

Coloured migration in the Cape region at the beginning of the twenty-first century

The nature of the urbanisation process among members of the coloured ethnic group in the Western and Northern Cape is changing. Previously, in this region, urbanisation could be described as a process of step-wise gravity flow migration from Cape Town's hinterland to the metropolitan area. This rural-urban process of migration continues, but the favoured destinations are now regional towns rather than Cape Town itself.

Kleurlingmigrasie binne die Kaapse streek aan die begin van die een-en-twintigste eeu

Die aard van die verstedelikingsproses vir lede van die kleurling etniese groep in die Wes- en Noord-Kaap is besig om te verander. Verstedeliking kon vroeër in hierdie streek beskryf word as 'n proses wat stapsgewys plaasgevind het vanuit die landelike hinterland van Kaapstad na die middestad. Hierdie proses van landelike-stedelike-migrasie duur voort, maar gunsteling bestemmings is vandag eerder streeksdorpe en nie meer die stad Kaapstad nie.

During the twentieth century, the port of Cape Town transformed itself from a town of some 150 000 to a city of three million (Bickford-Smith *et al* 1999).¹ Before this period, the cultural traits of various in-migrating and resident groups had mixed and produced new syncretic features (Martin 1999) that were passed on to the next generation. In the second half of this century, however, state policies imposed separation and unequal access to resources on different groups within this population. Accordingly, the identities of coloured, black and white — imposed by the state from above — continued to carry meaning in the lives of Cape Town's residents and those living in its hinterlands. Though rarely the primary identities of residents, these labels are widely acknowledged to be both shared and meaningful (Bekker *et al* 2000).

Coloureds made up the majority of the population in the city as well as throughout the Cape region during the twentieth century. Defined here as comprising the districts² of the Western Cape together with the two southern districts of the Northern Cape, this region represents the primary area from which coloured migration into Cape Town has taken place. A second major hinterland from which Cape Town's promise of a better life has recently drawn migrants is the Eastern Cape (Cross & Bekker 1999). The majority of in-migrants are black. State restrictions on their movement into the Western Cape and into Cape Town were lifted only late in the twentieth century. The purpose of this article is to establish the nature of coloured migration flow within the Cape Region at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Little recent attention has been paid to such migration. In the Western Cape in particular, almost all the research on migration and urbanisation conducted over the past twenty years has concentrated on black households (cf Dewar *et al* 1991, Mazur & Qangule 1995, Seekings *et al* 1990, Spiegel *et al* 1996). This exclusive focus is recog-

- 1 Research funding from the NRF is gratefully acknowledged. Interpretations offered are the authors' alone.
- 2 The districts used as geographical units in this article were demarcated in the mid-1990s. Newly demarcated districts established at the beginning of 2001 have not been used since the survey research was completed before their demarcation.

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nised by Mabin (1990: 316) who noted the “extremely limited research on the migration of households and communities classified coloured and Indian”. There is accordingly little information available from which to assess changes in the processes of migration and urbanisation that characterised the coloured population of this region in the 1970s and earlier. However, two characteristics prominent at that time will be singled out. The first refers to the step-wise gravity flow process of migration directed at the city of Cape Town; the second to the persistence of a significant rural coloured population in the region.

Sociologists at the University of Stellenbosch have proposed that coloured urbanisation in the 1970s followed “a staged pattern of migration” (Cilliers & Groenewald 1982: 82):

[T]he rate of rural-urban in-migration has accelerated significantly over time [...] Coloured urbanisation at this stage [1960-80] consisted of a movement from farm to both town and city. The migration pattern of Coloureds has thus far been largely in the direction of the larger urban centres by means of a movement from farm to town, to larger towns, to metropolitan areas (Cilliers & Raubenheimer 1986: 86).

Writing in 1976, Lemon (1976: 124) argued that

[...] the rural Coloured population has remained large in the twentieth century. There are several reasons for this. The extension of European fruit and vegetable growing, wine production and mixed farming has provided employment [...] Agricultural production in the winter rainfall area of the Cape also demands much seasonal labour [...] The relatively slow provision of low rent housing for Coloureds in urban areas, with resultant squatting and overcrowding, has also deterred more rapid urbanisation.

In 1977, the SA Institute of Race Relations (Ellis *et al* 1977) reported that some 200 000 people were living in informal shacks in Cape Town. This represented 14% of the city’s population and comprised some 80% coloured and 20% black residents.

This article will pay particular attention to the contemporary nature of urbanisation among coloureds in the Cape region. In addition, particular groups within the coloured population which appear most at risk of poverty will be identified and discussed. A short, largely quantitative demographic history of the coloured population in South Africa will introduce a geographical and socio-economic

profile of this population in the Cape region. The nature of coloured migration within this region will then be identified and described, with particular attention to urbanisation and to marginalised sub-groups within the population. The article will close with some preliminary explanations for these migration profiles.

1. Pertinent aspects of coloured demography during the twentieth century

While remaining marginally below 10% of the total South African population, the coloured population has grown rapidly over the past one hundred years, from an initial figure of less than 500 000 to close on four million at the century's close. The majority of this population has continued to live in the south-west of South Africa, in the Western and Northern Cape provinces in particular (cf Table A1 in Appendix 1). This population has urbanised steadily during this period (cf Table A2). The proportion of this population living in urban areas in the Western Cape province is approximately 85%.

Before turning to the Cape region and to migration flows within it, it is appropriate to place the above trends in the context of the demographic transition of the coloured population. The theory of demographic transition states that "societies that experience modernisation progress from a pre-modern regime of high fertility and high mortality to a post-modern one in which both are low" (Kirk 1996: 361). Since a decline in mortality has preceded a decline in fertility in all developing countries during the twentieth century, population growth has accelerated during this process before reaching a point of transition and then declining. According to the Theron Commission Report (RP 38/1976: Table 1.5, para 1.8), the coloured population reached the point of demographic transition in the mid-1960s. Since that decade, coloured fertility rates have dropped dramatically, from 6.5 in 1960 to 2.5 in 1995 (NPU 2000: 42), confirming the fact that transition in this population is advanced and accordingly that population growth has declined substantially over the past thirty years.

1.1 The Cape region

1.1.1 A biophysical overview

This region comprises three major landscapes (Gasson 1998):

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

Using this simple classification into landscapes, it is useful to identify three areas within which settlement and economic activity have varied widely — within which the development of towns and cities, together with their associated economies, has had different histories.

The first area comprises the arid interior and the arid coastal plains of the West Coast and Namaqualand. It covers a vast area — roughly 65% of the region — and was home to about 300 000 people, or 7% of the region's population, in 1996 (according to census estimates). Economies in this area are sectorally narrow and stagnant; populations are scattered; services are rudimentary, and settlements are small and far apart.

The second area is that of the moist grainlands and fishing rimland. These are situated on the seaward side of the Cape Fold Belt mountains on the coastal plain. They comprise about 20% of the region, largely the Swartland and the Overberg, and were inhabited by about 12% of the region's population in 1996. The majority of the roughly 500 000 inhabitants are dependent on rain-fed wheat, barley, rye and related small-stock farming, as well as fishing.

The third area includes the wet mountain and valleylands and Outeniqualand. This region comprises three areas associated with the mountains of the Cape Fold Belt. Collectively, they cover about 15% of the province and represented home to over 3.3 million people, or 81% of the region's population, in 1996.

Most of these residents are urban dwellers and live on 1% of the surface of the region, in the Cape Town metropolitan area, associated as it is with the Peninsula mountains. The remaining two densely settled areas are the Boland and Outeniqua. The Boland, covering about 11% of the area of the region, occupies the headwater reaches of the Berg, Breede/Sonderend rivers, and the upper Olifants river. In 1996, it was home to about 500 000 people, or 12% of the province's population. Outeniqua occupies a relatively small area, 3% of the region, and was inhabited by about 6% of region's population, or about 230 000 people, in the same year.

1.1.2 A demographic and socio-economic overview

Table 1 depicts a condensed demographic and socio-economic profile of coloured groups in the ten districts which make up the region. Districts and their features are ranked in terms of their biophysical class, beginning with Cape Town and other wet mountain and valleyland districts. Two districts are classified as moist grainlands and the remaining four as arid. Each district is also classified in terms of its major agricultural activities. Other than in the Cape Town metropolitan area, agriculture plays an important role in all districts, as is shown by the high proportion of primary sector activities (cf Table A3).

A number of relevant trends may be inferred from Table 1. As noted, population size is highest in districts classified as wet, and decreases towards the moist and arid districts. This coincides with changes in agricultural practices, as intensive activities under irrigation make way for rain-fed and extensive activities.

The coloured population forms the majority of the total population in all districts other than Cape Town and the Southern Cape. These two districts are home to large urban populations with diverse ethnic backgrounds. The coloured populations in all but one district are highly urbanised. Namaqualand, an arid district with a small population, comprises scattered rural households engaged in stock farming. Accordingly, this district also reflects exceptionally high rural unemployment rates. In all other districts, rural residents reside overwhelmingly on commercial farms which offer employment at least to the majority of adult males. Urban unemployment rates are high in all districts and increase significantly in the more arid areas of the region.

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Table 1: A demographic and socio-economic profile of the coloured population of the Cape region, by district, 1996

	Total population 1996	Total coloured population	% coloured population	Total coloured urban	% coloured urban
Metropolitan Area	2 561 721	1 235 424	48.2%	1 218 136	98.6%
Breede River District Council	281 094	197 068	70.1%	116 528	59.1%
Winalands District Council	288 321	177 425	61.5%	119 643	67.4%
South Cape District Council	267 723	141 822	53.0%	112 525	79.3%
Overberg District Council	157 472	94 914	60.3%	50 367	53.1%
West Coast District Council	232 068	168 061	72.4%	104 058	61.9%
Little Karoo District Council	113 858	87 692	77.0%	57 791	65.9%
Central Karoo District Council	55 065	40 814	74.1%	30 172	73.9%
Hantam District Council	40 940	33 280	81.3%	22 383	67.3%
Namaqualand District Council	72 800	59 600	81.9%	23 537	39.5%
Total Region	4 071 062	2 236 100	54.9%	1 855 840	83.0%

Source: 1996 census data (unpubl)

Table 1: A demographic and socio-economic profile of the coloured population of the Cape region, by district, 1996 (continued)

	Unemployment rate coloured urban	Unemployment rate coloured non-urban	Biophysical area	Main agricultural activities
Metropolitan Area	17.5%		Wet	
Breede River District Council	23.3%	1.8%	Wet	horticulture
Winelands District Council	17.9%	4.8%	Wet	horticulture/dairy
South Cape District Council	21.8%	7.8%	Wet/Moist	horticulture/dairy
Overberg District Council	11.4%	6.5%	Moist	grain/horticulture
West Coast District Council	14.1%	5.3%	Moist/Arid	grain/horticulture
Little Karoo District Council	32.0%	8.0%	Arid	stock farming/horticulture
Central Karoo District Council	32.3%	5.8%	Arid	stock farming
Hantam District Council	37.1%	6.0%	Arid	stock farming
Namaqualand District Council	30.2%	25.2%	Arid	stock farming
Total Region	-	-	-	-

Source: 1996 census data (unpubl)

1.1.3 An overview of the most important settlement types

The overwhelming majority of coloured residents live in four types of settlements. These are farmworker communities residing on commercial farm land, mission stations, towns in the region, and the Cape metropolitan area. The first three will be briefly described below.

Agriculture in the Cape region has a wide production range and — at least in the wet and moist areas — a good resource base and a well-established infrastructure. During the last century, farm workers lived on “family farms”, with the white farm owner, his kin, the resident coloured farm workers and their families being bound together by the same language, religion and shared space. Though slowly changing to a more modern system, this paternalistic form of management still characterises most farms in the region (Bekker *et al* 1999, Ewert & Hamman 1996, 1999).

Mission stations date from the nineteenth century and were established initially by European (German and English) and latterly by South African missionaries (Anon [*s a*]). During the second half of the twentieth century, under apartheid policy, coloureds were granted title to rural land in these areas. Though a measure of cultivation and stock-farming has been and continues to be practised on mission stations (RP 38/1976: Ch 7), these are “little more than villages, or vast expanses of sparsely populated semi-desert areas [...] in the north-west” (Lemon 1987: 258). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, their total population is small and they are increasingly taking on the role of rural retirement villages.

Towns in the region continue to reflect the consequences of apartheid’s spatial policies. They all fell within the coloured labour preference zone, from which black migrants were comprehensively excluded. At the urban level, moreover, residential areas were spatially segregated on the basis of state-defined racial categories. Though change is taking place in a number of ways, this process is slow. The vast majority of coloured urban residents continue to live in residential areas formerly demarcated “coloured” in which black resident populations today are small.

Table A4 contains recent regional population estimates within these four types of settlement. It is apparent that the majority of the

population is urban (55% of this population resides in Cape Town and an additional 28% in towns) and that the number of mission station residents is comparatively small (15% of the population reside on farms and 2% in mission stations).

2. The nature of coloured migration in the region

The first question to be addressed in this section is whether the step-wise gravity flow migration profile identified in the region some thirty years ago still persists. This will be done by identifying in-flows and outflows among the four settlement types identified above: farmworker communities living on commercial farms, mission stations, towns in the Cape region, and the city itself. Two flow matrices will be used to this end. A flow matrix locates migration information within a defined region and categorises within its separate cells the migration flows among areas within that region for a given period. Accordingly, it is simple to establish net migration between any two areas within the matrix by comparing data in any two related cells. One cell contains information about migration from a specified sending area to a specified receiving area, the second cell information about migration in the opposite direction.

In the case of the two flow matrices presented in Tables 2 and 3 the region is the Cape and the areas are the four settlement types discussed above. The first flow matrix (in Table 2) presents lifetime migration data — the sending areas are the settlement types in which respondents were born; the receiving areas are the settlement types where respondents are currently resident. Data within the cells refer to the total number of migrants (identified during survey research and extrapolated to populations as a whole). The second flow matrix (in Table 3) presents migration streams over the previous five years and the cells generated refer to annualised migration flows. A comparison of lifetime migration streams with current migration streams among settlement types in the Cape region enables us to analyse changes in the nature of migration over the past thirty years.

The data employed to construct these matrices were obtained from two recent surveys undertaken in the region (cf Appendix 2). Since the 1996 census information contains neither birthplace nor

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mission station settlement data, it cannot be used for this purpose. The flow matrices accordingly suffer from one weakness: no information regarding migration flows out of the Cape region is available from the survey data. Since the census information does include data on last move migration, it is appropriate to begin with an assessment of nett coloured migration flows between this region and the rest of South Africa. The relevant data for the Western Cape province are presented in Table A5.

Table 2: Flow matrix: estimated lifetime migration flows for coloured residents in the Cape region

Natal areas	Areas currently resident			
	In 2000	In 2000	In 2000	In 1998
	Mission station	Farmworker community	Town	Cape Town
Mission station		10 000	3 100	2 800
Farmworker community	1 760		28 100	37 300
Town	4 850	98 800		142 500
Cape Town	1 600	5 000	16 900	
Outside Cape region	210	6 650	7 500	54 600
n=	655	796	951	1786

Sources: Surveys 1 & 2, 1996 census data

Two pertinent points emerge from this Table. Migration flows into and out of the province were very small in proportion to resident populations. In all cases, net migration flows were positive, confirming that the Western Cape was a nett receiving province. It is highly probable that both these conditions continue to hold and accordingly that data in the flow matrices below are not significantly affected by migration streams leaving the Cape region.

The lifetime migration flow matrix in Table 2 reveals a clear step-wise process of urbanisation. The flow into Cape Town totals some 240 000 while outflows into the region are less than 25 000. Outflows into other provinces and to foreign destinations are probably of the same order. Flows into regional towns appear to follow this trend. The anomalous figure of 98 800 residents born in towns who migrated to farms is in all probability spurious since these survey data represent responses to the question: "Where was each person in this

household born? Specify place name and type of area” and most births by farmworker mothers take place in local urban clinics and hospitals.

The annual migration flow matrix in Table 3 refers to flows between the same settlement types for the period 1995-2000. A very different picture emerges. The major flow into Cape Town is from outside the region, and the regional outflows from Cape Town balance the regional inflows. In short, metropolitan urbanisation in the region has virtually stopped. Urbanisation towards regional towns, on the other hand, continues. Flows from farms and mission stations into regional towns are double those in the opposite direction. It accordingly appears that the metropolitan coloured population and the non-metropolitan coloured population are separating, and that the non-metropolitan area of the Cape region no longer plays the role of hinterland from which Cape Town attracts in-migration by means of promises of a better life.

Table 3: Flow matrix: estimated annual migration flows for coloured households in the Cape region 1995-2000

Sending areas	Receiving areas			
	Mission station	Farmworker community	Town	Cape Town
Mission station		470	<50	<50
Farmworker community	170		5 500	<50
Town	<50	2 350		800
Cape Town	300	<50	650	
Outside Cape region	<50	850	600	3 400
n=	38	54	77	154

Sources: Surveys 1 & 2, 1996 census data

In effect, over the past forty years, coloured urbanisation in the Cape region appears to have taken place in two waves. The first may be described in terms of high migration streams aimed at Cape Town as a final destination, a wave earlier defined as step-wise gravity flow. More recently, this has given way to urbanisation aimed at the non-metropolitan towns of the region. Cape Town and its Cape hinterland are separating. Further evidence for and elaboration on these two waves may be found in Tables A6, A7 and A8. In the first place, coloured residents of Cape Town are significantly less mobile than

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their counterparts in the region (Table A7). Moreover, most Capetonians born outside the city entered during the first wave (Table A6). In the second place, a small but steady return migration flow persists, to both regional town and mission stations (Table A8), which probably represents the only real remaining set of ties sustaining a diminishing fund of social capital shared by metropolitan and non-metropolitan residents. In the third place, the mobility of urban and rural residents in the region is high. More than one in three households currently living in a town has migrated at least once during the previous five years, a proportion that rises to close on one in two among farmworker households.

The second question addressed in this section concerns the identification of sub-groups within the population which are at risk of poverty. The high mobility of farmworker households alluded to above led the researchers to focus on this group. Table A9 uses a number of indicators to compare five subgroups in terms of standards of living. Though income data from surveys are typically less than reliable, results suggest that farmworker households' cash income is significantly less than that of households on mission stations, in towns or in Cape Town itself. Survey results also suggest that, on average, these comparatively lower incomes persist when a farmworker household moves from the farm to a town or mission station. At the same time, two facts that offset this handicap may be noted: farmworker households typically receive lodging on farms at no cost and, as reflected in the lower unemployment rates among men, these households are guaranteed at least one salary per family. In short, while appearing poorer than their counterparts in the Cape region, farmworker households are assured of a roof over their heads and of a regular income as long as they retain farm employment.

Retaining such employment, however, does not appear easy. More than two in five households changed employment in the past five years, most often in search of new employment (Table A10). The survey results also indicate that the majority of moves take place between farms within the same district. In short, farmworkers circulate locally between farms in a given biophysical area. Moreover, one in seven of these migrating households was required to make a sudden move, largely through loss of work or as a result of eviction (Table

A11), a proportion significantly higher than that of migrating households in towns. If the destination selected by these households was not a farm, it was a local town.

Tables A12 and A13 compare the educational qualifications of both adults and children in the four settlement categories. Those households which had lived and worked in the past on farms — “former farmworker households” — are included in this comparison. Adult farmworkers in the sample have exceedingly low qualifications — one in four has less than three years of primary education and only one in fourteen has matric. This profile improves significantly once the household relocates to a town or mission station. A similar profile emerges for schoolchildren — 88% of all farmworker learners in the sample are in primary school (grade nine), a proportion that is lower (82%) among learners who have relocated. Nonetheless the backlog among these relocated learners in towns, the city or on mission stations is apparent.

In short, though assured of a roof over their heads and a small regular income in the short term, farmworker households enjoy little security in their jobs. Labour turnover between farms is high, and household mobility is largely restricted to the district. Both adults and children have low educational qualifications. After moving to town, whether voluntarily or not, they appear over time to be able to improve their standard of living, although this process appears to be a slow one.

3. Conclusion

Explanations for these shifts in migration patterns within the coloured population in the Cape region need to focus on two related questions. In the first place, why does the urbanisation process continue? This issue is particularly relevant in a population that has passed through its demographic transition and appears to be stabilising with low fertility and mortality rates. In the second place, why is the destination of this urbanisation process no longer the metropolitan area of Cape Town, but regional towns instead?

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Let us first consider a series of economic and political “push” factors in the rural sector. Commercial agriculture in the country as a whole has been shedding labour, unskilled labour in particular. Simultaneously, it has been recruiting skilled labour, but on a smaller scale. Given the Cape’s central place in national commercial agricultural production, these trends are certainly present in the region. In the second place, recent labour and tenure legislation has accompanied this change. Farmers have anticipated its implementation by diminishing their on-farm workforces and promoting the recruitment of farm labour resident in neighbouring towns. Such legislation includes the Unemployment Insurance Act (1993), the Labour Relations Act (1995), the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (1997), the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (1998) and the Employment Equity Act (1998). In the third place, most agricultural sectors in the Cape region have been suffering from economic recession, whether cyclic or not, in the past few years (*Landbouweekblad* 2000a & 2000b). Changes in ownership often lead to a decrease in farmworker families residing on farms.

“Pull” factors in the towns include a series of state housing projects offering qualifying low-income families once-off capital grants for the construction of new tenured houses. Incomes also appear more attractive, and access to state grants and pensions easier in towns and on mission stations than on farms. In addition, the decentralisation of previously Cape Town-based agricultural processing activities into the non-metropolitan areas has added to the pool of potential work opportunities. Abattoirs and wine cellars are cases in point.

Several factors also lead to the choice of a regional town rather than Cape Town as a destination. Large migration in-flows of unskilled black households into Cape Town took place during the 1990s. As a result, income differentials between the coloured and black labour forces (Cross & Bekker 1999) as well as control over housing opportunities in informal settlements, point to a much more difficult environment for unskilled coloured households to access than was the case during 1960-1980. Large municipal-led housing projects such as that in Mitchell’s Plain alleviated the massive housing shortage of that time. Today, the shortage is of the same proportion and exists in particular among the lowest income stratum of the metropolitan po-

pulation — overwhelmingly black migrant households (Abbott & Douglas 1998).

In short, towns are more attractive to in-migrants than the city since they are perceived as offering better opportunities than farms, but with less competition than in the city.

Two concluding reflections are appropriate. The process of separation of the coloured population in the Cape region into two distinct sub-populations is influenced both by differential economic circumstances in the city, towns and on farms, as well as by state decisions regarding the spatial location of infrastructure, and housing in particular. It appears that in the late 1990s proportionally more of such state-financed infrastructure was provided in the non-metropolitan areas of the region than in Cape Town (PAWC 2002: 19). In short, economic factors and regional planning decisions about infrastructural provision may deeply influence the extent to which this separation will continue. On the other hand, insofar as the separation continues, members of these two sub-populations may well develop and sustain significantly different collective identities for themselves, identities involving loyalty to their town, local area or city, and to their language (Bekker *et al* 2000).

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Appendix 1: Tables

Table A1: Size and geographical distribution of the coloured population during the twentieth century

Year	Coloured population in South Africa ('000)	% total coloured population in pre-1994 Cape Province*	% total coloured population in post-1994 Western Cape
1904	445		
1936	770	88.57	
1946	928	89.34	
1951	1 103	89.03	
1960	1 509	88.14	
1970	2 051	87.23	
1980	2 689	82.81	
1996	3 600		59.60
2000 est	3 797		

Sources: RP38/1976 (Theron Commission); Cilliers & Groenewald 1982; SSA 2000

* An area which coincides, except for former homeland regions, with the areas of the contemporary provinces of the Eastern, Northern and Western Cape

Table A2: Urbanised proportion of the coloured population, 1936-1999

Year	South Africa	Pre-1994 Cape Province	Post-1994 Western Cape
1936	53.9	52.2	
1951	64.7	63.3	
1960	68.3	66.0	
1970	74.1	71.9	
1980	74.6	75.2	
1996	83.4		84.4
1998	84.3		84.6
1999	81.8		84.7

Sources: Cilliers & Groenewald 1982; Stats SA Report no 1 03-01-01 (1996); Data 1998 & 1999; OHS databases for those years

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Table A3: Coloured employment by industrial sector,
% by rows, 15-65 year olds, 1996

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Metropolitan Area	2.1	38.57	59.29
Breede River District Council	56.43	15.84	27.71
Winelands District Council	30.43	28.54	41.24
South Cape District Council	20.57	29.56	49.86
Overberg District Council	44.89	19.39	35.7
West Coast District Council	44.59	21.9	33.49
Little Karoo District Council	39.62	17.36	43.01
Central Karoo District Council	32.65	11.5	55.83
Hantam District Council	40.81	8.9	50.28
Namaqualand District Council	48.47	8.5	42.98
Whole Cape Region	19.87	30.51	49.61

Source: calculated from 1996 census data (unpublished)

Table A4: Coloured residents in the Cape region,
population estimates by types of settlement, 1996

District	Urban	Rural	Mission station*	Metropolitan
Metropolitan area				1 234 985
Overberg	51 629	39 096	5 763	0
Winelands	118 066	55 926	2 339	0
Breede River	111 370	82 689	4 501	0
West Coast	104 764	58 905	5 945	0
South Cape	111 924	28 119	480	0
Little Karoo	56 172	26 093	4 882	0
Central Karoo	30 211	11 108	0	0
Hantam	23 630	10 334	0	0
Namaqualand	18 880	23 218	18 209	0
Total	626 646	335 488	42 119	1 234 985

Sources: 1996 census and mission station estimates

*Unpublished information from District Councils of Klein Karoo, Namaqualand, Overberg, Winelands & West Coast 2000; RP36/1976 (Theron Commission)

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Table A5: Coloured migration flows between provinces —
first 10 months, 1996

Western Cape	Out-migration to other provinces	In-migration from other provinces	Nett migration	Nett migration rate (% of resident population)
Cape Town	2066	4165	+2099	0.17%
Other urban	521	1290	+769	0.12%
Non-urban	676	2262	+1586	0.47%
Total	3263	7717	+4454	0.16%

Source: Census 1996 data

Table A6: Date of entry of coloured households into Cape Town, 1998

Always in Cape Town	76.8%
1980 and earlier	12.0%
1981-1990	4.3%
Post-1990	3.7%

Source: Survey 1

(n=349)

Table A7: % households which have migrated over the past five years, coloureds in the Cape region

	1993-98	1995-2000	1995-2000	1995-2000
Current residence	Cape Town	Town	Farm	Mission station
Mobility rate over the past five years	14.3	37.9 (of which 8% came from farms)	43.3	25.0
	n=356	n=240	n=180	n=180

Source: Surveys 1 & 2

Table A8: Return migration from Cape Town, coloured individuals

	Return to town	Return to mission station
Total number returned before 1995	2 800	2 600
Returned 1995-2000 Estimate per annum	2 800 450	1 200 200

Source: Survey 2

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Table A9: Selected indicators for comparative levels of living:
coloured households in Cape Town and its hinterland, 2000

	Cape Town (for 1998)	Town	Mission station	Farmworker households	Former farm- worker in town & mission stations
Per capita income (R)	614 (unadjusted)	558	600	337	365
Mean household size	5.1	3.9	3.6	4.7	4.2
Unemployment rate all workers	23	23	21	17	25
male workers	22	19	10	9	13
female workers	23	29	38	28	39

Source: Surveys 1 & 2

Table A10: Reasons for decision to migrate, all moves 2000:
Cape region, column percentages

Reasons for migrating	Town households	Mission station households	Farmworker households
Found work at destination	23	21	61
Other	77	79	39
n=	233	140	248

Source: Survey 2

Table A11: Reasons for decision to migrate, sudden moves 2000:
Cape region, column percentages

Was the move sudden?	If sudden, reasons?	Resident in town	Resident on mission station	Resident on farm
Yes		9,5	4	16
	lost job	10	25	59
	evicted	25	-	17
	other	65 =100%	75 =100%	24 =100%
No		90.5=100%	96=100%	84=100%
n=		221	204	250

Source: Survey 2

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Table A12: Qualification of all coloured adults (18+), 2000:
column %

Qualifications	Cape Town (for 1998)	Town	Mission station	Farmworker households	Former farmworker households in town & mission stations
matric	24	14.8	9.5	7.4	24
grade 9-11	30.3	30	32.6	14.1	21.5
grade 3-8	39.8	44	43.6	58.6	50.9
up to grade 2	6	11.2	14.3	25.6	6
n=	1134	609	454	454	113

Source: Surveys 1 & 2

Table A13: Proportion of all schoolchildren in various grades:
coloured learners 2000

	Cape Town (for 1998)	Town	Mission station	Farmworker households	Former farmworker households in town & mission stations
matric	4	8	8	0.5	1
grades 9-11	20	23	25	11	16
grades 3-8	52	51	47	60	62
pre-primary grade 2	24	18	20	28	20
100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
n	445	249	144	211	69

Source: Surveys 1 & 2

Appendix 2: Surveys

Survey 1

The first survey was conducted in the Cape metropolitan area (CMA). The sizes of the samples in the five settlement categories were: 160 in formerly Black group areas, 350 in formerly Coloured group areas, 199 in formerly White group areas, 234 in informal settlements, and 40 in hostels. A random sample of 25 (census) Enumerator Areas (EAs) falling within the CMA was drawn, and 40 households were selected randomly from each EA. The survey took place in the second half of 1998 and was preceded by substantial qualitative work in the CMA. More details are found in Cross & Bekker 1999.

Survey 2

The second survey was conducted among the coloured population in the Cape region (as defined above), excluding the CMA. The sizes of the samples in the three settlement categories were: 240 in towns, 180 on farms, and 180 on mission stations. Their geographical distribution is given in tabular form below. A random aerial sample of 60 households was selected on each mission station and in the formerly Coloured group area of each town. Six farms were randomly identified in each selected farming area, and ten households randomly chosen on each farm. The survey took place in the second half of 2000 and used the same questionnaire instrument as Survey 1.

Spatial selection of survey areas

(Former) Districts	Town	(Former) Mission station	Farm worker area
Karoo WC		Zoar	De Rust area
West Coast WC	Vredendal		
Outeniqua/Southern Cape WC	Heidelberg		Riversdal/ Herold areas
Winelands & Breede River WC	Tulbach		Stellenbosch area
Overberg WC Northern Cape	Calvinia	Elim Steinkopf	
	4	3	3

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