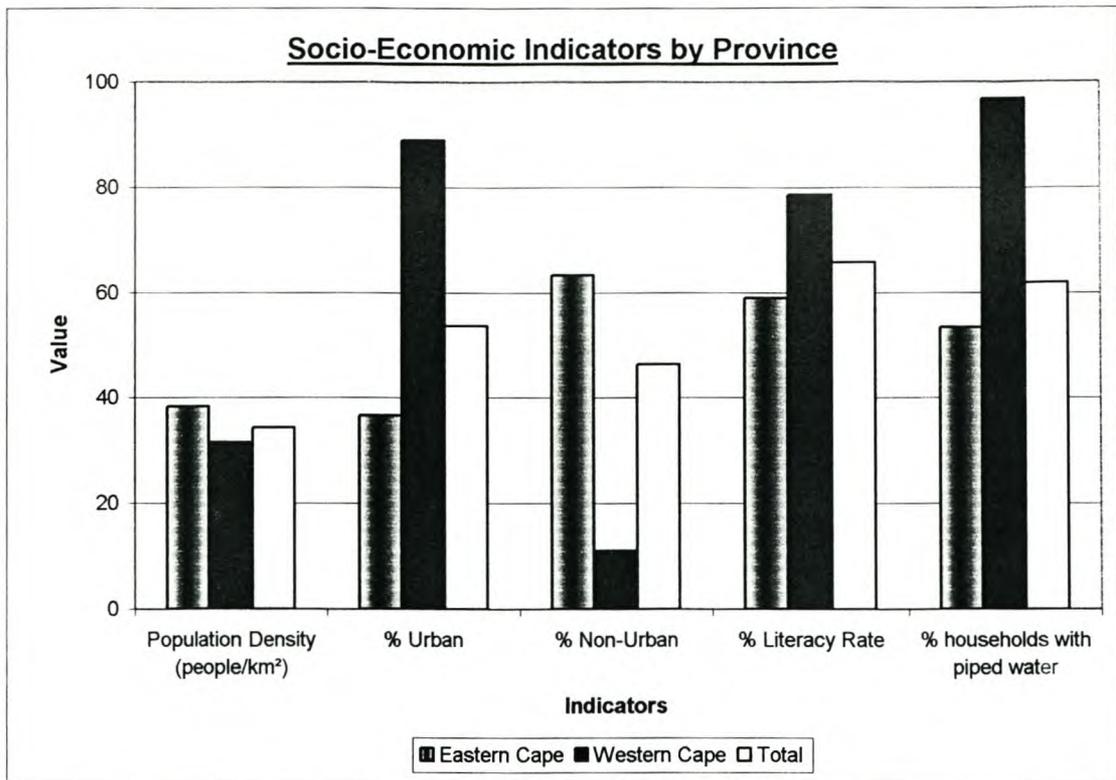


Overall, the Western Cape seems better off in terms of socio-economic indicators. Figure 3.2.2. illustrates this point. The population density (people/km²) in the Western Cape is lower than in the Eastern Cape, even though the Western Cape is more urbanized than the Eastern Cape. The literacy rate is higher in the Western Cape and the percentage non-school attendance for people older than 20 years is lower than in the Eastern Cape (See table 3.2.2. in the Addenda). The learners/educators ratio in the Eastern Cape is higher, implying that there are fewer pupils per teacher in the Western Cape. The per capita income in the Western Cape is more than three times higher than in the Eastern Cape, and even compared to South Africa, the Eastern Cape's per capita income is lower. The percentages households in the Western Cape with basic services like piped water, toilet facilities, electricity, and access to a telephone is surpassing figures in the Eastern Cape. In no one of the above indicators is the Western Cape worse-off than the Eastern Cape.

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[37] See the Addendum for tables

**Figure 3.2.3.**

**Health Status Indicators[38]**
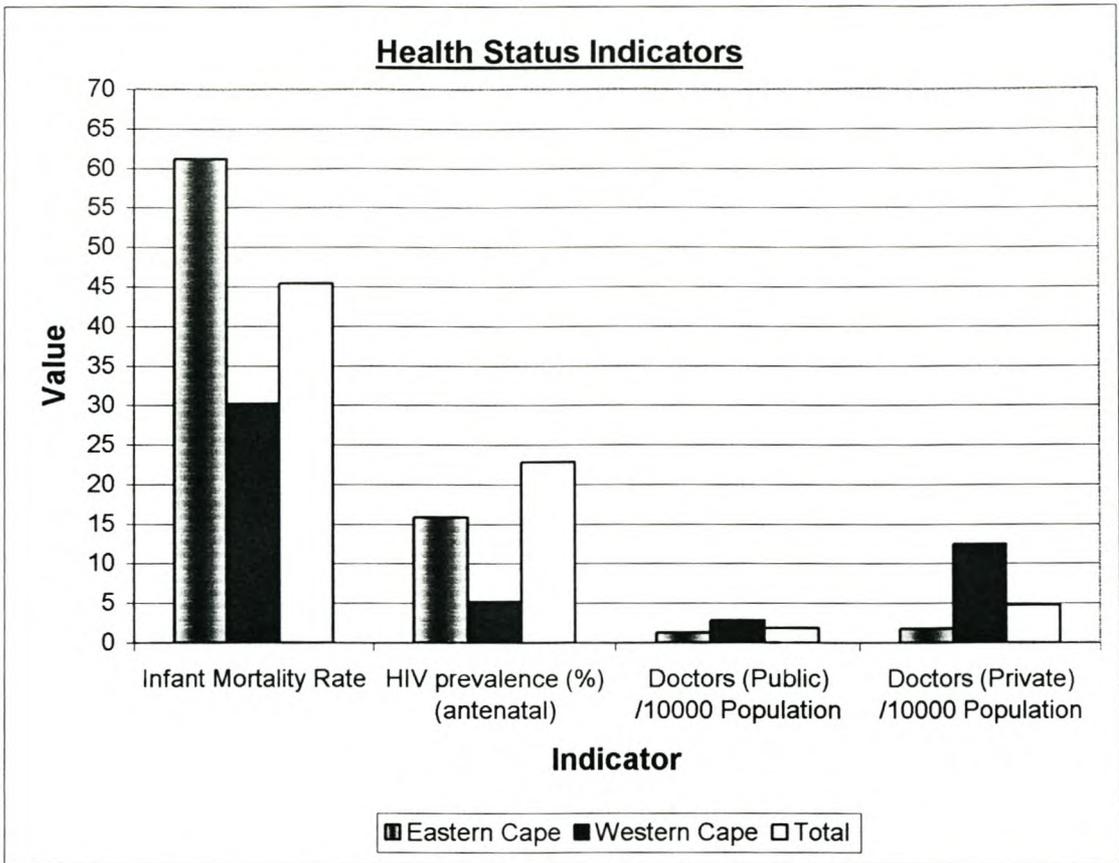


The Health Status Indicators accentuates the argument of earlier: the Western Cape is far superior to that of the Eastern Cape in terms of infrastructure and opportunities for migrants. The infant mortality rate, the child mortality rate and the younger than five years mortality rate, are much higher in the Eastern Cape. Again, this is still the case when the Eastern Cape is compared to South Africa. HIV/AIDS prevalence is higher in the Eastern Cape and when looking at access to health services like doctors and nurses, people in the Western Cape have easier access.

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[38] See the Addendum for tables

In table 3.2.4. follows the institutional indicators of the Eastern and Western Cape:

**Table 3.2.4.**

**Institutional indicators between the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape**

| Indicator | WC | EC | SA |
|---|---|---|---|
| Human Development Index 1992 | 0.826 | 0.507 | 0.667 |
| Functional urbanization level 1996 | 89.4% | 43.3% | 54.4% |
| Labour force ('000) | 1 734 | 1 739 | 14 355 |
| Unemployment rate 1995 | 18.6% | 41.4% | 29.3% |
| Real GGP per capita 1994 (R) | 9104 | 2626 | |
| Real GGP per worker 1994 (R) | 31322 | 24770 | |
| % Children living in poverty 1993 | 22.2 | 55.9 | 54 |
| Infant mortality rate 1994 | 26 | 57 | 42 |

DBSA 1998a (210-211)

At the macro socio-economic level, the difference between the two provinces is apparent. The population of the Western Cape was 3,96m in 1996, and of the Eastern Cape it was 6,3m (SSA 1998a). Since 1980, real GDP in the Western Cape has grown at 1,6% and in the Eastern Cape at 1,4% (Bekker, 2000:4). The Western Cape contributed more to the national GDP. In the same way, considerable provincial differences in the state delivery of economic infrastructure are displayed in the following tables:

**Table 3.2.5.**

**Economic Infrastructure: Western Cape and Eastern Cape**

| % of houses with access to: | Electricity Total % | Water Total % | Sanitation Total % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Western Cape | 83 | 94 | 88 |
| Eastern Cape | 33 | 69 | 29 |

DBSA 1998a (210-211)

**Table 3.2.6.**

**State-funded housing delivery within the one-million housing program**

**Western Cape and Eastern Cape**

| | Nr of houses to be built ('000) | Total nr of houses built (March '94-April | % of target reached |
|---|---|---|---|
| Western Cape | 114 | 24.7 | 21.7 |
| Eastern Cape | 152 | 6.2 | 4.1 |

DBSA 1998a (pp210-211), *May 1998

**Table 3.2.7.**

**Social Infrastructure (1995) Western Cape and Eastern Cape**

| | WC | EC |
|---|---|---|
| Education | | |
| Total nr of pupils | 857 | 2333 |
| Primary pupils (% of total) | 67% | 75% |
| Pupils per educator | 25 | 40 |
| Health | | |
| Doctors / 1000 of population | 0.76 | 0.22 |
| Nr of hospital beds / 1000 of population | 3.7 | 3.6 |

Source for tables DBSA 1998a, p.210, and 211

These social and economic indicators identify differences in the two provinces. Clearly, the Western Cape is better off in terms of most of these indicators. That then is the comparison between the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape. To follow are some tables to indicate the current status of the entire population only in the CMA.

## 3.3. The Cape Metropolitan Area

Important in the analysis of migration and reasons for migrating is to compile a profile of the destination area. The destination area in this case is the Cape Metropolitan Area. Table 3.3.1. shows the economy labour competitiveness for the entire CMA.

**Table 3.3.1.**

**Economy Labour Competitiveness for the CMA**

| GGP | Amount |
|---|---|
| Gross Geographic Product (1998) nominal | R64.75 billion |
| Share of National GDP | 9.8% |
| Share of Provincial GDP | 73% |
| GGP growth rate (1996-1997) | 3.5% |
| GGP growth rate (1997-1998) | 1.3% |
| Exports (1998) | R7.39 billion |
| Imports (1998) | R12.23 billion |

Source: July 1998 Update of ET&SP Study (RSC Levy Database)

http://www.cmc.gov.za/economic.htm

Table 3.3.1. shows that the economy of the CMA is rather strong, however with the rate of inflow of migrants, the CMA needs to plan carefully for the future, and the strain on available resources are getting bigger.

**Table 3.3.2.**

**Total Males/Females per Population Group (1996 Census results adjusted for deficiencies [thousands])**

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Black | 366 | 334 | 702 |
| Total | 1322 | 1361 | 2683 |

Source: "Projection of the Population of the CMA 1996-2031" http://www.cmc.gov.za/demographics.htm

Of the black population in the CMA, 52% are males and 48% are females. A larger percentage of the black population is male, but with the increased inflow of female-headed households, this may change in the not too distant future.

**Table 3.3.3.**

**Age of the Population**

| Population Group | Median Age |
|------------------|------------|
| African/Black    | 24         |

Source: "Projection of the Population of the CMA 1996-2031 http://www.cmc.gov.za/demographics.htm

The median age for the black population is 24, where in the sample of black migrants (Migration study 1998), the mean age for black migrants is 42 years and the median 40. The median age for the CMA population, is for the entire household, not the Head of the Household.

**Table 3.3.4.**

**Employment Breakdown for blacks – Community profile**

|                              | Black   | %    |
|------------------------------|---------|------|
| Employed                     | 182633  | 62.3 |
| Unemployed, looking for work | 110791  | 37.7 |
| Total                        | 293424  | 100  |
| Total %                      | 27%     |      |

Source: Space-Time Research www.str.com.au

http://www.cmc.gov.za/economic.htm

27% percent of the CMA population is black. Of the black population, 62.3% is currently employed, and 37.7% is unemployed and looking for work. Of these unemployed residents of the CMA, the majority are women (see table 3.2.5.). In 1996, more than 900 000 people were employed in the metropolitan area in the formal sector (CMC, 1998). An estimated 30 000 to 40 000 persons are added to the labour force per annum in the CMA. The formal sector currently provides an additional 15 000 to 25 000 formal employment opportunities annually (CMC, 1998). Most of the formal employment opportunities in the economy are presently found in the manufacturing sector, followed by services and the trade and catering sector[39].

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[39] http://www.capetown.gov.za/peh/soe/econo_a.htm

**Table 3.3.5.**

**Employment Status**

| Category | % |
|---|---|
| Employed (% of CMA population) | 35 |
| | |
| Economically Active people who are unemployed | 22 |
| ▪ Black Females | 50 |
| ▪ Black Males | 33 |
| | |
| Economically Active Population Breakdown | |
| Economically active: self-employed | 4 |
| Economically active: employers | 4 |
| Economically active: employees | 62 |
| Economically active: family owned business | 1 |

Source: "A Socio-Economic Profile of the CMA" by the Cape Metropolitan Council, based on the Population Census by Statssa in October 1996.

http://www.cmc.gov.za/economic.htm

From the above figures, it is also apparent that the majority of the economically active population (62%), are employees, rather than being self-employed or being employers themselves.

The informal sector refers to business activities not registered for taxation or any other official purpose. The employment capacity of the informal sector in the metropolitan area is estimated to be 18% of the labour force, or approximately 245 000 people (CMC, 1998). It is estimated that the informal economy contributed R3,6 billion to the economy of the CMA during 1997 (or roughly 7%) (Wesgro, 1997)[40].

**Table 3.3.6.**

**Ethnic Group Median Income (Rands per annum)**

| Ethnic Group | R/a |
|---|---|
| Black | 4200 |
| Total | 15000 |

Source: "A Socio-Economic Profile of the CMA" by the Cape Metropolitan Council, based on the Population Census by Statssa in October 1996. http://www.cmc.gov.za/economic.htm

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[40] http://www.capetown.gov.za/peh/soe/econo_a.htm

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The black population of the CMA earns R4200 per year. This is higher than what the average black migrant earns, but is still very little.

**Table 3.3.7.**

**Formal and Informal Housing**

| Formal Housing | % of Pop |
|---|---|
| Informal Housing | |
| Households living in informal dwellings/shacks | 16 |
| Households living in informal dwellings/shacks in a backyard | 3 |

Source: "A Socio-Economic Profile of the CMA" by the Cape Metropolitan Council, based on the Population Census by Statssa in October 1996.

http://www.cmc.gov.za/housing_and_services.htm

Nearly 20% of the CMA population lives in informal settlements, with the majority of people living in houses (49%).

**Table 3.3.8.**

**Access to services - Fuel used for Lighting by the black population group**

| Type of Fuel | Black | % |
|---|---|---|
| Electr: local authority | 95 287 | 56.9 |
| Electr: other source | 312 | 0.8 |
| Gas | 940 | 0.5 |
| Paraffin | 62 022 | 37 |
| Candles | 8 299 | 4.3 |
| Other | 6 | --- |
| Unspecified | 813 | 0.5 |
| Total | 167 679 | 100 |

Source: Space-Time Research www.str.com.au

http://www.cmc.gov.za/housing_and_services.htm

Considering the black population, the majority uses electricity from a local authority (56.9%). The second most used type of fuel is paraffin (37%) followed by candles (nearly 5%).

**Table 3.3.9.**

**Refuse disposal for the black population group**

| Category | Black | % |
|---|---|---|
| Removed local authority weekly | 111 966 | 67 |
| Removed local authority less often | 16 720 | 10 |
| Communal refuse dump | 6 921 | 4 |
| Own refuse dump | 16 330 | 10 |
| No rubbish disposal | 11 614 | 7 |
| Unspecified | 4 038 | 2 |
| Other | 90 | --- |
| Total | 167 679 | 100 |

Source: Space-Time Research www.str.com.au

http://www.cmc.gov.za/housing_and_services.htm

67% of the black population in the CMA's refuse disposal is removed by a local authority on a weekly basis. 10% of the black population has their own refuse dump, and 7% has no rubbish disposal at all.

**Table 3.3.10.**

**Telephone facilities by population group**

| Category | Black | % |
|---|---|---|
| H/H: in this dwelling/cellular phone | 27 832 | 17 |
| H/H: at a neighbour nearby | 5 145 | 3 |
| H/H: at a public telephone nearby | 120 781 | 72 |
| H/H: at another location nearby | 3 437 | 2 |
| H/H: at another location not nearby | 2 715 | 2 |
| H/H:  no access to a telephone | 7 113 | 4 |
| Unspecified | 656 | --- |
| Total | 167 679 | 100 |

Source: Space-Time Research www.str.com.au

http://www.cmc.gov.za/housing_and_services.htm

The majority of the black population uses public phones (72%), followed by own phones (17%).

## 3.4. The Eastern Cape

The following statistics was obtained from http://www.ecprov.gov.za/economy/index.html

"Eastern Cape is the third most populous province in South Africa after KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. As with all provinces, except for Western and Northern Cape, Africans are in the majority in Eastern Cape. Africans constitute 87%, coloureds 7%, whites 6% and Indians fewer than 1% of the population of Eastern Cape" (Statssa, 1998:7). The capital of the Eastern Cape is Bisho. The principle languages of the Eastern Cape are IsiXhosa (83.8%), Afrikaans (9.6%), English (3.7%) and SeSotho (2.2%).

**Table 3.4.1.**

**Basic Statistics:**

| Population % of total | 15,5% |
|---|---|
| Area (km²) | 169 580 |
| Area % of total | 13,9% |
| GDP at current price (1995) | R49,6634 million |
| % of total GDP | 13,3% |

The Eastern Cape province covers 13.9% of South Africa's surface and is physically the country's biggest province. South Africa's fourth metropole, Port Elizabeth / Uitenhage, is situated in this province and employs 2.7% of the country's labour force. Bisho, in the geographic centre of the province, is the capital. The province's 6.3 million population is spread unevenly with less than three persons a square kilometre in the Karoo and up to 99 persons/km² in high density rural settlements in areas of the former homelands of the Ciskei and Transkei. About 90% of the area is devoted to grazing cattle, sheep and goats. Livestock accounts for 77% of commercial agricultural production. A further 18% comprises horticulture, often irrigated. Communal grazing and sub-subsistence production of maize, beans and pumpkins are typical of the underdeveloped homelands.

A total of 70% of the population lives in rural villages or peri-urban shack settlements. The total number of houses already built or under construction

between March 1994 and July 1997 was 29 221. The Provincial Housing Board has since its inception on the 15 July 1997 approved a total of 25 projects representing 13 646 units. In terms of an agreement between the national and provincial governments, the Eastern Cape Housing and Local Government Department was allocated an amount of R473,5 million for housing subsidies for the 1997/98 financial year.

Approximately 42% of the households in the Eastern Cape are electrified. The targets for 1998 and 1999 were 68 000 and 80 000 households respectively. In the high prioritising of electrification of the province, rural communities are also included. According to the RDP, 2,5 million households nationally and all schools and clinics should have electricity by the year 2000.

Large areas of the Eastern Cape have less than four telephones per 1 000 people. During the 1996/97 financial year the Eastern Cape target of 26 000 telephone lines was achieved. A total of R400 million was invested in a new telecommunications infrastructure for the Eastern Cape during the 1997/98 financial year.

Less than 20% of households have access to the World Health Organization's minimum standard of seven litres a person a day of portable water. Some 327 projects with a total value of R550 million have been approved for implementation. It is estimated that 1825 villages in 77 districts, with an estimated population of 1 900 000 people, will benefit from this programme. Despite this, it is estimated that 48% of the population do not have access to basic supplies while 87% does not have access to basic sanitation services.

The unemployment situation in the province is severe and human resource development needs urgent attention. There are still some vastly under-utilized capacities for development in the Eastern Cape, particularly the human capacities.

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### 3.5. A Comparison: The Cape Metropolitan Area and the Eastern Cape

Consequently, keeping the previous sections in mind, a brief comparison specifically between the Eastern Cape and the Cape Metropolitan Area follows. The difference regarding social and economic infrastructure in the two areas are also apparent, the CMA being in relative better condition, and for the migrant a chance to better his standing in society.

**Table 3.5.1.**

**Economic Infrastructure**

| % of houses with access to: | Electricity Total % | Water Total % | Sanitation Total % |
|---|---|---|---|
| CMA | **84 | **81.5 | ***89 |
| Eastern Cape | 33 | 69 | 29 |

DBSA 1998a (pp210-211), *May 1998

***http://www.cmc.gov.za/

**http://www.capetown.gov.za/peh/soe/infra_a.htm

Approximately 84% of inhabitants of the CMA have access to electricity, although inequalities exist in access to these resources by population group. Currently about 88% of formal urban dwellings and 49% of informal urban dwellings are electrified[41]. 2.9% of dwellings in the CMA does not have access to a water source within 50m of the dwelling. 10.5% of the dwellings does not have waterborne sanitation. 81.5% of households have access to drinkable water, but only 32.6% of these are in black communities. 77.2% of households have flush toilets within the house, but only 25.2% of these are in the black communities[42].

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[41] http://www.capetown.gov.za/peh/soe/infra_a.htm cited in WCPDC, 1998.

[42] http://www.capetown.gov.za/peh/soe/infra_a.htm

**Table 3.5.2.**

**Social Infrastructure (1995)**

|  | CMA | EC |
|---|---|---|
| Education |  |  |
| Primary pupils (% of total) | 11% | 75% |
| Pupils per educator | *29 | 40 |
|  |  |  |
| Health |  |  |
| Doctors / 1000 of population | 2.83 | 0.22 |

Source for tables DBSA 1998a, p.210, and 211

*http://www.capetown.gov.za/

The Kuilsriver Area has the overall highest pupil:teacher ratio (34:1), with the Bellville (26:1) area having the lowest mean ratio (WCED, 1996). The overall average pupil:teacher ratio for the CMA was 29:1. All of these are below the national targets, 40:1 for primary school and 35:1 for secondary school set up in 1996. In 1997, these national targets ratios were abolished by the National Department of Education[43].

"From an Eastern Cape point of view, it appears accordingly that in the [CMA] that there is currently superior access to:

♦ Employment

♦ Higher levels of income

♦ Social infrastructure (education and health), and

♦ Economic infrastructure (transport, electricity, housing infrastructure)

Access to a site and to lodging in locations where these other resources are also available, appears to have been comparatively good over the past four years. State housing projects launched during this period were spatially located along the well-endowed eastern and southern coastline of the Western Cape, as well as in the Winelands district close to the CMA" (Bekker, 1999:7).

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[43] http://www.capetown.gov.za/

## 3.6. Social Capital: Kin and Networks

After comparing these two areas, it is pretty apparent that the CMA poses some viable opportunities for the migrant. But there is another question that needs answering: why do these people originate rather from Transkei than any other area in the Eastern Cape? A useful explanation here has to do with two main factors: social kin and networks (also known as social capital) and a tradition of migration.

The respondents mentioned the following as reasons for moving:

**Table 3.6.1**

**How did migrant find the area**

|  | F | % |
|---|---|---|
| Knew about the area | 11 | 7.05 |
| Relatives / Friends | 112 | 71.8 |
| Referred to by RDP / State | 3 | 1.9 |
| Employer knew about it | 29 | 18.6 |
| Grapevine | 1 | 0.65 |
| Total | 156 | 100 |

From the above table, one can see the importance of social kin and networks. More than 70% of the respondents that said how they found the area, found it through relatives or friends. Migrating households, (Bekker, 2000:8) deem their social networks as significant resources and members of these households invest in the preservation of these links. This also indicates why the migrant moves to the CMA rather than to Durban or Gauteng. Their kin are in the CMA, and hence a tradition of migration has developed over the years where people would rather move to a place where they have the contacts that would make the trauma of migration easier.

## CHAPTER 4
## WHY DO PEOPLE MIGRATE

### 4.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to compare the actual theory regarding migration with the results obtained from the migration study conducted in 1998 and to derive from it an explanation about the reasons for moving from one area to the next. The discussion is started off with a brief conceptualisation of migration. Then an interpretation follows concerning the types of movement, types of migration, stages of migration and the push-pull theory. After this follows an explanation pertaining to migration selectivity: age, gender, life-cycle stage of the migrant, marital status, education, occupation and status, cultural attributes, and finally traditionalist vs. innovator. Then there is a discussion in terms of the initiation and perpetuation of migration patterns, applying these theories to the CMA-Eastern Cape example. Finally follows the possible answers as to why people migrate.

### 4.2. Migration and the Migrant

Migration in this study is defined as the (usually free) internal movement of people from areas of origin (relatively poorer regions) to areas of destination (relatively better-off regions), thereby enhancing their chances of improved access to resources. The specific areas here are the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA) as the area of destination and the Eastern Cape (specifically Transkei) as the area of origin. Resources are not only better job opportunities; it is also infrastructure, transport, better housing, schools and education opportunities, and so forth. Reasons for migrating are thus not limited to purely economical factors. The migrant is a person who moved from one place to the other (from the Eastern Cape to the Cape Metropolitan Area), redefining his/her centre of activity. The migrant can be defined further as being an in-migrant (in terms of the area of destination – the CMA) and/or being an out-migrant (in terms of the area of origin – the Eastern Cape, in particular Transkei). In this study the

migrant is the head of the household and black. The migrant is a person that has gone out of his/her own free will from one place to another. Migrants tend to be a self-selected population and they have different characteristics from the general population. In this sample and study, a distinction is made between household heads born in the CMA, household heads that arrived before 1994, and household heads that arrived in the CMA in 1994 and thereafter. The reason for choosing 1994 as the cut-off point is the political change in 1994. These migrants will be called "Household Head Born CMA", "Household Head older migrants", and "Household Head recent migrants" respectively. The CMA residents are used as a comparative group as opposed to the migrants.

## 4.3. Migration

### 4.3.1. Types of Movement

Of the three mechanisms of movement discussed previously (cyclic movement, periodic movement, and migratory movement), the applicable one is migratory movement, because it categorizes migration as a permanent change in residence. There are some difficulties with this classification, because circular migration falls in this category too. But the change of location is permanent and not periodic as in cyclic movement and periodic movement. To clarify: circulatory movement is not a synonym for circular migration. The type of movement applicable is migratory movement. But "though newly settled households do express the intention to return, this expectation weakens over time" (Bekker 2000:15). Circular migration is declining. Migrants move to the CMA, and fewer of them return.

### 4.3.2. Types of Migration

Migration can be classified in terms of four key factors namely the distance travelled, the time period over which the migration is effective, the basis of the areas of origin and destination, and the attributes of the migrants themselves.

As mentioned in the theory chapter, the distinction of distance travelled is rendered insignificant, since we know this is internal migration from the Eastern Cape (specifically Transkei) to the CMA. The second means of classifying migration is concerned with the time-period over which the migration is effective. There are two extremes here, namely the possibility of seasonal workers and permanent migration. Seeing that circulatory migration is decreasing, one can assume that the migration occurring is of a permanent nature and it is unlikely that the migrants will return to their area of destination - the Eastern Cape. This is difficult to measure, estimations can only made when the migrants actually returns. The third method of classification is based on the environments of the areas of destination and origin. When one compares the Eastern Cape and the CMA, there are two distinctions to be made. First, the migration is usually rural-urban, and secondly, most migrants move to the CMA to make a better life for themselves, hence an economic migration. The final method of classification deals with the migrants themselves. The attributes of the migrants are subtracted from one area (area of origin) and added to the other (area of destination). These attributes have been discussed in an earlier chapter under migration selectivity. For now it is suffice to say, that the rural Transkei is loosing a tremendous proportion of its labour force, because the migrants arriving in the CMA are in their economically active years. This obviously has a great impact on the rural economy of the Eastern Cape.

Another way to classify migration is to decide if it is voluntary or forced. The key here is to understand that the difference is that the migrant has a choice to move with voluntary migrations, and does not have a choice with forced migration. Voluntary migrations are those migrations where people choose to move for reasons of bettering their standing in life. Economics are one of the prime movers that facilitate voluntary migration. Economic need doesn't classify a migration as forced. In this sample, the migrations are voluntary.

### 4.3.3. Stages of Migration

There are, according to the model discussed in the theory chapter, three stages of migration. These are the inclination to migrate in general, the motivation to migrate to a specific location, and lastly, the actual decision to migrate. The

decision to migrate is not something the potential migrant makes overnight. All three of these stages take time, and it is really up to the individual to determine that time, consciously or subconsciously. A model of the migration process will be discussed later in the chapter that will make the stages of migration more evident.

### 4.3.4. The Push-Pull Theory

The push-pull theory explains quite effectively why people from the Eastern Cape would want to migrate to the CMA. As stated in previous chapters, "migration may be conceptualised as the movements of households from relatively poorer regions", the Eastern Cape, "to relatively better-off regions", the Cape Metropolitan Area (Bekker, 1999:3). In this specific case, the Eastern Cape is the sending area and the CMA is the receiving area.

There are several inter-related reasons for moving. These can be categorized as follows: economic reasons, political factors, cultural tradition, and technology and environmental barriers. With the first reason, economic by nature, migration occurs because of perceived better opportunity in the receiving area. This is a powerful motivator to migrate. If one looks at a comparison between the CMA and the Eastern Cape, the CMA has better infrastructure, better opportunities financially, better education and better facilities. Even though the migrant may not have direct access to this information, social networks are also responsible for the spread of information. Political factors also have an influence on whether the migrant will move or not. Usually, however, these political factors are forced upon a population. The third component, cultural tradition, includes factors like religious and ethnic ties and these can induce migration between areas that share similar belief systems. Individuals would rather move to areas that have the same language and religious belief systems to make the trauma of migrating easier. This implies that in certain areas there exists a certain tradition of migration. Information about the area is then spread through this tradition. People often return to the sending area, if only to visit relatives, and the information regarding the area of destination is spread. The tradition of where to migrate is then established. The last category, namely technology, also has an

effect on migration. In the past, geographical obstacles made it difficult to migrate, but with the advent of technology, these barriers disappeared.

Over time, the most popular explanation as to why migration occurs has been the push-pull theory. In short this implies there are basically the area of origin, in this case the Eastern Cape, and the area of destination, the CMA. Within these areas there are push and pull factors, causing people to migrate (within the Eastern Cape and the CMA respectively), for they tend not to move someplace at random. In addition to this, is it the prospect of a better future rather than the need for escape from certain circumstances that motivates people to move. It is rare for people to respond to push factors by voluntary migrating unless they feel that there is some reasonable attractive alternative. Crucial to understand is that it is the perceived opportunity rather than objective reality that may influence the decision to move. The question then arises as to what these push and pull factors are and what their reasons for migrating are (section 4.10.). To determine that, one needs to compare the Eastern Cape to the CMA and comprise a profile (section 4.7.) of the typical migrant.

## 4.4. Initiation of Migration Patterns

Three theories are proposed in considering the initiation of migration patterns. The first is the Neoclassical Economic Approach, the second the New Household Economics of Migration and lastly the Dual Labor Market theory. All of the above has some strong arguments regarding the initiation of migration patterns. Consequently, it makes sense to consider all of these and to use an eclectic approach in the explanation of the initiation of migration patterns. Their main argument is economic by nature, and later in the chapter some other perspectives are considered.

### 4.4.1. The Neoclassical Economic Approach

The Neoclassical Economic Approach regards economic reasons as the dominant cause for migration. Reasons for moving are viewed on two levels. The first level is monetary and the second psychosocial. The migrant chooses

to move where the greatest opportunity exists. Opportunity is defined in terms of wages (monetary) and investment in human capital (psychosocial). Compared to the Eastern Cape, the CMA has better opportunities for the migrant in terms of employment and wages on the one hand (monetary), and education, experience and training on the other (investment in human capital for the individual).

### 4.4.2. The New Household Economics of Migration

The Neoclassical Approach considers the individual as unit of analysis, but the New Household Economics of Migration brings the entire household into the argument of why migration patterns are initiated. A decision to migrate often involves the whole family, and the family often acts as a unit, not only to maximize income, but also to minimize risk. The family's sources of income are thus diversified, and this serves as a buffer against the risk inherent in societies with weak institutions. People therefore migrate to certain areas not only to improve their own lives, but also to improve the life of their families.

### 4.4.3. Dual Labor Market Theory

This theory argues that there are essentially two kinds of employment: jobs in the primary sector and jobs in the secondary labour market. Consequently, there are two sectors in most regions. It is easy to recruit people to the primary sector where wages are high and the worker has security benefits, but not so easy when dealing with the secondary sector (low wages, unstable working conditions and little prospect of advancement). The secondary sector of the CMA is much more attractive than the secondary sector, or even primary sector, in the Eastern Cape. Consequently, the CMA offers some attractive alternatives for migrants from the Eastern Cape.

### 4.5. Perpetuation of Migration

As with the initiation of migration patterns, three theories are proposed in considering the perpetuation of migration patterns. The first is the Network

Theory, the second the Institutional Theory and lastly Cumulative Causation. All of the above has some strong arguments regarding the perpetuation of migration patterns. Consequently, it makes sense to consider all of these and to use an eclectic approach in the explanation of the perpetuation of migration patterns.

### 4.5.1. Network Theory

The Network Theory argues that migrants establish interpersonal ties that connect migrants and non-migrants in both the CMA and the Eastern Cape, through ties of kin, friendship and community origin. Once migration is initiated, migration sustains itself, with relations developing in the CMA and the Eastern Cape, inducing further migration that has little to do with economic need.

### 4.5.2. Institutional Theory

Migration may also be perpetuated by institutions that facilitate and sometimes profit from the flow of migrants between areas. Even if specific institutions that help migrants (legal or illegal) do not exist, there is a definite institutional element present in the migration process, especially between the CMA and the Eastern Cape. That is to say that migrants move to areas like the CMA because definite institutional elements like infrastructure are already in place in the area of destination. Even social capital can be regarded as such an institutional structure.

### 4.5.3. Cumulative Causation

This perspective acknowledges the fact that every migration that takes place may influence decisions about subsequent migrations in the family of the migrant or in the community the migrant originates from. Migrants themselves may become a part of a migration tradition or culture and would be more likely to move again. It may also be true that certain jobs in the receiving area may be labelled as migrants' jobs, which creates a demand for migrants to fill these jobs, creating another tradition of migration. Therefore, migrants from the Eastern Cape may be part of a culture of migration, moving to the CMA

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because there exist this tradition. This tradition of migration is then being fed from both the sending and receiving areas.

## 4.6. Who Migrates?

Migrants are not a random selection from the population. They differ from other people in terms of age, marital status, education, occupation, status, cultural attributes, and whether this person is a traditionalist or an innovator. Particular groups are more likely to migrate than others. Three groups within the sample were identified: non-migrants, older migrants and recent migrants (all of whom were black and the head of the household).

A relatively large percentage of the migrants entered the CMA only after 1994, and after the first democratic elections of South Africa. Very few of the respondents from the sample were born in the CMA. Most of the households are male headed households, yet, a larger than expected percentage are female headed. Considering the age of the black migrants, most were between the ages of 30 and 45, and the mean age for the sample of black migrants is 42. Most speak Xhosa, and the majority originate from Transkei.

People also tend to follow trends and these trends are part of the life cycle. Marital status, education, occupation and status can all be grouped under the life cycle stage. These migrants are either married or has never been married, and more recent migrants are married than older migrants. Most migrants do have some degree of schooling, but very few has an after school qualification. Of those with an after school qualification, less than 1% has a university degree. Most migrants are employed here in the CMA and some are even self-employed. Surprisingly, most of these migrants work in the formal sector, and this trend seems to be increasing. With regards to income, nearly all the migrants earn less than R1500, although the recent migrants seem to be earning relatively more than the older migrants.

The next section illustrates why these migrants move to the CMA by using the push-pull theory as an explanation. People tend to move where they believe opportunity exist.

## 4.7. Why Do People Migrate?

As discussed earlier, then main argument is that people tend to move where they believe opportunity exist. Whether this is the objective reality or not does not matter. However, when a comparison between the CMA and the Eastern Cape is made, it is clear that the CMA poses better opportunities for the migrants and their families.

"Migration is an effective means of accessing better jobs and dealing with low levels of services…, and limited economic prospects. While high migration rates may be an index of social dislocation, it can also be seen as an efficient means of meeting opportunities offered by the employment market. The 1996 Census results reveal a clear relationship between employment levels and migration trends. Those regions with lower unemployment levels evidently draw migrants from elsewhere" (State of South Africa's Population Report 2000:22). Even though economic reasons may be a strong push/pull factor, it is certainly not the only explanation as to why migration occurs. Migration is a complex process and the reasons for migrating are many. The causes of migration and non-migration are complex and go far beyond purely economic reasons. "Issues of absorption and assimilation of … [migrant] groups go beyond economic considerations. The ethnically different [migrants] are posing a challenge to the relatively homogenous populations…. It appears that the concept of a multi-cultural society… is becoming increasingly relevant…. At the same time, these societies have a limited historical experience and know-how of receiving and accommodating people with religious, cultural, and ethnic characteristics that diverge sharply from their own." (Smelser, N.J. 1994:218).

Ultimately, migration is a *process,* happening over a *time* period, and the *reasons* why people migrate are complex (See figure 4.7.1.). Migration starts off as a desire to move, develops into an expectation to move, and thereafter

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follows the act of migrating itself. Influencing the whole process of migration is the context within which it is taking place including the political, economical, social, environmental, institutional context and the different traditions of the area of origin and destination. Within the area of origin and destination there are different push and pull factors, with the pull factors within the area of destination and the push factors in the area of origin. These include infrastructure, housing, health and other basic services, employment and income, education opportunities and environmental factors. The individual also influences the process and the individual attributes are age, marital status, education, occupation and status (these are grouped under the life-cycle stage), and gender, cultural attributes, and whether the migrant is typically a traditionalist or an innovator.

**Figure 4.7.1.**

**The Migration Process**



Context:
Political
Economical
Social
Environmental
Institutional
Tradition

Context

Push-Pull Factors

Push and Pull Factors:
Infrastructure
Housing and Health
Basic Services
Employment and Income
Education and Environment

**Desire to Move ↔ Expectation of Moving ↔ Fact of Migrating**

Push-Pull Factors

Life-Cycle Stage:
Age
Marital Status
Education
Occupation and Status

**Individual Attributes**

Other Attr's of Migrant:
Gender
Cultural Attributes
Innovator vs.
Traditionalist

**←Time→**

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# ADDENDA
## ADDENDUM A
## Map Of The CMA



Map of the CMA showing:

BLAAUWBERG MUNICIPALITY

OOSTENBERG MUNICIPALITY

CITY OF TYGERBERG

CITY OF CAPE TOWN

SOUTH-PENINSULA MUNICIPALITY

HELDERBERG MUNICIPALITY

Labelled places: Malmesbury, Mamre, Atlantis, Wellington, Melkbosstrand, Paarl, Robben Island, Blouberstrand, Durbanville, Kraaifontein, Green Point, Brackenfell, Cape Town, Mowbray, Elsies River, Stellenbosch, Camps Bay, Delft, Crossroads, Blue Downs, Wynberg, Philippi, Khayelitsha, Somerset West, Hout Bay, Mitchells Plain, Strandfontein, Macassar, Strand, Muizenberg, Lwandle, Kommetjie, Fish Hoek, Gordon's Bay, Simon's Town, Cape Point

### LEGEND
- Cape Metropolitan Area
- Municipal Boundaries
- Roads
- Railway lines
- Water bodies
- Urban Development
- Mountainous Areas

**ADDENDUM B**

Questionnaire number

# MIGRATORY PATTERNS IN THE

# CAPE METROPOLITAN AREA, 1998

*Department of Sociology, University of Stellenbosch*

**A:**     **QUESTIONNAIRE INFORMATION**

**A1**     **Interviewer**

**A2**     **Date**

**A3**     **Settlement**

**A4**     **C Classification**

**A5**     **EA number**

**A6**     **Visiting point**

**A7**     **Type of settlement**

**A8**     **Type of dwelling**

**A9**     **How many dwellings are there on this plot?** _____
10. N/a flat
11. N/a not clearly demarcated plot

**A10**     **How many households are there on this plot?** _____

**A11**     **Are there any back yard structures on this plot?**
1. Yes
2. No

> **A11.1 Are the people living in the back yard structure related to the residents in the main house?**
> 1. Yes
> 2. No

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**Who lives in this household?**

**Draw genogram:**   **Women**   ◯   **Men**   △

- Everyone who lives in this dwelling and eats/
- cooks together.
- Children who attend school in another area
- and return home for weekends/holidays.
- Students who study elsewhere and return
- home for weekends/holidays.
- People who work elsewhere and return home
- on a regular basis and who supports this
- household financially.
- People who are looking for work elsewhere
- and who are still dependent on this household.

**NOTES:**

- **Each person gets a number.**
- **Respondent is person number 1.**
- **Indicate head of household with H.**
- **Indicate respondent with R.**

**Where was this household formed?** _____
Place name and reference point.

## B: DEMOGRAPHICS

| Question | B1 | B2 | B3 | B4 | B5 | B6 | B7 | B8 | B9 | | B10 | B11 | B12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Per-son nr | Who ac-quired this dwel-ling? | Sex 1. Woman 2. Man | Age | Race | Home lan-guage | Mari-tal status | Relation-ship to head of house-hold | How often does each person sleep here? | Where was each member of the household born? (Specific name and reference point) | What type of area is this? | If you were born in this area, have you lived here all your life? 1. N/a – not born here | Who is on the hous-ing wai-ting list? | Who will move with this per-son? |
| R 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| Question | B14 In what year did each member arrive at this dwelling? 1. Since birth | B15 If not since birth, where did you stay just before you moved to this dwelling? | B16 Pupils: school stan- dard | B17 In what area do children attend school? 1. In this area | B18 Trans- port to school | B19 How long does it take to get to school? | B20 How much does it cost to get to school? | B21 Adults: highest school standard passed | B22 Highest educa- tional level complet ed after school |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Resp.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | |

| Question B32 | B23 Occu-patio-nal status | B24 For employed: What type of work do you do/what is your occupation? → | B25 Are you employed in the formal or informal sector? | B26 For employed: Where do you work? (name of town/village, point of reference) | B27 What type of area is → this? | B28 Monthly wage/ salary | B29 How much do you contribute to ~~the home~~ home monthly from wage/salary ? | B30 Trans-port to wor k | B31 How long does it take to get to work? | B32 How much does it cost to get to work? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Resp.1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | |

| Question | B33 | B34 | B35 | B36 | B37 | B38 | B39 | | B40 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Person nr | How much does each member receive as a state pension or grant per month? → | How much does each member contribute to the home from state pensions/ grants p.m.? | How much does each person receive → from private/ employer pension funds per month? (including state as previous employer) | How much is contributed to the home from private/ employer pension per month? | Is there someone who sends remittances to this household? Who sends this? Amount per month next to → person who receives it. | How much does the person contribute to the home from remittances per month? | Do you have any other sources of income? E.g. sells goods informally, interest on investments, rent, other business? → Write source of income & amount earned per month. | | How much is contributed to the home from other sources of income per month? |
| Resp.1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | |

Any informal business activities?

| B41 | Does any member of this household have savings/belong to: | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| B41.1 | A bank, post office or formal institution | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| B41.2 | A stokvel or savings club | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| B41.3 | A burial society | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| B41.4 | A pension plan with private firm (e.g. employer) or government | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| B41.5 | A private insurance or retirement fund | 1. Yes | 2. No |

| B42 | What are the two main types of support that the household relies on? | B42.1 First: _____ | B42.2 Second: _____ |
|---|---|---|---|

1. Wages/salaries
2. Pensions and grants (state)
3. Remittances sent by people elsewhere
4. Private pension
5. Own business earning, either selling or services
6. Food and money from other relatives in area
12. Investments (e.g. unit trusts)
Other (specify)

7. Selling natural medicines
8. Cultivation for income
9. Cultivation for food
10. Selling livestock or livestock products consumption
11. Private maintenance

## To households in poor areas B43 – B45:

**B43** **Is there anyone in your area that you can turn to for a loan if you or your household are seriously short?**
1. Yes      2. No      3. Uncertain

**B44** **Is there anyone in your area that would help with food if the household is short?**
1. Yes      2. No      3. Uncertain

**B45a** **If you happened to have very bad luck, such as the house flooded or burnt down, is there anyone around here who would help you with:**
1. Yes      2. No      3. Uncertain

| B45a.1 | Shelter | |
|---|---|---|
| B45a.2 | Food | |
| B45a.3 | Money | |

**B45b** **If not around here, in what other place? (Give best known name of place and reference point).**
-1. No-one can help us

| B45b.1 | Shelter | |
|---|---|---|
| B45b.2 | Money | |

**C:** **HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE**

**C1** **Do you or someone in your household own this dwelling?**
1. Yes, own dwelling and land
2. Yes, own dwelling but not the land
3. No, rent
4. No, staying here for free

**C1.1** **Who owns the dwelling?**
1. Private person (not employer) – we pay rent
2. Private person (not employer) – we stay for free
3. Municipality or other state authority – we pay rent
4. Municipality or other state authority – we stay for free
5. Relative not living here – we pay rent
6. Relative not living here – we stay for free
7. Local committee
8. Employer
9. Don't know who owns this house
Other (specify)

_____

**C1.2** **How did you acquire this house?**
1. Built the house ourselves
2. Bought the house from someone else/estate agent/private developer
3. Inherited the house
4. Former council house now registered in our name

Other (specify) _____

**C1.3** **Do you have a formal title deed from a lawyer?**
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

**C1.4** **For this house, did you access the present government's first-time housing subsidy?**
1. Yes, R1 - R5 000
2. Yes, R5 001 – R10 000
3. Yes, R10 000 +
4. No, haven't used the government housing subsidy this time
5. No, never used government housing subsidy

**C1.5a How much do you think your dwelling is worth (including the land it is standing on)?**

R _____

**C1.5b How much do you think your dwelling is worth (not including the land)?**

R _____

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**C2    From what kind of materials is this dwelling constructed?**
1. Bricks
2. Concrete blocks
3. Corrugated iron ("zinc")
4. Wood
5. Plastic/packing cases/cartons
6. Asbestos (not prefab house)
7. Asbestos (prefab house)
8. Steel (for containers)
Other (specify) _____

**C3    How many rooms are in this dwelling? Except for the bedrooms, in which other rooms do members of the household sleep?**

|       | Type of room | Number | Does anyone sleep here? | |
|-------|--------------|--------|---------|---------|
| **C3.1**  | **One room house** | | | |
| **C3.2**  | **Bedroom** | | | |
| **C3.3**  | **Kitchen** | | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |
| **C3.4**  | **Lounge** | | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |
| **C3.5**  | **Bathroom** | | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |
| **C3.6**  | **Dining room** | | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |
| **C3.7**  | **Study/working room** | | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |
| **C3.8**  | **Garage** | | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |
| **C3.9**  | **Outside room** (connected house) | | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |
| **C3.10** | **Any other rooms** | | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |

**C3.11 Do you have toilet facilities?**
1. Yes, inside the house
2. Yes, our own toilet outside
3. Yes, a communal toilet outside the house (share with other residents)
4. No, no toilet facilities
Other (specify) _____

**C4    How do you feel about the condition of this dwelling/house?**
1. Satisfied
2. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
3. Dissatisfied

**C5    Does this dwelling have access to piped water?**
1. Yes, have own tap connection
2. Use communal tap
3. Buy at water kiosk/public tank
4. Use public tank/water kiosk for free
5. Use farm dam
6. Use other dam
7. Use clean river water
8. Use polluted river water
9. Ask for or buy water from neighbours
Other (specify) _____

**C6** **Do you have access to (official Eskom) electricity?**
1. Yes, official Eskom electricity, connected
2. Yes, but not connected
3. Yes, informally, e.g. from another dwelling's connection (e.g. relays)
4. No, we get energy from a generator
5. No

**C7** **Do you have access to a telephone?**
1. House has own working/connected telephone (including cellphone)
2. House has own telephone but not working/not connected
3. Use neighbour's telephone
4. Use telephone in local store
5. Public Telkom telephone
6. Landlord, farmer or committee has phone
7. There is no telephone in this area
Other (specify) _____

---

**C8** **Is your water delivery often interrupted?** _____

**C9** **Is your electricity delivery often interrupted?** _____

**C10** **Is the telephone service often out of order? (Excluding interruptions due to non-payment of telephone bills)** _____

1. Yes, often for a long time
2. Yes, but not often
3. Some times, but rarely
4. No never

---

**C11** **What kinds of <u>public</u> transport are available in this area?**
1. Taxis, trains and buses
2. Taxis and buses only
3. Taxis and trains only
4. Buses and trains only
5. Taxi only
6. Bus only
7. Train only
8. Nothing comes to this area - we walk to another area to get transport
Other (specify) _____

## To households in poor areas C12:

**C12** **If you have children, do you think they will find accommodation in this area when they are adults?**
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

## D: MIGRATION HISTORY OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

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**Please describe the moves you (the head of the household) have made as an adult (since you turned 18)? Where did you live when you were 18 and where did you move to (if you have moved) until you ended up here.**

NOTES:     1) Including moves within a certain area.
2) If the person has moved more than 8 times as an adult, record the last 8 moves.

| Questions | Place when 18 | 1st stop | 2nd stop | 3rd stop | 4th stop | 5th stop | 6th stop | 7th stop | 8th stop |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **D1 Name of place (and reference point)** | | | | | | | | | |
| **D2 Year of move** | | | | | | | | | |
| **D3 Type of area**<br>1. Metro urban formal black area<br>2. Metro urban formal coloured area<br>3. Metro urban formal white area<br>4. Metro urban informal settlement<br>5. Metro urban hostel area<br>6. Other city<br>7. Rural small town (excluding former homeland town)<br>8. Rural former homeland town<br>9. Rural informal settlement<br>10. Farm<br>11. Mission station/village | | | | | | | | | |
| **D4 Type of dwelling**<br>1. Free-standing formal house<br>2. Semi-detached house<br>3. Flat<br>4. Townhouse<br>5. Informal house (not backyard structure)<br>6. Hostel<br>7. Room in house/flat/townhouse<br>8. Backyard structure e.g. wendy house | | | | | | | | | |

| Questions | Place when 18 | 1st stop | 2nd stop | 3rd stop | 4th stop | 5th stop | 6th stop | 7th stop | 8th stop |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **D5 Living arrangements/stayed with:**<br>1. Alone<br>2. My partner and I (and children)<br>3. My family/relatives<br>4. Partner's family/relatives<br>5. Non-family<br>Other (specify) | | | | | | | | | |
| **D6 Type of tenure:**<br>1. Owned the place myself/ourselves<br>2. Rented from local government<br>3. Rented from private person/ company<br>4. Rented from local committee<br>5. Board and lodged<br>6. Stayed for free - <u>employer</u> provided housing e.g. farm, domestic worker<br>7. Stayed for free – other people provided housing | | | | | | | | | |
| **D7 Was this move directly as a result of the Group Areas Act or forced removals?**<br>1. Yes, Group Areas Act (government)<br>2. Yes, other forced removal (e.g. eviction from farm, private land)<br>3. No | | | | | | | | | |
| **D8 Who moved with you?**<br>1. Parent/s and/or siblings<br>2. Partner (and children)<br>3. Partner, (children) and parents<br>4. Spouse/partner only<br>5. Children only<br>6. Siblings<br>7. Other combination of family<br>8. No-one, moved alone<br>9. Non-family | | | | | | | | | |

| Questions | Place when 18 | 1st stop | 2nd stop | 3rd stop | 4th stop | 5th stop | 6th stop | 7th stop | 8th stop |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **D9 Main reason for moving**<br>1. To look for work<br>2. Found work here/close to this area<br>3. Possibility of getting own house<br>4. Live in better quality housing<br>5. Cheaper housing<br>6. To study here<br>7. Moved with employer<br>8. Get better farming land<br>9. Quarrels at home<br>10. Closer to transport<br>11. Better infrastructure<br>12. Better living conditions<br>13. Overcrowded at other place<br>14. Partner/family already here<br>15. Less crime<br>16. Less violence<br>17. Possibility of starting business<br>18. To get bigger/own plot<br>19. Forced removal by previous <u>government</u><br>20. Other forced removal (not by previous government)<br>Other (specify) | | | | | | | | | |
| **D10 As a result of this move, were you better or worse off than the last place?**<br>1. Better off<br>2. Worse off<br>3. The same | | | | | | | | | |
| **D11 Was this move an emergency/ crisis move?**<br>1. Yes<br>2. No | | | | | | | | | |

Ask questions D12 – D14

| Questions | Place when 18 | 1st stop | 2nd stop | 3rd stop | 4th stop | 5th stop | 6th stop | 7th stop | 8th stop |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **D12 Why did you have to move suddenly?** <br>1. Violence in area <br>2. Lost my job <br>3. Lost other source of income <br>4. Quarrel in family <br>5. Felt unsafe because of crime <br>6. Powerful local people anger <br>7. Death in family <br>8. Evicted from place (not forced removal) <br>9. Evicted from farm (not forced removal) <br>10. Forced removal (by government) <br>Other (specify) | | | | | | | | | |
| **D13 If you lost assets in this move, what was the most important thing you have lost?** <br>1. Did not loose anything <br>2. Furniture <br>3. Appliances <br>4. Building materials <br>5. Own house <br>6. Livestock <br>7. Crop <br>8. Lost almost everything <br>Other (specify) | | | | | | | | | |
| **D14 Were you able to plan properly ahead of this move or did you have to take the first place you could get?** <br>1. Were able to plan properly for the move <br>2. Did not have time to plan properly – had to take the first place we could get | | | | | | | | | |

## *For everyone who has ever moved section D:*

- ## *For everyone who has never moved, go to section E.*

**D15**   Have you during your adult life ever lived on a white commercial farm as a worker or a member of a worker family?
   1. Yes
   2. No

> **D15.1   Where?** (district) (If more than one district/area: only the last place):
>
> _____

**D16**   While you have been moving from time to time, did you have a plan that you wanted to achieve?
   1. Yes, to get money and have a better life
   2. Yes, to get to a place with good housing and services
   3. Yes, to build our resources and strengthen our home
   4. Yes, to get money first and then farm when we were older
   5. Yes, to get education for the children so they could help support
   6. No, we just decided to move when local conditions were not all right
   7. No, we just heard of a place that sounded better
   Other (specify) _____

## *For people whose last move were from outside the Cape Metropolitan Area to this area D17 – D18:*

**D17**   How did you find out about this area?
   1. Knew about it – relatively well-known
   2. Knew it through relations/friends/connections already staying here
   3. Learned about it through media
   4. Asked around and heard through grapevine
   5. Had connections through church here
   6. Referred here by RDP/local government structures
   7. Employer knew about it
   8. Lived here before/lived near the CMA before
   Other (specify)

   _____

**D18**   How did you obtain a place to stay once you were here?
   1. Someone took me to landlord (landowner)
   2. Someone took me to local government/committee
   3. Went directly to landlord (landowner) myself
   4. Went directly to local government/committee myself
   5. Inherited the place
   6. Stayed with relatives/friends
   7. Employer organised a place
   8. Saw advertisement in media/ through estate agent
   Other (specify)

   _____

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## *Only to those born outside of the Cape Metropolitan Area D19:*

| D19 | When you <u>first</u> came to stay here in the CMA permanently, who did you stay with? |
|---|---|

1. Relatives
2. Friends
3. Person or people from home area that were living here
4. Employer/co-worker
5. Hostel
6. No-one, found rented place
7. No-one, built informal house
8. No-one, built formal house
9. No-one, bought formal house/flat
Other (specify) _____

## *To all persons who have moved to this area  D20 – D27:*

**D20**   What was your main line/second line of support at the time you left your last place to move here?

**D20.1 Main line:** _____     **D20.2 Second line:** _____

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Wages/salaries from employment | 7. Selling natural medicines |
| 2. Remittances sent by people living elsewhere | 8. Cultivation for income |
| 3. Pensions and grants (state) | 9. Cultivation for food |
| 4. Selling livestock or livestock products consumption | 10. Private pension/interest |
| 5. Own business earning, either selling or services | 11. Private maintenance |
| 6. Food and money from other relatives in area | 12. Investments (e.g. unit trusts) |
| Other (specify) | |

| D21 | What changes have there been since you moved to this area in the way you are supporting yourself? Are you relying more or less or the same on the following sources: |
|---|---|
| | 1. More on        2. Less on        3. Same as before |
| D21.1 | Wages |
| D21.2 | Remittances |
| D21.3 | Own business |
| D21.4 | Cultivation for food |
| D21.5 | Cultivation for income |
| D21.6 | Natural medicines |
| D21.7 | Pensions and/or grants from state |
| D21.8 | Investments |

**D22**   Compared to the last place you lived, is this area overcrowded?
1. Yes
2. No

**D23** **Who was the first person related to the head of this household to arrive in this area?**
1. Head self
2. Moved as family
3. Head's partner
4. Head's parent(s)
5. Head's grandparent(s)
6. Earlier than head's grandparent(s)
7. Head's other family
8. Head's partner's family
Other (specify) _____

**D24** **Did you specifically have to save any money to be able to afford the move here?**
1. Yes
2. No

> **D24.1 How long did it take you to save for the move here?**
>
> _____ months

**D25** **What is the most expensive thing about moving?**
1. Transport to new place
2. Fees to the people in charge of the move
3. Temporary rents and living expenses till settled
4. Building/buying a new house
5. Replacing assets left behind
Other (specify) _____

**D26** **Comparing this area to the last area you have stayed:**

| D26.1 | Did your income become better because of your move here? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| D26.2 | Because of your move, has your income become more reliable? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| D26.3 | Are there more job opportunities for members of this household here? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| D26.4 | Is housing generally better here? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| D26.5 | Are the services better here? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| D26.6 | Are there more opportunities for business here? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| D26.7 | Is there less crime here? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| D26.8 | Is the leadership better here? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| D26.9 | Are there more free natural resources that you are using here? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| D26.10 | Because of your move, are you now living on a bigger plot? | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |

## *To everyone, except single-person households  D27:*

**D27** **When you (as a family) first moved, what kind of area were you looking for?**
1. We didn't have a choice when we moved – e.g. forced removals/evictions
2. A place inside the Cape Metropolitan Area
3. Closer to jobs
4. Good housing
5. Good schools
6. A nice place to live
7. Where we could keep cattle
8. Where we could get land and farm as we wanted
9. Somewhere traditions are respected and children are respectful
10. Somewhere we could make money
11. Outside the city but close to urban transport
12. Somewhere peaceful, free of gangsters/crime/violence
13. Access to natural resources, firewood, grazing, water for free
14. Affordable housing
15. Good services and infrastructure
16. Good area with stable or rising house prices/good investment area

Other (specify) _____

**E:** **OPTIONS, CONTACTS, CONNECTIONS ETC.**

**E1** **Concerning the people who have moved out of this area during the last five years, where did the family whom you knew the best, move to?**

_____

**E2** **If family/relatives moved permanently out of this household during the last five years, where did they move to?** (Name of area and reference point).

-1. Nobody

| E2.1 | The oldest person | |
|------|-------------------|---|
| E2.2 | The youngest person | |

**E3** **Are people moving in or out of this area?**
1. More people are moving in
2. More people are moving out
3. People move in and out
4. Not many people are moving
5. Don't know/not sure

**E4      Is there anyone here who helps new people to find accommodation?**
1. No
2. Don't know
3. Yes, local committee
4. Yes, municipal housing office
5. Yes, other organisations/people
6. Yes, other

## Only for households in poor areas  E5 – E7:

**E5      If you are in trouble, and have to make a sudden move, where are people that will help you with accommodation?** Specify place name and reference point.

1. Nobody

|  |  | Inside CMA | Rural places | Other urban | On farms |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| E5.1 | First place |  |  |  |  |
| E5.2 | Second place |  |  |  |  |

**E6      Do you still keep up contacts with friends, relatives, neighbours at:**

| E6.1 | **Your birthplace/hometown** | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |
|---|---|---|---|
| E6.2 | **The last place you lived** | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |
| E6.3 | **Any other place you stayed** | 1.  Yes | 2.  No |

**E7.1   How many families are living in this area that are related to the head of the household?**

Number            _____

**E7.2   How many families are living in this area that you feel really close to?**

Number            _____

**E7.3   Are there people from the head/partner of the head's home area living in this area?**
1. Yes
2. No

> **How many families?** _____

**F:** **MIGRATION WITHIN THIS AREA**

**F1** **Would you like to move to another house/place <u>inside this area</u>?**
 1. Yes
 2. No **(go to section G)**
 3. Not sure **(go to section G)**

**F2** **Are you thinking of a particular site/place?**
 1. Yes
 2. No **(go to section G)**
 3. Not sure **(go to section G)**

---

**F3** **If you can get that place, what would it cost to move there?**     R_____


**F4** **If the site is empty, how much would the site cost? R** _____
 1. Not applicable – not empty


**F5** **If the site includes a house, approximately how much would you then have to pay for the house and the plot?**
 R_____


**F6** **If the site does not include a house, approximately how much would it cost to build a house there?**

 R_____

---

**G:** **RETIREMENT PLANS AND MOVING OUT OF THIS AREA**

**G1** **Is there <u>now</u> any situation around here in this area that would make you move (again)?**
 1. Yes, we are considering to move
 2. Perhaps we might want to move, it depends
 3. No we will not move

**G2**   **Do you think you have finished moving ?**
1. Yes
2. No  (ask G3, G4, G5)
3. Don't know  (ask G3, G4, G5)

> **G2.1   What prevents you from moving again? (Two reasons)**
>
> **G2.1.1   Main reason: _____     G2.1.2   Second reason: _____**
> 1. We are used to this place now
> 2. This place has good infrastructure
> 3. We have water here
> 4. Place is safe and peaceful
> 5. We have a good house here
> 6. Place is close to shops
> 7. People know and respect us
> 8. We have a business here
> 9. Moving is too expensive
> 10. Cannot find a better place
> 11. Too old to move
> 12. Nothing
> Other(specify)_____
>
> **(Go to question G6)**

**G3**   **Would you move again to obtain:**

| G3.1 | Better work for yourself | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
|------|--------------------------|--------|-------|-----------|
| G3.2 | Better infrastructure and services | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.3 | Better housing | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.4 | Bigger plot | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.5 | Better access to transport | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.6 | Better access to water | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.7 | More farming land | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.8 | Business opportunities | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.9 | Better schools | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.10 | More peaceful community | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.11 | Better organised community | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.12 | Free use of natural resources | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |
| G3.13 | Land to cultivate for income | 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Unsure |

**G4**   **If you decide to move again, would you be able to sell your house?**
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know
4. Not applicable – don't own the house

**G5**   **If you decide to move again, would you be able to sell your land/plot?**
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know
4. Not applicable – don't own the land

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## *Only for those employed or looking for work G6:*

G6   **Where would you want to stay after your retirement from work?**
1.   Will stay in this place
2.   Return to original place
3.   Return to another place where relatives are staying
4.   Return to place we had previously stayed (not original place)
5.   Go to a new place that we know of
6.   Find a another place that is known
7.   Don't know, not thought about it yet
Other (specify)_____

## H:   CULTIVATION

H1   **Do you or someone in your household do vegetable/fruit cultivation here in this area?**
1.   Yes
2.   No **(go to question H2)**

> **H1.1   Where?**
> 1.   On this plot/yard
> 2.   Elsewhere in this area
>
> **H1.2   What is the size of the garden?**
>
> _____ m²
>
> **H1.3   Do you or your household sell any produce from your garden?**
> 1.   Yes
> 2.   No

H2   **Do you keep cattle here in this area?**
1.   Yes
2.   No

> **H2.1   Do you or your household sell any produce from your cattle?**
> 1.   Yes
> 2.   No

H3   **Do you keep any other livestock (excluding chickens) in this area?**
1.   Yes
2.   No

> **H3.1   Do you sell any produce from your other livestock?**
> 1.   Yes
> 2.   No

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**I:** **ATTITUDES TO IN-MIGRATION**

*We want to find out how you feel about people living in the area and people moving in to the area.*

**I1** **How many families have moved into the area during the last year?**
1. Many
2. A few
3. None **(go to question I3)**
4. Don't know **(go to question I3)**
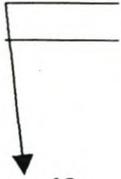
**I2** **How would you describe the attitude of new people towards established residents?**
1. Very respectful
2. Respectful
3. Neutral
4. Disrespectful
5. Very disrespectful
6. Don't know

**I3** **Does anyone decide who can move into your area?**
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

| **I3.1** **Who?** | |
|---|---|
| 1. Local government | 7. Private developer |
| 2. Civic association | 8. Political leader |
| 3. Committee/street committee | 9. Gang leader |
| 4. Church group | 10. Other local leader |
| 5. Formal residents association | 11. Other |
| 6. Informal residents association | |

**J:** **PERCEPTIONS OF THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT**

**J1** **What are your greatest needs in relation to living here:**

**J1.1 First response:** _____

**J1.2 Second response:** _____

**How well are the following services delivered in this community? If not good, then who should be responsible for delivering this?**

| | | Perceptions | Responsible |
|------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| J2 | Schools | | |
| J3 | Health care facilities | | |
| J4 | Housing | | |
| J5 | Water supply | | |
| J6 | Sewerage | | |
| J7 | Public transport | | |
| J8 | Security/police forces | | |

| Perceptions | Responsible |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1. Very good | 1. Civic organisation |
| 2. Good | 2. Committee/street committee |
| 3. Neutral | 3. Local government (municipality) |
| 4. Bad | 4. South African Government (includes RDP office) |
| 5. Very bad | 5. Other |
| 6. Don't know | |

**J9** **During the last year, has any member of this household been a victim of crime <u>in this area</u>?**
1. Yes
2. No

**What type of crime?**

_____

**J10** **How much does it cost to get to the health facilities/hospital/clinic that you use?** (Return trip)

R _____

**K:** **DUALBASED HOUSING**

*We want to know if the household head owns another house/dwelling or contribute (financially) to the upkeep of another household.*

**K1** **Do you (household head) own another dwelling?**
1. Yes
2. No

**K1.1 How many?** _____

**K2** **Do you (household head) contribute with money to the maintenance of another household?**
1. Yes
2. No

**K2.1 To how many households?** _____

**IF THE ANSWER IS NO TO QUESTIONS K1 & K2, STOP THIS INTERVIEW.** Thank the respondent for her/his time and information.

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## *To people who own another dwelling/house  K3 – K8:*

K3   **Where are the other dwellings/houses that you own?**
<u>NOTE</u>: Up to two responses, and the name of the place down to either tribal area or magisterial district or urban place.

| K3.1 | First | |
|------|-------|--|
| K3.2 | Second | |

## FOR K4 & K5 USE THE FOLLOWING CODE LIST

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1.  Nobody | 9.  Grandparent | 17. Tenant |
| 2.  Don't know | 10. Friend | 18. Brother/sister-in-law |
| 3.  Father | 11. Brother | 19. Brother and sister |
| 4.  Mother | 12. Sister | 20. Niece and nephew |
| 5.  Spouse | 13. Grandchild | 21. Mentally disabled |
| 6.  Child | 14. Other relative | person |
| 7.  Son-in-law | 15. Second wife | |
| 8.  Daughter-in-law | 16. Lodger | |

K4   **Who lives there permanently?** Note only three responses.

| K4.1 | |
|------|--|
| K4.2 | |
| K4.3 | |

K5   **Who is in charge of building/maintenance to the house there?**
(Building/renovations to that house).  Note only two responses.

| K5.1 | |
|------|--|
| K5.2 | |

K6   **Did you build any part of that house?**
  1. Yes
  2. No

K7   **Who is in charge of that area?**
  1.  Local committee
  2.  Municipality
  3.  Other township authority
  4.  Church
  5.  Don't know
  Other (specify) _____

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**K8 How did you get the right to that site?**
1. Bought the house/built the house
2. Inherited the house
3. Tribal land – asked the chief

Other (specify) _____

## To people who contribute financially to another household K9 – K12:

**K9 Where are these household(s) that you financially contribute to?**
NOTE: Up to two responses, and the name of the place down to either tribal area or magisterial district or urban place.

| K9.1 | First | |
|------|-------|---|
| K9.2 | Second | |

### FOR K10 USE THE FOLLOWING CODE LIST

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Nobody | 9. Grandparent | 17. Tenant |
| 2. Don't know | 10. Friend | 18. Brother/sister-in-law |
| 3. Father | 11. Brother | 19. Brother and sister |
| 4. Mother | 12. Sister | 20. Niece and nephew |
| 5. Spouse | 13. Grandchild | 21. Mentally disabled |
| 6. Child | 14. Other relative |     person |
| 7. Son-in-law | 15. Second wife | |
| 8. Daughter-in-law | 16. Lodger | |

**K10 Who lives there permanently?** Note only three responses.

| K10.1 | |
|-------|---|
| K10.2 | |
| K10.3 | |

**K11 How much did you contribute to the household during 1997?**

(Raw figure) **R** _____
            -1. Don't know

**K12 How often do you contribute per year?**
1. Once a month
2. Once every two months
3. Once every six months
4. Once a year
5. Once every two years
6. Irregular
7. Don't know

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# ADDENDUM C

## Glossary Of Terms

### Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA)[1]:

The area of jurisdiction of the Cape Metropolitan Council that includes the six municipalities: City of Cape Town; City of Tygerberg; Blaauwberg Municipality; Helderberg Municipality; Oostenberg Municipality; and South Peninsula Municipality.

### Cape Metropolitan Region (CMR)[2]:

The combination of the CMA (under the jurisdiction of the CMC) and the Winelands District (under the jurisdiction of the Winelands District Council). Together, the CMA and the Winelands District form one functional region referred to as the CMR.

### Dwelling Unit[3]:

A room or a set of rooms, with sleeping, cooking, bathing and toilet facilities.

### Enumeration Area (EA):

The Cape Metropolitan Area and each municipality within the CMA were divided into several smaller areas, namely EA's during census 1996.

### Head of the Household:

Respondents in the study were asked who was the head of the household, so it is not necessarily the main breadwinner. Interviews were done with the head of the household or the partner/spouse of the head of the household.

### Informal Sector[4]:

Business activities not registered for taxation.

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[1] As adapted by the MSDF Glossary of terms: http://www.cmc.gov.za/peh/msdf/jgloss.htm
[2] As adapted by the MSDF Glossary of terms: http://www.cmc.gov.za/peh/msdf/jgloss.htm
[3] As adapted by the MSDF Glossary of terms: http://www.cmc.gov.za/peh/msdf/jgloss.htm
[4] Fisher, 1999:211

## Infrastructure[5]:

In the context of urban development it refers to all bulk and general engineering services such as water supply, solid waste disposal, sewerage, storm water management, electricity supply and recycling management. In the study infrastructure refers to basic services supplied to the inhabitants of specific regions.

## Migrant:

The migrant is a person who moved from one place to the other, redefining his/her center of activity. In this study such a person is the head of the household and black, and the sample is divided into three categories: born in the CMA, older migrants (people who moved to the CMA before 1994) and recent migrants (people who moved to the CMA after 1994).

## Migration:

See the theory chapter for a more detailed discussion on migration. In short migration can be defined as the change of residence on a permanent or semi-permanent basis where the individual changes his/her center of activity.

## Municipalities[6]:

The new municipal authorities established after the local government elections held in May 1996. In the CMA there are currently six municipalities. See Cape Metropolitan Area for further description.

## Rural Development[7]:

Development associated with rural areas and characterized by large plots or farms with isolated buildings or small business nodes servicing the rural hinterland.

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[5] As adapted by the MSDF Glossary of terms: http://www.cmc.gov.za/peh/msdf/jgloss.htm
[6] As adapted by the MSDF Glossary of terms: http://www.cmc.gov.za/peh/msdf/jgloss.htm
[7] As adapted by the MSDF Glossary of terms: http://www.cmc.gov.za/peh/msdf/jgloss.htm

## Settlement Types:

The areas in the study were defined in terms of five settlement types namely black formal, white formal, colored formal, black and colored informal, and hostels. This was done according to the type of dwelling.

## Social Capital:

The migrant has social kin and networks that affect his/her decision to migrate. This is known as social capital.

## SPSS:

A statistical analysis computer program designed for the analysis of quantitative data.

## Unemployment: Expanded Definition[8]:

The proportion of people in the economically active population who are not in paid employment or self-employment at any given point in time, but who are available for work or for other income-generating activities, and who want to be employed or self-employed.

## Urbanization[9]:

The movement of people from rural to urban areas on a permanent basis.

## Urban structure[10]:

The macro-layout of urban areas. At the metropolitan scale, this involves the spatial geometry or pattern of settlement as created by connecting elements of the urban area such as transport links, metropolitan open space, nodes and other spaces and the corresponding spatial relationships between them.

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[8] Orkin, 1998:17
[9] As adapted by the MSDF Glossary of terms: http://www.cmc.gov.za/peh/msdf/jgloss.htm
[10] As adapted by the MSDF Glossary of terms: http://www.cmc.gov.za/peh/msdf/jgloss.htm

# ADDENDUM D

## List Of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| **CMA** | Cape Metropolitan Area |
| **CMC** | Cape Metropolitan Council |
| **CMR** | Cape Metropolitan Region |
| **DBSA** | Development Bank of South Africa |
| **EC** | Eastern Cape |
| **GDP** | Gross Domestic Product |
| **GGP** | Gross Geographic Product |
| **HH** | Household |
| **HH Head** | Head of the Household |
| **MSDF** | Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework |
| **Statssa** | Statistics South Africa |
| **US** | University of Stellenbosch |

# ADDENDUM E

## TABLES

## Chapter 3

Table 3.2.1.

## Demography by Province

|  | EC | WC | Ave/Tot |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population |  |  |  |
| 1996 | 6 302 525 | 3 956 875 | 40 583 573 |
| 1999 | 6 658 670 | 4 170 971 | 43 054 306 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Annual Population Growth Rate |  |  |  |
| 1983-1996 | 2.6 | 1.7 | 2.4 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Crude Death Rate |  |  |  |
| 1994 | 5.7 | 6.8 | 4.9 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Total Fertility Rate |  |  |  |
| 1998 | 3.5 | 2.3 | 2.9 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Average Household Size |  |  |  |
| 1996 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 4.4 |
|  |  |  |  |
| *%Econ. Active Population |  |  |  |
| *1999 | 44.2 | 64.4 | 56.1 |
|  |  |  |  |
| *Unemployment Rate |  |  |  |
| *1996 | 48.5 | 17.9 | 33.9 |

Health and Related Indicators. Figures from Statssa.
*State of South Africa's Population Report 2000.

**Table 3.2.2.**

**Socio-Economic Indicators By Province**

|  | EC | WC | Ave/Tot |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population Density (people/km²) | | | |
| 1996 | 38.4 | 31.5 | 34.4 |
| | | | |
| % Urban | | | |
| 1996 | 36.6 | 88.9 | 53.7 |
| | | | |
| % Non-Urban | | | |
| 1996 | 63.4 | 11.1 | 46.3 |
| | | | |
| % Literacy Rate | | | |
| 1996 | 59.0 | 78.7 | 65.8 |
| | | | |
| *% Non school attendance (older than 20 years) | | | |
| *1996 Census | 20.2 | 6.3 | 18.3 |
| | | | |
| *Learners/Educators Ratio | | | |
| *1999 | 35.7 | 31.5 | 32.8 |
| | | | |
| Per Capita Income (Rands) | | | |
| 1994 | 1 358 | 4 188 | 2 566 |
| | | | |
| % households with piped water | | | |
| 1996 | 53.4 | 96.8 | 61.9 |
| | | | |
| % households with no toilet | | | |
| 1996 | 28.9 | 5.4 | 12.5 |
| | | | |
| % househ's using electr for cooking | | | |
| 1996 | 31.7 | 85.2 | 59.4 |
| | | | |
| % households with telephone | | | |
| 1996 | 15.7 | 55.4 | 28.6 |

Health and Related Indicators. Figures from Statssa.
*State of South Africa's Population Report 2000.

**Table 3.2.3.**

**Health Status Indicators By Province**

| | EC | WC | Ave/Tot |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mortality | | | |
| Infant Mortality rate (/1000 live births) | | | |
| 1998 | 61.2 | 30.2 | 45.4 |
| *1999 Estimations | 55 | 26 | 41 |
| | | | |
| *Child Mortality Rate | | | |
| *1999 Estimations | 19 | 3 | 13 |
| | | | |
| < 5 mortality rate (/1000 live births) | | | |
| 1998 | 80.5 | 40.3 | 59.4 |
| *1999 Estimations | 73 | 29 | 53 |
| | | | |
| Morbidity | | | |
| HIV prevalence (%) (antenatal) | | | |
| 1998 | 15.9 | 5.2 | 22.8 |
| | | | |
| Personnel / 10 000 Population | | | |
| Nurses (Public) | | | |
| 1998 | 26.1 | 26.7 | 24.5 |
| | | | |
| Doctors (Public) | | | |
| 1998 | 1.27 | 2.83 | 1.83 |
| | | | |
| Doctors (Private) | | | |
| 1998 | 1.77 | 12.47 | 4.79 |

Health and Related Indicators. Figures from Statssa.
*State of South Africa's Population Report 2000.

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