

Migration study in Monwabisi Park (Endlovini), Khayelitsha

Authors: Nontembeko Poswa and Rasmus Levy

Strategic Development Information and GIS Department

Strategic Information Branch

7 December 2006

Table of contents

Executive summary	3
1. Introduction	4
2. Methodology	5
3. Background information on Khayelitsha and Endlovini.....	7
4. Results and discussion	8
4.1 Reasons for migrating.....	8
4.2 Living conditions in Endlovini	12
4.2.1 Expectations met.....	13
4.2.2 Social networks.....	17
4.2.3 Service and security matters.....	20
4.3 Temporary or permanent settlement in Cape Town	23
5. Conclusion	26
5.1 Implications and further studies	27
6. List of references	29
7. Annexure – Interview guideline.....	31

Citation: City of Cape Town (2006), Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, Migration Study in Monwabisi Park (Endlovini), Khayelitsha, Nontembeko Poswa and Rasmus Levy, 33 pages

Executive summary

This paper provides some qualitative insights into reasons for migration from the Eastern Cape Province to Cape Town, the migrants' current living conditions and their intentions on staying (temporarily or permanently) in the city. The objective was to get a better understanding of the largest stream of migration flowing into Cape Town, and to provide an overview of migration to enable the City to plan and deliver adequate services.

The researchers adopted a qualitative methodology, which entailed eighteen (18) interviews with migrants living in the community of Monwabisi Park (referred to as Endlovini), Khayelitsha. Due to the small sample size and restricted geographical area, it was not possible to reach general conclusions about all Eastern Cape migrants. This is merely an introductory study to highlight the migration phenomenon in Cape Town based on eighteen (18) interviews, and should therefore be regarded as such.

The findings suggest that migration to Cape Town primarily takes place for employment related reasons. Job opportunities in the Eastern Cape are few and far between, and relatives living in Cape Town usually spread the word about ample employment this side of the border. Migration is furthermore encouraged by prospects of better education and better health care in Cape Town. Most migrants lead a precarious existence in shacks and without proper sanitation. They are often unemployed or poorly positioned in the labour market, and rely heavily on family members as their main social network for financial support. Even though most migrants consider Cape Town as the proverbial "gold pool" where they could earn money and find employment, they still regard the Eastern Cape as their home and intend to return to their place of origin. However the migrants may end up staying more permanently in Cape Town with some literature on migration suggesting that the migrants' expectation of returning to the Eastern Cape weakens over time (Bekker 1999).

This study re-emphasises Cape Town's actual unemployment and poverty problems. Migrants struggle to be included in the labour market. Where they live in Endlovini, more than half of the 11 232 residents are unemployed. As a next step to review current and future interventions in support of migrants, discussions within and between City departments and directorates could first be considered. The outcomes of such discussions could then serve as the basis for intergovernmental discussions on possible interventions to assist migrants to adjust to their new urban setting, whether by providing them with alternative support systems, skills development or job creation mechanisms.

1. Introduction

During the twelve years of democracy in South Africa, migration has been one of the most important variables influencing population growth in this country's large urban areas, in particular the Western Cape and Cape Town. Migration has also been the most difficult demographic variable to predict. However, since migration to the Western Cape impacts on City of Cape Town policy and service delivery, the extent of migration needs to be measured. In order to act on its responsibility to deliver housing, infrastructure, education and meet other basic needs, government needs to know the population distribution (Department of Sociology, 2000:11-12).

The Western Cape Province and the City of Cape Town have made attempts to quantify migration by measuring historical numbers based on the 1996 and 2001 Census. From the nine provinces, only Gauteng and the Western Cape showed a net growth in the number of migrants. The rate at which migrants were entering the Western Cape from 1996 to 2001, was put at between 48 000 and 54 000 people per annum (City of Cape Town, 2006:1-4; Western Cape Province, 2002:75).

This paper is in some respects a continuation of other research that focuses on migration to Cape Town, but differs from the outlined literature by approaching the subject from a qualitative perspective, thereby interviewing a limited number of individuals, who migrated from the Eastern Cape to Khayelitsha. The latter presented itself as an ideal study location, being one of Cape Town's main urban reception areas of migrants, with the vast majority of them originating from the Eastern Cape (Horner *et al.*, 2004:16, 40; City of Cape Town, 2005:9).

By means of in-depth interviews with a limited number of migrants, it was possible to start comprehending their typical thoughts on and perceptions of migration. The interviewees' respective migration stories will hopefully contribute to a more balanced and complete understanding of the phenomenon. More specifically, the objective was to use the migrants' experiences to explore three research questions:

- 1) What were the reasons for migrating?
- 2) What are the migrants' current living conditions [expectations met, social networks, services and security]?
- 3) Have the migrants settled in Cape Town temporarily or permanently?¹

¹ The most common example of temporary migration is termed "circular migration", which refers to young men or women, who leave their rural home, go to towns, spend most of their working career there and then retire in their rural ancestral homes (Western Cape Province, 2002:3). Another mechanism that may cause a migrant to return home is the pushback factor of high urban unemployment (Smit, 1998:79). Permanent migration takes place when individuals leave rural areas permanently to join or set up new households in urban areas, and is often called "one-way migration" or "gravity flows" (Keller, 2004:17).

This study represents only an initial step towards a better understanding of migrants' perceptions. Due to the small sample size ($n = 18$) and restricted geographical area (Monwabisi Park, Khayelitsha), it was not possible to reach general conclusions about all Eastern Cape migrants. However, it is possible to utilise the preliminary study results to identify possible implications for the City of Cape Town's planning and service delivery in terms of housing, employment, etc. In the search for answers to the research questions, this paper aims to raise further questions and suggest further research to fill the existing information gaps on this subject.

2. Methodology

Eighteen qualitative interviews were conducted during the period of September to October 2006 with migrants staying in Khayelitsha.

The migrants were selected based on the length of their stay in Cape Town. The study aimed to target the *newly arrived migrants* from the Eastern Cape who have been in Cape Town for less than a year, since they know the most recent motivations for migration to Cape Town. In addition, the newly arrived migrants are often in a vulnerable phase of transition, trying to adapt to the urban settings of the Cape metropolitan area. Their social acceptability and chances of being included in Cape Town's economy and service-delivery make for an interesting analysis. Apart from targeting newly arrived migrants, the study aimed to split the number of interviews equally between males and females to ensure a broad representation of view points.²

Prior to the commencement of any fieldwork, the researchers had to locate the newly arrived migrants in Khayelitsha. It was stressed that fieldwork should take place in informal settlements since these locations represent the typical living conditions of newly arrived migrants – research shows that the most recent migrants have settled in shack slums in Khayelitsha (Horner *et al.*, 2004:40). Fieldwork in informal settlements was therefore most definitely going to expose the fieldworkers to the newly arrived migrants.

The most appropriate fieldwork site turned out to be Monwabisi Park, hereafter referred to as *Endlovini* (see "Background information"). The particular informal settlement of Endlovini was randomly selected, as the fieldwork could have taken place in any other informal settlement of Khayelitsha. The choice to focus on only one community was on the one hand motivated by the researchers' search for credible information about newly arrived migrants. The research teams' follow-up visits to Endlovini enhanced mutual confidence and trust between the research team and Endlovini residents.³ The latter helped the research team to find the target group, i.e. the newly arrived migrants from the Eastern Cape. On the

² One of the main reasons for this selection was to get a balanced view of migrants' inclusion/exclusion in/from the labour market, as skills and job interests tend to differ according to gender.

³ The residents of Endlovini were in general very helpful and cooperative. A few exceptions made the picture less rosy. Some of the residents thought that the research team was tasked with sending the newly arrived migrants back to the Eastern Cape which in some instances created mistrust.

other hand though, the focus on one informal settlement only, poses the question of how successful the study's findings could be generalised. Endlovini may differ substantially from other informal settlements, and especially from other formal settlements in Khayelitsha. (See "Background information" for more on Khayelitsha and Endlovini.)

The research team visited Endlovini seven times on weekdays between 09:00 and 17:00, spending approximately three hours on each visit. The decision to access the informal settlement during working hours was primarily due to safety and security reasons,⁴ and it must be emphasised that this caused a slightly skewed sample, including more unemployed migrants since those working outside Endlovini were not at home at the time of the fieldwork. The sample is however only "slightly" skewed because the research team actually encountered and interviewed four employed migrants out of thirteen economically active⁵ migrants. These four were either working in Endlovini itself, off duty on the specific day, or working night shift. The over-representation of the unemployed in the sample is also quite similar to the labour profile of Endlovini, where the majority of residents are seeking work (see "Background information").

The interviews were conducted in Xhosa, the interviewees' mother tongue, and were structured around questions based on the study's objectives (see annexure). At any time, the interviewer could pursue specific points of interest by means of probing, which ensured the flexibility of the interviews. The interviews were recorded and afterwards translated into English.

The interviews were analysed by identifying various themes in the interviewees' migrant stories, which themes also provided structure to the subsequent report. In addition, illustrative quotes were extracted from the interviews to encourage a better understanding of key points with regard to the themes.

⁴ When the Western Cape Province captured data for the Enumeration Study in Khayelitsha, August 2005-April 2006 (Western Cape Population Unit, 2006), it took a similar decision to limit the fieldwork to working hours due to the safety and security risk at night and during weekends.

⁵ Economically active people are those available for work (but exclude those below the age of 15, students, scholars, housewives or homemakers, retired people, pensioners, disabled persons or others who are permanently unfit for work). For the purpose of this report, those employed and unemployed people who are seeking work, are seen as the economically active group.

3. Background information on Khayelitsha and Endlovini

This study has as its target subject the migrants in Endlovini, Khayelitsha. Khayelitsha is a Xhosa word, which carries the meaning “new home”. The settlement was created to provide an alternative living space for black people settled in Crossroads as well as other areas of Cape Town⁶ who had flocked to the city in the hope of finding work and a better life (Urban Renewal Programme, 2006:11; University of Stellenbosch, 1990).

Khayelitsha is situated approximately 35 km from Cape Town,⁷ and is one of the fastest growing areas in the Cape Town area. It is home to more than 400 000 people (Western Cape Province, 2006:3). The majority of the people living in Khayelitsha are migrants from the Eastern Cape. Almost the entire population (97%) can be categorised as Africans with Xhosa as their first language. The Khayelitsha population is fairly young, with the majority (65%) of people younger than 30 (Statistics South Africa, 2001; City of Cape Town, 2005; Urban Renewal Programme, 2005).

Khayelitsha has enormous developmental needs with regard to living conditions and employment opportunities. The majority of households (57.4%) live in shacks in informal settlements,⁸ whilst the unemployment rate is as high as 51% (Statistics South Africa, 2001; City of Cape Town, 2005).

Khayelitsha comprises several areas, including Monwabisi Park (sometimes referred to as Endlovini). Endlovini is an informal settlement situated near the Khayelitsha cemetery and in close proximity to Monwabisi Resort, hence the name Monwabisi Park. According to Census 2001 (Statistics South Africa, 2001), the total number of people staying in Endlovini was 11 232, making it one of the smaller communities in Khayelitsha. Endlovini’s unemployment rate is higher (58%) than in Khayelitsha as a whole (51%). Out of the 58% of unemployed people in Endlovini, the vast majority are willing to work but cannot find employment. Endlovini has a young age population profile, as the majority of the population is younger than 30. The educational profile for the community typically ranges from Grade 8 to Grade 11 (Statistics South Africa, 2001; City of Cape Town, 2005). Endlovini is one of Khayelitsha’s crime hot spots, and gangsterism is particularly rife in the area (Booi, 2006).

⁶ Khayelitsha was developed to accommodate all the African people living in the metropolitan area, including areas as far as Khayamandi in Stellenbosch (Booi, 2006).

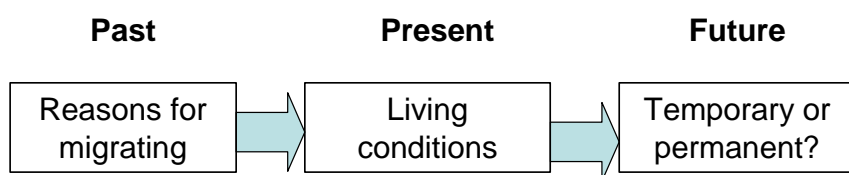
⁷ Khayelitsha lies directly next to Mitchell’s Plain, with only one road, Swartklip Road, dividing the two nodes (Urban Renewal Programme, 2006)

⁸ A further 30% of Khayelitsha residents live in houses on separate stands, and 7.3% of households live in backyard shacks.

4. Results and discussion

The interview analysis was structured by dividing the interviewees' migration process into three temporal stages, which correspond with the objectives of the study. Figure 1 illustrates the three stages of migration, of which the first deals with the decision to migrate from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town. The second stage deals with the migrants' present living conditions in Cape Town, divided into three themes: expectations met, social networks and service/security matters. The third stage pertains to the migrants' future plans of settling in Cape Town temporarily or permanently.

Figure 1: The three stages of migration



Prior to the actual analysis of the three stages, some basic background information about the interviewees is presented. The eighteen migrants are equally split between the genders, i.e. nine females and nine males. The migrants are primarily young, with thirteen respondents in the age bracket 15-29. Four interviewees are middle-aged (30-60 years old) while one interviewee is older than 60. The relatively young sample of migrants is consistent with the typical profile of the average migrant in the Western Cape and Gauteng (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2006:53). Furthermore the young profile of the migrants fits the generally young age profile of Khayelitsha and Endlovini's residents (see "Background information"). On average the migrants have been in Endlovini for six months, ranging from one interviewee who has been there almost a year, to another who arrived two weeks prior to the fieldwork. The rest of the background information, including working status and skills, will be discussed where relevant to the analysis.

4.1 Reasons for migrating

In this section the migrants' decision to move from their place of origin to Cape Town will be analysed. Thirteen out of eighteen migrants' reasons for migrating were related to work; four of them migrated for reasons related to education, whilst only one came to Cape Town for health reasons. Reasons for migration differ according to the interviewees' stage of life: The old (+60 yrs) interviewee's motivation was health related, whilst the middle-aged (30-60 yrs) migrated in search of employment opportunities. The youth (15-29 yrs) are a diverse group, as some migrate to better their education whilst others leave home to find work.

The reasons for migration can be divided into "push" factors, pushing them away from their place of

origin, and “pull” factors, attracting people to another area.⁹ For the eighteen migrants participating in this study, the push and pull factors are two sides of the same coin. Whereas a lack of employment, education and health care forced these people to leave the Eastern Cape, the prospects of better employment, education and health care are what attracted them to Cape Town. The following analysis will elaborate on the reasons for migration by presenting the stories behind these migrants’ search for employment, education and health care respectively.

Thirteen out of eighteen migrants left the Eastern Cape because of limited *employment prospects* in their place of origin, and came to Cape Town to find work. One of the migrants expressed that job opportunities are scarce in the Eastern Cape because of the vast distances between their homesteads and possible places of work:

“Jobs are very scarce there because we live in the mountains far away from the towns.”

All the economically active migrants were unemployed at the time they left the Eastern Cape, and had had varied connections to the labour market. Two of the interviewees recently lost their jobs after having worked in the textile industry at two different factories in the Eastern Cape. The following quotes show how heavily their places of origin depended on the employment opportunities created by the factories as only job creator:

“I was sewing in the factory. Then the factory closed down. There were no employment prospects in our area and the surroundings because all the factories closed down.”

“...there are no jobs. We all depend on a factory called Da Gama Textile – it was a mine that served the whole area. Da Gama retrenched 5 000 people, and I was one of them. I had my RDP house [low-cost housing]. Afterwards I couldn't even pay for the services of that house because I was not working.”

Some of the other migrants, who were unemployed, had been without a job for even longer when they decided to leave the Eastern Cape. One of them was promised a job in his place of origin, but the promise was not kept (Interviewee 13). One woman was unemployed, but had worked as a domestic worker (Interviewee 3). Yet another woman voiced despair about the situation in the Eastern Cape because she had been struggling without any means of living (Interviewee 10). A middle-aged man stated that he has never worked. He had relied entirely on his mother’s money, but when she had fallen ill he decided not to rely on her government grant but rather to try and make a living elsewhere (Interviewee 6).

⁹ The migrant is pushed away from his/her place of origin by stagnant economies and the inferior infrastructure in the Eastern Cape, and pulled to Cape Town by what is perceived to be better employment opportunities, more accessible and effective infrastructure, and superior quality of life available in the Western Cape (Western Cape Province, 2002; Western Cape Province, 2005).

Three interviewees were still studying or had been studying shortly prior to their decision to leave the Eastern Cape. Their final decision was based on limited employment prospects in the vicinity of their homesteads. After having dropped out of computer school, one of the migrants struggled to find employment as he did not have the proper qualifications for employment in the field of computer science (Interviewee 17). Two of the other migrants were still in their last year of schooling when they decided to drop out of school and leave their place of origin (Interviewee 9 & 12).

Four out of eighteen migrants left the Eastern Cape due to a lack of higher *education* or other problems related to lacking education opportunities, and came to Cape Town to improve their access to learning facilities. According to the interviewees, the possibilities of getting a high quality education in the Eastern Cape are fairly limited. Moreover, some of the migrants lived far away from secondary schools; hence access to education was a problem (Interviewee 2, 8 & 18). Two of the other interviewees left their place of origin for other reasons: One was forced to be a shepherd and felt it was impacting negatively on his education, as he did not have enough time to study. The other wanted to leave school because some of the other boys were too rough (Interviewee 16).

One of the interviewees, a pensioner, left the Eastern Cape because of *health* problems. She fell ill but the doctors could not help her. She then decided to migrate to Cape Town in search of better health care. For another interviewee, who suffered from stomach aches, illness was a secondary reason to migrate, as the hospitals were far away from her place of origin. The two migrants' stories reflect the critical shortage of doctors in the Eastern Cape (South African Migration Project, 2006).¹⁰

Despite the abovementioned reasons supplied by the migrants, some important questions remain: Where did the migrants get the information about Cape Town? And why did the interviewees migrate to Cape Town instead of moving to major urban areas closer to their places of origin such as Port Elizabeth or Johannesburg? Hypothetically one could start to answer these questions by identifying different reasons why the migrants preferred Cape Town to Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth. On the one hand, the *general perception* of Cape Town by residents of the Eastern Cape may be more positive than their perception of Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth; they perceive Cape Town to offer better opportunities. On the other hand, the migrants' choice may be inspired by family members or friends living in Cape Town, whilst they did not know anyone in Johannesburg or Port Elizabeth; hence *networks* play a central

¹⁰ According to a recent newspaper article based on the South African Migration Project, the shortage of doctors could even get worse. The number of foreign medical doctors in the Eastern Cape could be halved if a new national human resources plan of the Department of Health is approved. This policy plans to restrict the number of foreign doctors given leave to practise in the country. This could be disastrous for the Eastern Cape, where there is a critical shortage of doctors, and where existing medical services in the area are being largely provided by foreign doctors. In the Eastern Cape there are fewer than three doctors per 10 000 people, of which barely one can be found in the public sector.

role in migration.¹¹ However, in between these two extreme reasons for migration to Cape Town, may also be migration based on *word of mouth* from people who return to the Eastern Cape after having lived in Cape Town.

In spite of the various possible reasons for choosing Cape Town as destination rather than Johannesburg or Port Elizabeth, all of the eighteen interviewees offered similar reasons for their move. Their migration to Cape Town was primarily based on the migrants' connection to family members (networks),¹² and in a few cases to friends living in the city.¹³ The vast majority of the migrants did not have relatives or friends in Johannesburg/Port Elizabeth (Interviewee 2, 13 & 18). Furthermore, the interviewees received positive feedback from their family members and friends staying in Cape Town further motivating their decision to leave the Eastern Cape.

Regarding employment, the interviewees were told that there are fairly good opportunities in Cape Town (Interviewee 1, 5 & 12).¹⁴ This is also reflected by the following statement by one of the other interviewees when he referred to feedback from his family members:

“Jobs are not scarce here in Cape Town. You must come to this side.”

Apart from general statements about the availability of employment, some migrants were given even more specific information. One was told that there are employment prospects in the Cape if you are willing to work on the farms (Interviewee 11). Another migrant heard that you stand a particularly good chance to get work if you are a skilled tradesman (Interviewee 15).

A further theme that emerged was family members who had offered to assist the migrants in finding employment. One female migrant's aunt had asked her to come and help selling fish, mealies and bread (Interviewee 3), while another one's aunt had promised to help her find employment:

“My aunt told [me] that I must come here and study in Cape Town...during holidays or after I finished school, she would try to look for a job.”

¹¹ Literature on migration suggests that *networks* clearly influence the pattern and extent of migration from particular places (De Haan & Rogaly, 2002:9).

¹² The eighteen interviewees have *inter alia* husbands, sons, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers and aunts staying in Cape Town.

¹³ Previously, two of the migrants have been to Gauteng for schooling and to work in a mine. Even their migration to Gauteng was based on family networks there (Interviewee 9 & 17).

¹⁴ Another migrant got positive news from his friends about upcoming employment opportunities with a view to the Soccer World Cup in 2010 (Interviewee 14).

Two of the migrants who came in search of employment, had additional reasons other than their family networks for choosing Cape Town. One of them was influenced by a general perception of Cape Town as a city with many possible places of work (Interviewee 6). The other interviewee's family members had been staying in Cape Town, and spread the word of the ample opportunities in the city:

"I always heard about Cape Town, nice things about Cape Town, very positive things about Cape Town. When they come back from Cape Town, they always bring things like chicken and brandy. I had this dream of seeing Cape Town."

Regarding education and health service delivery, the interviewees had received information from family members living in Cape Town about the city's good schools and doctors before they left the Eastern Cape (Interviewee 8, 14, 16 & 18). One of the interviewees was told about his sister's school in Cape Town. Another interviewee came to Cape Town because he regarded Cape Town and Johannesburg as the "most famous" places in the country. The fact that he did not know anyone in Johannesburg while his parents were also living in Cape Town, settled the matter.

As family connections were the main reason for migrants' decision to move to Cape Town, all but one of the interviewees travelled straight from their place of origin to Cape Town, where they joined their relatives or friends.¹⁵ Most of the migrants had family members staying in Endlovini. Therefore, upon arrival the vast majority settled in that particular area of Cape Town. Only one migrant did not come straight to Cape Town, but first travelled to Port Elizabeth. He paints a negative picture of Port Elizabeth:

"I first went to Port Elizabeth and there it is worse than here; there are no jobs. People just stand in the street and smoke Dagga [marijuana]. Port Elizabeth is a friendly city but the crime is very high. So I decided that I cannot stay there..."

This interviewee decided to return to the Eastern Cape, where after he headed for Cape Town.

4.2 Living conditions in Endlovini

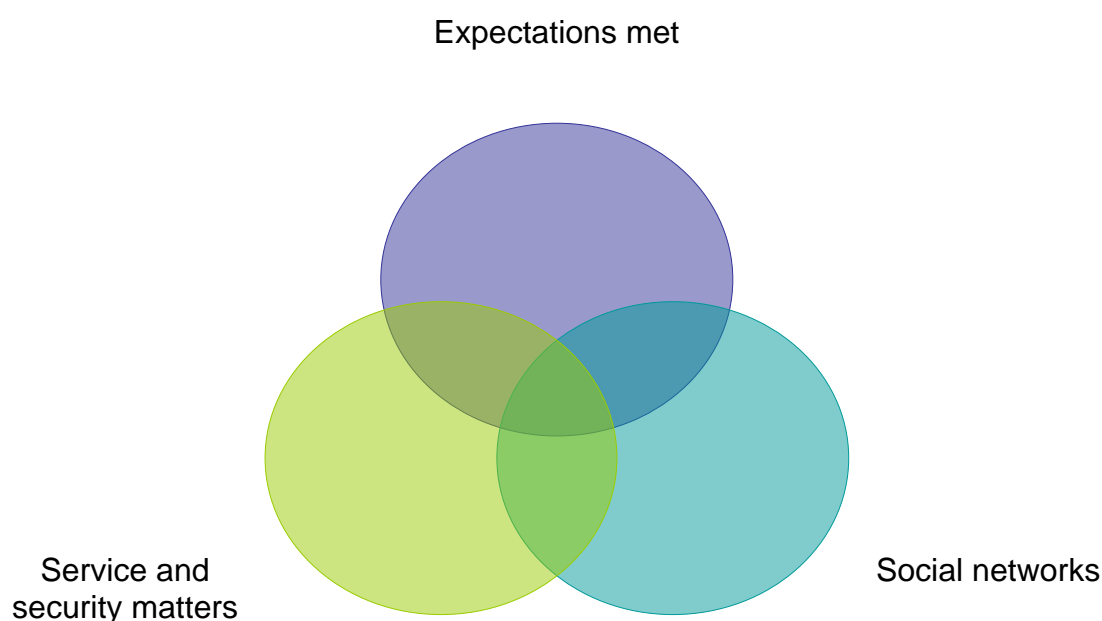
This section will look at the newly arrived migrants' current living conditions by assessing their social inclusion in or exclusion from Endlovini. In the context of this study, social exclusion refers to a lack of entitlement to basic socio-economic needs, including employment in both informal and formal sectors, social services such as education and health care, and police protection (Amisi, 2006:26).¹⁶ The dichotomy of inclusion/exclusion will be utilised to analyse three themes of the migrants' living conditions. The first theme deals with expectations met, and analyses whether the newly arrived

¹⁵ A vast majority went straight to Endlovini. The few exceptions that had gone to Nyanga, Mitchell's Plain or other parts of Khayelitsha offered various reasons for their eventual decision to move to Endlovini. Two of the female migrants married men living in Endlovini. One man's shack burnt down in another part of Khayelitsha which forced him to go and stay with his brother in Endlovini (Interviewee 9, 10 & 14).

¹⁶ "Equity before law" is omitted from the original source reference, as the concept is not relevant to this study.

migrants have found what they were searching for, i.e. employment, education and/or health care. The second theme focuses on the migrants' social networks and the networks' influence on the migrants' living conditions. The third theme centres around the migrants' perception of social services and security matters in Cape Town as compared to their place of origin. Figure 2 illustrates the three themes' influence on the migrants' living conditions. However, what the figure does not show is that no living scenario can be divided into three distinct parts. In reality the lines between the different themes are blurred. For example, family members might help the migrants to find employment, in which case the themes of expectations met and social networks are mixed. Nevertheless, the following analysis will aim to maintain the division between the three themes to simplify a very complex reality.

Figure 2: Themes influencing the migrants' living conditions



4.2.1 Expectations met

The newly arrived migrants came to Cape Town hoping to attain improvements in their life by finding employment, better schools or health care – in essence, hoping to be included in Cape Town residents' socio-economic safety net. Upon meeting the people in Endlovini, it was relevant to ask whether their expectations of Cape Town and its opportunities have been met. The majority of the economically active migrants who came in search of employment tragically have not had their expectations met, as nine (9) out of thirteen (13) are still unemployed. However, the five (5) migrants who came to Cape Town for better schools or health care have achieved that for which they came. The migrants' poor integration in the labour market corresponds with the findings of a recent econometric study on migrants coming to Cape Town, namely that the newly arrived migrants are most unlikely to find employment in the city (Rospabe & Selod, 2006).

Employment

Thirteen of the newly arrived migrants came to Cape Town in search of employment.

Currently, only four of them are employed, either in the informal or the formal sector. A middle-aged woman is not content helping her aunt selling fish, bread and mealies; she wants to be self-employed (Interviewee 3). A young woman is selling meat next to the road in Endlovini, and hopes eventually to expand her business. She also does beading:

“There is another place in Harare where we are selling our bead work. The company is taking stock from each person and put the money that they are paying us to our bank account.”

Another woman sleeps during the day to enable her to work night shifts in a bakery (Interviewee 12). Upon arrival in Cape Town, a young man found work in Nyanga, but encountered problems and resigned. He was fortunate enough to find another position at Campwell Hardware, Mitchell’s Plain (Interviewee 17).

Presently, nine of the migrants are unemployed. Out of this group only two men have tried to find employment since they arrived in Cape Town: A young man has done contract work for a construction firm, putting ceilings in houses (Interviewee 14), whilst a middle-aged carpenter’s experience of temporary employment in Cape Town goes as follows:

“I got a job when I came here at Grand West Casino. I was a casual for one month and three weeks and afterwards I got a job for N2 Gateway because I am a carpenter by profession. So I was doing roofing and doors. And when the project ended I was left without a job – that is why you find me sitting here. Now I am doing some casual jobs for the community.”

It is crucial to understand the reasons for the exclusion of the vast majority of interviewed migrants from the labour market.¹⁷

Firstly, the migrants who participated in this study are new arrivals in the city, and have been here for less than a year. They are staying with their relatives, also migrants, but who have had lengthier stays in the city. The majority of the relatives have managed to find work. This could indicate that the longer migrants stay, the more likely their chance to be employed.

¹⁷ As mentioned earlier, the sample is slightly skewed towards unemployed migrants. The newly arrived migrants who are excluded from the labour market may be over-represented in the group, with nine being unemployed and four employed. Nevertheless, the over-representation of unemployed persons is not much different from the statistic profile of Endlovini where six out of ten residents are unemployed.

Secondly, the migrants' educational background and skills affect their chances to find employment. This group's educational background ranges from no education/job training, to Standard 8-11/matric, to particular profession related, typically manual skills such as sewing, laying tiles, painting or carpentry, as well as computer skills. On the one hand, some migrants' lack of education or training might exclude them from the labour market. However, on the other hand, some of the unemployed migrants in Endlovini have relevant manual skills but still do not seem to get an opportunity to enter the labour market. The migrant with computer skills does not apply those skills in Cape Town (Interviewee 17). The carpenter can only find casual employment within his community (Interviewee 15). The seamstress, who became unemployed when the Eastern Cape factory where she had worked closed down, cannot use her skills to find employment in Cape Town (Interviewee 1). A contributing factor to her unsuccessful search for employment could be the significant loss of formal sector employment opportunities by the Western Cape textile industry in the last while (Gelderblom, 2006:5). The migrant who is skilled in laying tiles and painting summarised his wasted skills as follows:

"...when you see me wearing this overall, it is not that I am crazy. I am just waiting for anybody that can see me wearing this overall and say there is a job somewhere and say: *Come and do this job for me.*"

Thirdly, the migrants were asked about the kind of job they were looking for. This was necessary to understand whether they are particular/choosy, or indeed willing to take any job that comes their way. This was meant to improve the researchers' understanding of the reasons for migrants' exclusion from the labour market. It did however seem as if the migrants are willing to take "any kind of job".¹⁸ Sadly however, their willingness does not pave the way for employment. A young woman with matric is prepared to do any work; her hopeless situation however remains unchanged:

"[I am looking for] any job that I can find, so I can earn a salary...Ever since I came here there has not even been hope. I don't find anything. I have been trying for a long time."

In an attempt to ascertain the spirit of entrepreneurship among the migrants, they were also asked whether they have thought of starting their own business. The vast majority would like to start their own business, but lack the capital to do so. One of the migrants illustrates this point by stating that he cannot think of starting his own business when he does not even have enough money to buy bread (Interviewee 6).

Fourthly, the way in which migrants are searching for employment makes a difference. Are they active or passive, and are they experiencing any spatial obstacles in their search? What kind of jobs are they looking for? Unfortunately, only the minority of the migrants describe their manner of searching for

¹⁸ A few interviewees deviate slightly from this general trend. They are willing to take any kind of job, but are hoping for a specific one, e.g. working as a security guard, carpenter or with computers.

employment; they actively look for a job. Various statements reflect this. A young man said the following about his persistent search for employment:

“As I was desperately looking for a job, I was just going to any firm that I saw. When you go and look for a job, you go at six o'clock. Let's for instance take Cape Town: We reach the first firm, then I meet the owner, then he maybe tells me there is no job and then I move on to the next firm. Perhaps the next firm says I must come back in a month time. Then I move on and the next one tells me the same thing and I move on to the next firm. After some time I check the time and it is maybe about one or two o'clock and then I take the train back.... Sometimes I was going back to those places with the perception that if you are persistent, then they will see that you are seriously looking for the job. But sometimes I was changing places. I even made copies of my ID and handed in my CVs to other places. I was going to other areas like Mutual [Pinelands].”

He continued by telling about how the search for a job affected him:

“I was feeling very bad but I was praying. I was always promising myself that I am still young and will get a job one day.”

A recent study on newly arrived migrants coming to Cape Town concluded that the distance between areas like Khayelitsha and places of work is one of the most important spatial obstacles for the migrants' integration in the labour market (Rospabe & Selod, 2006:279). One of the migrants in this study voiced frustration about his transport problems in his search for employment:

“...the problem is that if you stay in Khayelitsha you must have R5.50 for a single ticket; even the lady I stay with doesn't have money, she is not working. If you buy a weekly and don't get a job, you have wasted R27.00. And that thing stresses me out.”

Nonetheless this viewpoint is counter-balanced by four positive statements about transport in Cape Town, describing it as reasonably priced compared to the Eastern Cape's. One migrant who is actively searching for employment told the following story about how rail transport enables him to look for a job and find temporary positions on the farms:

“You pay less for the transport here to go and look for a job because I use the train and I pay R5.50 to go to town....I take a train to everywhere. Areas like Monte Vista. I go around there looking for a job. And I also go to the farms in Platteklouf. There I work in the gardens and plant some flowers for them.” (Interviewee 6).

These positive statements about travelling costs show that the migrants still have a certain income base even though they are unemployed. Their main income source is family support (see Point 4.2.2, “Social networks”).

Fifthly, unemployment may be caused by a general mismatch of supply and demand in the labour market (Rospabe & Selod, 2006:279). The influx of migrants into Cape Town causes the labour supply to exceed the labour demand. A survey in the field of migration reinforces this point by concluding that Cape Town’s urban economy fails to provide more than a small fraction of its African population with significant employment (De Swardt *et al.*, 2005:111).

Due to the complexity of reasons for the exclusion of migrants from the labour market, caution should be taken when drawing conclusions from the abovementioned five points. One immediate paradox arises: Four migrants who have managed to find employment do not have any education or training for their respective positions. This will be touched on in the next section of the report that deals with the migrants’ social networks.

Education and health care

Five of the interviewees came to Cape Town in search of better schools and doctors. Their expectations have been met, as they have received access to the health care systems and schools. The reason for this inclusion will among other things be analysed in the following section on the social network’s crucial role in the migrant’s living conditions.

4.2.2 Social networks

Existing social networks (relatives and friends) in Cape Town played a significant role in the migrants’ decision to move to Cape Town, and not to Johannesburg or Port Elizabeth. These networks continue to play an important part in the migrants’ current situation. This section will try to identify the most important networks and their impact on the migrants by means of financial and social support. Financial support, also called material support, refers to the networks’ contribution to the migrants’ basic needs such as food, accommodation, transport and social services like health care and education. In this context, social support refers to less tangible support, which includes the extent to which migrants are accepted in and interact with social networks.

Social networks’ significance for the migrants’ living conditions in Endlovini may be summarised by differentiating between the core (family members), the inner circle (friends from the same place of origin), the outer circle (neighbours/community) and the periphery (church). This hierarchy shows that the migrants are new arrivals, and are therefore less familiar with their neighbours and community than with friends hailing from the Eastern Cape who now also live in Endlovini. The hierarchy is much

different from the normal one for Khayelitsha residents, as usually neighbours are more important than friends (Urban Renewal Programme, 2006a:38).

Family is by far the most important social network for the newly arrived migrants in Endlovini. The family members, who initially encouraged the migrants to come to Cape Town, go on to take responsibility for their regular financial support by providing them with an income base. Most of the migrants have at least one employed family member, for instance working as a security guard or a bricklayer. Such relatives' dependable income enables them to finance their migrant relatives from the Eastern Cape. The ongoing provision of food and accommodation is vital for the survival of the migrants. Almost all of the migrants depend on the money from their family members, with whom they also stay. The newly arrived migrants are a vulnerable group – especially since most of them, who came to Cape Town in search of employment, have remained unemployed. In the absence of employment opportunities, these migrants survive due to their strong networks. One exception is a newly arrived migrant, who has poor relations with his brother in Khayelitsha, and receives support from his mother in the Eastern Cape. He told the following story:

“I have to send a ‘Call back-SMS’ to my mother every time I need money for food. So out of the money she gets from pension she must put aside R200 for food. Three days ago my mother sent me some money here because I told her that it was about 3-4 days, I didn't have food in my stomach.”

Family and the financial support they render play a central part in the lives of migrants, who came to Cape Town for better education and health care. The critical factor for the inclusion of migrants in the delivery of these services is whether the migrants' family members locally have the financial means to pay for school and doctor's fees. In some instances, the family members have also helped locating the services and registering the migrants (Interviewee 3, 7, 8, 16 & 18). For two of the interviewees who came to Cape Town in search of employment, the desire to go to school had been a contributing factor to their move. But due to their social network's lack of funds, they now do not have access to schools (Interviewee 2 & 9).

Family members may also serve as a base of social support, as they share information about possible employment opportunities with the migrants. For instance, a young migrant whose sister had been working in Mitchell's Plain told him about a vacancy at Campwell Warehouse. He was subsequently employed as an assistant, and by the time of the interview had been working there for two weeks. The very same migrant has computer skills, and has already been quoted in this study referring to his persistent search for employment, walking from one firm to the next and handing in CVs. However, neither the skills, nor the persistent efforts paid off. His shortcut to employment was his social network, as his sister had shared with him information about a vacancy. The migrant is now an assistant selling building materials and hardware accessories, a job that is a complete deviation from his field of training.

The abovementioned is yet another example that could be used to illustrate a point raised earlier in the report: What are the real reasons for the newly arrived migrants' unemployment? The reason might very well be that their family members do not have information about vacancies, and therefore cannot assist their migrant relatives like the Campwell Warehouse employee's sister was able to.

Friends from the migrants' places of origin who also live in Endlovini form part of the inner circle, because the friends and migrants provide mutual support. Most of the migrants regularly interact with their friends from home, enjoy each other's company, chat and reminisce about the Eastern Cape (Interviewee 16). Some of the interviewees added that they share information about employment opportunities, and help each other. The following imitation of a conversation between migrants and their friends illustrates this:

"Hi guys, are you fine? Last time I saw you, you were looking for a job. Did you find a job?"

"No I didn't find a job yet"

"Ok if you haven't found a job I will try to help you."

In one case, this sharing of employment information has paved the way for employment. One of the migrants landed a job due to his connections to a friend working in a bakery (Interviewee 12). Another one of the interviewees gets "emergency" financial support from his friends:

"I just tell my friends and my homeboys - these ones that I am sitting with - that: *"Guys I didn't have food last night"*, and then they give me food."

Neighbours and the broader *community of Endlovini* form the outer circle of the migrants' social network. The migrants perceive the neighbours and community as having accepted them. In some instances, the relationship is characterised by more active interaction and mutual help between neighbours and within the community of Endlovini. For instance, one man uses his carpenter skills to do odd jobs for residents at a nominal fee (Interviewee 15). Also, the community is playing an active role in another woman's search for employment:

"The community always ask me, what I am doing. I say I am doing anything. So they say, I must bring my CV and they will try to help me looking for a job."

Two of the migrants can obtain financial support from their neighbours for specific purposes: One interviewee mentioned that she can borrow from her neighbours for bus or taxi fare if she is short of money (Interviewee 8), whilst another woman can borrow money from her neighbours for medicine against stomach aches (Interviewee 11).

Church forms part of the periphery. A vast majority of the migrants are not members of a church in Endlovini, because they only arrived recently and have not yet had time to engage in the local church life. Three of the migrants who have joined a church referred to the importance of this network. One explained that sometimes the other members of the congregation share information about employment opportunities when they happen to hear about vacancies. One migrant can discuss her financial problems with her fellow church members, who then lend her money to survive particularly rough patches (Interviewee 5 & 9). The migrant who had been without food for three to four days would not ask the church members for help:

“...I don't express myself in that regard to other church members. It is embarrassing to tell people about that.”

4.2.3 Service and security matters

The analysis of the migrants' living conditions will be completed by looking at their access to basic services and perception of security matters. The interviewees were asked to compare basic services such as health care, electricity, water, sanitation, schools and housing in Endlovini to those in their place of origin. Regarding security, police protection and crime were the major concerns. The reason for this was to ascertain whether the migrants feel more or less included in or excluded from service delivery and security in Endlovini, than what they had been back home. The problem of comparing the conditions in Endlovini to conditions in the Eastern Cape is that all the migrants come from different areas in the Eastern Cape, resulting in diverse perceptions of their home province. However, since the vast majority of the migrants come from rural areas, there are certain similarities.

Generally, the migrants have a more negative perception of crime, housing and sanitation in Cape Town as compared to these aspects in their places of origin. However, they feel more positive about Cape Town schools, health care and police protection. They feel positive about having access to both water and electricity in Endlovini. Thus, the extent of inclusion or exclusion varies according to the specific service and security matter.

When the migrants were asked to compare Endlovini to their place of origin, local crime was the top concern. The migrants were negative about the extent of criminal activity in Endlovini, and perceive the community as insecure. This perception is consistent with statistics that highlight Endlovini as one of the crime hot spot areas in Khayelitsha (Booi, 2006). The migrants complained about *tsotsis*, and talked about crimes happening in Endlovini ranging from phone theft and robberies to killings (Interviewee 1, 10, 13 & 17). Comparatively, they generally regard their places of origin as much more secure, with no or only occasional incidents of crime. They specifically mentioned that criminal activity in Endlovini is particularly rife at night:

“You can’t go out at night here in Endlovini. You can die for your own things if you are being robbed. There in the Eastern Cape you can go wherever, even at midnight, nothing is going to happen to you and I am not scared. “

Several of the migrants based their negative perception of crime in Endlovini on first-hand experiences. The interviews revealed that a murder had been committed shortly prior to the fieldwork. When asked about crime, one of the interviewees displayed anxiety:

“You mustn’t talk loud about that [crime] because when you leave, I will already have been pointed at with a gun....last Sunday there was another guy who was killed here. He came to us and sat with us and he said he was leaving. He never came back and we heard that he was shot.”

One of the interviewees witnessed the murder:

“They were fighting over a girlfriend....They were arguing and my brother’s friend said that he would come back. He went away and came back with a knife....the guy from Site B [another community in Khayelitsha] shot my brother’s friend while he was still approaching him and before he [my brother’s friend] was instantly killed before he could do anything.”¹⁹

Another migrant saw his neighbour getting killed:

“Doors are kicked during the night and they do whatever they want to do inside... [The police] don’t do their jobs and there are no streets here. Sometimes a crime is happening and you phone the police and they tell you that Endlovini doesn’t have streets so “*we don’t know where that street number is*”. Then you look through the windows and watch your neighbour dying in front of you.”

The above quote also levels criticism at the police for not showing up at the crime scene. The migrants had diverse opinions about police protection in Endlovini. Most of them were positive, and said that the police are doing a good job; that they patrol day and night (Interviewee 2 & 16). Others were more skeptical, stating that often the police arrive too long after a crime had been committed. One migrant accused the police of having stolen R150 from his neighbour’s fruit stall (Interviewee 15). In general though, the migrants are more satisfied with the police in Endlovini than with SAPS in the Eastern Cape. Some of the interviewees pointed to the vast distances between their homesteads and the police stations back home, resulting in poor response times and often no-shows. One migrant considered the police in his place of origin to be cowards; according to him the police run away from the crimes because they are afraid of the criminals’ guns (Interviewee 4,12,13,16 & 18).

¹⁹ In this case, the motive had been a fight over a girlfriend. One other interviewee said that killings could also happen if you do not know the specific person: “*He will kill you even if he got what he wanted.*” (Interviewee 10)

With regard to housing, the migrants are living in shacks in the informal settlement of Endlovini as opposed to houses in the Eastern Cape. Their living arrangement in Endlovini makes the migrants feel relatively excluded from service delivery. The migrants' views on low housing standards in Endlovini? Those who did voice an opinion on the matter have mixed feelings about having to live in shacks (Interviewee 8, 11, 14 & 17). On the one hand, it is problematic since they had lived in houses in the Eastern Cape. In addition, one's shack had burnt down. One of the migrants blamed the oppression during apartheid for the abnormal living conditions in these communities. On the other hand, the migrants are showing signs of adaptation to their new living conditions, because they can see that the other residents of Endlovini are also living under the same conditions (Interviewee 15 & 17).²⁰ One migrant is so well adapted that he likes his shack better than a house:

"Although I am staying in a shack it is better here because I am here now and I am familiar with staying in a shack. A shack is also a house."

The newly arrived migrants raised concerns about sanitation in Endlovini. The vast majority of them are excluded from decent sanitation, as they have to use public open spaces for this purpose; back in the Eastern Cape they had proper toilet facilities. Since there are several proper toilet facilities in Endlovini, the use of open spaces for this purpose is surprising. One of the interviewees explained why people are forced to do this:

"Yes, there are toilets, but they are closed. They just built them and closed them."

The people are therefore dealing with this problem by using the field or woods as ablution facilities, visiting people with proper toilets in other parts of Khayelitsha, or building their own toilets (e.g. Interviewee 2 & 9). One interviewee voiced concern that the smell of human excrement could cause illnesses (Interviewee 14).

The migrants are positive about access to education and health care services in Cape Town,²¹ as these services are closer and of a better quality than in the Eastern Cape. As mentioned earlier in this report, the migrants who came to Cape Town in search of better education and health care have succeeded in obtaining access to these services. The pensioner stated that the doctors have been able to help her, whilst two interviewees expressed their positive attitude towards health care by saying that their mothers who had remained in the Eastern Cape, must come to Cape Town's hospitals, e.g. Groote Schuur in

²⁰ One interviewee is optimistic about the future of housing delivery, as they hope that by 2010 government will have built them houses as it has promised to do (Interviewee 14).

²¹ However, a few interviewees answered questions about schools and health care from a very local perspective, adding a more negative flavour to their answers, e.g. when they replied that there is only a crèche and no schools in Endlovini.

Observatory if they get sick (Interviewee 15 & 17). A young man confirmed the general satisfaction with Cape Town schools by stating that he has found better education in Cape Town (Interviewee 18).

Regarding electricity and water, the migrants seemed equally positive about the standard of these services in Endlovini and their place of origin. From the interviews it seemed that most migrants now have electricity and water in Endlovini,²² as had been the case in their places of origin.

4.3 Temporary or permanent settlement in Cape Town

After having analysed the migrants' decision to move from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town, as well as their present living conditions, the aim of this section is to map out the migrants' future plans. More specifically, this section will focus on the *temporary* or *permanent nature* of the migrants' stay in Cape Town. The most common example of temporary migration is called circular migration, which refers to young men or women, who leave their rural home, go to towns, spend most of their working career there and retire in their rural ancestral homes (Western Cape Province, 2001:3). Another mechanism that may cause a migrant to return home is the pushback factor of high urban unemployment (Smit, 1998:79). Permanent migration is when individuals leave rural areas permanently to join or set up new households in urban areas, also often referred to as one-way migration or "gravity flows" (Keller, 2004:17).

In trying to ascertain whether the migrants have settled in Cape Town temporarily or permanently, one must guard against drawing general conclusions. A majority of the migrants have not experienced improvements in their living conditions. Most of them find themselves in the greatest uncertainty, being either unemployed or poorly positioned in the labour market. This state of affairs causes most interviewees to give indefinite answers when they are asked about their future plans. The length of their stay depends on whether they will succeed in finding employment. Does this mean that the migrants will return to the Eastern Cape if they do not find work? And if they find a job, will they stay in Cape Town permanently? From the interviews it is evident that this can go either way.

Most of the newly arrived migrants intend to stay temporarily in Cape Town and return to the Eastern Cape in the future. The migrants have retained membership in, and ties with, their households of origin. The migrants still have a home in the Eastern Cape, where family members like their children, parents or siblings remained. They have visited their home in the Eastern Cape since their arrival in Cape Town, or intend to do so in December during the summer holiday. While the migrants feel at home in the Eastern Cape, they regard Cape Town as a place where they could earn money and work:

"...I was born there and I am familiar with that place and I grew up there. I regard myself as a tourist here."

²² It seems that not all parts of Endlovini have electricity (Interviewee 14).

“The reason I feel at home there [the Eastern Cape] is that I have already got a house. And here it is only a place to get *pap* [African porridge].”

Since to them Cape Town is only a place of employment, the high unemployment rate may end up being a “pushback” factor for some of the unemployed migrants. Three of the interviewees²³ who are still unemployed, do not have enough money to return to the Eastern Cape, but created the impression that they would return for good whenever they can afford transport to go home. One of them is fed up with his situation:

“...if I can go back now, and still don’t have a job in Cape Town, then I won’t come back because it has been some time I have been looking for a job. So I will go to other places where my life can improve.”

In the long run, the employed migrants – i.e. those not influenced by the “pushback factor” – might also want to return to the Eastern Cape when they have earned enough money to make a decent living back home and retire in their homesteads. One employed migrant will go straight back to the Eastern Cape and never look back if he has enough money to make a living there (Interviewee 17). An employed female migrant clearly regards her stay in Cape Town as temporary, and wants to move back to the Eastern Cape as soon as possible:

“...when the time is right, when my children are growing up, I will go back because I don’t want my children to grow up here in Cape Town. I am doing this thing about selling meat for my children’s sake.”

Even though most of the migrants intend to stay in Cape Town temporarily, their stay might end up being more permanent for a number of reasons. Literature suggests that despite the fact that newly settled households express their intention to return, this expectation weakens over time. It also weakens as children left behind in the Eastern Cape join their parents, who have migrated to Cape Town (Bekker, 1999:17). Is the migrants’ desire to return to the Eastern Cape then possibly a matter of wishful thinking? The unemployed migrants may at first be pushed back to the Eastern Cape, but if they also cannot find a job there, they might not have any other option than to return to Cape Town where they have friends and family; more so if there are employment opportunities:

“I will never say I am going back to Eastern Cape permanently because Cape Town is our place of work. If, for instance, I decide to go back to Eastern Cape permanently, and someone tells me that there is a job for me in Cape Town, I will come back to Cape Town.”

²³ Interviewee 1, 5 & 6

The employed migrants do not know if they will ever be able to afford to return to the Eastern Cape, and may not have any other option than to stay in Cape Town.²⁴

Other interviewees made it clear that their move to Cape Town had been a permanent one. Among the eighteen interviewees, five migrants emphasised the permanency of their stay. Two of the migrants have got married since their arrival in Cape Town, and want to stay permanently to live with their husbands, who support them financially (Interviewee 9 & 10). A male migrant expressed his willingness to stay in Cape Town permanently because of the Eastern Cape's lack of employment opportunities. He added that he only wants to visit the Eastern Cape in December for summer holiday (Interviewee 18).²⁵ Another school-going migrant mentioned that he wants to spend the rest of his life in Cape Town without elaborating on the reasons therefore. A middle-aged migrant was the only one of the unemployed migrants who definitely wants to stay in Cape Town. This city is where he feels at home and wants to buy his own house. He plans to stay in Cape Town permanently because he likes the urban lifestyle. In Cape Town he can learn many things as opposed to at his place of origin, which he described as "backward" (Interviewee 15).

²⁴ In addition, literature stresses that circular migration is becoming less common, as more and more households have broken permanently from their communities of origin (Gelderblom, 2006:18).

²⁵ A few of the migrants who came to Cape Town to study are planning to move back home after they have finished their education in Cape Town, in order to resume their life in the Eastern Cape. Their motivations are to join their parents in the homesteads, and to look for a job in the surrounding areas (Interviewee 7 & 8).

5. Conclusion

This study aimed to answer three questions: 1) *What were the reasons for migrating?*; 2) *What are the migrants' current living conditions?*; and 3) *Will the migrants' stay in Cape Town temporarily or permanently?* The answers to these questions were obtained from a limited sample group consisting of eighteen interviewees – all newly arrived migrants living in the informal settlement of Monwabisi Park (Endlovini) in Khayelitsha. The study's findings deal with one pattern of migration. However, it must be stressed that other patterns of migration could occur when one for example looks at migrants living in formal housing, having secure employment, having stayed in Cape Town for a longer period than one year, etc.

The eighteen newly arrived migrants offered a range of *reasons for their decision to migrate* to Cape Town. However, the majority of the migrants came to Cape Town in search of employment. They left the Eastern Cape due to unemployment and limited employment prospects. Some were spurred on by the search for good education or health care. Their decision to move to Cape Town was given further impetus by their existing social networks – primarily family members – in Cape Town, and not in other potential areas such as Johannesburg or Port Elizabeth. Before having left the Eastern Cape, the interviewees had received positive feedback about Cape Town's employment opportunities, good education or health care services from family members in the city.

In most cases there appeared to be a gap between the migrants' expectations and the realities of their current *living conditions* in Endlovini. Most of the migrants are currently either unemployed or poorly positioned in the labour market. These migrants heavily depend on their family members, as their main social network, for financial support. The migrants who came to Cape Town for better education and better health care have been more successful, as they have gained access to these services due to their family members' payment of fees. Relatives paved the way for the few migrants who have obtained employment. One of the main concerns of the migrants is crime in Endlovini. Several migrants have had first-hand experience of crime, and find Endlovini unsafe compared to their places of origin. In Endlovini the migrants live in shacks and without proper toilet facilities. In the Eastern Cape, the majority of the migrants lived in decent houses and with proper ablution facilities but they were willing to sacrifice more comfortable living conditions in exchange for employment.

It is difficult to measure the permanency of the migrants' stay in Endlovini because migrants are often faced by uncertainty. The migrants' future depends on employment opportunities. Most of the migrants intend staying temporarily in Cape Town because the city is only a place to earn money and find a job, whereas the migrants regard the Eastern Cape as their home. However, the migrants may end up staying more permanently in Cape Town since their dream of returning to the Eastern Cape weakens over time (Bekker, 1999).

5.1 Implications and further studies

The eighteen migrants left the Eastern Cape because of that province's limited employment opportunities and their perception of Cape Town as a place with much better prospects. This *interprovincial* inequality therefore forces people to leave their place of origin. Thus it remains relevant to support the socio-economic upliftment of the Eastern Cape in order to create jobs so that migration is not a necessity but an active decision to live a more productive life elsewhere in South Africa. The creation of a partnership or the strengthening of relationships with other municipalities in the Eastern Cape, might be an option to consider.

This study re-emphasises the problem of unemployment in Cape Town's informal settlements. In Endlovini, the unemployment rate is as high as 58 % (Statistics South Africa, 2001). The eighteen migrants in Endlovini struggle due to unemployment and resultant poverty. These conditions reflect the general problem of urbanisation in South Africa, with poverty shifting to the urban areas due to migration into cities and towns (Hadland, 2006). Poverty must therefore be understood within the context of migration, mainly from the Eastern Cape (De Swardt *et al.*, 2005:111).

In the absence of government intervention, family members provide a safety net, and protect the migrants against extreme poverty. But what type of role should the City of Cape Town and the Western Cape Provincial Government play? Another study stresses the need to reduce the migrants' vulnerability in terms of longer-term lifespan strategies and processes of rural and urban investment. Within these strategies, the ability to secure reliable sources of income, particularly through regular employment, is of crucial importance (De Swardt *et al.*, 2005:111). A possible next step may be a discussion within and between the City of Cape Town's departments and directorates to review current and future interventions in support of migrants. This could form the basis for an *intergovernmental* discussion on possible interventions to help the migrants to adapt and adjust to their new urban setting, whether by means of the provision of alternative support systems, skills development or job creation. Moreover, it is relevant to discuss how the migrants could be equipped with information on vacancies.

Although this study has elaborated somewhat on the migrants' search for employment, there remains a need for ongoing research to inform planning and economic development interventions. A quantitative survey among migrants from the Eastern Cape could be relevant to confirm or discard the reasons for unemployment that have been raised in this study. A useful qualitative study²⁶ would be to interview the migrants on a weekly basis over the period of a month or two about their day-to-day experiences in searching for employment. This information could be diarised and would give an in-depth understanding of the reasons for migrants' unemployment.

²⁶ The advantage of this method is that it would give more detailed information about the job search. The regular nature of the meetings would also create mutual trust, and would instil confidence in the interviewees to express their feelings about being rejected on a daily basis.

Finally, this study does not attempt to measure the net rates of migration. Nevertheless, the City of Cape Town needs to ascertain the migration rate, as it influences the demand for service delivery.²⁷ In order to fill this information gap,²⁸ there is a need for additional research into migration trends, given that the latest available comprehensive statistics were obtained as long ago as 2001 (Statistics South Africa, 2001).

²⁷ In Cape Town, most of the new households in the city are poor due to the influx of migrants and population growth. The income levels of most of these households are too low for them to be accommodated in the private housing system, and the rate of subsidised public housing delivery has been inadequate to meet the demand. As a consequence, a large proportion of Capetonians live in informal settlements, with inadequate services and infrastructure, resulting in a wide range of social and economic problems (State of Cape Town, 2006:40)

²⁸ Meanwhile, the best available information is a recent population projection, which has raised the question of the future net migration into the Western Cape Province, and has developed three scenarios: a low, middle and high influx of migration (Dorrington, 2005:18).

6. List of references

Amisi, Baruti (2006): *Social Capital, Social Networks, and refugee Migration: An exploration of the Livelihood Strategies of Durban Congolese Refugees*, 48 pp.

Bekker, Simon (1999): *Circulatory migration linking Cape Town to the Eastern Cape. Some reflections*, University of Stellenbosch, 25 pp.

Booi, Monwabisi (2006): Urban Renewal Programme Manager, Personal communication.

City of Cape Town (2005): *Population profile for Khayelitsha*, Strategic Information.

City of Cape Town (2006): *Migration patterns and trends in the Western Cape and Cape Town*, Strategic Information, 6 pp.

De Haan, Arjen & Rogaly, Ben (2002): *Introduction: Migrant workers and Their Role in Rural Change*, Labour mobility and rural society, pp. 1-14.

Department of Sociology (2000): *Proceedings of a Graduate Workshop on Internal Migration*, Occasional Paper No. 11, 72 pp.

De Swardt, Cobus; Puoane, Thandi; Chopra, Mickey, & Du Toit, Andries (2005): *Urban poverty in Cape Town*, Environment & Urbanization Vol 17 No 2, October 2005, pp. 101-112,

Dorrington, R.E. (2005): *Projection of the population of the City of Cape Town 2001-2021*. University of Cape Town, 72 pp.

Gelderblom, Derik (2006): *Limits to the urbanisation of poverty in South Africa*, Department of Sociology, University of South Africa, Pretoria, 25 pp.

Hadland, Adrian (2006): *Poverty is fast ravishing our society*, Article published in *Cape Times*, 20/11 2006.

Horner, Dudley; Ndegwa, David & Esau, Faldie (2004): *The links between migration, poverty and health: evidence from Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain*, CSSR Working Paper No. 73, 43 pp.

Keller, Sonja (2004): *Household formation, Poverty and Unemployment – the Case of Rural Households in South Africa*, Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers: 1/2004.

Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services (2006): *A nation in the making – a discussion document on macro-social trends in South Africa*, 107 pp.

Rospabe, Sandrine and Selod, Harris (2006): *Does city structure cause unemployment? The case of Cape Town*, pp. 262-287 in Borat, Haroon and Kanbur, Ravi: *Poverty and Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, HSCR Press, 512 pp.

Smit, Warren (1998): *The rural linkages of urban households in Durban, South Africa*, Environment and Urbanization, Vol. 10, No.1, pp. 77-87

South African Migration Project (2006): *SA plan to cut foreign doctors in country*, Queens University - Summary 12. June 2006, 1 p.

Statistics South Africa (1996). *Census 1996*, <http://www.statssa.gov.za>.

Statistics South Africa (2001). *Census 2001*, <http://www.statssa.gov.za>.

University of Cape Town and CSSR (2000): *Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey 2000*.

University of Stellenbosch (1990): *Surveys of Residential and Migration history of the residents of the shack areas of Khayelitsha*, Research Unit for Sociology of Development.

Urban Renewal Programme (2006): *Socio-economic profiling of urban renewal nodes – Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain*, compiled by QSJ Consultants & Unit for Religion and Development Research (University Stellenbosch), 148 pp.

Urban Renewal Programme (2006b): Personal communication with Monwabisi Booi.

Western Cape Province (2002): *Migration study in the Western Cape 2001*, 78 pp.

Western Cape Population Unit (2006): *Khayelitsha Population Register Update 2005*, Presentation handed out at launch in Khayelitsha, 28 July 2006, 9 pp.

7. Annexure – Interview guideline

How long have you been here?

1. Reasons for migration

(Push/pull factors)

Why did you come to Cape Town *(push and pull)*?

a) If for employment:

What type of job did you do in your place of origin, if any? Have you had training for that job?

(Educational background)

If no job, what were the work prospects in your area of origin? When did that start? *(Push factor)*

Who told you about Cape Town? What kind of jobs were they talking about? Did they say they have already arranged it for you, or that you must go and look for it yourself? Do they have a job in CT?

(Information, pull factors)

Did you consider other areas where there were employment opportunities, such as Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth? *(Pull factors)*

b) If for health care:

If you fell ill, did you go to the doctors there? *(Push)*

What happened? *(Pull/information)*

c) If for education:

Why did you not go to school there? *(Push)*

Who told you about the school and helped you to find it? *(Information)*

Did you come directly to Cape Town, or did you first work in different places before arriving here? *(Route taken)*

2. Living conditions in Cape Town

Social networks (social, financial & political support from networks)

Social inclusion in/exclusion from service delivery, formal/informal job sector, etc.

1. Accommodation/housing

When you first arrived, did you move around from one settlement area to another, before finding permanent accommodation?

Did you first stay with family/friends? If yes, how long a time did/do you intend to stay? What attempts have you made to get accommodation?

2. Employment

Do you have a job? If so, what type of work and how often do you work per week? How did you find it?

If no job –

What did you do last week to find a job?

Where do you look for a job? (Paper, listen to radio, go to the farms, go to be collected, etc.) Describe a typical day. And how do you feel?

What type of work are you looking for? More specifically, what kind of job do you think you can get (factory, domestic worker, taxi driver, construction, etc.)?

What about the transport to the places where you are looking for jobs – does it influence the way in which you are searching for employment? (*Social exclusion by transport/prices/limitations*)

Do you consider starting a small business like selling fish, fruit, meat, etc.? (*Economical exclusion*)?

3. Network

Who supports you financially? Where/what type of job is he/she doing? (*Economic networks*)

Do you have a good relationship with your brother/sister, etc. with whom you are staying? Why? (*Social network*)

Do you belong to any church? (*Economic/social network*)

Do you see your homeboys here? What do you do when you see them? And what do you talk about? And do they help you to find a job? Do they have jobs? (*Social network*)

Do you feel accepted by the community where you are staying? (*Social network*)

3. Links to place of origin

Circular migration vs. permanent migration

Do you have a home in your place of origin? Do you feel at home there or here?

Have you gone back home since you've been in Cape Town? Why? How often do you intend to go back?

Do you consider the move to Cape Town as permanent or temporary? What would be the reasons for you to stay in Cape Town/move back to the Eastern Cape? If you still do not have a job in a few years' time, will you stay here – why/why not (money, pride, embarrassment)?.

Do you support your people back home financially?

Will other friends/members of family join you in Cape Town?

What do you think of the culture in Khayelitsha compared to that in your place of origin?

4. Compare services

Compare Endlovini to your place of origin. Has your standard of living improved?

- *House/shack*
- Police protection/crime
- Water
- Sanitation
- Electricity
- Schools
- Health care

Which place has the best services? And does it influence your choice to stay here or there?