



HSRC RESEARCH OUT

4090

Migration and service delivery, with specific reference to the Eastern Cape

by Pieter Kok

Social science that makes a difference

*PowerPoint presentation
delivered at the Eastern Cape
Provincial Conference on Migration and Population
Port Elizabeth, 11 July 2006.*



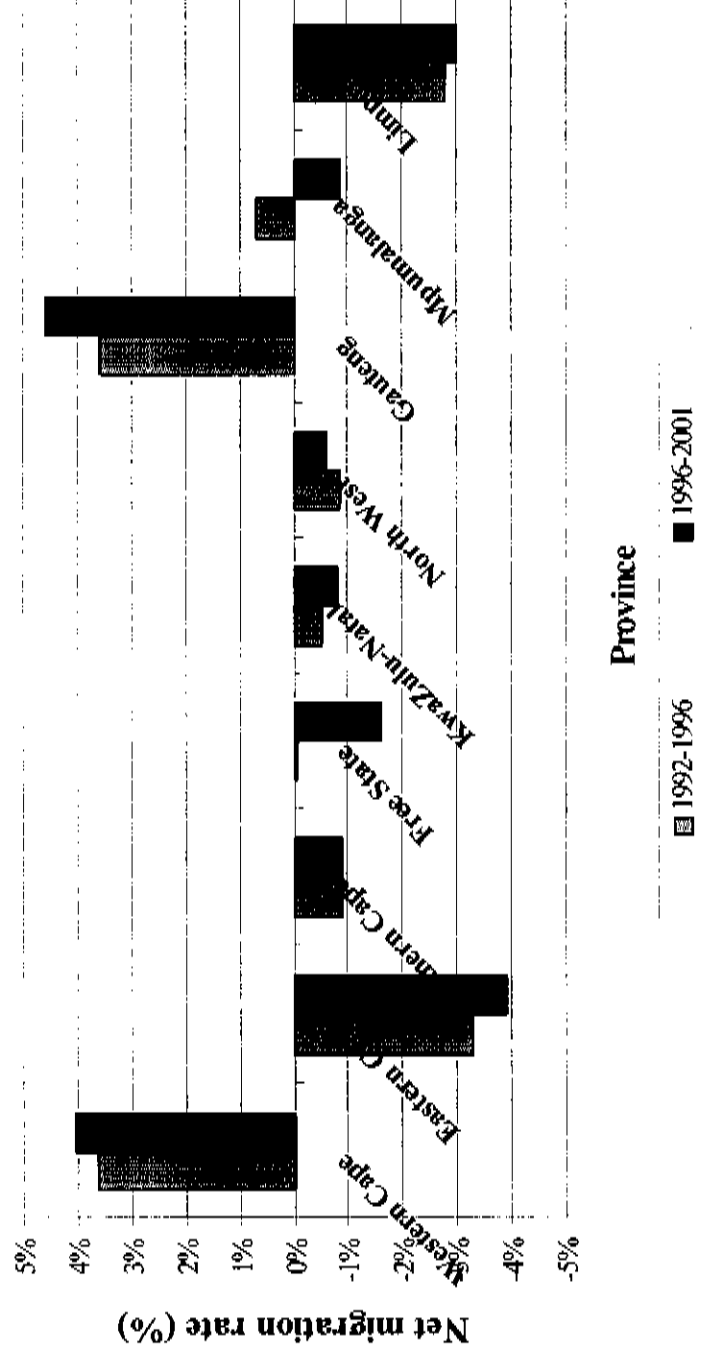
Presentation Outline

- Migration context
- Research questions
- Literature overview
- Migration decision-making theory
- Hypotheses
- Methodology (can be skipped)
- Findings
- Conclusions and implications

Migration context (1)

- The Eastern Cape experienced the greatest net migration loss over two periods (1992–1996 and 1996–2001)

Inter-provincial net migration rates
(1992-1996 & 1996-2001)

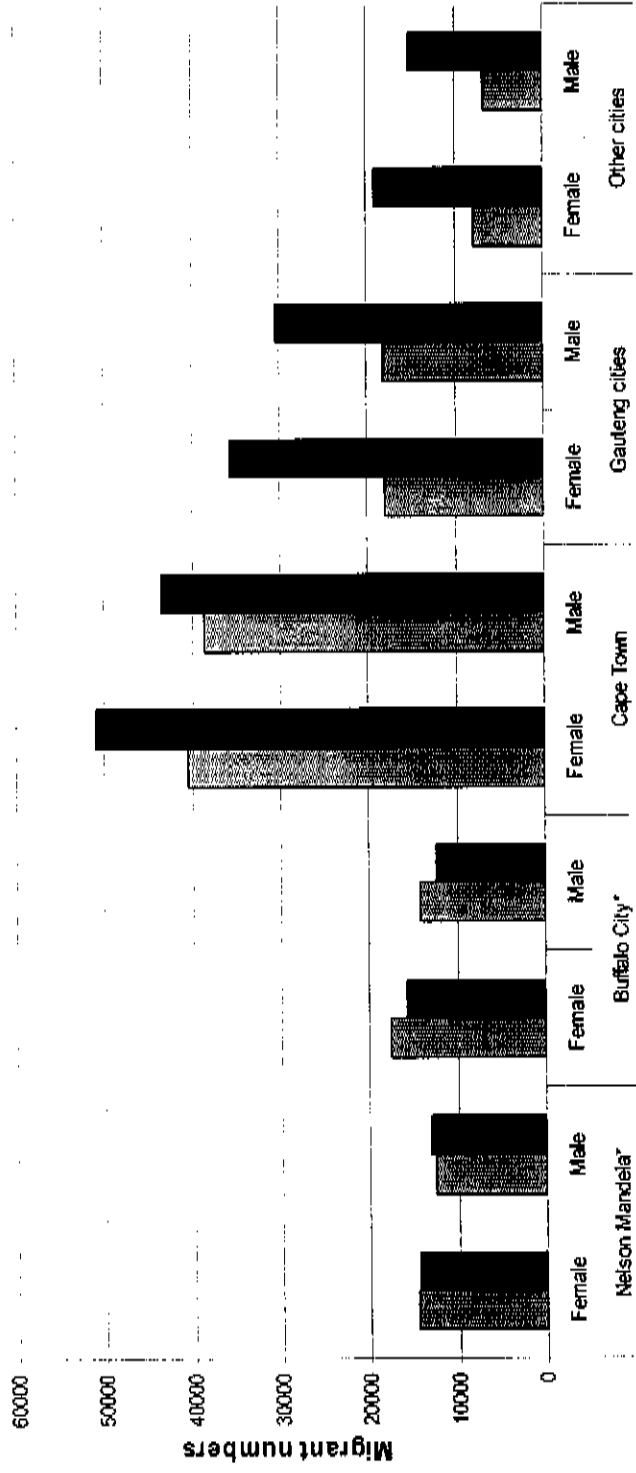


Migration context (2)

- The City of Cape Town is the main destination for migrants from the Eastern Cape
- Although the province houses two of the nine major cities in South Africa, neither Nelson Mandela Metro nor Buffalo City currently appears to be a viable alternative to the City of Cape Town

Migration context (3)

Migration from Eastern Cape* to the nine major cities in South Africa over two periods (1992-1996 & 1996-2001)



Destination city, by sex of the migrant
 *In the case of Nelson Mandela Metro and Buffalo City only moves from elsewhere in the Eastern Cape (i.e. not from within Nelson Mandela or Buffalo City respectively) are shown

1992-1996
 1996-2001

Migration context (4)

- Average migration levels to Nelson Mandela Metro (27 411) and Buffalo City (30 073) from elsewhere in the province over the periods 1992-1996 and 1996-2001 were low compared to migration from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town (86 765) and the other six major cities in SA (75 609)

Migration context (5)

- People living in Cape Town seem to be largely content with circumstances there and probably send positive messages to would-be migrants in the Eastern Cape
- These migrant networks are likely to contribute to a perpetuation of migration from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town

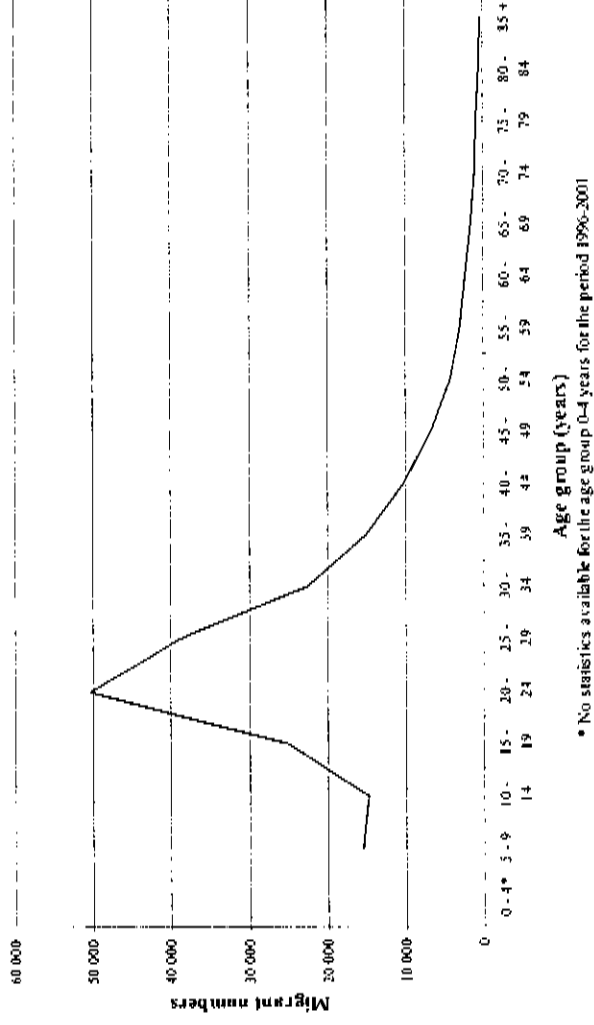
Research questions

1. Who are the migrants?
2. Why do people migrate?
3. What effect does migration have on service delivery?
4. What is the effect of service delivery on migration?

Literature overview (1)

- Who are the migrants? (1)
- Migrants are generally younger adults, mainly aged 15-34 years old, often with their children

Age profile of migration from the Eastern Cape to the nine major cities in SA (average for the two periods 1992-1996 & 1996-2001)



Literature overview (2)

- **Who are the migrants? (2)**
 - Migrants tend to be the more enterprising persons (with more risk-taking abilities and the ability 'to get things done'), but
- the *Mail & Guardian Online* reported on 21 August 2005 that research in Cape Town showed why poor people often turn out **not** to be entrepreneurs:
- they lack (venture) capital and have no room for mistakes
 - not because of an inherent inability to become 'their own bosses'

Literature overview (3)

- Why do people migrate?
- Popular wisdom has it that people migrate for employment reasons, but recent (notably micro-level) research shows a far more complex picture:
 - While *economic* factors are the key underlying (root) causes of migration, *social and other non-economic factors* (e.g. differential expectations about what different areas have to offer) are the 'primary determinants' of migration intentions
 - People's migration motives tend to be affected more by perceptions (e.g. the *expectations* that they have for an area) than the actual prevailing conditions in that area

Literature overview (4)

- What is the effect of service delivery on migration?
- Catherine Cross and Simon Bekker* found that service availability may be attracting Eastern Cape migrants to small towns and shack settlements, mainly in the parts of the province outside the former homeland areas

*Cross, C., S. Bekker, et al. (1999). *An unstable balance: migration, small farming, infrastructure and livelihoods on the Eastern Seaboard: Part Two, Eastern and Western Cape*. Research report to the Development Bank of Southern Africa. Midrand.

Literature overview (5)

- What effect does migration have on service delivery?

Cross* summarises her interpretation of the rural service-delivery dilemma as follows:

“...rural distances increase delivery costs for any given kind of public goods. There is an additional risk that migration could both create demand and take it away. That is, the possibility of further out-migration could undermine the usefulness of additional rural infrastructure in chosen localities, while at the same time the provision of such infrastructure would itself be likely to hold back at least some potential rural-to-urban population flow” (p. 206).

*Cross, C. (2006) “Migrant motivations and capacities in relation to key migration streams”. In: Kok, P. et al. (eds). *Migration in South and southern Africa: Dynamics and determinants*. Cape Town: HSRC, pp. 205-226.

Migration decision-making theory (1)

And now for some theory...

Migration decision-making theory (2)

According to migration decision-making theory, the **intention to migrate** is a “proximate” (an *important and nearby*) cause of migration behaviour (see, for example, De Jong & Fawcett* and also De Jong**)

*De Jong, G.F. & Fawcett, J.T. 1981. “Motivations for migration: An assessment and a value-expectancy research model”. In: De Jong, G.F. & Gardner, R.W. (eds). *Migration decision making: Multidisciplinary approaches to microlevel studies in developed and developing countries*. New York: Pergamon, pp. 13–58

**De Jong, G.F. 2000. “Expectations, gender, and norms in migration decision-making”. *Population Studies*, 54(3):307–319.

Migration decision-making theory (3)

Place-related expectations are a “primary” – an *important* but *not* necessarily *nearby* – cause for the intention to migrate permanently (see, for example, Gardner* and also De Jong**)

*Gardner, R.W. 1981. “Macrolevel influences on the migration decision process”. In: De Jong, G.F. & Gardner, R.W. (eds). *op.cit.*, pp. 59-89.

**De Jong, G.F. 2000. “Expectations, gender, and norms in migration decision-making”. *Population Studies*, 54(3):307–319.

Hypotheses

- Based on the literature on (a) the causes of migration, and (b) the interrelationship between migration, poverty and service delivery, the following two hypotheses can be formulated :
 1. Poverty and the unavailability of services are (negatively) associated with migration
 2. Poverty and the unavailability of services are causes of migration, but operate indirectly via the “primary causes” of migration intentions

Methodology (1)

The testing of these two hypotheses relies on the availability of appropriate area-level, household-level and individual-level data

Methodology (2)

- Census 2001 and an HSRC migration survey of 2001-02 provided the data to test these hypotheses

Methodology (3)

- An *overall poverty index** was constructed from municipal-level (community profile, full-census) 2001 census data to test both hypotheses
 - The index included the following **poverty** indicators: unemployment, low-income, illiteracy, inadequate housing quality, crowding, and female-headed households
 - It also included the following indicators on the **non-availability of on-site services**: water, electricity, sanitation, refuse removal, and access to a phone

*Based almost entirely on the suggestions reported by Jennings, R., Ntshime, M. & Everatt, D. (2003). *A poverty targeting strategy for Gauteng*. Unpublished draft report, Version 2. Johannesburg: Strategy & Tactics.

Methodology (4)

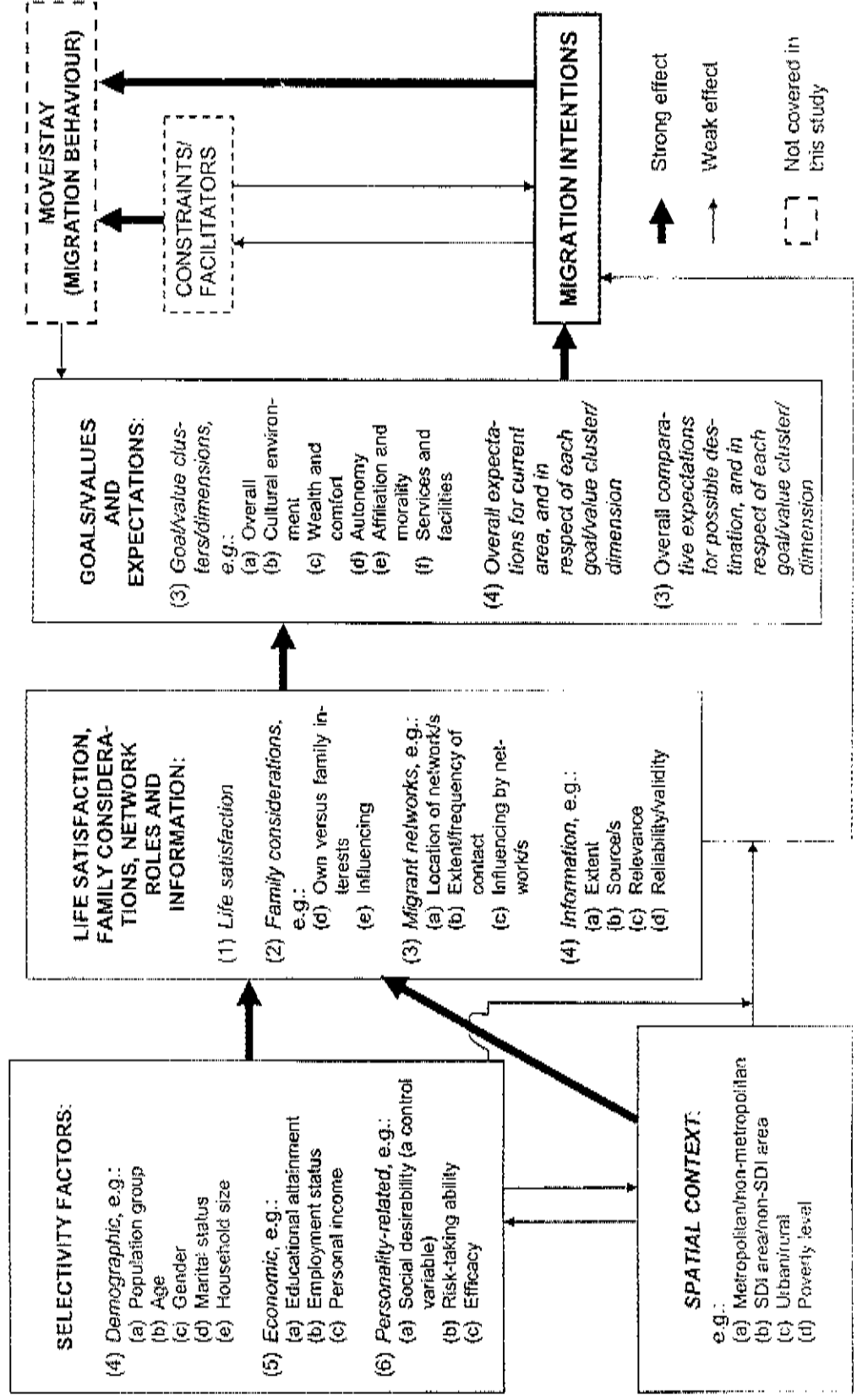
- A structural (causal) model, constructed earlier,* was used for testing the second hypothesis:
 - The model contained demographic, economic and personality-related selectivity factors, and certain variables associated with the spatial context (including the poverty index and locality typologies) as **background factors**
 - A first set of **intermediate factors**, which included life satisfaction, family considerations, migrant networks and information
 - The second set of intermediate factors was the “primary determinant” of migration intentions, namely the (value-weighted) **place-related expectations**
 - **Migration intentions** constituted the outcome variable

*See Kok, P. & Aliber M. 2005. *The causes and economic impact of human migration: case studies of migration from the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Limpopo to the nine major cities in South Africa*. Unpublished report to the Department of Trade and Industry. Pretoria: HSRC.

Methodology (5)

The structural model to be confirmed in respect of migration intentions...

FRAMEWORK FOR AN EXPECTANCY-BASED MODEL OF MIGRATION DECISION MAKING



Findings (1)

- A correlation analysis in respect of 40 Eastern Cape municipalities shows that **in-migration and net migration** (in- minus out-migration) are negatively associated with most (a) poverty indicators, (b) service-delivery indicators, and (c) the overall poverty index (as hypothesised)

Findings (2)

- However, there is a general *absence of statistically significant associations between out-migration and the poverty and service-delivery indicators...*

Findings (3)

Three Eastern Cape municipal-level migration rates correlated with poverty and service-delivery indicators (% households)

(Only 40 municipalities; excluding Mountain Zebra National Park, Oviston Nature Reserve and O'Connors Camp)

Indicator of poverty and inadequate services	In-migration	Out-migration	Net migration (in minus out)
Unemployment rate	-0.528**	-0.118	-0.482**
Household income (<R9601 p.a.)	-0.838**	-0.203	-0.752**
Illiteracy (persons aged 15+ years with only primary education)	-0.604**	-0.270	-0.436**
Informal/traditional dwellings	-0.811**	-0.391*	-0.560**
Crowding (households sharing a room)	-0.386*	-0.209	-0.246
Female-headed households	-0.817**	-0.218	-0.716**
No piped water on site	-0.887**	-0.316*	-0.709**
No electricity for lighting	-0.670**	-0.350*	-0.440**
Sanitation (no flush or chemical toilet)	-0.773**	-0.195	-0.687**
No refuse removal by local authority	-0.799**	-0.264	-0.656**
No telephone or cell phone in dwelling	-0.808**	-0.263	-0.668**
Overall poverty index (average of the above)	-0.874**	-0.315*	-0.696**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Findings (4)

- The first hypothesis can therefore be accepted in respect of **in-migration** and **net migration**
- However, Hypothesis 1 cannot be accepted in respect of **out-migration**

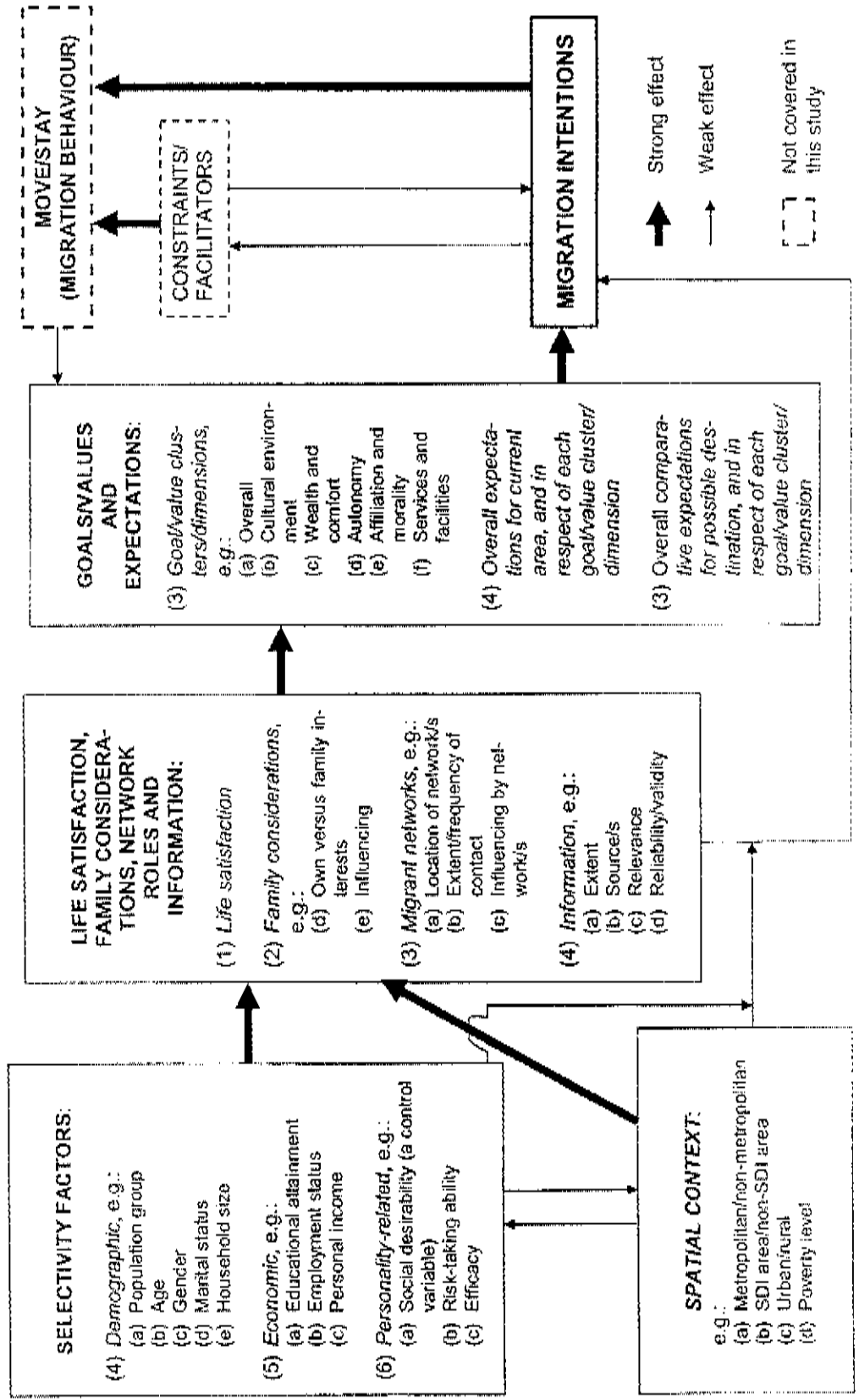
Findings (5)

- Our *macro-level* analysis therefore indicates that people are **not** readily inclined to respond to poverty conditions and service inadequacies by leaving the area (out-migration behaviour)
- Testing Hypothesis 2 should indicate to which extent the above conclusion also holds true for *micro-level* decision making (out-migration intentions)

Findings (6)

The structural model that was confirmed in respect of migration intentions...

CONFIRMED FRAMEWORK FOR AN EXPECTANCY-BASED MODEL OF MIGRATION DECISION MAKING



Findings (7)

- The structure of the proposed causal model was empirically confirmed (by using a path analysis and subsequently also graphical chain modelling) for people residing in the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Limpopo*
- Consequently, it seems that Hypothesis 2 can also be accepted...

*Kok, P. & Aliber M. 2005. *The causes and economic impact of human migration: case studies of migration from the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Limpopo to the nine major cities in South Africa*. Unpublished report to the Department of Trade and Industry. Pretoria: HSRC.

Findings (8)

- ...but a simulation-based application of the structural model showed that people are **not** inclined to respond to poverty conditions and service inadequacies by planning to leave the current area (out-migration intentions)*

*Kok, P. & Aliber M. 2005. *The causes and economic impact of human migration: case studies of migration from the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Limpopo to the nine major cities in South Africa*. Unpublished report to the Department of Trade and Industry. Pretoria: HSRC.

Findings (9)

- The acceptance of our two hypotheses must therefore be qualified. They do **not** hold true in respect of out-migration:
 - neither for people's out-migration *intentions* (see the micro-level causal findings)
 - nor for actual out-migration *behaviour* (see the macro-level bivariate correlations)

Conclusions and implications (1)

- Our empirical findings confirmed our conclusions from the literature that migration intentions are not particularly responsive to employment and service-related interventions, because these affect migration decisions only *indirectly*

Conclusions and implications (2)

- The conclusion is therefore (a) that migration is highly complex, (b) because it is affected by a variety of factors operating at the level of the individual, the family/household, the community (village or suburb) and higher levels, and therefore (c) that it will not readily respond to external intervention or control

Conclusions and implications (3)

- Of course migration's lack of direct responsiveness to policy and control was illustrated many years ago by the largely ineffective influx control measures implemented by the apartheid government

Conclusions and implications (4)

- What this probably means is that attempts to “manipulate” migration (e.g. through LED* and SDIs**) are also likely to fail
- However, the delivery of services is “the right thing to do” and should therefore be done irrespective of whether or not it will have any impact on migration

* LED = local economic development

**SDI = spatial development initiative

Conclusions and implications (5)

- For those government officials and other important role players involved in service delivery, the message conveyed here is quite frustrating, and unfortunately...

Conclusions and implications (6)

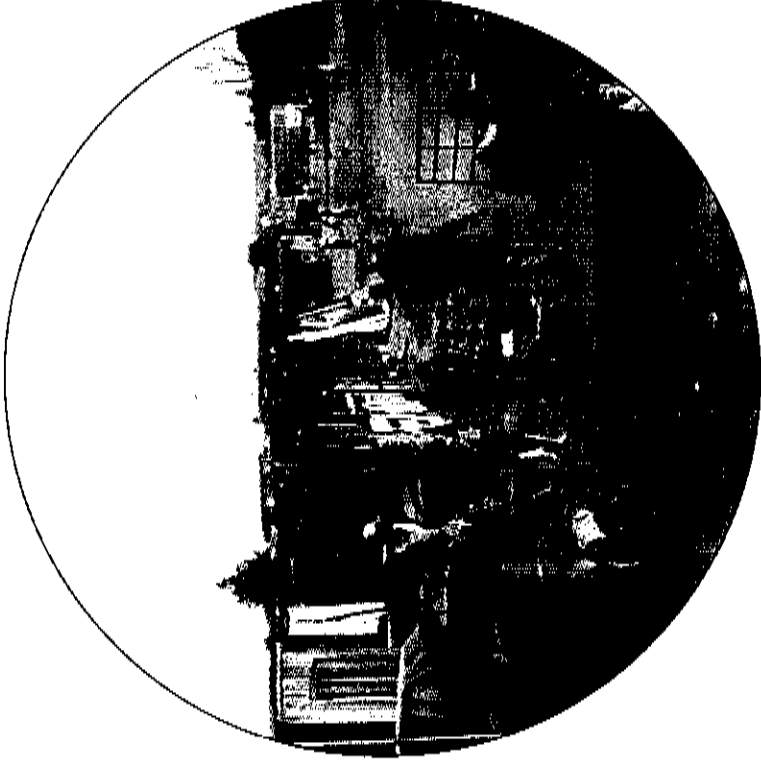
- the relationship between out-migration and service delivery is quite elusive, but
- the provision of infrastructure and services may perhaps succeed in attracting migrants

Conclusions and implications (7)

- However, poor people often *cannot* take up new opportunities elsewhere or are in no position to leave a poverty-stricken or inadequately serviced area, and will be compelled to make in situ adjustments (i.e. 'make the best of where they are')
- Also, people who *can* afford to move, (a) are likely to have access to better services already, or (b) may prefer not to move, because the lower service costs allow them to save more (e.g. money to send home)

Conclusions and implications (8)

In short:
It is very
difficult to bring
about changes
in human
migration
patterns or
trends!





Pieter Kok/Hsrc
07/27/2006 09:45 AM

To: Cilna De Kock/Hsrc
cc: Alison Todes/Hsrc@Hsrc, Jennifer van
Rensburg/Hsrc@Hsrc
bcc:
Subject: Paper presented in PE

Dear Cilna

I attach for the official HSRC records the PowerPoint presentation that I delivered during the "Eastern Cape Provincial Conference on Migration and Population" in Port Elizabeth on 11 July 2006. (I had been asked to give an academic, theory-based evaluation of the relationship between migration and service delivery.)



EC Presentation.ppt

Many thanks!

Kind regards

Pieter