

Implications of in-migration for public administration in Gauteng – with special reference to Gauteng and other provinces

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ABSTRACT

This article describes some important processes which can be used by public administrators to successfully manage in-migration (urbanisation) in Gauteng. It shows ways and means the public administrators could utilise to reach set objectives. Equally important to this is the impression gained that many in-migration problems are caused by important issues such as lack of consultation, information sharing, decision making, participation, initiating action and paradigm shifting. For this global phenomenon to succeed the public administrators should implement proper planning, innovative participation, different strategies and relevant processes such as physical, economic, social and cultural developments.

INTRODUCTION

The twenty first century may be seen as the age of in-migration. Urban settlements were first established more than five thousand years ago, but as recently as 1900 only one in eight people lived in urban areas. Before this century is out half of mankind, three billion people, will live in urban settlements and two thirds of that number will live in the Third World (Gilbert & Gugler, 1982:1).

One of the most salient phenomena of the twentieth century has been the process of in-migration (urbanisation). The problem of in-migration and especially the in-migration to Gauteng cities needs urgent attention from multi-disciplinary fields of study. The problem of in-migration is not only topical for the African continent concerning ethnic dimensions, but more so for Gauteng with its diversified ethnic composition. The Gauteng government will face unique challenges concerning in-migration to urban areas. Rapid in-migration

is not unique but should be seen against the background of world in-migration which occurred in countries such as the United States of America and Australia. Botha (1988:30) states that in-migration tendencies in the past indicated that the different ethnic population groups in Gauteng were not subjected to the in-migration phenomenon to the same extent. Van der Merwe (1983:46) is partly supportive in this regard and states that a settlement pattern develop through the interaction of economic and political powers that were ethnically and sharply differentiated, particularly between whites and blacks.

Historically, in-migration in Gauteng has consisted of two main components. Firstly, a natural in-migration process based on the economic and social mobility of the white population group. Secondly, a regulated in-migration process based on the control of the mobility of black people. Moreover, Gauteng has a long history of planned intervention in in-migration development for political, social and other non-economic reasons. However, intervention in urban development has only succeeded in postponing the inevitable economic causes and consequences of in-migration, while the social losses from these policies have left Gauteng with an under developed social and urban infrastructure relative to its general economic development (Mears, 1991:2).

In Gauteng province, in-migration has taken place, but has been contained for some groups of the population. The constraint was highest for Blacks and progressively less for Coloureds and Indians (Fair and Schmidt, 1974:164). The in-migration process in Gauteng is in many respects comparable to that of other developing countries. However, it differs markedly from that of industrialized countries. The character of in-migration to urban areas in Gauteng province also differs in some respects from that of contemporary developing countries. Gauteng is classified as a developing country, inter alia, because of its relatively low rate of in-migration, compared to the level of economic development in the country as a whole.

Gauteng province is facing severe development problems because of high rates of population growth, stagnant or declining agricultural productivity, and increased migration of the rural poor to large cities. Strategic planning of the location of development and investments that could prevent or reduce excessive concentration of population and productivity in large primary cities is becoming increasingly important for the Gauteng government. Rondinell (1985:173) underscores this by stating that encouraging more widespread distribution of the population in cities and towns and policies promoting investment in physical structures, marketing, small scale manufacturing, and agroprocessing in secondary cities and towns can provide a stronger base for both rural and urban development in Gauteng in the future.

According to Alikhan (1987:7) most of the world's population will be urbanized. Most industrialized countries of the north are already regarded as urbanized, while the so-called Third World countries of the south are generally experiencing a process of rapid in-migration. Gauteng, as a semi developed country, is also experiencing an increasing influx of people to its towns and cities. This wave of urbanizing people is predominantly African since the other segments of society have already become largely urbanized. As already argued, this influx into the urban areas is often considered as a serious socio-economic and planning problem.

Up to 1986 South Africa pursued a policy of racially based migration control which, among other things, attempted to prevent particular groups of people from entering and staying in the city, in search of better opportunities. Fair (1969:342) states that the *Abolition of the Influx Control Act*, 1986 (68 of 1986), may have raised fears that the country's urban areas would be overwhelmed by migrants from the homeland areas and elsewhere, that squatting and informal settlement would become the order of the day, and that cities would therefore become areas of decay. Such a scenario was, in fact, to a certain extent sketched by Mostert, Van Tonder and Van Zyl (1985) which was met with some criticism from Graff (1986) who indicated that some of the assumptions made by Mostert et al. (1985) were most probably incorrect and that a massive influx of people to the cities should not be expected. It is too early to determine to what extent these two sets of assumptions became true during the latter half of the 1980's and early 1990's, but there has been a visible increase in the number of people in the cities. Whether this great visibility is due to rapid in-migration from the rural areas, foreign countries or whether it should be ascribed to the notion that people are no longer hiding from the public eye in their backyard shacks and overcrowded rooms remains to be seen. However, the situation has to be managed effectively to ensure efficient and effective service rendering to all urbanised communities.

FACTORS PROMOTING IN-MIGRATION IN GAUTENG AND OTHER PROVINCES

The crucial importance and implications of population growth in the world at large and in Africa in particular are cause for concern. Gauteng, as well as the various surrounding national states such as Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, are no exception with regard to this phenomenon. The factors which have promoted in-migration in Gauteng and other provinces will be dealt with in the following paragraphs to indicate their effects on several issues.

The first factor contributing to the increase in the urban population in Gauteng

and other provinces is experienced by the Government of National Unity. This is the result of the acquisition of land through the redemarcation of provinces. Thus, people who have resided in other provinces may now be included in Gauteng province (Smit, 1977:19). The greater part of such added land is mostly located adjacent to an affected province. Sometimes these areas which are added are proclaimed as townships and become urban areas. In this way, the urban population of a province increases.

A second factor contributing to the rapid increase of the urban population of Gauteng was the government's programme to resettle blacks from time to time, either from badly located areas, or from white rural areas. It is, however, argued that this type of resettlement substantially contributed to the increase in urban dwellers (Smit, 1977:20).

A third factor promoting in-migration in urban areas in Gauteng province is the provision or availability of housing in the urban areas. The provision of adequate housing for all has been one of the new Government's priorities since it came into power in 1994. The Government undertook to build 2 million low cost houses in a five-year period (Mthembi-Mahanyele, 1997:6). Thus, the number of housing units have increased and with the prospect of housing the tendency to migrate has also increased.

A fourth factor contributing to in-migration is the depressed conditions in certain African countries such as Mozambique, Lesotho, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola. The conditions in poor rural areas are also contributing factors to in-migration. In many instances people have no option but to leave a depressed area in order to survive. They either go to a nearby township in e.g. Gauteng province or migrate to a metropolitan area in the same province where they usually have some contact with already urbanised families.

A fifth factor promoting in-migration is the drive to create job opportunities via the decentralization of industries. The Central Government encouraged industrial development just outside towns and cities since 1960 (Smit, 1977:25). These industries, which were established with the aid of concessions, resulted in a capital investment of R299,9 million and employed 21 693 Blacks (Benso, 1980:80). In retrospect, this approach was not very successful. The new dispensation to promote industrial development, which came into effect on 1 April 1982, offered incentives at a higher level and changing the incentives to decentralise industries. The emphasis on incentives has shifted from various forms of tax advantages and rebates to concessions offering more cash advantages on e.g. training, housing and relocation allowances.

The last factor contributing to in-migration in Gauteng and other provinces are

the so-called process of *stepwise migration* where migrants use a nearby township as a *stopover* before migrating to urban areas further away. Two factors stimulate this process: In the first place there is overcrowding of people in the already poverty-stricken rural areas which leaves a section of these people with no option other than leaving their area in order for them and their families to survive. Secondly, because of specific laws and regulations, a shortage of houses and definite employment exist in and around some metropolitan areas thus prohibiting many of these individuals and their families from settling in such urban areas and forcing them to settle permanently further away.

It could be stated that economic factors, notably the need to find a job which will have a compensation in cash or kind in order to survive, are primarily responsible for in-migration in Gauteng province, this is supported by political factors, sociological factors and individual preferences. Government-induced actions may either promote this process, delay or prevent it. That is why today these are shanty towns, housing thousands of squatters, around large industrial centra such as Alexandra near Johannesburg (Koornhof, 1982:77).

IMPLICATIONS OF IN-MIGRATION FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The changes facing Gauteng may affect the entire society's existence, and one would be naïve not to feel a certain amount of fear and uncertainty about the future. However, these changes are inevitable, and we will live with them or be prepared to destroy itself and the province. The manner in which our public administration will cope with radically changing conditions will be vital, and probably the most radical of these changes will be the public administrator's ability to manage in-migration.

The measure of success which Gauteng province could achieve in regard to in-migration will decide the destiny of our cities and country as a whole and also determine to what extent growth will be stimulated with a resultant improvement of the economy. Gauteng has reached a turning point in the in-migration process and South Africa has changed from a rural oriented country to a predominantly urbanised society requiring specialized attention. The future of Gauteng province, be it political, cultural, social or economic, will depend on the manner in which the phenomenon of in-migration is managed (De Beer, 1989:3).

The most important question every administrator has to ask himself/herself is whether he/she is prepared to implement fully and unconditionally all policies flowing from these implications and to do so efficiently and effectively. Implementation of policies specifically include policies which will affect our

traditional concepts of public administration, and will inevitably require a radical change of our traditional perceptions.

Top public officials have the task to acquaint themselves fully with the circumstances, the contents, objectives and consequences of several new policies and strategies; warning against impractical and unattainable objectives or policy ends; exposing differences between reality and policy; influencing the negotiation process; avoiding surprises in the implementation process or creating unattainable expectations.

The involvement of senior officials in the negotiation process to establish acceptable structures of government on the national, regional and local spheres demand almost supernatural qualities which will tax the will of invention of those in public administration to exhaustion (Griffiths, 1991:154). The public administrators will have to be innovators, mentors and guides for the blending of traditional administrative principles with new demands. Their task will become extremely onerous, and some may find themselves unable to cope with the demands made on them by the administrative processes in the changing environment. Many may accept the new challenges with zest and zeal. These will be public administrators who will ultimately ensure that the new era in Gauteng province will become known as the age of opportunity and development.

Lubout and Hanes (1991:28) state that the future is promising, since there are options available whose effects are to relieve poverty. Policies should be aimed at overcoming the inequitable and inefficient design of the cities; increasing the number of jobs in poverty-stricken regions; and improving working conditions on the farms; all of these constitute ways in which in-migration policies could assist the poor. It would be a mistake, though for the public administrator to believe that an in-migration policy can, on its own, solve many of these dilemmas apparently due to in-migration problems. Thus government might attempt to relieve the shortage of housing for example within the city, while the central issue may actually be due to national economic policy or the slow growth of employment opportunities, which together prevent the poor from affording their own housing and services provided by local government institutions.

The main task for public administration is to develop strategies and respond to certain challenges. There is, for example, the large and growing population with different cultural backgrounds, different trades, skills, attitudes, habits, status and power. This gives rise to the need for a new system of social control, a diverse set of laws, regulations and conventions. Whether it be religion, defence or trade that gave rise to a town or city, the human factor is always

prominent. Things tend to get accentuated in the city or town; the best and the worst of human activities become evident and therefore demand the public administrator's attention.

The main cause of accelerated in-migration are rapid population growth and the inability of the rural areas to support the growing population. New priorities, strategies and methods should be clearly established by the public administrator. One of the tasks of the public administrator is to ensure that sufficient and suitable land where people can settle, is identified. In this process, the present utilization of land and physical and socio-economic planning, as well as the people involved, communities and community structures have to be taken into account (De Beer, 1989:2). It thus becomes apparent that planning and the participatory processes required for success for in-migration are now taking a central stage in dealing with this particular phenomenon.

PLANNING AND PARTICIPATION FOR IN-MIGRATION

The post-industrial world into which we have stumbled is filled with terrifying uncertainties. We are no longer sure of the course we must take. The environment has become murky. The inefficiencies of centralism have become apparent to nearly everyone. Yet it is precisely under such conditions that some form of planning for in-migration is needed. We have no assurance that the spontaneous workings of the private and public economy will lead us into a world we would wish to call our own. And so it behooves us to reconsider planning in terms of the conditions, understandings, and needs of our time (Kok and Gelderblom, 1993:1-2).

In-migration in Gauteng province is presently a fairly troublesome phenomenon for the government. At this stage it is not possible to say that Gauteng will not suffer a similar fate as places such as Mexico City, Cairo, Lagos, Calcutta and Shanghai that are referred to as examples of the negative consequences of in-migration trends. Purposeful action to try and prevent large-scale land invasions as well as the provision of adequate physical and social infrastructure over a long term can contribute towards obviating such a scenario occurring in South Africa. In this process of planning for in-migration environmental conditions should be thoroughly taken into account, and planning should be undertaken more proactively than reactively. If the latter approach is followed, the effective and efficient management of in-migration will be threatened and this will lead to crime, unemployment, low quality of life. Economic development could be affected negatively while social upliftment could be thwarted.

The phrase *planning for in-migration* has particularly become a misnomer in a number of Third World cities. In some of these cities it appears that planning has been lagging behind developments, partly as a result of futile attempts in the past to obtain the orderly development of a city. Will the same apply to the Gauteng city of the future? The argument will indicate that it need not necessarily come to that, provided that certain basic principles such as equity, sustainability and viability are adhered to. The position is clear: Gauteng province will require research and effective planning to obviate the current bottlenecks and limited policy options. A new kind of urban planning and urban policy framework is therefore needed. Such a framework will have to satisfy a number of criteria. These include the following:

- The framework should firstly promote reaching a decision regarding mobilization from below. Given the level of mobilization in communities, it seems unlikely that even a democratically elected government will be able to reimpose its will in any absolute way. Any attempt to plan in the traditional top-down style of the past is unrealistic and therefore bound to fall. It is also morally unacceptable. Community involvement in planning will have to move beyond the lip service that has been paid to it in the past. At the same time such a revamped planning framework should facilitate the ability to mediate between interest groups. This refers in the first place to conflicts between vested interests of e.g. middle-class property owners on the one hand and inhabitants of informal settlements on the other, that is, between the powerful and the powerless. In such a case planning procedures should give serious consideration to the interest of the powerless. In this regard the intervention of the public administrators is required to give direction to the planning process.
- The technical criteria, for an urban policy framework will have to be satisfied. It should be able to encourage a more compact urban form. It should be affordable, satisfying the burgeoning need for shelter and services. The mobility of people should be facilitated as much as possible, thus enabling them to move to areas of greater opportunity. Finally such a policy framework will have to be able to address the inequality of life opportunities between classes and between regions. It will clearly not be easy to formulate a policy that can satisfy these requirements. The heritage of past policies and the lack of funds for development impose strict constraints on our ability to implement new policies. The discussions that follow explore ways to overcome these constraints, yet satisfy the criteria mentioned above.

Planning and local government

Efficient and effective local government in informal settlements, for example, is

necessary to prevent and obviate violence. Violence cannot be curtailed only at the provincial and national spheres. Conflict at the local sphere is mostly about provincial powers or functions. This means that public administrators will have to give attention to the link between local government and provincial government in an effort to promote peace and improve the adherence to law and order.

Wren (1980a:148) states that it is undesirable to be dogmatic about the question as to whether the emphasis should be placed on either central or local levels of government, but then goes on to say that the responsibility for achieving development objectives should rather rest with first or second tier governments. These spheres of government, however, have no direct contact with the urbanised people, because they cannot easily identify the most immediate and challenging issues in their constituencies and are unable to resolve them easily to the satisfaction of all.

The term *development objectives* used by Wren (1980a) is probably too vague for our purpose. The level of responsibility surely depends on the specific objective to be realized. It is further doubted whether Wren's quote necessarily applies to the main local governments of large cities such as Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. It is possible therefore, that Wren's conclusions reflect a generalization that does not take into account the potential roles of some local governments in the planning process.

It is proposed that in spite of the fact that local governments are not necessarily closer to the **grassroots**, they have the potential to be the most responsive in terms of community interests. This may be ascribed partly to the fact that local government officials live in the community itself and should therefore be more accessible. National government tends to be influenced by strong lobbies where ordinary citizens have no say because they are not present in the capital city. Local government therefore has an important role to play in planning for in-migration. The local government officials should not only be visible during election periods but observe conditions after elections so that they can uncover the people's problems and to eliminate confusion and frustration.

Local government in an informal settlement

In Gauteng province as in all other provinces, the development of informal settlements is subject to political processes. Before the scrapping of influx control, squatter settlements were simply demolished. Although some categories of Africans did have the right to be present in the urban areas, most were tolerated there as long as they were gainfully employed. Squatters in Gauteng province, according to Cole (1987:15), had to conduct intense

political struggles in order to win the right to settle in the urban areas. The most famous struggle was probably that of the people of Crossroads near Cape Town. Since the scrapping of influx control in 1986 there has been, in principle, no legal obstacle to settle in the urban areas. Unfortunately, no orderly development of the area was undertaken, resulting in a situation reminiscent of settlements in Latin America. The right of squatters to live in specific areas such as Diepsloot to the north of Johannesburg, certainly seems to be highly contestable. Leadership positions in squatter settlements often seem to be usurped by self appointed leaders who often fail to represent the real interest of the communities they are supposed to serve. Examples are Johnson Ngxobongwane in Crossroads (Cole 1987) and David Ntombela near Durban in KwaZulu-Natal (Minnaar 1992).

Free-standing informal settlements are sometimes the personal power bases of individual strongmen, often referred to as squatter leaders. These squatter leaders run their settlements along highly autocratic lines, allocating sites and securing services in return for rent and allegiance from the inhabitants. They often run private armies with which they maintain discipline and enforce their power, and sometimes mobilize the community for specific political purposes. From this viewpoint the squatter leaders might be seen to facilitate services in informal settlement. But the cost in terms of insecurity, dependence and exploitation is often high (Minnaar, 1992:29). Relevant examples are those of Jeff's squatter camp in Saulsville, Mushengu squatter camp in Mamelodi, Gee Gee squatter camp in Soshanguve and Pholapark in Thembisa.

The self appointed leaders in squatter camps often also assume quasitraditional forms (Phillips & Swilling, 1988:41), with some authority delegated to headmen appointed by the self appointed leader. The right to acquire land in an informal settlement is also subordinate to the acceptance of the authority of the self appointed leader, which is similar to the situation in tribal tenure areas. Some informal settlements are located in areas of tribal tenure, in which case the leadership would naturally assume a traditional form. Informal taxes also have to be paid to the self appointed leader which are often not accounted for (Phillips & cf. 1988:41&72; Cole 1987:69, 84&110) and often seem to be nothing but an avenue for the enrichment of the leadership.

The establishment of a new system of local government in newly established settlements is a priority. Such a system must be as open and accountable as possible. Although it is furthermore probably impossible to remove national politics altogether from the local arena, local political outcomes and the effectiveness of local decision-making, should depend as little as possible on national politics. Local leaders should consequently be able to bargain on behalf of their communities without becoming involved in national patronage

networks. To this end possible future roles of civic organizations in local government should be investigated (Philips et. al., 1988 & Shubane & Madiba, 1992).

Accommodating strategies of in-migration

Accommodating rapid in-migration processes is a challenge in any country faced with this phenomenon as is the case in South-Africa. Since accommodating strategies should necessarily be aimed at the needs of the urban poor, the challenges are formidable in view of Gauteng province's past policies and strategies which caused major backlogs in the provision of urban housing, employment opportunities and land suitable for housing. In this regard the public administrator has to show his/her expertise, experience and knowledge by directing this process to obtain an efficient and effective administrative system to cope with the newly urbanised communities.

Physical development and in-migration

People should be housed in decent structures which can proudly be called home. Land for housing should be provided well in advance, but, because of the strong resistance by the more privileged groups, the public administrators are experiencing numerous problems providing such land. Given the existing and expected future housing shortages, land for urbanised African people's housing should be provided in the cities at a much higher rate than has been the case up to now.

Owing to the sensitive nature of housing for people in an urban context where a variety of vested interests are in question, there is a danger that poverty could be exported from the rural to the urban areas. Therefore, Gauteng province has over the years become accustomed to the fact that African informal housing is hidden behind the curtain of a rural boundary. Although it happens fairly often in other parts of the world, South Africa, especially Gauteng province also experience the situation that the poorer segment of the population in cities commutes over large distances (Shryock & Siegel, 1976:89). Such a situation is undesirable, since it can have far reaching implications for the quality of life of poor people.

The housing situation in urban areas in Gauteng province is indeed unique. The present anomalous state of affairs in which simultaneous shortages and surpluses of housing are experienced is a direct consequence of the restriction imposed by the Group Areas and Influx Control legislation on the natural expansion of residential areas, the downward trend in the economy, the lowering of real incomes and the decreasing demand for white housing (De Vos,

1989a:35). The abolition of influx control in 1986 has made it necessary, however, to look afresh at the housing plight of the African urban population. Illegal forms of squatting are the order of the day in most African urban residential and even non-residential areas in the cities and Gauteng province is no exception in this regard. In various parts of the province migrant-labour hostels are sometimes overcrowded with relatives and friends living unlawfully with the registered occupants. This situation points to the pressing housing shortages in the cities and unbridled in-migration into urban areas. The public administrators should be able to expose these needs to the policy-makers on the three spheres of government.

Housing needs, according to Kok and Motloch (1992)162-167) often vary according to income. Those with no income or whose income is unstable, generally require institutional or other forms of welfare housing. People who earn stable and at least upper-middle incomes are more likely to prefer the security home-ownership. Persons with lower or lower-middle but relatively stable incomes are more likely to have a need for rental accommodation than for either welfare/institutional housing or a privately owned home. Housing also needs to vary according to the stability of residence. People who see themselves as only temporarily in town may not want to make permanent investments and may therefore prefer rental accommodation.

Whatever the current housing backlog in Gauteng, the African population experiences large-scale housing shortages. This obviously applies to the Witwatersrand (Glover and Adler, 1987:36). The Urban Foundation (1991c:23) states that there were more than 7 million people living in urban informal housing (such as in free-standing shack settlements, backyard shacks and outbuildings) in 1990. Of the 7 million, 5 million were said to be located in and around the major metropolitan areas of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Bloemfontein, while the remaining 2 million were found in and around other cities such as Pietermaritzburg and the Orange Free State (OFS) Goldfields, in smaller cities and towns such as Witbank/Middelburg, Kroonstad and in dense settlements such as Bushbuckridge in the Mpumalanga province. This indicates that a housing need exists for the poorer segment of the urban African population, who cannot be expected to take full responsibility for the acquisition of land and for the erection of relatively permanent housing structures.

It cannot be expected of any government to bear the full responsibility for housing all its people. However, in this respect Gauteng can be singled out as a province that has achieved much in the field of housing. Housing for all population groups was provided to an unparalleled extent, and townships such

as Soweto near Johannesburg and Atteridgeville, Soshanguve and Mamelodi near Pretoria developed rapidly. Unfortunately in some cases the necessary commercial and industrial components to provide the residents with shopping and job opportunities to reduce the need for relatively long-distance commuter transportation (De Vos, 1989:5) could not be provided timeously.

The recognition of the permanency of Africans in cities and the abolition of influx control brought about employment, education and housing opportunities that Africans did not have in the past. During the late 1980's notable progress was made with the provision of housing for middle and higher income African families. Large numbers of houses were built in new elite suburbs reserved as African residential areas. In this way provision was made for the requirements of a large number of the urban African population. The consequences of the scrapping of the Group Areas Act may also have speeded up the provision of housing. The private sector is making use of the new opportunities and is contributing significantly to reducing the backlog in housing. These developments are promising with a view to the future, but the large number of African families who do not have the financial means to afford permanent housing should still be borne in mind (Kok & Gelderblom, 1994: 105-106).

It could be stated that the quality of housing or lack of housing is a highly visible dimension of poverty. Perhaps that is why it represents such an emotive issue in so many Third World cities, with South African cities being no exception. The sight of thousands, and often millions, of people huddled in shabby accommodation with a minimum of services is certain to evoke some reaction from all politicians.

Affordability in the housing context is defined by Kok, Hall and Nieuwmeijer (1992:218) as the ability of households to repay loans used for the construction and purchase of houses, and to pay for the provision of services and related infrastructure. The amount of money that a household has available for these expenses depends upon the household's income and spending preferences. Therefore, the provision of employment opportunities is of vital importance, but this should be related to the need for education on the utilisation of financial resources.

Blair (1971:231) states that not even with the aid of industry, foreign governments and international agencies, could the housing problems be overcome if the major target is mass housing for wage-earning people because wage earners constitute only a small proportion of the able-bodied urban population. For every person employed in a formal industrial undertaking, business and government structure there are scores of self-employed artisans and traders, and a number of unemployed migrants and their dependents. These

diverse group targets who are not formally employed form the human core of the urban housing shortage, should, therefore, be the major targets for low-income and non-income housing. Therefore, when Tomlinson (1990a:84) states that the issue for the poor is not one of access to housing – this costs too much – it is one of access to serviced land, he should be taken seriously.

Economic development and in-migration

People should have jobs. This simple statement fails to indicate the challenges it implies. If these challenges are to be faced effectively, new economic developments and solutions are probably required, and it may be necessary to move away from what Max-Neef, Elizade and Hopenhayn (1989:33) call the economic failures of the past. Employment opportunities need to be created to ensure a steady level of income, enabling communities to afford basic services. The current way of in-migration has the potential of creating job opportunities to cater for a larger number of residents, which will contribute to a new phase of economic growth in the province. The unavoidable fact of large-scale in-migration in the near future must be managed in a way which will ensure the maximum realization of its positive economic potential. An intensive investigation should be conducted, in order to find a method through which positive economic goals could be accomplished. The provision of job opportunities should be an important consideration in the establishment of informal settlements (Du Plessis, 1993:164). Economic possibilities which are created by the daily needs of the growing number of urbanized people, such as the provision of goods and services, should be used extensively to stimulate urban economy, and even in this way create job opportunities. Every public administrator should identify new opportunities as well as expose existing obstacles thus creating opportunities for formal and informal participation in the economy. In the light of the current unemployment, local authorities must give sympathetic consideration to labour-intensive methods to institute an infrastructure and supply services. While doing that, indirect benefits of the suggested policy such as social peace resulting from large scale employment must be counterbalanced against possible economic disadvantages (President's Council, 1992:136).

Probably one of the best answers to the question of what economic development entails, is supplied by Kindleberger (1965:3) who states that economic development involves both more output (economic growth) and changes in the technical and institutional arrangement. It refers in other words to both functional and structural changes. Smailes (1975:17) is in agreement with this description by writing that development requires social and cultural change as well as economic growth hence, development means change plus growth. Economic development in this sense includes various forms of growth,

including urban growth, because urban growth also involves functional and structural changes within a community. Development and growth are thus interrelated, at least up to the point where the urban economy is still dynamic (Conroy, 1975:10).

Economic development represents, on the one hand, changes in the allocation of inputs and in the structure of outputs by sectors, and changes in functional capacities on the other hand, that is in physical co-ordination or learning capacity, the best measurement of economic accommodation is the gross national income over a time period. A more efficient measure of the level of economic accommodation is income per capita, which serves as an indicator of the efficiency of individual production. As already indicated, there is a relationship between economic development and growth to the extent that growth is not an end in itself, but a performance test of development (Streeton, 1981:9).

This discussion primarily focussed on in-migration within the framework of economic development in Gauteng, particularly in the Gauteng province and others. Urban growth can be described as the increase of population in an area or place earmarked for urban development. In the absence of economic development, there can be no urban growth, which implies that urban growth can be stimulated effectively in the presence of economic development.

It has been established that people move primarily for economic reasons, that is, to find jobs and to earn an income. In Nigeria, one of the major reasons for in-migration into urban areas is the wide income differential between urban and rural areas favouring urban workers (Fapohunda, 1980:33). Social amenities such as clean water, the availability of transport and housing, the concentration of industrial developments in urban areas and other related factors have also supported urban growth. The same scenario is experienced in South Africa in, for example, Johannesburg in the Gauteng province.

It is highly unlikely that high urban growth rates can be recorded without the stimulation of the informal sector in urban areas. It cannot be denied that the informal sector causes the growth of slums, but neither can it be denied that it can play a generative role in urban development, notably in the creation of jobs and entrepreneurship. A team of the International Labour Organization (ILO) noted in this regard in Kenya that it is in (its) workshops that practical skills and entrepreneurial talents are being developed at low cost. Entrepreneurial skills are also capable of making contributions to the non-market production of the gross national product of a country. The public administrators should play a pivotal role by encouraging people to be involved in similar workshops which should be held country wide.

There are however, also positive economic consequences of in-migration into urban areas in South Africa. These include the creation of jobs and consequently the generation of income through the concentration of people (which serves as an inducement to investment) and the stimulation of many non-agricultural sectors (especially in the export of locally produced goods and services). Urban development can also foster balanced intra-regional growth in that it concentrates economic activities in certain centers, while also serving a large hinterland. It is these positive factors of urban development that should be pursued by public administrators in an in-migration strategy (Koornhof, 1982:209-210).

It could be deduced that urban growth and economic development are related in a positive way. It is also possible to direct urban development in a deliberate manner to produce positive economic results, especially as far as balanced provincial or regional development in the wake of high population growth rates is concerned. Unfortunately, in Gauteng province the implementation of a political ideology by the former government has led to an unbalanced urban growth structure, especially as regards growth in towns in rural areas. It is of crucial importance that this situation be rectified in a well balanced and coordinated national in-migration strategy.

Following are specific strategies, whereby a maximum number of job opportunities can be created by exploiting the in-migration process:

- Informal settlements must be positioned close to urban growth points.
- Industrial development must be encouraged in areas where the potential for economic growth is highest.
- The possibility of de-regulation must be investigated further to ensure maximum entrepreneurial development by new entrants into the urban environment.
- Job opportunities inherently attributable to the process of in-migration must, where possible be provided, on a priority basis, to new urban people.

The potential of the informal sector to provide jobs and income to large numbers of people must be encouraged by creating the necessary opportunities. This can happen with the support of organizations such as the small business development corporation.

The majority of the people entering cities as squatters or as informal settlers are poor and unemployed. These circumstances have a negative effect, in the long

run, on the people personally and on the city as a whole. This required strategies to be planned by public administrators in conjunction with local authorities in order to find ways of improving the economic circumstances of the newcomers to assist them to overcome their problems in a dignified manner (President's Council, 1992:136). In order to prevent false expectations for large numbers of urbanised people, the local authorities, in conjunction with the private sector and representatives from the communities concerned, should create realistic community and economic development strategies to be implemented on a structured basis.

Social development and in-migration

People require frequent contact with relative, friends and other acquaintances. Social development means that people should be given the opportunity to make friends and interact informally with others of their choice and in their immediate vicinity. To what extent are long commuting hours (and therefore little leisure time) compatible with social development? How can new residents in an area previously occupied exclusively by people of a different race/culture be assisted in making friends in their new area of residence? These are the kind of questions public administrators will have to ask if they are to play a significant role in ensuring that people in the process of becoming urbanised are accommodated effectively and efficiently.

Social factors which encourage people to move from one area to another in search of peace and harmony should also be considered carefully. Some people are forced to change from the traditional and social restrictions which are placed upon them to an unknown physical environment with new challenges. Unwin (1989:25) agrees with the above statement and states that social factors must be interpreted as the urge that people have to break away from traditional and social constraints placed on them in rural areas. The aggression of local leaders as well as the willingness of people to accept change fall in this category. Other social influences are people's perceptions, that is, specific preconceived ideas of thinking, regarding change within their frames of reference, specific developmental ideologies and differences in class. The above-mentioned social factors influence the flow of resources between the rural and urban areas.

Social factors that may lead to in-migration are rioting and wars. Refugees are driven from rural areas and look for refuge in the cities. It was especially the case in India during the late forties. It is currently the case in Rwanda, Congo, Lesotho and other neighboring states, with the result that refugees flee to countries such as South Africa. Civil division and revolution have resulted in approximately 16 million people fleeing from the rural areas to the cities. A

similar situation prevails in Indonesia, Korea, Malasia, South Sudan and Zaire (Gilbert & Gugler, 1982:55).

THE NATURE OF PARTICIPATION

People's participation in in-migration means the voluntary involvement of the individuals and communities concerned in the planning process. Such participation should not be coerced in any manner, but it should be comprehensive. People's involvement has to be understood in the following four senses: (Yadav, 1980:87).

- participation in decision making;
- participation in implementation of development programmes and projects;
- participation in monitoring and evaluation of development programmes and projects; and
- participation in sharing the benefits of development.

The most effective form of people's participation in in-migration and urban development will include all four levels, but it should be understood that the appropriate level for a specific situation depends on the nature of the project and the local circumstances. These four levels have the following characteristics:

• **Information sharing**

Information may be shared with beneficiaries in order to facilitate collective or individual action. Although the sharing of information represents a low intensity form of participation, its impact can be positive, depending on the extent to which beneficiaries are equipped to understand and perform their tasks better.

• **Consultation**

Consultation is a higher intensity level of participation because beneficiaries are not only informed, but consulted on key issues during the planning process. Beneficiaries are afforded the opportunity to interact with and provide feedback to the development agency which the latter can then take into account in the design and implementation stages in the process of in-migration or in the development of urban areas.

- **Decision making**

A still higher level of intensity may be said to occur when beneficiaries have a decision making role. In such circumstances decisions could be made exclusively by beneficiaries or jointly with other interested parties on specific issues relating to in-migration. Involvement in decision making implies a much greater degree of influence by the beneficiaries than other forms of involvement e.g. consultations or information sharing.

- **Initiating action**

People's participation reaches its peak when the beneficiaries are able to take the initiative in terms of actions or decisions. Initiative implies a proactive capacity and the confidence to proceed on one's own. This is qualitatively different from their capacity to act or decide on issues or tasks proposed or assigned to them.

In planning urban projects, public administrators and donors often tend to precept the initiatives that beneficiaries might have taken. In such cases, the latter can play only a reactive role. Urban projects can, however, be designed to encourage beneficiaries to initiate action. There are also cases where beneficiary groups which seemingly failed in some projects went on to initiate other projects on their own and with great success. The earlier projects obviously had strengthened their capacity for cooperative action and had given them the confidence and skills to initiate action elsewhere (Paul, 1987:5).

It is proposed that the only viable approach to urban participatory planning is one which entails a decision-making partnership between planners and the community. This approach necessitates proper communication with the purpose of creating common understanding. Lamont (1992:293) states that this is reached by means of intersubjectivity, which entails the merging of perceptions or, put differently, the ability of professional persons to put themselves in the position of another person. Common understanding does not necessarily imply the reaching of consensus. It rather implies a fundamental consideration of the issue concerning participants in terms of the same frame of reference.

It would be naïve not to acknowledge, from a pragmatic perspective, that there is simply no easy way of achieving true public participation. There are simply too great a diversity of issues and too many interest groups or interested individuals to cater for everyone's view and expectations.

THE CONSTRAINTS IN PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Although there are, according to Emmett (1992c) many benefits associated with public participation, he identifies a number of costs and constraints associated with participation in planning.

Among these costs and constraints are the following:

- community participation can be time-consuming and therefore costly;
- it can delay project start-up;
- it increases the demands for project personnel and managers;
- it can increase pressures to raise the levels and range of services;
- it can bring latent conflicts to the surface; and
- runs the risk of the project being cooped by certain groups or interests.

These problems are certainly not insurmountable and are often overemphasized. In our discussion of these constraints we link up with (Potter, 1985:153) who identifies the following four major problems that are said to plague urban public participation in planning:

- a lack of public interest;
- ignorance on the part of the public;
- the communication gap between planners and the public; and
- public participation causes undue delays.

The assumption that participatory planning is necessarily a costly, time consuming or a drawn-out process, is therefore not always true. Provided that the planners are trusted by the community, participation can be a very efficient process.

In spite of these and other costs and constraints, there appears to be consensus in the international community that the benefits of community participation outweigh its costs.

Finally, it should be clear by now that whatever one's philosophy on democracy,

public participation should remain. There are many reasons why participation is important. It seems to be that (a) it is simply very pragmatic to consult people to get correct information from them on their needs, preferences and general local conditions; (b) it makes individuals more committed to plan because they have been involved in their preparation; and (c) people have a basic democratic right to be involved in matters affecting their own circumstances. An important benefit of participation that was discussed is its potential for increased empowerment by building the capacity to take responsibility (and therefore become self-reliant) and to ensure that the objective of equity is in fact realised. The conclusion is reached that planners of urban development need to become more accountable to the people who live in the places they plan and they also need to treat planning as a two-way process. This is best achieved by being present, that is, becoming visible and trusted in the community to be planned.

CONCLUSION

It has been argued that a variety of the problems or difficulties could be experienced by public administrators implementing policies formulated for the proper administration of in-migration. Additionally it was highlighted that several processes and factors could be utilized to manage this phenomenon. Therefore, Guateng province's public officials at all administrative levels especially those who are faced with major challenges at local level should manage the process of in-migration with zest and zeal and not by avoidance or by trying to stop it altogether. These administrators should consult, share information, take informed decisions, allow free participation, initiate action to be taken and be prepared to shift their paradigms to suit the present demands. An effective approach would be to manage in-migration by applying to the above-mentioned approaches and processes. The public administrators should realise that a well managed in-migration policy process could be beneficial to South Africa as a whole and therefore it warrants attention and direction. It is clear that public administrators are faced with enormous challenges. It should be accepted that local public administrators could succeed in managing in-migration into urban areas better than those at national or regional spheres because they encourage participation, use different strategies and utilise relevant processes.

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