

Internal migration in post-apartheid South Africa: The cases of the Western and Northern Cape

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this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions
arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to
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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: Internal migration in post-apartheid South Africa is the primary focus of this dissertation. The geographic focus is on two of the country's current provinces. In both the Northern Cape and the Western Cape provinces, apartheid policies that restricted the free movement of certain South Africans were supplemented by further restrictions arising from the policy of Coloured Labour Preference. It is because of these legislative constraints that resulted in a distortion and interference of migratory waves and trends that these two provinces offer a unique opportunity to do systematic research. Accordingly, the study identifies and analyses the primary changes in the direction and nature of internal migration streams into and within these provinces subsequent to the end of the apartheid regime and scrapping of such restrictive policies.

Method: The main demographic and locational characteristics used in this analysis are changes in the size of the overall migration streams, their shifting mix of population groups (Black African, Coloured, Indian/Asian and White), the age of migrants, and the urban, peri-urban or rural nature of these migrants' destinations. Migration data from three post-apartheid periods - 1996-2001, 2001-2006 and 2006-2011 – are analysed so as to enable comparisons of migrant flows between each of these periods.

Findings: Comparing the net-migration rates during the earlier and latter post apartheid periods, both provinces reveal a deceleration in general mobility and in urbanisation, suggesting a slowing down in net migration flows in the latter period. Measuring and describing how migrants in these two provinces move, data pertaining to both inter-provincial migration (movement across provincial boundaries) and intra-provincial migration (movement within provincial boundaries but across municipal district boundaries) are considered. Although some variation in movement is illustrated for the two provinces, the data clearly illustrates continuing urbanisation in the settlement patterns of migrants for both migration flows. Considering the characteristics of migrants, the data illustrated migrants as mostly mature adults (30-60 years of age), except for in-migrants to the Western Cape who are mostly younger adults (20-29 years of age). The Black African population is the most mobile within inter-provincial migration streams, with the Coloured population the most active in intra-provincial flows. When comparing pre- and post-1994 internal migration trends in the two provinces, the dissertation illuminates three specific shifts, (i) a change in the political context within which mobility is framed, (ii) a change in the type of internal migration flows that are sustaining urbanisation and, (iii) a change in the profile, specifically pertaining to population group, of migrants mobile in the two provinces. The dissertation concludes by making a case for the adoption of a strategic and concerted approach by governments to accommodate the developmental constraints and challenges posed by these forms of human mobility.

OPSOMMING

Inleiding: Hierdie verhandeling fokus primêr op interne migrasie in post-apartheid Suid Afrika. Geografies fokus die tesis op twee van die land se huidige provinsies, naamlik die Noordkaap en die Weskaap. In beide hierdie provinsies het die apartheidsbeleid beperkinge geplaas op die vrye beweging van sekere Suid Afrikaners met verdere beperkings wat voortgevloei het uit die Kleurling Arbeidsvoorkeurwette. Dienooreenkomstig identifiseer en analiseer die studie primêre veranderinge in die rigting en die aard van interne migrasie strominge vanuit en na hierdie provinsies wat gevolg het op die beëindiging van die apartheidsregering (in 1994) en die gevolglike skraping van hierdie wetgewing.

Metode: Die hoof demografiese en vestigingskenmerke wat gebruik is in hierdie analise, hou verband met die verandering in die grootte van die oorkoepelende migrasie strominge, veranderinge in die samestelling van migrante, en die stedelik-, semi-stedelik, en landelike aard van die migrante se bestemmings. Migrante data van drie post-apartheidperiodes (1996-2001, 2001-2006 en 2006-2011) word gebruik om sodoende vergelykings te kan tref tussendie migrantevloei van beide hierdie periodes. Data wat betref beide inter-provinsiale migrasie (beweging oor provinsiale grense) sowel as intra-provinsiale migrasie (beweging binne provinsiale grense oor munisipale grense heen) word oorweeg.

Bevindings: 'n Vergelyking van die netto-migrasiekoers in beide provinsies gedurende die vroeër en later periodes, toon 'n vertraging aan in beide interne en intra-provinsiale mobiliteit asook in verstedeliking, wat 'n algemene vertraging in die algemene migrasiestroom aandui. Te midde van variasie in die twee provinsies illustreer die data duidelike vestigingspatrone van migrante wat dui op volgehoue verstedeliking. Indien ouderdom en populasiegroep oorweeg word toon die data dat migrante meestal volwassenes tussen die ouderomme 20-29 jr is. Vergeleke met die ander populasie groepe is mobiliteit in die Swart populasie die hoogste binne inter-provinsiale migrasiestrome teenoor die Kleurling populasie wat die hoogste mobiliteit binne intra-provinsiale migrasiestrome toon. Ten slotte lê die tesis 'n argument voor wat aanvoer dat die bestuur van moontlike stremminge op ontwikkeling asook die ontsluit van moontlike ontwikkelingspotensiaal inherent tot migrasie, slegs moontlik is binne die raamwerk van 'n doelbewuste strategie daarop gemik om die interaksie en assosiasie tussen migrasie en ontwikkeling in beleid en ontwikkelingsprosesse in te sluit.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CMA	Cape Metropolitan Area
CPT	City of Cape Town
DCoG	Department of Cooperative Governance
DEDAT	Department of Economic Development and Tourism
DLGH	Department of Local Government and Housing
DM	District Municipality
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
EA	Enumerated Area
ECSECC	Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council
ETU	Educational and Training Unit for Democracy and Development
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross domestic product
GMG	Global Migration Group
HDI	Human Development Index
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LED	Local Economic Development
LGES	Local Government Equitable Share

LGNF	Local Government Negotiating Forum
LGTA	Local Government Transition Act
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MD	Municipal District
NP	National Party
PCAS	Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services
PGDS	Provincial Growth and Development Strategy
SAIRR	South African Institute for Race Relations
SANCO	South African National Civics Organisation
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund (formerly United Nations Fund for Population Activities)
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Internal migration in post-apartheid South Africa is the primary issue of this dissertation. The geographic focus is on two of the country's current provinces, the Northern Cape and the Western Cape. In both these provinces, apartheid policies of restrictions on the free movement of certain South Africans were supplemented by further restrictions arising from the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy*. Accordingly, the study identifies and analyses the primary changes in the direction and nature of internal migration streams into and within these provinces after the end of the apartheid regime (in 1994) and after the scrapping of these policies.

Chapter 1 serves as the preamble to this dissertation. It sets out to describe briefly the historical context of the two provinces constituting the focus of this dissertation (see sections 1.2 & 1.3) as well as the historical and current governance context that frames this study (see section 1.4). Subsequent to this brief description, a discussion pertaining to the research rationale and focus of the study (see section 1.5) is given. In this discussion the research is presented by stating (i) the main research question, (ii) the associated research objectives, and (iii) outlining the focus areas that structure the analysis. The chapter concludes with a presentation on the structure of the dissertation where each chapter that constitutes this dissertation is briefly introduced (see section 1.6).

1.2 BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE, 1652–1995

The Western Cape province is situated in the south-west of South Africa and stretches 400 km northwards along the Atlantic Ocean coast and 500 km eastwards along the Indian Ocean coast. The political history of the Western Cape dates back to 16 April 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck, under the direct orders of the OVC, planted the Dutch flag on the shores of Table Bay to establish the Cape Colony. This occasion introduced the long and steady era of colonisation that marks the history of South Africa (Mountain, 2003). Rule by the Dutch East Indian Company would continue in the Cape Colony until September 1795 when the Netherlands were conquered by the then newly founded Republic of France following the French Revolution. Following this victory the Netherlands became known as the Batavian Republic and Prince Willem of Orange, the ruler of the Netherlands, had to

flee to England. In an effort to prohibit the occupation of Dutch colonies by the French the prince asked Britain for assistance, who obliged and subsequently occupied the Cape Colony. Britain returned the Cape Colony to the Netherlands in February 1803, in terms of the Treaty of Amiens signed in 1802 between England and France, where after it was renamed the Batavian Republic (Howcroft, n.d.).

The Dutch governed for only another three years when the Cape Colony was colonised for a second time by Britain during the 1803 war in Europe in an effort to secure trade between Britain and the East and the Cape offering an ideal place for ships to obtain fresh water and produce. This resulted in the second occupation of the Cape by Britain in January 1806 (SA History online, n.d.).

The colonisation of the Cape had detrimental effects on the indigenous people that inhabited the southern part of South Africa. Long before the first white settlement began in 1652, the San people occupied the south-western part of the African continent that is today known as the Western Cape. The claim of the San people to this land was first challenged by Khoekhoe pastoralists who moved into the South-Western Cape approximately 2000 years ago, where they started to compete with the San for resources such as water and game. This inevitably gave rise to conflict between the two groups, but the low population numbers of both groups as well as some integration, combined with the relative vastness of the land they inhabited, meant that co-existence was possible. It was however, the arrival of the first Europeans in the seventeenth century that posed a serious threat to the survival of both the San and Khoekhoe (Mountain, 2003).

The indigenous people, including both the San and Khoekhoe, also referred to as the Khoesan as a generic term for the two groups, were left with little room to continue their traditional way of life in the face of ever increasing land-hungry colonists tightening their grip on the Cape. The European occupation of land evoked different responses from this group with some fighting to retain their land and defending their way of life, others moving deeper inward to remote areas in the hope of maintaining their freedom, and others deciding to cooperate with colonial forces in an effort to gain protection and improve their economic status. Ultimately, whatever their decision, both the Dutch and subsequent British colonisation of the Cape resulted in the disintegration and virtual disappearance of the indigenous Khoesan societies that lived here. Not only did the group suffer great impoverishment at the hand of the nomadic pastoral farmers, also known as the trekboers, as they moved deeper into the interior, but many died in clashes with the Europeans fighting for their cultural survival (Mountain, 2003; Allen, Mngqolo & Swanepoel, 2012).

In 1899 the Boer republics waged war against the British government of Lord Salisbury with the latter aiming to secure its hegemony in Southern Africa and the former to preserve their independence. The Anglo Boer war or, as it is also referred to, the South African War ended in 1902 with the Treaty of Vereeniging that was signed in Pretoria (Allen, Mngqolo & Swanepoel, 2012). In 1909, the four South African colonies merged as a response to clashing economic interests, with the passing of the *South African Act 1909* and the election of General Louis Botha as the first Prime Minister (Roberts, 1976). This was followed by the unionisation of South Africa on 31 May 1910 (Mountain, 2003).

The 20th century not only marked the end of the colonial era in South Africa but also the institutionalisation of apartheid ideology. The year 1948 saw the enactment of apartheid laws that would result in the institutionalisation of discrimination against specific groups of people based on their race or ethnicity (Lipton, 1986; Clarke & Worger, 2001; Mountain 2003; Institute of Justice and Reconciliation, 2004). The legislative policies and state actions of the apartheid government did not only work towards the physical and social separation of black and white citizens of the Republic but also enforced strong regulatory actions in the controlling of population movement or migration of specifically African individuals. This was achieved specifically by means of the policy on influx control designed to (i) regulate the process of African urbanisation, and (ii) resettle as many as possible African communities living in the Republic in the so called homeland towns or Bantustans, thus redirecting African urbanisation away from the main metropolitan areas. The policy of influx control and how it influenced early and current urbanisation is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

From 1910 to 1994 South Africa consisted of four provinces including the Cape, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State province, with six “self-governing” homelands and four “independent” homelands added from the late 1950s onwards (see Figure 1.1). It was only in 1995, following the first democratic elections in South Africa, that the Western Cape with its current boundaries was formed when the previous Cape province, or Cape Colony as it was known under Dutch and British rule, was divided into three separate provinces: the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Western Cape (see Figure 1.2).

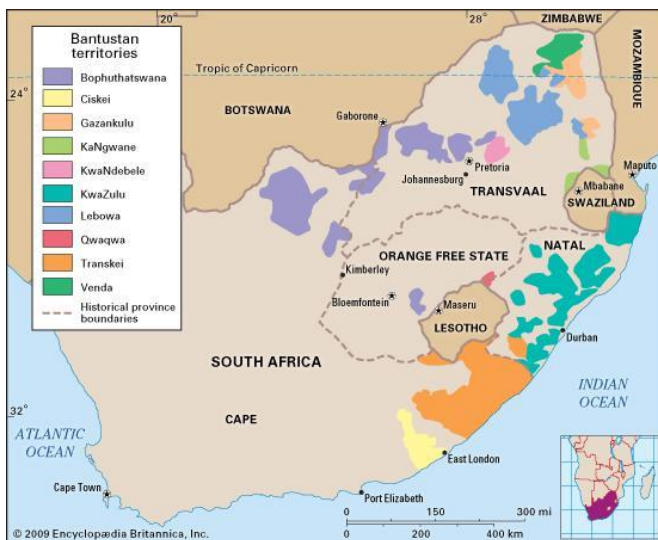


Figure 1.1: Map of South Africa, 1910–1994
 Source: *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, n.d.-a

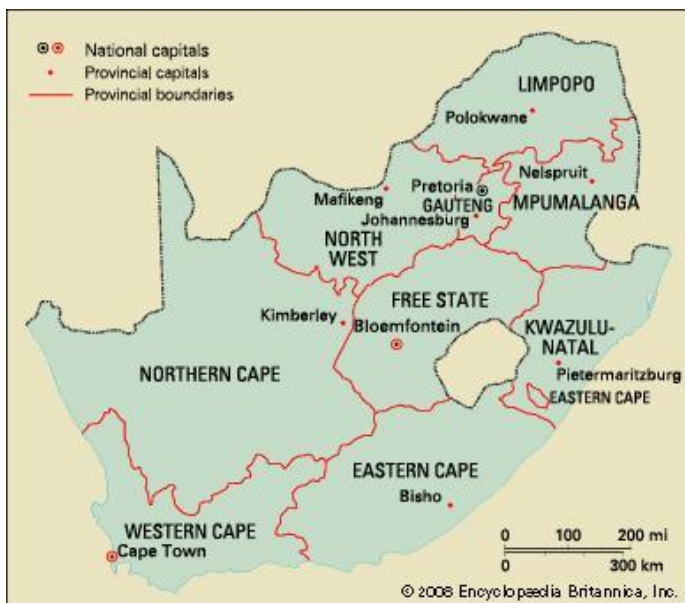


Figure 1.2: Map of South Africa post-1994
 Source: *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, n.d.-b

1.3 BRIEF HISTORY OVERVIEW OF THE NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCE, 1870–1995

The origin of the Northern Cape is really an extension of the history of the Western Cape with the trekboers (colonial farmers) driven by the ever growing need for more land. These farmers made their way to the Orange River via Namaqualand, already settling in the area in 1750, nearly a century before the formal extension of the northern border of the Cape Colony (Penn, 2005). The colonial farmers reached the Orange River by 1778, where they clashed violently with the indigenous groups. The intrusion and seizure of land by the colonial farmers had grave consequences for the Khoesan, whose lifestyle and livelihood depended on the land for grazing and hunting. In addition the hunting methods of colonial farmers led to a decrease in game in the area and meant that Khoesan groups could no longer live off the veld as they had been doing for centuries. Consequently this situation led to hostile relations between the indigenous Khoesan and the trekboers (Swanepoel, 2012).

It was specifically the San that retaliated by attacking colonial farms, burning homes, killing herdsmen and stealing cattle and sheep. Towards the end of the 18th century farmers responded by mounting commandos against the San. Many San were killed and survivors were often enslaved as “apprentices” on colonial farms. A similar fate was bestowed to the Khoekhoe, who were similarly subdued by commando strikes and many absorbed into trekboer households as servants and farmworkers (Swanepoel, 2012).

In December 1847, the then new Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, announced the extension of the northern border of the Cape Colony to the southern bank of the Orange River, extending the boundaries of the colony with another 115 000 kilometres (Penn, 2005; Allen, Mngqolo & Swanepoel, 2012). On 14 July 1798, the northern boundaries of the colony were declared for the first time with the explicit objective to fix the boundaries beyond which no colonist was to hunt, settle or graze livestock, and thus to protect the “Caffres [sic] and the Bosjemans” the historical inhabitants of that area (Penn, 2005:233).

Although large numbers of unauthorised white farmers had been moving into the north-western Cape for years prior to 1847, the real influx started after annexation. The 1850s saw a major surge in copper mining in Namaqualand resulting in infrastructural improvements between the Cape and the copper fields, leading to the arrival of many more colonists. During this time a number of new mining companies were formed, most of which disappeared before 1860. It was, however, the discovery of diamonds in the Northern Cape towns of Hopetown, Barkley West and Kimberley in the 1860s that resulted in South Africa’s mineral and industrial revolution (Allen *et al.*, 2012).

It was Jacobus Erasmus who found the first small brilliant pebble on the banks of the Orange River in 1866 on his father's farm, De Kalk, leased from local Griquas, near Hopetown. The pebble was sold by his father to Schalk van Niekerk who later again sold it. The pebble proved to be a 21.25 carat (4.25 g) diamond, and became known as the Eureka. Three years later, Schalk van Niekerk sold another diamond also found in the De Kalk vicinity, the Star of South Africa, for £11 200.00. The second diamond was resold in the London market for £25 000.00 (Meredith, 2007).

In 1871, the cook for prospector Fleetwood Rawstone's "Red Cap Party" discovered an even larger diamond of 83.50 carat (16.7 g) on the slopes of the Colesberg Kopje on the farm Vooruitzigt belonging to the De Beers brothers, when he was sent there to dig as punishment. Rawstone then took the news to the nearby diggings of the De Beers brothers, which sparked off the famous "New Rush", described by historian Brian Roberts as a stampede. Within a month, 800 claims were cut into the hillock, which was worked frenetically by two to three thousand men. As the land lowered so the hillock became a mine, and in time, it would be known as the world renowned Kimberley Mine (Roberts, 1976).

Local resistance to the colonial expansion was a constant presence, borne from the effort by traditional leaders to counter the destabilising effect and fragmentation of their indigenous life that resulted from colonisation. This local resistance to colonial expansion intensified between 1850 and 1900. With the onset of the mineral and industrial revolution following the discovery of diamonds in the Northern Cape, the contest and subsequent conflict over land intensified with the indigenous groups beginning to experience a distinct loss of personal and cultural freedom. Freedom for the indigenous groups were largely defined by the historical relationship that they had with their land and though they fought hard to retain their traditional way of life, the conflict over land brought with it a distinctive erosion of their freedom as they lost control and ownership of their land. Indigenous groups like the San, Korana, Batlhaping and Batlharo fought to maintain their independence but were systematically dispossessed of their land and freedom (Swanepoel, 2012).

The loss of freedom for the indigenous people is well illustrated in the contest for the land (where today is found the Kimberly mine) by the three colonies (Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State) and the Griqua leader Nikolaas Waterboer at the time of the 'new rush'. Initially the Griqua leader walked away the victor of this contest when Governor Keate, who oversaw the mediation, awarded the land to Waterboer. In an effort to protect his people Waterboer later placed himself under British protection seeking protections from intruding Boer farmers (Ralph, 1900; Allen *et al.*, 2012). The initial victory for Waterboer was however short lived when the allocation of the land later

allowed Sir Henry Barkley, British Governor at the Cape, to annex the land as the British Crown Colony of Griqualand West on 27 October 1871 (Allen *et al.*, 2012).

In September 1872, Governor Barkley visited *New Rush* in response to digger objections and minor riots in the area. During his visit he revealed his plan to have Griqualand West proclaimed a Crown Colony in January 1873. The process was however hampered in London where the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Kimberley, insisted that before subdivisions could be defined, the places had to receive “decent and intelligible names. His Lordship declined to be in any way connected with such a vulgarism as New Rush and as for the Dutch name, Vooruitzig he could neither spell nor pronounce it ” (Roberts, 1976:115). The matter was then passed to J.B. Currey, Colonial Secretary of Sir Richardt Southey¹. Roberts writes that "when it came to renaming New Rush, [Currey] proved himself a worthy diplomat. He made quite sure that Lord Kimberley would be able both to spell and pronounce the name of the main electoral division by, as he says, calling it 'after His Lordship'" (Roberts, 1976:115).

New Rush became Kimberley by Proclamation dated 5 July 1873. Digger sentiment was expressed in an editorial in the *Diamond Field* newspaper when it stated "we went to sleep in New Rush and waked up in Kimberley, and so our dream was gone" (Roberts, 1976:115). Following agreement by the British government on compensation to the Orange Free State for its competing land claims, Griqualand West was annexed to the Cape Colony in the passing of the Griqualand West Annexation Act on 27 July 1877 (Roberts, 1976).

Following the Anglo Boer War (1899–1902) was the unionisation of South Africa on 31 May 1910. From 1910 to 1994 South Africa consisted of four provinces including the Cape, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State province, with six “self-governing” homelands and four “independent” homelands added from the late 1950s onwards (see Figure 1.1). The Northern Cape was established as a province in 1995 when the newly democratically elected ANC government divided the then Cape province into three separate provinces, namely the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Western Cape provinces (see Figure 1.2).

¹ Sir Richard Southey was the Colonial Secretary of the Cape Colony from 1864 to 1872. In 1873, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Griqualand-West, a position he held till 1875 (Hon. Alex Wilmot, 1904).

1.4 HISTORICAL AND CURRENT GOVERNANCE CONTEXT

The year 1994 saw the end of just more than four decades of the apartheid regime in South Africa. One of the distinct features of this political system was the strict control that was exerted over the mobility and place of residence of individuals classified as black African, coloured and Indian/Asian² opposed to white individuals who enjoyed freedom and political support. Given this specific restrictive dynamic and history, the phenomenon of accelerated internal mobility or migration flows experienced by these population groups over the last two decades comes as no surprise. In contrast to the highly regulated nature of people movement that characterised the apartheid era, movement in the new democratic dispensation has been entirely unregulated. The new political dispensation set the free movement of the populace as a basic human right with which Government has no right to interfere. Concomitant with this new freedom of movement emerged an acceleration of urbanisation with strong migration flows directed towards urban areas, particularly towards the urban spaces of Gauteng and Cape Town³.

Since 1994, migration has played a major part in changing the demographic landscape of communities, with the effects thereof clearly visible on both provincial and municipal levels. This is specifically the case for two South African provinces under discussion in this dissertation. Prior to 1994, segregation policies were implemented in parts of the then Cape province with the specific objective to keep black African labour out of a purposefully demarcated area within the province in order to maintain a white and coloured majority.

The year 1994 saw the eradication of all discriminatory legislation opening the provincial borders of the country to all its citizens. Subsequent to the elections the newly elected government re-demarcated the country, increasing the number of provinces from four⁴ to nine⁵. The Cape province was divided into three provinces; the Western Cape, Northern Cape and Eastern Cape. The first two of these provinces constitute the focus of this dissertation.

² When referring to the different population groups, this dissertation follows the four classifications defined and used by Statistics South Africa

³ It would, however, be simplistic and naïve to attribute the dynamic nature of post-apartheid South Africa's internal migration flows purely to the freedom of movement allowed under a democratic government. A multitude of variables regulate or influence the willingness, ability and finally the decision to migrate. This complexity is discussed in more detail in the next chapter and will be revisited in the analysis and discussion chapters in this dissertation.

⁴ Prior to 1994 South Africa consisted of the Cape province, Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal as well as a number of homeland/bantustans.

⁵ The nine provinces are; the Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, North West, Free State, Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu Natal.

Together with the acknowledgement of the rights of all to free movement, the new democratically elected government institutionalised a strong inclusive socio economic development agenda. This stands in sharp contrast to the previous exclusive and centralist development agenda of the apartheid government in favour of the white population. This development agenda included a strong focus on participatory democracy which was to act as the mechanism responsible to facilitate participation of the citizenry in the governance structures. The development agenda was further to be executed by a multi-level system of governance negotiated in the 1990s by the old apartheid government and the ANC and was subsequently adopted into the new Constitution of South Africa (1996) (Simeon & Murray, 2008).

The Constitution (1996) provides for three spheres of government, these are national, provincial and local. The relationship between these three spheres is described in Article (40)¹ of the Constitution (1996) to be cooperative, interdependent and interrelated, and each has particular assigned powers and is independently elected (South African Government, n.d.-c; Republic of South Africa, 1996; Simeon & Murray, 2008). Collectively, the responsibilities of the government can be reduced to two primary tasks. The first task relates to the regulatory function of government. This function relates to the responsibility to formulate policies and laws pertaining to the rights and responsibilities of citizens and the delivery of government services. The second task speaks to the responsibility of government to provide infrastructure and services to its citizenry. Government facilitate this task by collecting revenue (income) from taxes, using this money to provide services and infrastructure that improve the lives of all the people in the country, particularly the poor (Educational and Training Unit for Democracy and Development (ETU), n.d.; South African Government, n.d.-c).

The above defined tasks are brought to fruition by the three spheres of government with each sphere allocated specific tasks and responsibilities. The national government is responsible for the formulation of policies and laws and the co-ordination of provinces (provincial sphere) and municipalities (local sphere). Provincial governments, in turn, are responsible for the economic and social development of the provinces. Such development is guided by their respective Provincial Growth and Development Strategies (PGDS) and Spatial Development Frameworks (SDF), all set within the broader legislative and policy framework provided by the national government (ETU, n.d.; South African Government, n.d.-b; Republic of South Africa, 1996).

In all provinces the Department of Local Government and provincial MECs are responsible for the co-ordination, monitoring and support of municipalities, which constitute the third sphere of governance. In this case, local government, the sphere of governance closest to citizens, has the

primary function of service delivery as guided by its Integrated and Development Plan (IDP) (ETU, n.d.; Republic of South Africa, 1996).

1.5 RESEARCH RATIONALE AND FOCUS

It is within the historical and current political context described above that the research objectives for this dissertation were developed. Since the end of white minority rule, restrictions on the free movement of South Africans within the country have been lifted, resulting in new internal migration streams. The consequences of these changing streams are generally found in the urban and metropolitan areas of the country with changes observed in both the size and composition of the population comprising established residents and internal migrants (Todes, Kok, Wentzel, Van Zyl & Cross, 2010).

It is this latter assertion that constitutes the main focus of this dissertation. Identifying internal migration trends for the Western and Northern Cape provinces in the post-apartheid South Africa, this dissertation aims to describe and compare the nature of internal migration in these two provinces. The Western and Northern Cape provinces were purposefully selected due to some shared geographical and historical characteristics discussed below (see 1.5.2).

Towards addressing the defined purpose of the dissertation, the following research objectives have been formulated:

1. To identify internal migration streams in the two provinces at (a) provincial level [inter-provincial migration] and (b) sub-provincial levels [intra-provincial migration], for the periods 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011. The analysis will consider migration flows in the two provinces at both provincial level and sub-provincial level (delimited by ten Municipal Districts (that is five in each of the provinces) and one Metro (City of Cape Town in the Western Cape). Data drawn from censuses between the years 1996 and 2011 will be used
2. To compare these post-apartheid migration streams by employing migration theory
3. To consider the nature and impact of urbanisation in the two provinces

1.5.1 A focus on internal migration

The focus on internal migration is deliberate considering its dynamic and often disregarded nature and subsequent impact on socio-economic development. In the past decade migration has somehow come to mean international migration, with a preoccupation with international movement of individuals and households and very little attention being given to internal migration flows (King, Skeldon & Vullnetari, 2008; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2009). Typically discussions on migration focus on migration flows from developing countries to the rich and developed countries of Europe, North America and Australasia despite the fact that the majority of movement does in fact not take place between developing and developed countries, nor between countries of similar developmental status. Compared to international migration, domestic mobility is far more significant in numeric terms with the majority of migrants moving within their own country rather than between countries (Skeldon, 2008; Landau & Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2009; UNDP, 2009).

Internal migration refers to a migratory move where both the origin and destination place is within the same country, compared to international migration that entails migratory moves across country borders (Kok, O'Donovan, Bouare & Van Zyl, 2003; UNDP, 2009). According to a UNDP report (2009), the number of internal migrants globally was estimated at approximately 740 million people in 2009. At the time this number constituted almost four times as many as international migrants. This fact is supported by Skeldon (2006) cited in King *et al.* (2008) when he notes that approximately 40% of urbanisation in the developing world of Asia, Africa and Latin America is due to internal migration.

King *et al.* (2008) supports the dynamic nature of internal migration when he writes; “[w]e need to stress, therefore, that the ‘age of migration’ is also an age of mass internal migration, especially in those countries that are less developed, but rapidly developing” (ibid:3). A possible reason for the focus on international migration in spite of its inferiority when compared to domestic mobility is the political nature of international migration. In this context there is a clear definition of the ‘other’, where this other is often perceived as a threat that takes economic and other resources away from local citizens (Landau *et al.*, 2009).

1.5.2 The rationale for selecting the Western and Northern Cape provinces as case studies

The Northern and Western Cape provinces were purposefully selected as case studies due to three shared geographical and historical characteristics.

1. These two provinces served as the first point of entry and settlement for European colonialist marking the establishment of a long era of suppression of, and discrimination against, the indigenous people of the land.
2. The institutionalisation of the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* - a specific control mechanism applied by the apartheid government and only relevant within a specific geographical space demarcated from the rest of the country by an artificial political line, the so called Eiselen line. This demarcated area included the whole of the current Western Cape province as well as a large part of the Northern Cape. The *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* was a control mechanism implemented by the apartheid government to protect coloured labour within the defined geographical space by preventing the movement of black African persons into these areas (Snitcher, 1957; West, 1982; Goldin, 1984). As a result of this policy, the black African population was mostly excluded from urbanisation in these two provinces, a trend that changed significantly in the post-1994 era. The observed changes in black African migration post-1994 and how it has resulted in observed shifts in the nature and composition of both residents and internal migrants constitute the focus for the migration analysis in this dissertation.
3. In their efforts to manage and control black African urbanisation to the Western part of the Cape province by means of the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy*, the Apartheid government engineered a demographic composition that resulted in a coloured majority and a black African minority in this province. This outcome was still evident in the last population census in 2011, with these two provinces the only two provinces in the country where the coloured population group constituted a significant share of the population opposed to a strong black African majority in the other seven provinces⁶.

The policy of *Coloured Labour Preference* was implemented in 1955 by the apartheid government within specifically demarcated parts in the then Cape Province. Its objectives were described by scholars as threefold: (i) to prevent the movement of black African persons into this area; (ii) to secure the labour market for the coloured population; and (iii) to preserve the province as a part of

⁶ During the 1996, 2001 and 2011 Censuses the Western and Northern Cape provinces were the only two provinces that had a Coloured population majority at the time, compared to the remaining seven provinces that had a Black African majority.

South Africa where the white population would remain numerically dominant (Bekker & Cilliers, 1980; West, 1982; Horner, 1983; Goldin, 1984; Humphries, 1992; Mountain, 2003; Scanlon, 2007; Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2008)⁷.

It is against this framework that the dissertation is framed. Taking the Western and Northern Cape as case studies, the purpose of this study is to identify and explain the changing nature of internal migration streams after 1994 and how these streams have had an impact on the population size and composition of the residents of these provinces. In analysing the impact changing migration flows has had on the composition of the residents of the two selected provinces, three dimensions will be considered; age, gender and population group.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

As a preamble to this dissertation, Chapter 1 has two main objectives: (i) to provide the historical and current governance context that frames this study; and (ii) to present the research rationale and focus that frames this study.

Chapter two presents the theoretical framework that underlies the analysis and subsequent explanations offered pertaining to the migration trends of the Western and Northern Cape provinces. Towards this goal migration as a social concept is conceptualised with particular focus on how it applies to the South African context. This is followed by a brief overview of migration theory, where after a discussion follows pertaining to the link between migration and development. The chapter concludes by presenting and justifying the analytical framework underlying and guiding the analysis, explanation and comparison of migration in the two provinces.

Chapter three provides a detailed description of the methodology of this study. Subsequent to defining the research problem and research design, the different data sources employed in the analysis are presented and discussed. This is followed by an explanation of the methodology employed in the actual analysis of the data, specifically pertaining to how census data was used to allow for the trends analysis. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the scientific status of the data and some acknowledged limitations to the study.

⁷ Chapter 6 presents an overview of apartheid legislation regarding internal migration and the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy*

Chapters four and five represent the empirical component of the dissertation. These two chapters, each dedicated to one of the two provinces that constitute the focus of this dissertation, begin with a condensed description of the demographic characteristics of the respective populations as at the time of the 1996 and 2011 censuses. Subsequently, a detailed description of the internal migration flows into and within these two provinces is offered.

Chapter six compares the migration flows identified and described for the Western and Northern Cape provinces in Chapters four and five. In order to locate this discussion in an historical context, this discussion starts off with a short overview of national apartheid legislation regarding internal migration. This is followed by an overview of the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* that applied to large areas of the pre-1994 Cape province. Following the comparison of internal migration in the two provinces, the chapter concludes with some explanations for the findings in terms of the theoretical framework defined in chapter two.

The final chapter of this dissertation consists of two parts summarises the analysis and discussion of post-apartheid migration trends in the two provinces that constitute the focus of this dissertation. Towards this end, the chapter starts with an overview of the main changes observed in internal migration flows in the post-apartheid era compared to pre-1994. This is followed by a brief summary of the main internal migration trends observed in these two provinces for the period 1996 – 2011. Next these internal migration trends are considered theoretically. The chapter concludes with some final comments and recommendations regarding the relationship between migration and development in South Africa.

Chapter 2: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CONCEPT MIGRATION AND AN OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION THEORY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is twofold, namely to present an overview of migration theory and to present the theoretical framework that underlies the analysis and subsequent explanations of the identified migration trends for the two provinces that constitute the case studies of this dissertation. Towards realising this goal, the chapter first conceptualise migration, defining concepts inherent to this social phenomenon particularly in how it applies in a Southern African context (see section 2.2). Following this section, an overview is presented of migration theory. This discussion presents theories within both economic and non-economic migration models and illustrates how these different theories explain the inception of migration, identify variables used for the measurement of migration and argue the sustaining of migration behaviour over time (see section 2.3). The chapter continues to present a short summary on the contribution of transition models to migration theory (see section 2.4).

Next, the chapter considers the link between migration and development. In this discussion the focus is on the impact of migration and how these impacts in turn affect development. This discussion reflects on the impact of migration as it applies to (i) the migrant and migrant household, (ii) the sending area, and (iii) the receiving area. With this broad overview of migration theories as context the chapter concludes with a description of the theoretical framework selected to guide and inform the analysis of migration trends in the Western and Northern Cape as well as the subsequent discussions pertaining to the findings. The defined framework flows from two theories that have specific relevance to the history and context of these two provinces as well as to the larger South African picture.

2.2 CONCEPTUALISING MIGRATION

What is migration? *Kok et al.* (2003) note the vibrant debate surrounding the concept 'migration', acknowledging the definitional complexity inherent to the concept. Migration in relation to human population usually refers to a range of patterns of movement of individuals or populations. Mostert, Oosthuizen and Hofmeyer (1991) define migration as a form of mobility of individuals or households

between clearly defined geographical units. Within the context of development in South Africa, three key dimensions of migration are of central importance, namely space, time and intentionality. These dimensions allow for the recognition of different types of human mobility as an action that involves different distances and time dimensions, thus allowing for the consideration of a host of short-term, circular and cyclical forms of movement, a mode of migration suggested by some analysts as much more prevalent than permanent migration (Parnwell, 1993).

There exists three models that often appear in analyses of migration in South Africa - Circulatory migration, Oscillating migration, Gravity flow migration. Each of these is closely tied to the notion of urbanisation and to the fact that employment opportunities and the associated income dominate people's reasons for moving (Bekker & Swart, 2001; Agunias & Newland, 2007).

Circular migration typically refers to a person who moves to a city or town fairly early in adult life either with a family or to establish a family soon after arrival (Bekker & Swart, 2002). Wickramasekara (in Castles & Ozul, 2014:27) defines this form of migration as "repeated migration experiences involving more than one (*em*)⁸migration and return". Circulatory migration thus refers to a situation where migrants are able to move between origin and a sending area and one or more destination areas repeatedly, for stays of varying duration (Castels & Ozul, 2014). Oucho and Gould (1993) present a useful definition of this form of migration, subdividing it into three categories based on the length of the period of absence of the migrant. Periodic movements refer to mostly short term circulatory migration, with seasonal movements presenting a regular rhythm. Long term circulation involves an absence of more than one year, but with an expectation to return. Circulatory migration is often seen as a win-win-win proposition, providing gains to areas of both origin and destination, as well as to the migrants themselves (United Nations (UN), 2016).

Oscillatory migration typically refers to labour migration and refer to a shorter term movement as a result of a short period of employment. An adult worker moves in search of an employment opportunity, returns to the rural home after its completion and then repeats the cycle in future (Bekker & Swart, 2002).

The third model of migration is *gravity flow or step wise migration* where people migrate permanently and move typically toward urban places (Bekker & Swart, 2002).

Intentionality presents the migrant as a rational individual that makes a decision to change his/her residence on either a permanently or temporary basis. This decision is based on the full awareness

⁸ Italics by author

of the ramifications to follow the decision to migrate (Chou, 2012). The intention to migrate follows a process whereby migrants compare their present location to a potential destination and evaluate the process of getting there. Intentions to migrate are often dependant on migrant's level of being embedded in socio-institutional environments that continuously affect their social capital, risk perceptions and coping strategies (Wissink, Düvel & Van Eerdewijk, 2013)

A further distinction in conceptualising migration defines the moves of migrants in terms of spatial boundaries, namely international migration and internal migration. International migration refers to movement from one national state to another, whereas internal migration refers to movement within a national state. The latter includes movement between different provinces, areas or cities, as well as movement from rural to urban areas (Mostert *et al.*, 1991).

Considering the status of a migrant as either an in- or out-migrant moving within the boundary of the same country, Shryock, Siegel and Associates (1980) writes: "Every move is an out-migration with respect to the area of origin and an in-migration with respect to the area of destination. Every migrant is an out-migrant with respect to the area of departure and an in-migrant with respect to the area of arrival" (ibid, 1980:617). An *in-migrant* thus refers to a person that moves to a defined geographical area by crossing its boundary from some point outside the area, whereas an *out-migrant* refers to a person who departs from a defined geographical area by crossing its boundary to a point outside it – both with the intention to change residence. A *migration stream or migration flow* refer to a group of migrants with a common origin and destination in a given migration period (Shryock *et al.*, 1980).

One of the processes and consequences often closely associated with internal migration is that of urbanisation. At the beginning of the 21st century, for the first time in human history, the majority of the world's population lived in urban environments (World Health Organisation, 2012). In sharp contrast to the developed world where the process of urbanisation has been largely completed, the process of urbanisation is rapid and enduring on the African continent (United Nations, 2012). In South Africa, these urbanisation trends are no different from the rest of Africa, with a large proportion of migrants settling in the two most urbanised provinces, Gauteng and the Western Cape (Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), 2011a).

Another dimension to migration relates to the nature of moves being either a cause of voluntary action as opposed to a forced action. Voluntary migration refers to movement initiated by free will or as result of a person's own initiative opposed to forced migration where the person is left with no choice but to move. Evidently these divergent types of moves are informed by different push and

pull factors deciding on the viability or necessity of moving and the choice of a place of destination. Whereas voluntary migration is driven by either economic or non-economic forces, or in some instances, both, forced migration in essence is not due to own choice but forced due to various circumstances. Some examples of this would include war, political pressures, housing evictions, urban renewal projects, occupational transfers or due to sudden changes in the social, economic, or environmental conditions such as drought, flood, or famine (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981).

2.3 THEORIES ON MIGRATION: AN OVERVIEW

Attempts at theorising about the phenomenon of migration have since the 19th century seen extensive development due to a growing realisation of the complex nature of this social trend. Considering the broader pool of migration theory in how it developed since the 19th century, attempts at theorising about migration are driven by the following objectives: (i) to develop an understanding of the underlying determinants that result in and influence migration behaviour; (ii) to translate identified factors into quantifiable data to allow for the measurement of migration behaviour; (iii) to understand how migration is sustained over time; and (iv) to consider the impact of migration on the migrant and the migrant households as well as the impact on both the sending and receiving areas of migrants.

The systematic study of internal migration has brought a general consensus regarding the cause and effect of migration. In general, there is consensus that although general economic, social and political conditions may be useful and able to explain macro trends in migration, the analysis of individual cases present a complex interplay of numerous and diverse variables.

Orthodox migration theory expects migrants to move from rural and small towns to large cities. Reasons for their move range from social, environmental, cultural and economic considerations. Explanations of migration have for the most part been wrapped in two conceptual frameworks, that is, economic and non-economic explanatory frameworks. While the economic framework focuses its predictions and explanations of migration on economic considerations, realities and perceptions, the non-economic framework considers characteristics of the individual that act as selectivity and differentials to migration (age, gender, educational status, career pattern, socio-demographic profile of migrants); spatial aspects that inform the decision to move (distance, directional aspects and stage migration, the gravity concept); and subjective considerations in the decision to migrate (the mover – stayer framework, residence duration) (Shaw, 1975; Sarjehpeyma, 1984).

The discussion below presents an overview of migration theory within the two conceptual frameworks. The overview is presented in such a manner as to illustrate how migration theory developed - starting from a rather simplistic explanatory framework to a complex and multi-faceted one.

2.3.1. Economic theories and models of migration

The early focus on economics in migration theory, that is *income* and *employment* factors as the sole drivers of migration had its origin in Europe in the post-World War II era. A period characterised by rapid industrialisation marked by rapid economic growth and accompanying social transformation. The section below offers a brief overview of the theories that developed within this school of thought.

Neo-classical theory

The neo-classical theory of migration is both the oldest and dominant theory to explain migration. Developed as an explanation for labour migration during a time of economic development, this theory is based on the underlying assumption that migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs (Kurekova, 2011). Within this broad school of thought the initiation of migration is explained in terms of macro- and micro-economic models. On the macro economical level, migration is attributed to the uneven spatial distribution of labour compared to other factors of production, above all capital. In essence macro-economic models explain migration as an outcome of labour differentiation whereas micro economic models postulate migration to be an outcome of a rational decision making process by individuals (Massey, Arango, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1998; King, 2012).

Neo-classical theories of migration departing from a macroeconomic perspective, understand migration as a phenomenon driven by differences in returns to labour across markets. Developed in the work of Hicks (1932), Lewis (1954) and Todaro (1980), these theorists argue migration to result from actual wage differentials across markets or countries, driven by geographic differences in labour supply and demand. With the central focus on wages, the assumption is that under full employment there would exist a linear relationship between wage differentials and migration flows (Todaro, 1980, Kurekova, 2011). This implies that individuals will move away from areas that offer lower wages towards areas that offer higher wages. The theory explains migration as a result of geographic differences in labour supply and demand which result in the interactive flow of both

capital and human capital between the respective sending and receiving areas (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouchi, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993; Massey, 1999). Extended neoclassical models explain migration to be determined by expected/anticipated rather than actual earnings. Here the key variable is earnings weighted by the probability of employment (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

The simple explanation of migration offered by neoclassical macroeconomics has had a strong impact on public thinking and has provided the intellectual foundation for a substantial portion of immigration policy. This perspective contains five implicit propositions and assumptions;

1. Migration of workers is caused by differences between countries in wage rates.
2. The elimination of wage differentials will end the movement of labour and migration will not occur in the absence of such differentials.
3. The flow of human capital, that is highly skilled workers – respond to differences in the rate of return to human capital, which may be different from the overall wage rate, yielding a distinct pattern of migration that may be opposite to that of unskilled workers
4. Labour markets are the primary mechanisms responsible for the inducement of international flows of labour; other kinds of markets do not have important effects on migration.
5. The way for governments to control migration flows is to regulate or influence labour markets in sending and/or receiving places.

(Massey *et al.*, 1993:434)

The micro-economic model developed in response to the macro-economic model of migration, emphasising the importance of individual choice. Also referred to as the human capital theory of migration, this theoretical model ascribe migration to an individual decision based on a cost-benefit calculation that leads migrants to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Introduced by Sjaadstad (1962), this explanatory framework incorporates the socio-demographic characteristics of the individual migrant as an important determinant of migration. Thus the decision to migrate purely depends on an individual perception of anticipated net gain from the move. Migrants as individual actors are consequently, assumed to estimate the costs and benefits of moving to alternative locations, and migrate to the area where they can expect the greatest (monetary) net return (Sarjehpeyma, 1984; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Kok *et al.*, 2003).

People choose to move to where they can be most productive, given their skills; but before they can capture the higher wages associated with greater labour productivity they must undertake certain investments, which include the material costs of travelling, the costs of maintenance while moving and looking for work, the effort involved in

learning a new language and culture, the difficulty experienced in adapting to a new labour market, and the psychological costs and benefits of cutting old ties and forging new ones. (Massey & Douglas, 1999:434)

This school of thought further explains the decision to migrate as determined by human capital endowments, skills, age, marital status, gender, occupation and labour markets and, preferences and expectations (Sarjehpeyma, 1984).

Push-Pull theory of migration

The push-pull explanatory framework of migration is related to the neoclassical theory. This theory can be traced back to Ravenstein's laws of migration (1885) that implicitly combined individual rational-choice theory with the broader structures of rural-urban and developmental inequalities. This model perceives migration as driven by a set of push factors operating from the country or area of origin, and pull factors present in the country of area of destination (Stanojoksa & Blagojce, n.d.; Lindsay, 1985; De Haas, 2010b; King, 2012).

The push-pull theory of migration argues that there are certain factors that push and pull migrants from their areas of origin towards areas of destination (Moses & Yu, 2009). Push factors refer to the forces that drive a migrant to leave an area (due to for example poverty, unemployment, landlessness, rapid population growth, political instability and repression, low social status, poor marriage prospects, high crime rates, etc.), whereas pull factors refer to those forces that drive and attract a migrant towards a specific area (better income and employment prospects, better education and welfare systems, land to settle and farm, good environmental and living conditions, political stability and freedom, etc.) (Stanojoksa & Blagojce, n.d.; Lindsay, 1985; De Haas, 2010b; King, 2012).

This model resonates with views regarding the substitute nature of development and migration which is nestled in the assumption of an inversely proportional relationship between income and other opportunity differentials and migration rates. "The idea that migration is a function of spatial disequilibria constitutes the cornerstone assumption of so-called 'push-pull' models which still dominate much gravity-based migration modelling as well as commonsensical and non-specialist academic thinking about migration" (De Haas, 2010b:4).

In revising Ravenstein's migration laws, Lee (1996) stated that migration decisions are determined by 'plus' and 'minus' factors in locations of origin and destination. These factors included intervening obstacles (such as distance, physical barriers, immigration laws, etc.) and personal factors. Although

Lee (1996) did not use the term himself, his analytical framework became commonly referred to as the push-pull model (Passaris in De Haas, 2010b; King, 2012).

New (household) economics of migration

Dissatisfaction with neoclassical economic explanations and the push-pull framework led to the emergence of new theoretical perspectives challenging the many assumptions and conclusions of neoclassical theory (Massey *et al.*, 1998; Kurekova, 2011). A key insight of this new approach is the observation that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but rather by larger units or collectives of related people, typically families and households. In this context migration is a collective act to maximize expected income, and to minimize risk and loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Massey & Douglas, 1999; Moses & Yu, 2009).

In developed countries, risks to household income are generally minimized through private insurance markets or governmental programs, but in developing countries these institutional mechanisms for managing risk are imperfect, absent, or inaccessible to poor families, giving them incentives to diversify risks through migration. In developed countries, moreover, credit markets are relatively well-developed to enable families to finance new projects, such as the adoption of new production technology. In most developing areas, in contrast, credit is usually not available or is procurable only at high cost. In the absence of accessible public or affordable private insurance and credit programs, market failures create strong pressure for international movement. (Massey & Douglas, 1999:436)

The new (household) economics of migration present a set of propositions and hypotheses that differ markedly from that presented by neoclassical theory and lead to a different set of policy prescriptions:

1. Families, households or other culturally defined units of production and consumption are the appropriate units of analysis for migration research, not the autonomous individual
2. Wage differentials are not a necessary condition for migration to occur. Households may have incentives to diversify risks through migration even in the absence of wage differentials.
3. International migration and local employment or local production, are not mutually exclusive possibilities. There are indeed strong incentives for households to engage both in migration and local activities. In fact, an increase in the returns of local economic activities may heighten the attractiveness of migration as a means of overcoming capital and risk

constraints by investing in those activities. Thus, (favourable) economic development and conditions within sending regions need not reduce the pressures for migration

4. International movement does not necessarily stop when wage differentials have been eliminated across national boundaries. Incentives for migration may continue to exist if other markets within sending countries are absent, imperfect, or in disequilibria.
5. The same expected gain in income will not have the same effect on the probability of migration for households located at different points in the income distribution, or among those located in communities with different income distributions.
6. Governments can influence migration rates not only through policies that influence labour markets, but also through those that shape insurance, capital and futures markets.
7. Government policies and economic changes that shape income distributions will change the relative deprivation of some households and thus alter their incentives to migrate.
8. Government policies and economic changes that affect the distribution of income will influence migration independent of their effects on mean income. In fact, government policies that produce a higher mean income in migrant-sending areas may increase migration if relatively poor households do not share in the income gain.

(Massey *et al.*, 1993:439-440)

The theory has, however, received some criticism due to its rather simplistic treatment of the household as a unitary decision-making entity (Spiegel, 1997 in Moses & Yu, 2009; Kok *et al.*, 2003).

The dynamics of intra-household allocation are made even more complex by possible balance of power shifts due to migrants' remittances. Fluidity in household composition and the more realistic assumption of varying tastes within the household also casts doubt on the theory's assumption of decision-making at the household level. (Moses & Yu, 2009:7)

Dual (segmented) labour-market theory

Both the neo-classical theory and the new-economics theory define migration as a rational choice made on a micro level by either the individual actor or a group of actors, i.e. the family or household. Dual labour market theory puts itself distinctly apart from these two models arguing that migration is in fact the result of labour demands within modern industrial societies rather than a result of rational choice (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

A salient feature of industrial economies is a differentiated and segmented labour market consisting of primary and secondary labour sectors. Local workers, that is, non-migrant workers, are typically

more inclined to seek employment in the primary sector where security and income levels are typically higher and more stable. Usually the primary sector has no difficulty recruiting people; however, the secondary sector is mostly perceived as not as attractive. It is in this sector that migrants provide a solution to the employer operating in the secondary sector in that they provide the necessary alternative labour (Weeks, 1996 in Moses & Yu, 2009).

The dual labour market theory thus perceives labour migration as demand driven, and since the demand for migrant workers results from the structural needs of the industrial economy, wage differentials are neither necessary nor sufficient to cause labour migration. In other words, it is argued that in-migration is caused by pull factors in receiving regions (a continuous need for a cohort of workers of a specific level of skills) and not by push factors in the sending areas (low wages or high unemployment).

Although not in inherent conflict with neoclassical economics, dual labour Market theory does carry implications quite different from those emanating from micro-level decision models:

1. International labour migration is largely demand-based and is initiated by recruitment on the part of employers in developed societies
2. Since the demand for migrant workers is determined by the structural needs of the economy and is expressed through recruitment practices rather than wage offers, wage differentials are neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for labour migration to occur.
3. Low-level wages in migrant-receiving societies do not rise in response to a decrease in the supply of migrant workers; they are rather held down by social and institutional mechanisms and are not free to respond to shifts in supply and demand.
4. Existing low-level wages may fall further as a result of an increase in the supply of immigrant workers, since the social and institutional checks that keep low-level wages from rising do not prevent them from falling.
5. Governments are unlikely to influence migration through policies that produce small changes in wages or employment rates; migrants fill a demand for labour that is structurally built into modern, post-industrial economies, and influencing this demand requires major changes in economic organisation.

(Massey *et al.*, 1993:444)

World systems theory

Historical-structural approaches to migration introduce very different concepts in order to arrive at an understanding of migration (Kurekova, 2011). Building on the work of Wallerstein (1974), a number of theorists linked the origins of international migration to the structure of the world market mechanism viewing migration as a function of globalisation, the increased interdependence of economies and the emergence of new forms of production (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Kurekova, 2011). Theorists within this school of thought include Portes and Walton (1981), Petras (1981), Castells (1989), Sassen (1988) and Morawska (1990).

In essence, the theory states that capitalist economies penetrate peripheral, non-capitalist economies, characterised by developing nations and areas, to take advantage of low wage rates (Kok *et al.*, 2003). In this process these capitalist economies create more mobile, migration-prone populations as a result of disruptions and dislocations that accompany capitalist expansion (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Moses & Yu, 2009).

The theory attributes the mobilisation of new population segments into regional as well as long distance migration resulting from an expansion of export manufacturing and export agriculture, linked strongly to foreign direct investment flows from advanced economies to semi-developed or emerging economies. This approach denies that individuals truly have a free choice in migration decisions with migration primarily an outcome of the interaction between capital and labour mobility (Kurekova, 2011).

The world systems theory differs from the dual labour market theory in that it considers global market structures rather than specific national economies. As land, raw materials, and labour within peripheral regions come under the influence and control of (international) markets, migration flows are inevitably generated, some which have always moved abroad (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Moses & Yu, 2009).

Capitalist investment in core regions also ensures the improvement and expansion of transport and communication systems to and from the peripheral regions. This results not only in easier, more efficient and cheaper movement of goods, information and social capital, but also easier movement and thus increased mobility of people (Kok *et al.*, 2003).

World systems theory thus argues that migration follows the political and economic organization of an expanding international market, a view that yields six distinct hypotheses:

1. International migration is a natural consequence of capitalist market formation in the developing world; the penetration of the modern economy into peripheral regions is the catalyst for movement.
2. The national flow of labour follows the national flow of goods and capital, but in the opposite direction. Capitalist investment foments changes that create an uprooted, mobile population in peripheral countries, while simultaneously forging strong material and cultural links with core receiving areas, leading to movement across administrative or national borders
3. International migration is especially likely between past colonial powers and their former colonies, because cultural, linguistic, administrative, investment, transportation, and communication links were established earlier and were allowed to develop free from outside competition during the colonial era. This facilitates the formation of specific transnational markets and cultural systems.
4. Since migration stems from the globalization of the market economy, the way for governments to influence migration rates is by regulating the investment activities of corporations and controlling flows of capital and goods. Such policies, however, are unlikely to be implemented because they are difficult to enforce.
5. Migration ultimately has little to do with wage rates or employment differentials between areas or countries; it follows from the dynamics of market creation and the structure of the global economy.

(Massey *et al.*, 1993:448)

2.3.2. Non-economic theories and models of migration

Although economic motives and determinants are mainly presented as the primary causative factors of migration, an explanatory discussion of migration focusing solely on these factors would be simplistic and incomplete. Pure economic explanations are not able to explain why some individuals and households choose not to move in a context where it would make 'economic sense' to do so. Equally, others might move at a time and choose a destination that does not necessarily result in the biggest economic gain. In developing a comprehensive and balanced explanation to migration processes it is thus important to also consider non-economic factors that both result in and perpetuate migration flows. The following section sets out to give a brief discussion of such salient non-economic factors.

The value expectancy model is based on the preposition that the strength of a tendency to act in a certain way will depend on the expectation that the act will be followed by a given consequence or goals and the beneficial impact of that consequence or goal on the individual (or household). Applied to migration, this approach calls for the specification of individually valued goals that might be met by moving and the perceived link between migration behaviour and the attaining of these goals (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981). The model analyses migration from a micro-level causal framework and treats the household as a unit. Migration moves by individual members and that of the family unit are measured separately (Kok *et al.*, 2003).

The theory seeks the integration of multi-level determinants when analysing migration behaviour/decision-making. Migration behaviour and decision-making are seen as more than an act based on motivational factors but also facilitated or constrained by environmental and cultural factors:

Migration behaviour is hypothesised to be the result of (1) the strength of the value-expectancy-derived intentions to move, (2) the indirect influences of background individual and area factors, and (3) the modifying effects of constraints and facilitators that become salient during the process of migration-making. (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981:56 in Kok *et al.*, 2003:21)

The model depicts a number of economic and non-economic variables that could contribute to explaining migration behaviour, which include (Kok *et al.*, 2003):

- Individual and household demographic characteristics including factors such as life-cycle variables, socio-economic status, employment-unemployment differentials etc.
- Societal and cultural norms regarding migration,
- Personal traits of the migrant such as risk taking appetite and ability, adaptability to change and the ability to produce the desired result,
- Opportunity differentials such as educational opportunities, entertainment and amenities
- Information about receiving areas,
- Unanticipated constraints and facilitators such as marriage, divorce, death, etc.,
- In situ adjustments such as changing the environment to better serve the needs of the individual or household
- Residential satisfaction

2.3.3 Theories pertaining to the perpetuation of migration

The above theories presented explanations of strategic factors pivotal in the onset of migration. The following section presents a range of theories that offer explanations to the indefinite perpetuation of migration.

Institutional theory attributes the perpetuation of migration to the development of private institutions and voluntary organisations that arise in order to satisfy the demand created by an imbalance between the large number of people that seek entry in the capital-rich countries and the limited number of immigrant visas these countries typically offer (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Moses & Yu, 2009). Although this theory primarily applies to international migration, it could also play a role in some internal migration flows, especially where closed-city measures apply, as was practiced under South Africa's influx control policy and *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* under Apartheid (Kok *et al.*, 2003; Moses & Yu, 2009).

Network theory attributes the perpetuation of migration to "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin" (Massey *et al.*, 1993:448). Migrant networks that often evolve into institutional frameworks is used to explain how migration continuous even when wage differential or recruitment policies cease to exist (Kurekova, 2011). Migrants forge interpersonal relationships (networks) with former, present and potential migrants and non-migrants in both sending and receiving areas through friendship, kinship and shared community origins. Over time these relationships lead to strong networks that make it possible for those who wish to migrate to do so relatively comfortably due to a decline and risk and cost for the migrant (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Moses & Yu, 2009).

Cumulative causation theory argues that migration is a self-perpetuating and self-sustaining phenomenon (Kurekova, 2011). Each migration-related act reflects the probability of subsequent decisions about migration in that it changes the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, normally in ways that enable more movement (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Moses & Yu, 2009). On the one hand migration results in the change experienced in the social context, with the latter in turn perpetuating migration due to the expansion of networks, relative deprivation, the development of a culture of migration, a perverse distribution of human capital and, the stigmatisation of jobs as usually performed by migrants (Arango, 2000).

Migration systems theory states that; "migration flows acquire a measure of stability and structure of space and time, allowing for the identification of stable international migration systems. These

systems are characterised by relatively intense exchange of goods, capital and people between certain countries and less intense exchange between others” (Massey *et al.*, 1993:454). It further describes this system as generally including a core receiving region, and a set of specific sending countries or regions linked to it by an unusually large flow of migrants. The stable association between two regions or countries results not only from migration flows, but is supported by connections and links of a varied nature. It is then these linkages and their multiple interactions that constitute the most appropriate context for migration analysis (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Arango, 2000) With regard to internal migration, this theory assumes migration flows to be from low-wage, rural hinterlands to urban heartlands (Kok *et al.*, 2003).

Network Theory: *Social networks* and the availability and access to *social capital networks* not only cause migration but strongly influence the perpetuation of migration. According to Massey *et al.* (1993), network theory contributes significantly to a better understanding of why (international) migration persists, despite changes in the factors believed to have caused it. “Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin” (Massey *et al.*, 1993:448).

These networks form a very important source of social capital lowering the risk of movement while increasing the expected net returns of migration. “Once the number of migrants reaches a critical threshold, the expansion of networks reduces the costs and risks of movement, which causes the probability of migration to rise, which causes additional movement, which further expands the networks, and so on” (Massey *et al.*, 1993:449).

2.3.4 Towards a synthesised model/theory for migration

This discussion on migration theory essentially argues that the consideration of exclusively economic factors, although often the dominating factors, does not allow for a comprehensive understanding of decision-making regarding migration and resulting migration flows. Migration behaviour clearly involves multi-dimensional factors and aspects of human behaviour that need to be analysed as such. With an increasing awareness amongst scholars of this prerequisite an initiative emerged to develop a more synthesised approach towards an overarching theory of migration.

There seems to be a strong current of opinion that an overarching theory of migration would not be very useful, given the high level of abstraction that such a theory would

involve. Yet, despite the legitimate problem of level of abstraction, the alternative of continuing to pursue one-sided theories is not very attractive either. It seems perverse to continue with the exclusive pursuit of partial theories when we know very well that they are indeed partial. (Gelderblom, 2006:268)

In a move towards such a synthesised approach, Gelderblom (2006) aims to combine a variety of theoretical approaches to migration into a single model. In his attempt Gelderblom (*ibid*) identifies the causal factors involved in the different theories and specifies their mutual relationships. He further attempts to uncover the assumptions underlying the different theories and to link these as far as possible. The model proposes relationships between the following factors (Gelderblom, 2006):

- Spatial reward structure based on (a) the ability to address human needs and (b) the interaction between individual characteristics and the perception of personal/individualised reward
- Individual characteristics such as gender, income level, education and occupation,
- Individual reward structure open to an individual is both dependent on the individual characteristics of the migrant and the economic and political characteristics of a specific area/country,
- Structural variables inherent in the household arrangement of that individual which ultimately determines decision-making,
- Information sources providing knowledge regarding migration opportunities,
- Perceptions regarding migration, motivations and the decision to migrate based on an evaluation of the probability of attaining an increase in present values (income, comfort, services, etc.) in the destination area,
- The impact of norms pertaining to migration and its impact on the decision making process by both the migrant and migrant household resulting in a clear intention to either move or stay,
- Filters that act as either obstacles or facilitators of migration of which the most important are the cost of migration, legal restrictions around in-migration within a country, and social structural inhibitors and restrictions (i.e. established gender and cultural roles). The most important facilitators of migration are defined as recruitment agencies and social networks.

2.4 THE CONTRIBUTION OF TRANSITION MODELS TO MIGRATION THEORY

The growth rate of any population is a direct function of the fertility, mortality, and migration rates within that population. The classical demographic transition model defines four stages of transition: (i) Pre-transition characterised by high birth rates and high fluctuating death rates; (ii) Early transition during which the death rate begins to fall; however, birth rates remain high and the population starts to grow rapidly; (iii) Late transition where birth rates start to decline and the rate of population growth decelerates; and (iv) Post-transition societies characterised by low birth and low death rates with negligible population growth or even decline (United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 2017). The relationship of these four demographic indicators to population change is probably best illustrated in the transition models: demographic transition, urban transition, and migration transition (University of Stellenbosch, 2000).

The *demographic transition* model describes population change over time through temporary changes in the balance between death and birth rates. This demographic model is based on an interpretation of observed changes in 1929 of transitions in birth and death rates in industrialised societies over the past two hundred years by American demographer Warren Thompson. In a typically developed country, four stages of transition are evident of which the first two are probably best summarised in the following excerpt:

The first is the assertion that, on attaining certain thresholds of socioeconomic development, every community will pass from a pre-modern near-equilibrium, in which high levels of mortality tend to cancel out high levels of fertility, to a modern near-equilibrium, in which low fertility almost matches low mortality but with the decline in births lagging far enough behind the decline in deaths to ensure a substantial growth in numbers during the transitional phase. (Zelinsky, 1971:219)

During stage three of the demographic transition the population enters a phase where the drop in death rates is associated with a drop in birth rates, resulting in a decelerated population growth and an ageing population. In some instances the fertility rate falls well below what is required to balance out the mortality rate, causing rapid population decline, evident in contemporary Europe (Montgomery, undated; University of Stellenbosch, 2000; De Haas, 2010a).

The second transition, characteristic of an advanced society, is the *urban transition*, and refers to the process whereby a population changes from being essentially rural to being urban. This transition is caused by economic and developmental forces resulting in people leaving rural areas and migrating to urban areas in large numbers. Urban transition does, however, involve more than just merely

moving to an urban settlement. It also involves a socio-economic transition, which offers the opportunity and ability to all urban citizens to participate in the urban economy. This is, however, only possible if an individual has the requisite education, capacity, and know-how to access opportunities and resources available and necessary to attain and sustain an urban lifestyle. Finally a population enters the third transition, characteristic of the so-called 'superadvanced' society (University of Stellenbosch, 2000; De Haas, 2010a).

The third and final transition to be discussed here is the *migration or mobility transition*. This transition is based on Zelinsky's 'hypothesis of the mobility transition' developed in 1971 (Zelinsky, 1971). In response to theories on migration including both macro and micro models explaining the onset of migration flows, Zelinsky (1971) offered a geographical perspective considering how the principle of spatial diffusion can be applied to, particularly neo-classical theories on migration. In his hypothesis, Zelinsky (1971) links changes in migration and mobility behaviour to different stages in the modernisation process (King, 2012:15). "There are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernization process" (Zelinsky, 1971:221).

Zelinsky (1971) argued that not only has there been "a general and spectacular expansion of individual mobility in modernizing societies, but also that the specific character of migration processes tends to change over the course of this vital transition" (Zelinsky in De Haas, 2010a:6). These changes in migration and mobility were expressed through a five-stage model, based on the historical experience of Europe (King, 2012:15):

1. Pre-modern traditional society: very limited migration, only local movements related, e.g., to marriage or to marketing agricultural produce.
2. Early transitional society: mass rural-urban migration; emigration to attractive foreign destinations for settlement and colonisation.
3. Late transitional society: slackening of both rural-urban migration and emigration; growth in various kinds of circulation, e.g. commuting.
4. Advanced society: rural-urban replaced by inter-urban migration, mass immigration of low-skilled workers from less developed countries; international circulation of high-skilled migrants and professionals; intense internal circulation, both economic and pleasure related.
5. Future super advanced society: better communication and delivery systems may lead to a decline in some forms of human circulation; internal migration is inter- or intra-urban; continued immigration of low-skilled labour from less developed countries; possibility of strict controls over immigration.

Thus, in summary, the model of Zelinsky (1971) argues migration as a normal and inevitable feature of development, with migration rates tending to rise as development occurs. “The progress of a community toward advanced developmental status can be gauged by its control over energy, things, and knowledge, as exercised both individually and collectively, and also by the attainment of personal mobility, that is, a widening range of options for locating and patterning one’s life” (Zelinsky, 1971:222). This development induced mobility specifically involves rural to urban movement and is further strongly associated with changes in birth and death rates. As a society develops and thus moves from a pre-modern to a modern society, greater mobility is observed primarily towards the urban centre. In turn an increase in mobility is associated with a decrease in fertility rates, with the urbanisation transition specifically associated with lower fertility and mortality rates. It is thus clear that fertility, mortality and migration trends, mostly treated as three independent demographic indicators, are in fact tied to, influenced directed by economic and development changes (Zelinsky, 1971; University of Stellenbosch, 2000). “So these three, the demographic transition, the urban transition and the migration transition, go together. And all three kinds of population transitions are tied to profound economic and development changes” (University of Stellenbosch, 2000:30).

2.5 INTERNAL MIGRATION AND IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT

Another aspect within migration theory that has lately received increased attention by scholars is the impact of migration on development with a growing call for the integration of migration in development planning and policy development (De Wind & Holdaway, 2005; International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005; Faist, 2008; Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, 2009; Global Migration Group (GMG), 2010; Sinatti & Alvarez Tinajero, 2011; IOM, 2016). Though the association between migration and develop is relevant to both international and internal migration, given the focus of this dissertation, the discussion below will focus mainly on internal migration.

Although the migration process is of strategic importance to understand in successful and sustainable development planning initiatives the discussion below aims to illustrate that the significance of the migration phenomenon is more than the migration process itself. Its real significance is to be sought in the enduring effect it has on human resource allocation and how it facilitates the bridging of the economic divide evident between poorer (often rural) and richer (often urban) settings and households.

The migration process influences both economic growth in general and the nature of that growth, its distributional manifestations in particular. It is important to recognize migration as both a symptom of and a factor contributing to (under)development. In advocating this significance, Todaro (1980) concludes:

Understanding the causes, determinants, and consequences of internal migration is thus central to a better understanding of the nature and character of the development process. It is also essential for formulating appropriate policies to influence this process in socially desirable ways. A simple yet crucial step in underlining the centrality of the migration phenomenon is to recognize that any economic and social policy that affects rural and urban real incomes will directly or indirectly influence the migration process. (Todaro, 1980:363)

Migration is the principal demographic process shaping patterns of human settlement which in turn serves an essential role in human development (Weeks, 2012; Bell, Charles-Edwards, Stillwell, Kupiszweski & Kupiszewska, 2015). The impact of migration reaches further than the individual migrant since it has the potential to significantly affect the lives of those directly linked to the migrant and who are left behind as well as the sending and receiving communities linked to migrants (Findley, 1977; De Haas, 2010c; GMG, 2010; Weeks, 2012; Hickey, 2016; IOM, 2016). Depending on the size of the migration flow over time, migration furthermore also has the immediate potential to dramatically alter the demographic structure of a community as well the social structure over time as migrants add their children to the community stock (Weeks, 2012). These changes have a direct impact on particularly service delivery as the needs of a population closely matches the demographic structure of a community (i.e. growing need of old age homes in a greying society opposed to need for schools and crèches in societies with a younger age profile).

The most widely observed and reported result of particularly internal migration, has been its contribution to the growth of urban areas (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005; Rees, 2017; Weeks, 2012). Migration, moreover, has a number of less visible and obvious impacts on the economic, social, demographic and spatial spheres of both the sending and receiving areas. These impacts (illustrated below) may vary according to the type of migrant, the extent of migration, and the nature of the receiving destinations involved (Tudaro, 1980).

The impact of migration may be discussed within three categories, namely (i) the migrant, (ii) the receiving area, and (iii) the sending area. In the context of growing global urbanisation, migrants mostly choose destination areas that are either characterised as an urban centre within a country or

(in the case of this dissertation) a province or a settlement in a rural area that displays urban characteristics. In this context, sending areas thus mostly represent rural settings whereas receiving areas represent mostly urban settings

Impacts on the migrant

The impacts of migration on the migrant and the migrant household are both economic and social in nature. Social impacts refer to a subjective or reflective measurement whereas economic impacts include more concrete or quantifiable measures pertaining to socio-economic indicators. Subjective measurements relate to the question of how satisfied the migrant is with the quality of his or her life in the new environment (Findley, 1977). Has the quality of life improved since migrating from the previous locality? In a recent housing study for the Overstrand municipality satisfaction with their new locality, internal-migrants' perception on their quality of life were found to firstly be determined by their employment and income status, followed by their relative satisfaction with housing conditions, including access to basic services at the dwelling (electricity, water and sanitation). Other aspects noted were access to transport and educational opportunities for children (Eigelaar-Meets, Louw & Groenewald, 2016). These findings clearly suggest the strong association between quality of life and the economic reality of the migrant at the destination place compared to how it was at the sending area.

The economic and developmental consequences of migration have enjoyed extended focus from scholars and are considered in most studies on migration. The economic impact on the migrant is of course dependant on a number of aspects, with amongst others, the educational status and age of the migrant, the status of the economy of the receiving area, and the fit between the type of employment opportunities available in the receiving and the educational status or skills set of the migrants. In addition, the economic impact on the migrant also relates to the ability of the migrant to successfully penetrate the economic sectors active in the receiving area (Findley, 1977; De Haas, 2010c; Hickey, 2016).

The economic impacts for the individual migrant are primarily determined by assessing differences in various economic indicators before and after migration. These measures mostly include changes in the employment levels, occupational hierarchy, income levels, industry mix, savings and capital accumulation levels, and government revenue and expenditure levels (Findley, 1977; Cornelius & Rosenblum, 2005).

Impact on receiving (urban) destinations

As mentioned earlier the impact of internal migration on the population size of (urban) destinations is probably the most obvious impact on areas receiving migrants. This has a direct impact on the population density of urban areas. The growth in population numbers is due to firstly, the actual growth in population numbers and secondly, particularly in the face of a young migrant population, increased fertility rates (Findley, 1977; Weeks, 2012). Internal migration in sufficient numbers can also have demographic impacts. With a predisposition of especially young adults to migrate, internal migrants could disproportionately increase the share of persons in their early working years, swelling the younger less experienced and often less skilled portion of the labour force. Furthermore, provided that migration is not heavily male selective, young migrant women may also increase the city's proportion of women in the childbearing years adding to the existing fertility rates (Findley, 1977; Weeks, 2012; Ferrel, 2017). These are all aspects that have direct impact on the need and demand for services.

Another impact of internal migration is its effect on the physical landscape of destinations. One method of coping with life in a new urban setting is to minimise expenditure on housing. For many migrants, this means squatting or occupying a piece of land without purchase, payment or rent. Proof of this settlement strategy is seen in the excessive growth in size and number of informal settlements in urban centres and rural towns. In 2012, the South African government estimated approximately 2 700 informal areas countrywide, accommodating in the region of 1.2 million households. These are not all migrant households, but informal areas do function as important reception areas or gateways for migrant populations offering cheap entry points to the urban labour market. Informal areas act as attractive low-cost accessible locations to initially settle and to use as base to search for work opportunities (Findley, 1977; Cross, 2010; Turok, 2012)

The impact of internal migration on the local economic wellbeing represents two sides of a coin. On the one side the in-migrant has the potential to positively impact economic growth in the destination area through greater labour productivity, higher incomes and wages, generation of capital, diversification of industry and services and increased demand for consumer goods. The other side of the coin is, however, equally relevant where migrants may burden the local economy of the destination area, adding to unemployment rates, lower productivity, greater demand for municipal facilities and services, lower per capita tax revenues and higher city budget deficits (Todaro, 1980; Findley, 1977; Cornelius & Rosenblum, 2005; UNDP, 2009).

The net economic impact of migration however, depends to a large extent on the ability of migrants to be assimilated in the local economy, i.e. the capacity of destination areas to absorb migrants

sustainably as labour, and partly on characteristics held by migrants of which educational status is probably the most important. As a result of variabilities, employment, occupation and income attained after arrival may vary among migrants (Martine, 1975; Findley, 1977; Cornelius & Rosenblum, 2004; Weeks, 2012).

Impact on sending destinations

As is the case with the impact of migration on destination areas, perspectives pertaining to the relative impact on destination areas are also mixed. Scholars stressing the positive economic impacts of migration on the destination area mostly present the case of remittances, and how this practice provide income support to the migrant household that stays behind. It is argued that this source of income trickles down to the benefit of the broader area as a result of mostly an enhanced spending and consumption power that ultimately impacts the local economy of the broader mostly rural community. Although broad consensus prevails regarding the impact of remittances to relieve poverty on household level, some scholars contest its ability to effect broader community and local economic development (Casale & Posel, 2006; De Haas, 2010c; Garip, 2014; Yeboah, 2016). Another positive outcome of out-migration is the possibility that migrants may stimulate change within their areas of origin, particularly if it represents a rural setting, by creating new sustainable linkages between the (rural) area and destination areas (Findley, 1977; UNDP, 2009).

The economic success and development of the migrant also has the potential to positively influence the prevailing economic conditions of the migrant household that remained in the sending area. The important and often crucial role of regular remittances in securing as well as improving the economic status of the migrant household has been elaborately document and argued (Casale & Posel, 2006; UNDP, 2009; Castaldo *et al.*, 2012; Olowa & Awoyemi, 2012; , 2014; Yeboah, 2016). Various studies have shown that remittances play a significant role in reducing poverty and establishing sustainable migrant household security. Some scholars argue this source of income carry significant potential to increase the economic development and sustainability of the migrant's home town (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005; UNDP, 2009; Yeboah, 2016).

Those that hold a more pessimistic view of the impact on main sending, mostly rural areas of outmigration accentuate the loss of human capital experienced by these main areas. They point to the often higher educational status, and associated stronger skills - sets of out-migrants who, when they leave, take with them the investment made in their education in the places of origin. Unless the migrant returns or sends money back to household(s) remaining in the place of origin, the investment and skills are lost. Furthermore, the age structure of out-migrants can also determine

the effect of migration on the labour force. When young working persons consistently leave an area, the dependency ratios rise. This effect is exacerbated if there is no accompanying drop in birth rate resulting in the income of the remaining workers having to support more people (Findley, 1977; De Haas, 2010c). Another negative impact of out-migration formulated by Massey (1990) is the hypothesis that large – scale outmigration of the most productive members within the community will in most instances negatively impact the economic structures and productivity in migrant sending communities and regions.

2.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK SELECTED FOR THE ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION TRENDS IN THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCES

The foregoing overview on migration theory illustrated how scholarly thinking about particularly the onset of migration has evolved over time. Starting from a rather simplistic explanation presenting economic factors as the only catalysts for migration, migration theory has expanded and has grown in complexity illustrating the multi-faceted nature of factors, both economic and non-economic, that inform and shape decisions and actions regarding migration. It is against this background of this complex and multi-faceted nature of migration that this dissertation interrogates post-apartheid migration trends in the Northern and Western Cape provinces.

This study works from the premise that a successful analysis of migration trends in a post-apartheid setting and concomitant development of an explanatory framework for the observed trends, is impossible without considering both economic and non-economic factors. Only if due recognition is given to both these sets of factors and how they combine is a comprehensive analysis and understanding of the migration phenomenon in South Africa possible and valid, both in the current and historical context of this country.

South African history can be roughly divided into five political eras: (i) pre-colonial; (ii) colonial; (iii) post-colonial; (iv) apartheid; and (v) post- apartheid.

The colonial era saw the beginning of the political exclusion and socio economic marginalisation of groups of people due to their race and ethnicity, a practice that reached ultimate sophistication and formalisation in the apartheid era. This exclusion and marginalisation had a direct impact on the mobility of the largest part of the South African population (i.e. the black African population due to the strictly controlled movement enforced by draconian political policies and practices) (see Chapter 1 and 6 for a detailed discussion).

The Western and Northern Cape provinces present a special case as these two provinces were the only provinces where a specific population group, the coloured population, experienced some sort of protection (from the black African population) in terms of labour law legislation by means of the so called *Coloured Labour Preference Policy*. This dissertation departs from the premise that the nature of the changes observed in migration trends evident in these two provinces in the post-1994 era, is a direct outcome of the abolishment of apartheid-laws implemented to control mobility by the pre-1994 apartheid government. The end of apartheid did not only result in free movement of all, thus ensuring unfettered mobility irrespective of the population group, but also established free participation in the South African economy. It is the interaction of these two aspects that has had a distinct impact on migration trends and particularly urbanisation (South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR), 2013; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014; *Rand Daily Mail*, 2015).

Given the critical role racial and ethnic classification has played in the manner in which mobility as well as economic participation were managed (and limited) in pre-1994 South Africa, this dissertation thus postulates that it is imperative to draw on both economic and non-economic factors in order to adequately describe post-apartheid migration trends in the two provinces. Non-economic factors are framed within the value expectancy model and focus on two specific demographic attributes of migrants, namely, population group and age, whereas economic-factors will be considered within the push-pull theoretical framework of migration.

Non-economic factors are framed within the proposed synthesised model of migration presented by Gelderblom (2006) in Kok *et al.* (ibid). In this model an attempt is made to explain migration as a phenomenon caused by multi-dimensional factors and aspects of human behaviour. The model proposes the migration decision as the outcome of the relationship between five factors, namely, the spatial reward structure, individual characteristics, Individual reward structure, structural variables within the household arrangement, information sources and, perceptions regarding migration.

This synthesised model of migration is applied in this dissertation to provide a description of who is more prone to migrate, (age and population group attributes of individual migrants). As illustrated above an individual's population group has particular historical relevance in the South African context, given its previous role as management agent of people mobility within the country (Posel, 2003; Posel, 2010).

Age is an important indicator to consider in migration given its impact on the services needed by different age cohorts and the relative speed of possible future population growth given the different fertility potential inherent in different age cohorts (Weeks, 2012).

The push-pull theory of migration falls within the economic explanatory framework of migration theories. As illustrated in the discussion of economic migration theory, the push-pull theory departs from the premise that migration is initiated and perpetuated by a specific set of factors that pushes migrants from and pulls them towards a specific location. Although the push-pull theory of migration infers economic factors to be the primary driving agent for migration, this model also acknowledges the role of additional factors such as environmental and demographic factors that serve to push migrants from localities of origin towards destination places (Lindsay, 1985; Moses & Yu, 2009; De Haas, 2010a). This theory will be employed to determine the main economic characteristics associated with both the primary sending and receiving areas linked with the two provinces.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The aspiration to explain and predict human migration behaviour has existed since the dawn of the age of mass migration, dating back to more than a century ago. Towards this end, a variety of theoretical models has been proposed by primarily, although not exclusively, the disciplines of economics, sociology, and geography. The preceding brief selection and discussion of various theories within existing migration literature indicate that the decision to migrate in specific cultural, economic, and social environments, is influenced not only by the constraints imposed by those environments but also depends on the expectations, perception, attitudes, opinions, and values of individual migrants. The overview of migration theories presented the phenomenon of migration as a complex and multi-faceted process with different factors resulting in the initiation and perpetuation of migration flows.

In recent years migration theory has advanced beyond merely venturing to explain the initiation and perpetuation of migration. The literature on, and concern with, the significant impact of migration on development and how this should be incorporated in development planning has grown significantly. This chapter considered such impacts on three levels: (i) the migrant and migrant household; (ii) impact on sending (mostly rural) areas; and (iii) the impact on receiving (mostly urban) areas.

The final section of this chapter presented the theoretical framework selected for the analysis and description of the migration trends in the Western and Northern Cape provinces, the two case studies presented in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation, concentrating on the Western and Northern Cape Provinces, has two primary objectives. These are to, (i) identify and explain the nature of internal migration in the aftermath of apartheid and (ii) determine the nature of urbanisation in these two provinces since democratisation. As indicated in Chapter 1, the significance of the two provinces that constitute the focus of this study lies in their respective histories, demographic composition and demographic characteristics. Their shared geographical and historical characteristics refer to (i) its colonial past, (ii) the Coloured Labour Preference policy, an influx control mechanism implemented exclusively in the largest part of these two provinces combined and, (iii) the historical large representation of the Coloured population group of the total provincial population of these provinces.

These two provinces are further noteworthy in that they exhibit divergent demographic characteristics. The Western Cape, a net receiving province of migrants since democratisation, is characterised by a densely populated and mostly urban population. In contrast, the Northern Cape exhibits negative net migration rates, has a strong rural character and low population density. These divergent internal migration and demographic trends, present an opportunity to firstly determine the nature of internal migration flows, and secondly to assess how these different contexts impact migration decisions.

The research question formulated in this study dictated a specific research methodology and design to structure this enquiry. This chapter starts off by framing the research objectives defined for this study (see section 3.2). This is followed by a discussion of the research design that informs this study (see section 3.3) after which the study population and key concepts are defined (see section 3.4). Section 3.5 presents the data sources employed in the measuring of internal migration flows in the two provinces followed by a discussion of the variables and methods employed in the chapters dealing with the analyses of data (see sections 3.6 & 3.7). The dissertation concludes with a discussion pertaining to the scientific status of the data (see section 3.8) and limitations to the study (see section 3.9).

3.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research objectives that focus on the post-1994 period need to be situated in their historical context: before 1994, apartheid government policies deeply influenced the nature and direction of various internal migration streams, particularly in the two provinces selected for analysis. This historical imperative informed the formulation of the following research objectives:

1. To identify internal migration streams in the two provinces at (a) provincial level [inter-provincial migration] and (b) sub-provincial levels [intra-provincial migration], for the periods 1996-2001, 2001-2006 and 2006-2011.
2. To compare these post-apartheid migration streams by employing migration theory.
3. To consider the nature and impact of urbanisation in the two provinces.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design of a research study is directly informed and determined by the defined scientific research problem and involves a set of decisions including the purpose of the study (research question), the study population and a decision on the most appropriate research method to address and answer the research problem (Babbie & Mouton., 2001).

The research design for this study is descriptive and explanatory in nature as illustrated by the research objectives above. The study is descriptive in that it aims to describe post-apartheid internal migration flows within and across the provincial borders of the two provinces as well as the nature of urbanisation in the two provinces. The explanatory nature of the study is evident in the second research objectives where the dissertation aims to offer some explanations to the observed internal migration flows at the hand of migration theory.

The primary aim of a descriptive analysis is to provide an accurate depiction of a social phenomenon or trend and/ or the characteristics of the actors involved. This is achieved by the analysis of empirical data employed to generate a valid description of the phenomena studied. The analysis of data within an explanatory framework has as primary focus to indicate causality between variables or events. In order to show that a causal relationship exists between two variables, three requirements need to be met:

1. The cause has to precede the effect in time
2. The two variables must be empirically correlated with one another, and

3. The observed empirical correlation between two variables cannot be explained in terms of some third variable that causes both.

In order to prove the causal relationship between two variables a perfect correlation does not have to be established. Phrased differently, exceptions, although they do not prove the rule, do not necessarily deny the rule either. "In probabilistic models, there are almost always exceptions to the posited relationships" (Babbie & Mouton., 2001:82). It is within this probabilistic model that a useful distinction is made between two types of causes: necessary causes and sufficient causes. A necessary cause represents a condition that must be present for the effect to follow, with a sufficient cause representing a condition that, if present, will most likely result in the effect in question (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

3.4 DEFINING THE STUDY POPULATION AND CONCEPTUALISATION OF KEY TERMS

The *study population* is defined by means of the defined units of analysis. The *unit of analysis* refers to the unit of observation and measurement which in this case is an individual. For the purpose of this study the study population is defined as:

Individual adult internal migrants that are South African citizens and that lived in one of the nine provinces in South Africa at the time of data collection and who have moved into, out of or, within the Western or Northern Cape Provinces between 1996 and 2011.

Describing migration flows reference is made to two divergent streams constituting the in- and out-flow of individuals to and from a defined area. Those persons who migrate from a particular district or province are called out-migrants from that area, whereas persons who migrate to (settle in) a particular province or district are called in-migrants to that area of destination.

Since the focus of this study is on internal migration of South African citizens, the movement of foreigners is not considered here. Often unrepresented in Census data, it is probable that the primary use of this data would not provide a reliable account of the post-1994 internal migration flows of this migrant group. For this reason, it was decided to exclude this group from the analysis.

The descriptive analysis pertaining to the profile of migrants explores two specific characteristics of migrants namely, age and population group. For the purpose of this study, adult internal migrants are defined as those migrants aged 20 year or older. For the sake of analysis migrant age was defined to constitute three categories; young adults (20 – 29 years), mature adults (30-60 years) and

senior adults (61 years or older). The population group classifications referred to in this dissertation follows the classification of South African citizens as defined and used by Statistics South Africa⁹. These classifications are black African, coloured, Indian/Asian and white.

Internal migration trends within the Western and Northern Cape provinces were analysed along two dimensions:

Dimension 1: Movement across provincial boundaries (inter-provincial migration)

Dimension 2: Movement across municipal district and metro boundaries within the provincial boundaries of the two provinces (intra-provincial migration)

The basic *unit of spatial analysis* is called a *settlement area* and is defined on two levels: firstly on a district municipal level and secondly on a provincial level. A district municipality is defined as an administrative entity comprising a clearly defined territory. In South Africa a district municipality, or Category C municipality, executes some of the functions of local government for a district. The district municipality in turn is comprised of several local municipalities with which it shares the functions of local government (ETU, n.d.).

The rationale to confine the analysis of intra-provincial migration flows to movement across municipal district boundaries lies in the comparability of data. Since 1996 local municipal boundaries have been re-demarcated by the demarcation board in an effort to enable local municipalities to provide equitable and efficient service delivery. Since administrative boundaries are used and captured by StatsSA as they were defined at the time of a particular Census, the re-demarcation of boundaries had an impact on the comparability of data collected during the respective Censuses since 1996. Due to the volatility of local municipal boundaries since 1996 and thus the subsequent implications for comparability of trends over time, this administration level was not considered in this dissertation. Rather, since municipal district boundaries have remained mostly stable since 1996 in both provinces, these have been included in this study with the few shifts that did occur incorporated into the analysis. Data pertaining to local municipalities will be used for illustrative purposes in a number of cases.

A province refers to a territory governed as an administrative or political unit of a country and in the case of South Africa refers to the provincial boundaries as set by the South African Government

⁹ Statistics South Africa, frequently shortened to StatsSA, is the national statistical service of South Africa. Functioning under the auspices of the Statistics Act, this organisation under the leadership of a Statistician General is, amongst others, responsible for the collection, production and dissemination of official and other statistics, including the conducting of a census of the population.

post-1994. Changes made to the provincial boundaries as a consequence of the 12th amendment of the Constitution in December 2005 were also incorporated in the data analysis. These boundary changes are specifically relevant in the case of the Northern Cape where the provincial boundaries were extended to incorporate municipalities previously part of the North West into the province.

Lastly, movement is also measured in terms of urban, rural and peri-urban areas. Although defining urban areas as opposed to rural might seem simple, a body of academic literature exists that is critical of the dichotomy 'urban' vs. 'rural', since many areas cannot unambiguously be defined as belonging to either the one or the other category (Tacoli & Satterthwaite, 2003; United Nations, 2004). Consequently an increasingly influential school of thought argues for and insists on the use of a rural-urban continuum instead of the rural/urban dichotomy. In addition urban and rural parts of countries are increasingly becoming integrated as a result of better transport and communication, rural-urban and return migration, urban economic activities spreading to rural areas (rural industrialisation) and rural economic activities pursued in urban areas (urban agriculture). Consequently the distinction between urban and rural areas has become increasingly artificial and quite blurred (Todes et al, 2010; Kok & Collison, 2006).

According to Kok & Collison (2006) the best way to define 'urban' and 'rural' is in terms of a number of factors instead of using a single criterion. Factors to be considered should include (1) *economic criteria*, e.g. majority of the labour force in the area engaged in non-agricultural pursuits (for urban and vice versa for rural), (2) *demographic indicators*, e.g. minimum population density and (3) *urban characteristics*, e.g. residential areas with formally aligned (but not necessarily tarred) streets close to commercial enterprises and educational, health and other services. The latter factor is clearly difficult to standardise effectively, but is important to consider as the first two do not deal effectively with higher-density settlements in the former homelands of South Africa that lack the important characteristics to justify their classification as 'urban' (Kok & Collison, 2006).

In this dissertation the definition of rural and urban as suggested by Kok & Collison (2006) is followed, referring to districts in a threefold classification: urban, peri-urban and rural. Urban districts here refer to districts that are characterised by a majority labour force engaged in non-agricultural pursuits, high population density and that exhibit urban characteristics in its structural make up. Rural districts on the other hand are characterised by an economy driven primarily by agricultural pursuits, low population density, and exhibit rural characteristics in its structural make up. Peri-urban districts refer to those areas that exhibit both urban and rural characteristics but do not exhibit an exact fit to either of the two descriptions.

3.5 DATA SOURCES APPLIED FOR THE MEASURING OF INTERNAL MIGRATION FLOWS

The data analysis presented in this dissertation draws entirely on secondary data sources. Secondary data refer to the use of already existing data opposed to primary data where the researcher collects new data (Babbie et al, 2001). The secondary data sources used in this dissertation are:

- National Census data (1996, 2001 and, 2011) conducted by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA).
- Community Survey, 2007 conducted by Stats SA.

Census data is made available by Stats SA in two statistical packages, i.e. *Nesstar* and *SuperWeb*. Census data in the *SuperWeb* format allows for basic analysis within organised categories, such as descriptive data, labour force data, data on dwellings, etc. This data set allows for frequency tables and the cross tabulation of data organised within each category. Cross analysis between categories is not possible. In contrast census data made available through the *Nesstar* statistical package allows for the downloading of data in its raw format in SPSS (Statistical Programme for Social Sciences) that allows for more in-depth analysis on the data. Census data accessed by means of the *Nesstar* statistical package was employed for the data analysis presented in this dissertation, with data manipulation and analysis done utilizing SPSS.

The focus on Census data as the primary data source in addressing research objectives one and two lies in the fact that this data constitute the most comprehensive dataset on internal migration as it occurs on a national level. Although other data collection efforts by Statistics South Africa such as Household surveys also include a limited number of questions on migration, the data collected during Census drives proved sufficient to address the objectives stated for this dissertation;

Although Census data constitute cross-sectional data collected at a specific point in time, the comparison of successive census data sets presents an opportunity for trend studies. Trend studies present a longitudinal approach that allows for the observation of changes within a general population (Babbie & Mouton, 2001), in this case internal migrants in the Western and Northern Cape Provinces.

3.5.1. Census 1996¹⁰, 2001¹¹ and 2011¹²

A national census is a *de facto* census, which means that all people of a country are enumerated at the place where they are staying during the four-week period the census is conducted. Each national census is conducted in the month of October of the census year.

Each census is preceded by a pre-enumeration phase that includes the mapping and demarcation of the country, listing, questionnaire development and finalising the logistics and procurement. The demarcation of provinces is a critical input into all census activities and produces the Enumerated Area (EA) frame, a major determinant in the planning and provision of all allocated and required resources. The demarcation process involves subdividing the country into place names and EAs based on specifications of its administrative boundaries, size, and population density.

For the 2011 Census the data used for demarcation was derived from Stats SA (Dwelling Frame data) and service providers (External Data Source). The data included Imagery, Address Data (Place names), Dwelling Frame, Gate Communities, Sectional Title dwellings (unit counts and Cadastre) etc. Sub-place spatial boundaries are created first to form the basis for Main Place and EA demarcation. The demarcation process is guided by specific demarcation rules and guidelines.

During the enumeration phase, fieldworkers, called enumerators, visit households organised within EAs throughout the country to complete the designed household questionnaire collecting information on all people living within that household. Households are encouraged to allow the completion of a questionnaire by the enumerator; however, provision is made for respondents who prefer to complete the questionnaire themselves, for later collection by the enumerator. Although questionnaires are presented in English, enumerators carry translations into the other ten official languages to refer to when necessary.

In order to manage the data quality the work of enumerators is monitored by supervisors who are in turn monitored by fieldwork co-ordinators. Regional managers are appointed to monitor the entire process within their respective regions.

The questionnaires used for the different censuses can be obtained from the Statistic South Africa website (www.statssa.gov.za).

¹⁰ Stats SA, undated

¹¹ Stats SA, 2003

¹² Stats SA, 2012a.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis was directed by the research objective and defined research questions. As indicated above Census data (2001 and 2011) obtained by means of the *Nesstar* statistical package available from Stats SA. Data for the two respective Censuses was downloaded in SPSS and subsequent data manipulation and analysis was executed using this programme. The trends analysis of internal migration flows in the Western and Northern Cape Provinces is based on data collected during two census occasions, that is the 2001 and 2011 Censuses.

Internal migrants were selected and separate datasets developed for each province for the sake of analysis. The analytical framework for the analysis and thus the definition of the research population constitute the following parameters:

1. Persons who indicated to have moved within the boundaries of South Africa (internal migrant) between 1996 and 2011. This move only refers to the last move in reference to the place person stayed at the time of either the 2001 or the 2011 census¹³.
2. Persons who were 20 years or older at the time of their move. This focus was deliberate to exclude school going youth and thus exclude the complexity of short-term migration in this age group due to school attendance.
3. South African citizenship of migrants, thus foreigners are excluded from the, only the migration of South African citizens was considered in this analysis.
4. For in-migration; if the usual province of residence is either the Western or Northern Cape at the time of the respective Census's and previous place of residence was another province in South Africa.
5. For out-migration; if the previous province of residence was either the Western or Northern Cape and usual province of residence is another province in South Africa.
6. For intra-provincial migration; if person indicated to have moved since the previous Census and this move was within the provincial boundaries of either the Western or Northern Cape.

In analysis and presenting migration trends for the period 1996 to 2011, three periods were defined; 1996 to 2001, 2001 to 2006 and 2006 to 2011. To create these categories the date person moved to his/her current location was used. Since there was no formal Census in 2006, migration data collected during the 2011 Census was recoded to constitute migration moves during two periods, namely, 2001 to 2006 and 2006 to 2011.

¹³ See section on limitations to the study

Since Censuses in South Africa have been conducted in the month of October each defined migration period was defined to start in October of the onset year and end in September of the concluding year. In this way it was possible to define three periods of five years, namely, October 1996 to September 2001 (1996-2001), October 2001 to September 2006 (2001-2006) and October 2006 to September 2011 (2006-2011). For ease of discussion these periods are consistently referred to as 1996 to 2001, 2001 to 2006 and, 2006-2011.

As indicated earlier, internal migrants are defined for the purpose of this dissertation, to constitute two groups; inter- and intra-provincial migrants. Inter-provincial migrants refer to those migrants that have moved across provincial boundaries, however within the national borders. An individual migrant is thus defined as an inter-provincial migrant if their province of usual residence is different from the province of previous residence.

Intra-provincial migrants, on the other hand, refer to those migrants that have moved within provincial boundaries, but moved either within or across municipal district boundaries. An individual migrant is thus defined as an intra-provincial migrant if province of usual residence is the same than the province of previous residence. A distinction is then made between those intra-provincial migrants that (i) moved across municipal districts and (ii) moved within a municipal district.

The table below presents the data used in the analysis and shows how it was captured in the two respective Censuses in measuring migration. In those cases where data was not directly captured during the Census, an explanation is offered in how data was recorded or computed to create the needed data for analysis.

	2001	2011
<i>Citizenship</i>	Is (the person) a South African citizen [Yes/No]	Is (the person) a South African citizen [Yes/No]
<i>Age at time of move</i>	Since this question was not asked, the age of the migrant at the time of the move was calculated by subtracting the migration year from the person's birth year. It was then recoded to constitute the three categories	
<i>Migrant status</i>	Five years ago (at the time of Census '96) was (the person) living in this place (i.e. suburb, ward, village, farm, informal settlement)? [Yes/No/Born after October 1996]	Has (name) been living in this place since October 2001? [Yes/No/Born after 2001 but never moved/Born after 2001 and moved]
<i>Year Moved</i>	In which year did (this person) moved to this place?	When did (name) move to this place? [recoded in terms of month and year of move to constitute the two periods 2001-2006 and 2006-2011]
<i>Usual Residence</i>	Does (this person) usually live in this household for at least four nights a week? [Yes/No]	Does (this person) usually live in this household for at least four nights a week and has done so for the last six months? [Yes/No]
<i>Province of usual residence</i>	This question was not included in the 2001 Census. This data was obtained by recoding administrative data included in the dataset.	In which province does (name) usually live? [list of provinces provided for selection]
<i>Municipal District of usual residence</i>	This question was not included in the 2001 Census. This data was obtained from administrative data included in the dataset and recoded. Data was recoded to ensure comparability of district councils between the two Censuses.	Municipality/Magisterial District of usual Residence [These responses were recoded to Magisterial district]
<i>Province of previous residence</i>	Where did (this person) move from? [Province, main place and sub place]	In which province did (name) live before move to this place [list of provinces provided]
<i>Municipal District of previous residence</i>	Main place data provided to previous question was recoded to represent Municipal Districts	In which municipality or magisterial district did (name) live before moving to this place? [These responses were recoded to Magisterial district]

3.7 METHODOLOGY FOR THE ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION TRENDS

This section presents the formulas used in the different calculations presented in chapters four, five and seven to describe and determine internal migration flows in the Western and Northern Cape provinces.

3.7.1 Net-migration rates

(i) *Inter-provincial net-migration rates*

Objective: To determine net migration rates as it applies to migration across provincial boundaries

Denominator: Inter-provincial migrants

Units of spatial analysis: Province

Formula: $N = (IM - OM) / P_{\text{year}} \times 1000$

Where:

N – Net migration rate

IM – In-migrant

OM – Out migrant

P_{year} – Population size as at the end of the particular period

Analysing the net-migration rates for the respective population groups and the defined age cohorts the same formula was applied and the results compared.

(ii) Intra-provincial net-migration rates

Objective: To determine net migration rates as it applies to migration across municipal district boundaries, however within the provincial boundaries of the respective provinces.

Denominator: Intra-provincial migrants that crossed a municipal district or metro boundary. Mobility within municipal district or metro borders is not included here.

Units of spatial analysis: Municipal district or metro

Formula: $N = (IM - OM) / P_{\text{year}} \times 1000$

Where:

N – Net migration rate

IM – In-migrant (individual that moved within the particular province but crossed a municipal district or metro boundary)

OM – Out migrant

P_{year} – Population size as at the end of the particular period

(iii) Internal migration rates (the sum of inter-provincial and intra-provincial migrants)

Objective: To determine net-migration rates as it applies to internal migration (thus both inter- and intra-provincial migration across municipal district boundaries) for administrative entities within a province, in this case municipal districts.

Denominator: Internal migrants (the sum of inter-provincial and intra-provincial migrants that moved across municipal district and metro boundaries)

Units of spatial analysis: Municipal district and metro

Formula: $IN = [IM_{(\text{inter+intra-provincial mobility across DM \& Metro borders})} - OM_{(\text{inter+intra-provincial mobility across DM \& Metro borders})}] / P_{\text{year}} \times 1000$

Where:

IN – Internal net migration rate

IM – In-migrants (inter-provincial in-migrants + intra-provincial in-migrants that crossed DM borders)

OM – Out migrant (inter-provincial out-migrants + intra-provincial out-migrants that moved across DM borders)

P_{year} – Population size of the municipal district as at the end of the particular period

3.7.2 Description of inter-provincial migration flows

(i) *Inter-provincial migration flows*

Objective: To describe inter-provincial migration flows in terms of sending and receiving provinces

Denominator: Inter-provincial migrant population (both in- and out-migrants)

Method

Inter-provincial migration flows were measured on two levels; i.e. provincial and municipal district levels. First the sending and receiving provinces are calculated referring to Census data where respondents noted their previous province of residence (sending provinces) in the case of in-migrants to the Western and Northern Cape Provinces and migrants that left the two provinces indicated their usual province of residence (receiving provinces).

Migration flows on district level is measured using Census data with out-migrants reported their previous district of residence (sending districts) and in-migrants reported their usual district of residence (receiving district).

(ii) *Intra-provincial migration flows*

Objective: To describe intra-provincial migration flows in terms of sending and receiving districts

Denominator: Intra-provincial migrant population (both those moving within and across municipal district boundaries). The two migration streams that constitute intra-provincial migration are respectively analysed and compared for a comprehensive overview of this migration flow.

The inclusion of this particular migration flow in a discussion on internal migration has direct relevance for the third objective of this dissertation that is, to consider the nature and impact of urbanisation in the two provinces. It is argued here that the outcome and subsequent impact of migration does not only involve mobility across provincial boundaries but also mobility within the boundaries of a province.

Two types of moves are considered in intra-provincial migration flows; (a) migrants that remain within the boundaries of a municipal district and (b) migrants that move across municipal district boundaries. In the tables presenting the trends pertaining to this migration flows, intra-provincial migration is used as a single descriptive for movement across municipal district or metro boundaries. Where both mobility flows that constitute intra-provincial migration are discussed a clear distinction is made.

For those that move across municipal district boundaries migration flows are illustrated in terms of sending and receiving districts. Sending districts refer to those districts from which these migrants moved and receiving districts to the districts in which migrants choose to settle.

3.7.3 Profile of inter-provincial migrants (in terms of population group and age)

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the characteristics of migrants are reflected in terms of two variables in this dissertation, namely, population group and age. The analysis is presented as a proportion of the total provincial population size of the two provinces as at the time of the respective Censuses.

(i) *Mobility of inter-provincial migrants in terms of age and population group*

Objective: To describe the mobility of inter-provincial migrants in terms of age and population group

Denominator: Inter-provincial migrant population (in- and out-migrants).

Formula: $M = (N_{(\text{in/out migrant})} / P_{(\text{year})}) * 100$
 Where:
 M – Mobility
 N – Migrant count within category
 P_{year} – Population size as at the end of the particular period

(ii) *Mobility of intra-provincial migrants in terms of age and population group*

Objective: To describe the mobility of intra-provincial migrants in terms of age and population group

Denominator: Intra-provincial migrant population moving across district boundaries (in- and out-migrants)

Formula: $M = (N_{(\text{in/out migrant})} / P_{(\text{year})}) * 100$
 Where:
 M – Mobility
 N – Migrant count within category
 P_{year} – Population size as at the end of the particular period

3.8 SCIENTIFIC STATUS OF DATA

This study is based on the analysis of secondary data, in other words the analysis of already existing data, excluded the collection of primary data. This approach was followed as it would allow for the comparison of information on both a national and provincial levels. The collection of primary data would not have been possible given the prohibitive cost and practical implications associated with such an exercise.

3.9 LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

Quantitative research into migration streams over selected time periods always faces limitations. Six such limitations identified during research for this dissertation will be identified. The first relates to the quality of South African census data; the second to provincial boundary changes and the implications these hold for provincial comparisons, the third to the use of the Stats SA statistical package - the *Nesstar* dataset - and the fourth to the calculation of net-migration trends. The fifth limitation relates to the reliability of mobility data for the 2001-2006 period resulting from the manner in which migration is calculated in this census and the sixth to the exclusion of foreign migrants in the analysis.

Criticism of South African census data is common, and for the sake of a thorough presentation of limitations to this study, criticism regarding specifically the 2011 Census is included here. A number of the strongest issues are:

1. Unexpected and difficult to explain features in the population figures per age cohort suggest a sharp increase in the national fertility rate that appears to be demographically improbable and not supported by other evidence over the previous decade. What made this finding to be even more questionable is the increase noted in the fertility rates of specifically the White, more affluent, part of the population.
2. Provincial population estimates proved to be inconsistent when compared with 2001 Census data and were significantly different from estimated population distributions in the 2010 mid-year population estimates.

3. The undercount for the 2011 Census was 14,6% compared to 17,6% in 2001. Although this is a slight improvement, the undercount remains significantly higher than that recorded for other developing countries where the undercounts typically range between two and five percent of the total population.

(Berkowitz, 2012)¹⁴

In response to these criticisms, the South African Statistical Council publically declared the 2011 Census data results accurate. Referring specifically to the surprising trends pertaining to fertility rates, a member of the evaluation committee noted “Indeed that pattern in the age distribution is real. It is surprising, certainly not what we expected” (Griffith Feeney (2012) in De Wet, 2012).

In the second place, the shifts that have taken place in provincial boundaries since 1996 are relevant. Although not affecting the Western Cape, this is of particularly relevance to the Northern Cape where three cross-boundary municipalities have been absorbed into the province¹⁵. Although these shifts have been incorporated into the analysis, the ability to do so was in some instances limited due to empty data fields in the respective datasets. The probability that respondents may in some cases have reported their migration moves in terms of the previous demarcation of their province (either current or past place of residence) should also be considered.

In the third place, the reliability of census data within the *Nesstar* dataset is sometimes questionable. In this dataset, data quality is occasionally compromised by incomplete records (thus empty data fields) and in some cases, data capturing errors. These were addressed as far as the data allowed by cross referencing related data fields. For the sake of accuracy, incomplete records were excluded from the analysis presented in this dissertation.

In the fourth case, a limitation relates to the calculation of net migration flows at inter-provincial and intra-provincial levels. In the two chapters dealing separately with each selected province (4 and 5), calculations have focused exclusively on cross-border and on intra-provincial flows – signalling an

¹⁴The critique towards the 2011 Census data was reported on in an article published in the *Mail & Guardian* and is based on a (confidential) report submitted by Professors Moultrie and Dorrington to the South African Statistical Council and subsequent interview by the *Mail and Guardian* with Professor Moultrie. Both academics are demographers, associated with the Centre for Actuarial Research at the University of Cape Town. Both served on the evaluation team appointed by the South African Statistical Council to determine the accuracy of the 2011 Census data.

¹⁵ Ga Segonyana and Phokwane municipalities were cross boundary municipalities between Northern Cape and North West in 2001 and were allocated to the Northern Cape in full – based on the current provincial boundaries. Kagisano municipality (2001) was split into Kagisano/Molopo municipality and Joe Morolong municipality, with the former portion now in North West province and the latter now in the Northern Cape province. Moshaweng municipality (now part of Joe Morolong municipality) was incorporated in full in the Northern Cape province based on the current provincial boundaries (Census, 2011).

interest in comparing these two sets of flows between provinces. As discussed in chapter 6, a calculation of net intra-provincial flows incorporating cross-border moves reveals a different set of flow dynamics.

In the fifth place, census only captures a person's last move in reference to the place of residence at the time of the selected census. This presents a particular dilemma in the analysis of migration trends for the 2001-2006 period. As indicated earlier, migration trends for the periods 2001-2006 and 2006-2011 were both derived from 2011 census data, specifically census data from the Nesstar dataset. Thus, since census only measures the last move, no prior moves are captured and are thus excluded from the analysis. This is particularly problematic if a person moved during both defined periods; 2001-2006 and 2006-2011. In such an event the respondent will only be defined as a migrant for the 2006-2011 period and as a non-migrant for the 2001-2006 period. Such cases will ultimately result in an undercount of migrants for 2001-2006. This implies that the most reliable account of migration trends as captured in the census data, are in fact presented in the 1996-2001 and 2006-2011 periods.

Since it is not possible to determine the extent of a possible undercount of migrants in the 2001-2006 period with data made available for analysis, it was decided to continue with the trends analysis obtained from the Nesstar data and to rather remind the reader of this limitation with footnotes. This approach is also reflected on in the final chapter.

Finally, the migration trends analysed in this dissertation excludes the moves of foreign migrants. It was decided to exclude foreigners from this analysis since the manner in which such information was collected and captured in the 2001 and 2011 Census's would not allow reliable comparison.

These limitations notwithstanding, the researcher is confident that quantitative analyses spelled out in subsequent chapters reveal empirically legitimate and innovative conclusions. The claim is not of full validity but of value to academics and practitioners alike.

3.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter presents a detailed account of the research design and methodology underlying and framing the approach to the analysis of data used in this dissertation. The data sources employed in this dissertation offers the opportunity to critically engage with data pertaining to two aspects; (i) the description, comparison and explanation of the nature of internal migration in the Western and Northern Cape Provinces following democratisation in 1994 and (ii) the nature of urbanisation in the two provinces.

The population that constituted the unit of analysis for this study are (i) individual South African citizens who lived in one of the nine provinces in South Africa at the time of collection, (ii) are 20 years or older and (iii) classified as Black African, Coloured, Indian/Asian or White.

The data sources employed for this study consisted of secondary data sources, particularly official national Census data collected by Stats SA in 2001 and 2011. The chapter concludes with a reflection on some limitations to the data. These limitations however, do not detract from the important and reasonably accurate results presented in chapters four to six. Measures to improve data collection efforts, particularly pertaining to migration are presented in chapter seven of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 4: MIGRATION PATTERNS IN THE WESTERN CAPE FOR THE PERIOD 1996–2011

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the first of the two chapters that address the first research objective defined for this study. The objectives of this research relate to the identification, description and comparison of the changing nature of internal migration during the post-apartheid period, with the Western Cape province being the specific focus in this chapter.

In order to provide context to the analysis and subsequent discussion, the chapter starts with a brief description of the current state of the province, providing an overview of its geographic location, administrative organisation and economy (see section 4.2). This is followed by an overview of the main demographic trends that have occurred in this province during the post-1994 era between the years 1996 and 2011 (see section 4.3). Subsequently, the chapter describes both the inter- and intra-provincial migration trends across three periods: 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (see section 4.4).

The analyses aim to illustrate (i) how these trends have shifted over time, (ii) the characteristics of migrants in these migration streams, and (iii) how migration trends have been influenced by institutional economic factors (economic growth rates, employment figures and contribution of different economic sectors to employment). The chapter continues with a description of the nature of urbanisation in the province (see section 4.5).

Chapter 4 concludes with an overview of the results and the role of institutional economic factors in causing, sustaining and directing migration flows in the province (see section 4.6).

4.2 THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE IN CONTEXT

According to its current geographical demarcation, the Western Cape is bordered in the north by the Northern Cape and in the east by the Eastern Cape. As a region, the province covers a total land area of 129 462 km² and is characterised by a diverse biophysical landscape that consists roughly of the following:

- a coastal plain that skirts the province between the coastline and the mountains;
- mountain-valley landscapes that run broadly parallel to the coastline and produce much of the province's annual rainfall; and
- the plains of the semi-arid Great Karoo that stretch far beyond the boundaries of the province (Bekker, 2002:5).

At local level, the administration of the province is managed in terms of one metropolitan municipality, the City of Cape Town¹⁶ and five district municipalities, namely Cape Winelands, Central Karoo, Eden, West Coast and Overberg (Figure 4.1). These five districts are in turn, divided into 24 local municipalities¹⁷. The Central Karoo District Municipality comprises the largest surface area in this province. However, it boasts the smallest population and thus exhibits the lowest population density per km² (1.8 persons per km²)¹⁸. The Cape Winelands District exhibits the highest population density (35.3 persons per km²) of the five districts, with the City of Cape Town illustrating a high population density (1 520.3 persons per km²) (Table 4.1).



Figure 4.1: Map of Western Cape municipalities, 2011

Source: Republic of South Africa, (2017a)

¹⁶ In South Africa, a metropolitan municipality or Category A municipality is a municipality that executes all the functions of local government for a city or conurbation. This is in contrast to areas that are primarily rural in which the local government is divided into district municipalities and local municipalities. South Africa has eight metropolitan municipalities, including City of Cape Town, Buffalo City (Eastern Cape), City of Johannesburg (Gauteng), Ekurhuleni (Gauteng), City of Tshwane, eThekweni (KwaZulu-Natal), Mangaung (Free State) and Nelson Mandela Bay (Eastern Cape) (Understanding Local Government, n.d.).

¹⁷ See Appendix A for a list of the municipalities

¹⁸ Population density refers to the number of permanent inhabitants per square kilometre (km²)

Table 4.1: Summary description of the metropolitan municipality and the five district municipalities in the Western Cape

District Municipality	District capital	Area (km ²)	Population (2011)	Population density (per km ²)
Cape Winelands	Worcester	22 309	787 490	35.3
Central Karoo	Beaufort West	38 854	71 011	1.8
Eden	George	23 331	574 265	24.6
West Coast	Moorreesburg	31 104	391 766	12.6
Overberg	Bredasdorp	11 405	258 176	22.6
City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality	Cape Town	2 460	3 740 026	1 520.3

Data source: SuperCROSS, 2011 Census data

The Western Cape province has a (relatively) strong economy that continues to grow faster than the national economy. The economic growth for 2013 was estimated at 2.9% compared with a national growth rate of 2.5% (BER/Quantec research estimates in Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2013). Comparing the average real economic growth rates of the respective provinces in South Africa for the period 2003–2014, the Western Cape together with Gauteng recorded an average growth rate of 4.2%, which was 0.5% higher than the national growth rate (Stats SA, 2014).

For the period 2007–2011, the regional gross domestic product (GDP) of the Western Cape economy grew at an average rate of 3.2%. For this five-year period, the construction sector recorded the highest average growth rate per annum (5.5%), followed by the sectors concerning financial intermediation, insurance, real estate and business services (4.3%), and lastly, the sector comprising general government services (4%). Overall, the Western Cape economy is expected to grow at an annual average of 3.0 % between 2014 and 2019 (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2013; Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2014).

The economy of the Western Cape is concentrated in the Cape Metro, with 80% of the sector involving the province's leading finance, insurance, real estate and business services residing here. This sector reveals comparative advantages in the Cape Metro and the Cape Winelands District. Eighty-five per cent of real value added is generated in the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA) and the adjacent Cape Winelands District. The manufacturing sector, the second largest in the province, accounts for 17% of the GDP. This sector has a stronger presence in the economy of the Cape

Winelands, accounting for one-quarter of economic activity in this district. In all the other districts, manufacturing activity accounts for approximately 16% to 18% of real GDP, with the Central Karoo being the only exception, offering a contribution below 11%. Almost 92% of manufacturing is located in the Metro, Cape Winelands and Eden districts combined (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2013).

The retail, wholesale, catering and accommodation sectors constitute the third largest sector with a contribution of 15.4% to the Western Cape GDP. The tourism sector plays a key role in stimulating the growth of the internal trade sector, accounting for almost 18% of the economy in the Eden District. In all the other districts, retail, wholesale, catering and accommodation account for approximately 13% to 15% of real GDP (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2013).

Two smaller economic sectors that play a key role in the economy of this province are the agricultural and construction sectors. Each of these sectors contributes approximately 4% of the GDP. The agricultural sector provides employment for approximately 3% of the Western Cape population and is the most vital element in most of the non-metro district economies (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2013; Republic of South Africa, 2014). Despite its relatively small direct contribution to the regional GDP, the agricultural sector in the Western Cape accounts for 23.4% of the national agricultural output. Given that the contribution to the national GDP by the Western Cape province was estimated at 15% in 2013, the Western Cape has a clear competitive advantage in agriculture:

Agriculture accounts for close to 15 per cent of the West Coast economic activity and more than 11 per cent of that in the Cape Winelands and the Overberg. In absolute terms, the Winelands has the largest agriculture, forestry and fishing sector, being home to more than a third of the province wide agricultural sector. When the downstream linkages with the agro-processing sectors are added, it is clear that agri-business is a key economic activity across all the districts. Even the Metro is home to a large section of the industry. (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2013:47)

The favourable economic conditions prevalent in the province are also reflected in its Human Development Index (HDI), with all the districts in the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town achieving improved HDIs from 2001 to 2011. The HDIs ranged from 0.71 to 0.65 across the districts, with the highest HDI levels recorded in the City of Cape Town (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2014).

4.3 A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF POPULATION GROWTH TRENDS IN TERMS OF 1996 AND 2011 CENSUS DATA

At the time of the 2011 Census, the population of the Western Cape was estimated at 5 278 584, with the majority (64.23%) residing in the City of Cape Town, the urban centre of this province. Although the population had increased by 38% since the 1996 Census, the distribution of the population across the province remained the same, with an increase in population density across all municipal districts. At the time of the 2011 Census, the City of Cape Town experienced the greatest growth in population size since the 1996 Census, with an increase of 1 176 931 persons in its population, which translated to an increase of 470 39 persons per square kilometre. In regard to the five districts in the province, the Cape Winelands had the highest population growth for the period 1996–2011, with an increase in its population of 224 314 and an increase in population density of 10.06 persons per square kilometre. For the same period, the Eden District experienced an increase of 193 385 persons in its population size that translated to an increase of 8.29 persons per square kilometre. Although experiencing a smaller increase in population size compared with Eden (99 170), the growth in the Overberg had a stronger impact on its population density, with an increase of 8.7 persons per square kilometre compared with 8.0 persons per square kilometre noted within the Eden District. The Central Karoo experienced the smallest increase in population size and population density, reporting an increase of 0.39 persons per square kilometre for the period 1996–2011 (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Surface area and population density data of the Western Cape province by district municipality, 1996 and 2011

District Municipality	Area (km ²)	Population size		Population density ¹⁹		Percentage of total provincial population	
		1996	2011	1996	2011	1996	2011
City of Cape Town	2 502	2 563 095	3 740 026	1 024.42	1 494.81	64.78	64.23
West Coast	31 141	234 608	391 766	7.53	12.58	5.93	6.73
Cape Winelands	22 298	563 176	787 490	25.26	35.32	14.23	13.52
Overberg	11 395	159 006	25 8176	13.95	22.66	4.02	4.43
Eden	23 332	380 880	574 265	16.32	24.61	9.63	9.86
Central Karoo	38 873	56 111	71 011	1.44	1.83	1.42	1.22
Western Cape	129 307	3 956 876	5 822 734	30.60	45.03	100	100

Data source: SuperCROSS, 1996 and 2011 Census

¹⁹ Population density refers to the number of people per square kilometre

The calculations presented in Table 4.3 below show consistent annual growth for the Western Cape since 1996. Except for the period 2001–2006 in which the annual growth weakened from 2.87% per annum in 2001 to 0.98% per annum in 2006, lower than the national growth trend. For the last period, 2006–2011, the annual growth rate in the Western Cape accelerated to such extent to surpass the national annual growth rate significantly (4.54% per annum compared with 1.85% per annum).

Table 4.3: Comparison of population numbers and growth between the Western Cape and South Africa, 1996, 2001, 2007 and 2011

Year	Population size		Share of WC population to total national population (%)	Annual population growth (%)	
	Western Cape	South Africa		Western Cape	South Africa
1996	3 956 876	40 583 573	9.7		
2001	4 524 335	44 819 778	10.1	2.87	2.09
2006	4 745 500	47 390 900	10	0.98	1.15
2011	5 822 734	51 770 560	11.3	4.54	1.85

Data source: SuperCROSS, 1996 Census and 2011 Census

Amidst some variation, the noted overall population growth in the province was positive across all population groups and age cohorts (Tables 4.4 and 4.5). The most prominent growth in both periods was noted among the black African population (9.21% for 1996–2001 and 5.84% for 2001–2011), with the slowest growth rate within the white population (0.27% and 0.99%). In a comparison of the growth rates for the respective population groups for the two periods, slower growth rates were noted within the black African and coloured populations in the latter period, with an increase in growth rates among the Indian/Asian and white population groups. In fact, the stronger growth rate observed among the Indian/Asian population group together with the decline in population growth noted among the coloured group in the 2001–2011 period left the former group with the second-strongest growth rate in the province during this period, a position held by the coloured population in the 1996–2001 period.

Table 4.4: Population groups and annual growth rates²⁰

Population group	Population size			Annual growth rates (%)	
	1996	2001	2011	1996–2001	2001–2011
Black African	826 691	1 207 511	1 912 470	9.21	5.84
Coloured	2 146 111	2 438 995	2 840 214	2.73	1.65
Indian/Asian	40 376	45 028	60 762	2.30	3.49
White	821 550	832 721	914 916	0.27	0.99

Growth within the defined age cohorts provided some interesting observations (Table 4.5). The first and most obvious observation was the consistent dominant growth rate of senior citizens (61 years old or older) during both defined periods. Secondly, a comparison between the two periods showed a slower growth rate for the 19 year or younger age cohort in the 2001–2011 period compared with the 1996–2001 period. Both the 20–29 year and 30–60 year age cohorts illustrated stronger growth rates in the latter period compared with the former.

Table 4.5: Age cohorts and annual growth rates

Age cohort	Age cohorts			Annual growth rates (%)	
	1996	2001	2011	1996–2001	2001–2011
19 yrs. and younger	1 493 061	1 682 946	1 943 814	2.54	1.55
20–29 yrs.	775 596	856 634	1 176 036	2.09	3.73
30–60 yrs.	1 614 685	1 631 771	2 181 726	0.21	3.37
61+ yrs.	301 194	352 984	520 749	3.44	4.75

4.4 MIGRATION TRENDS FOR THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE, 1996–2011

This section describes the significant migration trends in this province during the period 1996–2011. Migration trends for the Western Cape are presented by comparing data collected during the two census occasions, that is, the 2001 and 2011 censuses. To allow for the analysis of trends over time, the data was organised into three periods of five years: 1996–2001; 2001–2006; and 2006–2011. Since there was no formal census in 2006, migration data collected during the 2011 Census was recoded in order to constitute the two periods 2001–2006 and 2006–2011²¹. As noted in chapter 3, this method, although unavoidable and necessary when undertaking a trends analysis from census

²⁰ Annual growth rates were calculated as average annual growth rates

²¹ See Chapter 3 for a discussion pertaining to the methodology applied in recoding data to constitute the three periods defined here.

data, is potentially problematic given the likely undercount of migrants for the 2001-2006 period. Accordingly migration trends for 1996-2001 and 2006-2011 are probably more reliable and thus the focus on these two periods in the discussion of migration trends to follow. Population figures for 2006 were retrieved from estimated figures published by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA, 2006).

The analysis of internal migration within the Western Cape considered both inter-provincial and intra-provincial migration trends. Whereas the analysis of inter-provincial migration focused on population movement across the provincial boundaries of the province, the intra-provincial migration analysis considered population movement within the provincial borders across municipal district boundaries. In addition to a description of the migration flows, this section further determines the typical profile of migrants for both internal and intra-provincial migration flows. The indicators explored for this analysis were the population and the age groups of migrants and included only migrants aged 20 years or older.

4.4.1 Inter-provincial migration for the Western Cape province, 1996–2011

In regard to the migration trends in all nine provinces within South Africa for the periods 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011, the Western Cape displayed the second highest net-migration rates²² across all three periods (4.05%, 3.20% and 2.64% respectively), with Gauteng demonstrating the largest (4.30%, 9.75% and 4.02% respectively) (Table 4.6).

In a comparison of the annual net-migration rates for the three defined census periods, five of the nine provinces, including the Western Cape, illustrated decreasing migration rates, implying a decrease in mobility within these provinces. Although net migration decreased in these provinces, trends in terms of net loss or net gain remained the same for all these provinces across the three periods, with the Western Cape and Gauteng continuously exhibiting the strongest net gain in migrants. Pertaining to the three provinces that experienced an increase in the net-migration rates, only the Eastern Cape experienced a growing trend of negative net migration and thus, a net loss in migrants. Both the North West and Mpumalanga provinces, however, experienced a transition in mobility trends, with net-migration rates changing from a net loss from 1996 to 2001 to a net gain in the two subsequent periods (Table 4.6).

²² Net migration refers to the change in population measured by subtracting the number of people who have left from those that have moved into a defined space.

Table 4.6: Comparison of provincial net-migration rates: 1996–2001, 2001–2006, 2006–2011²³

Province	Net-migration rates 1996–2001 (%)	Net-migration rates 2001–2006 (%)	Net-migration rates 2006–2011 (%)
Western Cape	4.05	3.20	2.64
Eastern Cape	-0.04	-1.11	-1.16
Northern Cape	-0.74	-0.21	-0.23
Free State	-1.63	-0.33	-0.28
KwaZulu-Natal	-0.79	-0.07	-0.06
North West	-0.75	1.91	1.92
Gauteng	4.30	9.75	4.02
Mpumalanga	-0.81	1.06	0.93
Limpopo	-3.15	-1.14	-1.23

Data source: Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), 2012c:44; Stats SA, 2006:9-10; Stats SA, 2014:13

Figures 4.2 and 4.3 provide an illustration of the net-migration rates of Western Cape migrants aged 20 years or older in terms of the total population for the four population groups and the three defined age cohorts. The general decrease in net-migration rates and the consistent positive net-migration rates since 1996, illustrated and discussed above, is confirmed for all four population groups and the three age cohorts. The data, however, illustrated more than just a general decline in migration rates. With regard to the net-migration rates of the respective population groups for the three five-year periods, the analysis showed a definite decrease in rates between the first two periods, that is, 1996–2001 and 2001–2006 for all four population groups²⁴. With the exception of the coloured population for whom the downward trend continued, albeit at a very slow rate, the net-migration rates among the Indian/Asian, black African and white population groups increased again in the 2006–2011 period. This increase in net-migration rates over the period 2006–2011 was

²³ The rates presented in this table were calculated by employing five-year migration data published by Stats SA, as noted in reference below the table. This data is only available at provincial level and excludes data relating to age, population group and intra-provincial flows. Accordingly, I was obliged to employ Nesstar data for further calculations. This introduced the weakness of an undercount for the 2001-2006 rates, as explained in Chapter 3. Comparisons between this Table and further analysis based upon Nesstar data in this chapter illustrate this weakness.

²⁴ This general decrease in migration rates and subsequent sharp rise in black African & White migration rates should, however, be viewed within the context of a possible undercount in migration rates for the 2001-2006 period

the highest in the black African and white population groups, with the Indian/Asian group only showing a very small increase in rates.

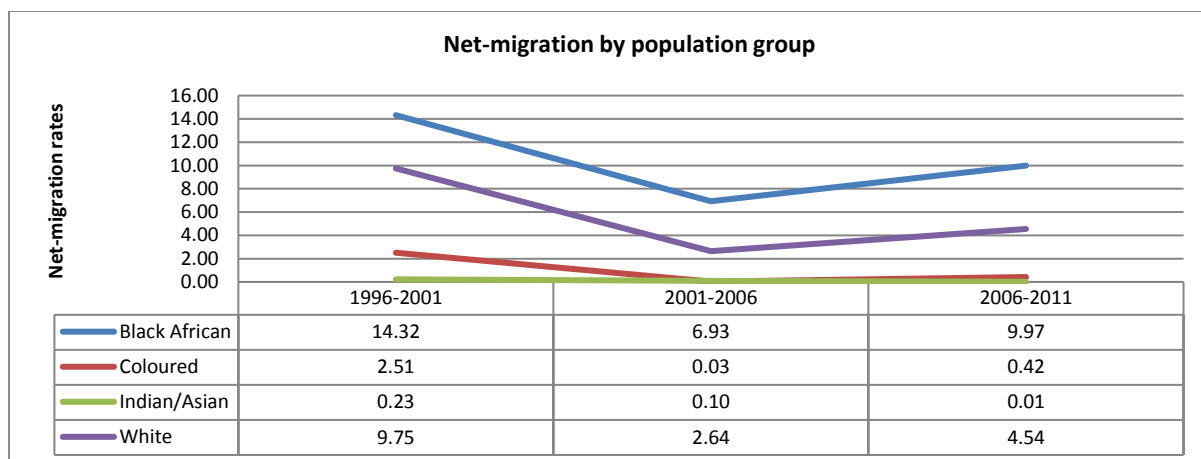


Figure 4.2: Net-migration rates of Western Cape inter-provincial migrants (20+ yrs.) and population group, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006-2011²⁵

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

Similar to the trends for the respective population groups, the net-migration rates calculated for migrants aged 20 years and older also showed mixed trends when comparing the three time periods amidst a consistent decrease in migration rates noted for all three age cohorts. The period 2001–2006 demonstrated a more pronounced decrease in net-migration rates among young adults (20–29 years) compared with the mature adult group (30–60 years)²⁶. However, during 2006 to 2011, the former age group experienced a stronger increase in net-migration rates compared with the latter, with the smallest growth noted within the senior group (61 years and older). All three age groups however, presented lower net-migration rates for the 2006-2011 period compared to 1996-2001 implying a general decline in migration rates since 1996.

²⁵ Calculations per 1000

²⁶ This decrease should be considered within the context of a possible undercount of migrants for the 2001-2006 period

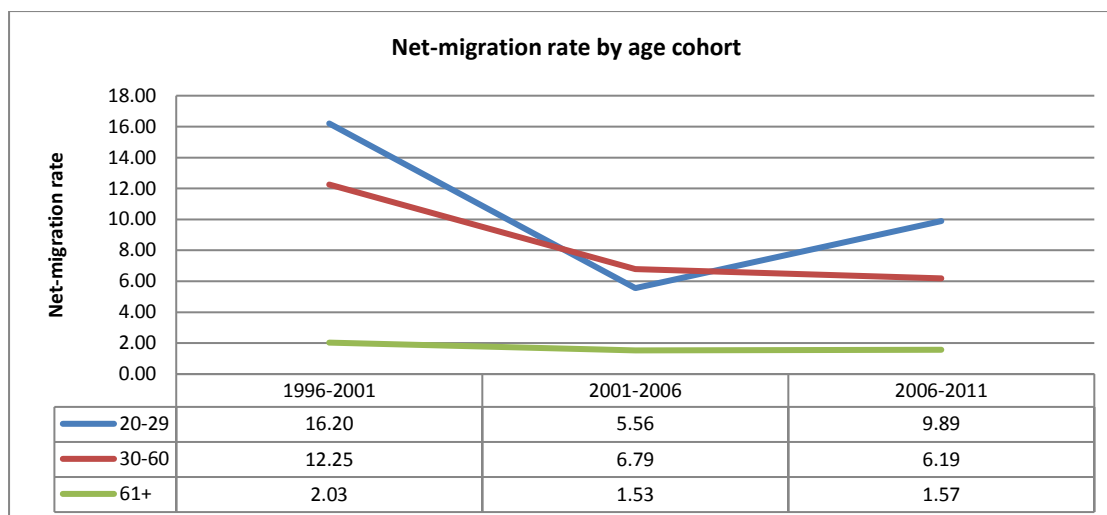


Figure 4.3: Net-migration rates of Western Cape inter-provincial migrants (20+ yrs.) and age cohort, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011²⁷

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

With reference to the main sending and receiving provinces of inter-provincial migrants that either entered or left the Western Cape, the data illustrated a strong relationship between the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). Not only were the Eastern Cape and Gauteng the two main sending provinces of migrants to the Western Cape province, but these two provinces also acted as the two main receiving provinces of migrants leaving the Western Cape. The Eastern Cape, however, remained the main sending province of migrants to the Western Cape, accounting for approximately 50% of all migrants that entered the province within the three periods. In addition, Gauteng remained the main receiving province for migrants leaving the Western Cape.

²⁷ Calculations per 1000

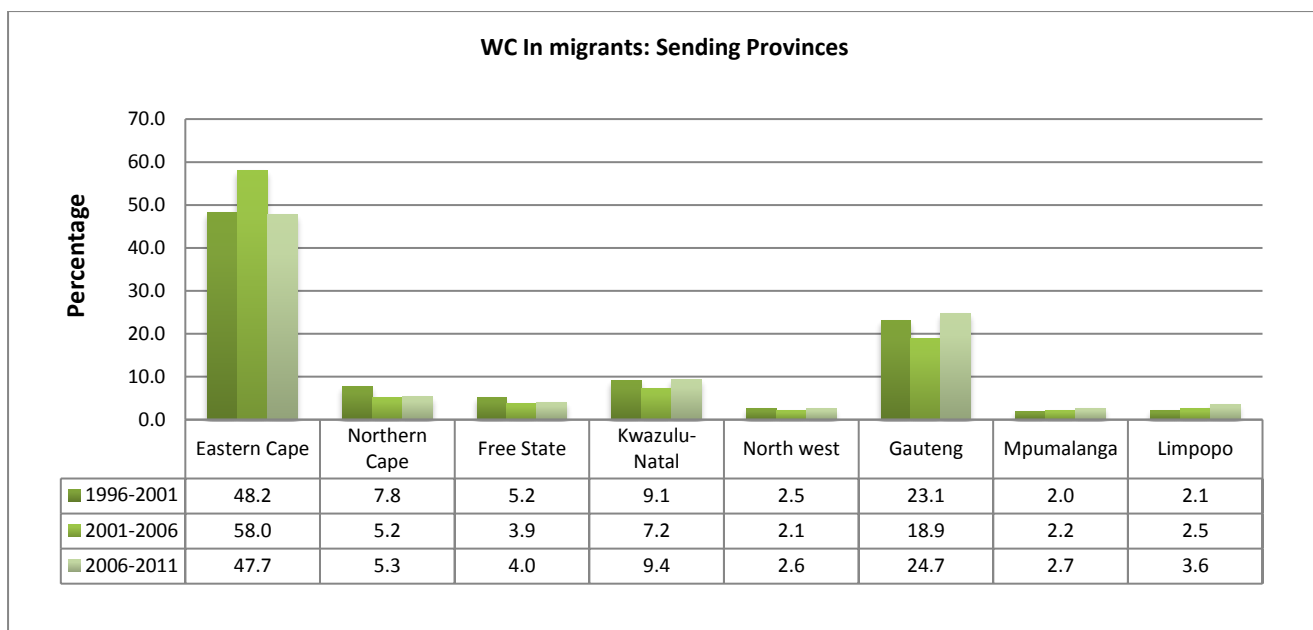


Figure 4.4: Main sending areas (provinces) for in-migrants entering the Western Cape, 1996–2001 and 2001–2011

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

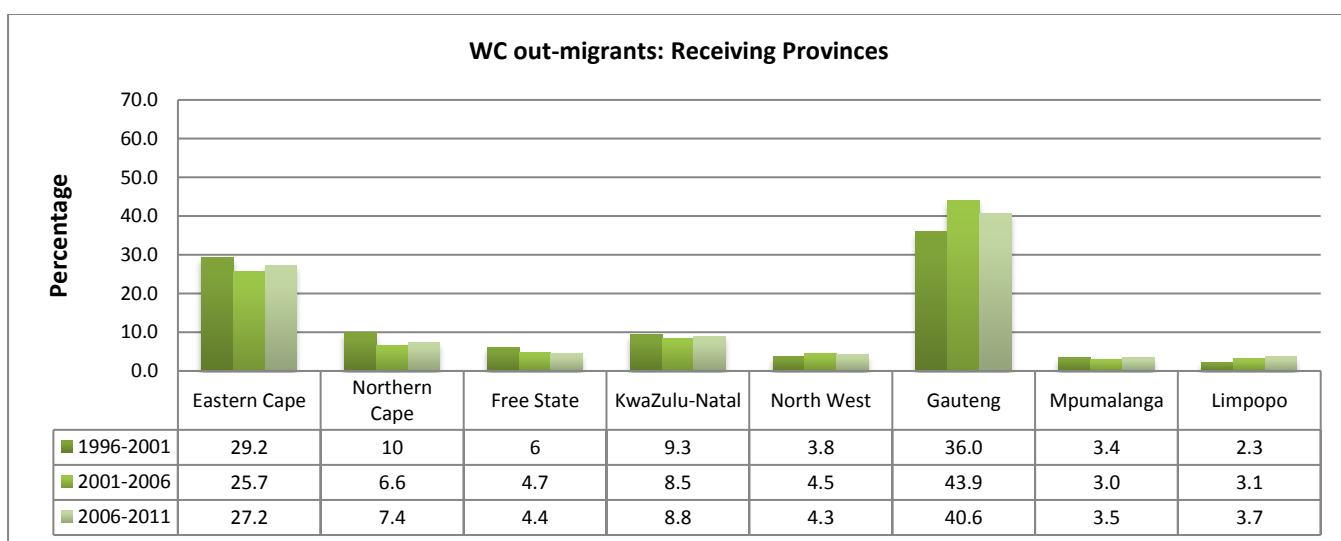


Figure 4.5: Receiving areas (provinces) for out-migrants leaving the Western Cape, 1996–2001 and 2001–2011

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

In Table 4.7, the possible correlation between the sending province and the population group of inter-provincial migrants is tested. All the population groups were found to illustrate strong primary and secondary sending provinces across the three defined periods. Since 1996, the Eastern Cape has acted as the primary sending province for black African migrants, accounting for 80% of black African migrants for the periods 1996–2001 and 2001–2006. During these periods, Gauteng consistently acted as the sending province from where the second-largest group of black African migrants, although a much smaller percentage (7%), entered the Western Cape. For the period 2006–2011, the Eastern Cape remained the sending province from where the majority of black African in-migrants (71%) entered the province but at a somewhat slower pace. A change in secondary sending place for this period was noted, with the North West province replacing Gauteng with in-migrants from this province to the Western Cape and demonstrating an increase from 1.2% for the period 2001–2006 to 13% for the period 2006–2011 (Table 4.7a).

For the coloured population, the trends remained consistent, with the Northern Cape acting as the main sending province of coloured in-migrants to the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape acting as a strong secondary sending province. What is noteworthy in table 4.7b regarding coloured in-migration over the 1996-2011 period is a percentage increase (of approximately 5%) from coloured migrants entering from the Gauteng province to a non equivalent percentage decrease from the Northern Cape.

The majority of Indian/Asian in-migrants entered the province from KwaZulu-Natal, with the second-largest group entering from Gauteng. A slight decrease in the number of migrants moving from this province was indicated, with a consistent increase in numbers moving from Gauteng to the Western Cape (Table 4.7c). Almost 50% of white in-migrants moved from Gauteng to the Western Cape, while a smaller group entered from the Eastern Cape (Table 4.7d).

Table 4.7: Main sending provinces of Western Cape in-migrants and population group²⁸

Table 4.7a: Black African in-migrants (%)			
	1996– 2001	2001– 2006	2006– 2011
<i>Eastern Cape</i>	79.70	80.70	70.51
Northern Cape	2.20	1.30	2.00
Free State	2.60	2.30	2.90
Kwazulu-Natal	4.20	4.40	1.60
North west	1.50	1.20	12.70
Gauteng	7.80	7.00	1.70
Mpumalanga	0.70	1.20	3.40
Limpopo	1.10	2.00	0.03
Total	100	100	100

Table 4.7b: Coloured in-migrants (%)			
	1996– 2001	2001– 2006	2006– 2011
Eastern Cape	27.00	24.30	27.20
<i>Northern Cape</i>	35.20	33.40	29.10
Free State	3.90	4.10	2.00
Kwazulu-Natal	10.00	8.70	9.40
North west	3.00	2.60	3.80
Gauteng	14.50	20.80	18.80
Mpumalanga	3.30	1.70	3.80
Limpopo	3.10	4.30	5.80
Total	100	100	100

Table 4.7c: Indian/Asian in-migrants (%)			
	1996– 2001	2001– 2006	2006– 2011
Eastern Cape	11.30	15.90	8.80
Northern Cape	2.50	2.80	1.80
Free State	2.50	0.90	2.90
<i>Kwazulu-Natal</i>	61.10	50.50	54.40
North west	1.30	0.00	3.30
Gauteng	18.80	22.40	25.50
Mpumalanga	2.10	2.80	2.90
Limpopo	0.40	4.70	0.40
Total	100	100	100

Table 4.7d: White in-migrants (%)			
	1996– 2001	2001– 2006	2006– 2011
Eastern Cape	12.10	12.70	13.90
Northern Cape	6.70	8.30	6.00
Free State	9.40	7.90	8.10
Kwazulu-Natal	13.70	11.20	12.80
North west	3.90	4.40	4.10
<i>Gauteng</i>	47.70	47.40	47.60
Mpumalanga	3.40	4.90	4.10
Limpopo	3.20	3.10	3.30
Total	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

²⁸ To facilitate fluid analysis in the text, percentage points in these tables have been rounded off.

Regarding the main sending and receiving districts of inter-provincial migrants, the data showed a consistent trend in migrant behaviour across all three periods. The Cape Metro continued to serve as both the main receiving and main sending area for migrants entering the province, with Eden and the Cape Winelands serving as the second and third most preferred receiving districts for in-migrants as well as sending districts from where migrants left the province (Table 4.8 and Table 4.9).

Table 4.8: Destination districts of in-migrants, 1996–2001 and 2001–2011

WC in-migrants – Receiving district	1996–2001 (%)	2001–2006 (%)	2006–2011 (%)
West Coast DM	5.76	6.89	6.63
Cape Winelands DM	9.21	7.49	9.31
Overberg DM	5.21	6.67	5.84
<i>Eden DM</i>	<i>12.11</i>	<i>14.71</i>	<i>12.19</i>
Central Karoo DM	0.55	0.51	0.73
<i>City of Cape Town</i>	<i>67.15</i>	<i>63.73</i>	<i>65.29</i>
Total	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

Table 4.9: Sending districts for out-migrants, 1996–2001 and 2001–2011

WC out-migrants – Sending districts	1996–2001 (%)	2001–2006 (%)	2006–2011 (%)
West Coast DM	4.7	4.1	4.0
<i>Cape Winelands DM</i>	<i>8.3</i>	<i>6.0</i>	<i>5.6</i>
Overberg DM	2.3	2.7	2.6
<i>Eden DM</i>	<i>12.5</i>	<i>11.7</i>	<i>12.7</i>
Central Karoo DM	1.4	1.5	1.4
<i>City of Cape Town</i>	<i>70.8</i>	<i>74.0</i>	<i>73.6</i>
Total	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

To explore the characteristics of migrants entering and leaving the Western Cape province, descriptive data pertaining to the population group and the age of migrants was analysed. Black African and white population groups constituted the largest portions of both in- and out-migration. In the analysis of mobility of the four population groups, the mobility rate in terms of the total Western Cape population was calculated. The data clearly showed that all four population groups have exhibited decreasing in-migration mobility rates since 1996, with the sharpest decrease noted within the black African and white population groups. For the period 1996–2001, these two

population groups presented similar mobility rates, with the black African population registering a consistent decrease in the two subsequent periods.

The white population exhibited a sharp decline in its mobility rate in the period 2001–2006 compared with the 1996–2001 period. This rate accelerated in 2006–2011, presenting this population as the most mobile in this latter period. Mobility among the Indian/Asian population group showed a similar trend to the mobility of the white population, with an initial decrease during the period 2001–2006 compared with the 1996–2001 period. This was followed by an increase in the mobility rate that was comparatively equal to that of the white population. The consistent low mobility rate among the coloured population persisted throughout the three periods (Table 4.10).

For reasons already explained, out-migration mobility rates were lower than in-migration mobility rates among all the population groups in the Western Cape. This trend supports the positive net-migration rates experienced by this province as discussed earlier in this section. All the population groups presented a similar trend in mobility rates, with a decrease in mobility noted between the first (1996-2001) and last (2006-2011) census periods. With the exception of the Indian/Asian, out-migration among the respective population groups showed a general decrease since the 2001 Census. Black African and white in-migration shows the strongest decreasing rates since the 1996-2001 period with the former population group exhibiting the strongest decrease in out-migration rates for the same period (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Mobility rates (%) among population groups in the Western Cape, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (those 20 years or older)²⁹

Population group	In-migration as proportion of population groups (20+ yrs.)			Out-migration as proportion of population groups (20+ yrs.)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Black African	0.64	0.37	0.38	0.19	0.08	0.15
Coloured	0.08	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.01	0.03
Indian/Asian	0.50	0.20	0.42	0.30	0.12	0.31
White	0.69	0.24	0.45	0.25	0.10	0.23
Total	0.35	0.17	0.22	0.12	0.05	0.10

Data source: Stats SA, 2006, Community Profile Census 1996–2011, SuperCROSS

²⁹Denominator: population group, those 20 years or older

With regard to the age distribution among migrants, mobility was tested within three age cohorts, namely young adults (20–29 years), mature adults (30–60 years) and senior adults (61 years or older). The analysis showed the mobility among young adults as the most dynamic in both in- and out-migration flows. Comparing the mobility of the three age cohorts across the three periods, it is evident that a decrease in the mobility rates is noted within all three cohorts (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11: Mobility rates (%) within age cohorts in the Western Cape, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (those 20 years or older)³⁰

Age cohort	In-migrants Proportion (%) within age cohorts (20+ yrs.)			Out-migrants Proportion (%) within age cohorts (20+ yrs.)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	0.90	0.32	0.79	0.24	0.06	0.19
30–60 yrs.	0.42	0.15	0.24	0.17	0.06	0.15
61+ yrs.	0.32	0.11	0.21	0.14	0.04	0.09
Total	0.90	0.32	0.79	0.24	0.06	0.19

Data source: Stats SA, 2006, Community Profile Census 1996–2011, SuperCROSS

Table 4.12 presents the age distribution of inter-provincial migrants across the three periods for the four population groups. These analyses are significant in that they confirmed the trend of stronger mobility among young adults in both in- and out-migration compared with the other age cohorts. This trend applied to all four population groups. Regarding out-migrants, however, some deviation to this trend was evident, with relatively even rates presented for young and mature out-migrants within the black African and coloured population groups. In the case of senior adults, the highest rates of in-migrants were noted in the white population group, with the highest rates of out-migrants in this age cohort in the Indian/Asian population group.

³⁰Denominator: defined age cohort, excluding those younger than 20 years

Table 4.12: Mobility rates (%) within age cohorts for the respective population groups, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Black African						
	In-migrants (%)			Out-migrants (%)		
Age cohort	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	1.76	0.65	0.98	0.31	0.07	0.25
30–60 yrs.	0.73	0.43	0.41	0.31	0.11	0.24
61+ yrs.	0.37	0.10	0.26	0.43	0.13	0.22
Total	1.16	0.50	0.64	0.31	0.09	0.24
Coloured						
	In-migrants (%)			Out-migrants (%)		
Age cohort	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	0.20	0.03	0.08	0.08	0.01	0.06
30–60 yrs.	0.12	0.03	0.06	0.07	0.02	0.05
61+ yrs.	0.08	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.01	0.02
Total	0.14	0.03	0.06	0.07	0.02	0.05
Indian/Asian						
	In-migrants (%)			Out-migrants (%)		
Age cohort	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	1.06	0.11	0.82	0.57	0.07	0.50
30–60 yrs.	0.78	0.28	0.61	0.49	0.17	0.45
61+ yrs.	0.38	0.18	0.27	0.38	0.08	0.29
Total	0.82	0.22	0.63	0.50	0.13	0.45
White						
	In-migrants (%)			Out-migrants (%)		
Age cohort	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	1.44	0.13	0.82	0.53	0.07	0.45
30–60 yrs.	0.96	0.25	0.58	0.33	0.12	0.31
61+ yrs.	0.68	0.33	0.43	0.22	0.09	0.16
Total	0.98	0.25	0.58	0.34	0.11	0.30

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

4.4.2 Impact of institutional-economic factors on inter-provincial migration trends in the Western Cape, 1996–2011

Although the net-migration of the Western Cape has declined somewhat, statistics showed that a positive net-migration rate has been maintained since 1996. The comparison of the rates for the three periods, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011, clearly indicated that the Western Cape is the second-largest net receiver of migrants, following Gauteng. The analysis of the sending and receiving provinces of migrants entering and leaving the Western Cape established a strong relationship between the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Gauteng. In this relationship, the Eastern Cape and Gauteng acted not only as the two main sending areas of migrants to the Western Cape but also as the two main receiving areas of those leaving this province. The data further illustrated the relationship of the Western Cape with both the Eastern Cape and Gauteng as primarily a receiving rather than a sending partner.

Where do migrants mostly choose to settle upon entering the Western Cape province? The analysis clearly showed the three most preferred municipal districts for in-migrants to be first the Cape Metro, followed by the districts of Eden and the Cape Winelands.

With regard to the profile of inter-provincial migrants, in-migration among Black African migrants was the strongest among young adults (20–29 years), whereas mature adults within this group were the most mobile in out-migration flows. For the other three population groups young adults constituted the majority of migrants both entering and leaving the Western Cape.

Moving towards an explanation for the continuously strong positive net migration experienced by the Western Cape since 1996, reference to the push-pull theory on migration is of particular relevance. Departing from the premise that migration is initiated and perpetuated by certain factors that push migrants from and pull them to a specific location, it is argued that the two strongest forces that pull migrants towards the province relate firstly to economic factors and secondly to the relatively efficient provision and accessibility of services compared with the main sending provinces.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the Western Cape economy boasts a growing economy that consistently outperforms the national economy. Classified as one of the ‘three power houses’ together with KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, these three provinces collectively contribute over 60% to the country’s value added (Bouwer, n.d.). For the period 2001–2011, the Western Cape together with KwaZulu-Natal achieved an average real annual economic growth of 3.6%, second to the 4.0% achieved by Gauteng for the same period (Stats SA, 2015). In a report by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) (2014) for the National Development Agency, a profile on poverty in South

Africa showed only three provinces to have a poverty incidence below the national average for all defined poverty lines. These were Gauteng, Western Cape and the Free State in order of increasing poverty incidence. The poorest provinces were Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal in order of decreasing poverty incidence³¹ (HSRC, 2014 Stats SA, 2017).

From the above, it is clear that the Eastern Cape, as the primary sending province of migrants to the Western Cape, is in a much poorer economic position compared with the Western Cape specifically. Most social and economic indicators show the Eastern Cape to be one of the poorest provinces in the country, with a very low socio-economic status and one of the highest unemployment rates compared with the other provinces in the country (Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2010). According to the 2011 Census key results publication, 49.4% of the households in the Eastern Cape province had access to piped water inside their dwelling or yard, 43% had access to a flush toilet and 75% used electricity for lighting. These statistics are in stark contrast to the Western Cape in which 88.4% of households had access to piped water inside their dwelling or yard, 89.6% had access to a flush toilet and 93.4% used electricity for lighting (Stats SA, 2012a).

The above statistics strongly confirm the Western Cape as a destination province that presents strong pull factors in terms of both economic opportunity and access to basic services, that is, the Western Cape is of strong importance to specifically Eastern Cape migrants. The strong pull factor in regard to the specifically favourable economic conditions that are present in the Western Cape is confirmed in a study conducted by the Fort Hare Institute for Economic and Social Research in 2006 (Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2010). According to this study, population movement out of the Eastern Cape is, in the majority of cases, directly related to personal and household income. The survey found that most people (74%) moved either for confirmed employment or because they were searching for jobs. Education was indicated as another important motivation for migration (Ford Hare Institute for Economic and Social Research (2006) in Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2010). The search for better economic conditions as a primary driver for migration to the Western Cape was also confirmed in a Western Cape migration study conducted in 2001 in which the majority of migrant household heads indicated economic considerations as the main reason for their move (Bekker & Swart, 2002).

The favourable economic environment offered to in-migrants to the Western Cape is further illustrated in the growth experienced in the construction sector, typically a labour-intensive enterprise, for the period 2007–2011. During this period, this sector achieved the highest average

³¹ A poverty line of R577 was used as absolute poverty line for analysis

growth per annum compared with the other economic sectors within the province (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2013). Furthermore, the Western Cape also accounted for 22.6% of the value added to the national economy in the industries of agriculture, forestry and fishing (Western Cape Provincial Treasury, 2013). The relevance of the experienced growth in these two sectors (i.e. construction and fishing & agriculture) can be sought in the fact that these sectors provide abundant employment opportunities for (primarily) semi-skilled individuals.

The preferred destination areas of in-migrants to the province were the Cape Metro, which served as the main receiving area, followed by the districts of Eden and the Cape Winelands. This trend was consistent for both census periods. The preferred status enjoyed by these three areas is not coincidental but rather, is underpinned by certain distinct characteristics associated with each of these areas.

As one of the eight urban centres in South Africa, the large migration flow towards the Cape Metro is not surprising since the Metro offers not only a large infrastructure and variety of services but also, and perhaps more importantly, a more promising opportunity (if only by perception) of financial benefit in terms of the availability of employment opportunities.

In regard to the Eden District, it is probably more the favourable location together with the availability of extended basic services (e.g. housing, health and education) than perceived economic opportunity that act as the main pull factors for migrants (Bekker & Swart, 2002). In terms of its geographical location, the two largest towns in the Eden District, George and Knysna, are situated along the N2, the main route linking the Eastern Cape to Cape Town. This important artery can be described as the main 'migration route' between the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape, specifically towards Cape Town. Hence, it is not unexpected that the majority of migrants that settled in the Eden District indicated the Eastern Cape as their previous place of residence (Bekker & Swart, 2002).

4.4.3 Intra-provincial migration flows within the Western Cape province, 1996–2011

Intra-provincial migration refers to the movement of individuals within provincial boundaries. To analyse this migration stream, only persons who indicated to have moved within the provincial boundaries of the Western Cape and were aged 20 years or older at the time of their last move were included in the analysis.

This section initially presents and compares the two migration flows that occur within intra-provincial migration; movement across municipal district boundaries and movement within municipal district boundaries. There after the rates of these two intra-provincial migration flows are compared with the inter-provincial migration rate for the province. Following this discussion the main destination and sending districts for intra-provincial migrants that moved across municipal districts compared for the three defined periods is presented. Finally, the discussion offers a description of the characteristics of intra-provincial migrants, specifically referring to population group and age.

As indicated in the analysis of inter-provincial migration trends, migration rates calculated and presented for the period 2001-2006 should be viewed with caution. It is important to note that the consistent lower rates in migration noted within this period, could rather be a factor of a possible undercount of migrants within this period, than an actual decrease in rates.

Exploring intra-provincial migration trends, it is important to distinguish between two flows; intra-provincial migration across municipal district boundaries and intra-provincial migration within municipal district boundaries. In regard to intra-provincial movement specifically in terms of movement *within* compared with movement *across* municipal districts, the analysis showed a strong tendency of such migrants to remain within a specific municipal district rather than to move across district boundaries. In the comparison of the three census periods, this trend increased, with 79% of intra-provincial migrants remaining within a municipal district for the period 1996–2001 compared with 89% in the periods 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (Figure 4.6).

When intra- and inter-provincial migration rates were compared, intra-provincial migration within municipal district boundaries demonstrated a larger participation of individuals aged 20 years or older, compared to both inter-provincial migration and intra-provincial migration across municipal districts. In fact, the latter migration flow was found the weakest of the three migration flows illustrated here. The analysis further presented divergent trends for the three migration streams, with growing participation of migrants in intra-provincial migration within municipal district boundaries. In comparison both inter-provincial migration and intra-provincial migration across municipal district boundaries noted lower participation over the three periods studied (Table 4.13)³².

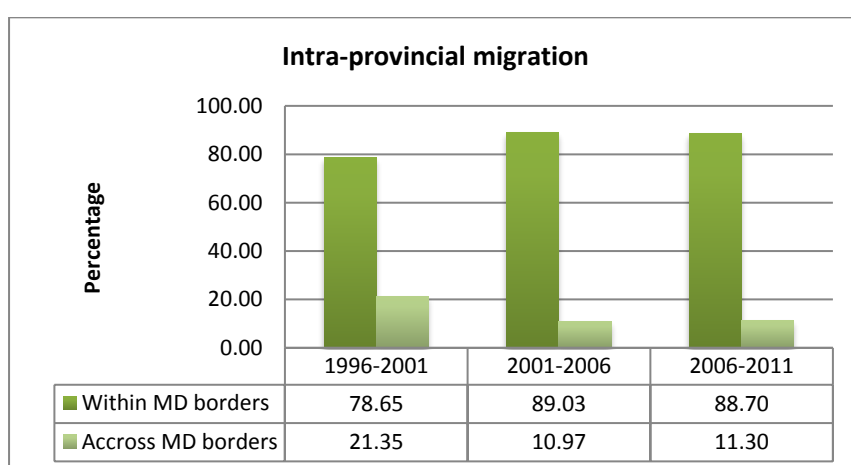


Figure 4.6: Intra-provincial migration, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

Table 4.13: Comparison of inter- and intra-provincial migration rates, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011³³

	Migration rates		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Inter-provincial migration	4.05	3.20	2.64
Intra-provincial migration: Across MD boundaries	1.45	0.32	0.70
Intra-provincial migration Within MD boundaries	5.33	2.58	5.48

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

³² Lower migration rates for the 2001-2006 period should be considered within the context of a possible undercount in migrants for this period.

³³ Calculated per 1000

In an investigation regarding the intra-provincial migration trends in terms of the four population groups, the data (Table 4.14) showed a consistent preference across all three periods for intra-provincial migrants within all four population groups to remain within a district municipality rather than to move across the boundary. This trend increased consistently over time in all population groups, except for the Indian/Asian group that maintained a strong preference for moving within district boundaries. White and coloured intra-provincial migrants were most likely to venture across municipal boundaries although at a lower rate in the latter two periods than the first (1996–2001).

Table 4.14: Intra-provincial migration rates within population groups, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Population group	Move across MD boundaries (%)			Move within MD boundaries (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Black African	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.10	0.08	0.18
Coloured	0.06	0.01	0.02	0.27	0.10	0.20
Indian/Asian	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
White	0.07	0.02	0.03	0.16	0.07	0.15
Total	0.14	0.03	0.07	0.53	0.26	0.55

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

Consistent across all three periods defined, intra-provincial migrants within the three age cohorts were found to remain primarily within the borders of a district, with a much smaller minority moving across such borders to settle in another district within the province. This trend did not only remain consistent across the three periods since 1996 but grew stronger within all three age cohorts in the 2006–2011 period (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15: Intra-provincial migration rates within age cohorts, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (%)

	Move across MD boundaries (%)			Move within MD boundaries (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	0.05	0.01	0.02	0.18	0.06	0.20
30–60 yrs.	0.08	0.02	0.04	0.31	0.17	0.32
61 yrs.+	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.03	0.04
Total	0.14	0.03	0.07	0.53	0.26	0.56

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

Analysing intra-provincial net-migration rates for the respective districts within the Western Cape allowed for an assessment of how migrants move within the province. Such analysis offered information regarding the impact of intra-provincial migration (the net gain or loss in the total population size due to migration behaviour). From the net-migration rates presented in Table 4.16 and Table 4.17, the following deductions can be made³⁴:

- The City of Cape Town consistently experienced a net loss in intra-provincial migrants from 1996, with more migrants within this migration stream moving out than moving into the Metro and opting rather to migrate to one of the five districts.
- During the first two periods, the Central Karoo showed a net loss to intra-provincial migrants. This trend, however, changed to a net gain of migrants within this migration stream in the third period (2006–2011).
- Both Eden and the Cape Winelands districts experienced a net loss in intra-provincial migrants during the first period (1996–2001), with a subsequent net gain for the periods 2001–2006 and 2006–2011.
- Since 1996, the West Coast and Overberg districts consistently experienced a net gain in intra-provincial migrants. These net gains were further consistently higher compared to net gains experienced in the Metro and the other three districts. The Overberg experienced higher gains than the West Coast during the first two periods, with the two districts showing near equal gains during the 2006–2011 period.

Table 4.16: Sending and receiving areas of intra-provincial migrants, 1996-2001, 2001-2006 and 2006-2011 (%)

Municipal Districts & metro	Receiving areas (%)			Sending areas (%)		
	1996-2001	2001-2006	2006-2011	1996-2001	2001-2006	2006-2011
West Coast DM	15.6	19.7	18.7	10.9	9.2	8.0
Cape Winelands DM	19.7	22.4	24.6	23.1	14.8	16.9
Overberg DM	13.8	17.1	11.8	9.7	5.6	4.9
Eden DM	11.1	15.2	14.8	12.4	13.7	13.5
Central Karoo DM	2.3	2.0	2.3	2.8	3.0	2.2
City of Cape Town	37.4	23.6	27.8	40.9	53.7	54.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

³⁴ Migration rates for the 2001-2006 period should be considered within the context of a possible undercount in migrants for this period.

Table 4.17: Intra-provincial net-migration rates on district and metro levels, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011³⁵

Municipal Districts & metro	Net-migration rates (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
West Coast MD	0.65	0.54	1.11
Cape Winelands MD	-0.60	0.16	0.40
Overberg MD	0.79	0.81	1.09
Eden MD	-0.38	0.04	0.09
Central Karoo MD	-8.65	-0.27	0.06
City of Cape Town	-0.18	-0.13	-0.29

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

Tables 4.18 and 4.19 present the receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants to the Overberg and West Coast districts respectively³⁶. Over the three periods, the majority of intra-provincial migrants moving to the West Coast District consistently settled in either the Saldanha or the Swartland Municipality. Of those that moved to the Overberg District, there was a consistent trend, with the majority settling in the Overstrand or Theewaterskloof municipalities. All four of these municipalities share a common feature, which is the presence of at least one significant local town boasting a vibrant local and diversified economy and possessing the subsequent availability of economic opportunities, particularly in the fishing and agricultural industries.

Table 4.18: Receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants to the West Coast District, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011(%)

West Coast municipalities	Percentage		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Matzikama	10.0	4.8	10.5
Cederberg	8.7	8.3	8.1
Bergrivier	21.3	16.6	20.8
Saldanha Bay	24.2	33.1	31.2
Swartland	35.8	37.2	29.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

³⁵ To determine the net-migration rates for the period 2001–2006, the total district population size as it was at the time of the 2007 Community Survey was used since these were the only verified numbers available on district level. Although the actual rate might differ slightly, it is the opinion of the author that the general trends remained valid for the 2006 period.

³⁶ Migration rates for the 2001–2006 period should be considered within the context of a possible undercount in migrants for this period.

Table 4.19: Receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants to the Overberg District, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (%)

Overberg municipalities	Percentage		
	1996–2001 (%)	2001–2006 (%)	2006–2011 (%)
Theewaterskloof	29.3	20.4	24.73
Overstrand	49.4	50.4	44.73
Cape Agulhas	11.5	14	17.85
Swellendam	9.8	15.2	12.69
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

It was noted that the West Coast only featured as a preferred place of destination for coloured intra-provincial migrants and only for the period 2006–2011. None of the population groups exhibited a preference for either the West Coast District or the Overberg District but alternatively demonstrated a clear preference for the City of Cape Town and the Cape Winelands District as first and second choices respectively.

If one considers these findings together with the intra-provincial net-migration rates, it would seem that migration movement to the Overberg and West Coast districts is more stable, with migrants to these districts being more prone to remain there over an extended period and intra-provincial migration flows to the other districts, particularly the Metro, being more dynamic (Tables 4.20 and 4.21).

Table 4.20: Receiving districts of black African and coloured intra-provincial migrants, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (%)

Receiving districts	Black African intra-provincial migration (%)			Coloured intra-provincial migration (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
West Coast MD	24.0	15.3	15.0	18.1	20.3	24.7
Cape Winelands MD	17.0	26.0	32.9	19.7	29.5	21.5
Overberg MD	7.0	20.4	10.1	11.4	9.6	10.1
Eden MD	12.5	13.3	12.9	9.9	15.9	15.8
Central Karoo MD	1.4	1.0	0.8	3.7	2.7	4.0
City of Cape Town	38.1	24.0	28.4	37.3	22.1	23.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

Table 4.21: Receiving districts of Indian/Asian and white intra-provincial migrants, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (%)

Receiving districts	Indian/Asian intra-provincial migration (%)			White intra-provincial migration (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
West Coast MD	0.0	11.1	19.4	11.9	20.5	15.8
Cape Winelands MD	19.0	33.3	29.0	20.3	15.9	23.9
Overberg MD	23.8	22.2	0.0	17.4	21.9	13.9
Eden MD	0.0	0.0	6.5	12.0	15.5	14.6
Central Karoo MD	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	1.8	1.6
City of Cape Town	57.1	33.3	45.2	37.3	24.5	30.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

Table 4.22 presents the receiving districts of intra-provincial migrants in terms of age. The City of Cape Town remained the main receiving area within the province of intra-provincial migrants across the defined age cohorts and the different time periods. Since 1996, the Cape Winelands has been the recipient of a majority of both young and mature adult intra-provincial migrants, with Eden and the Overberg, popular destinations for retirement, with the later the main receiving district of senior intra-provincial migrants in the first two periods and the former in the third (2006–2011) period.

Table 4.22: Receiving districts of intra-provincial migrants and age distribution, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Receiving districts	20–29 yrs. intra-provincial migration (%)			30–60 yrs. intra-provincial migration (%)			61+ yrs. intra-provincial migration (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
West Coast MD	14.3	14.6	8.4	17.3	20.8	7.7	12.3	20.2	8.3
Cape Winelands MD	23.4	25.5	17.4	18.7	24.8	17.0	13.6	13.4	15.3
Overberg MD	8.9	10.9	4.2	14.2	13.4	4.6	27.0	31.5	7.9
Eden MD	7.1	14.6	15.0	12.7	17.0	13.7	15.6	12.5	9.4
Central Karoo MD	1.5	1.7	2.8	2.9	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.7	1.3
City of Cape Town	44.7	32.7	52.3	34.3	22.0	55.0	30.1	19.9	57.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

4.4.4 Impact of institutional-economic factors on intra-provincial migration trends in the Western Cape, 1996–2011

If one considered the intra-provincial migration flows between the district borders of provinces, it would seem a natural inference that these migration flows would match the population distribution within the province. This assumption is partly confirmed when exploring the main receiving districts of intra-provincial migrants with both the City of Cape Town and Cape Winelands District illustrated as the main receiving districts of migrants within this migration stream (Table 4.16). The City of Cape Town is however, also the main sending area for intra-provincial migrants, evident in the consistent negative (intra-provincial) net-migration rates since 1996 (Tables 4.17). Although the Cape Winelands district was shown as a net-receiving district of intra-provincial migrants, the strongest gains of intra-provincial migrants was noted within the West Coast and Overberg municipal districts, a trend persisting since 1996. Thus, considering the impact of intra-provincial migration on population growth trends, the higher net-migration rates for these two districts illustrate a stronger and sustaining impact of positive net-migration rates on the population numbers of these two districts compared with the City of Cape Town and the other three districts.

In explaining the continuous and strong positive intra-provincial net migration illustrated for these two districts since 1996, reference to the push-pull theory on migration is particularly relevant. According to the push-pull theory of migration, migrants select receiving areas and remain there depending on specific characteristics that present as favourable options for migrants. It is the premise of this dissertation, which is supported by a substantial body of literature on migration, that such characteristics primarily refer to economic opportunities offered (Sachikonye, 1998; Bekker & Swart, 2001; Cross, 2006; Kok & Collisson, 2006; Cox, Hemson and Todes, 2004; Department of Social Development (DSD), 2015). To support this premise, the section below is dedicated to two short summaries of the local economies of the Overberg and West Coast districts, illustrating how economic factors affect the mobility of intra-provincial migrants to the respective districts.

District economy of the Overberg Municipal District

The Overberg Municipal District is situated south-east of Cape Town and covers an area of 12 241 km². The district is divided into four local municipalities: Theewaterskloof, Overstrand, Cape Agulhas and Swellendam. For the period 2001–2011, all municipalities within the Overstrand Municipality experienced economic growth, with the two largest contributing sectors being finance, insurance, real estate and business service (11% growth) and the construction industry (10% growth) (Table 4.23). Industries that have contributed the largest employment share over the same period

are (i) the agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing sector (27%)³⁷, (ii) the community, social and personal services sector (14.21%), and (iii) the *construction* sector (13.51%)³⁸ (Overberg District Municipality, 2015:21).

Table 4.23: Real GDP Growth by Sector and Municipality for the Overberg District, 2000- 2013³⁹

Industry	TWK	Overstrand	CAM	Sdam	Overberg
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	0.0	-0.1	1.2	-3.3	-0.4
Mining and quarrying	-4.1	-7.4	7.3	-6.0	0.9
Manufacturing	4.2	6.4	5.7	9.0	5.7
Electricity, gas and water	-0.4	-8	2.3	5.6	1.0
Construction	8.9	7.3	9.0	8.3	8.1
Wholesale & retail trade, catering	1.1	4.6	0.8	6.9	3.5
Transport, storage and communication	2.7	8.5	0.8	10.2	5.8
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	12.0	10.0	9.8	4.1	10.2
Community, social and personal services	1.4	4.4	5.8	3.5	3.6
General government	0.1	4.3	6.2	3.3	3.3
Total	3.6	6.3	5.3	4.6	4.8

Data Source: Overberg IDP 2015/16 Review: 21

The prominence of economic opportunity in seeking a receiving place is supported in the data presented here. Within the Overberg Municipal District, the Overstrand and Theewaterskloof municipalities were the main receiving areas for intra-provincial migrants (Table 4.24)⁴⁰. It should be noted that these two municipalities largely host two of the main industries in the district, that is, the agricultural sector in the Theewaterskloof Municipality and the construction sector in the Overstrand Municipality. These two sectors are particularly important in that they offer unskilled and semi-skilled employment opportunities to a large contingency of workers with a modest level of skills. Both these sectors traditionally employ a majority of black African and coloured workers, with the former being the only population group to have grown since 2001. It would thus seem probable to argue that these two employment sectors present the strongest pull factors for intra-provincial

³⁷ This sector is predominately located in the Theewaterskloof Municipality.

³⁸ The construction sector is most pronounced in the Overstrand Municipality.

³⁹ TWK=Theewaterskloof; CAM=Cape Agulhas Municipality; Sdam=Swellendam

⁴⁰ Migration rates for the 2001-2006 period should be considered within the context of a possible undercount in migrants for this period.

migration, offering the promise of appropriate employment opportunities and thus economic improvement.

Table 4.24: Intra provincial migration to Overberg municipalities, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Receiving municipalities	Intra-provincial migration (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Theewaterskloof	29.3	20.4	24.73
Overstrand	49.4	50.4	44.73
Cape Agulhas	11.5	14.0	17.85
Swellendam	9.8	15.2	12.69
Total	100	100	100

Data source: SuperCROSS, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data

District economy of the West Coast Municipal District

The West Coast Municipal District is located along the Atlantic coast of the Western Cape province and extends approximately 350 km from north to south. The area covers 31 119 km² and is divided into five local municipalities: Matsikama, Cederberg, Bergrivier, Saldanha and Swartland. Between 1995 and 2005, the economic growth within the West Coast District Municipality averaged 2.6%, with expansion largely driven by the Swartland and Saldanha Bay areas. Economic growth within the other areas of the district remained largely stagnant during the same period.

For the period 2005–2010, the largest contributing sectors to the GDP of the district were the finance, insurance, real estate and business *services* sectors (20.7%), the manufacturing sector (20.1%), the agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing⁴¹ sector (16.7%) and the wholesale and retail trade, catering and accommodation sector (12%) (West Coast District Municipality, 2012).

As is the case for the Overberg District Municipality presented above, the prominence of economic opportunity in seeking a receiving place seems to be supported in the data presented here. Within the West Coast District Municipality, the Swartland and Saldanha Bay municipalities acted as the main receiving areas for intra-provincial migrants (Table 4.24)⁴². The importance of the Swartland and Saldanha Bay areas as economic contributors to the district is embedded in the concentration of

⁴¹ Economic activity within this sector refers mainly to activities within the agriculture and fishing industries. There are no forestry activities within this district and a very limited hunting industry.

⁴² Migration rates for the 2001–2006 period should be considered within the context of a possible undercount in migrants for this period.

the manufacturing activity in these two areas. This is due to the spatial proximity of these two areas to Cape Town's economic and industrial complex in general and the Cape Town container terminal in particular, as well as their proximity to the Port of Saldanha Bay. In addition, the majority of new economic growth was experienced within these two areas between 1995 and 2005 (Silimela Development Services Consortium, 2007).

Table 4.24: Intra provincial migration to West Coast municipalities, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Receiving municipalities	Intra-provincial migration (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Matzikama	10.0	4.8	10.5
Cederberg	8.7	8.3	8.1
Bergrivier	21.3	16.6	20.8
Saldanha Bay	24.2	33.1	31.2
Swartland	35.8	37.2	29.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: SuperCROSS, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, Stats SA, 2006

4.5 URBANISATION TRENDS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

The description of inter- and intra-provincial migration presented in the preceding analyses illustrates two definite trends in mobility associated with the two mobility types within the Western Cape province. The first type of mobility, consisting of inter-provincial migrants entering the province, had its main route towards the urban and peri-urban centres of the province, particularly towards the City of Cape Town and to a lesser extent, towards the Eden and Cape Winelands districts. This migration flow was primarily driven by young adult, black African migrants moving from the Eastern Cape, and to a lesser extent, mature adults moving from Gauteng.

The second type of mobility was sustained by intra-provincial migrants and was driven primarily by mature adult migrants within the coloured and white population groups. Although the City of Cape Town and the Cape Winelands District acted as most preferred destination areas for these migrants, the West Coast and Overberg have been experiencing the highest net-migration rates for this migration flow since 1996. With net-migration rates demonstrating the number of migrants both entering and leaving a defined geographical area, the higher net-migration rates for these two districts illustrated a stronger and sustaining impact of positive net-migration rates on the population numbers of these two districts compared with the City of Cape Town and the other three districts.

The observed deceleration in migration flows together with an increasing flow of both inter- and intra-provincial migrants towards peri-urban areas and rural towns suggest the onset of a migration transition in the Western Cape. This transition suggests that the Western Cape community is in the process of advancing from a primarily 'early transition society' towards a 'late transition society'. In effect, this shift entails a slacking of both rural-urban migration, the appearance of new non-urban receiving areas and growth in various kinds of circulation (i.e. intra-provincial migration) (University of Stellenbosch, 2000; King, 2012).

In the case of in-migration flows, this migration transition was most apparent in the black African population, with the suggested emergence of a new rural black African population alongside the metro-urban population. On the one hand, there seemed to be a distinct split in migration destinations for this population group upon entering the Western Cape, with the largest group moving to the Cape Metro and the smaller group towards non-metro and rural districts. On the other hand, the data also suggested a slower flow of black African migrants in the intra-provincial migration flows from the Cape Metro towards rural districts.

In terms of numbers, coloured and white migrants constituted the majority of intra-provincial migrants that moved across district boundaries. According to a 2001 Western Cape migration study (Bekker & Swart, 2002), coloured rural to rural migration is attributed to labour shedding in the agricultural sector – traditionally one of the largest employment sectors in the Western Cape. "Overall, the coloured metro-urban population does not seem to be increasing greatly due to migration. However, the rural Coloured population may be in fact increasing as a result of migration and resulting shift in population" (Bekker & Swart, 2002:42).

This observation is confirmed in a study by Bekker and Cramer (2003) that investigated the changes in the pattern of coloured migration. This study found one of the contributing factors of rural-rural migration to be the significant number of farm-worker households leaving their on-farm dwellings. These farm workers generally chose not to move to the Metro, a process that requires prior knowledge (and established networks) of the urban landscape and available resources, but rather chose to move to the nearest rural town with which they had become familiar and which formed part of their lives and travel patterns while employed on the farm. They had probably also established a social network and support system within the town (Bekker & Cramer, 2003).

With regard to mobility within the white population, the analysis showed white intra-provincial migrants to settle primarily in the Metro, followed by the Cape Winelands and then other non-metro districts. This trend is also confirmed in the study by Bekker and Swart (2001) that established this

group to be more mobile in the Metro than in the non-metro sector, with a significant flow of white migrants moving from non-metro districts within the province into the Metro. Bekker and Swart (2002), however, state that this migration flow within the white population group from rural districts into the Metro should not be interpreted as an outflow without any replacing flow. “Instead, the numbers of the White population look likely to be fairly stable in migration terms. There may well be more than enough inflow from the countryside from outside the province to balance rural to urban migration on the part of the Western Cape Whites” (Bekker & Swart, 2002:43).

In summary, urbanisation trends are set to continue in the province although at a somewhat slower pace. Sustaining this trend are two sets of mobility flows, with the first constituting inter-provincial migrants finding their way to the Cape Metro as the primary receiving area and the second constituting both inter- and intra-provincial migrants as part of both urban in-migration and rural-rural migration flows moving to rural town centres within the non-urban districts of the province.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The history of the Western Cape dates back to 1652 and is situated firmly in the colonial and apartheid and democratic political history of South Africa. Home to one of the eight metropolitan municipalities in South Africa, the Western Cape province is also characterised by a vibrant economy that demonstrates a consistently faster growth than the national economy. According to the population statistics of the 2001 and 2011 censuses, the population of the Western Cape has increased by 16.67%, growing from an estimated 4 524 335 to 5 278 584. The population distribution within the province is primarily urban, with the majority (64.23%) living in the City of Cape Town, 13.52% in the Cape Winelands District and 9.86% in the Eden District.

Macro-economic data and employment statistics on employment suggest that since 1996, the Western Cape province has been an appealing environment for in-migrants. In both 1996 and 2011, approximately one-half of the economically active population (51%) was employed. This means that despite a growing population that is consistently higher than the national average, the Western Cape province has continued in its ability to absorb this increasing population successfully and to provide employment opportunities. Economic growth and the consequent growth in employment opportunities do, however, seem to be biased towards skilled employment, with an observed decrease in the number of workers employed in low- and semi-skilled occupations (specifically in the

agricultural sector) and an observed increase in the number of workers employed in the manufacturing sector in 2011 compared with 1996.

The suggested relationship between an attractive and inviting economic environment and in-migration flows into the Western Cape seems to exist when considering the net-migration flows for the various provinces since 1996. For the period 1996–2001 and 2001–2011, the Western Cape, following after Gauteng, experienced the second-largest net-migration rate per annum. The net-migration rates for the Western Cape illustrated decreased rates, suggesting a slow-down in the in-migration rates to this province. Similar trends were, however, evident in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal. Both these provinces, similar to the Western Cape, are experiencing significant urban development, which represents a strong pull factor since in-migration is strongly associated with urbanisation.

In regard to the main sending and receiving provinces of inter-provincial migrants that either enter or leave the Western Cape, the data illustrated a strong relationship between the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces. Not only were the latter two provinces the two main sending provinces of migrants to the Western Cape province, but they were also the main receiving areas of migrants leaving the Western Cape. Migration flows into the Western Cape were directed primarily, although not exclusively, towards the Cape Metro, with the majority of all migrants entering the province across all three periods settling there. The Eden and Cape Winelands districts were identified as the two districts that attract the majority of migrants who do not settle in the Metro.

The Western Cape represented dynamic intra-provincial migration flows, with the majority of these migrants moving within the boundaries of municipal districts. Concerning migration across municipal district boundaries, the Overstrand and West Coast municipal districts exhibited the highest net-migration rates compared with the other districts and the Metro.

The population group and age profiles of migrants were explored as important demographic variables of migrants. In regard to the age of migrants, different trends were noted for inter- and intra-provincial migrants with young adults (20-29 years) shown as the most mobile in inter-provincial migration flows and mature adults (30-60 years) the most mobile in intra-provincial migration flows. With regard to mobility in the province in terms of population group, the black African population group presented the highest inter-provincial migration rates compared to the other three population groups. The white population group was found to present the second strongest mobility rates as in-migrants in inter-provincial flows with the Indian/Asian population group exhibiting the second strongest out-migration rates. In turn, Coloured and White migrants

were found to exhibit the highest intra-provincial migration rates compared to the Black African and Indian/Asian migrants.

Pertaining to aspects that act as primary pull factors for both inter- and intra-provincial migration, this chapter presents a strong case for the strategically important role that macro-economic indicators play as pull factors underpinning migration behaviour. The Western Cape has a strong and growing economy that is illustrated partly by its consistent ability to provide employment to slightly more than one-half of the economically active population in spite of the increase in population size. Intra-provincial flows are also mostly influenced by economic factors, with an increasing migrant flow towards districts that offer (better) economic opportunities to migrants.

CHAPTER 5: MIGRATION PATTERNS IN THE NORTHERN CAPE FOR THE PERIOD 1996–2011

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 is the second of the two chapters that address the first of the research objectives defined for this study. The objectives of this research relate to the identification, explanation and comparison of the changing nature of internal migration as it has occurred in the post-apartheid period. This chapter identifies the ways in which these trends have changed in the Northern Cape province.

Similar to Chapter 4, the discussion is introduced with a brief description of the current state of the province and provides a brief overview of its geographic location, administrative organisations and economy (see section 5.2). This is followed by an overview of the main demographic trends that have taken place in this province during the post-1994 era between the years of 1996 and 2011 (see section 5.3). Subsequently, the chapter describes both the inter- and intra-provincial migration trends across the three periods of 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (see section 5.4).

The analyses aim to illustrate (i) how these trends have shifted over time, (ii) the characteristics of migrants in these migration streams, and (iii) how migration trends have been influenced and sustained by institutional economic factors (economic growth rates, employment figures and contribution of different economic sectors to employment). The chapter continues with a description of the nature of urbanisation in the province (see section 5.5).

Chapter 5 concludes with an overview of the results and the role of institutional economic factors in causing, sustaining and directing migration flows in the province (see section 5.6).

5.2 THE NORTHERN CAPE IN CONTEXT

The Northern Cape is a province of dramatic contrast and is associated with extensive semi-desert areas, vineyards and irrigated farmlands located close to two of South Africa's major rivers. The province is also well known for its extravagant perennial spring flower displays during the month of September and annually draws many visitors who come to witness this flower showcase. The

province is, however, probably best known for its established history in diamond mining of which the Big Hole in Kimberly is a well-known historical remnant.

Since the proclamation of the Northern Cape as a province in 1995, Kimberley, the official capital of the province, underwent considerable development as administrative departments were established for the governance of this new province. Until 2001, the Northern Cape incorporated separate urban and rural local governments that fell within one of a number of district councils. Demarcation in that year – aimed at promoting a more effective and equitably financed local government – amalgamated urban and rural municipalities into ‘back-to-back’ local municipal areas (of which there are 24) and established five provincial districts with new names and amended boundaries. At that time, the provincial districts included Frances Baard, Kgalagadi, Namakwa, Pixley Ka Seme⁴³ and ZF Mgcawu⁴⁴.

The district council, Kgalagadi, was defined as ‘cross-border’⁴⁵ since it comprised two local municipalities within the Northern Cape province and one within the North West province. In 2006, the boundaries of this district were demarcated to include the former north-western regions, and the district was renamed John Taolo Gaetsewe⁴⁶ District Municipality on 6 December 2008 (John Taolo Gaetsewe District Municipality, n.d.).

The major towns of the Northern Cape typically form the commercial and administrative centres of these districts. Accordingly, the Frances Baard District incorporates Kimberley, which is also the provincial capital. The district capital of the ZF Mgcawu District is Upington, and the district capital of the Namakwa District is Springbok. Kuruman is the district capital of the John Taolo Gaetsewe District. Pixley Ka Seme includes the towns of De Aar and Calvinia (Figure 5.1).

⁴³ Previously known as the Karoo District

⁴⁴ Previously known as the Siyanda District

⁴⁵ Provincial governments in 2000 were authorised to establish cross-border district municipalities, allowing for district areas to extend across provincial boundaries (see Local Government: Cross-boundary Municipalities Act, No. 29 of 2000).

⁴⁶ The late John Taolo Gaetsewe was a freedom fighter during the apartheid regime in South Africa and former trade unionist.



Figure 5.1: Map of Northern Cape district municipalities

Source: Republic of South Africa, 2014b

The five districts in the province are divided into 26 local municipalities⁴⁷. The Namakwa District is the largest district in surface area but hosts the smallest population size and thus exhibits the lowest population density per square kilometre (0.9 persons per km²). The Frances Baard District is also home to the urban centre of the province and thus exhibits the highest population density (28.3 persons per km²) of the five districts.

Table 5.1: Summary description of the five district municipalities in the Northern Cape, 2011

Municipality District (MD)	District capital	Area (km ²)	Population (2011)	Population density (per km ²)
Frances Baard MD	Kimberley	13 518	382 086	28.3
John Taolo Gaetsewe MD	Kuruman	27 283	224 799	8.2
Namakwa MD	Springbok	126 836	115 842	0.9
Pixley Ka Seme MD	De Aar	102 727	186 351	1.8
ZF Mgcawu MD	Upington	102 524	236 783	2.3

Data source: SuperCROSS, 2011 Census

Compared with the other eight provinces in South Africa, the Northern Cape has one of the smallest economies in South Africa, recording the lowest contribution to the national GDP (Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDAT), 2012:3). Although the province recorded a high GDP growth in the first quarter of 2013 (4.8%), the Northern Cape province remains a weak contributor

⁴⁷ See Appendix B for a list of these municipalities.

to the national economy, accounting for 2% of the national GDP. In terms of employment contribution, the province is also the lowest employer in South Africa, employing only 2.1% of the total South African workforce (Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council (ECSECC), 2012).

The two primary industries in the Northern Cape are mining and agriculture, with the latter contributing 26.2% and the former 6.0% to the provincial GDP (DEDAT, 2012:3). The Northern Cape is rich in minerals, with the country's major diamond pipes found in the Kimberley area in the Frances Baard Municipal District. Alluvial diamonds are found on the western side of the province, washed westwards by the Orange River into the Atlantic Ocean, where they are extracted from the beaches and the sea between Alexander Bay and Port Nolloth. The province accounts for 7% of global diamond exports, 13% of all zinc and lead exports and more than 25% of the world's manganese exports. The region also supplies most of the country's iron ore needs. Other important natural deposits include copper, limestone, gypsum, rose quartz, mica, verdite, tiger's eye and other semi-precious stones (SouthAfrica.info, n.d.). Important mining companies such as Mittal Steel, Samancor, Gold Fields, PPC Lime, Alpha and Assmang operate in the Northern Cape.

The Northern Cape is generally more arid than the rest of South Africa, but it has fertile soil and several rivers and is well known for its high-quality agricultural products. In the Orange River Valley, especially in Upington, Kakamas and Keimoes, grapes and fruit are cultivated intensively. Wheat, fruit, peanuts, maize and cotton are produced at the Vaalharts Irrigation Scheme near Warrenton (SouthAfrica.info, n.d.).

The province is a significant exporter of table grapes, raisins and meat and is also a large producer of sheep and goats, with production of specialist products such as ostrich meat on the rise. There is also significant growth in value-added activities in the province, including game farming and food production and processing for the local and export market (SouthAfrica.info, n.d.). Many of the above-mentioned economic activities are labour intensive, especially those relating to the table grape and raisin industries.

The economy of a large part of the Northern Cape, the interior Karoo, depends on extensive sheep farming, while the karakul-pelt industry is one of the most important in the Gordonia district of Upington. These industries are typically not labour intensive (SouthAfrica.info, n.d.).

5.3 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF POPULATION GROWTH TRENDS IN TERMS OF 1996 AND 2011 CENSUS DATA

Comparing the 2011 Census data for the Northern Cape with previous censuses (1996 and 2001) requires the alignment of data for the two censuses to 2011 municipal and provincial boundaries. This is necessary due to the re-demarcation of a number of municipal boundaries, resulting in the subsequent demarcation of the provincial border⁴⁸. Provincial boundary changes for the Northern Cape included changes in three municipalities:

- Ga-Segonayna and Phokwane municipalities, previously cross-boundary municipalities between the Northern Cape and North West provinces, were allocated in full to the Northern Cape.
- Kagisano Municipality was divided into Kagisano-Molopo and Joe Morolong municipalities, with the former allocated to the North West province and the latter to the Northern Cape.
- Moshaweng Municipality, previously in the North West province, was amalgamated with the Joe Morolong Municipality and thus, it is now part of the Northern Cape.

These changes resulted in an increase in the land area comprising the Northern Cape from 362 599 km² in 1996 to 372 889 km² in 2011. In order to allow for comparison, the analysis presented below for both census periods represents the Northern Cape as it was demarcated in 2011.

At the time of the 2011 Census, the population size of the Northern Cape was estimated at 1 145 859, with the majority (33.34%) residing in the Frances Baard District. Compared with the 1996 population size of the Northern Cape, the population grew by 12% at the time of the 2011 Census. This growth was experienced across all municipal districts within the province, with the population distribution across four of the five districts remaining much the same. The Namakwa and Pixley Ka Seme districts experienced the smallest growth in population numbers (5% each), with the Frances Baard and ZF Mgcawu districts demonstrating the largest growth at 15% and 14% respectively. In the John Taolo Gaetsewe District, the population grew by 13% from 1996 to 2011. This experienced growth in population numbers is shown to have had little impact on population density within the province and its respective districts (Table 5.2).

⁴⁸ All provinces except the Western Cape and Free State were affected by provincial boundary changes enacted in 2006. The provincial boundary changes were mainly the result of eight cross-boundary municipalities being absorbed in full into the respective provinces.

Table 5.2: Surface area and population density of the Northern Cape province by district municipality, 1996 and 2011

Municipal District	Area (km ²)	Population size		Population density ⁴⁹		Percentage of total provincial population	
		1996	2011	1996	2011	1996	2011
Namakwa MD	126 836	109 603	115 842	0.86	0.91	10.83	10.11
Pixley Ka Seme MD	103 410	177 481	186 352	1.72	1.80	17.54	16.26
ZF Mgcawu MD	102 524	203 482	236 784	1.98	2.31	20.11	20.66
Frances Baard MD	12 836	324 677	382 086	25.29	29.77	32.09	33.34
John Taolo Gaetsewe MD	27 283	196 621	224 799	7.21	8.24	19.43	19.62
Northern Cape	372 889	1 011 864	1 145 863	2.71	3.07	100	100

Data source: Stats SA, 2012 and own calculations

The calculations presented in Table 5.3 below illustrate varying trends in population growth when the three periods, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011, were compared. During the first period, the province is shown to have experienced an annual net loss in population numbers compared with a net gain in the two subsequent periods. However, the growth rate, which increased in the period 2001–2006 compared with 1996–2001, decreased again in the third period (2006–2011) but sustained a positive net growth. In a comparison of these rates with the national annual population growth, the Northern Cape exceeded the national growth rate for the period 2001–2006 but fell below the national average again in the period 2006–2011.

⁴⁹ Population density refers to the number of people per square kilometre.

Table 5.3: Comparison of population size and growth for the Northern Cape and South Africa, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2011

Year	Population size		NC Share of total population (%)	Average population growth per annum (%)	
	Northern Cape	South Africa		Northern Cape	South Africa
1996	1 011 864	40 583 573	1.95		
2001	991 919	44 819 778	1.92	-0.39	2.09
2006	1 094 500	47 390 900	2.11	2.07	1.15
2011	1 145 861	51 770 560	2.21	0.94	1.85

Data source: Stats SA, 2011 and own calculations

The annual net loss in population numbers experienced in the province from 1996 to 2001 was characterised in a loss of individuals across population groups, with the exception of the black African population (Table 5.4). This group experienced a net gain in population size within this period amidst a general net loss experienced by the other population groups, with the white population group exhibiting the largest net loss in numbers. The period 2001–2011 showed a general net gain in all population groups, with the exception of the white population group that maintained a net loss; however, this loss was shown to have increased from the previous period. For the 2001–2011 period, the Indian/Asian population experienced the largest annual net growth at 7.5%, with an annual growth in the black African population of 2.0%.

Table 5.4: Population groups and annual growth rates⁵⁰

Population group	Population size			Annual growth rates (%)	
	1996	2001	2011	1996–2001	2001–2011
Black African	448 881	461 304	576 987	0.55	2.00
Coloured	436 320	425 718	461 901	-0.49	0.78
Indian/Asian	2 349	2 379	7 827	0.26	6.96
White	111 648	102 519	81 246	-1.64	-2.62

Data source: SuperCROSS, Census 1996–2011 data set and own calculations

With regard to the growth trends evident in the province since 1996 in terms of the defined age cohorts, it is clear from the findings presented in Table 5.5 that the net loss in population numbers evident in the province for the period 1996–2001 was attributed to the net loss in the province of young school-going children (19 years or younger) in particular and young adults (20–29 years).

⁵⁰ Annual growth rates were calculated as average annual growth rates

During the subsequent period, 2001 to 2011, the province experienced an annual net gain within all the age groups, particularly in the young adult group who now illustrated the strongest annual net growth compared with an annual net loss during the previous period. Both the mature and senior adult cohorts were shown to have experienced increasing net gains within the last period.

Table 5.5: Age cohorts and annual growth rates

Age cohort	Age cohorts			Annual growth rates (%)	
	1996	2001	2011	1996–2001	2001–2011
19 yrs. and younger	454 811	424 152	453 049	-1.35	0.68
20–29 yrs.	170 623	163 522	205 004	-0.83	2.54
30–60 yrs.	302 196	324 064	389 416	1.45	2.02
61+ yrs.	73 824	80 181	98 392	1.72	2.27

Source: Stats SA, 2012c:47 and own calculations

5.4 MIGRATION TRENDS FOR THE NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCE, 1996–2011

This section describes migration trends in the Northern Cape province for the period 1996–2011. Migration trends for the Northern Cape were determined by comparing data collected during the two census occasions, that is, the 2001 and 2011 censuses. To allow for the analysis of trends over time, the data was organised into three periods of five years. Since censuses in South Africa are conducted in the month of October, each defined period starts in October of the onset year and ends in September of the concluding year. The defined periods were subsequently defined as: October 1996 to September 2001 (1996–2001); October 2001 to September 2006 (2001–2006); and October 2006 to September 2011 (2006–2011)⁵¹. As noted in chapter 3, this method, although unavoidable and necessary when undertaking a trends analysis from census data, is potentially problematic given the likely undercount of migration rates for the 2001–2006 period. Accordingly migration trends for 1996–2001 and 2006–2011 are probably more reliable and thus the focus on these two periods in the discussion of migration trends to follow. Population figures for 2006 were retrieved from estimated figures published by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA, 2006).

The analysis of internal migration in the Northern Cape considered both inter-provincial and intra-provincial migration trends. Whereas inter-provincial migration considers population movement across provincial boundaries, intra-provincial migration considers migration within the

⁵¹ See Chapter 3 for a discussion pertaining to the methodology applied in recoding data to constitute the three periods defined here

borders of the province but across municipal district boundaries. Following the description of migration trends, the analysis considered the characteristics of migrants partaking in both migration types. To achieve this, indicators pertaining to the population and age groups of migrants were explored; only migrants 20 years in age or older were included.

5.4.1 Inter-provincial migration for the Northern Cape province, 1996–2011

Since 1996, the Northern Cape province has demonstrated a persistent negative net migration and thus has experienced a consistent net loss in population size due to migrants leaving the province (Table 5.6). The Northern Cape was not the only South African province to exhibit this trend. A similar trend was observed in the Eastern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo provinces. Within this group of provinces, the Eastern Cape was, however, the only province that experienced a growing net loss, with all the other provinces exhibiting lower net-loss rates in the 2006–2011 period compared with the 1996–2001 period.

Table 5.6: Comparison of provincial net-migration rates: 1996–2001, 2001–2006, 2006–2011⁵²

Province	Net-migration rates 1996–2001 (%)	Net-migration rates 2001–2006 (%)	Net-migration rates 2006–2011 (%)
Western Cape	4.05	3.20	2.64
Eastern Cape	-0.04	-1.11	-1.16
Northern Cape	-0.74	-0.21	-0.23
Free State	-1.63	-0.33	-0.28
KwaZulu-Natal	-0.79	-0.07	-0.06
North West	-0.75	1.91	1.92
Gauteng	4.30	9.75	4.02
Mpumalanga	-0.81	1.06	0.93
Limpopo	-3.15	-1.14	-1.23

Data source: Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2012c:44; Stats SA, 2006:9-10; Stats SA, 2014:13

⁵² The rates presented in this table were calculated by employing five-year migration data published by Stats SA, as noted in reference below the table. This data is only available at provincial level and excludes data relating to age, population group and intra-provincial flows. Accordingly, I was obliged to employ Nesstar data for further calculations. This introduced the weakness of an undercount for the 2001-2006 rates, as explained in Chapter 3. Comparisons between this Table and further analysis based upon Nesstar data in this chapter illustrate this weakness.

Figures 5.2 and 5.3 provide an illustration of the net-migration rates of Northern Cape migrants aged 20 years or older in terms of the four population groups and the three defined age cohorts. The general net loss of migrants across the three periods discussed above is shown to occur in all population groups except the black African population group. This population group was the only group to exhibit a net gain in migrants; however, only for the 1996–2001 and the 2006–2011 periods. For the 2001–2006 period, the black African population group showed the second-largest net loss in migrants following the white population that exhibited the highest net loss for that period⁵³. Although consistent since 1996, more migrants from the white population were leaving the province than entering. However, the net loss decreased in the latter two periods. Coloured migrants presented a similar trend to white migrants, demonstrating a consistent net loss, although at a decreasing rate when comparing the net-migration rates for this population group for the three periods. Migration of individuals within the Indian/Asian population continued at a consistent negative net rate for all three periods.

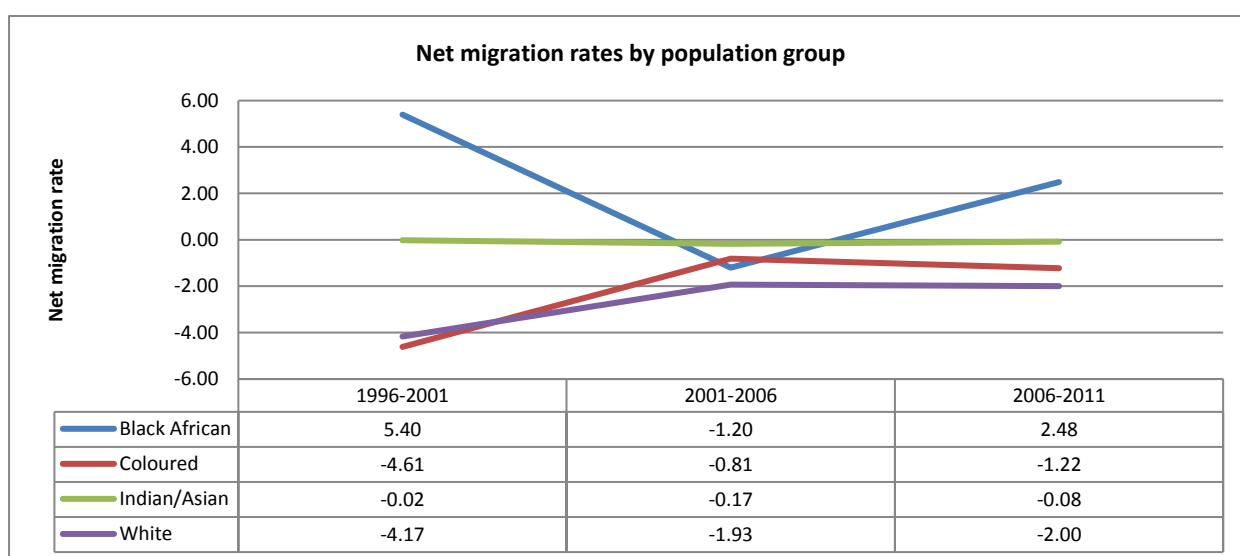


Figure 5.2: Net-migration rates of Northern Cape inter-provincial migrants (20+ yrs.) and population group, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011⁵⁴

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data; Stats SA, 2006

⁵³ This sharp decrease in net-migration rates and subsequent sharp rise should be viewed within the context of a possible undercount in migrants for the 2001-2006 period.

⁵⁴ Calculations per 1000

Regarding the net-migration rates for migrants aged 20 years or older, the analysis illustrated a consistent net loss since 1996 in young adult migrants (20–29 years) and senior adult migrants (61 years or older). Although remaining negative, the net loss in young adult migrants has slowed since 1996, with the net loss in senior adult migrants remaining steady. Net-migration rates among mature adults were the only rates that varied between the three different periods, moving between a net gain and a net loss of migrants in this age cohort. The net gain in mature adult migrants experienced during the 1996–2001 period (0.03%) was followed by a net loss in migrants from this age group of -0.20% in 2001–2006. This rather dramatic drop in the net-migration rate is illustrated in the steep downward slope between the two periods illustrated in Figure 5.3⁵⁵. The period 2006–2011 experienced a return to a net gain in mature adult migrants to the Northern Cape at a near similar rate experienced in the 1996–2001 period.

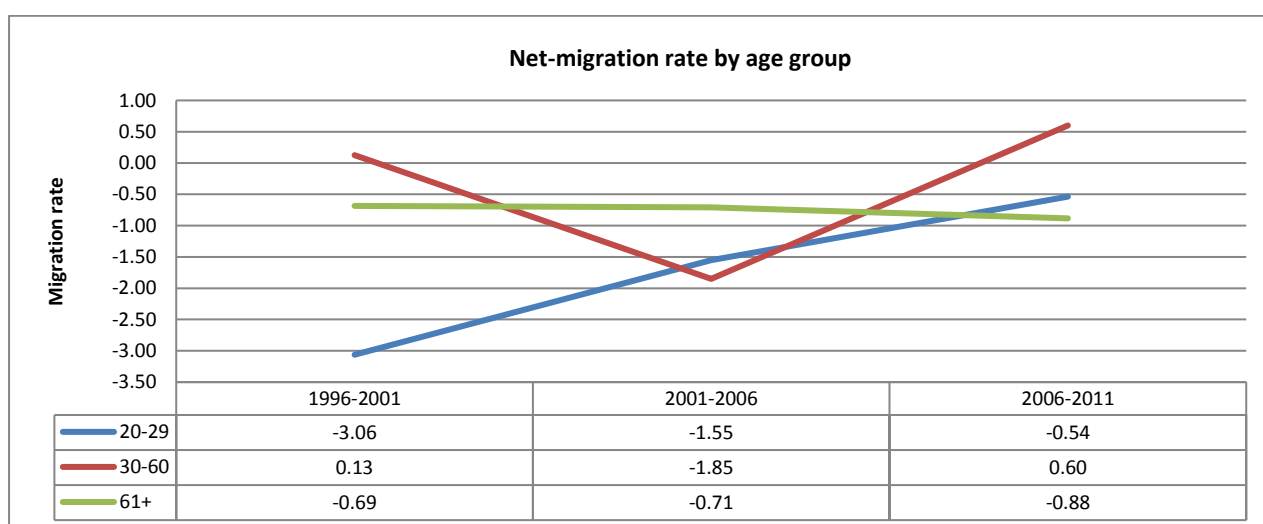


Figure 5.3: Net-migration rates of Northern Cape inter-provincial migrants (20+ yrs.) and age cohort, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011⁵⁶

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data; Stats SA, 2006

⁵⁵ This sharp decrease in net-migration rates and subsequent sharp rise should be viewed within the context of a possible undercount in migrants for the 2001-2006 period.

⁵⁶ Calculations per 1000

In regard to the main sending and receiving provinces of inter-provincial migrants either entering or leaving the province, the analysis found a consistent interaction between the Northern Cape, the North West, the Western Cape, Gauteng and the Free State provinces (Figure 5.4). Of these provinces, the North West consistently acted as the main sending province of migrants to the Northern Cape across all three periods.

The Western Cape and Gauteng provinces presented a dual role in their relationship with the Northern Cape. Both these provinces acted as significant sending and receiving provinces of migrants entering and leaving the province. During the first two periods (1996–2001 and 2001–2006), the Western Cape and the North West province each acted as the second-strongest sending province and the strongest receiving area of Northern Cape migrants. For the same periods, Gauteng followed the Western Cape for both migration streams, sending a third stream of migrants to the Northern Cape, and acted as the second-most preferred province for migrants leaving the province. In a comparison of the sending and receiving rates of the Western Cape and Gauteng regarding the Northern Cape, the rates of the Western Cape were shown to be higher compared to the rates presented by Gauteng. This trend continued for the period 1996 to 2006, where after Gauteng demonstrated similar sending rates and higher receiving rates compared with the Western Cape in the 2006–2011 period.

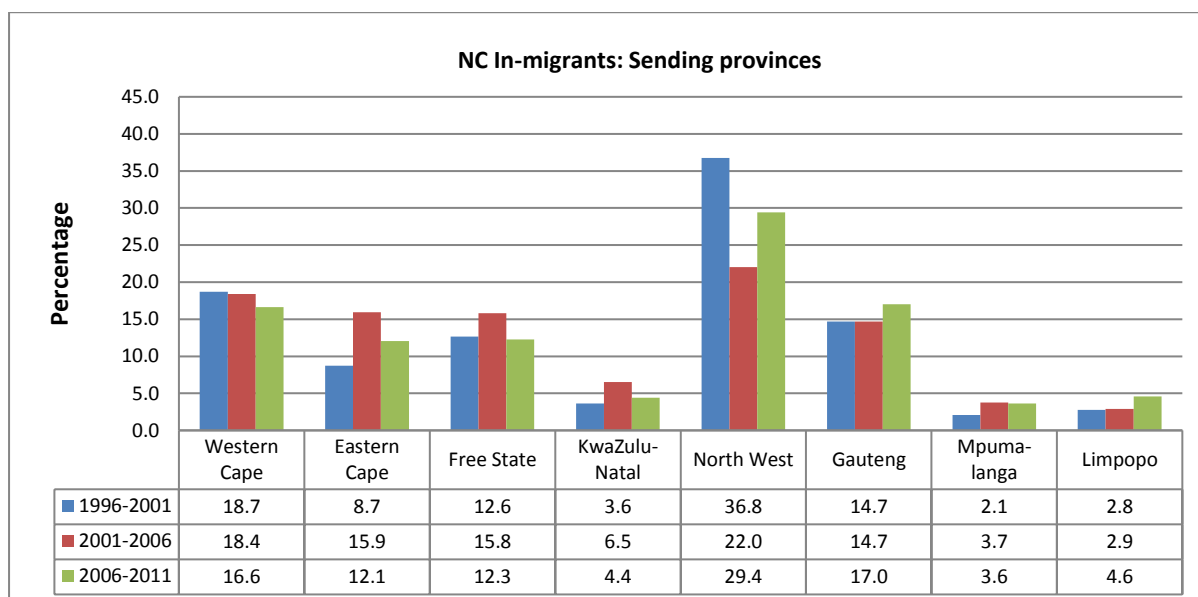


Figure 5.4: Main sending provinces of in-migrants to the Northern Cape (%), 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data; Stats SA, 2006

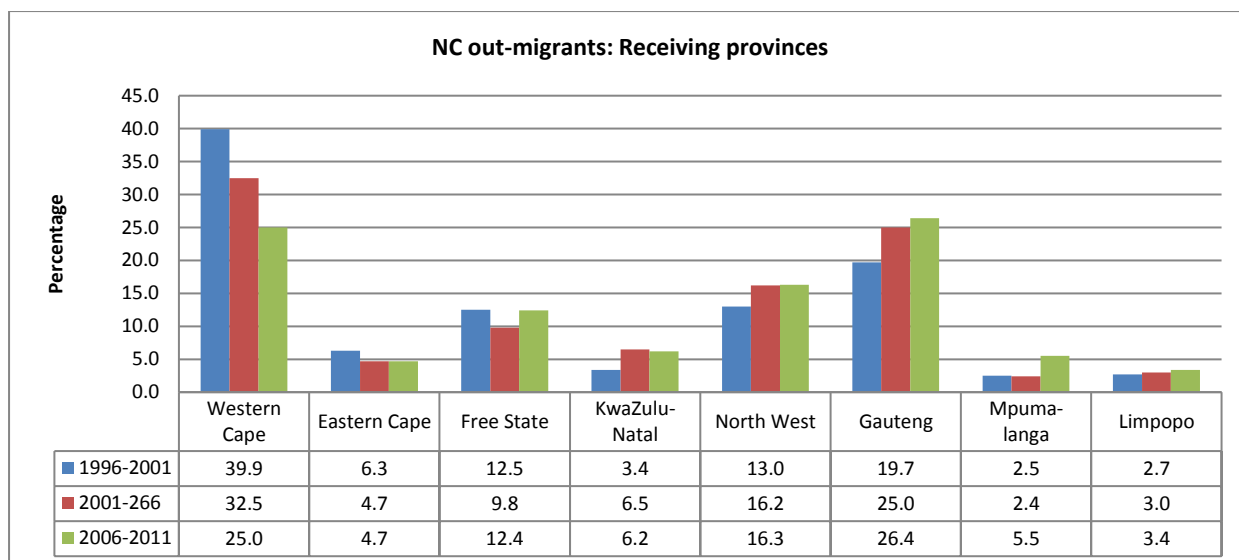


Figure 5.5: Main receiving provinces of out-migrants leaving the Northern Cape (%), 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data; Stats SA, 2006

An analysis to determine a possible correlation between the sending province and the population group of inter-provincial migrants was performed (see Table 5.7). All the population groups illustrated strong primary and secondary sending provinces across the three defined periods. According to the data the North West province has persisted as the strongest sending province of black African migrants to the Northern Cape since 1996 (this figure should be treated with caution due to the boundary changes discussed in chapter 3 under limitations – see section 3.9). Although remaining the primary sending province since 1996, it was evident that black African migration from the North West province towards the Northern Cape had slowed since 1996, accounting for 59% of black African migrants in the period 1996–2001, 37% in the period 2001–2006 and 44% in the period 2006–2011. The Eastern Cape, Free State and Gauteng functioned mostly as equal partners in acting as sending provinces of black African migrants and presented similar shares across the three periods. The period 2001–2006 showed, however, a steeper increase in the share of black African migrants moving from the Eastern Cape and Free State compared with the constant stream from Gauteng. For the 2006–2011 period, Gauteng had a slight increase in sending rates compared with the decreasing rates noted for both the Eastern Cape and Free State. For this latter period, the three provinces respectively accounted for 13% of black African migrants moving to the Northern Cape (Table 5.7a).

The Western Cape acted as the primary sending province of coloured migrants to the Northern Cape across the three periods, with approximately 50% of the total coloured migrants being sent from this

province since 1996. As was the case with black African migrants, the Eastern Cape and Gauteng acted as secondary contributing provinces of coloured migrants to the Northern Cape during all three defined periods. Coloured migration from the Eastern Cape, similar to black African migration to this province, showed a sharp increase between the 1996–2001 and 2001–2006 periods. This decreased again in the period 2006–2011 but remained well above the 1996–2001 rate. Migration from the Gauteng province, however, was shown to have decreased between 1996–2001 and 2001–2006. A subsequent increase was demonstrated in the 2006–2011 period, although this remained below the 1996–2001 rate (Table 5.7b).

The sending province of the majority of Indian/Asian migrants was shown to have changed since 1996, with KwaZulu-Natal being the primary sending province of migrants of this population group for the period 1996–2001. During this time, 54% of migrants within this population group moved from KwaZulu-Natal to the Northern Cape, with an additional 23% moving from the Eastern Cape. During the 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 periods, the majority of Indian/Asian migrants entering the Northern Cape indicated their previous province of residence as Gauteng (56%). In 2006–2011, Gauteng remained the primary sending province of migrants belonging to the Indian/Asian population group, with an increased number coming from the Western Cape. Noted here was the growing rate of Indian/Asian migrants moving from Gauteng to the Northern Cape since 1996 compared with the slower rate for the previous primary sending provinces (Table 5.7c).

The share of white inter-provincial migrants to the Northern Cape has increased from both the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces since 1996 but within different periods. The increase in white in-migrant rates from the Western Cape occurred in the 2001–2006 period where a similar growth in in-migration rates from Gauteng occurred in the period 2006–2011. The Free State province maintained consistent rates of white migrants entering the Northern Cape in the 1996–2001 and 2001–2006 periods, with a decrease in this rate in the period 2006–2011 (Table 5.7d).

Table 5.7: Main sending provinces of Northern Cape in-migrants and population group

Table 5.7a: Black African (%)			
	1996– 2001	2001– 2006	2006– 2011
Western cape	4.7	4.4	4.8
<i>Eastern cape</i>	10.7	17.9	13.0
<i>Free state</i>	9.5	15.4	12.9
Kwazulu-Natal	2.8	8.5	4.2
<i>North west</i>	59.0	35.8	44.1
<i>Gauteng</i>	9.7	10.2	13.4
Mpumalanga	0.9	4.7	3.0
Limpopo	2.8	3.0	4.7
Total	100	100	100

Table 5.7b: Coloured (%)			
	1996– 2001	2001– 2006	2006– 2011
<i>Western cape</i>	50.0	44.6	47.0
<i>Eastern cape</i>	6.0	16.9	12.7
Free state	11.1	8.8	7.9
Kwazulu-Natal	2.0	2.0	4.6
North west	8.7	5.4	5.3
<i>Gauteng</i>	18.7	14.9	16.8
Mpumalanga	2.0	1.4	3.5
Limpopo	1.5	6.1	2.2
Total	100	100	100

Table 5.7c: Indian/Asian (%)			
	1996– 2001	2001– 2006	2006– 2011
<i>Western cape</i>	0.0	0.0	20.0
<i>Eastern cape</i>	23.1	11.1	12.5
Free state	0.0	11.1	2.5
<i>Kwazulu-Natal</i>	53.8	11.1	15.0
North west	7.7	0.0	5.0
<i>Gauteng</i>	15.4	55.6	30.0
Mpumalanga	0.0	11.1	7.5
Limpopo	0.0	0.0	7.5
Total	100	100	100

Table 5.7d: White (%)			
	1996– 2001	2001– 2006	2006– 2011
<i>Western cape</i>	19.2	25.4	24.8
Eastern cape	6.7	11.9	8.7
<i>Free state</i>	21.9	22.3	15.1
Kwazulu-Natal	6.3	6.2	4.3
North west	14.5	8.8	11.4
<i>Gauteng</i>	22.2	21.2	25.4
Mpumalanga	5.1	3.6	5.0
Limpopo	4.1	0.5	5.2
Total	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

In regard to the main sending and receiving districts of inter-provincial migrants, the data showed a consistent trend in migrant behaviour across all three periods. The Frances Baard District remained a main sending and receiving district of migrants either entering or leaving the Northern Cape. During the 2001–2006 period, the Frances Baard, John Taolo Gaetsewe and Pixley Ka Seme districts experienced an increase in the number of in-migrants settling in these districts compared with the 1996–2001 period, with a rather drastic decrease in the number of migrants settling in the ZF Mgcawu District during this time. While the John Taolo Gaetsewe District continued to attract still more migrants in the period 2006–2011 compared with the previous period (1996–2001), the Frances Baard District received significantly less, with the share of the Pixley Ka Seme District also declining to its level previously demonstrated in 1996–2001 (Table 5.8).

Pertaining to the main sending districts of migrants leaving the province, Frances Baard and Pixley Ka Seme remained the two main sending districts, with the Frances Baard District contributing the largest share, albeit at a slightly decreasing portion across the three periods. The sharp increase in the share of the number of out-migrants from the province in the John Taolo Gaetsewe District in the 2001–2006 period compared with the 1996–2001 period was noted. This sharp increase coincided with a similar increase in the number of in-migrants to the province that were settling in this district (Table 5.8). Coincidentally, the John Taolo Gaetsewe District is also the district that was mostly affected by the re-demarcation of municipalities and the inclusion of some municipalities that were previously in the North West province into the Northern Cape. Any possible link between these two occurrences remains, however, untested.

Table 5.8: Destination districts of in-migrants (%), 1996–2001, 2001–2006, 2006–2011

NC in-migrants – Receiving districts	1996–2001 (%)	2001–2006 (%)	2006–2011 (%)
<i>Frances Baard DM</i>	35.3	40.0	27.7
John Taolo Gaetsewe DM	7.6	16.1	21.5
Namakwa DM	11.4	10.2	10.0
Pixley Ka Seme DM	13.6	19.7	13.7
<i>ZF Mgcawu DM</i>	32.2	14.0	27.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

Table 5.9: Sending districts for out-migrants (%), 1996–2001, 2001–2006, 2006–2011

Sending districts	1996–2001 (%)	2001–2006 (%)	2006–2011 (%)
<i>Frances Baard MD</i>	43.8	42.1	39.9
John Taolo Galetsewe MD	1.8	11.3	12.7
Namakwa MD	13.7	14.1	12.5
<i>Pixley Ka Seme MD</i>	21.6	20.5	22.3
ZF Mgcawu MD	19.2	12.1	12.6

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

With regard to the characteristics of adult migrants entering and leaving the province, descriptive data pertaining to the population group and age distribution among these migrants was analysed. The analysis presented both in- and out-migrants (20 years or older) within the black African population as the most mobile across the three periods, followed by the coloured population. Comparing the 1996-2001 and 2006-2011 census periods the latter period noted lower mobility rates amongst all population groups. In-migration among the black African and coloured population decreased at a similar rate with out-migration of the coloured population illustrated to have decreased at a stronger rate compared to that of the black African population. Mobility amongst the Indian/Asian population was noted as the lowest in both in – and out-migration flows (Table 5.10).

Table 5.10: Mobility rates among population groups in the Northern Cape, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (those 20 years or older)⁵⁷

Population group	In-migration as proportion of population groups (20+ yrs.)			Out-migration as proportion of population groups (20+ yrs.)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Black African	0.59	0.13	0.45	0.44	0.17	0.38
Coloured	0.26	0.05	0.13	0.39	0.08	0.16
Indian/Asian	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01
White	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.09	0.04	0.06
Total	0.28	0.07	0.19	0.31	0.10	0.20

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

⁵⁷ Denominator: population group, those 20 years or older

The age distribution of migrants both entering and leaving the Northern Cape showed a consistent trend, with young adults (20-29 years of age) the most mobile in both migration streams. Consistent with the lower mobility rates noted in the respective population group above, mobility rates among all age cohorts in the 2006–2011, remained below the 1996–2001 rates, implying a general decline in mobility rates since 1996 (Table 5.11)⁵⁸.

Table 5.11: Mobility rates within age cohorts in the Northern Cape population, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 (those 20 years or older)

Age cohort	In-migrants (%) Proportion within age cohorts (20+ yrs.)			Out-migrants (%) Proportion within age cohorts (20+ yrs.)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	0.72	0.14	1.34	0.86	0.23	1.40
30–60 yrs.	0.46	0.12	0.02	0.46	0.18	0.66
61+ yrs.	0.22	0.01	0.22	0.28	0.01	0.38
Total	0.72	0.14	1.34	0.86	0.23	1.40

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2006; Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

Table 5.12 presents the age distribution of inter-provincial migrants across the three periods for the four respective population groups. The age distribution among black African and coloured migrants presented similar trends, with mature adults illustrated as the most mobile in-migrants. The age distribution among out-migrants within these two population groups illustrated a shift in mobility, with young adults presenting higher rates compared with mature adults during 1996 to 2001. Although the 2001–2006 rates were lower for both age cohorts, mobility among young adults decreased to lower rates than the rates observed for the mature adults. For both population groups, these rates recovered in the period 2006–2011, resulting in similar rates among both young and mature adults⁵⁹. Regarding both in- and out-migrants, mature adults remained the most mobile among the white and Indian/Asian population groups (Table 5.12 on next page).

⁵⁸ Denominator: defined age cohort, excluding those younger than 20 years

⁵⁹ These lower rates should be treated with caution and viewed within the context of a possible undercount of migrants for this period.

Table 5.12: Mobility within age cohorts for the respective population groups, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Black African						
	In-migrants (%)			Out-migrants (%)		
Age cohort	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	0.29	0.04	0.22	0.24	0.06	0.20
30–60 yrs.	0.31	0.10	0.23	0.22	0.13	0.20
61+ yrs.	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01
Total	0.63	0.15	0.46	0.48	0.21	0.40
Coloured						
	In-migrants (%)			Out-migrants (%)		
Age cohort	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	0.10	0.01	0.06	0.22	0.03	0.11
30–60 yrs.	0.18	0.03	0.11	0.21	0.05	0.11
61+ yrs.	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01
Total	0.30	0.05	0.17	0.46	0.08	0.22
Indian/Asian						
	In-migrants (%)			Out-migrants (%)		
Age cohort	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	0.41	0.23	0.32	1.01	0.17	0.26
30–60 yrs.	0.47	0.23	0.41	0.95	1.11	0.56
61+ yrs.	0.00	0.06	0.02	0.14	0.06	0.06
Total	0.88	0.52	0.75	2.10	1.34	0.88
White						
	In-migrants (%)			Out-migrants (%)		
Age cohort	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	0.25	0.02	0.25	0.45	0.07	0.38
30–60 yrs.	0.56	0.16	0.60	0.76	0.27	0.72
61+ yrs.	0.12	0.05	0.14	0.20	0.14	0.24
Total	0.94	0.24	0.99	1.42	0.48	1.34

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, Stats SA, 2006

5.4.2 Impact of institutional-economic factors on inter-provincial migration trends in the Northern Cape, 1996–2011

Since 1996, the Northern Cape has experienced a persistent negative net-migration rate. In other words, this province has lost a greater number of individuals to migration than it has been able to attract. The Western Cape and Gauteng have consistently acted as main receiving provinces for out-migrants from the Northern Cape since 1996. This is not surprising given the strong economic stature of these provinces and their general status as favourable net-receiving provinces of migrants.

Migration streams in the Northern Cape matched the economic character of both the respective sending and receiving districts and that of the province in the context of the national economy. The Frances Baard and ZF Mgcawu districts were the receiving provinces of the majority of migrants entering the province. The Frances Baard District is home to the provincial capital and represents the urban centre of the province. This naturally renders it a preferred receiving area since it presents access to an urban economy, infrastructure and a broader range of services compared with the other mainly rural districts. In turn, large parts of the economy of the ZF Mgcawu District are driven by agricultural activities along the banks of the Orange River. Producing mostly table and wine grapes, this area presents the strong pull factor of availability of elementary and unskilled employment.

Following the Frances Baard District, the Pixley Ka Seme District was the area from which the second-largest group of migrants moved out of the province. This district is the second-largest district in the province but comprises almost one-third of its geographical area. Intense crop farming activities occur along the banks of the Orange River and the Vaal River that flow through the heart of the district. The advantages that these two rivers bring in terms of employment and water supply are, however, limited to the towns situated directly alongside the rivers. The towns that are situated only a few kilometres away from the rivers lack access to sufficient water supply, thus adversely affecting economic opportunities and development in these towns (Pixley Ka Seme District Municipality, 2015). With limited economic and thus developmental potential, out-migration of individuals seeking better opportunities to other more suitable locations can be expected.

Concerning the general net loss in inter-provincial migrants experienced by the province since 1996, the provincial economic context provides insight to this continuous trend. With this province constituting one of the weakest economies in the country, the prospect of limited economic development of opportunities in terms of employment acts as a factor that pushes migrants to provinces with stronger economies and thus employment opportunities. In 2011, the Northern Cape

province together with the Limpopo province demonstrated the smallest economic growth (2.2%) when compared with the other provinces in South Africa. This growth rate is substantially lower than the national growth rate of 3.5% achieved at the same time. In a comparison of the real economic growth for the different provinces for the period 2001–2011, the Northern Cape illustrated the lowest growth at 2.4% compared with a 4% national growth (Stats SA, 2012a). In terms of employment, the Northern Cape has not performed well, achieving the highest unemployment rate in the country in 2011 (31.3%) compared with the other South African provinces (Department of Labour, 2011).

The nature of the economic sectors that mostly contribute to the Northern Cape economy is another aspect that affects migration trends. The two main economic sectors in the Northern Cape are the mining and agricultural sectors. These two industries assume the largest share of employment in the province, typically employing an unskilled and semi-skilled labour force. This appears to have had some impact on the educational profile of migrants that leave the province. A study conducted by Kok & Aliber in 2005 revealed that migrants leaving the Northern Cape province were found to exhibit a higher educational status than those who remained in the province (Kok & Aliber, 2005). The study further reported that in most cases, the general income of Northern Cape out-migrants was higher than that of the individuals who remained in the province. Thus, migrants leaving the province found themselves overall to be in a better economic position in their new place of residence compared with their economic position while in the Northern Cape (Kok & Aliber, 2005). The apparent outflow of skilled and higher educated individuals portray a challenging economic landscape for the province if not addressed in some way.

The assertion that economic conditions, real or perceived, act as the primary factors either pushing or pulling migrants to or from the Northern Cape was confirmed in a migration study conducted in the province in 2004 (Bekker & Eigelaar-Meets, 2004). When probing the reasons that served as motivation for out-migrants to leave the province, the study found the majority of out-migrants, especially those with higher educational attainment, left the province due to the lure of better economic opportunities offered elsewhere (Bekker & Eigelaar-Meets, 2004). Moreover, when probing in-migrants on the motivating factors underlying their move to the province, the same response was given, with the majority of these migrants indicating to have moved to the province due to the perception of better economic opportunities or because of a secured employment position (Bekker & Eigelaar-Meets, 2004).

5.4.3 Intra-provincial migration flows within the Northern Cape province, 1996–2011

Intra-provincial migration refers to the movement of individuals within provincial boundaries. To analyse this migration stream, only persons who had moved within the provincial boundaries of the Northern Cape within the defined periods (1996–2001, 2001–2006, 2006–2011) and were aged 20 years or older at the time of their last move were included in the analysis. As indicated in the analysis of inter-provincial migration trends, migration rates calculated and presented for the period 2001–2006 should be viewed with caution. It is important to note that the consistent lower rates in migration noted within this period, could rather be a factor of a possible undercount of migrants within this period, than an actual decrease in rates.

The section initially identifies and discusses the two migration flows that occur within intra-provincial migration; movement across municipal district boundaries and movement within municipal district boundaries. There after the rates of these two intra-provincial migration flows are compared with the inter-provincial migration rate for the province. Following this discussion the main destination and sending districts for intra-provincial migrants that moved across municipal districts compared for the three defined periods is presented. Finally, the discussion offers a description of the characteristics of intra-provincial migrants, specifically referring to population group and age.

In exploring intra-provincial migration trends it is important to distinguish between two flows; intra-provincial migration across municipal district boundaries and intra-provincial migration within municipal district boundaries. In regard to this distinction, the analysis showed a strong tendency of intra-provincial migrants to remain within a specific municipal district rather than to move across district boundaries. For the periods 1996–2001 and 2006–2011, 75% of intra-provincial migrants remained within the boundaries of a municipal district. The period 2001–2006 showed a somewhat smaller proportion; however, remaining almost three-quarters of the total intra-provincial migrant population (Figure 5.13).⁶⁰

⁶⁰ This slight drop in proportion should be treated with caution and viewed within the context of a possible under count of intra-provincial migrants during this period.

Comparing intra- and inter-provincial migration rates, it was clear that the latter indicated greater participation of individuals 20 years old or older. The analysis further showed similar trends for the three migration streams, with a lower participation of migrants in all three migration categories over the three periods (Table 5.13)⁶¹.

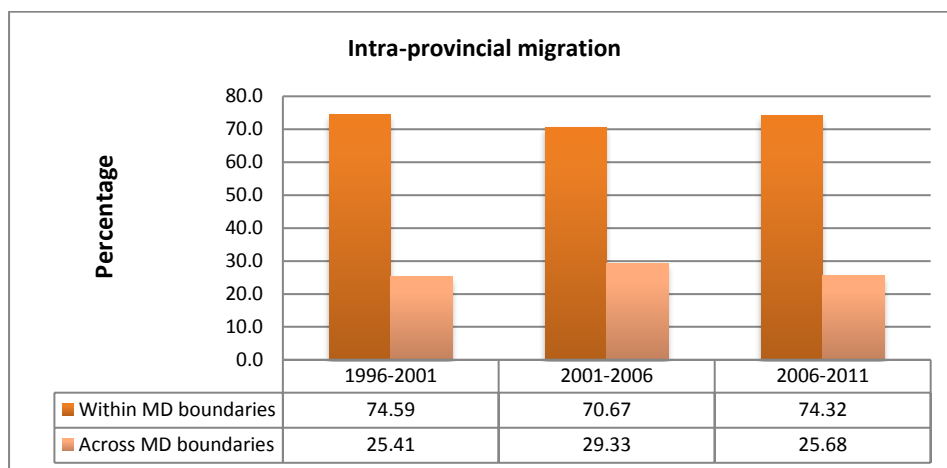


Figure 5.6: Intra-provincial migration, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

Table 5.13: Comparison of inter- and intra-provincial migration rates, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011⁶²

Migration flow	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Inter-provincial migration	-0.74	-0.21	-0.23
Intra-provincial migration: Across municipal district boundaries	1.04	0.39	1.01
Intra-provincial migration: Within municipal district boundaries	3.06	0.95	2.93

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

In the investigation regarding the contribution of individuals to intra-provincial migration in terms of the four population groups, a consistent trend among all adult intra-provincial migrants was demonstrated (Table 5.14). Intra-provincial migrants from all four population groups presented preference to move within a municipal district boundary rather than across, and this trend was consistent for the three periods. The data, however, presented some variance in trends when

⁶¹ The lower migration rates noted for the 2001-2006 period should be treated with caution and viewed within the context of a possible undercount of migrants within this period.

⁶² Calculations per 1000

comparing the three periods for the four population groups. The tendency for black African intra-provincial migrants to remain within a district municipality when relocating in the province was shown to have increased since 1996, evident in the stronger rates for intra-provincial migration within the borders of municipal districts in the period 1996–2001 compared with the period 2006–2011.

In contrast, intra-provincial migration within the remaining three population groups declined from 1996. With an initial decrease in mobility rates for all population groups in the 2001–2006 period, it was only the rates of black African intra-provincial migrants moving within district boundaries that recovered in 2006–2011, demonstrating stronger rates than observed in 1996–2001. Although intra-provincial migration rates increased in both the coloured and white population groups in 2006–2011, these rates remained lower than the rates observed in 1996–2001. Pertaining to movement across municipal district boundaries, participation in this migration flow by black African, coloured and white migrants remained consistent comparing the 1996–2001 and 2006–2011 periods (Table 5.14)⁶³.

Table 5.14: Intra-provincial migration rates within population groups, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Population group	Within DM borders (%)			Across DM borders (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2001	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Black African	0.09	0.05	0.16	0.05	0.01	0.05
Coloured	0.16	0.03	0.10	0.04	0.01	0.04
Indian/Asian	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
White	0.05	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01
Total	0.31	0.09	0.29	0.10	0.03	0.10

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

Pertaining to the age distribution of intra-provincial migrants and their tendency to remain within the boundaries of a district rather than move to another district, a consistent trend remained for all three age cohorts. In a comparison of the three periods, all three age cohorts were found to move primarily within a district border rather than move across this border to settle in another district within the province (Table 5.15). Mature adults were consistently more active in intra-provincial migration. For migration within district boundaries, both mature and senior adults presented similar rates in the period 2006–2011 compared with the 1996–2001 period. Pertaining to migration across

⁶³ The lower migration rates noted for the 2001–2006 period should be treated with caution and viewed within the context of a possible undercount of migrants during this period.

district boundaries, migration rates among all three age cohorts remained consistent since 1996 (Table 5.15)⁶⁴.

Table 5.15: Intra-provincial migration rates within age cohorts, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Age cohort	Within the district (%)			Across MD boundaries (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2001	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
20–29 yrs.	0.11	0.02	0.10	0.04	0.01	0.04
30–60 yrs.	0.17	0.06	0.17	0.06	0.02	0.05
61+ yrs.	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	0.31	0.09	0.29	0.10	0.03	0.10

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

Analysing intra-provincial net-migration rates for the respective districts together with sending and receiving districts within the province allowed for an assessment of how migrants were relocating within the province. This presented information in regard to the impact of intra-provincial migration on the net gain or loss to the total population size of the respective districts due to migration behaviour. From the net-migration rates presented in Figure 5.7, it is clear that the respective districts experienced different net-migration trends across the three periods, with the impact ranging between net gains and losses. These trends are confirmed in Table 5.16 that presents the sending and receiving districts of intra-provincial migrants over the three periods.

The ZF Mgcawu District is the only district that has experienced continuous net gains due to intra-provincial migration, although it experienced an equal gain and loss in intra-provincial migrants in the 2001–2006 period. In the 2006–2011 period, the net-migration rate changed again to an overall net gain in intra-provincial migrants, which was higher at 1.34 compared with the 0.36 net gain for the 1996–2001 period. The Pixley Ka Seme District presented a similar trend to the ZF Mgcawu District, also exhibiting a net loss in migrants in the 2001–2006 period (-0.73) compared with a net gain (0.07) in the 1996–2001 period. This rate, however, recovered and demonstrated a net gain in intra-provincial migrants during the 2006–2011 period. As in the case of the ZF Mgcawu District, the net gain experienced in intra-provincial migrants for the 2006–2011 period recovered to such an extent that it exceeded the net gain noted for the 1996–2001 period (0.07 in 1996–2001 compared with 0.90 in 2006–2011).

⁶⁴ The lower migration rates noted for the 2001-2006 period should be treated with caution and viewed within the context of a possible undercount of migrants during this period.

The Frances Baard District illustrated divergent trends to the Pixley Ka Seme and the ZF Mgcawu districts in that it experienced a net loss in intra-provincial net-migration rates during the 1996–2001 period (-0.92). This changed to a net gain of 0.22 in the 2001–2006 period and again returned to a similar net loss (-0.97) in the 2006–2011 period. The Namakwa and John Taolo Gaetsewe districts were the only two districts that exhibited a continuous trend in intra-provincial migration rates, with lower rates noted for each period when compared with the previous period. The Namakwa District and the John Taolo Gaetsewe District initially indicated net gains in intra-provincial migrants in the 1996–2001 period (0.33 and 0.93 respectively) and finally demonstrated a net loss in the 2006–2011 period (0.54 and 0.24 respectively).

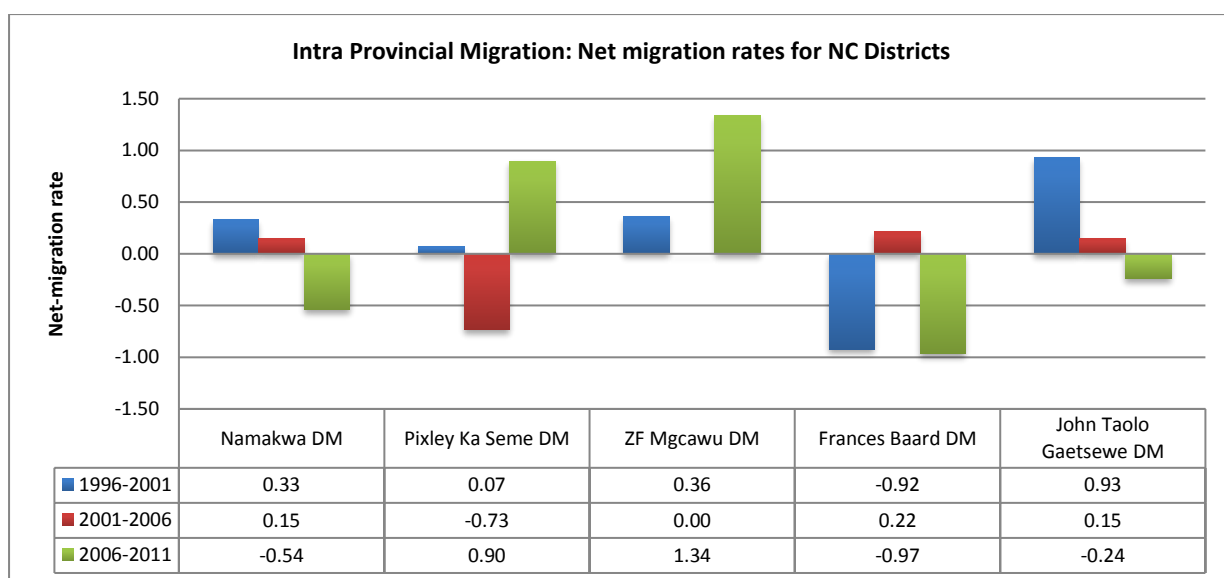


Figure 5.7: Intra-provincial net-migration rates on district level, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011⁶⁵

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

⁶⁵ To determine the net-migration rates for the period 2001–2006, the total district population size as it was at the time of the 2007 Community Survey was used since these were the only verified numbers available on district level. Although the actual rate may differ slightly, it is the opinion of the author that the general trends remain valid for the 2006 period.

Table 5.16: Sending and receiving districts of intra-provincial migrants in the Northern Cape, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Municipal Districts	Receiving Districts (%)			Sending Districts (%)		
	1996-2001	2001-2006	2006-2011	1996-2001	2001-2006	2006-2011
Namakwa DM	11.1	10.2	7.7	7.5	3.8	13.4
Pixley Ka Seme DM	15.9	15.8	22.2	14.6	39.2	7.4
ZF Mgcawu DM	33.6	17.8	40.9	26.3	18.7	12.4
Frances Baard DM	18.3	38.6	7.2	48.0	26.0	39.1
John Taolo Gaetsewe DM	21.1	17.5	22.0	3.5	12.3	27.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.17 and Table 5.18 present the receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants to the ZF Mgcawu District and the Pixley Ka Seme District respectively. Over the three periods, the majority of intra-provincial migrants that moved to the ZF Mgcawu District consistently settled in either the Dawid Kruiper Local Municipality or the Kai !Garib Local Municipality. Of those that moved to the Pixley Ka Seme District, the majority moved to the Emtanjeni Local Municipality or the Siyacuma Local Municipality, except in the 1996–2001 period in which a similar number of intra-provincial migrants moved to the Ubuntu Local Municipality and a slightly higher number to the Umsobomvu Local Municipality.

A characteristic shared by these four towns is the existence of a dominant economic sector that holds employment potential for semi-skilled and unskilled individuals. The Dawid Kruiper and Kai !Garib municipalities located in the ZF Mgcawu District are both home to a strong agricultural sector that particularly offers both permanent and seasonal employment to unskilled and semi-skilled individuals. Mining and agriculture are the primary economic activities in the Siyancuma Local Municipality. The Emtanjeni Local Municipality is well known for its central location on the main railway line to Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Namibia, presenting access to employment in the transport industry.

Table 5.17: Receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants to the ZF Mgcawu District, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

ZF Mgcawu District	Percentage		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
IKheis	6.41	1.41	2.88
<i>Dawid Kruiper</i>	31.20	15.49	14.41
<i>Kai !Garib</i>	44.31	35.21	49.22
Kgatelopele	7.58	22.54	10.42
Tsantsabane	10.50	25.35	23.06
Total	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

Table 5.18: Receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants to the Pixley Ka Seme District, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Pixley Ka Seme Districts	Percentage		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
<i>Emthanjeni</i>	14.29	21.21	15.92
Kareeberg	3.43	13.64	12.74
Renosterberg	2.29	12.12	3.82
<i>Siyancuma</i>	41.71	21.21	28.66
Siyathemba	7.43	12.12	9.55
Thembehle	1.71	3.03	11.46
Ubuntu	14.29	13.64	12.74
Umsobumvu	14.86	3.03	5.10
Total	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

Regarding the preferred receiving districts of migrants that moved across municipal district boundaries for the different population groups, a relationship was established between these two variables (Tables 5.19 and 5.20). Different trends emerged for the different population groups. The ZF Mgqawu District has been the main receiving district of black African intra-provincial migrants since 1996, with the John Taolo Gaetsewe District being the recipient of the second-largest stream of these migrants. In turn, the majority of coloured intra-provincial migrants moved to the Pixley Ka Seme District, with a second slightly smaller stream to the ZF Mgqawu District for the periods 1996–2001 and 2006–2011. The 2001–2006 period experienced a stronger flow of coloured intra-provincial migrants to the Namakwa District in favour of the Pixley Ka Seme District. Both Indian/Asian and white intra-provincial migrants were found not to exhibit clear trends in terms of receiving districts, except for a decline in the portion of white intra-provincial migrants moving to the Frances Baard and Karoo districts since 1996. During the 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 periods, an increase in the portion of intra-provincial migrants that moved to the John Taolo Gaetsewe District was observed, with the latter portion being equal to the 1996–2001 rate.

Table 5.19: Receiving districts of black African and coloured intra-provincial migrants, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Receiving districts	Black African intra-provincial migration (%)			Coloured intra-provincial migration (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Namakwa MD	5.6	3.1	1.3	19.3	22.2	16.2
<i>Pixley Ka Seme MD</i>	10.7	13.3	10.8	23.0	31.1	37.0
<i>ZF Mgqawu MD</i>	45.1	34.4	56.6	23.7	15.6	21.7
Frances Baard MD	15.0	17.2	7.0	19.8	11.1	6.3
John Taolo Gaetsewe MD	23.7	32.0	24.4	14.2	20.0	18.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

Table 5.20: Receiving districts of Indian/Asian and white intra-provincial migrants, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Receiving districts	Indian/Asian intra-provincial migration (%)			White intra-provincial migration (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Namakwa MD	0.0	0.0	16.7	9.2	20.3	6.8
Karoo MD	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.1	18.8	22.9
ZF Mgcawu MD	100.0	0.0	16.7	23.2	18.8	30.5
Frances Baard MD	0.0	80.0	33.3	26.5	18.8	12.7
John Taolo Gaetsewe MD	0.0	20.0	33.3	27.0	23.2	27.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

Table 5.21 presents the receiving districts of intra-provincial migrants in terms of age. During the 1996–2001 and 2006–2011 periods, the largest portion of both the young and the mature intra-provincial migrants settled in the ZF Mgcawu District. For the period 2001–2006, the majority of these migrants were found to have moved to the John Taolo Gaetsewe District. The senior adult intra-provincial migrant group illustrated a somewhat different trend for the first two periods, with the largest portion of these migrants settling in the Frances Baard District during these two periods. This trend is shown to have shifted in the 2006–2011 period, with the largest stream within this age cohort moving to the ZF Mgcawu District, similar to the young and the mature groups.

Table 5.21: Receiving districts of intra-provincial migrants and age distribution, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Receiving districts	20–29 yrs. intra-provincial migration (%)			30–60 yrs. intra-provincial migration (%)			61+ yrs. intra-provincial migration (%)		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Namakwa MD	11.7	6.8	5.7	10.9	13.5	9.3	11.1	26.9	7.9
Karoo MD	15.9	16.2	20.1	15.4	22.4	23.5	19.4	11.5	22.5
ZF Mgcawu MD	37.0	23.0	45.6	31.4	25.0	36.1	22.2	23.1	39.6
Frances Baard MD	14.5	23.0	7.1	21.6	12.5	7.7	25.0	30.8	7.5
John Taolo Gaetsewe MD	20.8	31.1	21.5	20.7	26.6	23.4	22.2	7.7	22.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

5.4.4 Impact of institutional economic factors on intra-provincial migration trends in the Northern Cape, 1996–2011

If one considered the intra-provincial migration flows between the district borders of the provinces, it would seem a natural inference to expect these migration flows to match the population distribution within the province. Despite the earlier description of intra-provincial migration flows within a province, a different scenario emerged in regard to the ZF Mgcawu and Pixley Ka Seme districts, which demonstrated the strongest intra-provincial net-migration rates compared with the other districts. These higher net-migration rates illustrate a stronger impact of positive net-migration on the population numbers of these two districts and thus the focus on these two districts in the subsequent discussion.

What makes these three districts so appealing to intra-provincial migrants? A response to this question is presented below by firstly considering the flow of migrants as they enter the respective districts and secondly, by considering these flows in terms of the economy of the districts. This discussion aims to illustrate how economic opportunities presented by the districts act as main pull factors in the migration decision. This premise is based on the argument presented by the push-pull theory on migration in which migrants are stated to select a receiving area and remain there depending on the specific characteristics of the area that are perceived as favourable options for migrants. It is the premise of this dissertation that such characteristics primarily refer to economic opportunities offered. To support this premise, the section below is dedicated to two short summaries of the economies of the two districts, illustrating how the primary economic factors within the district affect the mobility of intra-provincial migrants to the respective districts.

District economy of the ZF Mgcawu District Municipality

The ZF Mgcawu District Municipality, previously known as the Lower Orange River region, forms the mid-northern section of the Northern Cape province on the frontier of Botswana. Straddling the Orange River, this district with an area of 65 000 km² covers almost 30% of the entire province and includes the vast Kalahari Desert, Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park and the former Bushman Land (Republic of South Africa, 2017b.; ITS Engineers, 2007). The district consists of six local authorities, namely Mier Local Municipality, Kai !Garib Municipality, //Khara Hais Municipality, !Kheis Municipality, Tsantsebane Municipality and Kgatelopele Municipality, with the District Municipality based in Upington (Atkinson & Marais, 2007; ITS Engineers, 2007).

The Orange River represents the artery of agricultural activity in this district. The economy of the district is dominated by agricultural production and farming, with the area being known for its extensive livestock farming, some game farming and extensive irrigation farming along the Orange River. The wine and grape industry also contributes greatly to the local economy, with the area becoming a major exporter of table grapes and raisins (Atkinson & Marais, 2007; ITS Engineers, 2007). The agricultural sector is the single largest employer of labour and contributes 10% to the gross geographic product of the province (ZF Mgcawu District Municipality, n.d). Other economic activities include tourism⁶⁶, with various popular national parks and reserves in the region, as well as mining and mineral exploitation⁶⁷. Upington hosts an international airport that is mainly used for the export of agricultural products to international destinations (Atkinson & Marais, 2007; ITS Engineers, 2007).

The agricultural sector, seasonal by nature due to the type of crops grown⁶⁸, is predominantly labour intensive and attracts workers from across the province, the country and neighbouring countries⁶⁹ to work on the irrigation farms along the Orange River (Atkinson & Marais, 2007). Intensive agricultural farming mainly includes the cultivation of grapes and fruit in the Upington, Kakamas and Keimoes areas, which are zoned within the Dawid Kruiper and Kai !Garib local authorities.

In the analysis of intra-provincial migration into the ZF Mgcawu District regarding the main receiving municipalities of these migrants, the Kai !Garib and Dawid Kruiper local municipal areas were illustrated to receive the largest and second-largest flow of intra-provincial migrants across the three defined periods (Table 5.22) respectively. Viewing these trends in the context of the district economy presented above, the link between economic growth and employment opportunities, particularly within the agricultural sector and the main receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants is evident.

⁶⁶ The various national parks and reserves in this region include the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, Spitskop Nature Reserve and Augrabies National Park (Atkinson & Marais, 2007; ITS Engineers, 2007).

⁶⁷ Diamonds, iron, lime and salt are mined in the eastern parts of the district, with two large salt pans being situated slightly north of Upington. These activities also greatly contribute to the district's economy (Atkinson & Marais, 2007; ITS Engineers, 2007).

⁶⁸ Grapes and fruit are intensively cultivated in the Orange River Valley, specifically in the Upington, Kakamas and Keimoes areas. (Geography and climate. Northern Cape Province. n.d.)

⁶⁹ //Khara Hais borders Namibia, and Kai !Garib shares its northern borders with Botswana.

Table 5.22: Receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants to the ZF Mgcawu District, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

ZF Mgcawu District	Percentage		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
!Kheis	6.41	1.41	2.88
<i>Dawid Kruiper</i>	<i>31.20</i>	<i>15.49</i>	<i>14.41</i>
<i>Kai !Garib</i>	<i>44.31</i>	<i>35.21</i>	<i>49.22</i>
Kgatelopele	7.58	22.54	10.42
Tsantsabane	10.50	25.35	23.06
Total	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA,

District economy of the Pixley Ka Seme District Municipality

The Pixley Ka Seme District lies in the south-east of the Northern Cape province, sharing its borders with three other provinces, namely the Free State province to the east, the Eastern Cape province to the south-east and the Western Cape province to the south-west. The district constitutes the second largest in the province, covering a total surface area of 102 727 km² and consists of eight local municipalities, namely Ubuntu, Emthanjeni, Siyancuma, Siyathemba, Kareeberg, Renosterberg, Thembelihle and Umsobomvu. Ubuntu is the largest, and Renosterberg is the smallest of these municipalities (Pixley Ka Seme District Municipality, n.d.).

Pixley Ka Seme is ideally located, with certain key major routes passing through the area such as the N1 that stretches from the Northern province, through Pretoria and Johannesburg to Cape Town. In addition, the N9 route from Colesberg that joins the N10 to Port Elizabeth and the rest of the Eastern Cape, the N12 route from Johannesburg via Kimberley to Cape Town and the N10 from Namibia via Upington that links Namibia to the Eastern Cape all pass through the region. The railway network around De Aar is one of the largest in South Africa (Pixley Ka Seme District Municipality, 2015).

In De Aar, the mighty Orange and Vaal rivers allow for extensive, intensive crop farming on their banks. These activities are unfortunately limited to those towns situated along these rivers since water is a scarce commodity in the towns only a few kilometres away. There are also three major dams within the municipal area, namely the Gariiep Dam, Vanderkloof Dam and Boegoeberg Dam. The economy of this district is centred mainly on the railway network around De Aar (in the Emthanjeni Local Municipality) and on agriculture, particularly the irrigation farming along the banks of the Vaal and Orange rivers, which involves towns in the Emthanjeni and Siyancuma local

municipalities. Products from irrigation farming include maize, peanuts, lucerne, grapes, dry beans, soya beans, potatoes, olives, popcorn, pecan nuts, pistachio nuts and cotton (Pixley Ka Seme District Municipality, 2015).

Stock farming is also practised throughout the district, with the focus mainly on small stock consisting of goats and sheep. From the sheep farming, mutton and wool is produced. Several abattoirs are found in the region of which the largest is in the Emthanjeni Municipality and has a capacity of 2 000 slaughtered sheep per day (Pixley Ka Seme District Municipality, 2015).

In an analysis of intra-provincial migration into the Pixley Ka Seme District following the main receiving municipalities of these migrants, the Siyancuma and Emthanjeni local municipal areas received the largest and the second-largest flow of intra-provincial migrants across the three defined periods respectively (Table 5.23). The link between economic growth and employment opportunities, particularly within the agricultural sector, and the main receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants is evident when viewing these trends in the context of the district economy presented above.

Table 5.23: Receiving municipalities of intra-provincial migrants to the Pixley Ka Seme District, 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011

Pixley Ka Seme District	Percentage		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Emthanjeni	14.29	21.21	15.92
Kareeberg	3.43	13.64	12.74
Renosterberg	2.29	12.12	3.82
Siyancuma	41.71	21.21	28.66
Siyathemba	7.43	12.12	9.55
Thembelihle	1.71	3.03	11.46
Ubuntu	14.29	13.64	12.74
Umsobumvu	14.86	3.03	5.10
Total	100	100	100

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data, StatsSA, 2006

5.5 URBANISATION TRENDS IN THE NORTHERN CAPE

The Northern Cape population is mostly urban in nature. In a province that consists of largely rural areas, the majority of its population has, for a long time, been urban-based. The 1996 Census estimated that 77% of this population was urban, while estimates in 2001 were at the 80% level (Stats SA, 2004:23). The population of each of the five districts comprised more than 75% urban residents in the same year (Stats SA, 2004:23). The 2011 Census showed the largest part of the Northern Cape population to be concentrated in the Frances Baard and ZF Mgcawu districts. These two districts house the two largest urban centres: Kimberley, the provincial capital in Frances Baard, and Upington, well known for its strong agricultural sector surrounding a strong peri-urban town centre.

The description of inter- and intra-provincial migration presented in the preceding analyses illustrated two definite trends in mobility associated with the two mobility types within the province. The first type of mobility that consisted of inter-provincial migrants entering the province had its main route towards the urban and peri-urban centres of the province, particularly the Frances Baard and ZF Mgcawu districts. This migration flow was mostly driven by mature adults, with the respective population groups illustrating different main routes entering the province. Black African migrants entering the province were shown to enter mostly from the North West Province, coloured in-migrants mostly moved into the province from the Western Cape and white in-migrants primarily entered from Gauteng (the status of the North West province as the main sending province of black African migrants, is possibly questionable, given the probable impact of boundary changes on these findings – see discussion in chapter 3 under limitations [section 3.9]).

The second type of mobility was sustained by intra-provincial migrants driven primarily by mature adult migrants within the coloured and black African population. Although the John Taolo Gaetsewe District has acted as a main receiving place of intra-provincial migrants together with the ZF Mgcawu District since 1996, the John Taolo Gaetsewe District was shown continuously to have lost a growing number of these migrants to the other districts within the province. This is evident from the declining net-migration rate experienced by this district for the period 1996–2011. On the contrary, the ZF Mgcawu and Pixley Ka Seme districts experienced growing net-migration rates due to intra-provincial migrants for the same period. With net-migration rates being a function of the number of migrants both entering and leaving a defined geographical area, the higher net-migration rates for these two districts illustrated a stronger and sustaining impact of positive net-migration rates on the population numbers of these two districts.

The movement of both inter- and intra-provincial migrants towards the economic centres of the province is a strong contributor to the current urbanisation of the province. Similar to the Western Cape, the process of urban transition in the Northern Cape is still clearly in process, with a steady annual increase in the urban population due to the migration dynamics of the province. Here too, the data suggests the onset of a migration transition, illustrated in the decreasing annual migration flows that suggest a more stable population and increasingly stable population dynamics. This transition, however, does not include a change in migration flows, with flows continuing towards the economic centre of the province. It is expected to continue in this manner considering that the province's economy has historically been strongly based on agricultural activities and to a lesser extent, mining activities that are foreseen to continue. Thus, it is argued that the agricultural economy in particular, acts as the greatest pull factor for deciding destination area.

If both the inter- and intra-provincial migration trends are viewed in the context of the provincial economy and the local economies of the respective receiving districts, it would be reasonable to assert economic considerations as the primary pull factors influencing migration flows and thus, urbanisation in the province. This seems evident in the light of employment opportunities provided, particularly and primarily within the agricultural sector in the respective receiving districts.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The Northern Cape is a province of dramatic contrast that is associated with extensive semi-desert areas, vineyards and irrigated farmlands located close to two of South Africa's major rivers, extravagant perennial spring flower displays and mining. Demarcated as a province in 1994, the Northern Cape comprises the largest provincial land mass in South Africa (372 889 km²), which is ten times larger than Gauteng, and is home to the smallest provincial population (1 145 861 persons in 2011).

The history of the Northern Cape dates back to the early years of colonisation with *trekboers* venturing further inland in search of more land for cultivation. As early as the 1750s, nearly a century before the formal extension of the northern border of the Cape Colony, these farmers made their way to the Orange River via Namaqualand. It was, however, at the time of annexation in 1847 that the real influx of colonists to the then north-western Cape began.

Today, the population distribution of the Northern Cape can at best be described as mixed, with the majority (33.34%) of the population residing in the Frances Baard District. Also home to the provincial capital, Kimberley, this district comprises the urban centre of the province. The second-largest district, the ZF Mgcawu District (home to 20.63% of the provincial population) can be described as peri-urban in nature with a relatively large urban centre and an economy mostly based on agricultural activity and agri-processing. The remaining 46.03% of the population resides in the other three municipal districts that are all rural in character.

With regard to the net-migration rates evident in the province for the three defined periods, inter-provincial migration was consistently characterised by a net loss in migrants that was evident in the continuous negative net-migration rates since 1996. This trend, however, declined somewhat over the study period.

A possible contributing factor to the persistent net out-migration experienced in the province could include the declining employment sector within the province. In a comparison of the employment figures of the 1996 and 2011 censuses, the data showed a decline in the number of employed citizens. This was in spite of an overall increase in the general educational status of individuals 20 years old or older since 1996. It would thus seem that the improvement in educational status has not filtered through to the economy of the province and thus, its workforce, resulting in the majority of the Northern Cape employed sector continuing to work in elementary occupations and craft-related trades. There was, however, some movement towards more skilled occupation types,

with a slight decline in the number of black African and coloured individuals employed in elementary occupations, although this sector still constituted the majority (2001 and 2011 census data).

Regarding the characteristics of migrants as they relate to the different migration flows, the one consistent quality of migrants related to their age distribution. The majority of inter-provincial migrants were defined as young adults (20-29 years of age), with mature adults (30-60 years of age) constituting a second stream. In turn mature adults were found the most mobile in intra-provincial with young adults constituting a second stream. A migration study conducted in the Northern Cape in 2004 found young people who leave the province were more highly qualified than those who remained in the province (Bekker & Eigelaar-Meets, 2004). Young adults with skills that they believed would enable them to find well-remunerated work opportunities consequently decided to leave the province in search of both further training and work opportunities, particularly in South Africa's primary urban areas of Cape Town, Bloemfontein and Gauteng (Bekker & Eigelaar-Meets, 2004). The province thus seemed to experience a loss of skills and human capital that was not balanced by an equivalent provincial inflow. However, there was recognition of this issue by the national government, which was illustrated by the announcement of the National Minister of Higher Education in 2012 that a university would be established in the provincial capital of Kimberley by 2014 (Bathembu, 2013).

Pertaining to mobility amongst the different population groups, the black African population was shown to exhibit the strongest inter-provincial mobility rates followed by the coloured population group. Participation in intra-provincial migration flows showed some shifts, with an increase in black African participation in movement within municipal district boundaries, compared to a decrease in participation noted for the coloured population. Mobility across municipal district boundaries was shown to have remained consistent since 1996 for the four population groups.

A limited economy, driven mostly by the agricultural and mining sectors, is probably the main driver of the continuous net loss in the inter-provincial migration of the Northern Cape. Since the bulk of the Northern Cape economy depends on sectors that mainly require elementary and semi-skilled employees, few employment opportunities are available for those possessing higher educational training. Consequently, individuals with higher educational attainment leave the province in search of more promising economic environments. The province's economic character is thus acting as the main factor pushing migrants out of the province, particularly those with higher qualifications and those who hold specialised skills.

CHAPTER 6: COMPARISON OF POST-APARTHEID MIGRATION TRENDS IN THE NORTHERN AND WESTERN CAPE PROVINCES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to compare the migration streams identified in the Northern and Western Cape and presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 (see section 6.3). This comparative discussion addresses the following aspects as they relate to the two provinces: (i) internal migration flows, both inter- and intra-provincial migration; (ii) deceleration in urbanisation flows and; (iii) the role of migration in population growth. A concise comparison of the educational status of adult in and out-migrants at provincial level adds value to the more general discussion. Finally the discussion considers critical factors underpinning inter- and intra-provincial migration flows in the two provinces (see section 6.4).

In order to locate the findings of section 6.3 within an historical context, a short overview of national apartheid legislation regarding internal migration is given. A distinct feature of the apartheid government was the strict control it exerted over the mobility of individuals classified as black African, coloured and Indian/Asian. An introduction to these measures is essential because it provides the necessary context for the interpretation and better understanding of post-apartheid migration trends (see section 6.2). Subsequently, an overview of the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* that applied to large areas of the pre-1994 Cape province is presented to provide the distinct local context of pre-1994 internal migration in the two provinces as demarcated today (see section 6.2.1).

Before concluding, the challenge of calculating net migration rates at provincial and sub-provincial levels, as identified in the limitations section in chapter 3, is discussed with empirical examples drawn from the two provinces under scrutiny (see section 6.5). The chapter concludes with an overview of this comparison both before as well as after 1996 (see section 6.6).

6.2 NATIONAL APARTHEID LEGISLATION REGARDING INTERNAL MIGRATION

The purpose of this section is to present an historical overview of how national apartheid legislation set out to manage and subsequently manipulate internal migration in South Africa. The historical context serves to locate and contextualise the findings presented in section 6.3 through arguing that these measures had a definite impact on the characteristics of post-apartheid internal migration and urbanisation trends.

The enactment of apartheid laws in 1948 resulted in the institutionalisation of discrimination against specific groups of people based on their population group. Apartheid, a word that means separateness in Afrikaans and Dutch, is the name that was given to the policy of separating people by population group. Apartheid as a political regime effectively influenced all aspects of social life, separating people with regard to residential area, schooling, workplace and even the graveyard in which they were laid to rest (Lipton, 1986; Clarke & Worger, 2004; Mountain 2003; Institute of Justice and Reconciliation, 2004; Clarke & Worger, 2004).

The word 'apartheid' was already coined in the mid-1930s and was initially used to express the importance of Afrikaners maintaining their cultural identity as separate from that of English-speaking Europeans living in South Africa. The concept of separateness, however, only really entered the public lexicon in 1947 and 1948 as the United and National parties strove for electoral support and political power. It was during the course of the election campaign of 1948 that apartheid came to represent support for the physical separation of black and white persons, which ultimately was to be achieved through legislative policies and state action (Mountain, 2003; Clarke & Worger, 2004). Apartheid as defined by the National party, which won the elections in 1948, represented the system of legalised and institutionalised race discrimination and segregation (Lipton, 1986).

The legislative policies and state actions of the apartheid government did not only work towards the physical and social separation of black and white citizens of the Republic but also enforced strong regulatory actions in the controlling of population movement or migration of specifically black African individuals. Social and physical segregation was enforced and secured by measures such as the 1927 Immorality Act, which forbade sex between black African and white persons, and the 1923 Urban Areas Act, which confined black African people to segregated townships or locations (Lipton, 1986; Lemon, 1991; Muthien, 1994; Wentzel & Tlabela 2006 in Kok *et al.*, 2006; Turok, 2012).

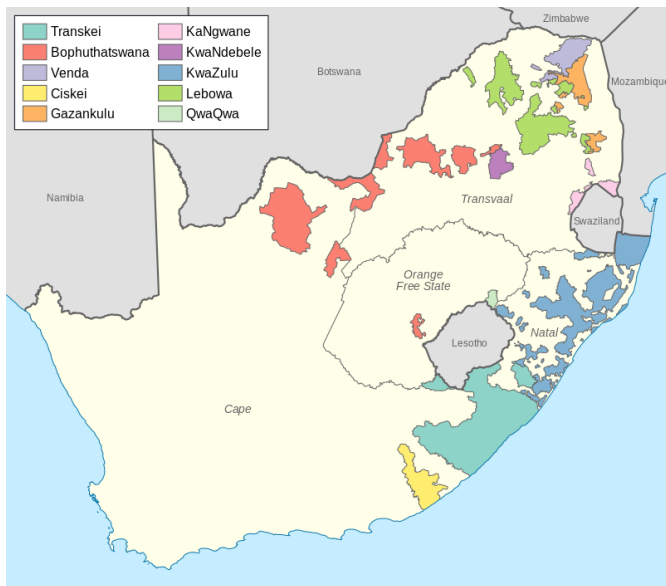


Figure 6.1: Former Bantustans in South Africa

Source: Htonl, 2012

These regulatory actions represented a political initiative not only to curtail the economic rights and thus potential of the black African population but also to counter the strong urbanisation trend of this population group. The accelerated rate of urbanisation brought about a dramatic growth in the number of urban black African people, specifically males, and was a direct result of deteriorating economies in the African reserves on the one hand and on the other hand, a growth in the demand for employment in the urban-based manufacturing sector of South Africa (Lipton, 1986; Goldin, 1984; Wentzel & Tlabela 2006 in Kok *et al.*, 2006; Kurtok, 2012).

By 1960, it was estimated that 31% of the total black African population had been urbanised compared with 28% in 1951 (Lemon, 1991). The impact of this new migration trend combined with the high proportion of black African persons already residing in 'white' urban areas undermined the fundamental philosophy of separatism espoused by the apartheid regime. Consequently, the government initiated legislative measures to regulate the conditions under which black African people were permitted to live and work in urban areas. These measures were commonly known as the South African policy of influx control or pass laws and required all black African males over sixteen years of age to carry a 'pass' or reference book, which recorded their permission to work, live and move about in a particular white area (Lipton, 1986; Wentzel & Tlabela 2006 in Kok *et al.*, 2006).

The policy of influx control was specifically designed by the apartheid government with two distinct objectives in mind. The first objective was to regulate the process of black African urbanisation in the Republic, that is, to regulate the migration of rural and homeland black African persons into towns and cities classified as white areas. Justification for this regulatory system was the claim that both urban dwellers and new black African urban entrants would suffer low levels of welfare if this urbanisation process were uncontrolled and left unchecked. The second objective entailed the resettlement of as many black African communities living in the Republic as possible to so-called homeland towns, also known as Bantustans⁷⁰. In this way, the process of black African urbanisation was redirected away from the main metropolitan areas towards the 'independent' homelands. The justification for these resettlements was based in the geo-political ideology that underpinned separate development (Bekker & Humphries, 1985).

Eventually, in the early 1970s, it became increasingly clear that the attempt to dispense with a permanently settled black African population in urban areas was proving both unsuccessful and economically impractical. In spite of different sets of legislation to manage and limit black African urbanisation, squatter camps on the peripheries of the major metropolitan areas developed rapidly from the early 1970s onwards. This population growth was not solely due to black African labour migration but was also attributed to the natural increase of already urban-settled black African people, a demographic trend and reality clearly not taken into account by the apartheid government (Olivier-Evans, 1993; Gelderblom & Kok, 1994; Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006).

The additional population was accommodated through increased densities in the township houses as well as by extensive backyard squatting. At some stage in the 1970s an average of 14-15 people was estimated per four-roomed house in Soweto, but this was surpassed by the density of around 40 people per house that was recorded in some areas of the Eastern Cape. (Gelderblom & Kok, 1994:90)

The government also realised the inevitable need for black African urbanisation in meeting the labour and manpower needs of a growing and changing economy. In addition, the settlement system that the government tried to build was proving unsustainable and impractical (Gelderblom & Kok, 1994; Wentzel & Tlabela 2006 in Kok *et al.*, 2006).

⁷⁰ The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 created separate government structures for black and white citizens and was the first law to support separate development in rural areas, which the state called 'Bantustans' or 'homelands'. These consolidated the native reserves inherited from the colonial era (Turok, 2012).

Confronted by the ever-increasing numbers of migrant workers settling in so-called white demarcated areas, the President's Council⁷¹ released a report in 1985 proposing the elimination of the discriminatory aspects of influx control towards a positive strategy that emphasised the developmental role of 'orderly urbanisation' (Olivier-Evans, 1993; Gelderblom & Kok, 1994). The White Paper on Urbanisation (Republic of South Africa, 1986), tabled in April 1986, described this notion of 'orderly urbanisation' in the following manner:

[It] implies the freedom of movement of all citizens and also refers to the operation of economic and social forces and the concomitant obligations. It means further that the process of urbanisation must be ordered, planned and directed by predominantly indirect forms of control, such as incentives and restrictive measures, as well as direct measures comprising legislation and ordinances. (Republic of South Africa, 1986:71 in Olivier-Evans, 1993:3)

In this context, 'orderly urbanisation' involved the ordering and directing of black African urbanisation, mainly by means of indirect incentives and disincentives, as well as by means of numerous direct control measures, primarily through existing legislation such as those applicable to group areas, squatting and slums, health services, immigration and security (Olivier-Evans, 1993; Wentzel & Tlabela 2006 in Kok *et al.*, 2006). Given the nature of the context of 'orderly urbanisation', it is understandable that many critics viewed this policy as a substantially more subtle form of control "cloaked in an ostensibly racially neutral guise" (Olivier-Evans, 1993:2).

While on the one hand advocating the management of orderly migration and on the other hand constituting a number of indirect forms of control, this policy was deemed to serve as a means to distribute both population and economic activity more evenly on a national level (Olivier-Evans, 1993).

The deconcentration of the black African population clearly reflected a determination by the apartheid government to divert the urbanisation of this population group away from close contact with existing, white-controlled, metropolitan areas. Ultimately, this policy caused grave disadvantages to major metropolitan areas, severely curtailing urban growth and industrial development (Olivier-Evans, 1993). In terms of the application of the deconcentration programmes,

⁷¹ The President's Council was appointed by PW Botha, the then State President of South Africa, to oversee the process of piecemeal reform that would confer a modicum of rights and benefits to the coloured and Indian sectors of the population but retain control in the hands of the white population. Under the new Constitution, the President's Council would comprise 60 members: 20 from the House of Assembly (white persons), 25 from the other two houses and the opposition – in all, three houses (white, coloured and Indian persons) – and 15 directly nominated by the State President. (www.sahistory.org.za/article/president-s-council)

the central government shifted major responsibilities to the local authorities (Regional Service Councils) by strategically delegating not only the responsibility for the delivery of low-income housing, transport, bulk and social services but also the financial burden and management of urbanisation.

Local authorities therefore become the administrative buffer between those who set policy in central government and the citizens who experience the policy at local level.
(City Planner's Report, City of Cape Town, 1987:ii in Olivier-Evans, 1993:6)

In 1994, a new era dawned in South African history, with the first democratic elections in that year. The ANC won the elections and the old apartheid government was replaced by a new democratic dispensation led by Nelson Mandela, the first democratically elected president of South Africa. With the new dispensation came the abolishment of all legislation that restricted the movement and mobility of selected population groups. The legacy of the apartheid system in its attempt to alter the racial distribution of the population, however, had an important and pervasive impact on patterns of internal migration in South Africa (Gelderblom & Kok, 1994; Kok *et al.*, 2006; Apartheid Museum, 2008).

Today, South Africans are highly mobile and move freely as economic migrants from rural to urban areas, urban to urban areas and within both rural and urban areas. However, post-1994, internal migration flows illustrated certain preferred destination areas, which were mainly associated with urbanisation. In Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, Gauteng and the Western Cape, particularly Cape Town, were shown consistently to receive large influxes of internal migrants from all areas of the country. These migration flows are not new and occurred in pre-democracy migration, and although highly controlled at the time were also primarily directed towards these two urban centres. As noted by Kok *et al.* (2003): "[D]espite political and economic changes, migration patterns are essentially a continuation of patterns that predate the abolition of Apartheid in South Africa" (*ibid*, 2003: xiv).

6.2.1 An overview of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy

As part of the influx-control measures, the 1962 *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* was a unique measure in that it (i) was only applicable in a specifically defined geographical space in the Republic, and (ii) was the only measure that offered political ‘protection’ and gain to another population group (in this case, the coloured population group) other than the white population group. This protection was partly offered to the coloured population due to their historical roots in the defined geographical space demarcated for the implementation of this policy.

Officially instated in 1955 following a prolonged lobby calling for preferential employment and housing for the coloured population in the region, the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* was developed to achieve two explicit goals. The first related to the influx-control component that was aimed specifically towards preventing the movement of black African persons from the homelands/Bantustans to the western part of the Cape province. The second goal was to secure and bolster the participation of the coloured population in the labour market and protect them from competition by the black African population. This was achieved by removing all black African people not born in South Africa from the area, freezing the number of these families with residence rights and restricting the number of migrant workers recruited (Bekker & Cilliers, 1980; West, 1982; Horner, 1983; Goldin, 1984; Humphries, 1992; Mountain, 2003; Scanlon, 2007; Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2008).

The policy, however, had a third goal, albeit implicit and covert, in that it formed part of a strategic attempt to preserve the Western province as a part of South Africa where the white population would remain numerically dominant (Goldin, 1984).

The first official mention of the intention to declare the western part of the Cape province a coloured-labour preference area was made during a parliamentary session in 1954 by the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr HF Verwoerd (Horner, 1983; Goldin, 1984; Humphries, 1992; Mountain, 2003; Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2008; Cole, 2012). The policy was first outlined in more detail in 1955 and was explained by the then Secretary of Native Affairs and first lieutenant, Dr WWM Eiselen in the following manner:

Briefly and concisely put, our Native policy regarding the Western Province aims at the ultimate elimination (sic) of Natives from this region. (Eiselen, 1955 in Goldin, 1984:111)

In defending this policy, Dr Eiselen argued that the ultimate aim of the policy was the gradual removal of all black African persons from the western part of the Cape province since this was the

natural home of the coloured people who should receive protection in the labour market (Golding, 1984). The policy was to be implemented in the following stages:

1. Removal of the foreign black African population and freezing of the number of black African families, coupled with the limited importation of single migrant workers to meet the most urgent needs of industry
2. Removal of the protectorate black African population and reduction of the number of black African families, with the gradual replacement of migrant workers by coloured workers
3. Screening of the black African population and classifying them into two groups:
 - a. Black African persons 'who have remained Bantu' and who in time can be moved back to the reserves where they can play an important role in the building up of an urban economy
 - b. Black African persons 'who have established relationships with coloured women and who, in all but colour, belong to the coloured community'. This category should obtain coloured citizenship and qualify for residential rights within the coloured community (Snitcher, 1957:43-44; Lee-Warden, 1957; Horner, 1983:95).

In 1955, Dr Eiselen delivered a statement outlining the policy of *Coloured Labour Preference* in detail and the demarcated geographical space in which this policy was to be applied (Horner, 1983). Dr Eiselen demarcated an area south of the Orange River and west of a line stretching from the magisterial district of Gordonia (Upington), Hopetown, De Aar, Hanover, Richmond, Murraysburg, Aberdeen, Willowmore, Uniondale and Knysna: in all, approximately one-quarter of the province. Between 1955 and 1967, this line was adjusted to the east to include an even larger part of the province (see Figure 6.2 below). This demarcation line would later be known as the Eiselen line (Snitcher, 1957; Bekker & Cilliers, 1980; West, 1982; Horner, 1983; Cole, 2012). In essence, this demarcated area referred to as the Western province was to become the Coloured Labour Preference area, an area from which the government intended to remove all Black African people (Snitcher, 1957; Bekker & Cilliers, 1980; West, 1982; Horner, 1983; Cole, 2012).

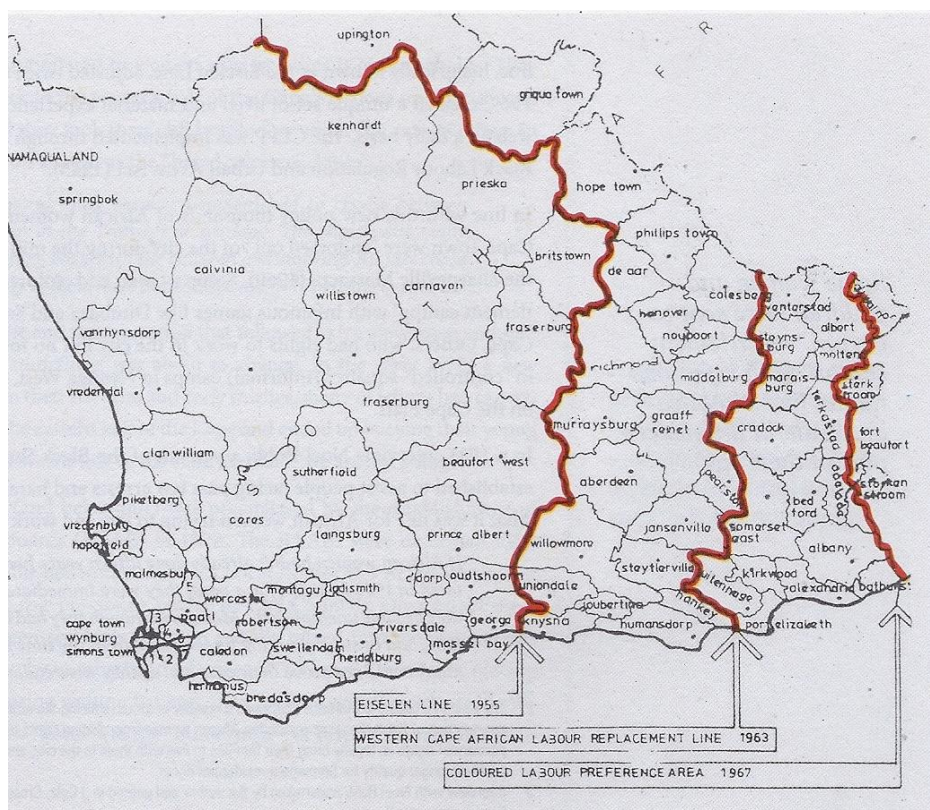


Figure 6.2: The Eiselen line

Source: Cole, 2012:3

In his address, Eiselen offered two justifications for the new policy and the subsequent removal of all black African people from this vast section of the Cape province. Snitcher (1957:40-41) transcribes these justifications as follows:

It was necessary, Dr Eiselen said, to remove all the Natives from this vast section of the Union because 'the Western Province was the natural home of the Coloured people. And they had the right to be protected against the competition of Natives in the labour market'. After alleging that 'miscegenation took place (between Coloured people and Natives)' and that 'Coloured women preferred to live with Natives because they offered them better security', Dr Eiselen stated that 'the effect that Natives and Coloureds lived and worked together . . . was leading to the disappearance of social and cultural differences between the two groups' [sic]. (Snitcher, 1957:40-41)

From 1921 to 1955, the number of black African people living in the Cape province grew from 30 000 to 178 000. Eiselen attributed this growth to the industrial development experienced within the province during that time together with the preference of employers for black African labour. The preference for black African labour opposed to coloured labour was attributed to the alleged

stronger physical nature of these workers and the fact that they were less addicted to alcohol and were not yet 'city wise'. Subsequently, it was argued that in order to protect the coloured population socially, culturally and economically, it had become necessary to remove the black African population from the province so as to "restore the traditional demographic order in the Western Province" (Snitcher, 1957:41). The origin of the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* was, however, not an initiative to protect the coloured population but rather an additional attempt of the ruling class to deflect the challenge of a mass opposition against the apartheid State (Goldin, 1984).

The policy, no matter how it was rationalised and defended by the ruling party, however, did not go unchallenged. Criticism was expressed by many sources including the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, members of all the opposition parties in Parliament, farmers and various employers' associations. Objections to this policy were derived mainly from economic considerations, with critics pointing out the futile nature of any effort to force an economic and social downgrade of the coloured population, degrading them from a position of skilled or semi-skilled workers to that of unskilled labourers. Critics predicted disastrous economic consequences and ramifications in the Western province if there were any control of the flow of black African labour. Expecting these objections, the government responded by stating that "[I]ndustrial development in the area was the main cause of the enormous influx of Natives, and industrial expansion, which needed additional manpower, should therefore be carefully controlled" (Snitcher, 1957:41). As expected, this response did nothing to dispel anxiety among major employers.

The impact and legacy of the *Coloured Preference Labour Policy* was still evident in the 2011 census, where, in spite of the large influx of black African individuals since democratisation, specifically into the Western Cape, the previous demography of the Western and Northern Cape persisted with a significant coloured population compared with the other seven provinces of South Africa (Stat SA, 2012b). The history of migration in South Africa is clearly set along racial lines, with some individuals having experienced significant limitations and restrictive control of their movement based purely on their racial classification. Although the influx-control measures implemented by the apartheid government to curtail industrialisation and subsequent urbanisation did not prove successful throughout the Republic, it was very successful in shaping the migration landscape in the previous Cape province. This was achieved by enforcing firm restrictions on the movement of the black African population while at the same time, creating a favourable living environment for the coloured population.

6.3 MIGRATION UNDER THE NEW, DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL DISPENSATION: CASE STUDIES OF THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCES

The analysis and description of the provincial populations of the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 illustrate that the two provinces have largely urban and semi-urban populations. The largest portion of residents in both provinces was found in urban centres and peri-urban and rural towns. This process of urbanisation was argued to be an outcome of both inter- and intra-provincial migration flows, a premise illustrated and substantiated in the presentation of the inter- and intra-provincial migration flows for the periods 1996–2001, 2001–2006 and 2006–2011.

In a comparison of the inter-provincial migration flows between the two provinces, the first obvious observation related to net-migration rates. During the three defined periods of analysis, the Western Cape noted a persistent positive net-migration rate. In contrast, the Northern Cape exhibited a persistent negative net-migration for the same periods. Thus, the Western Cape has been consistently experiencing population growth due to its greater in-migration compared with out-migration, and the Northern Cape has been consistently losing members of its population as a result of greater out-migration than in-migration.

This observation is significant in that it provides insight into the role that migration played in the population growth noted for both provinces since 1996. In the case of the Western Cape, it is clear that migration, through persistent positive net-migration rates, has acted as a contributing factor towards population growth. In regard to the Northern Cape, this is not the case, with a persistent negative net-migration being associated with a decline in, or at best, a stable population size.

In regard to the factors that act as possible catalysts to these migration trends, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 argued that economic drivers within the respective provinces acted as the main factors sustaining mobility trends. The contrasting net-migration rates experienced in the two provinces since 1996 presented a clear reflection of the economic realities within each province. Described as one of the three power houses of the South African economy, the Western Cape economy has consistently shown faster growth than the national economy. This positive economic environment characterised by a poverty incidence below the national average presents the Western Cape as a very favourable destination place for migrants hoping to better their economic status and reality (Writer, 2014).

The Western Cape province has further experienced growth in employment opportunities, specifically within the construction and agricultural sectors. Both these sectors provide employment to primarily semi-skilled individuals. Since the educational status of in-migrants to the Western Cape was generally lower compared with those leaving the province (Table 6.1), it would seem that the employment opportunities offered in these two sectors, supported by a growing economy, probably act as significant pull factors to migrants. Simultaneously, a comparison of the absolute numbers of adult in- and out-migrants in the Western Cape, overall as well as in each educational category, reveals a universal gain to the province, underlining the influence of sustained economic growth over the 2001-2011 period.

Table 6.1: Educational level of in- and out-migrants, (20+ yrs.) 2001–2011 (column %)

Highest educational level completed	Western Cape			
	In-migrants		Out-migrants	
	Count	%	Count	%
No schooling	5 654	1.82	2 948	2.45
Some primary	39 260	12.67	20 430	17.00
Completed primary	12 089	3.90	4 114	3.42
Some secondary	110 583	35.68	29 375	24.44
Grade 12/Std. 10	85 459	27.58	29 358	24.42
Higher	56 846	18.34	33 985	28.27
Total	309 891	100	120 210	100

Source: Tables provided by Stats SA on request of author

In contrast, the Northern Cape exhibited limited economic growth for the period 2001–2011. The province further presented limited employment opportunities, not only due to limited economic growth adding to high unemployment but also due to the nature of the industries that drive the provincial economy (Department of Labour, 2011; Stats SA, 2012b). With the main industries in the province being mining and agriculture, the majority of employment opportunities available in the province seem to focus on un-skilled or semi-skilled work seekers. The impact of this is evident in the outflow of skilled, young adults towards provinces that hold better economic opportunities, specifically the Western Cape and Gauteng. This observation was supported in the comparison of the educational status between in- and out-migrants to the province in which in-migrants generally illustrated a lower educational status compared with migrants leaving the province (Table 6.2). A comparison of the absolute numbers of adult in- and out-migrants in the Northern Cape, overall as

well as in each educational category, reveals a profile different to that of the Western Cape: no gain or loss overall, and a gain in low skilled and a loss in higher skilled adults over the 2001-2011 period.

Table 6.2: Educational level of internal migrants, (20+ yrs.) 2001–2011 (column %)

Highest educational level completed	Northern Cape			
	In-migrants		Out-migrants	
	Count	%	Count	%
No schooling	3 514	5.24	2 484	3.69
Some primary	11 819	17.63	10 567	15.68
Completed primary	3 338	4.98	2 610	3.87
Some secondary	21 877	32.64	19 256	28.58
Grade 12/Std. 10	17 109	25.53	20 148	29.91
Higher	9 365	13.97	12 308	18.27
Total	67 022	100	67 373	100

Source: Stats SA, Census 2011 (tables requested by author from Stats SA)

In regard to the sending and receiving provinces of migrants to and from the two provinces, both provinces exhibited reciprocal relationships with specific provinces. The Western Cape province illustrated strong relationships with the Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces, with these provinces acting as both main sending and receiving provinces in the internal migration flows of the Western Cape. However, the provinces have somewhat different roles in this relationship, with the Eastern Cape acting as the primary sending province of in-migrants to the Western Cape and Gauteng as the main receiving province of out-migrants.

The Northern Cape province in turn, presented a strong reciprocal relationship with the Western Cape and Gauteng. Both these provinces acted as the main sending and receiving provinces in inter-provincial migration of the Northern Cape. In this relationship, the Western Cape acted as the primary sending and receiving area of mostly coloured migrants, and Gauteng acted as the main receiving area for black out-migrants from the Northern Cape and the main sending province of white in-migrants to the province.

In-migrants to both provinces were shown to follow similar routes when considering the type of districts to which they selected to move. In the Western Cape, the largest flow of in-migrants was towards the Cape Metro, followed by the Cape Winelands and Eden districts. In the Northern Cape, these flows were towards the Frances Baard and ZF Mgcawu (previously Siyanda) districts. All five of these areas present similar characteristics: they represent the urban centres of the two provinces

(Cape Metro and Frances Baard District); they are illustrated as districts that have experienced economic growth since 1996; and in particular, they offer employment within sectors that provide employment for the unskilled and semi-skilled work force.

In order to construct a profile of adult inter-provincial migrants, that is, both in- and out-migrants, the dissertation considered the age distribution and population groups of migrants. A comparison of these characteristics among migrants within the two provinces established similar trends. In both provinces, the black African and the white populations were the most mobile in both in- and out-migration, with the strongest mobility observed within the black African population. The age profile of migrants, however, showed some variance when comparing the two provinces. In the Western Cape inter-provincial mobility was found the strongest among young adults. In the Northern Cape, however, mature adults presented the highest inter-provincial mobility rates compared to the other age cohorts. For both provinces, mature adults presented the highest intra-provincial mobility rates.

Though both provinces illustrated dynamic intra-provincial migration activity, inter-provincial migration rates were illustrated as dominant. Comparing the two intra-provincial migration flows, movement within district boundaries was found as more prevalent to movement across district borders in both provinces.

Intra-provincial net-migration rates were further found to present different settling patterns of migrants to inter-provincial migration, resulting in some specific characteristics of urbanisation in the respective provinces. These rates, as they applied to the respective districts in both provinces, illustrated a net gain in migrants to districts that have economically strong rural towns compared with negative net-migration rates for districts that are home to the provincial urban centres. In both provinces, the net gains in migrants to central urban centres, namely the City of Cape Town in the Western Cape and the Frances Baard District in the Northern Cape, were mostly sustained in inter-provincial migration whereas net gains due to intra-provincial migration were found mostly towards rural towns.

Concerning the population group profile of intra-provincial migrants, slightly different trends were found for the two provinces. In the analysis for the participation of each of the population groups in intra-provincial migration, the coloured and white population groups for the Western Cape and the coloured and black African population groups for the Northern Cape presented the highest mobility rates. A comparison of mobility within the population groups between the three periods found intra-provincial migrants in both provinces to consist mostly of coloured individuals in the 1996–2001

period. Although this trend remained in the Western Cape for the 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 periods, a shift occurred in the Northern Cape, with the black African population presenting higher rates than the coloured population in the last two periods. Mature adults (30–60 years of age) were found to be the most active as intra-provincial migrants, followed by young adults. This trend was consistent along the three periods.

Inter-provincial migration rates showed divergent trends for the two provinces for the period 2001 to 2011. During this time the Western Cape illustrated a decreased rate compared to a slightly higher rate in the Northern Cape, although continuing a net loss in migrants. The decreased rate observed in the Western Cape is consistent with lower national mobility noted by other authors; suggesting a concurring deceleration in the urbanisation trends for this province (Roux, 2009).

Commenting on the national decline in urbanisation rates, a report by the South African Cities Network (2004) attributed this deceleration to the increasing difficulty in securing employment in cities, coupled with low agricultural returns in rural areas. These two realities force many individuals to move to urban or peri-urban towns that constitute the economic centre of the immediate area rather than to the larger urban centres. An additional two factors that are said to support the decision to move to peri-urban areas and rural towns rather than urban centres are (i) the lower costs associated with migration to peri-urban areas and rural towns and the general lower cost of living there as opposed to the urban centre in the respective province, and (ii) often, easier access to government-supplied welfare, services and national transport in these areas. Migration to areas closer to their places of origin may also make it easier for migrants to retain links with home areas, providing assurance from kith and kin in the event of unemployment or illness (Roux, 2009).

6.4 CRITICAL FACTORS UNDERPINNING INTER-PROVINCIAL MIGRATION IN THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN CAPE, 1996–2011

The data on internal migration relating to the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces showed contrasting trends, with the Western Cape consistently demonstrating a net gain of migrants since 1996. In contrast, the Northern Cape had a net loss of migrants within the same period. Although the two provinces exhibited diverging migration trends, the Western Cape gaining and the Northern Cape losing residents due to migration, the forces driving these trends were similar. With regard to the forces that direct migration in the two preceding chapters, economic forces were presented as the primary drivers for migration. These forces appeared to underlie not only the primary push or

pull factors for migration but also to be decisive factors in determining the direction of migration flows.

Regarding both the inter- and intra-provincial migration present within the two provinces, it is important to consider the aspects that inform the decision of individuals (and households) to move from one geographic space to another. In South Africa, migration studies are typically framed in economic terms, with migration seen as an effective means of accessing better jobs and dealing with limited (local) 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” (Kok, O’Donovan & Miles, 2000:22). The importance of economic considerations in migration is supported by Bekker (2006) when he discusses the main responses given when individuals were asked about their reasons to migrate. “By and large, the response (has been), they migrate in search of income and jobs. This is the primary engine of migration – the first option, pushing people out of the poorer regions and pulling them toward better-off regions” (Bekker, 2006:54).

The strong facilitating role of economic forces for migration in the Western Cape and Northern Cape is supported by unemployment rates, labour force participation⁷² and individual income levels of the primary sending and receiving provinces of internal migrants associated with the two provinces. The Western Cape is described as a destination province for people from all over South Africa and demonstrated a particularly strong inflow of migrants originating from the Eastern Cape. In the case of the Northern Cape, the strongest influx of migrants was from the North West province. In addition, the strongest flow of migrants leaving the Northern Cape was towards the Western Cape and Gauteng. Both these provinces exhibit substantially stronger economies than the Northern Cape (Stats SA, 2014)⁷³.

Both the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces exhibited lower unemployment rates than their respective primary sending provinces for both census periods. In 2011, the unemployment rate in the Western Cape was 21.6% compared with 37.4% in the Eastern Cape. The relationship between the Northern Cape and the North West provinces was observed to be similar to that of the Western Cape and Eastern Cape provinces, with the Northern Cape exhibiting an unemployment rate of

⁷² The labour force participation rate is the percentage of working-age persons in an economy who are either employed or unemployed but looking for a job. Those who have no interest in working are not included in the participation rate but are included in the unemployment rate (Unemployment Rate & Employment Situation, n.d.).

⁷³ For the period 2003–2013, the average annual economic growth rate for the respective provinces were Western Cape = 4.2%; Northern Cape = 2.4%; North West = 2.3% (Stats SA, 2014).

27.4% compared with 31.5% in the North West province (Table 6.3). The same trend was evident when considering the labour force participation rate, with both the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces illustrating higher participation rates than their primary sending provinces of migrants.

Concerning the income levels of workers in the respective provinces, a similar trend was observed, with the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces demonstrating more favourable conditions compared with their primary sending provinces. In 2011, 67.86% of those employed in the Western Cape earned an income below R6 400 compared with 71.37% in the Eastern Cape (Table 6.4). In the case of the Northern Cape province, 73.24% of the employed earned an income below R6 400 compared with 76.25% in the North West province. Thus, for both the Western and Northern Cape provinces, in-migrants in general have the prospect of either a better chance for employment and/or a possible improvement in salary.

Table 6.3: Unemployment rates and Labour Force Participation rate

Province	Unemployment rate		LFP
	2001	2011	2011
Western Cape	22.2	21.6	68.5
Eastern Cape	39.6	37.4	45.5
Northern Cape	31.0	27.4	58.4
North West	36.2	31.5	50.7
Gauteng	29.3	26.3	70.2

Source: Stats SA, Census 2011 data

Table 6.4: Individual income of employed individuals, Census 2011

Province	Individual monthly income							Total
	R1–R400	R401–R800	R801– R1 600	R1 601– R3 200	R3 201– R6 400	R6 401– R12 800	R12 801 or more	
Western Cape	2.68	5.00	19.25	23.84	17.09	14.39	17.74	100
Eastern Cape	5.50	10.76	22.66	17.96	14.49	15.16	13.47	100
Northern Cape	3.15	7.10	28.00	19.66	15.34	14.42	12.33	100
North West	3.71	8.19	22.79	21.25	20.32	12.94	10.82	100
Gauteng	3.08	5.01	13.49	22.42	18.28	15.20	22.52	100

Source: Stats SA, Census 2011 data (% of person weighted)

Both the Western Cape and Northern Cape displayed an increasing tendency for migrants to settle in the urban centre and peri-urban or small towns. This trend in urbanisation is consistent with both broader national and global trends of accelerated urbanisation of previously rural populations (Landau, 2005b; Kok *et al.*, 2006; UNFPA, 2007). In terms of urbanisation rates, both the Western Cape and Northern Cape recorded rates (90% and 80% respectively) well above the national figure of 56% in 2001 (Kok *et al.*, 2006:22). The higher urbanisation rate of the Western Cape can be explained by the dominant role of metropolitan areas in urbanisation as highlighted by Kok *et al.* (2003:35): “Metropolitan areas represent the various ‘chambers’ of the economic heart of any country”.

The reduction in out-migration rates together with a strong black African inflow specifically towards the urban centres of the two provinces suggests a change in traditionally accepted migration flows between urban and rural areas. Traditionally, migration among particularly black African migrants consisted of circulatory migration between rural sending areas and urban receiving areas as a result of their rural links. However, from available data, it would seem that historically accepted circulatory migration flows are being replaced by gravity-flow migration. Thus, rural migrants are increasingly choosing to settle permanently in their new region or home rather than return to their rural home. This statement is based on the premise that people in general move of their own volition to destinations in which there is the perception, whether real or not, that the migrant’s household will be in a better situation due to, for example, access to enhanced economic opportunities and/or improved services (Bekker & Swart, 2001; Kok & Aliber, 2005; UNDP, 2009).

The observed shift to gravity-flow migration from circulatory migration is supported by Atkinson and Marais (2007) who attribute the strong growth in the black African population within the ZF Mgcawu District in the Northern Cape primarily to seasonal workers (the majority from the North West province) that are attracted to the mainly seasonal employment opportunities available on the irrigation farms (mostly grape farms) along the Orange River. These migrants seem to choose to remain in the district rather than return to their area of origin due to economic considerations (Atkinson & Marais, 2007).

Another aspect noted to influence the decision of migrants to return to their rural origins or remain in their locations was the period of residence in their predominantly urban locations. It would seem that the longer migrants are resident in a location, the stronger is the probability that the intention to return to their rural areas of origin will diminish significantly. In a study conducted in the City of Cape Town that measured the intention of adult black Capetonians to return to their rural homes, this was indeed found to be the case, with the likelihood of these migrants returning to their place of origin diminishing significantly as the period of residence in the CMA increased (Bekker, 2006).

The migration trends summarised above fit the mobility transition hypothesis of Zelinsky (1971) that illustrates the change in mobility of a population from being fundamentally rural to becoming principally urban. The process of mobility transition in both provinces was shown as a current and continuous process, changing from previously being strongly rural-based to mainly urban-based. With development, specifically economic and infrastructure development, being centred mainly within urban spaces, movement towards these areas is encouraged and subsequently sustained. Due to the limited nature and prospects for development of these aspects in rural areas, the sustaining of circulatory migration becomes consistently weaker as individuals become entrenched in and dependent upon urban areas.

This is specifically true for the poor, for whom urbanisation has become a survival strategy since urban life provides (i) the opportunity to access essential services that function well, (ii) more and diverse employment opportunities, if only on an ad hoc basis, and (iii) the benefits of decent infrastructure delivery (Cross, Kok, Wentzel, Tlabela, Wier-Smith & Mafukidze, 2005). With only a recent effort by the government to realise and advance rural development as stipulated in the *New Growth Path: Framework* (DEDAT, 2011) and the lack of, as yet, an accepted and successfully implemented rural development policy, urbanisation is set to continue together with a weakening of circulatory migration.

It is important, however, to note that not everyone in a population that shares similar socio-economic conditions has the same probability of migrating during a given period. Some people are more inclined to migrate than others, with the implication that people with certain characteristics are more migration prone, a phenomenon called 'migration selectivity' (Kok, 2003; Kok, 2005). This assertion is supported in the value expectancy model, which identifies a number of both economic and non-economic variables that could contribute to the decision to migrate. Population group and age were the two non-economic variables tested in this dissertation.

The general assertion in migration studies both nationally and internationally is that young individuals are more prone to migrate than people within the older cohorts (Mostert *et al.*, 1991; Kok *et al.*, 2005; Bouare, 2001). In the analyses presented in this dissertation, this assumption was illustrated as true for black African in-migrants to the Western Cape. Mature adults (30–60 years) presented the highest mobility rates as both inter-provincial out-migrants and intra-provincial migration in general.

Black African migrants most frequently moved across provincial borders and also showed an increased mobility within the boundaries of the two provinces. The strong participation of the black African population in migration in the two provinces is significant in a post-apartheid South Africa. The Western Cape and large parts of the Northern Cape were 'protected' by the pre-1994 dispensation that permitted only restricted movement for the black African population. The strong participation in migration, particularly in these two provinces, in the post-apartheid dispensation is a clear indication of (i) the unsuccessful nature of the pre-1994 measures to manage and control migration, and (ii) how the black African population has successfully been integrated in the dynamics and economic structures of the two provinces to which they previously experienced limited access.

Another aspect identified by some migration scholars as a determining factor for the likelihood of persons to migrate relates to their educational level. In a paper discussing the causes and economic impact of migration in the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Limpopo, Kok (2005) found that migrants leaving the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Limpopo provinces were substantially better educated than those that remained. The propensity of these individuals to migrate compared with their less educated counterparts can probably be attributed to their higher probability to secure employment in their new destination areas due to their superior educational status.

6.5 THE REQUIREMENT TO EMPLOY BOTH INTER- AND INTRA-PROVINCIAL MIGRATION FLOWS IN DETERMINING NET MIGRATION RATES

Throughout this dissertation, internal migration was conceptualised to constitute two respective flows, namely inter-provincial and intra-provincial migration flows. These two migration flows were analysed and consistently presented as two migration flows occurring parallel although independent of each other. It is due to this independent nature of the two manifestations of human mobility that the joint impact of these two migration flows on the net-migration rates is evident within administrative boundaries within provinces (i.e. district or local municipalities). In this dissertation, the analysis of migration within the two provinces was consistently performed in terms of municipal *district* boundaries. Limiting the analysis to movement across and within district boundaries rather than local municipal boundaries was done due to the predominant consistency in these district boundaries since 1996 as opposed to the volatile nature of local municipal boundaries, which significantly complicates trend analysis.

In general, internal migration refers to migration moves across larger administrative constituencies, such as provincial boundaries in the South African context. In this context, internal net-migration rates act as an indicator of the net gain or net loss in migrants that constitute inter-provincial migration flows. Although this measurement is sufficient to understand the impact of net-migration rates at a provincial level, this approach could present inaccurate values when determining net-migration rates for particularly lower administrative entities (i.e. municipal districts and local municipalities within respective provinces).

Since intra-provincial migrants by definition remain within a provincial boundary, migration flows constituted by these migrants carry no significance when calculating inter-provincial net-migration rates. However, this is not the case when calculating net-migration rates effective for smaller administrative sectors (i.e. municipal districts). Intra-provincial migrants either remain within a specific administrative boundary or move across these boundaries to settle in another municipal district. A municipal district may also become the new home of a migrant that moved from another province (inter-provincial migrant).

A similar scenario applies to migrants leaving a particular district, with some crossing the district boundary to settle in another district while others leave the province altogether. It is due to such dynamics that data on both intra- and inter-provincial migration was included when calculating the net-migration rates for a particular district.

Tables 6.5 and 6.6 compare the net-migration rates calculated for the respective districts within the two provinces by employing (i) only migration moves across provincial boundaries (referred to as inter-provincial net-migration rates in tables and discussion), and (ii) both migration moves, thus inter- and intra-provincial migration across provincial and municipal district boundaries as they apply to a specific district (referred to as internal net-migration rates in tables and discussion). In both provinces, the two calculation methods presented different rates, thus suggesting either higher or lower net losses or gains and in some cases, even different trends if the rates were compared over time.

Table 6.5: Comparison of Western Cape internal and intra-provincial net-migration rates⁷⁴

	Western Cape					
	Internal net-migration rates ⁷⁵			Inter-provincial net-migration rates		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
West Coast	3.15	1.69	2.83	2.50	1.15	1.72
Overberg	4.48	2.43	3.59	3.69	1.62	3.63
Cape Winelands	1.14	0.63	1.60	1.75	0.46	1.21
Eden	2.61	2.11	1.72	2.99	1.27	1.63
Central Karoo	-0.61	-0.21	0.31	0.28	0.04	0.25
City of Cape Town	2.37	0.55	0.97	2.55	0.68	1.26

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data; Stats SA, 2006

Table 6.6: Comparison of Northern Cape internal and intra-provincial net-migration rates⁷⁶

	Northern Cape					
	Internal net-migration rates			Inter-provincial net-migration rates		
	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011	1996–2001	2001–2006	2006–2011
Namakwa	-0.48	-2.65	-1.13	-0.81	-2.80	-0.60
Pixley Ka Seme	-1.45	-0.61	1.07	-1.52	0.13	0.17
ZF Mgcawu	2.10	-0.17	1.88	1.75	-0.18	0.54
Frances Baard	-1.95	0.33	0.07	-1.03	0.12	1.03
John Taolo Gaetsewe	1.83	0.02	-2.35	0.90	-0.13	-2.11

Data source: Nesstar Dataset, Stats SA, 2001 Census and 2011 Census data; Stats SA, 2006

⁷⁴ The lower migration rates noted for the 2001-2006 period should be treated with caution and viewed within the context of a possible undercount of migrants during this period.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 3 for calculation method

⁷⁶ The lower migration rates noted for the 2001-2006 period should be treated with caution and viewed within the context of a possible undercount of migrants during this period.

In the Western Cape, the inter-provincial migration rates for the Central Karoo illustrated a consistent net gain in migrants since 1996. However, a different trend emerged when intra-provincial migration was included in the calculation. In this calculation, internal net-migration rates illustrated a net loss in migrants for the periods 1996–2001 and 2001–2006, followed by a higher net gain in 2006–2011 compared with the inter-provincial rate during the same period. Internal net-migration rates calculated for the City of Cape Town consistently showed lower net gains for all three periods compared with the inter-provincial rates.

In the Northern Cape, internal-migration rates showed that the net loss of migrants in the Namakwa District has intensified since 1996. This is in contrast to the inter-provincial net-migration rates that showed a lower net loss in the 2006–2011 period compared with the 2001–2006 period. In the case of Pixely Ka Seme District Municipality, the internal net-migration rates showed a net loss in migrants for the 2001–2006 period compared with the inter-provincial rates that showed a net gain in migrants for the corresponding period. The subsequent net gains in the period 2006–2011 also presented different rates, with higher internal net-migration rates than inter-provincial net-migration rates.

From the differences observed between these two rates (i.e. internal and inter-provincial net-migration rates) as described above, it is clear how the inclusion of intra-provincial migration in the calculation of net-migration rates affected trends and subsequent consequences. Thus, in order to develop an accurate description and understanding of internal net-migration rates and thus the net losses or gains in migrants experienced by municipal districts (and local municipalities), it is essential that both inter- and intra-provincial flows are considered. This becomes even more important in the context of development planning and how migration trends are incorporated in development planning initiatives.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The objective of this chapter was to compare post-1994 migration for the Northern Cape and Western Cape provinces. As context for this discussion, the first section of this chapter offered an overview of the historical political context engineered to manage and control migration within the pre-1994 apartheid dispensation. This section argued the political environment and economic considerations to be the two primary forces that historically drove migration in South Africa. Although the political environment, characterised by stark movement control in the form of influx-control measures, acted as the strongest driver of inter-provincial migration, the power of economic considerations cannot be ignored.

In spite of the influx-control measures, black African urbanisation continued in the apartheid years, albeit curtailed, driven by a growing urban economy in contrast to a declining rural economy, specifically in the Bantustans 'allocated' to the black African population. Cape Town, in spite of additional 'protection' from black African urbanisation by means of the *Coloured Preference Labour Policy* was no exception to this trend. "Pressures of rural poverty brought many workseekers illegally to Cape Town, and combined with the natural increase among the legal residents, overcrowding soon created many squatter camps the best know [sic] being Cross Roads" (Cleminshaw, 1985:11).

In fact, economic considerations seem to have influenced migration behaviour to such an extent that for a very large part of the black African population, such considerations countered the oppressive political reality of the day. The starkest evidence of this trend is probably found in the growing size and number of shanty towns that developed on the periphery of city boundaries (Horner, 1983; Maylam, 1990; Maylam, 1995).

There is evidence of considerable outmigration from the reserves to urban areas. Between 1936 and 1946 the total population of the reserves increased annually by only 0.9 per cent, the small increase suggesting substantial outmigration. Between 1921 and 1951 the total size of the African urban population rose from 587 200 to 2 329 000; and during the same period urbanised Africans as percentage of the total African population almost doubled from 14 per cent to 27.9 per cent. (Maylam, 1990:64)

Current trends in internal migration for the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces illustrate a continuation of urbanisation trends, however, at a declining rate. This is sustained by both inter- and intra-provincial migration flows, with the former directed mainly towards the main urban centres and the latter towards urban districts that have a strong urban economy relative to the other districts within the respective provinces.

With regard to the profile of migrants in the two provinces, the black African population was illustrated consistently to constitute the largest part of inter-provincial migration and was strongly represented as both in- and out-migrants. In the case of intra-provincial migration, different trends emerged, with the coloured population constituting the largest participation in the Western Cape across the three periods. Although the coloured population was illustrated as the most active in Northern Cape intra-provincial flows in 1996–2001, black African intra-provincial migration was found to have increased in activity to the extent that it surpassed coloured participation in the periods 2001–2006 and 2006–2011. For the most part, both inter- and intra-provincial migrants comprised mostly young adults (30–60 age cohort), except for in-migrants to the Western Cape who were mostly young adults (20–29 years of age).

Economic considerations are argued to be the primary drivers or pull factors for migration. This is confirmed in the shared economic characteristics of the main receiving areas of both provinces fed by inter- and intra-provincial migration. The economic characteristics of the receiving districts of inter-provincial migrants were found mainly in their urban characters that constituted extended industrial and highly skilled economies. This is in contrast to the economic characteristic of the receiving districts of intra-provincial migrants, which were mostly rural, and thus constituted limited industrial and extended agricultural economies.

The opportunities presented by these two respective economies act as the main pull factors for migrants wanting to improve their economic realities. This is related not only to the in migration rates but also explains the observed deceleration of out-migration evident in both provinces in which migrants seemed to choose, due to economic realities, to remain in the destination areas rather than return to their area of origin.

From this discussion, it appears that for both political periods, that is, both pre- and post 1994, economic considerations acted as the primary driver of internal migration and urbanisation, albeit under radically different state policy contexts.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to identify and describe the nature of internal migration as it unfolded in the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces in the aftermath of apartheid, that is, after 1994. The following research objectives were formulated to address the defined purpose of the dissertation:

1. To identify internal migration streams in the two provinces at (a) provincial level [inter-provincial migration] and (b) sub-provincial levels [intra-provincial migration], for the periods 1996-2001, 2001-2006 and 2006-2011.
2. To compare these post-apartheid migration streams by employing migration theory.
3. To consider the nature and impact of urbanisation in the two provinces.

This concluding chapter will summarise the migration streams studied before and after 1994 (7.2) and the divergent migration streams after 1994 in each of the two provinces under review (7.3). Subsequently, these results will be considered through the theoretical lens developed earlier to understand migration (7.4) before turning briefly to the developmental challenges that the migration streams studied here pose for governments in South Africa (7.5). The chapter closes with a brief set of concluding remarks.

7.2 COMPARISON OF PRE- AND POST-1994 MIGRATION TRENDS

Through analyses, descriptions and comparisons of the internal migration trends for the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces, the dissertation showed three specific shifts that have occurred since democratisation. These shifts specifically relate to the following three dimensions:

1. The political context within which mobility is framed
2. The type of internal migration flows that are sustaining urbanisation
3. The profile of the populations in the migration streams

The shift in the political context governing migration in South Africa was marked by a definite move away from strict, draconian policies of influx-control measures that characterised and shaped

internal migration flows in pre-1994 South Africa and towards a primarily politically neutral approach to internal migration post-1994.

Before 1994, influx-control measures enabled the apartheid government (i) to manage and regulate the process of African migration into towns and cities classified as white, and (ii) to redirect the process of African urbanisation away from main metropolitan areas and towards the so-called independent homeland areas (or Bantustans). In the Western Cape province and greater part of the Northern Cape province, influx-control measures were exacerbated by the application of the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* under the apartheid dispensation. The primary goals of this policy were defined within the general philosophy of influx-control measures, which were inspired by a philosophy of racial separatism. However, where influx-control measures were specifically intended to protect and act towards the economic advantage of the white minority, the *Coloured Labour Preference Policy* was intended specifically to provide protection to the coloured population that was historically resident in the Western province.

Although influx-control measures began to decline in the 1980s, the election of a new democratic government in 1994 resulted in their total and final abolishment. Where pre-1994 urbanisation in the Western province, as elsewhere in the country, was characterised by strict manipulative measures to push and limit specifically black African urbanisation, the post-1994 era presented a new setting of unhindered movement for all. In the absence of any interfering political mechanism aimed at restricting the mobility of specifically the black African population, individuals within this population group were now free to join migration streams, which they subsequently did. The subsequent urbanisation of the Black African population in the years following 1994 added to the densification of urban areas throughout South Africa but particularly in the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces.

With regard to the different forces that shaped and directed migration flows before and after 1994, a clear shift is observed. Prior to 1994, urbanisation towards the economic urban centres of provinces was a process informed by a specific political ideology of separatism. The government decided who could and who could not partake in this process. In contrast, post-1994, urbanisation occurred free of any political mechanism aimed at restricting the mobility of any individual. Thus, in the absence of political forces determining migration flows, post-1994 migration has been primarily driven by economic imperatives and realities as experienced and perceived by the individual migrant. Current migration decisions for the majority are clearly primarily informed and determined by decisions aimed at bettering the migrant's socio economic status (Lucas, 1997; Todaro, 1980; Assan, 2008; Skeldon, 2008; De Haas, 2010c; Weeks, 2012). This statement is supported in the

preferred destination areas selected by migrants that evidently are mostly urban and peri-urban areas as well as rural towns, all areas that have the potential for (better) economic opportunities (see chapters 4 and 5).

7.3 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF POST-1994 MIGRATION TRENDS IN THE WESTERN CAPE AND NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCES

The objectives that framed this study were derived from the premise that as a result of the new 1994 political dispensation that brought the long history of white minority rule and the restrictions on the free movement of certain South Africans to an end, new internal migration streams have emerged, as recent studies established (Cox, Hemson & Todes, 2004; Todes *et al.*, 2010). Evidence of these changing streams is mainly found in the urban and metropolitan areas of the two provinces that were selected as case studies (Todes *et al.*, 2010). This assumption is supported by the analyses presented in chapters four and five. Internal migration flows were clearly directed towards urban centres and rural towns that offer a strong economy relative to other less developed destination places within the respective provinces and afford suitable employment opportunities (real or perceived) within sectors that provide employment for the unskilled and semi-skilled work force.

The inter-provincial migration rates of the two provinces presented contrasting trends. Whereas the Western Cape has persistently been a net-receiving province for inter-provincial migrants since 1996, the Northern Cape has unremittingly experienced a net loss of individuals. Thus, considering the impact of migration on the population growth experienced in the two provinces since 1996, it is clear that migration has had no impact on population growth in the Northern Cape, while it has been an important contributing factor in population growth in the Western Cape.

Both provinces have experienced a persistent urbanisation process since 1994, sustained by both inter- and intra-provincial migration flows; however, a decline in the rates of both these migration flows since 1996 was observed. This trend is consistent with a decrease in national mobility since 1996 (Roux, 2009), a trend interpreted by some to suggest the stabilising of migration patterns following an initial spurt in the immediate years following democratisation in 1994 (Posel, 2010).

With reference to the direction of internal migration flows, both the Northern Cape and Western Cape provinces illustrated strong relationships with other specific provinces. Internal migration flows for the Western Cape were mostly associated with the movement of migrants to and from the Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces. In the case of the Northern Cape, migration primarily involved

the movement of migrants to and from the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and North West provinces. In both provinces, the net gains in migrants for central urban centres, namely the City of Cape Town in the Western Cape and the Frances Baard District in the Northern Cape, were mostly sustained in inter-provincial migration, whereas net gains due to intra-provincial migration were mostly towards rural towns.

This research established that the age profile and population group of migrants constituting inter- and intra-provincial migration flows differed, although some similarities were found between the two provinces. In both provinces, the black African and white populations were the most mobile in inter-provincial flows, with the strongest mobility within the black African population. The age profile of inter-provincial migrants, however, showed marked differences for the two provinces. Compared with the Northern Cape, the Western Cape displayed stronger inter-provincial mobility of young adult in-migrants, although mature adults were the strongest participants in intra-provincial migration flows in both provinces.

Although both provinces illustrated dynamic intra-provincial migration activity, inter-provincial migration was more prevalent than intra-provincial migration during all three defined periods. Presenting intra-provincial migration to constitute migration both within and across municipal district boundaries, the analyses established movement within municipal district boundaries to be more prevalent than movement across district borders.

The research established that the profile of intra-provincial migrants was slightly different for the two provinces. In the Western Cape, the coloured and white population groups mostly participated in this migration flow, while the coloured and black African population groups presented the greatest participation in the Northern Cape. A comparison of mobility of the population groups among the three periods found intra-provincial migrants in both provinces to have consisted mostly of coloured individuals in the 1996–2001 period. This trend remained in the Western Cape for the 2001–2006 and 2006–2011 periods but shifted in the Northern Cape, with the black African population presenting higher rates than the coloured population in the last two periods. Mature adults (30–60 years of age) were the most active as intra-provincial migrants, followed by young adults. This trend was consistent over the three periods included in this study.

7.4 MIGRATION TRENDS IN THE WESTERN CAPE AND NORTHERN CAPE: A THEORETICAL DELIBERATION

The previous two sections presented a summative description of internal migration in a post-apartheid South Africa, particularly as it pertained to the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces. It is the objective of this section to consider and contextualise these trends from the perspective of selected migration theory considered relevant in this context.

From the discussion in the two previous sections on post-apartheid internal migration in the Western Cape and Northern Cape, six broad trends can be identified:

1. There is free movement for all, irrespective of the classification of an individual's population group.
2. Strong relationships exist between the Northern Cape and Western Cape, with specific provinces pertaining to inter-provincial migration flows.
3. Both inter- and intra-provincial migration flows are sustaining a process of urbanisation in the two provinces.
4. The black African population constitutes the majority of inter-provincial migrants in both provinces.
5. The coloured and white population groups have constituted the majority in intra-provincial migration in the Western Cape since 1996. Although this was also the case in the Northern Cape for the periods 1996–2001 and 2001–2006, participation in this migration flow by the black African population increased to surpass coloured participation rates in 2006–2011.
6. In general, it is mostly mature adults (those between the ages of 30 years and 60 years) that participate in internal migration in both provinces.

The above trends include aspects associated with both the nature of migration flows and the characteristics associated with the migrant populations. These trends suggest that the decision to migrate is strongly informed by two factors: (i) the characteristics of, and later in the migration process, the association between sending and receiving places; and (ii) the characteristics of migrants.

In regard to the characteristics and the association between the main sending and receiving locations in both inter- and intra-provincial migration, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 presented institutional-economic factors as the driving force of migration between the main sending and receiving areas. Such an approach to mobility is strongly set in the push-pull theory of migration. This theory postulates that migrants are pushed from one specific area to another due to certain

persistent factors. Although this theory considers both economic and non-economic push and pull factors, the respective economic context of the sending and receiving areas, be it real or perceived, is presented as the strongest driving force for migration (Stanojoksa & Blagojce, n.d.; Lindsay, 1985; De Haas, 2010b; King, 2012). Thus, the assumption is that migration is initiated due to an inversely proportional relationship between income (economic opportunity) and other opportunity differentials (De Haas, 2010b). Within these considerations, migrants are rational decision-makers who weigh the gains and losses associated with migrating to a specific location and subsequently act upon the cost-evaluation by either remaining or migrating.

It is from this theoretical premise that the dissertation argues economic opportunity as the primary agent initiating migration flows. The Western Cape, a net-receiving province of migrants, exhibits one of the strongest economies in South Africa. It is described as one of the economic power houses together with KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng and boasts a growing economy that is consistently expanding faster than the national economy (Writer, 2014; Stats SA, 2015). In contrast, the Eastern Cape, which presented as the main sending province of migrants to the Western Cape, is one of the two poorest provinces in the country, with a very low socio-economic status and the highest unemployment rates compared with other provinces in the country (Makiwane & Chimere-Dan, 2010; Stats SA, 2017).

In turn, the Northern Cape province, a net-losing province for migrants, presents one of the smallest economies of South Africa and unemployment figures above national rates (Bouwer, n.d.; Northern Cape Provincial Government, 2016; Stats SA, 2017). The prevailing weak economic reality within the province acts as the main push factor, especially for those with higher educational attainment and thus higher mobility towards the consistently stronger performing economies of particularly the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces. Furthermore, the discussion illustrated the primary receiving areas in both the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces to share a trend in economic growth in specifically appropriate employment sectors that offer elementary employment opportunities (agriculture, mining, manufacturing and construction).

With regard to the characteristics of migrants as an initiating factor resulting in migration, the dissertation draws on the synthesised model of migration proposed by Gelderblom (2006) and cited in Kok *et al.* (2006). This explanatory model to migration is particularly relevant in the context of South Africa, specifically the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces, given the country's historical past. Among the associated factors defined by Gelderblom (2006) that affect the decision to migrate or not, two are of particular relevance when considering post-apartheid migration. The first relates to the individual reward structure available to the individual, which is dependent upon

the prevailing economic and political conditions and characteristics of a specific area or country. The second relates to the individual characteristics of the prospective migrant (gender, age, education, occupation, etc.).

In the case of South Africa, and the Western Cape and Northern Cape particularly, the nature of pre-1994 internal migration was a direct outcome of the relationship between political forces and the characteristics of the individuals. A pertinent characteristic of the pre-1994 political era was the management of internal migration based on the population group classification of the individual. During this era, a large part of the population experienced very restricted movement simply due to their population group classification. Together with the restricted movement, however, there existed strong institutionalised labour migration practices, particularly pertaining to black African males. Movement of people between rural and urban areas in South Africa became entrenched in the economic system via a series of state interventions to mobilise and control labour together with a range of measures that made permanent urban settlement impossible for most migrants. With permanent residence not an option and with workers also not permitted to bring their spouses and families with them to their places of work, black African males were 'forced' into a rhythm of oscillatory migration between their urban work stations and rural homesteads (Posel, 2003).

With the lifting of these oppressive measures in the late 1980s, previously restricted population groups started to experience the freedom of movement, which continued with the transition to a democratic society (Posel, 2010). This resulted in certain changes in migration patterns, particularly pertaining to the participation in migration flows by the black African population that was previously bound to rural areas (Cox *et al.*, 2004; Todes *et al.*, 2008; Todes *et al.*, 2010). This new freedom enabled them to move to urban settings as competing participants in the urban economy. From the analysis presented in this dissertation, it is clear that this trend has persisted in both the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces, particularly pertaining to inter-provincial migration flows.

The age of migrants is another important individual characteristic found to affect the migration decision. Younger individuals, particularly those between the ages of 20 years and 24 years, are generally accepted to be more prone to migrate than older individuals (Oucho & Gould, 1993; Bernard, Bell & Charles-Edwards, 2017). "Irrespective of aggregate levels of mobility, the propensity to migrate typically peaks at young adult ages, then steadily declines with increasing age, rising again among young children and sometimes around the age of retirement" (Bernard *et al.*, 2017:214). The profiles of internal migrants in both the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces, however, showed varying trends, with young adults (20-29 years of age) being more prone to participate in

inter-provincial migration. The variation in this trend was among intra-provincial migrants where mature adults constitute the largest part of this group.

As indicated in the previous section, internal migration in both the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces was persistently strongly associated with a continuous process of urbanisation. This preference of urban destinations applied to both inter- and intra-provincial migration. The analysis further illustrated declining urbanisation rates since 1996, a process argued by Zelinsky (1971) to be typical of late transitional societies and defined as the third stage in his migration/mobility transition model that illustrated how mobility trends changed as societies advanced from pre-modern towards super-advanced (Stage 5 in the model) (Zelinsky, 1971; De Haas, 2010a). Without verification, this model seems to present a reasonable explanation for the declining urbanisation rates evident in the two provinces since 1996.

Postulating how migration flows will change in direction as societies develop, Zelinsky (1971) continues that as a society progresses from a late transitional to an advanced society, rural-urban migration will be replaced by internal migration expressed in increased inter-urban migration. This assertion is in contrast to the findings in both analyses of the migration flows in the Northern Cape and Western Cape. Both provinces registered either declining or consistent internal migration rates, demonstrating a constant pattern between 1996–2001 and 2006–2011, with some variation in the 2001–2006 period⁷⁷.

The analyses further presented evidence that rural-urban migration is not being replaced by inter-urban migration; this was specifically evident in the Northern Cape. While the Western Cape intra-provincial migration across district borders illustrated a declining trend from 1996, the Northern Cape, after some decline between 1996–2001 and 2001–2006, experienced a growth in this type of migration flow, thus returning to the same level of mobility experienced during the period 1996–2001. The intra-provincial migration flows of particularly black African migrants increased in urban-rural migration, with significant migration towards rural towns rather than to large urban centres. The rural towns preferred by the majority of migrants in both provinces displayed strong similarities in that they presented stronger economies relative to the other prospective receiving districts. Furthermore, the economic sectors of the chosen rural destinations in these districts were dominated by the agricultural and mining sectors that offered large-scale,

⁷⁷ The variation noted in migration trends for the 2001–2006 period should, however, be treated with caution, particularly where migration rates are shown to have decreased, as these lower rates could well be due to a possible undercount of migrants for this period.

unskilled and semi-skilled employment opportunities that resonated with the general competency levels of most migrants.

These observations are in contrast to the model of Zelinsky (1971), which demonstrates that changes in migration trends typically follow the developmental transition of society, moving from a pre-modern society towards an advanced society. The findings presented in this dissertation, however, suggest that migration trends rather follow the economic opportunities and needs that prevail in a given society. The economies of both the Northern Cape and Western Cape are strongly dependent on and significantly influenced by non-industrial and semi-industrial activities, particularly agricultural activities in the rural districts (both provinces), mining in the Northern Cape and the fishing industry in both the Western Cape and Northern Cape. The labour-intensive nature of these activities, albeit mostly seasonal, and the general lower skill set necessary to access these labour markets present appropriate employment opportunities to those desperate to access economic opportunities.

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOCUSED ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Urbanisation and human mobility are set to continue, with migrants moving to destinations offering more promising economic possibilities and increased prospects for access to basic services compared with those available in their areas of origin. Therefore, migration as a social phenomenon has significant development potential, bringing people closer to services and economic opportunities, reducing poverty and addressing inequality in South Africa. The present study has focussed on internal migration. These recommendations cover both internal as well as international migration streams.

The following recommendations arise from analyses in this dissertation:

1. Improve data on internal migration

The potential undercount of migrants during the second of the three 5-year periods selected for analysis (2001-2006) implies that comparisons of migration rates will be optimal between the first (1996-2001) and third (2006-2011) periods. Further analysis of issues raised in this work, accordingly, would benefit from this comparison rather than including all three periods. In order to allow for future trends analysis over time, it would be important to measure all moves made within a given period to ensure accurate representation of mobility rates and trends.

To allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the migration process, it is necessary to include questions in which causal factors underlying the migration decision are tested. Currently, census data provides the only comprehensive data pertaining to internal migration on a national level. Admittedly, a census does not present an opportunity for an in-depth and time-consuming analysis of migration. However, adding one or two questions pertaining to the rationale that informed the decision to move does not seem unreasonable and could prove very valuable towards gaining a better understanding of the causal factors underlying migration trends. Two queries that could offer valuable information in this regard and that could easily be included are (i) the reason why the migrant left his/her area of origin, and (ii) the reason why the migrant selected the specific destination area.

While it is probably unrealistic to propose large-scale surveys on a national level that would allow for in-depth and time-consuming analysis, it should certainly be possible to include some case studies using multi-disciplinary approaches and a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. Better information on migration and how it aids poverty reduction is valuable in developing an understanding of how policy can support migration and respond to its effects (IOM, 2005).

2. Develop specialised academic curricula on migration and development

The development of specialised academic curricula on migration and development is important on two levels. The first applies to expansion of the knowledge base pertaining to the reciprocal and heterogeneous relationship between migration and development. By providing an academic institutional base for this topic, further development of a theoretical base that is grounded and validated in research is established and ensured. The second level applies to the influence and impact of such a curriculum to sensitise current and future policy makers and development agents about how migration and development interacts and subsequently, to teach these officials how to consider these aspects in the practical execution of their work.

3. Include both inter- and intra-provincial migration flows in migration analysis

This dissertation conceptualised internal migration to include both inter- and intra-provincial migration flows. In chapter 6, it was illustrated why it is necessary to use both these flows when calculating net-migration rates at district and local municipal level. Traditionally, internal net-migration rates only consider migrants that migrate across provincial boundaries. Although this is sufficient to calculate the net loss or gain at provincial level, employing only such moves when measuring migration within provincial boundaries ignores moves across smaller administrative

boundaries. Such moves are important, given the responsibility of these smaller administrative constituents to plan accurately for and successfully deliver a range of services that support the general development of the communities for which they are responsible.

4. *Include data on migration and urbanisation in the development of the planning processes of local authorities*

Where socio-economic indicators are necessary to illustrate the poverty levels and development opportunities in a community, demographic data offers insight into how populations grow and decline, the reasons for these fluctuations, probable future population trends and the associated future demands in terms of services, amenities and economic development. While socio-economic indicators offer information on the current development status of a community, demographic indicators provide a future perspective on the needs and challenges that have the potential to affect the developmental status of communities significantly. Subsequently, the inclusion of data on migration and urbanisation in development planning processes at local municipal level is essential in order to ensure the timely planning and the quality and appropriateness of socio-economic development planning at local government level. This is particularly relevant, given the role of the local government tier to be the primary development agent responsible for facilitating and enhancing socio-economic development within the respective boundaries of its constituencies.

5. *Develop an institutional mechanism that ensures the collaborative involvement of the different spheres of government to allow for the comprehensive management of migration*

Local government can only act within the legal boundaries created by both provincial and national governments. In the absence of a national framework in which migration and urbanisation processes are recognised and institutionalised in a way that allows for interdepartmental and intergovernmental collaboration and strategising, population mobility will remain a potentially destabilising agent, continuing to expose (local) government as unprepared and thereby contributing indirectly towards serious social fragmentation and instability. It is recommended that a mechanism to establish collaboration between different interdepartmental and intergovernmental structures should be addressed in the process of mainstreaming migration into development planning.

Such a new focus refers to the integration of migration issues in a balanced way, thus considering the potential of migration to add both value and strain to the development, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in any sphere related to development and poverty reduction. Importantly, integrating migration in this manner will present a framework that allows migration to obtain prominence and relevance as not only a demographic but crucially, also a development determinant. In addition, such a process will, with the support of national government,

provide a framework in which inter-governmental and inter-departmental collaboration can be structured, stabilised and operationalised. It is then within this framework that a systematic effort to document and review the range of policies at national, provincial and local levels and their effect on internal migration flows can be facilitated. This will allow authorities to determine how policies influence migration and how policy makers should react to consequences and impacts due to migration patterns.

7.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

There has been a growing interest in internal migration and how this form of migration affects the human resource and population distribution within a country. In an effort to add value to this discussion, this dissertation presented internal migration in a post-apartheid South Africa, with specific focus on the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces. Comparing the trends to the pre-1994 reality, the dissertation considered the factors that both cause and sustain these trends. This was undertaken and substantiated with due attention to a number of selected theories on mobility. In building and presenting a case for including migration, particularly internal migration, in development planning in South Africa as a matter of urgency, this dissertation demonstrated the importance of considering both inter- and intra-provincial migration flows as they apply to the regional context (municipal districts).

Due to the growing call to include migration into development planning, this chapter included a case for the adoption of a strategic and concerted approach by governments to accommodate the developmental constraints and challenges posed by human mobility - in both South Africa today and within the two provinces that were the geographical focus of this study: the Northern Cape and the Western Cape.

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APPENDICES**APPENDIX A****Local municipalities within the Western Cape as per district municipality and the Cape Metro, 2017**

District Municipality	Local Municipality	Seat
Cape Winelands	Witzenberg	Ceres
	Drakenstein	Paarl
	Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch
	Breede valley	Worcester
	Langeberg	Ashton
Central Karoo	Laingsburg	Laingsburg
	Prince Albert	Prince Albert
	Beaufort West	Beaufort West
Eden	Kannaland Local Municipality	Ladismith
	Hessequa Local Municipality	Riversdale
	Mossel Bay Local Municipality	Mossel Bay
	George Local Municipality	George
	Oudtshoorn Local Municipality	Oudtshoorn
	Bitou Local Municipality	Plettenberg Bay
	Knysna Local Municipality	Knysna
Overberg	Theewaterskloof	Caledon
	Overstrand	Hermanus
	Cape Agulhas	Bredasdorp
	Swellendam	Swellendam
West Coast	Matzikama	Vredendal
	Cederberg	Clanwilliam
	Bergrivier	Piketberg
	Saldanha	Vredenburg
	Swartland	Malmesbury
City of Cape Town Metropolitan	City of Cape Town	Cape Town

Source: Republic of South Africa, 2017b

APPENDIX B**Local municipalities within the Northern Cape as per district municipality**

District Municipality	Local Municipality	Seat
Frances Baard	Dikgatlong Local Municipality	Barkley West
	Magareng Local Municipality	Warrenton
	Phokwane Local Municipality	Hartswater
	Sol Plaatjie Local Municipality	Kimberley
John Taolo Gaetsewe	Ga-Segonyana Local Municipality	Kuruman
	Gamagara Local Municipality	Kathu
	Joe Morolong Local Municipality	Mothibistad
Namakwa	Hantam Local Municipality	Calvinia
	Kamiesberg Local Municipality	Garies
	Karoo Hoogland Local Municipality	Williston
	Khai-Ma Local Municipality	Pofadder
	Nama Khoi Local Municipality	Springbok
	Richtersveld Local Municipality	Port Nolloth
Pixley Ka-Seme	Emthanjeni Local Municipality	De Aar
	Kareeberg Local Municipality	Carnarvon
	Renosterberg Local Municipality	Petrusville
	Siyancuma Local Municipality	Douglas
	Siyathemba Local Municipality	Prieska
	Thembelihle Local Municipality	Hopetown
	Ubuntu Local Municipality	Victoria Wes
	Umsobomvu Local Municipality	Colesberg
ZF Mgcawu	!Kheis Local Municipality	Groblershoop
	Dawid Kruiper	Mier
	Kai!Garib Local Municipality	Kakamas
	Kgatelopele Local Municipality	Daniëlskuil
	Tsantsabane Local Municipality	Postmasburg

Source: Republic of South Africa, 2017a