

**MIGRATION PATTERNS AND MIGRANT CHARACTERISTICS IN  
THE WESTERN CAPE THROUGH A DIFFERENTIAL  
URBANISATION LENS**

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## ABSTRACT

This research examines contemporary in-migration patterns and trends to the Western Cape over the period 2001 to 2011. It applies the concepts of main stream and sub-stream migration from the theory of Differential Urbanization to analyse potential characteristics and patterns hidden by aggregated migration data through the use of spatial data and clustering analysis. The research found that there were 312 013 in-migrants to the Western Cape from other provinces between 2001 and 2011, of which 162 380 originated from the Eastern Cape. Mainstream in-migrants were mostly unmarried and of youthful age (mostly 25 to 29 years of age), with low income, moderately skilled, many of them unemployed or not economically active and 31.3% living in informal dwellings in backyards or informal settlements. A second sub-stream of migrants consisted of affluent, highly skilled, married, and older migrants from other metropolitan municipalities, especially from Gauteng.

Strong migration patterns were found to exist between the municipalities in the Eastern Cape and the City of Cape Town region and coastal intermediate-sized municipalities in the Western Cape. Productionism was the dominant motivating factor of mainstream migration as migrants continued to migrate to the primate city of Cape Town. Environmentalism as a factor in migration decision making is evident in the sub-stream of migrants aged older than 50 years who favoured coastal municipalities of Overstrand, Mossel Bay, Knysna and Bitou in the Western Cape.

**Keywords and phrases:** Migration; Western Cape; Main stream migration; Sub-stream migration; Productionism; Environmentalism

## OPSOMMING

Hierdie navorsing het ten doel om die huidige in-migrasie patrone en tendense in die Wes-Kaap oor die tydperk 2001 tot 2011 te ondersoek. Die konsep van hoofstroom migrasie en sub-stroom migrasie word toegepas om potensiële verskuilde veranderinge in die saamgestelde migrasie data te ontleed deur die gebruik van ruimtelike data en groepering analises. Die navorsing het bevind dat daar 312 013 in-immigrante na die Wes-Kaap uit ander provinsies tussen 2001 en 2011 was, waarvan 162 380 uit die Oos-Kaap gekom het. Hoofstroom in-immigrante was meestal ongetroudes en van die jeugdige ouderdomsgroep (meestal 25-29 jaar oud), met lae inkomste, matig geskoold, baie van hulle werkloos of nie ekonomies aktief nie en 31.3% wat in informele wonings in agterplase en informele nedersettings bly. 'n Tweede belangrike sub-stroom van in-migrante bestaan uit ouer, gegoede-, hooggeskoolde-, getroude in-immigrante vanuit ander metropolitaanse munisipaliteite, veral Gauteng. Sterk migrasie patrone bestaan tussen die munisipaliteite in die Oos-Kaap en die Stad Kaapstad-streek en die munisipaliteite met intermediêre-grootte stede aan die kus van die Wes-Kaap. Ekonomiese faktore was die dominante motiverende faktor van die hoofstroom migrasie na die primatestad van Kaapstad. Omgewings- en leefstyl faktore is die onderliggende motiverende faktor van die sub-stroom van in-migrante ouer as 50 jaar na die kus-munisipaliteite van Overstrand, Mosselbaai, Knysna en Bitou in die Wes-Kaap.

**Trefwoorde en frases:** Migrasie, Wes Kaap; Hoofstroom migrasie; Sub-stroom migrasie; Ekonomiese faktore; Omgewings- en leefstyl faktore.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

DU	Differential urbanisation
EC	Eastern Cape
HRD	Human Resource Development
N	Number
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SALDRU	Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
WC	Western Cape

# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Migration entails the permanent long-term or temporary movement of people from one place to another, within and across boundaries; temporary if retaining membership in the place of origin after migrating (Lee 1966; Posel 2010). It involves an origin, destination and set of intervening obstacles and personal factors. These migration flows occur mainly in search of employment in order to provide a better life for migrants and their families (SALGA 2011; Grieger et al. 2013, Pendakur & Young 2013).

Over the ten year period between 2001 and 2011 the national population increase in South Africa was 15.5%, with the highest increases in Gauteng (33.7%), followed by Western Cape (30.0%), and Mpumalanga (20.0%) (Statistics South Africa, 2012b). This is in stark contrast to the poorer provinces of the country such as the Eastern Cape which showed a limited increase of only 4.5% and Limpopo with 8.2%. These population changes are influenced by natural growth rates, internal migration within provinces, as well changing inter-provincial migration flows from the poorer provinces (such as Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Limpopo) to the economically richer provinces (Gauteng, Western Cape). The extent and characteristics of migration patterns to the Western Cape have generated considerable interest over the last decade, both within the context of broader national level migration studies (Todes 2001; Cox, Hemson & Todes 2005; Collinson, Kok & Garenne 2006; Kok & Collinson 2006; Kok et al. 2006; Gelderblom 2007; Posel 2010; Geyer et al. 2012), as well as in studies focussing specifically on migration between the Eastern and Western Cape (Bekker 2001; Bekker 2002; Naidoo, Leibbrandt & Dorrington 2008).

This research indicated large in-migration to the Western Cape and Gauteng from the Eastern Cape and that people were moving to cities and other centres of growth, even if these centres had weak economies (Todes 2001). Bekker (2001) examined the return or circulatory migration between Cape Town and the Eastern Cape and found improved services and better access to employment opportunities in Cape Town and the Western Cape as important pull factors. Although the migrants moved away from adverse conditions at the source area, there is however an expectation to return to home; albeit reducing over time.

More recently De Jong & Steinmetz (2006) found that although Gauteng was the preferred destination for migration of South Africans, the Western Cape was the most-likely destination of future migration from the Eastern Cape (55% of the population that considered moving in the five years following the 2001-2002 Migration Study). Migrants from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape and Gauteng mainly comprises of Africans and the youth (aged 20-24) who tended to migrate in search of better employment and education, and ultimately better lives for their families (Naidoo, Leibbrandt & Dorrington 2008).

These migration streams between the Eastern and Western Cape have an effect on the proportional budgetary allocations for the provinces and municipalities from the national fiscus. Municipalities that are the preferred settlement areas for in-migrants have to provide

services such as housing, health, social services, education and employment, and basic needs such as electricity, water supply and sanitation to the migrants. The municipalities also have to extrapolate these trends to pro-actively plan for the future growth of the cities and towns. It also implies that the private sector needs to be approached to partner with government to assist to build more social, commercial and residential buildings for the growing population (Pendakur & Young 2013).

The overall national migration stream may mask or hide the underlying regional sub-stream migration patterns. (Geyer et al. 2012). These migration patterns between the Eastern and Western Cape as adjacent provinces thus also require a more nuanced interpretation from the perspective of Differential Urbanisation (DU) theory. According to the DU theory, migration patterns display both main- and sub-stream migration, which indicate the dominant migration flows at different levels of spatial aggregation. Mainstream migration and sub-stream migration, as well as urbanisation and counter-urbanisation may thus occur at the same time at different scales in a country or region.

## **1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

Against the background outlined above, this research aims to answer two important research questions:

- What are the contemporary migration streams to the Western Cape between 2001 and 2011 and where do these in-migrants to the Western Cape originate from?
- Which socioeconomic and household characteristics are the main drivers of migration to the Western Cape over this period?

The main aim of the study is thus to analyse contemporary migration streams and patterns to the Western Cape, as well as the socio-economic characteristics of these migrants over the period 2001 to 2011 making use of the latest 2011 census data. A further secondary aim is to interpret these patterns within the theoretical framework of Differential Urbanisation (DU) and the concepts of mainstream and sub-stream migration. The first objective is to examine in-migration patterns and trends to the Western Cape over the period 2001 to 2011 from both a provincial and municipal level context. The second objective is to analyse potential changes and trends that may be hidden by aggregated migration data through a spatial clustering analysis. Hotspot analysis is applied to identify patterns of spatial clustering of high and low concentrations of migrants to the Western Cape. The third objective is to define the socio-economic profile and household characteristics of in-migrants to the Western Cape. The final objective is to interpret these migration patterns within the theoretical framework of Differential Urbanisation (DU) to identify potential underlying sub-stream migration patterns influencing the Western Cape.

The remainder of this article is structured in four sections. Section 2 provides an overview of the relevant theories of migration and factors influencing migration decision-making,

migration within the framework of differential urbanisation, and the findings of previous research regarding the characteristics of migrants to the Western Cape. The third section describes the data sources and methodology used in the study. Section 4 presents the findings of the research. It firstly describes the broader contextual setting of migration at a national level and then focuses on migration streams and patterns to the Western Cape, and the socio-economic profile of the in-migrants. A summary conclusion and recommendations based on the results are outlined in Section 5.

## **2 LITERATURE STUDY**

### **2.1 OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION THEORY**

Migration can be described as the permanent or temporary move of population over time from one space to another across a functional or morphological boundary (Lee 1966). The decision to migrate can be based on social, economic or environmental reasons, in the form of both push and pull factors at source and destination areas. There is an extensive body of theory on migration that can broadly be classified into four schools of thought: neo-classical migration theory, relative deprivation theory, structuration theory, and neo-Marxist theories of migration. Neo-classical migration theory is premised on the principle of demand and supply of labour mainly across international boundaries due to differences of income in source and destination areas. Migration therefore takes place to equalise wages across countries with low labour supply and high wages with countries with high labour supply and low wages. The migration decision is thus based on a cost-benefit calculation (Massey et al. 2003), with some migrants returning home when they are unsuccessful in their job experiences or when their expectations were not reached (Posel & Marx 2013). Relative deprivation theory on the other hand takes a household's deprivation based on the income level within its community as its point of departure. The lower the household's position, the more likely the household members will migrate to improve their circumstances (Peng, Chen & Wang 2014).

There are three viewpoints of migration based on a Neo-Marxist view: dependency theory, world systems theory and segmented labour-market theory (Massey & Espinosa 1997; Arango 2000). Dependency theory explains migration based on a sequence of historical events caused by political and economic forces, underpinned by the exploitation of labour, as a result of capitalism and colonialism. Dependency theory however cannot explain decisions made by the individual as a consequence of the larger systems which drive migration (Meyer 2013). World systems theory thus explains migration in the context of global capitalism development, driven by higher profits and wealth. It involves the industrial North (rich countries) and the lagging South (poor countries), with individual and personal choices driven by the economic, political and administrative nature in these global regions (Chirot & Hall 1982; Straussfogel 1997; Meyer 2013). Segmented labour-market theory explains

migration as the movement of skilled labour to developed countries characterised by dualistic markets where there are low-paying jobs, which the native population are not interested in (Leontaridi 1998).

Structuration theory posits that an individual is knowledgeable of the reproduction of social activities, which is based in institutions, and have intended and unintended outcomes (Veliquette 2012). These activities involve reflective monitoring which have three levels of impact on both the sending and receiving societies; namely immediate social reproduction, biological life) and institutional reproduction (Goss & Lindquist 1995). These components interact to determine the factors that influence the migration decision, and change the social and economic composition of the origin and destination area. Some of these social interactions may be more established while others are not, and depends on time and space (Massey et al. 2003).

## **2.2 KEY FACTORS INFLUENCING MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING**

The synthetic model of migration combines a variety of theoretical approaches to migration into a single model. It is an attempt at theoretical synthesis and categorising the causal factors involved in the different theories described above and specifies their mutual relationship (Boyd 1989; Gelderblom 2006; Bürgin & Erzene-Bürgin 2013). The factors include a spatial reward structure, individual characteristics, individual rewards, structural variables of decision-making, information sources, perceptions, motivations and decision-making, and filters.

The spatial reward structure dictates that migration is due to a spatial disequilibrium of socio-economic and political development. This could be due to the differential development in urban and rural areas or commercialisation of agriculture making access to land difficult (Massey et al. 2003). The spatial reward structure is determined by both push and pull factors at destination and source areas that either attract or repel potential migrants, and provide them with specific rewards, such as employment, services, and social connections (Lee 1966; Arango 2000; Pendakur & Young 2013). Factors such as unemployment, crime and poverty, sharecropping and labour tenancy in the source area, and legal restrictions placed on migration can repel potential migrants.

The second key element of the synthetic model is the role of individual characteristics, such as age, gender, education, employment and occupation that interact with the individual reward systems (Findley 1987; Massey & Espinosa 1997). In developing countries, the individual is not the ultimate decision-maker, but decisions are made to improve circumstances of the household as a whole. The household has to balance labour resources and jobs, and usually sends males out for waged work in the rural areas or to nearby towns or urban areas. Young, unmarried women are less likely to migrate than males due to structural variables of decision-making which involves conflict and negotiation in the household. They also included spouse reasons and family-related issues for employment-related moves.

Female migration is often related to life circumstance changes; such as marriage, divorce and separation; and looking for work (Kok et al. 2006; Camlin, Snow & Hosegood 2014).

Information sources can facilitate the decision to migrate. These include the media, and networks of friends and family in the destination area (Boyd 1989; Bürgin & Erzene-Bürgin 2013). Once the decision to migrate has been taken, intentions need to be communicated to the decision-making unit, either by the individual or household, and may involve conflict and negotiation (Findley 1987). Filters to decision-making can take the form of both obstacles and facilitators. Obstacles can include factors such as the costs of migration, legal restrictions and immobilising social structures in the source area (Massey & Espinosa 1997). The monetary costs could include elements of transport costs, costs of accommodation, costs of information gathering and costs related to illegal immigration. Some potential migrants borrow the money from banks or money-lenders, family and friends in order to fulfil the migration decision (Gelderblom 2006). These costs are related to distance, hence the poor often only move to nearby areas. Legal restrictions on migration such as legislation enforced during the apartheid period in South Africa severely limit potential migrant movements. Conversely, recruitment agencies can act as facilitators of migration in that they stimulate migration between sending and receiving countries and can provide job placements and transportation for the migrants (Goss & Linquist 1995; Hugo 2006). Social networks created through friends and family can also act as a migration facilitator. These networks pool resources to assist poorer community members with cash, accommodation and in finding employment.

### **2.3 MIGRATION AND DIFFERENTIAL URBANISATION**

The concept of differential urbanisation links production-driven and environmental-driven migration with the concepts of mainstream and sub-stream migration (Geyer et al. 2012). Mainstream and sub-stream migration can occur simultaneously due to pull and push forces in the urban and rural centres and the different levels of development in these centres. The DU theory distinguishes between three phases namely urbanisation, polarisation reversal and counter-urbanisation. These stages occur over differing time periods (Kontuly & Geyer 2003). Urbanisation is mainly due to productionism, where migrants are mainly motivated by economic reasons. Polarisation reversal represents the intermediate phase in which economic activity is drawn away from the large urban centres and the dominant migration stream is to the intermediate-sized centres on the periphery. Sub-stream migration also occurs to the small and large urban centres at a smaller scale. Counter-urbanisation is the stage where the dominant migration stream is from the large cities and intermediate-sized centres to small centres or rural areas beyond the commuting hinterland due to environmental reasons and seeking an improved quality of life (Geyer 2002; Heikkilä 2002; Jivraj 2012; Martin 2014). There are however still smaller migration sub-streams to the large urban centres. Mainstream migration and sub-stream migration, as well as urbanisation and counter-urbanisation may thus occur at the same time at different scales in a country.

## **2.4 FINDINGS OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH REGARDING CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRATION TO THE WESTERN CAPE**

Previous research confirmed the Western Cape Province and the City of Cape Town in particular as the main destination of youthful migrants from the Eastern Cape (Todes 2001; Bekker 2002; Kok & Collinson 2006; Ndegwa, Horner & Esau 2007; Naidoo, Leibbrandt & Dorrington 2008). A large number of these in-migrants ended up in informal dwellings in the larger cities of the Western Cape, such as Cape Town, George and Mossel Bay (Ndegwa, Horner & Esau 2007). Naidoo, Leibbrandt & Dorrington (2008) found that the youth (aged 20-24) were the most likely population to migrate, while the non-working age groups remained in the Eastern Cape. The coastal towns of the Garden Route, Overberg and West Coast district were also targeted for retirement by high income earners of all population groups from within the Western Cape (Todes 2001; Bekker 2002). Males are more likely to migrate, although there was an increase in female migration between 1996 and 2001 (Naidoo, Leibbrandt & Dorrington 2008). A better education and employment, with improved income, were found to be important motivations for migration from the poorer (rural) areas of the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape, and younger children accompanied the migrants for perceived better education in the Western Cape (Bekker 2002).

Poswa & Levy (2006) investigated the reasons for migration of the newly migrated population from the Eastern Cape to Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain, Western Cape. The study found that the majority (65%) of the population of Khayelitsha was young, below 30 years, lived in informal dwellings (57.4%) and were mainly unemployed (51.0%). Because of the perceived better circumstances, the young migrants remained in the Western Cape, and started families in the province. Ndegwa, Horner & Esau (2007) showed that the in-migrants had low household income which placed a significant proportion into the indigent category for poverty relief from local municipalities.

## **3 METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES**

### **3.1 DATA SOURCES**

The Census 2011 ten percent sample data was used for the analysis in the study. The Census 2011 10% sample was drawn from Census 2011 data consisting of a 10% sample of all persons in the sample households and an independent 10% sample of persons who reside in other living quarters excluding housing units or converted hostels (Statistics South Africa 2014). The person sample had been weighted and the variable had been multiplied by the inverse of the sampling rate to the relevant population and then calibrated to the census total population counts at provincial level by population group, sex and age group (Statistics South Africa 2014). The primary stratification was based on local municipality and the secondary stratification based on the demographic characteristics of persons within the households.



The dataset contains migration data for the population at both a provincial and municipal level, which could be used in the study. It also contains information on year moved to usual residence from previous residence. The data was analysed using SPSS and SuperCROSS software. ArcGIS was used to perform the spatial mapping and spatial statistical analysis. A summary of the variables used in the analysis is outlined in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Variables used in migration analysis

<b>VARIABLE OF STUDY</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>
<b>PERSON VARIABLES</b>	
Gender	Gender of the individual; Male or Female. Used to determine whether there are differences between gender when migrating.
Age group	Age in number of completed years of the individual. Used to determine which age groups are more likely to migrate.
Highest education level	Highest level of education of the individual; to ascertain whether migration is dependent on educational level of the migrant.
Income category	Income category of the individual to determine the influence of income level on migration.
Employment status	Employment status of the individual; to ascertain the influence of employment status on migration.
Marital status	Marital status of individual. To ascertain whether there are differences between married and unmarried migrants.
<b>MIGRATION VARIABLES</b>	
Municipality of previous residence	Refers to the municipality where the person previously resided before moving to the present dwelling. Used to determine the spatial patterns of migration to the Western Cape.
<b>HOUSEHOLD VARIABLES</b>	
Type of main dwelling	Refers to the main type of dwelling the household occupied. This variable shows what type of accommodation the migrants migrated to. It is also a proxy for level of services as type of housing is closely correlated with level of services provided.

### 3.2 APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

A combination of three analysis techniques were used to analyse and interpret the variables outlined in Table 3.1. Firstly, descriptive statistics such as frequencies of variables were examined to evaluate the measures of central tendency and dispersion. The migration variables (source and destination) were cross-tabulated with socio-economic variables such as gender, age group and population group to identify any signs of mainstream and sub-stream migration as described in the literature.

The use of descriptive statistics alone can however not reveal all important intrinsic changes and trends that are hidden by aggregated migration data. An important component of the analysis thus also involved the use of Geographic Information Systems to analyse and map

the spatial characteristics and trends of the migration data. ArcGIS was used to undertake the thematic mapping of the spatial patterns and characteristics of the migrants.

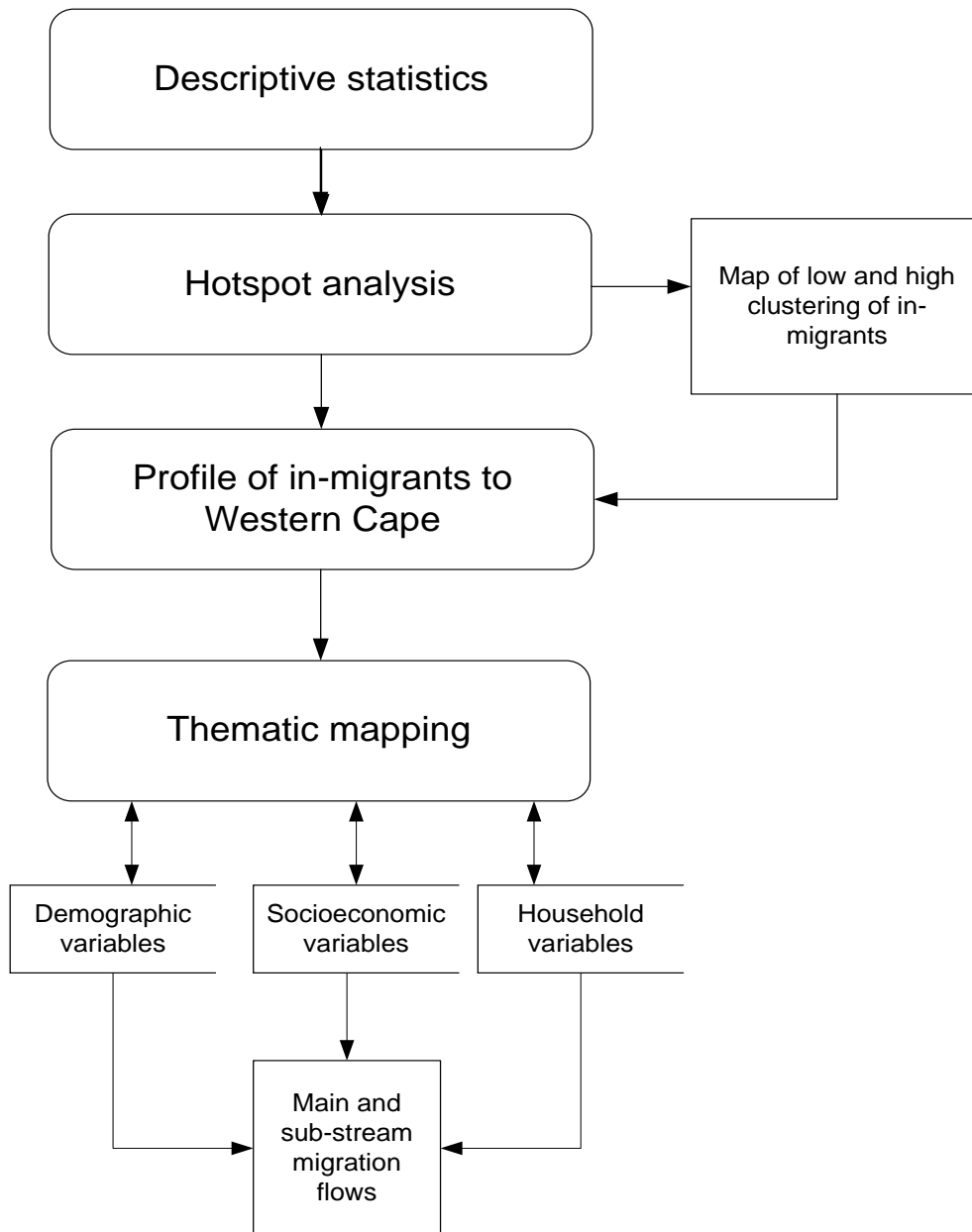


Figure 3.1 Flow diagram of methodological steps to show differential urbanisation

In addition, the Getis-Ord  $G_i^*$ -statistic was used to produce a visual presentation of the statistical significance of migration patterns to the Western Cape. The Getis-Ord  $G_i^*$ -statistic

will be higher in regions that have a greater similarity measured through some feature/variable, and show how spatial migration patterns are affected (Xu 2014). Spatial clustering (or hotspots) occurs where there are high values of a variable surrounded by similar high values (or low surrounded by low values). Hence hotspot analysis is applied to identify patterns of spatial clustering of high and low values of out-migration to the Western Cape from individual municipalities.

## 4 RESULTS OF EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

### 4.1 CONTEXTUAL SETTING

As indicated in Section 2, the extent and implications of migration patterns to the Western Cape Province, and specifically migration between the Eastern Cape and Western Cape have generated considerable interest over the last decade both within the context of broader national level migration studies and studies focussing specifically on these two provinces. The latest contemporary perspective on this phenomenon based on the results of the 2011 census is outlined in the subsequent sections.

Table 4.1 shows the growth rates of the population by province between the three census periods. Gauteng displayed the highest growth of 33.7% between the census periods 2001-2011, followed by the Western Cape (30%). In contrast, the Eastern Cape had the second lowest growth at only 4.5%. These growth patterns are the combined results of both natural fertility and mortality rates and migration processes.

Table 4.1 Population growth by province

	<b>Census 1996</b>	<b>Census 2001</b>	<b>Census 2011</b>	<b>% Change 1996/2001</b>	<b>% Change 2001/2011</b>
Western Cape	3 956 875	4 524 335	5 882 734	14.3	30.0
Eastern Cape	6 147 244	6 278 651	6 562 053	2.1	4.5
Northern Cape	1 011 864	991 919	1 145 861	-2.0	15.5
Free State	2 633 504	2 706 775	2 745 590	2.8	1.4
KwaZulu-Natal	8 572 302	9 584 129	1 0267 300	11.8	7.1
North West	2 936 554	3 193 676	3 509 953	8.8	9.9
Gauteng	7 624 893	9 178 873	12 272 263	20.4	33.7
Mpumalanga	3 124 203	3 365 885	4 039 939	7.7	20.0
Limpopo	4 576 566	4 995 462	5 404 868	9.2	8.2
South Africa	40 584 005	44 819 705	51 770 560	10.4	15.5

Source: Statistics South Africa (2012a)

Table 4.2 provides an interprovincial breakdown of migration patterns between the various provinces according to province of origin and province of destination. This information indicates that a total of 2 113 664 persons migrated between provinces over the period 2001

to 2011. Gauteng received the most in-migrants (914 483), followed by the Western Cape (312 013), and the North West (186 521). The Eastern Cape had the most out-migrants (452 971) to other provinces over this period, followed by Gauteng (367 223) and Limpopo (366 796). Migrants from the Eastern Cape mostly had their destination as the Western Cape (162 380), followed by Gauteng (68 574) and KwaZulu-Natal (25 631).

Net migration is the difference between total in-migrants and total out-migrants. Only three provinces recorded a positive net migration between 2001 and 2011. These are Gauteng (547 260), the Western Cape (192 000) and North West (30 214), while the Eastern Cape (-346 452) and Limpopo (-256 486) recorded the highest negative net migration rates.

Table 4.2 Province of origin by province of destination 2001 to 2011

		Province of destination										Net migration
		Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Northern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	North West	Gauteng	Mpumalanga	Limpopo	Total	
Province of origin	Western Cape	-	32 390	9 103	5 085	10 444	5 344	49 310	4 676	3 661	120 013	192 000
	Eastern Cape	162 380	-	6 717	17 569	81 381	30 575	129 523	14 342	10 484	452 971	-346 452
	Northern Cape	17 669	2 955	-	6 836	4 615	10 775	15 208	3 361	2 006	63 425	-9 678
	Free State	12 150	7 220	6 827	-	7 854	21 715	71 949	9 730	4 888	142 333	-54 843
	KwaZulu-Natal	25 631	19 160	2 293	10 709	-	9 852	177 639	28 087	6 520	279 891	-100 801
	North West	7 609	3 658	16 229	8 869	5 472	-	92 470	8 706	13 294	156 307	30 214
	Gauteng	68 574	33 493	8 591	29 171	49 235	72 386	-	57 481	48 292	367 223	547 260
	Mpumalanga	7 725	3 275	1 755	3 960	12 511	10 969	103 345	-	21 165	164 705	-1 214
	Limpopo	10 275	4 368	2 232	5 291	7 578	24 905	275 039	37 108	-	366 796	-256 486
	Total	312 013	106 519	53 747	87 490	179 090	186 521	914 483	163 491	110 310	2 113 664	-

Note: Excluding Outside South Africa, Do not know and Unspecified

Source: Statistics South Africa (2014)

Table 4.3 summarises the areas of origin of migrants to the Western Cape and the main destination areas of migrants from the Eastern Cape. A total of 52.0% of the in-migrants to the Western Cape originated from the Eastern Cape, followed by 22.0% from Gauteng. Conversely, as much as 35.8% of out-migrants from the Eastern Cape migrated to the Western Cape, while 28.6% moved to Gauteng and 18.0% to KwaZulu-Natal.

Table 4.3 In-migrants to Western Cape and out-migrants from Eastern Cape

	Origin of In-migrants to Western Cape		Destination of Out-migrants from Eastern Cape	
	N	%	N	%
Western Cape	-	-	<b>162 382</b>	<b>35.8</b>
Eastern Cape	<b>162 380</b>	<b>52.0</b>	-	-
Northern Cape	17 669	5.7	6 717	1.5
Free State	12 150	3.9	17 569	3.9
Kwazulu-Natal	25 631	8.2	81 378	18.0
North West	7 609	2.4	30 575	6.7
Gauteng	68 574	22.0	129 523	28.6
Mpumalanga	7 725	2.5	14 344	3.2
Limpopo	10 275	3.3	10 483	2.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>312 013</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>452 971</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: Excluding Outside South Africa, Do not know, Unspecified

Due to rounding the totals do not always add to 100.0%

- = not included in the calculation

Source: Statistics South Africa (2014)

These figures confirm the extent and importance of the migration patterns between the Eastern and Western Cape provinces. The spatial patterns and socio-demographic characteristics of these migration trends are further analysed in the subsequent sections.

#### 4.2 SPATIAL PATTERNS

Figure 4.1 provides a spatial analysis of the extent of migrants to the Western Cape according to municipality of origin. These migrants mainly originate from two areas. Firstly, from the larger metropolitan municipalities such as of City of Johannesburg (38 926), Nelson Mandela Bay (29 923 migrants), Buffalo City (18 530), and eThekweni (12 934), and secondly from the municipalities in the rural dominated north-eastern parts of the Eastern Cape.

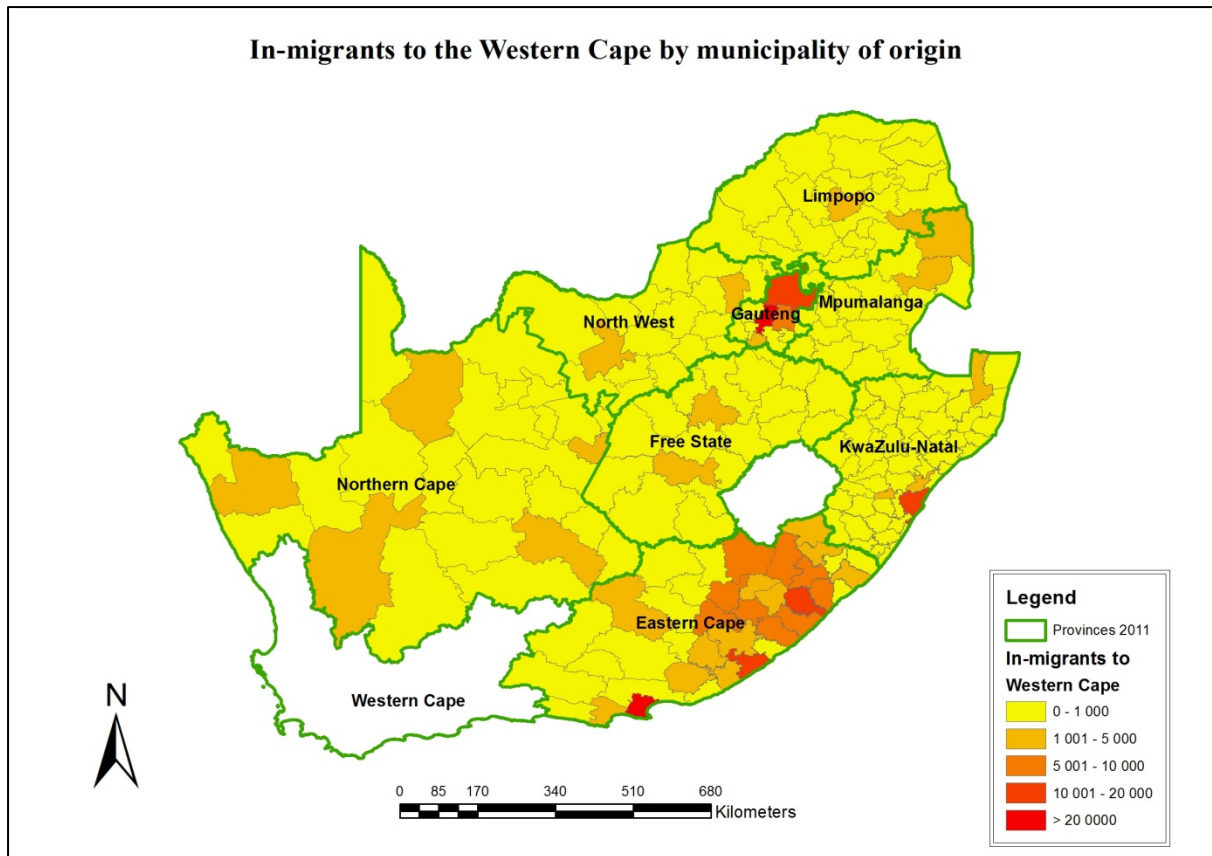


Figure 4.1 Origin of in-migrants to Western Cape

Hotspot analysis is the local version of the G statistic and is used to determine whether hot spots (clusters of high values) or cold spots (clusters of low values) exist in an area. Its purpose is to establish whether the spatial patterns reflected on Figure 4.1 are statistically significant or merely the result of random processes. To be statistically significant, the hot spot or cold spot will have a high/low value and be surrounded by other features with high/low values. The hotspot analysis was used to identifying statistically significant clustering of municipalities that showed significant in-migration to the Western Cape (Figure 4.2). The most significant hotspots (99% confidence) of in-migration to the Western Cape occurred mainly in municipalities of the Eastern Cape. This confirms a statistically significant spatial clustering of municipalities with high levels of in-migrants to the Western Cape originating from the Eastern Cape.

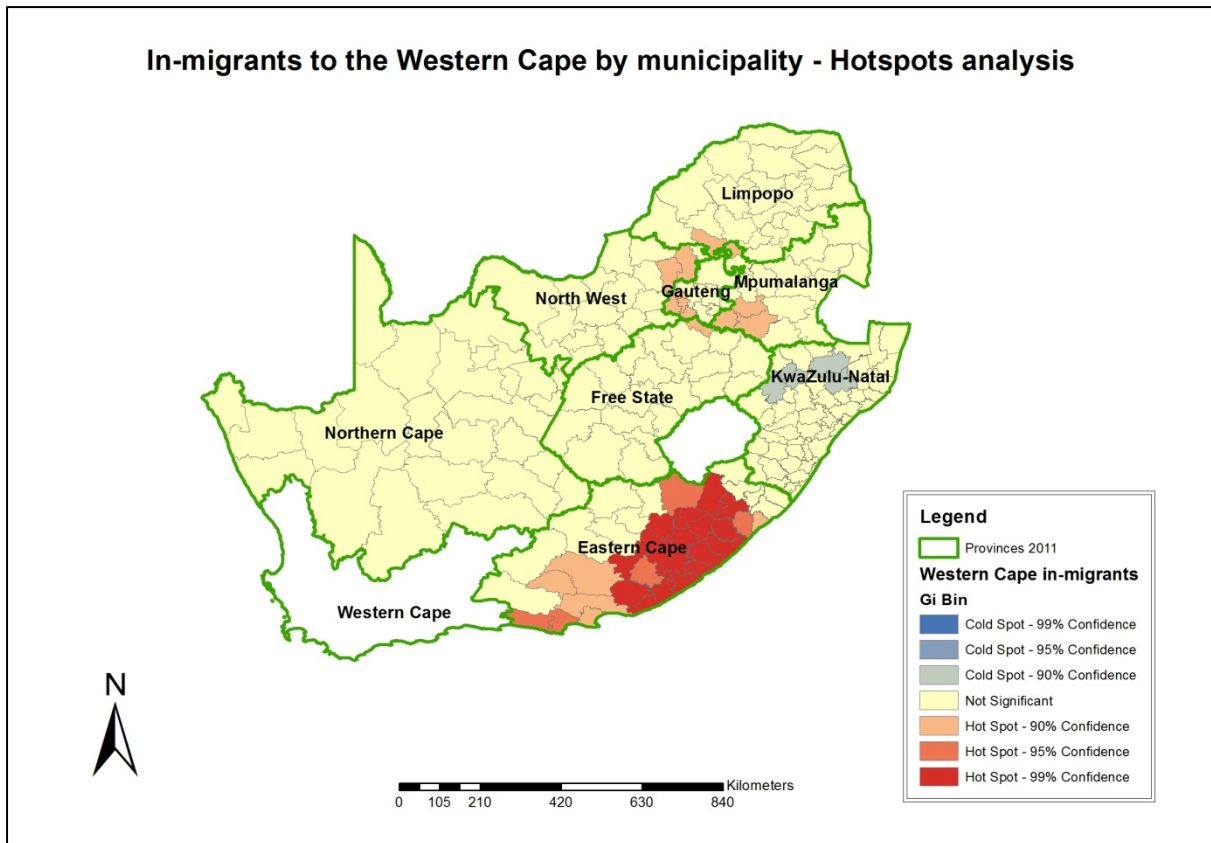


Figure 4.2 In-migration to the Western Cape by municipality of origin – Hotspot analysis

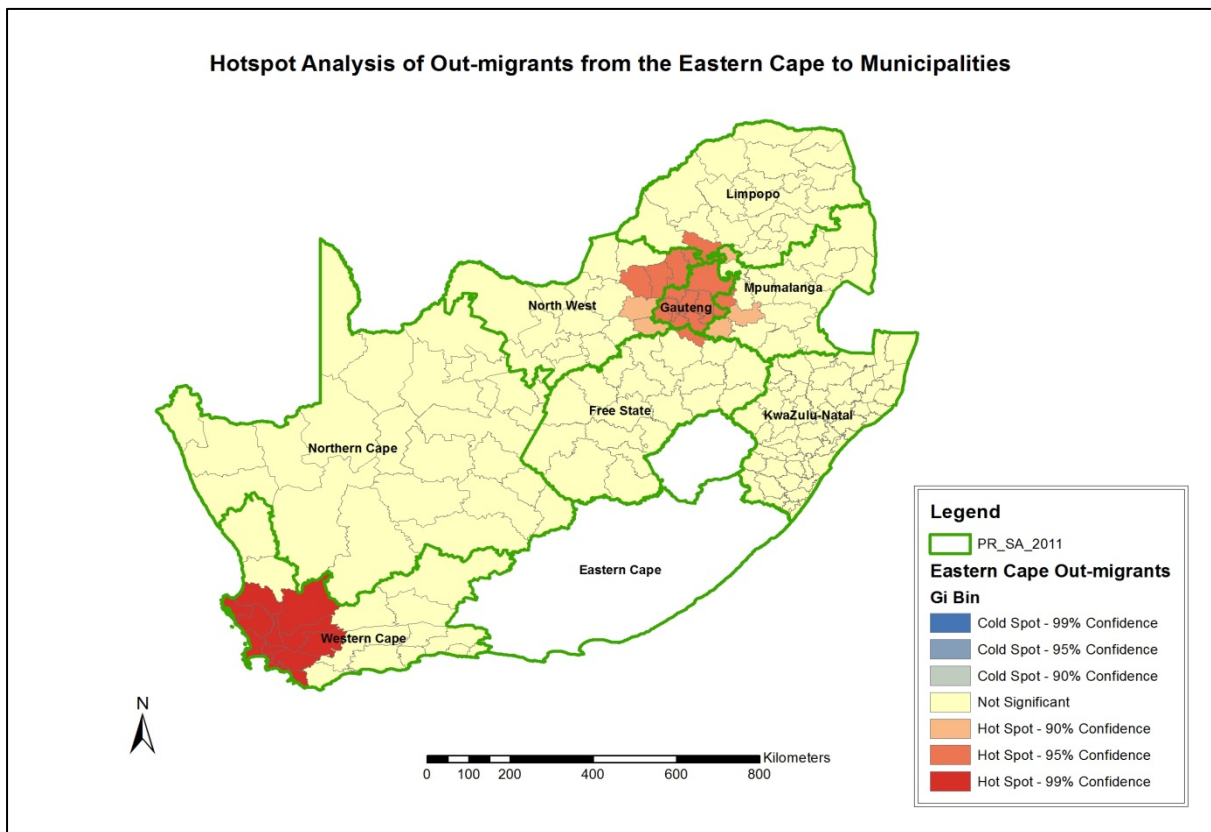


Figure 4.3 Out-migration from Eastern Cape by municipality of destination – hotspot analysis

The hotspot analysis of out-migration from the Eastern Cape indicates areas with a spatially significant clustering of receiving migrants from the Eastern Cape (Figure 4.3). The most significant hotspot (99% confidence) for out-migration from the Eastern Cape is the City of Cape Town and surrounding municipalities in the Western Cape and a secondary cluster in Gauteng and immediately surrounding areas (95% confidence).

#### 4.3 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF MIGRANTS

The analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of migrants is disaggregated into four categories. The Eastern Cape (52%) and Gauteng (22%) is the main areas of origin of in-migrants to the Western Cape and is analysed as individual entities. The other provinces have proportionately smaller numbers of in-migrants and are therefore grouped as “Other provinces”. The fourth category is the total for all in-migrants.

##### 4.3.1 Age and gender of in-migrants

The youth aged 15-35 years is clearly the most mobile and migratory component of the population (Figure 4.4). Most in-migrants are from the youth age group between 15 and 35 years, peaking in the age category between 25 and 29 years. In-migrants from the Eastern Cape are generally younger compared to those from Gauteng and the other provinces, and are in search of jobs, education and better services in the better-resourced provinces (Bekker 2001; Todes 2001; Collinson, Kok & Garenne 2006). The migration stream is clearly focussed on municipalities with better economic opportunities (see Figure 4.5) such as to the City of Cape Town, Saldanha Bay, George and the intensive agricultural area of Witzenberg (productionism). A third important trend that can be identified from Figure 4.5 is the significant in-migration to municipalities adjacent to the Eastern Cape. This could possibly be ascribed to in-migrants from the Eastern Cape trying to limit the distance of their movement due to cost limitations.

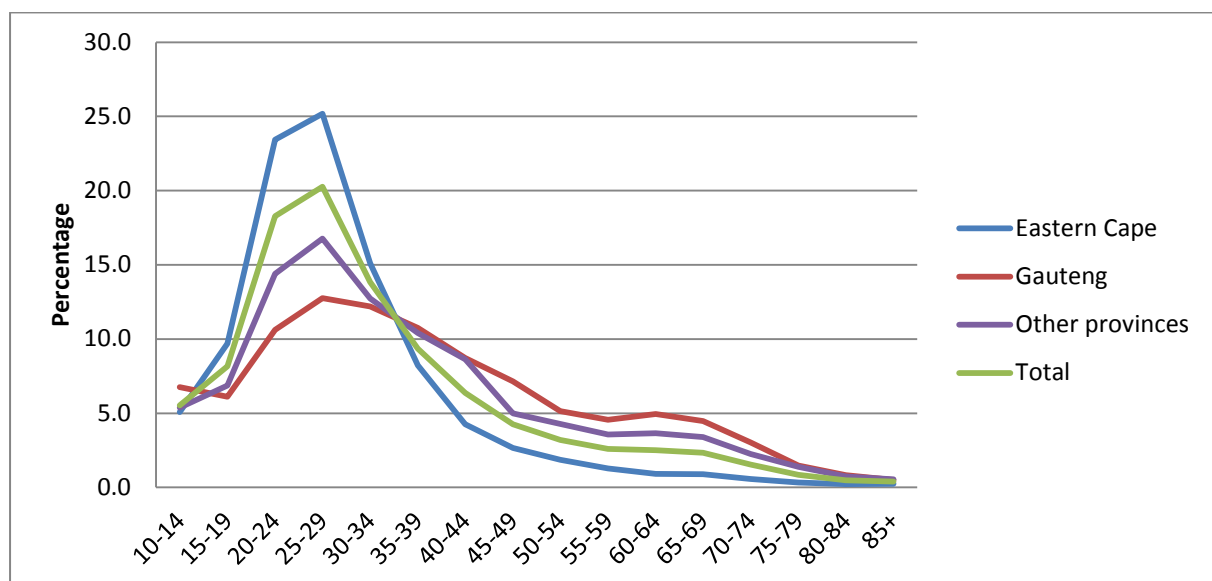


Figure 4.4 Age group of in-migrants to Western Cape



However, the main source area of migrants in the age category older than 35 years is Gauteng. This component of the population (especially those older than 50 years of age) is possibly migrating to mainly municipal areas containing intermediate-sized cities and smaller towns for environmental and social reasons, such as retirement, or in search of a higher quality lifestyle. These migrants are mainly from the other metropolitan cities in the country with the preferred settlement areas as the City of Cape Town and surrounding municipalities such as Stellenbosch and Overstrand, as well as the coastal areas of George and Mossel Bay (see Figure 4.6).

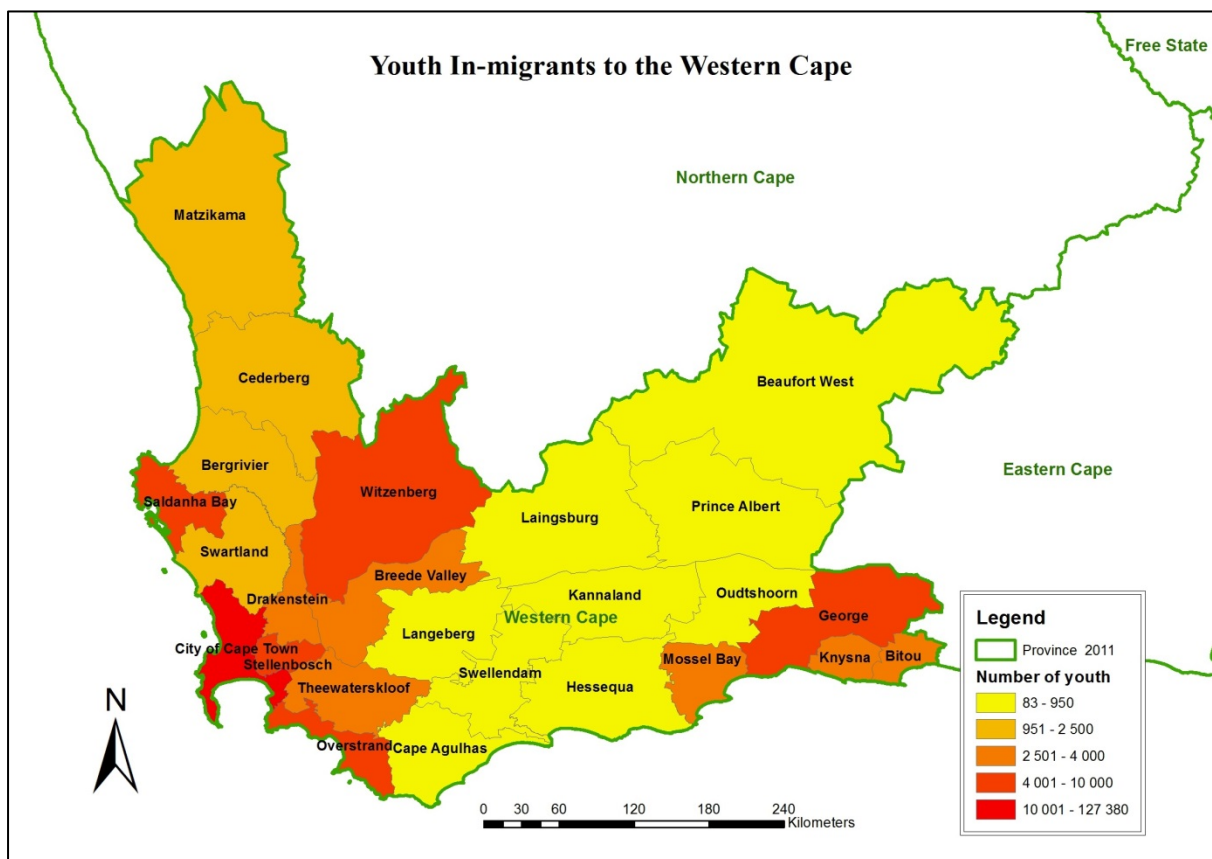


Figure 4.5 Youth (15-35 years) in-migrants to Western Cape

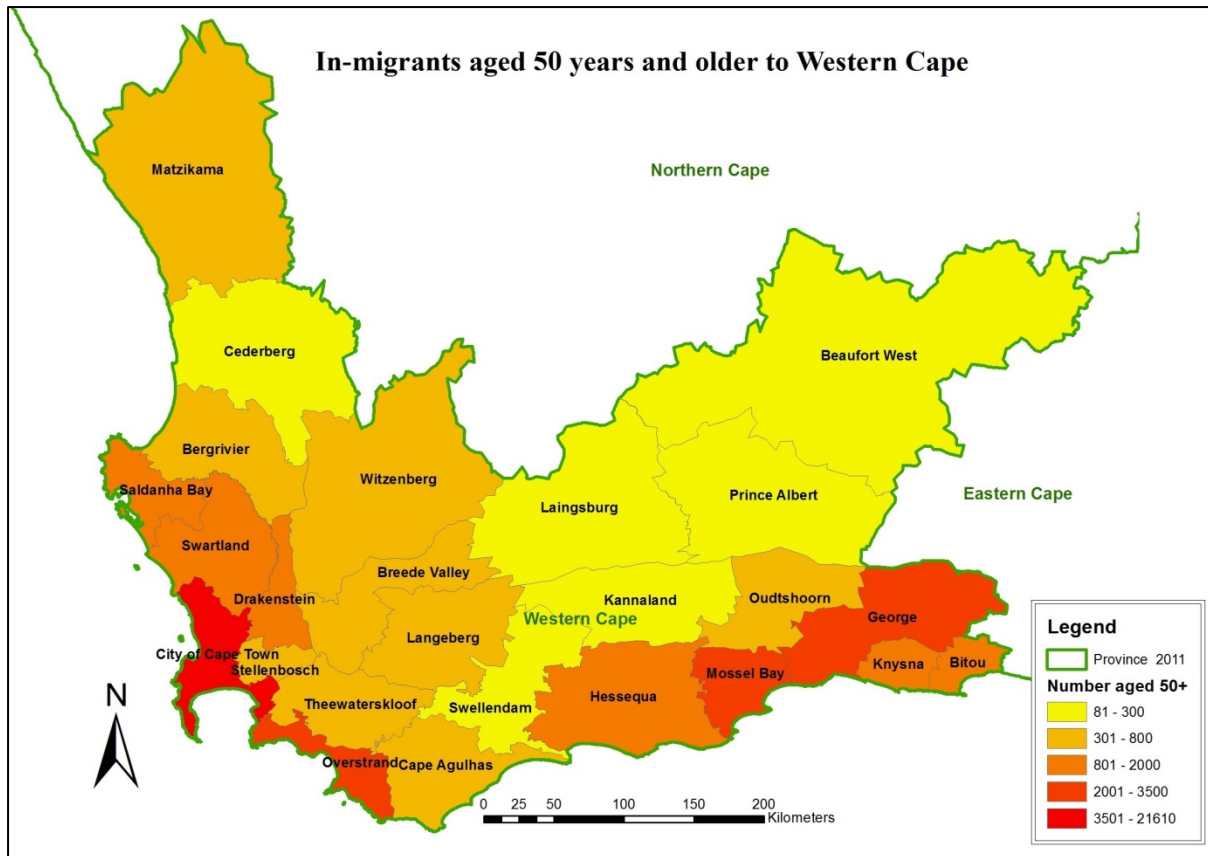


Figure 4.6 In-migrants aged 50 years and older to Western Cape

In-migrants to the Western Cape are slightly male-dominated (51.5%). These figures thus do not lend support to the argument that the gender of migrants can be an obstacle to migration, as reported in some literature (Massey et al. 2003; Camlin, Snow & Hosegood 2014).

Table 4.4 Gender of in-migrants to Western Cape

Province of origin	Gender of in-migrant (%)	
	Male	Female
Eastern Cape	49.9	50.1
Gauteng	51.6	48.4
Other provinces	54.8	45.2
Total in-migrants	51.5	48.5

### 4.3.2 Level of education

One of the important push and pull factors in migration decision-making is the desire of migrants to increase their probability to attain better employment by improving their education and that of their children. The majority of in-migrants from the Eastern Cape (48.3%) have only completed some secondary education (Grade 8-11), a further 26.0%

completed Grade 12, and only 7.8% have tertiary education (Figure 4.7). A significantly higher percentage (35.4%) of in-migrants from Gauteng had completed some form of tertiary education, and a further 32.4% have completed Grade 12. Only 9.3% of migrants to the Western Cape is functionally illiterate (education less than Grade 7), and only 1.5% is completely illiterate without any form of schooling. The better educated proportion of the population is thus more migratory than the illiterate and low-skilled.

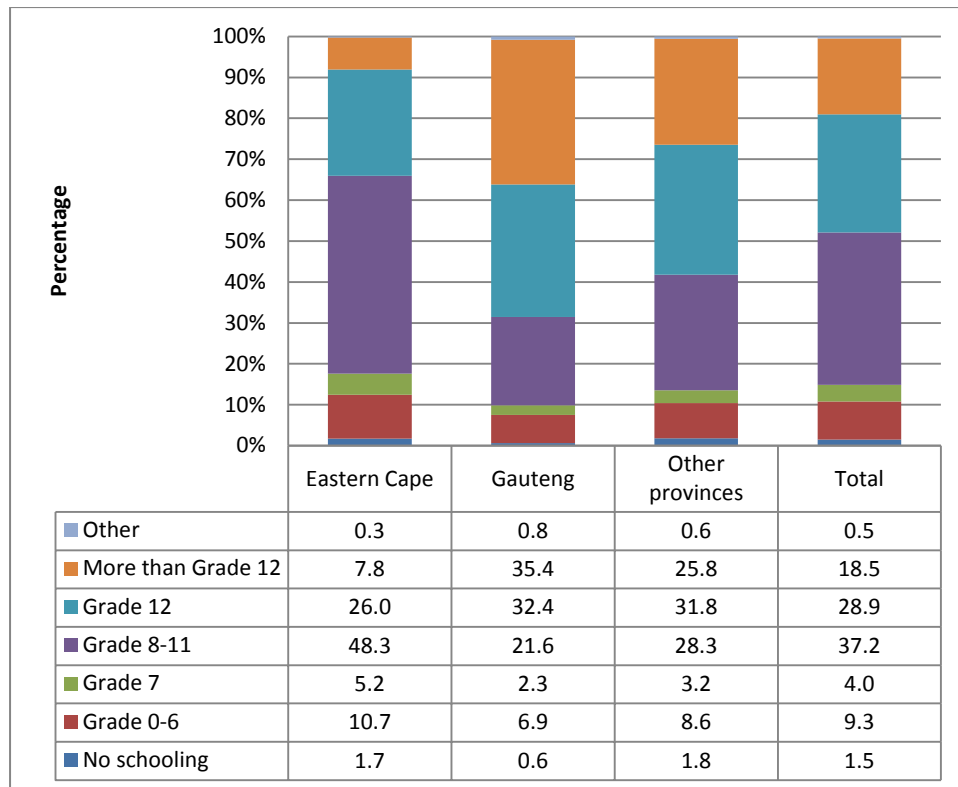


Figure 4.7 Highest level of education of in-migrants to Western Cape

A very clear spatial differentiation is evident when comparing the origin of migrants according to level of education. Figure 4.8 shows that the number of low-skilled in-migrants (Grade 7 or less) to the Western Cape mainly originates from Gauteng, the Eastern Cape, and the metropolitan municipality of eThekweni. The City of Cape Town received the highest proportion of low-skilled in-migrants (55.9% of all low-skilled migrants) to the Western Cape (Figure 4.9). The intensive agricultural areas of Witzenberg (5.2%) and Theewaterskloof (3.5%) with its requirement for a significant number of low-skilled, and in many instances seasonal workers, also attracted a significant proportion of low-skilled migrants. Municipalities with the limited economic activities such as Laingsburg, Prince Albert, and Kannaland attracted only small fractions of the low-skilled in-migrants.

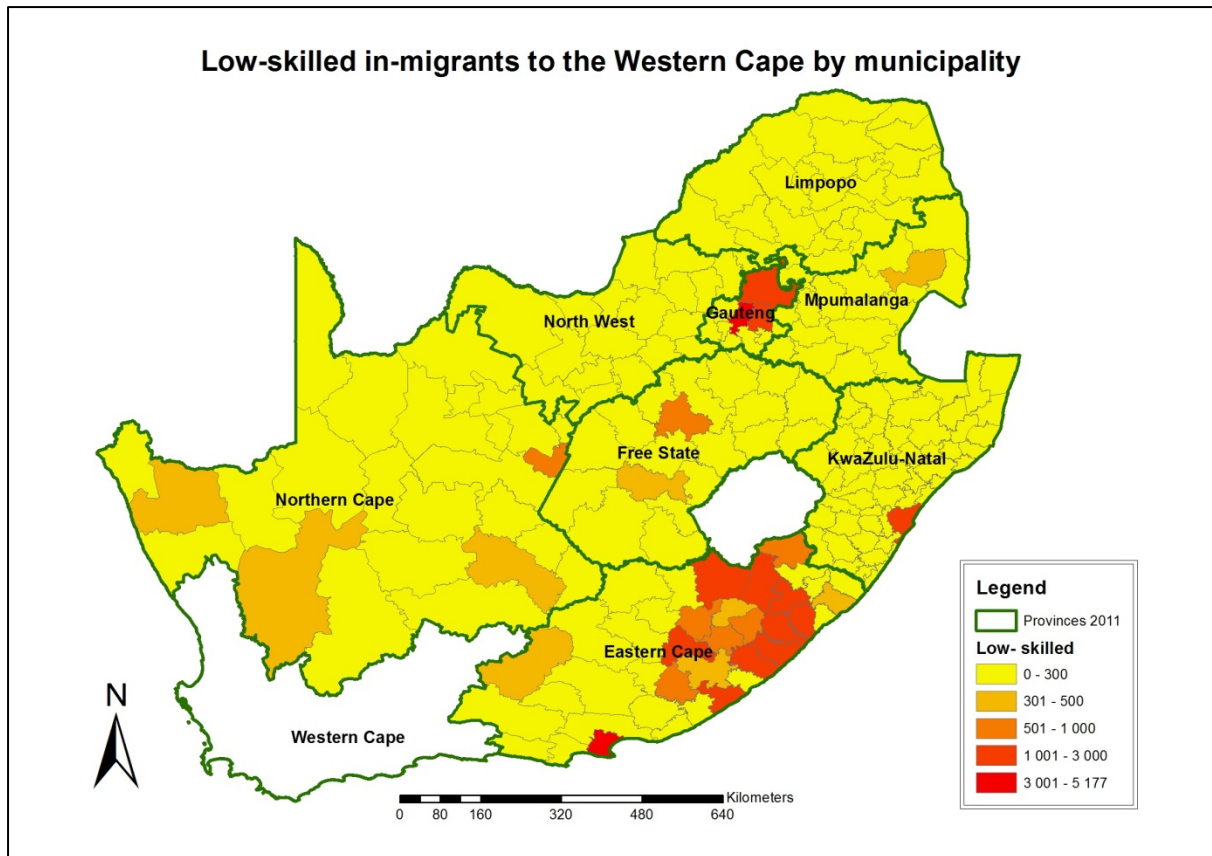
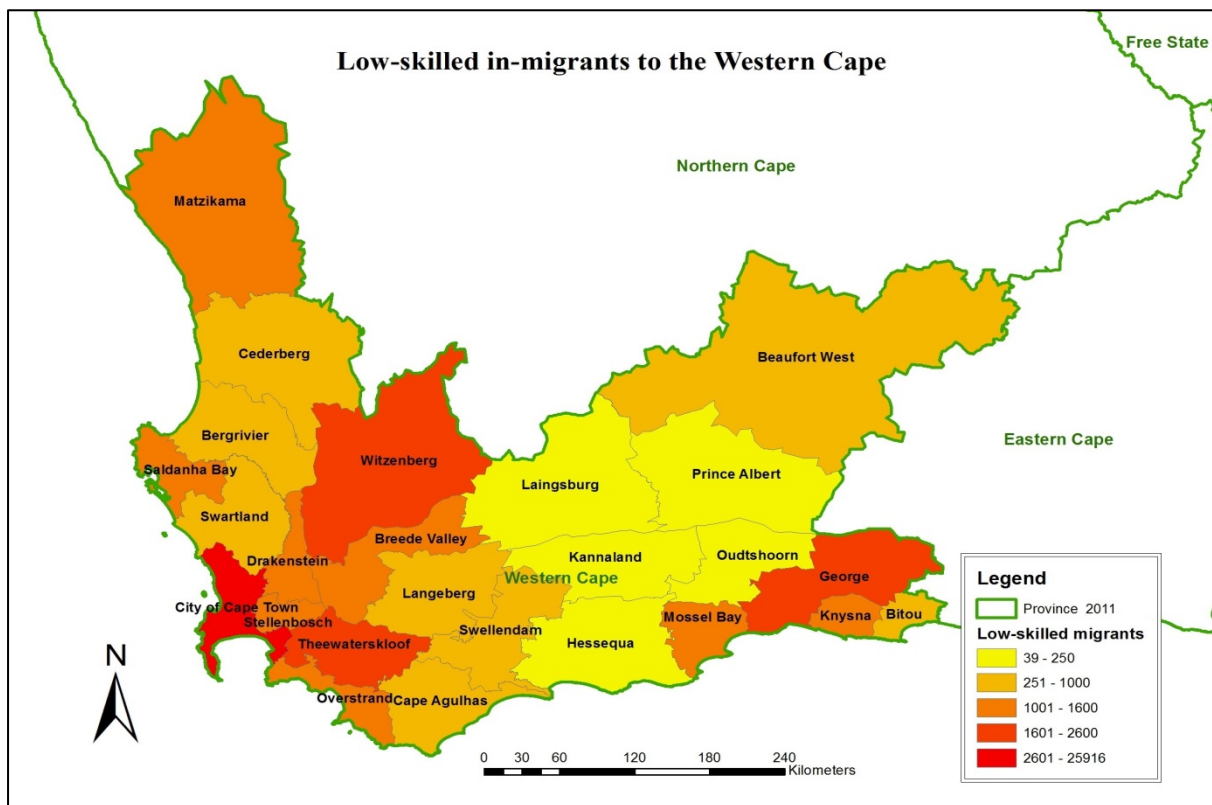


Figure 4.8 Origin of low-skilled (Grade 7 or less) in-migrants to Western Cape



Note: Low skill = Grade 7 or less

Figure 4.9 Low-skilled in-migrants to Western Cape

In-migrants with tertiary education predominantly originated from the three metropolitan municipalities in Gauteng, Nelson Mandela Bay, eThekwin, and to a lesser extent from Buffalo City and Mangaung (Figure 4.11). As much as 34.8 % of migrants to the Western Cape with tertiary education originate from these seven metropolitan areas. These migrants are clearly attracted to municipalities with higher levels of economic activity and the need for more specialised skills such as the City of Cape Town (39 464) and the two adjacent municipalities of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, as well as George and Mossel Bay (Figure 4.12).

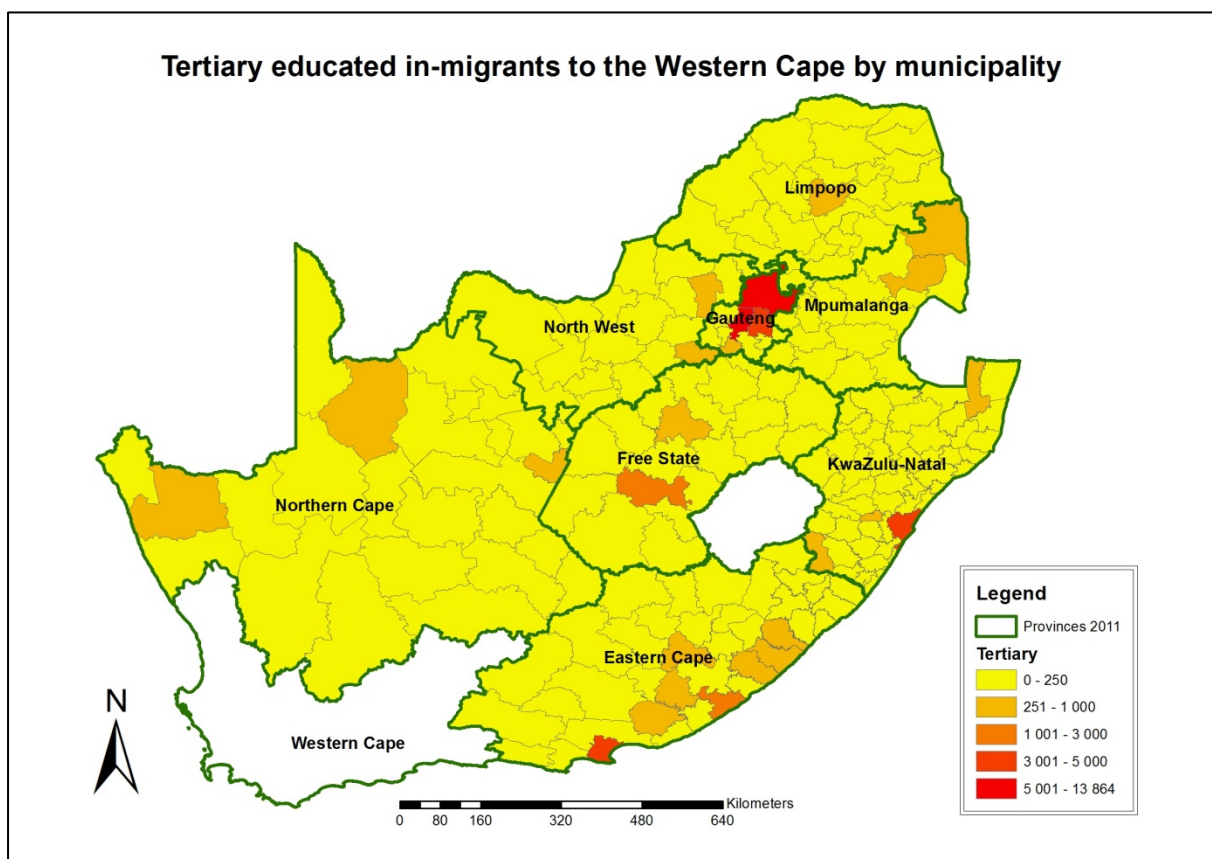


Figure 4.10 Origin of tertiary-educated in-migrants to Western Cape

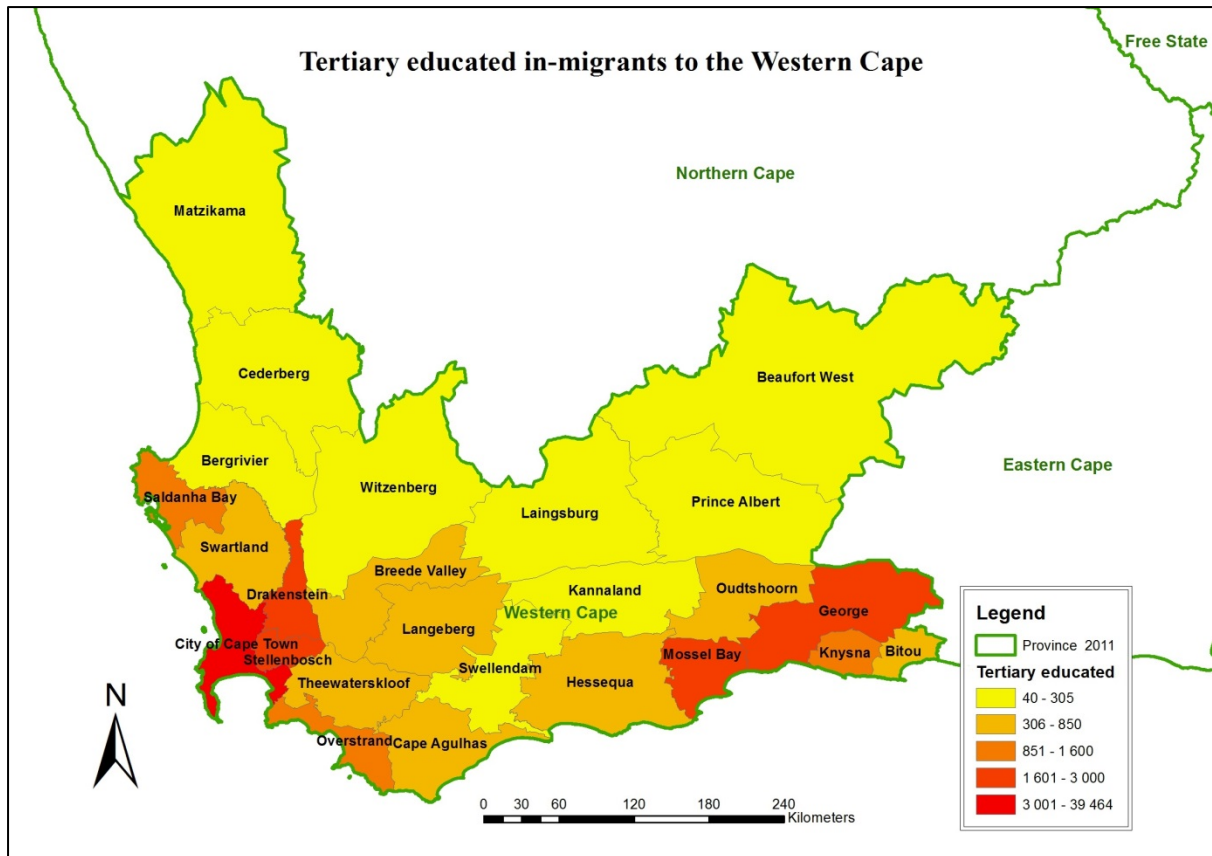


Figure 4.11 Tertiary educated in-migrants to Western Cape

### 4.3.3 Employment status

Unemployment and poverty are major push factors contributing to migration from source areas but does not always produce positive outcomes for the migrants and hence they often remain unemployed in the destination area (Kok & Collinson 2006). As much as 32.5% of in-migrants from the Eastern Cape are unemployed, with a further 23.3% not economically active population (Figure 4.12). In stark contrast, only 8.0% of migrants from Gauteng and 8.2% from other provinces are unemployed while more than two thirds can be classified as employed.

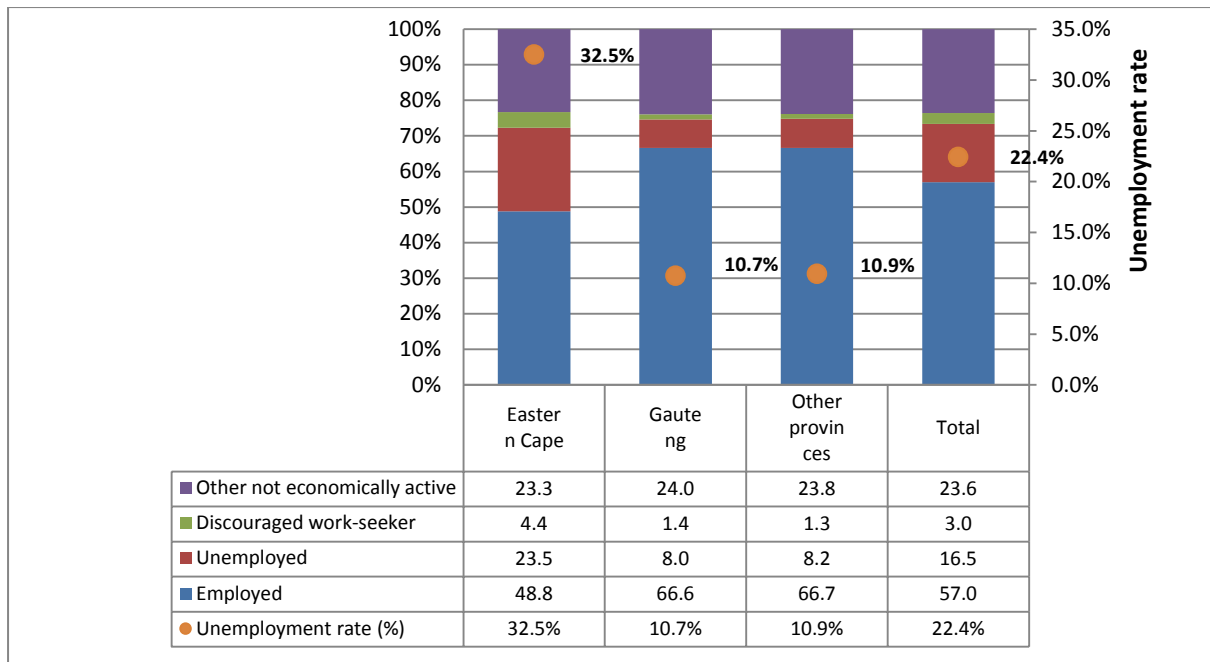


Figure 4.12 Official employment status of in-migrants to Western Cape

The highest number of unemployed in-migrants to the Western Cape originates from the two Eastern Cape metropolitan municipalities of Nelson Mandela Bay (12.4% of unemployed migrants to Western Cape) and Buffalo City (8.9%), as well the King Sabata Dalindyebo (7.2%) and surrounding municipalities such as Mbhashe (6.1%), Mnquma (5.5%), and Nyandeni (3.3%). The only other significant source of unemployed migrants to the Western Cape outside the Eastern Cape is the City of Johannesburg (6.8%) (see Figure 4.13). The vast majority of unemployed in-migrants settle in the City of Cape Town (70.9% of unemployed in-migrants to Western Cape), as well as in the Overstrand (4.2%), George (3.3%), Saldanha Bay (3.2%) and Mossel Bay (2.5%) municipalities (Figure 4.14). This indicates that the unemployed in-migrants mostly migrate as a result of the productionist reasons to the Cape Town city region and municipalities with intermediate-sized cities characterised by higher levels of economic activity.

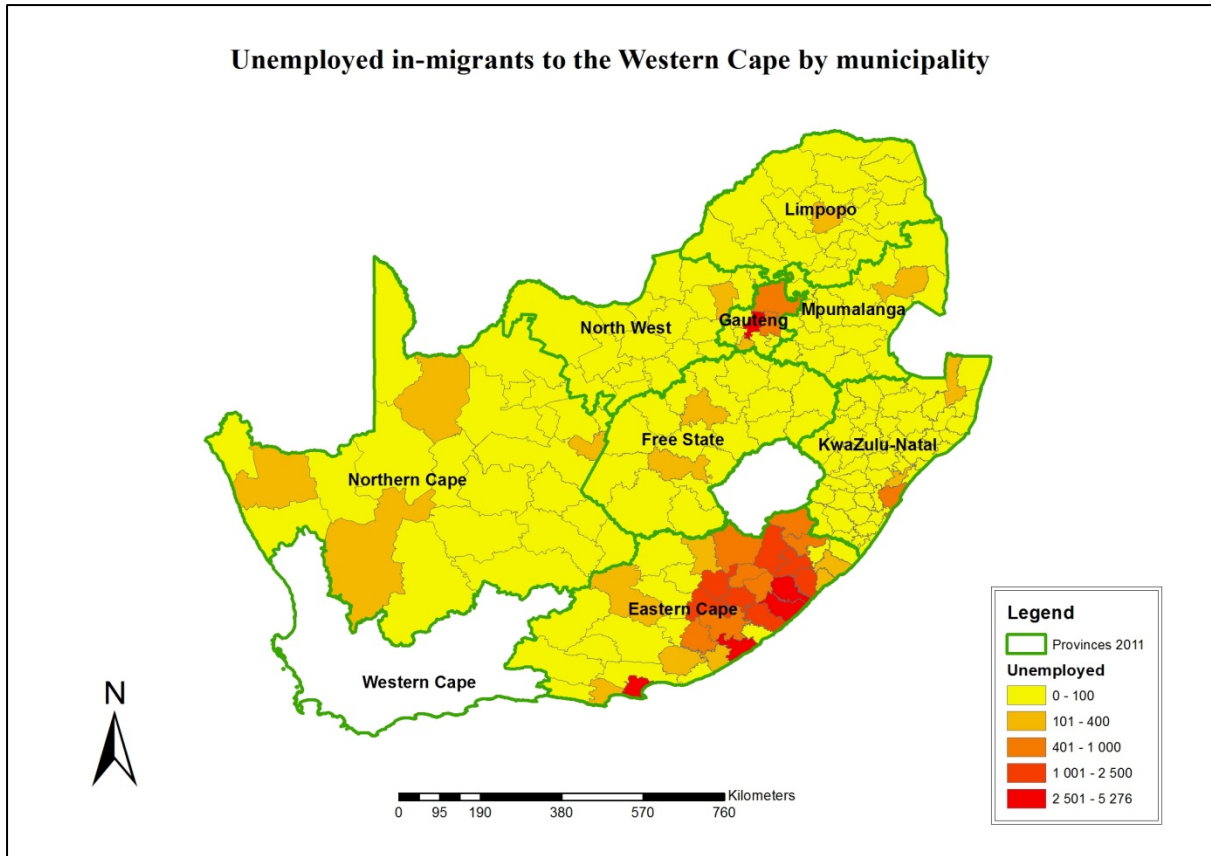


Figure 4.13 Origin of unemployed in-migrants to Western Cape

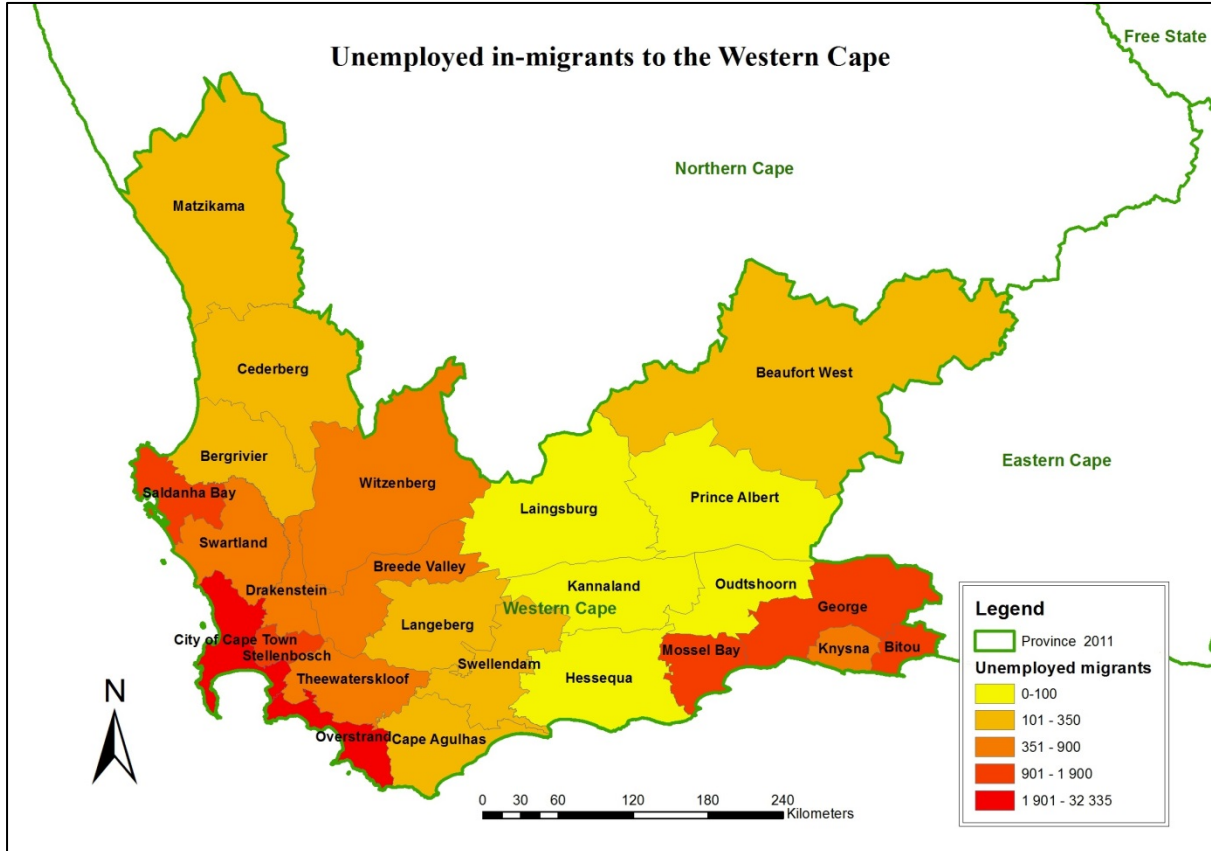


Figure 4.14 Unemployed in-migrants to Western Cape



#### 4.3.4 Income patterns of migrants

Individualised rewards such as income is an important factor in migration decision-making with the motivation of many migrants stemming from a desire to lift themselves out of poverty and improve their living conditions (Kok et al. 2006). As much as 87.8% of migrants from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape had either no income or low income (Table 4.5), while only 12.2% is classified as medium or high income earners. By contrast, only 49.1% of migrants from Gauteng had no or low income and as much as 50.9% is classified as persons with a medium or high income.

Table 4.5 Annual income of in-migrants to Western Cape (percentage)

	Eastern Cape	Gauteng	Other provinces	Total
No income	46.3	30.1	28.7	38.2
Low income	41.5	19.0	31.0	33.9
Medium income	8.4	23.8	22.2	15.3
High income	3.8	27.1	18.0	12.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Low income = R1 – R 38 400; medium income = R38 401 – R153 600; high income = R 153 601 or more.

Source: Statistics South Africa (2014)

Low-income migrants to the Western Cape mainly originate from municipalities in the Eastern Cape such as Nelson Mandela Bay (11.2% of all low-income migrants to Western Cape), Buffalo City (7.5%) and King Sabata Dalindyebo (4.9%) and surrounding areas in the Eastern Cape (see Figure 4.15). The majority of these low-income migrants settle in the City of Cape Town (63.0% of low-income migrants to Western Cape) (Figure 4.16).

The high income migrants to the Western Cape almost exclusively originate from the seven metropolitan municipalities outside the Western Cape, jointly accounting for 66.7% of all high income migrants to the Western Cape (Figure 4.17). The main destination of these high income migrants are the the City of Cape Town, and municipalities containing intermediate-sized cities such as Drakenstein, and George (Figure 4.18). Environmentalism is thus an important factor influencing migration decisions to these municipalities in the Western Cape.

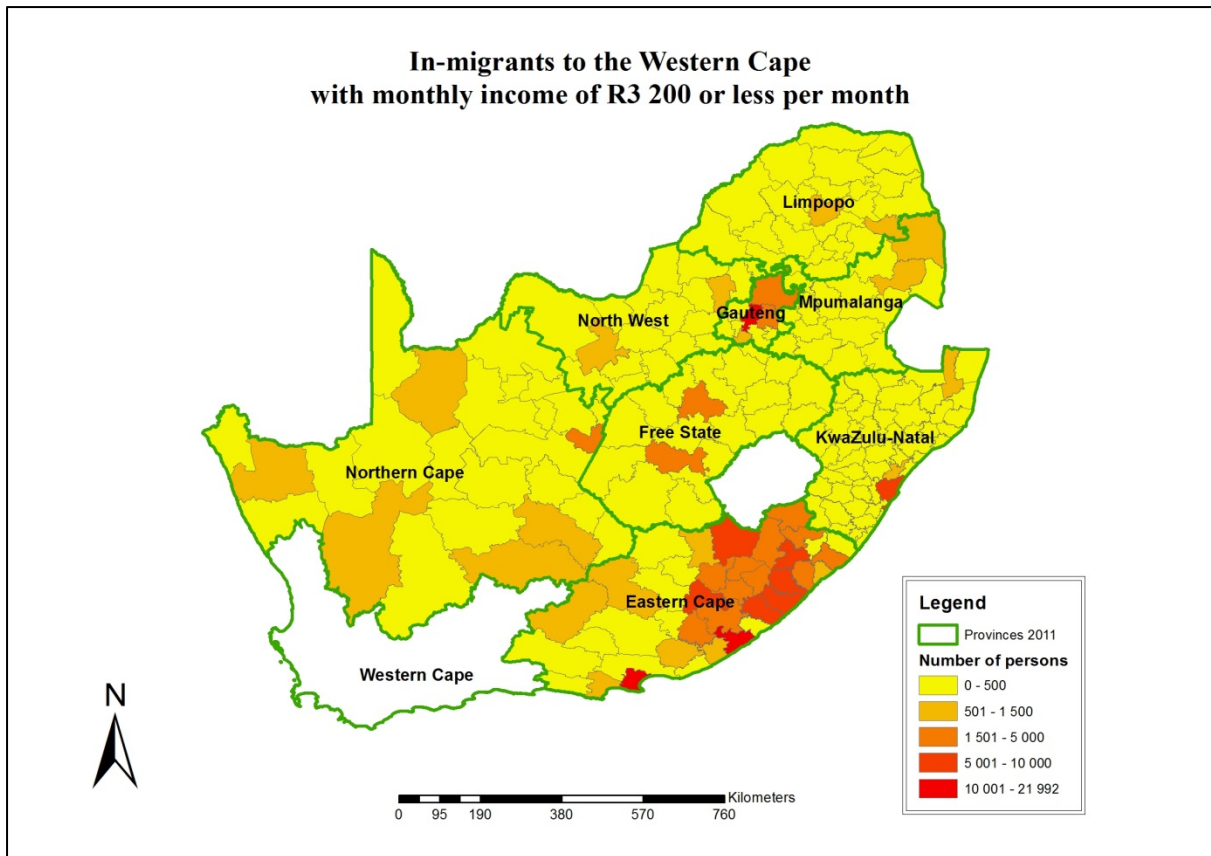


Figure 4.15 Origin of in-migrants to Western Cape with low income

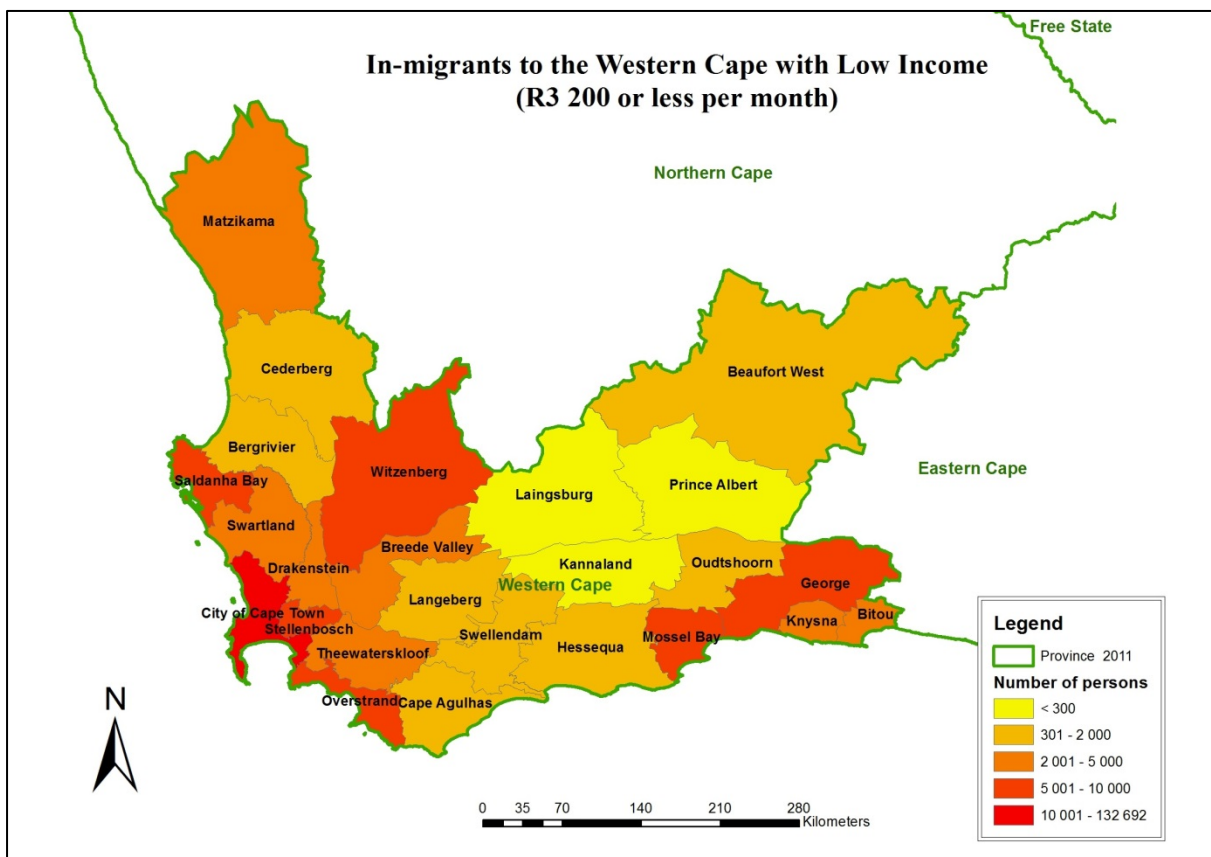


Figure 4.16 In-migrants with low income to Western Cape

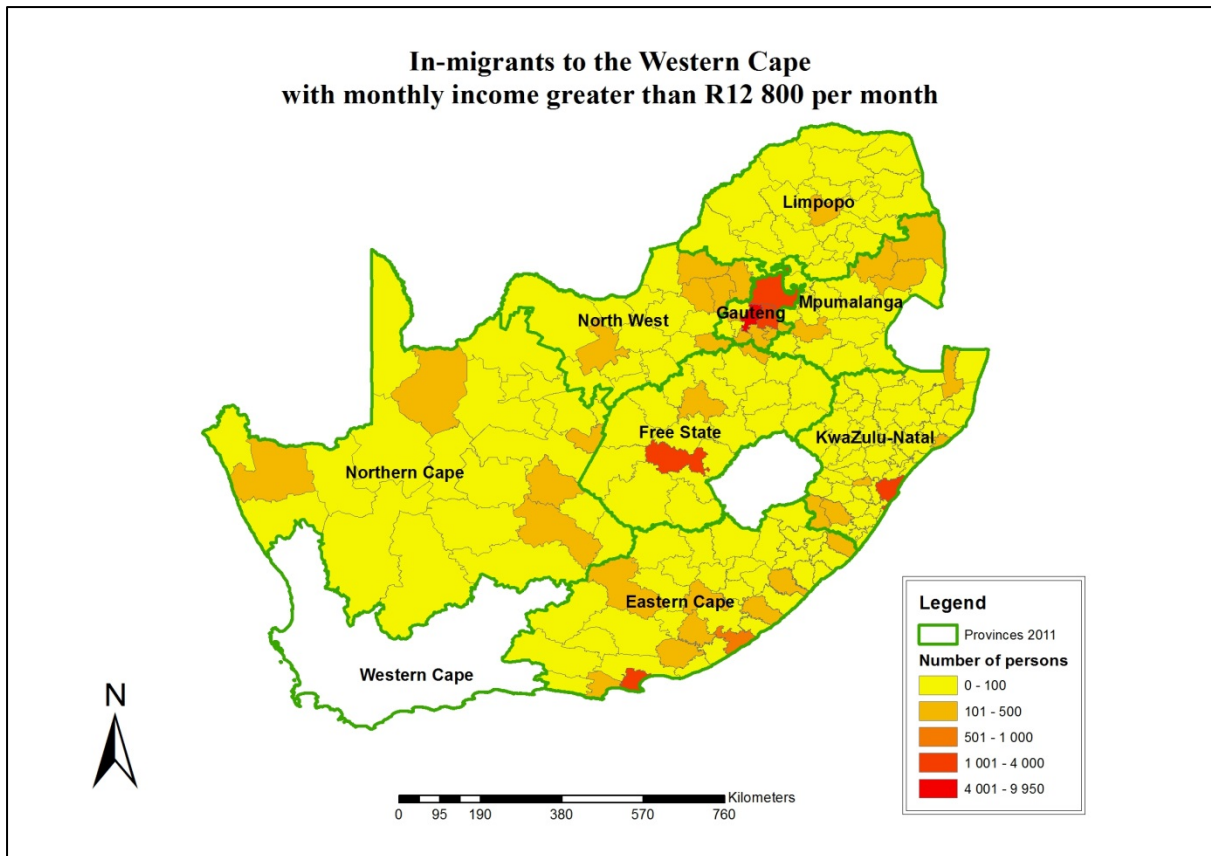


Figure 4.17 Origin of in-migrants to Western Cape with high income

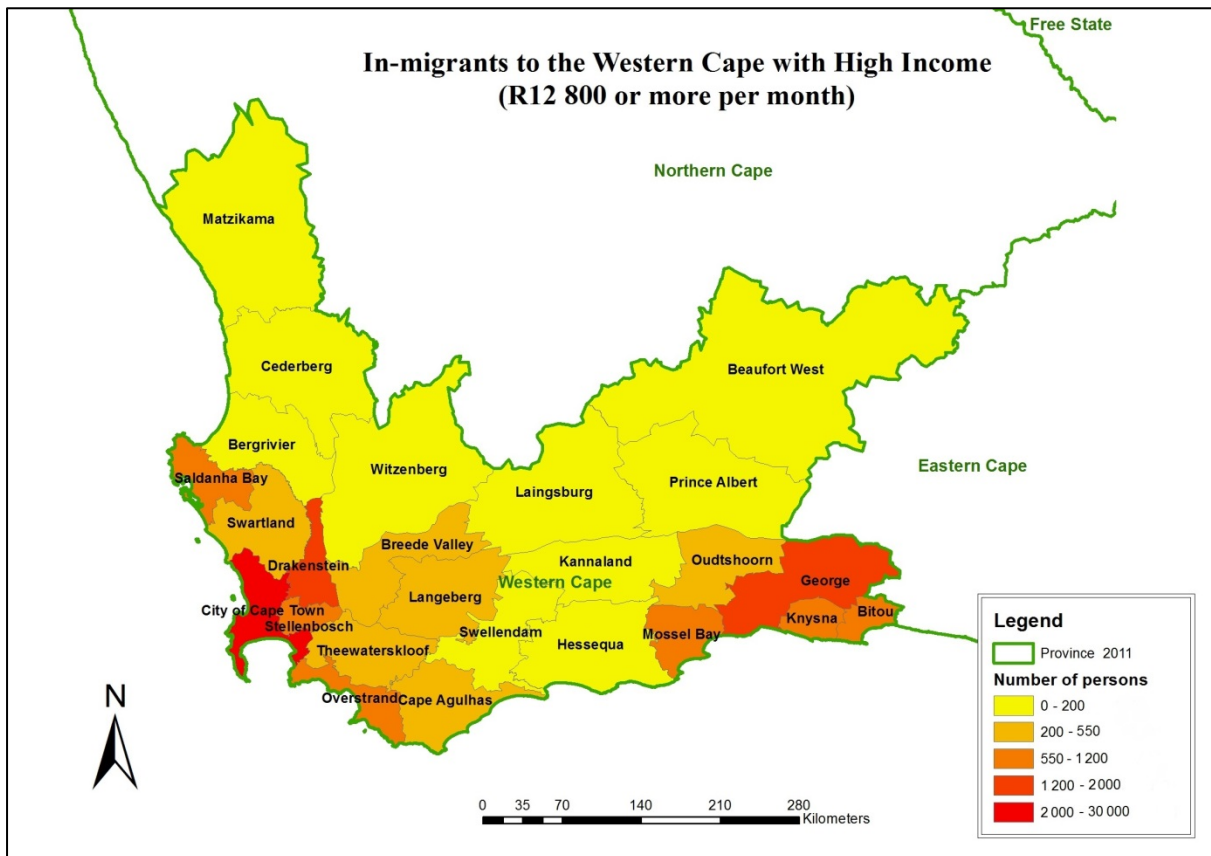


Figure 4.18 In-migrants to Western Cape with high income

### 4.3.5 Marital status

Married in-migrants are generally more limited in their migration choices as they have spouses and families which form part of their family unit, for which they must provide in the source and destination areas. In contrast, single persons can migrate more easily, as they are less attached to family (Kok et al. 2006, Bijker & Haartsen 2012, Camlin, Snow & Hosegood 2014). This is clearly also applicable to migrants to the Western Cape with the majority (48.7%) are classified as single persons never married (Figure 4.19). This figure is even higher for migrants from the Eastern Cape (58.7% never married), and those who are mainly from the younger age categories and in search of employment, education and better services (driven by productionism). In stark contrast, the majority of migrants from Gauteng are married (46.6%). As indicated in Figure 4.4, Gauteng dominates the group of migrants older than 40 years of age and who are more likely to be married and relocating due to the principle of environmentalism.

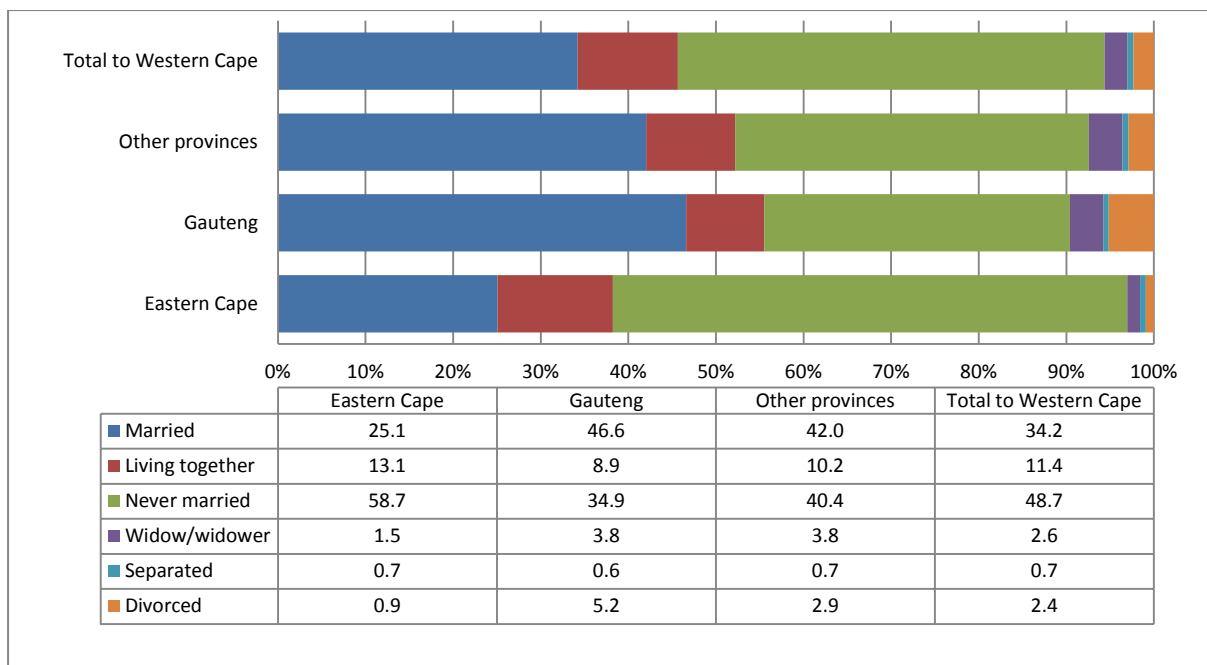


Figure 4.19 Marital status of in-migrants to Western Cape

### 4.3.6 Type of dwelling

Migrants often first settle in low rental accommodation in backyard shacks or in informal dwellings where accommodation is cheaper while searching for employment (Kok & Collinson 2006). Although the largest proportion of in-migrants (68.0%) to the Western Cape is residing in formal housing, 9.4% is now residing in informal dwellings in backyards and as much as 21.9% in informal settlements (Table 4.6). As much as 51.4% of migrants from the Eastern Cape is residing in informal housing, with the comparative figures for Gauteng (8.3%) and other provinces (12.6%) substantially lower.

Table 4.6 Type of dwelling of in-migrants to Western Cape

Type of Dwelling	Province of origin (percentage)			Total in-migrants
	Eastern Cape	Gauteng	Other provinces	
Formal dwelling	48.0	91.1	86.6	68.0
Informal dwelling in backyard	14.2	3.5	5.4	9.4
Informal dwelling not in backyard	37.2	4.8	7.2	21.9
Other	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics South Africa (2014)

The City of Cape Town clearly bears the brunt of migrants housed in informal housing (80 962), followed by Stellenbosch (3 067), Drakenstein (2 441) and Oudtshoorn (2 260) (Figure 4.20).

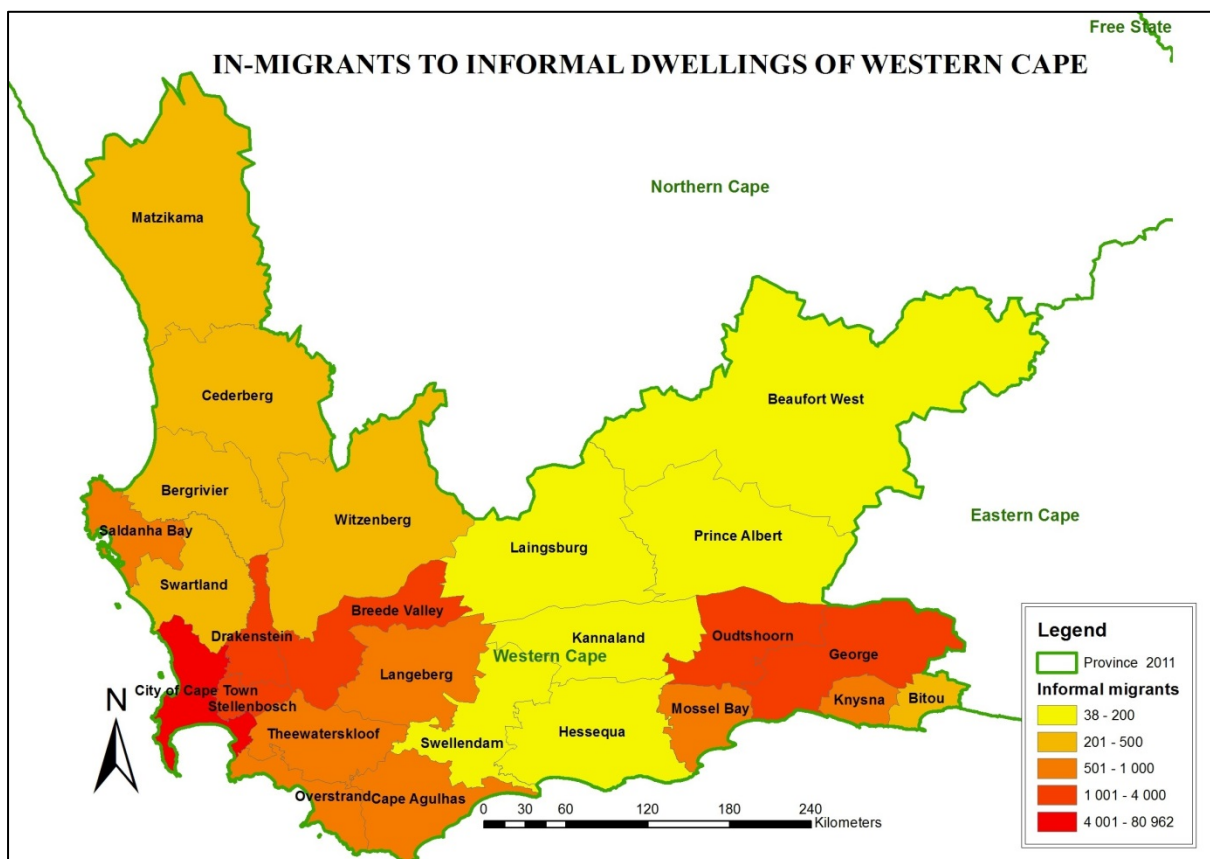


Figure 4.20 In-migrants living in informal dwellings of Western Cape

## **5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS**

The first two objectives of the research were to examine in-migration patterns and trends to the Western Cape over the period 2001 to 2011 and to analyse potential changes and trends that may be hidden by aggregated migration data through spatial data and clustering analysis. The third objective is to define the socio-economic profile and household characteristics of in-migrants to the Western Cape. The results indicate that the Western Cape received 312 013 in-migrants from other provinces between 2001 and 2011, of which 162 380 originated from the Eastern Cape. The mainstream of in-migrants can be summarised as fairly equally distributed between male and female, mostly unmarried (48.7%) and of a youthful age (mostly between 25 and 29 years of age), with a low income (72.1% with an annual income of less than R38 200), moderately skilled (37.2% who completed some secondary education and 28.9% with Grade 12), many of them unemployed (16.5%) or not economically active (23.6%) and as much as 31.3% living in informal dwellings in backyards or informal settlements. There is however also an important second sub-stream of migrants consisting of the relatively affluent, highly skilled, married, and older migrants from the metropolitan cities in the country, especially Gauteng. The results of the Hotspot analysis of in-migrants to the Western Cape showed significant hotspots from municipalities in the Eastern Cape, and municipalities in and around Gauteng. This confirms a strong migration link between the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape.

The final objective was to interpret these migration patterns within the theoretical framework of Differential Urbanisation (DU) and identify potential underlying regional main and sub-stream migration patterns. Strong migration patterns exist between municipalities in the Eastern Cape and other parts of the country and specifically the Cape Town city region and intermediate-sized coastal municipalities in the Western Cape. The characteristics of the main migrant stream suggest the dominance of productionism as primary motivating factor. There is a continued strong mainstream of migrants to the provincial primate city of Cape Town. The more subtle migration streams to municipalities adjacent to the EC and containing intermediate-sized cities may also reflect some element of polarisation reversal. There is also a discernable sub-stream of migrants aged older than 35 years motivated by environmentalism and favouring the coastal municipalities of Overstrand, Mossel Bay, George, Knysna and Bitou in the Western Cape.

### **5.2 IMPLICATIONS**

The potential implications of these interprovincial migration patterns and the characteristics of the migrants are important to municipalities in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape. The Western Cape has grown over the ten-year period between censuses, irrespective of characteristics of population (level of education, employment status, income). These population and migration trends affect the allocation of the national budget to municipalities and service delivery outputs to communities that are growing (such as the City of Cape Town and surrounding municipalities). It also causes strain on the resources of smaller and less

economically vibrant municipalities such as Theewaterskloof and Witzenberg receiving a substantial proportion of the unemployed and low-skilled migrants. The receiving municipalities need to manage the increased unemployed population and provide employment with the help of the business sector in the province. The source municipalities (Eastern Cape) have to deal with an aging population as a result of mainly the youth migrating to other provinces, with the majority migrating to the City of Cape Town and coastal cities in the Western Cape, adjacent to the Eastern Cape.

Table 5.1 Implications on characteristics of migration

<b>VARIABLE</b>	<b>IMPLICATION</b>
<b>PERSON VARIABLES</b>	
Gender	The evidence does not support the literature that there are restrictions placed on female migrants.
Age group	Age is an important determinant of migration to the Western Cape. Those aged 15-35 are more likely to migrate for jobs, income and services to the City of Cape Town and surrounding cities. A youthful migrant population implies the provision of specific types of social facilities such as educational facilities in the receiving municipalities. The municipalities receiving mostly older migrants (50 must deal with an aging population.
Highest education level	Lower skilled migrants (Grade 7 or less) are most likely to move to the informal areas of the City of Cape Town. Educational and other social support services will have to be provided for these migrants.
Income category	Low income (R38 400 or less) migrants account for 87.8% of in-migrants to the Western Cape, of which 63.0% end up in the City of Cape Town. Many households will thus be classified as indigent and in need of affordable basic services.
Employment status	The unemployment rate (32.5%) of in-migrants from the Eastern Cape mostly settling in the City of Cape Town (70.9% of unemployed in-migrants to Western Cape) implies the need for access to both economic opportunities and social support facilities.
Marital status	Never married population were more likely to move to the City of Cape Town and surroundings, as well as George and surrounding municipalities. The married population moved to the coastal areas between the Eastern Cape and Cape Town. Most married in-migrants originated from Gauteng to Western Cape for environmental reasons.
<b>HOUSEHOLD VARIABLES</b>	
Type of main dwelling	Most in-migrants (31.3%) live in informal dwellings, thus potentially requiring formal housing and associated basic services.

This research provides migration trends and differentials, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants to the Western Cape over the period 2001 to 2011. It also provides a spatial differentiation of the origin (municipalities) and identified both main and sub-stream migration patterns to the Western Cape. The results provide an important contribution to

understanding migration dynamics to the Western Cape in order to inform planning and policy formulation.

### **5.3 POSSIBLE LIMITATIONS OF STUDY AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

An important limitation of the study is the unavailability of economic sector data in the migration theme of the census data, thus precluding any analysis of the occupational categories of migrants. This data can potentially uncover many critical productionist orientated migration decision-making. A second limitation related to the format of the census data is that the census migration data is not presented at main place or sub-place level (only municipal level) which would be required to identify more subtle migration patterns at a disaggregated level. In the interpretation of the results it should also be borne in mind that the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants reflect their profile in the destination areas and it is thus not possible to ascertain their prior circumstances in the municipalities of origin. The value of this research can be further supplemented by additional research in the following areas:

- More detailed research on the push factors at play in the provinces that are main senders of migrants to the Western Cape and the implication thereof for policy and strategy development. Further research should specifically investigate out-migration patterns and trends from the Eastern Cape over the ten year period between the censuses.
- Local surveys to further investigate the qualitative aspects influencing migration decision-making to the Western Cape (especially factors related to environmentalism).
- Development of a Geographically Weighted Regression model to further analyse the causal relationship between the extent of migration to the Western Cape and underlying contributing factors to provide a tool for exploring the extent and spatial characteristics of future migration to the province.



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