

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND, AIMS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview by charting the course of South African in-migration and by endeavouring to chronicle the processes involved. For example, what circumstances and factors led to, or at least were correlates of, the emergence of the first South African cities? From these incipient stages, why did it take so long for the idea of urban living to become widely established? Subsequently, in the past 200 years, why and how has rapid in-migration come about? What are the main problems experienced by in-migration? It is only by seeking at least a partial understanding of these historical facets and processes of in-migration that a realistic appreciation of today's urban process in the developing and developed realms can be gained (Potter, 1985:19).

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study attempts to highlight the theoretical and practical foundations upon which urban in-migration are based and the negative or positive influence it has. If negative influences are experienced, what measures should be taken to curb this, and if the opposite is true, what should be done to encourage in-migration into urban areas?

There are several reasons why a study such as this would be beneficial. In the first place, there is a need for a systematic clarification of what urban in-migration is and what it has accomplished. Over the years, it has been a subject of much polemic commentary, but is very vaguely understood by most South Africans and outside observers.

Secondly, this study is designed to serve as a case study, examining urban settlement as a model instrument through which the Government of National

Unity is attempting to shape the economic, cultural and socio-political development of a subjected people who craves for greener pastures.

Thirdly, this study is an attempt to show that despite the fact that South Africa has to cater for its indigenous people, there are still those who come from rural areas and other countries who would like to share the riches or resources found in urban areas, especially Gauteng Province.

1.3 METHODOLOGY TO BE USED

The aims and objectives of the research project necessarily call for a large amount of data, some of which are not easily available. For data which are not available alternative methods could be applied, such as census analysis and personal interviews. The importance of demography such as population statistics, government publications and others may give information on immigration in South Africa.

1.3.1 A study of primary sources

The primary sources which will mostly be used will be in the form of dissertations and theses, government notices, Regulations and Acts of Parliament, and verbal information. A unstructured interview will be administered with randomly selected officials responsible for migration issues.

Despite the value of the above primary sources to get information concerning urban in-migration, population statistics of South Africa and other related information will be used.

Details about interviews, samples, sampling methods, data collection and processing will be discussed together with a data analysis in chapter 8.

1.3.2 A study of secondary sources

Secondary sources that will be used are reference material in the form of books, journals and related material as will be indicated in the bibliography. A literature study will also be used.

1.4 PROBLEM FORMULATION

In-migration has received increased attention during the past few decades, mainly because of a marked increase in the nature and magnitude of this phenomenon. In-migration is, however not a new concept, as it is generally accepted that the first cities date back to 4000 BC in Mesopotamia and Egypt, to 2000 BC in China and to 1000 BC in the Andes (Peteroon, 1975:402).

Landman (1980:42) feels so strongly about the postulation of the problem and he states emphatically that the researcher who does not formulate a problem suffers from blindness regarding essentials. De Jager, Coetzee and Bisschoff (1987:24) aver that the problem is formulated according to existing needs. The presence of needs and defects points to an existing entropic situation, which should be corrected. According to Landman (1980:44) problem formulation requires the exact formulation of questions that must be answered by means of investigation. Relevant questions direct and motivate the researcher to find meaningful solutions and to disclose the reality of the phenomenon under investigation.

To avoid suffering from blindness regarding essentials, towing the line concerning existing needs, finding meaningful solutions and disclosing the reality of the phenomenon under investigation, research has to be conducted to resolve these problems caused by in-migration. If these problems are, however, neglected or ignored, without taking into consideration the tremendous socio-economic and political forces being unchanged by this in-migration process, South Africa is faced by serious problems.

Urban in-migration has become more complex as a result of various present-day problems. The ^{crux of the problem is} crux of the problem is: How can urban in-migration in South Africa be most effectively managed and administered?

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

The following hypothesis will be tested in the research programme: That effective and efficient management of in-migration leads to the improvement of several factors such as quality of life, reduction of unemployment, promotion of progress, strict application of in-migration policy and an elimination of crime in the urban areas.

1.6 DEMARCATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

In this study an attempt will be made to select subjects or to describe them in such a way that it could be assumed that they possess characteristics typical of the larger population from which they were drawn.

- (i) The aim of this investigation is to make an in-depth or exhaustive study of all the problems related to urban in-migration within a specified geographical area of Gauteng.
- (ii) The study will be confined to Gauteng province.
- (iii) The departments of Home affairs, Foreign Affairs, Housing and Land Affairs and important others will be approached for the relevant information regarding in-migration and other related matters.

1.7 TITLE AND CONCEPT CLARIFICATION

In order to gain a broad perspective with regard to the management and administration of urban in-migration in South Africa, it is necessary to clarify the title and define certain related concepts.

1.7.1 Title clarification

A keen inspection of the title of this study brings to light the importance of management for the successful and efficient control of urban in-migration. The mentioned concepts will subsequently be elucidated.

1.7.2 Concept clarification

(i) Management

A workable definition of management, and one that will set the stage for the whole of this chapter, is the following: the art of getting things done through people. This definition calls attention to the fact that managers achieve organisational goals by arranging for others to perform whatever tasks may be necessary - not performing the tasks themselves. Management is that, and more, so much more, in fact, that no definition has been universally accepted (Stoner & Wankel, 1986:3 ef. Hellriegel & Slocum, 1986:8 ef. Kreitner & Sova, 1986:5).

McFarland (1974:4) contends that the word “management” has several meanings, depending on the context and purpose. There is no universally accepted standard definition of management. The word manage seems to have come into English usage directly from Italian “managgiare”, meaning to ‘handle’, especially to handle or train horses. It traces back to the Latin word ‘manus’, ‘hand’. In the early sixteenth century manage was quickly extended to the operations of war and used in general sense of taking control, taking charge, or directing. It was first applied to sports, then to housekeeping, and only later to government and business.

Management means different things to different people. Management refers to certain individuals with indistinct powers who are involved in making our lives difficult. According to Robbins (1980:6) management means the people who are to blame for giving poor service, increasing taxes, never listening to our complaints, and generally disturbing our lives. Unfortunately, even for the top level decision makers, management is far less glamorous. Nevertheless, management does accomplish things through other people, and they do make decisions.

A more accurate definition of management is the universal process of efficiently and effectively getting activities completed with and through other people. Its concepts are transferable between organisations, and are as applicable to non-profit organisations as they are to the profit sector. The process refers to the planning, organising, leading, and controlling that take place to accomplish objectives, and this process can take place in any type of organisation (Berkley, 1978:2).

In summing up, it is important to state that management is a process involving human beings jointly engaged in working toward common goals. Management covers much, if not most, of the more exciting things that go on in human society.

(ii) Urbanization

Urbanization is a concept that requires definition before it is of any use. A great deal has been written about the urban phenomenon and urbanisation, although in the end two definitions of urbanisation have stood the test of time. Urbanisation is defined as:

- (a) the geographic concentration of population and non-agricultural activities in urban environments of varying size and form, and
- (b) the geographic diffusion of urban values, behaviour, organisations and institutions.

Urbanisation is thus the emergence and growth of towns and the diffusion of an urban way of life embracing attitudes and aspirations as well as behaviour patterns (A' Bear, 1983:34).

The most important reason for considering urban definitions is not, however, statistical but rather substantive, for in striving to recognise the essential attributes of towns and cities we are indirectly identifying the key dimensions of change that are associated with the urbanisation process (Potter, 1985:21).

(iii) Migration-and-In-migration

The relaxation of influx control has resulted in rapid urbanization, people migrating or moving from rural areas to urban areas in South Africa. In-migration could be defined as the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas as to become permanent residents of that area. Migration is defined by (Barnhart & Barnhart, 1981:1316) as the action of moving from one place or region to another. Migration of people includes both immigration or in-migration which implies the movement of people into an area, and emigration or out-migration which means the movement of people out of an area.

(iv) South Africa

South Africa occupies the southern most portion of the African continent, stretching from the Limpopo river in the north to Cape Agulhas in the south. This represents a longitudinal span of 13° (22°S to 35°S). Longitudinally the country reaches from 17°E at the mouth of the Orange river to 33°E at Ponta do Ouro (RSA, 1984:1).

To the North, South Africa shares common boundaries with the territory of Namibia, the Republic of Botswana, and Zimbabwe, while Mozambique and the independent Kingdom of Swaziland lie to the north-east. Completely enclosed by South African territory in the south-east are the independent Kingdom of Lesotho. To the west, south east, South Africa borders on the South Atlantic and South Indian oceans. Isolated in the greater Southern ocean 1920 km south-east of Cape Town, lie Prince Edward and Marion Islands taken into possession by the Republic of South Africa in 1948 (RSA, 1984:1).

South Africa consisted of four provinces, namely the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, Natal and the Transvaal. In terms of the South African Act, passed by the British Parliament, the four provinces merged into what became known as the Union of South Africa from 31 May 1910 as a self-

governing dominion within the British Empire. Chiefly by the action of the then Prime Minister, Dr H F Verwoerd, the Union of South Africa became the Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961 (RSA, 1984:2).

Presently the independent South Africa consists of nine provinces, namely the West Cape with Cape Town as its capital, Northern Cape with Kimberley as its capital, Eastern Cape with Bisho as its capital, North West with Mmabatho as its capital, Gauteng with Johannesburg as its capital, Mpumalanga with Nelspruit as its capital, Free State with Bloemfontein as its capital, Kwa Zulu Natal with Ulundi/Pietermaritzburg as its capital and Northern Province with Pietersburg as its capital city. (Smit. 1981:107).

South Africa has a heterogeneous population comprising many racial groups of which the four main ones are Blacks, Whites, Coloureds and Indians, with eleven recognised official languages which include Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Setswana, Sepedi, Xitsonga, Sesotho, SiSwati, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu (Orkin, 1988).

1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The study is composed of nine chapters. Chapter one is introductory and presents objectives and the methodology of the research.

Chapter two investigates the historical background of the management of in-migration in South Africa.

Chapter three deals with the planning and participation for in-migration.

Chapter four deals with in-migration in the third world.

Chapter five deals with policies, economic and social forces which affect in-migration.

Chapter six is focused on population growth and in-migration in developing countries of Asia.

Chapter seven is focused on the theories and models of in-migration.

Chapter eight deals with the analysis and interpretation of several factors affecting in-migration in South Africa.

Chapter nine is the close of the study in the form of evaluation, conclusions and recommendations.

The primary aim and purpose of this report is to propose a national development plan for Gauteng and other provinces and to set out the rationale for these proposals. A secondary aim, of equal importance is to integrate with and make available, in a systematic and orderly manner, in the same report, the development of spatial settlement patterns and in-migration trends in South Africa.

The remainder of the following chapter will be focussed on the management of in-migration for the satisfaction of basic human needs. Reference will also be made concerning African in-migration on the Rand between the 1920s and the 1960s with its social character, reasons for in-migration of Blacks in South Africa, factors promoting in-migration within Provinces and the implications of in-migration for public administration. Each chapter is followed by a conclusion of the main facts, implications and proposals of that chapter, so that the main points of the report are highlighted for easy reading and understanding.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF IN-MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The twenty first century may come to 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. The problem of in-migration and especially the in-migration to South African 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 South Africa with its diversified ethnic composition. The South African government of the future will face unique challenges concerning in-migration to urban areas. Speedy 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 South Africa were not to the same extent subjected to the in-migration phenomenon. Van der Merwe (1983:46) is partly supportive in this regard and states that a settlement pattern develops through the interaction of economic and political powers that were ethnically and sharply differentiated, particularly between whites and blacks.

Historically, in-migration in South Africa 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, South Africa has a long history of planned intervention in in-migration development for political, social and other non-economic reasons (Supra, :30). However, intervention in urban development has only succeeded in postponing the inevitable economic cause and consequences of in-migration, while the welfare losses from these policies have left South Africa with an under developed urban infrastructure relative to its general economic development (Mears, 1991:2).

In South Africa, 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 South Africa is in many respects comparable to that of other developing countries, it differs markedly from that of industrialized countries in the past. The character of in-migration in South Africa also differs in some respects from that of developing countries today. South Africa is classified as a developing country, inter alia, because of its relatively low level of in-migration, compared to the level of economic development in the country as a whole.

South Africa 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 in ways that will prevent or reduce excessive concentration of population and productivity in large primary cities is becoming increasingly important for the South African government. Rondinelle (1985: 173) states that encouraging more widespread distribution of the population in cities and towns and policies promoting investment in physical structures, marketing, small scale manufacturing, and agro-processing in secondary cities and towns can provide a stronger base for both rural and urban development in South Africa in the future.

According to Alikhan (1987: 7) within the next century 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. South Africa, as a developing country, is also experiencing an increasingly influx of people to its towns and cities, and this wave of urbanizing people is predominantly African since the other segments of society have already become largely urbanized. This influx into the urban areas is often perceived as a serious socio-economic and planning problem (Alikhan, 1987:7).

Up to 1986 South Africa pursued a policy of racially based migration control which, among other things, attempted to prevent 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, Number 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 tell 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 countryside, 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, and has to be managed effectively for the benefit of all involved.

That being the case, the hypothesis stated has relevance and states that, effective and efficient Management of in-migration will lead to the improvement of several factors such as quality of life, reduction of unemployment, promotion of progress and elimination of crime in both urban and rural areas.

2.2 DEVELOPMENT OF SPATIAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND IMMIGRATION TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa included a close-knit group of independent states comprising the Republic of South Africa and the former TBVC-countries, that is, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. These four independent states were also collectively known as the Economic Community of Southern Africa (ECOSA). South Africa had the same borders as the former Union of South Africa and therefore excludes Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia. The former Republic of South Africa (RSA) included the self-governing national states of KwaZulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane, Gazankulu, QwaQwa and Kwandebele. Today, South Africa has nine provinces which are Gauteng, Free State, Mpumalanga, Northern Province, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Kwa-Zulu/Natal and North West.

The Republic of South Africa's population was concentrated largely in four metropolitan complexes, namely the Greater Cape Town, Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area (PWV), Durban-Pinetown and Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage. While these four areas constituted only 4% of the total land area of the Republic of South Africa some 53% of the total population and about 80% of the urban population were residing here in 1980. Except for the four metropolitan areas a few smaller urban agglomerations occurred on the Free State Gold-Fields around Welkom, in the East London-King William's Town, Klerksdorp-Orkney-Stilfontein, and Bronkhorstspuit-Witbank-Middelburg areas, and in the vicinity of Richards Bay and Newcastle. Of these settlements, 266 had populations of less than 2 000, accommodating only 1,6% of the total populations (Republic of South Africa, 1985:28-29 cf. Van der Merwe, 1982:15 cf. Esterhuysen, 1989:3).

Mineral discoveries set the pattern for urban development in South Africa and led to the shift in the center of economic activity from the coastal regions to the interior. Thus, an urban core consisting of four big metropolitan areas emerged. The growth of non-metropolitan regions, some with mining and agricultural activities and their associated towns, developed as an inner periphery. The outer periphery corresponded roughly with the non-urban

areas of the national states (Friedman & Wulff, 1976:11 cf. Smit & Booysen, 1981:9 cf. Far, 1982:43 cf. Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:50 cf. Natrass, 1988:131-160). Labour, potential purchasing power and surpluses of human capital were drawn from the outer periphery to the core. These cores have attracted people, both Black and White, and capital from the rural areas because of the disparity between advanced and less advanced areas. Mears (1991:67) found that in-migration is one of the processes directly responsible for the development of spatial settlement patterns. This process is necessary in the development of any urban settlement, it is a process that requires thorough planning and preparation. Within the South African political context, forty years of apartheid ideology had a negative influence on the natural development of the in-migration process. This apartheid ideology had, as a sub-strategy, the prevention of the in-migration process of the black population groups. As a result of this in-migration strategy, unique South African spatial settlement patterns have developed. Bos (1991:45) states that the recent shift in South Africa's government policy away from apartheid or separate development to one of integration, makes it possible to put special planning in South Africa on an economic foundation. These migration patterns have created settlement patterns in South Africa. The machinery of law enforcement and the rules and regulations of the country are of vital importance in moulding the in-migration process of that particular country.

Shannon (1937:164) made the observation that in-migration was in the forefront among the numerous social-economic problems confronting South Africa. The future trends of in-migration would depend primarily on the price elasticity of the demand for gold, and the future of in-migration would further be influenced to a large extent by the demand for agricultural produce, the nature of socio-economic legislation, and the handling of the social problems arising from the needs of the different race groups.

The current human settlement is characterized by three main features, namely, the dominant position of a few large urban concentrations, the numerical superiority of certain population groups in certain geographical

areas, and the much greater density of the population in certain parts of the country in comparison with the others (Republic of South Africa, 1985:27).

The in-migration process in South Africa gained momentum with the discovery of gold and diamond and coupled also with the accompanied industrial development after 1870, this momentum began taking place with Kimberley and Johannesburg as main centers. Road and rail networks began to connect the mining industries with the harbours. Smaller towns began developing all around these connecting lines all over the country and this encouraged in-migration, towns were linked with specific functions such as industrial, transport, harbour, market and mining towns (Kamarck, 1976:168). Botha (1988:29) states that, the boom in economic activities led to an increasing demand for labour, which again went hand in hand with extensive in-migration. As can be expected on a continent where in-migration takes place at such an enormous pace and where an estimated 46% of the population lives in poverty, huge shortages with regard to housing and urban services exist.

Very few Governments in developing countries, South Africa included, have the management structures or trained personnel to run unfamiliar sites and services projects. At the institutional level, it is doubtful if local and municipal governments have the management capacity and capabilities to manage sites and services projects. The ineffective nature of public housing as an accommodation measure for the poor is due to the fact that most housing projects are designed and planned by the upper-class professionals with little empathy or appreciation for the life-style of the poor. Sometimes important decisions, concerning for example, housing, are taken for the people and not with the people and this causes major problems for both parties concerned.

2.3 MANAGING IN-MIGRATION FOR THE SATISFACTION OF BASIC HUMAN NEEDS

In managing in-migration in order to satisfy the basic human needs of its peoples South African policy-makers can learn several important lessons from

the experience of other countries. Rogerson (1993:47) states that significant inputs to local policy formation concerning job creation, the provision of shelter, basic urban services or managing the urban environment may be gleaned from investigating the successes and failures of other countries, issues identified include the following: the need to plan for sustainable immigration which involves recognizing and implementing adequate solutions to problems of poverty. The most important are those which relate to inadequacies of shelter and services, lack of income-earning opportunities, and accompanying problems concerning the environment and health in poor communities.

In terms of addressing urban poverty through job creation programmes it is clear from international experience that the informal economy will assume a major role in the satisfaction of basic human needs. Duncan (1987:5) states that policy-makers must not lose sight of potential job-creation possibilities that might be gained from industrial subcontracting and linkages to the formal sector. The international experience of homework and production subcontracting is varied and offers useful insights for potential application in South Africa. The fostering of subsistence food production in cities is one unconventional proposal for addressing poverty and unemployment in cities. Smailes, (1975:8) and Jones, (1975:19) state that valuable lessons can be gleaned from the experience of a string of industrial clusters at Emilia-Romagna in Italy, Budden-Wurtemberg in Germany and West Jutland in Denmark. These areas form the basis for what is styled industrial districts based on small firm co-operation.

The Industrial Areas such as Rosslyn, Port Elizabeth, East London, Pretoria West –East and North, Olifantsfontein, Isando, Van der Bijlpark, Secunda and the others with their different industrial products if properly managed could well be fitting within the South African context and could also be viewed as potential job-creation for the people living within those geographical areas.

2.4 IN-MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Several researchers such as Leistner (1963) Cf. Wilson (1972) Cf. Houghton (1973) have conducted various studies on rural-urban migration as a determinant of in-migration in South Africa. Gulliver, 1960 (infra) states that the reasons for migration differ greatly. It is, however, possible that the most important reasons for migration in a specific country can be identified, given the prevailing circumstances.

In South Africa, all four different types of migrants identified are present and are mentioned below - some types to a larger extent than others. The most typical type of migrant in South Africa is probably the migrant moving between his or her rural home and work-place. In South African literature, reference is usually made to oscillating migrants, which refers to a person whose home is so far away from his work-place that he cannot commute on a daily basis and can only visit his family periodically (Wilson, 1972:1). It has been suggested that the movement of blacks to urban areas should be linked only to the availability of housing and job opportunities in the area of destination. These and other impediments on migrants may very well influence people to move to areas closer to their homes, where they can still strive to meet their desired needs and expectations. It is stated as an example of such a situation which involves people migrating from rural areas in the Northern Province or North West Province to townships such as Soshanguve, Seshego, Alexandra, Soweto, and Leratong.

The mining industry serves as a single largest employer of migrants in South Africa today. In 1978, the mining industry offered employment opportunities to 664 571 workers, most of whom have had very little or no formal education. It is estimated (Lipton, 1980) that the mining industry accounts for 35-40% of all the migrants, the majority of which can be classified as oscillating migrants, which means they have contracts with their employers to work in the mines for a specific period before returning to their homes for some time.

In a sense the migration patterns in South Africa are structurally determined, with the result that it is highly unlikely that the present system of oscillating migration will change drastically in the near future, despite the fact that there is a tendency towards more permanent in-migration of Blacks employed in the manufacturing industry, were they were permanently urbanized especially in the four large metropolitan areas (Koornhof, 1982:62-63).

The next section will concentrate on a specific question as far as in-migration in South Africa is concerned, namely why Blacks migrate in this country.

2.4.1 African In-migration on the Rand between the 1930s and the 1960s: Its social character and political consequences.

The consequences of African In-migration have attracted the attention of many historians and social scientists. The actual process of African in-migration by which it is meant why and how it happened – has been much less closely scrutinized. Writers have for the most part contented themselves with push and pull models: that is to say, with the pressures pushing workers to seek employment in the urban labour centres – mainly land dispossession, taxation, animal epidemics like rinderpest and East Coast fever – and the attractions luring them towards the towns above all money wages and for certain categories of people greater freedoms and opportunities (Harries, 1994: xi-xv). For the most part, such explanations serve equally well to account for oscillating migrant labour – the constant moving back and forward between the labour centres and the country – as they do to explain permanent immigration – by which it is meant the setting of more permanent roots in the towns. Or, to put it another way – they explain why men and ultimately women went out to work, but they do not explain why they decided to set down roots and remain.

Such explanations as have been advanced tend to assume a rather abstract and stereotypical character, which run generally as follows. The first generation of African urbanites in the towns were primarily mission-educated Christians who gravitated to the cities in search of better paying jobs and a

more urbane way of life. Any disposition that other groups of Africans might have had to linger in the towns was dispelled by the operation of the contract labour system and influx control. Thereafter – particularly between the 1930s and the 1950s – the mass immigration of Africans to the towns began to take place in response to the rise of the manufacturing industry, above all on the Rand, the need for a more stabilised African work-force to fill the growing numbers of semi-skilled jobs to which the growth of manufacturing gave rise and the higher wages that industrialists were prepared to pay to secure such categories of labour (Walshe, 1970):

Over the last decade, historians have begun to challenge some of these rather narrow and economic notions, but the process of questioning has still a long way to go. The first to break the mould were students of migrant labour. What their research demonstrated was that which first forced migrants to leave the countryside for the town and then forced them back – but that it was also fashioned by migrant communities themselves. Drawing on the work of social anthropologists such as Philip Mayer, they have shown how male migrant labourers in many instances deliberately chose a migrant as opposed to an urban life, deliberately left their wives and children behind and consciously encapsulated themselves in migrant social networks which quarantined them off from the settled African urban population. To sustain these goals, a migrant culture – or, rather, a set of migrant cultures – were constructed which were designed above all to preserve and develop the rural homesteads from which they had come. (Mayer, 1968)

The roles of culture and consciousness have not been nearly so well explored when it has come to the question of in-migration. A number of social anthropologists and sociologists have proposed indices of in-migration that is measures by which one can determine when a person is urbanised. Ten years in town, the presence of a wife and family in town, a professed commitment to stay in the town have all been suggested, but, with the exception of Philip Mayer in his study of East London, none really explains why and how the process of in-migration occurred (Weish, 1971). They are able to describe and explain labour migrancy very well and they do a fairly

satisfactory job of analysing and explaining second-generation urbanites. This failure, may be the product of a hidden assumption – that is that those in between are in the course of a journey from migrant to urban and are as a result a transitional category not particularly worthy of attention. The term used to describe this category – semi-urbanised – seems to reflect this view. The same silence also reflects a profound gender bias, for the more or less universal assumption is that women, whose presence is a prerequisite of more permanent urbanisation, simply followed their husbands in the latter's quest for work in the towns.

For the student of African in-migration on the Witwatersrand this perception presents at least three problems. First, for the period of discussing, the early 1930s to the 1950s, the African urban population outside of the mines was overwhelmingly migrant or first-generation immigrant in character, much of it moving between the first status and the second. In contrast to Port Elizabeth, East London, Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Cape Town, only a tiny proportion of the urban population of this period was actually born in the towns and was hence unequivocally urban (Pauw, 1963). A survey of pass records of 20,000 African men employed in Johannesburg between 1936 and 1944, for example, disclosed that in its baseline year of 1936 more than 90% of African workers registered in Johannesburg came from a home outside of the Witwatersrand and that the overwhelming bulk of these came from rural rather than other urban areas. Similarly, something like 85% of all new male workers registered in Johannesburg over the following 8 years were from homes outside of the Reef. Other less detailed sources for both Johannesburg and the rest of the Reef confirm the same impression (Buitendag, 1953:8-9). The overwhelming bulk of the African male urban population on the Witwatersrand were first-generation immigrants who were in the process of becoming urbanised – the very category most neglected in the existing literature.

The second problem embedded in this perspective of in-migration is the idea that women joined men whereas in fact women often came independently to

the town, sometimes because of broken marriages and were liable to settle more permanently than men.

The third problem which this perception of in-migration presents is that it assumes a point of completion of the process of being urbanised which is all too often not borne out in practice. What is clear from life histories that researchers have collected is that urban life for many first-generation male immigrants remained conditional. They clung onto the option of returning to their homes. The consequences of this attitude for the kinds of activities in which first-generation immigrants might have involved themselves in the towns were of course immense. It is on these issues of the move from migrant to first-generation immigrants that attention is going to be given (Bonnet, 1996:116-118).

If we cast our gaze back to the beginning of what is generally thought of as the first phase of mass African in-migration on the Witwatersrand – that is to say, the mid-1930s and early 1940s – it becomes apparent that a very large percentage of the African urban population remained in some sense or other migrant or at the very least, dubiously urban. The study of pass records to which reference was made earlier, for example, discovered that of all those employed in Johannesburg in 1936, only one-third remained in employment in Johannesburg 8 years later. Of those newly employed between 1936 and 1944, 50% had by the end of that period returned to their homes in the African reserves. These job histories point to an African working population, which was predominately migrant. A survey of the places of residence of this urban African labour force confirms and perhaps partly explains this pattern. Out of a total male African labour force of 88,000 in 1938, 12,000 or one-quarter worked as domestic servants and lived in the backyards of their employers houses. A further 37,000 were housed in single-sex industrial or municipal compounds – leaving the rather meager total of 25,000-30,000 African workers living in the municipal locations and the African freehold townships on a more settled basis. Of this figure of 30,000, probably no more than one-half worked in industrial employment and an even tinier percentage were engaged in semi-skilled work – which, as we have seen, served as the touchstone of

in-migration for an entire generation of scholars. Many sources claim that as much as 80% of the African industrial labour worked in unskilled occupations in the late 1930s and early 1940s and even though the numbers of Africans employed in semi-skilled work may have swelled by the 1950s, there is no evidence that it grew to more than 30-40% of the African industrial labour force in this period. These various statistics help explain the unbelievably high levels of labour turnover among the Witwatersrand's urban male African population in this period, which exceeded 100% in most industrial sectors and caused Johannesburg's entire male African labour force to replace itself every 20 months (I.R.S, 1960:877-886).

To make this a little more concrete, let us cite the same survey of Johannesburg pass records that was mentioned earlier. This found that in the period 1936-1944, 50% of jobs for African workers lasted less than 12 months and only 10% for more than 2 years. Lest one might be tempted to think that a kind of footloose migrancy was responsible for this situation, let us mention just one other finding of the survey from which these figures are drawn – that is that no less than 30% of job changes were the result of dismissal – which a whole variety of sources indicate are a reflection of an exceptionally racist and despotic pattern of supervision on the factory floor (Infra,p881).

So by 1944, we are confronted by a picture of strange anomalies and contradictions. On the one hand, the Witwatersrand's economy had been transformed by an incredibly intense burst of industrialisation – the value of manufacturing output, most of which was concentrated in the Southern Transvaal, had trebled over the previous 10 years – and the infrastructure of South Africa's modern industrial economy had been substantially set in place. On the other hand, the rate of in-migration – at least of African workers – had remained far behind. The social character of the African urban population was still affected by the imprint of the mines and the migrant labour system, which it had set up. Appearances in this instance were, however, partly misleading. Behind this outward immobility, other forces were at work, which were gnawing away at the social underpinnings of the old order of segregation and creating the conditions out of which the new order of apartheid would

emerge. The fulcrum of these forces was centered on the Rand, where their combined weight was on the point of tipping the balance towards large-scale immigration of the previously migrant population and towards potentially permanent urbanisation (Posal, 1991:24-25).

The forces effecting this transformation were a curious blend of the trivial and the grand, this is nowhere better illustrated than in the movement of workers from the mines to the towns. The mines had always been an important conduit for African workers into the urban areas, but during the 1940s the traffic through it grew rapidly in volume, as steeply rising prices brought on by the Second World War were not cushioned by any increases in the wages paid to African workers in the mines. Whereas industry and commerce mostly kept up with inflation through cost of living allowances, the mining magnates adamantly refused to follow suit. A stream of miners consequently began to flow from the mines to the towns – a stream which took on the proportions of a flood after the 1946 black mineworkers' strike had been crushed (Moodie, 1986).

On the mines a formalised system of wage remittances and deferred pay had been constructed which enabled black mine workers to send back a substantial share of their earnings to their wives and families in the rural areas. In the factories, however, such arrangements did not exist. Factory wages were, moreover, paid on a weekly rather than on a monthly basis. Aside from the higher wages offered in the factories, this was one of the great attractions of industrial and some other kinds of urban employment. Botha Kolobe, who left the mines for the factories in 1947 – the date of the newspaper cartoon – recalled how excited he was at the prospect of being able to get his hands on his wages once a week rather than once a month. Lobiletse Sefako talks of craving weekly wages and consequently moving from the mines to the factories (Bonner, 1995:119).

Weekly wages, however, represented a standing temptation to neglect sending remittances home. Other features of the urban situation lured workers down the same path. By the early 1940s urban workers were finding

it increasingly difficult to find suitably priced residential accommodation as no new houses were being built and many second-generation African residents in the municipal locations and freehold townships took advantage of the situation to sublet to new arrivals and demand inflated rents (Bonner, 1990:92-94).

A final rupture of family ties was often associated with the former migrant entering a new relationship with another woman in the town. A classic example of this process is to be observed in Basutoland, now Lesotho, from which country a massive exodus of so-called unattached women flowed in the 1940s and 1950s – who were in reality married and seeking out husbands who had left them unsupported at home. This quest was in many instances unsuccessful, at which point these women usually settled in town and made a living from illicit beer brewing, knitting or other informal income-generating activities (Bonner 1990:226).

Migrants living and working in the town attempted to protect themselves from the enticements of urban living by forming migrant associations which would police the behaviour of their fellows who were in danger of breaking ranks. One such migrant association was the **amalaita**, made up mainly of young men from the Northern Transvaal. The **amalaita's** main leisure pursuit was a form of boxing between rival regionally based factions, but it had a deeper purpose as well.

This sport helped men by not forgetting home and be assimilated in the location and be attracted by township women. The work of the amalaita was not to steal but to discipline anybody who does wrong. This helped people from exposing ourselves to prostitutes and shebeens. If we came across our homeboy who moved around with urban women we would attack him and beat him until he joins us. We did this because here on the Rand we came to work, not to look for wives. A woman on the Rand will never come home with you. She is going to force you to erect a home on the Rand. This would mean that you are married to her and would join her family, which is the opposite of custom (Bonner, 1995:120). Today the man lives with his urban

family in Daveyton on the East Rand, a powerful individual testimony to the subversive and siren urban forces operating in those times.

An event of truly momentous significance in shifting the balance of social forces away from migrancy and towards immigration was the wave of squatter movements, which spread across the Rand in the mid- to late 1940s. By the mid- 1940s as already suggested, every African residential area was bursting at the seams. In April 1944 a civic leader in Orlando East, took a bold initiative to remedy the situation and led the subtenant families of Orlando East onto vacant municipal land where they set up a shanty town of hessian sacks – Masakeng, the place of sacks. This single act set in motion an avalanche of movement. Men who wanted their families to live with them summoned their wives to Johannesburg to peg out a site in Masakeng. Women who lived in fear of their families dissolving once their husbands secured a job in the towns came independently in pursuit of the same goal. One gets the feeling that many people living through these events had the sense of a profound structural shift-taking place, and self-consciously placed themselves better to handle its results. One of the first arrivals at Apex squatter camp on the East Rand, informed the people about the movement of people towards resources, and we agreed that the mines were moving to the Orange Free State, so the people decided to move to Apex (Bonner, 1995:120). A woman, whose husband was a boss boy on the mines, arrived at a similar conclusion. She decided that mine accommodation was unreliable and proceeded to stake out a site at the squatter camps called Tent Town. These examples could be multiplied many times over. As a result, in the years following the initial land invasion of 1944, wave after wave of squatter movements swept over different areas of the Rand until in excess of 100,000 persons had housed themselves in these settlements. (Bonner, 1990:92-93).

The land invasions of the late 1940s and the squatter settlements that resulted forced the hand of white officialdom and ultimately produced a radical shift in state policy under the new nationalist government. Despite initial beliefs to the contrary among white officialdom and the white citizenry, it quickly became established that virtually all of the camp dwellers were in bona

vide employment on the Rand: they therefore, had to be housed somewhere (C.A.D; 1947). The squatter settlements in which they had congregated were, however, viewed as serious threats. They were self-administered and totally out of the control of the authorities. They were unhygienic and they were consequently deemed to be both a short-term and long-term menace to social order and public health. After an agonizing policy reappraisal, the Johannesburg City Council decided to accept the permanent presence of these communities in town, but to convert them into controlled site and service camps.

Once the Afrikaner Nationalist Government came to power, another component was added to the policy equation. One of the most powerful constituencies that had carried the nationalist to power in 1948 was a white farmer who had become increasingly agitated at the draining away of the labour supply to the towns. In flat contradiction of the old conventional wisdom on apartheid – which saw it as endeavouring to turn all African urban workers into rightness temporary sojourners in the towns – the new Nationalist Government decided to stabilise the existing urban population in family units and family accommodation and use this to provide for the city's labour supply. This meant, among other things, the provision of rudimentary housing and education for this newly settled urban population. At this point they hoped to draw the line and employ more stringent influx control measures to keep new immigrants out and reserve their person for farming and mining's labour needs (Bonner, 1993:23-33).

Squatter movements, site and service schemes and, ultimately, the scores of matchbox houses that were erected in the newly built townships decisively altered the dynamics of African urbanization on the Rand. From the 1940s until the mid-1950s virtually no new single-sex male hostels were built either by the municipalities, who were prohibited from doing so by their resources into family housing or by employers, who were prohibited from doing so by the Department of Native Affairs and were enjoined to employ township rather than migrant labour. At the same time, the old inner city locations and the African freehold townships like Sophiatown which had housed so many

migrant subtenants were dismantled while the peri-urban areas were gradually cleared of their shack dwelling populations (Lebelo, 1970). For those who wanted to maintain a migrant life style, the problems of acquiring the appropriate space – and, as we shall see, of finding suitable employment niches as well – were growing steadily more intractable. Increasingly, to gain access to accommodation, it became necessary to gain access to a site in an area and service scheme. And to do this one was expected, in the language of the times, to be ‘in family circumstances’. Many men who had hitherto worked on the Rand as migrants now took the critical decision to bring their wives to live with them in the towns.

The consequences of this shift to the site and service camps were incalculable. Once a man’s wife was living with him in the town, his ties with this natal home invariably weakened and he tended to return much less frequently. Those who established new relationships with other women found it next to impossible to maintain a family in the countryside and a family in the towns. Apart from the costs of supporting another wife and the higher rents that were usually charged in the new townships, the very form of the housing exerted its own insistent and insidious pressures.

‘This kind of house whispers to you that it needs more furniture’, one new immigrant told Philip Mayer’s research team in East London and hire-purchase sharks were always at hand to enable the immigrant to fill up the accusing spaces – which again involved additional charges on income. All too often the outcome of these larger and smaller changes in living arrangements meant the abandonment of the migrant/immigrant’s family in the rural area. A policeman in the East Rand observed, that broken marriages are due to lack of housing. But this was by no means one-way traffic or a one-way process. The abandonment of men and women was common, because marriages were not arranged according to proper procedure. The image that was encountered in the 1947, newspaper cartoons and the idea that is so deeply embedded in most of the literature on urbanization of the more or less orderly movement of families to the town – the simple transposition of family life – is thus at least partly misleading. So

too is the notion of a permanent and unconditional move to the town. Many who retained access to rural resources might enter purely temporary urban liaisons. Only those without land, without stock or without parents would unproblematically cut their ties with their homes.

2.4.2 *Social character of in-migrants*

Within these rapidly changing material and social circumstances the character of social and political life went through a correspondingly radical series of shifts. By the early 1920s the outlines of a core urban culture were beginning to take shape on the Rand. Much of this was being moulded in the inner city slumyards, places like Doornfontein, the Malay location and Ferreirastown. In some respects this new urban culture mirrored any other urban culture of poverty, with its multiplicity of mechanisms of sharing and social insurance, but what was particularly noteworthy about the culture of Johannesburg's slumyards – especially given the nature of the wider South African society – was its multiracial character. Here Africans, coloureds, Indians, Chinese and whites lived side by side in some kind of symbiosis and many of the key institutions of the new urban society bear the dual stamp of poverty and racial admixtures: the stokvel from the Eastern Cape, the shebeen from the Western Cape, marabi music with its rich blend of musical forms, 'flaaitaal' a mixture of African languages, Afrikaans and a bit of English, and so on (Coplan, 1985:560).

The composite culture that was forged in these slumyards has had a major influence on black urban culture on the Witwatersrand today, but this was only accomplished after a lengthy period of contestation with other cultural forms imported from the outside. From the late 1930s to the mid- 1950s this urban culture was being swamped by repeated waves of immigration to the Reef. During this period immigrants streamed in from every corner of South Africa, bringing with them a breathtaking diverse set of experiences and cultures which repeatedly remoulded the urban culture that had been formed.

A few experiences will be explored and in particular to plot some of the journeys that brought such people to the towns, for they are not only remarkable in their own right, but also left a deep imprint on the consciousness and attitudes of those that undertook them. The first example is that of long-distance migrancy to the Rand. A common thread in the life histories of many African migrants to the Reef is a contract – a join – or a series of contracts on the mines. In the early years of the century many tramped the weary miles to the mines on foot. Among the most grueling and indeed, epic journeys, were those undertaken by labour migrants from Mozambique.

A man, for example, left his wife and child in 1932 to set out for the Rand. Together with three friends, he walked through central Mozambique, through the Kruger and other game parks to the Rand. It was wild country and they were often worried by lions. At night they slept up trees: during the days they often had to literally scavenge to survive – a lion kills provided welcome sustenance, for example. At times swollen rivers and swollen legs delayed them for days before they ultimately arrived in Pretoria and then joined up on mines on the Rand. After working a 6 month contract, this person escaped the party that was taking him back to the train which would have transported him back to Mozambique and made his way to the West Rand where he ultimately found work as the caretaker of a school.

There followed a job as a dishwasher and then a chef in a restaurant – at which point his patient climb up the job ladder was arrested, literally, for not being in possession of a proper pass. On his release Herman sought sanctuary in the anonymity of the major freehold township of Newclare in the western suburbs of Johannesburg, where he suffered from gang assaults from a second-generation urban youth and the theft of his possessions by the women with whom he lived. Shortly after this his fortunes began to improve: he met and married another South African woman, acquired a pass by underhand means and moved into the squatter settlement in Kliptown. After several successive changes of job and place of residence he was ultimately

able to secure a safe haven at the site and service scheme at Chaiwelo, where he lives now (Coplan, 1985:112).

What is so graphically evident in the first person's life is its hardship, its instability and insecurity and the constant changes of tack he was forced to make in order to survive. The second example – while different from the first example in a host of respects share these characteristics at least. The second person was born on a farm near Vryheid in Northern Natal. The terms of his father's tenure were that his children worked 6 months on the farm each year. For him this meant backbreaking labour from dawn to dusk – he claims he could always distinguish people who came from the reserves from those who came from white farms because those from the reserves – here I quote him – always lagged behind with their jobs compared with the person from the farms who grew up under the harsh control of the Boer farmer. He spent the other 6 months of the year working as a gardener in Vryheid, but on returning from the town found himself coming into conflict with his employer and particularly his employer's sons. They began to perceive him as putting on airs – this seems to have consisted mainly of wearing proper clothes instead of rags – and as infecting his fellow workers with ideas above their station. He was picked on and assaulted by the farmer's sons and his family began to fear for his safety and even his life. They therefore happily acceded to his idea that he takes a contract on the mines. After a 6-month contract at Anglo Mine – during which time he took night classes with mine clerks – he made his first move to break his way into the increasingly barricaded world of the towns.

The year was 1953 and by now newly legislated and more restrictive influx control laws were making entry in the urban areas an increasingly hazardous business for newcomers. He was consequently obliged to seek a bridge into the towns with a company whose low wages and bad working conditions required them to recruit illegal unregistered labour. His place of residence was the twilight world of the peri-urban plots – the smallholdings around the Rand's towns, which were intermittently subject to the raids of mounted police. After being caught for a third time in these swoops he was subjected

to one of the formative experiences in the lives of many – a spell behind bars. For 14 days Shadrack witnessed or was subject to various forms of humiliation and abuse, mainly from the prisoners but sometimes from the guards – such as beatings, homosexual assault, being forced to sit for long periods on an imaginary chair and so on. Such was his despair at the end of his sentence that a warder took pity on him and interceded with the Bantu Commissioner's Office to enable him to get a legal job in one of the major engineering factories in Alberton's old township, where he subsequently married. When asked whether these abuses and injustices had drawn him towards political organisations, he replied. Not at all, I think that was because we were only preoccupied with our survival (Bonner, 1995:124).

Other people came more or less directly to the Rand. More common was for immigrants to come via more staggered and circuitous routes. One of the principal sources of immigration to the Rand was the farming and reserve areas of the Northern Transvaal.

In the later 1930s and early 1940s, many young men ran away from their homes without the permission of their parents because they wanted money – above all, it seems, to buy respectable clothes – or, as one after another of them says long pants. Another person for example, ran away from his home near Bochum in 1936 in the company of several friends. A spell of work on an orange and biltong farm near Acornhoek ended after his employer assaulted him for some misdemeanor and he ran away. Then, after several false starts, he found work on a farm near Mariepskop in the Eastern Transvaal where he learnt of better paying jobs on the neighbouring Eastern Transvaal mines. Having taken up employment there he married in 1941 and only then, after 6 years, re-established contact with his family. This person was by this stage either consciously or unconsciously gravitating towards the Rand. Through his father in-law he found a job on the railways, after which he took employment with a construction company in Benoni, only to run away shortly afterwards because the work was too hard.

There followed an 8-year spell with Benoni Municipality, during which he lived in a municipal compound. In 1949 Stimela finally broke into the magic circle of the firms – initially into heavy manual labour with the engineering firm Head Wrightson and then into much coveted semi-skilled machine operative work. Only in 1950 did Stimela bring his wife from Marble Hall to the newly formed Apex Squatter Camp. Only then after negotiating a lengthy obstacle-strewn route did he finally establish roots in the town (Coplan, 1985:111).

Many women arrived on the Reef in the same way as others did, but the journeys of others were accompanied by much more hardship and heartache. Mrs K, for example dutifully waited for 5 years for her husband to return home without him putting in an appearance. This put obvious strains on her marriage, but her mother-in-law was equal to the challenge. She was, as Mrs K recalls, firm. There were three brides of three brothers at her homestead and she would check them every night. She would come asking for matches or some other pretext. If your door was not locked she would assume you were expecting someone. Mr K, meanwhile, having moved from the mines to the factories, was behaving in a much less exemplary fashion, spending his time and his money on women and liquor. Eventually, Mrs K's parents intervened to save what was beginning to look like yet another broken marriage and instructed Mrs K to go herself to the Rand to seek out her husband, which she successfully did.

Other women were not so fortunate. A certain lady was born in Teyateyaneng, Lesotho, in the early 1940s. Her family was desperately poor, possessing not even a calf. In her late teens she was abducted by her husband-to-be in a fashion that was becoming increasingly common in Lesotho at that time. It was customary in such instances for the man to pay compensation to the wife's family, but in this instance her husband did not. Instead, after fathering two children he vanished to the Rand. She was left destitute, and she migrated to the Rand, where she joined women friends in the same position and earned a living in the slums of Johannesburg and Benoni brewing beer and knitting woolens. Before long she acquired – the leader of a Basotho ethnic gang called the Ma Rashea or Russians. In this

matter she had little opinion. In those times, it was not possible to live without a man, but Russian men conferred little security on their women. Men would declare – that a woman is not a good investment and desert her. A pervasive vulnerability thus marked their lives as well – a point driven home in this case when the husband was hanged for the murder of two policemen (Bonner, 1995:124-125).

A number of points emerge from these individual histories – the driving pressure of poverty, social instability and a curious mixture of caution, determination and unquenchable hope. Time and again these remarkable individuals, were shaken by adversity and misfortune. Time and again they surmounted it. They did this by drawing on their own spiritual resources, but they also found support and insurance in other forms. It is to these that we now wish to turn.

Once thrust into this extraordinarily fluid and heterogeneous urban environment – and it is the heterogeneity which is revealed in these life histories which marks the Rand off from any other urban center in South Africa – both migrants and immigrants sought islands of security within the prevailing anarchy of the towns and did so most often by clustering together with those from their home region. As a result, particular jobs and particular neighbourhoods often became the preserve of particular ethnic groups. A distinct occupational and regional ethnic geography of the Witwatersrand began to emerge. Flat cleaning and hotel work, for example, became largely the preserve of migrants from the Zululand and Natal Reserves. Building workers were drawn disproportionately from the Transkei. Municipal workers hailed mostly from East Griqualand and Tembuland, commercial workers from the Orange Free State farms and heavy industrial workers from Basutoland (now Lesotho) and particular areas of Zululand. Partly reflecting this occupational distribution, particular areas of the city were colonised by different regional and/or ethnic groups. The north and north-westerly districts of Johannesburg, for example, were disproportionately made up of immigrants from the Western Transvaal, the central areas of Johannesburg from those from Zululand and so on.

A variety of social institutions also played a role in helping people to accommodate to and cope with this new and alien urban environment, the most important of which were religious sects, migrant/immigrant associations, squatter movements and gangs. Churches, particularly those of the faith-healing variety, were powerful sources of comfort, community and support in an otherwise hostile urban world. Casting out spirits, healing through prayer and the administration of holy water provided urban dwellers with ways of handling misfortunes, injustices and illnesses in the face of which they were otherwise powerless. These churches also provided new bases of discipline and order in an otherwise anarchic and, as migrants saw it, decultured urban environment. Mrs K,s husband was drunk until he joined a church in 1963. Rose M,s husband regularly chased other women and drank until, to quote her words, 'He joined the Twelve Disciples Church and became a responsible man (IWC, 1988:874-875).

The squatter movements, which became such a prominent feature of urban life on the Witwatersrand in the 1940s, can also be viewed in a similar light. The key need, which the squatter movements addressed, was obviously affordable housing, but what is so often overlooked is their role in providing order and stability in a rootless and impersonal urban world. Security is something which we are apt to take for granted until it is not there, as most people in South Africa are all too aware of now. One of the characteristic features of black urban life in South Africa has been the persistent abdication by the state of the ordinary duties of maintaining security and order. Policing of black communities has centered instead on bureaucratic offenses, such as infringements of pass and permit laws, liquor contravention's and so on and the authorities have sat idly by when crime, faction fighting or neighbourhood and domestic violence have broken out. In the late 1940s the squatter leadership stepped into the void, providing policing and forms of social regulation which the state largely withheld. Street and ward representatives were appointed, police forces were formed and squatter courts were set up to discipline those guilty of disturbing domestic harmony and neighbourhood peace. It was the performance of these latter functions, which almost certainly explains why the most active and vociferous supporters of the

squatter leaders were women. In the new townships that were built in the 1950s, Advisory Boards, civic guards and traditional courts – known as makgotla – continued to carry out these functions, often in the face of official censure. The street committees and people's courts of the 1980s thus have a longer lineage and deeper credibility than is sometimes imagined and constitute a tradition of popular self-governance upon which a new South Africa might be well advised to draw (Bonner, 1990:92-94).

The last immigrant institution, which is to be discussed, is the migrant/immigrant gang. The most influential and notorious of these was the Basotho ethnic gang called the Ma-Rashea or Russian. The origins of this gang can be traced back – perhaps not entirely coincidentally to 1947 the date of the newspaper cartoons – when increasing numbers of Basotho migrants on the mines were beginning to take jobs in the heavy engineering sector in the towns. To begin with these Basotho migrants/immigrants coalesced into two rival gangs, the Russians and the Japanese. As news of Hiroshima and Nagasaki began to filter through, the name Japanese was quietly dropped in favour of the common title of Russians and two new factions, the Matsieng and Ha-Malapo, based in different regions of Lesotho, took its place. From this point Russians engaged in an uninterrupted sequence of fights, between themselves, with youth gangs whom like all migrants and immigrants they loathed and with other ethnic groups, particularly Zulu, Mpondo and Bhaca. Benoni, Newclare and Soweto were the main sites of these battles – in which up to 1000 combatants would engage – but they also spread across the length and breadth of the Rand. At one level the Russians fought because of a love of fighting, in which they had been schooled as herd boys in the mountains of Lesotho. In other words, it was a product of rural socialisation. At another level, though, the Russians banded together to establish a measure of security and control in a forbidding urban world – security against the depredations of tsotsis, of which all migrant and immigrant groups were particular targets, control over housing and squatter camps at a time when residential space was at a premium – they, for example, literally evicted all non-Basotho groups out of Southern Newclare in 1953 – and especially control over the squads of Basotho women who were

flocking to the Rand. Two of these themes emerge in a celebrated fight between the Zulu hostel dwellers and the *Russian* residents of the Asiatic area of Benoni. Helen Khoesnoe took up the tale. 'The Zulus', she says,

Have a tendency to seduce a woman whether or not her husband is present. This happened on one occasion in the Asiatic section of Benoni, and the Basotho present beat the man. The Zulus at the Benoni hostel, therefore, decided on a fair fight. They went in person to the administrative offices on Third Avenue. The police discouraged them, but nevertheless gave them permission.

The ensuing battle was bloody. Both the Zulus and the *Russians* secured reinforcements from all parts of the Rand. The Zulus advanced at the appointed time from their stronghold in the hostel to the *Russians'* base in the Asiatic quarter of Benoni, where the *Russians* ambushed them and put them to rout with considerable loss of life.

In these stories we can identify some of the core values of immigrants and core elements of social conflict and unrest – the widening of an individual conflict to a broader ethnic constituency, the belief in police connivance in ethnic conflict, an idea which of course is alive and well today, the respective areas of turf's which each group dominated and protected, the extent to which competition over women underlay conflict between ethnic groups and the idea of a fair fight, a practice immigrants believed to be alien to urban tsotsis and urban youth in general and which was the source of a deep rift between these two groups.

What does all of this tell us about the political capacity or potential of black urban society in the 1940s and 1950s? The answer is a great deal. As we have seen, the majority of the African urban population of the Reef was immigrant. As the various journeys to the city that were described demonstrates immigrant life was a daily struggle for survival and daily quest, as it were to take roots. Urban society on the Witwatersrand was also highly heterogeneous and fragmented – infinitely more so than in any other urban

center in South Africa. Immigrants sought above all to create islands of security – islands which were in many ways isolated or cut off from other groups around them and very different from one another. Even the largest of these islands, the squatter camps of the 1940s evince this profound parochially. None of the squatter leaders was capable of cooperating with any other, still less with the national political leadership of the African National Congress. That leadership was in any case relatively uninterested in the bread and butter concerns of the locations, at least the Vigilance Association of Orlando East in the 1930s and, because the African National Congress was inactive at that level, only joined the organisation to which he was to contribute so much in 1940. His verdict on the African National Congress of the 1930s in many ways holds true for most of the 1940s as well. Trade unions for their part were crippled by the high turnover of labour and often remained isolated and based in single factories (Bonner, 1990).

These patterns began to change in the late 1940s and 1950s. The stabilisation of the African urban population in the new urban townships that began to spring up around the Rand had a generally leveling and homogenising effect on the Reef's population. Whereas previously it had been scattered and often atomised in the backyards of white householders, in smallholdings surrounding the towns or deposited in the congested yards of African stand holders in the locations, it was now brought together in a single area, under a common administration and sharing roughly similar conditions of life.

From the mid 1950s these much more broadly shared conditions of life included shared immiseration. Towards the end of 1954 the Minister of Native Affairs, H F Verwoerd, imposed economic rentals on all municipal housing, causing rentals to rocket up to 75% of their previous level. Since costs of transport to work had also doubled or trebled as a result of the distance of the new townships from places of employment and real wages had been declining since 1948, residents began to experience an intense common economic squeeze. This bred a sense of collective deprivation and common purpose among urban communities along the Reef and particularly among its growing

second-generation population, which by the late 1950s had begun to manifest itself in bus boycotts and one pound a day campaigns (French, Mpanza & Sofasonke party, 1980).

The new pass legislation, which was put into operation at the beginning of 1953, had an analogous set of effects. New immigration was obstructed and slowed down, allowing a common core urban culture to reassert itself once again. Many immigrants who might otherwise have returned to the countryside for longer or shorter lengths of time now chose to remain in the towns rather than run the risk of losing the urban foothold others struggled so hard to secure.

For a number of those who were to become future political leaders, the iniquities of the pass laws were the spur that drove them into political organisations. John Nkadimeng, subsequently an important African National Congress and, South African Communist Party leader recalls how he was jailed for being out of work in 1950 and sentenced to 21 days at Newlands: 'And I saw things there that I never expected to see. Terrible, I was absolutely angry, I was sick here, I just didn't know what to do with this thing. Because I knew I had not committed any crime. I knew that I hadn't done anything wrong! Except this bloody rubbish! And they took me to jail for such a long time, and they got me mixed up with terrible criminals!' Upon release he immediately volunteered for the Defiance Campaign. The key politicising moment in the lives of numerous other African political leaders is uncannily similar (Nkadimeng:1993-1994).

As a result of these developments a new sense of common identity can be seen to be stirring in the latter years of the 1950s which overrode many of the ethnic and social divisions which had characterised the previous two decades. This is not to say that new divisions did not simultaneously emerge, particularly those centered on generational differences, but they were not as subversive of collective purpose and action as the earlier forms of cleavage had been.

Youth gangs still engaged in ferocious battles with each other over township turf and football clubs remained parochial and small-scale – Orlando Pirates, for example was still a tiny neighbourhood club, just the same as all the rest. Trade unions often remained isolated and based in single factories. But a gradual process of coalescence was taking place, which would manifest itself in the political ferment of 1959-1961 and would then be masked by the blanket of repression that was thrown over South Africa in the following decade. It is in many ways the harvest of that generation that we are reaping now (Maguire, 1991).

2.4.3 Reasons for in-migration of Africans in South Africa

African migrants in South Africa have been referred to by Houghton (1960:179) as *men of two worlds*, indicating the tribal world in which they are brought up and usually also retire; and the modern industrial world, in which they spend most of their working lives for longer or shorter periods. Mears (1991:48) prefers to see these people as *men of three worlds*, indicating the country home, the White town where they find employment and the adjoining African town where they live in *hostels*. This description of people from different worlds touches the roots of this phenomenon in South Africa, namely the non-permanence of migration, which is already in existence for more than a hundred years. The bridge which has been built to replace people from the area of origin to the area of destination has indeed become two-way-traffic lanes, with people moving in both directions, at short and long intervals (Koornhof, 1982:63).

Economic factors play a predominantly important role in the decision-making process of migrants, with non-economic factors in a supportive role in this process. On the in-migration process in South Africa, Mitchel (1958:23) writes that the key factor is the economic one: all other causes of migration can be removed, save the economic one, and there would still be in-migration. Further north in Africa, in the former Tanganyika, Gulliver came to a similar conclusion when he studied the migration process there; when he states that the incentives for labour migrants are primarily and pre-eminently a desire for

cash and material wealth which are not available away from work (Gulliver, 1960:161). It is these economic necessities, or lack thereof in the rural areas, that causes people to seek that which they desire in other areas, all other factors are secondary. In this regard Gulliver (supra) concludes that the reasons why so many thousands of Africans go away to work are not explicable in terms of man seeking travel and adventure, new experience, the wonders of the white man's world, wanderlust, the evasion of filial duties or political obligations, or others of the employers' and White man's stereotyped myth. Some of these kinds of factors may be involved marginally for particular individuals.

In a study by Leistner on the economic aspects of Black migrant labour, he confirms that economic factors do in fact play a dominant role in the decision-making process of migrants. In almost 72% of all the responses in his study, it was found that economic motives played a crucial role in the motivation for going to work (Leistner, 1963:116).

The roots of the decision to leave an area, mainly because of economic factors involved, are to be found in most cases in the rural areas, where lack of opportunities, poverty, illiteracy and population pressure often give rise to conditions of unemployment or underemployment, in which people simply have to leave in search of better opportunities. In this regard Leistner, (1963:199) concludes that growing population pressure on rural resources is the principal cause for labour leaving the land - non economic factors generally play only a subsidiary role.

In many cases the land tenure system is responsible for pushing people away from an area, for example where division of land among sons implies that each has too little to survive, with the result that they leave their rural area.

Economic pressure on people in rural areas in the form of poverty and overpopulation (Union of South Africa, 1946, par 59-1, cf. Lourens, 1979:53), often switches to a wish or for that matter a desire to earn money, in order to satisfy their many desires. Experts such as Dubb & Williams point out that to

earn money summarises the reasons why people move to urban areas (Dubb, 1937:44, cf. Williams, 1971:149).

Traditionally, African economies have been subsistence economies with little, if any, specialization and production for the less prosperous days to come. For this historical reason, many Africans have come to towns and cities to supplement a failing subsistence economy in the rural areas, which is normally used for one or more of the following purposes (Dubb, 1937:445):

- (i) to supplement the shortage of food in the tribal or subsistence economy;
- (ii) to purchase cattle for lobola (bride's price);
- (iii) to buy tools and implements for agricultural purposes and to buy consumer products;
- (iv) to pay for taxes imposed by administrations on the indigenous population;
- (v) to give financial support to members of the family in the rural areas;
- (vi) to enable children in the rural areas to attend school, and
- (vii) to satisfy the demands for European artifacts and foodstuffs.

If it is to be accepted that the motivation to earn an income does in fact play a significant role in the decision to migrate, one is tempted to ask in what way it will influence Blacks to migrate to urban areas inside the rural areas instead of migrating to the large metropolitan areas such as Gauteng. From this situation it can be concluded that the rural areas have apparently been incapable of creating the necessary job opportunities to, among other things, initiate a healthy process of in-migration. Benso (1980:111).states that in 1980/81 various authorities voted only 18,3% to be spent on the creation of job opportunities and the ways and means to earn an income in the various rural areas.

The general conclusion is that blacks migrate mainly for economic reasons. More specifically, the vast majority of blacks migrate in order to survive. This does not necessarily deny the fact that there are many other possible reasons for migration, as indicated earlier. These reasons may, however, to a large

extent be linked to the motivation to earn an income and to the desperate need to find accommodation and employment. Black in-migration is an unstoppable reality descending on the South African community, with effects that will be felt in virtually all spheres of life.

The socio-economic and political implications of such rapid in-migration in South Africa are indeed critical in that South Africa is least equipped to absorb its growing urban population. This means that the impact of future in-migration will press most heavily upon the societies of the world that are at present the most deficient in economic, technological and managerial resources that are essential for the accommodation of very high in-migration rates (Benso, 1980:113).

There are other factors which have contributed to the in-migration process in South Africa, especially in Gauteng Province. A closer look will now be taken at these factors.

2.4.4 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. South Africa, 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 Province and other provinces is experienced by the government of National Unity. This is done by the purchase of land which is added to the provinces. The result is that boundaries of these provinces are changed and that people who have resided in other areas are now included in Gauteng and other provinces (Smit, 1977:19). The greater part of such added land is geographically adjacent to other provinces. Sometimes these added areas

are proclaimed as townships and then regarded as urban areas. Such a step, when it happens, helps to increase the urban population of such a province.

A second factor contributing to the rapid increase of the urban population of Gauteng and the other provinces is the government programme to resettle blacks from time to time, either from badly located areas, or from white rural areas. It is, however, believed that this type of resettlement is substantial (Smit, 1977:20).

A third factor promoting in-migration in Gauteng and other provinces is the provision or availability of housing in the urban areas. The number of housing units in proclaimed townships have increased. 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).

Since then the realities of South Africa's economic compounds and political transition period intervened. What intensifies the problem is that the Gauteng Province's population is set to double over the next 14 years, with more than 20 000 people moving into Gauteng Province every month. This puts pressure on the province's already strained resources and infrastructure. According to 1997 figures released by the Department of Housing, the tempo of housing has picked up, a total of 248 100 houses had been built or were under construction. However, with the rate of building industry's growth in the order of 4% in 1996, 1997 is showing significant growth in the provision of affordable and low-income housing, due largely to the concerted efforts government and private sector have made in this area. This growth is not only expected in the area of the provision of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing, but involves the entire building and construction industry (Mthembi-Mahanyele, 1997:6).

A fourth factor contributing to in-migration is the depressed conditions in certain African countries such as Lesotho, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola affected by wars and in poor rural areas in South Africa. In many

instances people have no option but to leave the area in order to survive. They either go to a nearby township or migrate to a metropolitan area where they usually have some contact.

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, needed 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, while the nature of the incentives had been changed. The emphasis has shifted from various forms of tax advantages and rebates to concessions offering more cash advantages and incentives, such as training, housing and relocation allowances.

The last factor promoting in-migration in Gauteng and other provinces are the so-called process of *stepwise migration* where migrants use such a township as a *stopover* before migrating to urban areas further away. Two factors stimulate this process: In the first place there is a tremendous overcrowding of people in the already poverty-stricken rural areas which leaves a section of these people with no option than to leave their area in order for them and their families to survive. Secondly, because of Government laws and regulations, and a shortage of houses and definite employment opportunities in an around metropolitan areas, many of these people and their families are prevented from settling in these urban areas.

In conclusion, it can be stated that economic factors, notably the urge 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 and other provinces, supported by political factors, sociological factors and individual preferences. Government - induced actions may either promote this process or prevent it. That is why today there are shanty towns, housing thousand of squatters,

around great industrial centers such as Alexandra in Johannesburg (Koornhof, 1982:77).

2.4.5 Implications of in-migration for public administration

The changes facing South Africa may well affect our entire existence, and one would be unnatural 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 ourselves and our country. The manner in which our public administration will be able to cope with radically changing conditions will be vital, and probably the most radical of these changes will be the public administrator's ability to deal with the process of in-migration.

The measure of success which South Africans will achieve in regard to in-migration will decide the destiny of our cities and country and also determine to what extent growth will be stimulated with resultant improvement of the economy. South Africans have reached a turning point in the in-migration process and South Africa has changed from a rural oriented country to a predominantly urban society requiring specialized attention. The future of South Africa, be it political, 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 is whether he is prepared to implement fully and unconditionally all policies flowing from these implications. Implementation of policies specifically includes policies which will affect our traditional concepts of public administration, and will inevitably require a radical change of our traditional perceptions.

Public administration's top officials have the tremendous task to acquaint themselves fully with the new circumstances, the contents, objectives and consequences of the several new policies and strategies; warning against impractical and unattainable objectives or policy ends; by exposing differences between reality and policy; influencing the negotiation process; avoiding surprises in the implementation process and creating unattainable

expectations. The involvement of these officials at the same time in the negotiation process for acceptable structures of Government on the national, regional and local levels demands almost supernatural qualities which will tax the will of contrivance 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 of the changing environment. But many will accept the new challenges with zest and zeal and these will be public administrators who will in the end ensure that the new era in South Africa will become known as the age of opportunity and development.

Lubout and Hanes (1991:28) state that the future is more promising, since there are options available whose effects are to relieve poverty. Policies that are intended to overcome the inequitable and inefficient design of the cities; to increase the number of jobs in poverty-stricken regions; and to improve working conditions on the farms; all of these constitute ways in which an in-migration policy can reach out to 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 problems deemed to be in-migration problems; many problems are found in cities or regions rather than actually being a problem of that city or region because the policies formulated are correctly utilized and implemented. Thus the Government might attempt to relieve the shortage of housing located within the city, but the central problem may actually lie with national economic policy and the slow growth of employment, which together prevent the poor from being in a position to afford their own housing.

The main task for public administration is to develop strategies and respond to certain challenges. There is, for example, the large and growing population of people from near and far 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 cosmopolitan set of laws, regulations and conventions. Whether it be administration, defence or trade that has given 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 this 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 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).

2.5 CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that in-migration has reached such enormous dimensions that it may very well become a threat to mankind itself, if not handled properly. What is more important is the pace or speed with which this phenomenon is approaching mankind, especially in South Africa. Time will not permit mankind to deal with this problem on an *ad hoc* basis. What is needed is planning, logic and vision.

These are in short, the most important factors promoting in-migration in South Africa. The next chapter will focus more specifically on the planning and the people's participation in in-migration. As far as the contents are concerned, paragraph 3.1 of this introductory chapter contains a general explanation of what planning and participation for in-migration entails and that there is no assurance that the spontaneous workings of the private and public economy will lead us into a world it would be called our own, and so it behooves us to rethink planning in terms of conditions, understandings, and needs of our time. Reference was also made in passing to the actual planning involving local government in informal settlement in order to give some insight into the

way in which this plan could be utilised for accommodating strategies of in-migration such as physical, economic, social and cultural developments. The remaining part of the chapter consist of two parts. Part one contains all relevant information about planning requirements and principles such as equity, sustainability, validity and implications of planning and development which are relevant concerning planning and participation for in-migration. Part two deals with planning and people's participation which deals with the nature and the problems of public participation encountered which affect the welfare of communities and this warrants strict in-migration policy.

CHAPTER 3

PLANNING AND PARTICIPATION FOR IN-MIGRATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The post-industrial world into which we have stumbled is filled with terrifying uncertainties. It is revealed that there is no longer surety of the course to be taken. 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. There is no assurance that the spontaneous workings of the private and public economy will lead us into a world it would be called our own, and so it behooves us to rethink planning in terms of the conditions, understandings, and needs of our time (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994: 1-2).

In-migration in South Africa is at present a fairly worrying phenomenon for the government concerned. At this stage it is not possible to say that South Africa will not suffer the same fate as places such as Mexico City, Cairo, Lagos, Calcutta and Shanghai that are referred to as examples of in-migration. 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. In this process environmental conditions should be thoroughly taken into account, and planning should be undertaken more proactively than reactively as is now the case. Otherwise, the effective and efficient management of in-migration will be threatened and this will lead to crime, unemployment, low quality of life and progress will be affected negatively.

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 to order the development of the city in the past. Will the same apply to the South African city of the future? The argument in this chapter 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 : South Africa will require sound planning and research to get through the current bottlenecks and policy transitions. 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 are the following:

- i) It must firstly be able to reach a decision to do mobilization from below. Given the level of mobilisation in communities, it seems unlikely that even a democratically elected government will be able to re-impose its will in any absolute way. Any attempt to plan in the traditional top-down style of the apartheid 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 must develop the ability to mediate between interest groups. This refers in the first place to conflicts between vested interests such as 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 will have to be worked out that give serious consideration to the interests of the powerless. Romanticised conceptions of the community as if it is something that always acts with a unified will, should be guarded against.

- ii) There are also some technical criteria, such an urban policy framework will have to satisfy. It should be able to encourage a more compact urban form, thus as well as the need for transport subsidies. 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 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 satisfactorily. The discussions that follow are an attempt to explore ways to overcome these constraints, yet satisfy these criteria.

3.2 PLANNING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Well functioning local governments in informal settlements, for example, are necessary if the violence in the country is to stop. The problem of violence cannot be solved only at the provincial and national level. Conflict at the local level is mostly about local resources and not necessarily only about national politics. This means that we have to give some attention to the link between local government and planning in South Africa.

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. This is the area of government which has no contact with and feeling for the people, because they can not easily identify the problems encountered by their constituencies and be able to resolve them easily and faster, to the satisfaction of all.

The term “*development objectives*” used by Wren (Supra, 1980a) is probably too vague for our purpose. The level of responsibility surely depends on the specific objective to be realized. For example, the provision of electricity and water requires a large economy so that national or provincial utility companies such as Eskom and the Rand Water Board will be able to provide the services; while the upgrading of internal roads and streets probably fits in better with local governments. 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 the planning for in-migration. The local government officials should not only be visible during election periods but even after elections so that they can uncover the people's problems and to eliminate confusion and frustration the people experience.

3.3 LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN AN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

In South Africa the development of informal settlements is likewise subordinate to the political process. Before the scrapping of influx control, squatter settlements were simply bulldozed. 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 South Africa 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 such struggles were probably those of the people of Crossroads near Cape Town and Alexandra in Johannesburg. Since the scrapping of influx control in 1986 there has been, in principle, no legal obstacle to settle in the urban areas, but that, unfortunately, may be that the situation is merely transformed to one reminiscent of Latin America. The right of squatters to live in certain areas such as Diepsloot to the north of Johannesburg, certainly seems to be highly contestable. Leadership position in squatter settlements often seem to be usurped by self appointed leaders. Examples are Johnson Ngxobong-wana 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 the viewpoint of supplying basic services, the squatter leaders might be seen to facilitate 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.

In South Africa the leadership of these self appointed leaders often also assumes quasi-traditional 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 political 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 these settlements is another 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 (Phillips Silling 1988, cf. Shubane & Madiba 1992).

3.4 ACCOMMODATING STRATEGIES OF IN-MIGRATION

Accommodating rapid in-migration processes is a challenge in any country also in South Africa with its history of racial prejudice and apartheid policies. Since accommodating strategies should necessarily be aimed at the needs of the urban poor, the challenges are formidable in view of South Africa's past which caused major backlogs in the provision of urban housing, employment and land.

Accommodating strategies should be aimed at physical, economic, social and cultural accommodation of people, particularly in the major urban centres where influx of *outsiders* is usually the greatest.

3.4.1 *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 State is experiencing numerous problems trying to provide such land. Given the existing and expected future housing shortages, land for Africans' housing should however 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 cities to the rural areas. Therefore, South Africa 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 also in South Africa, that the poorer segment of the population in cities commutes over large distances (Shryock & Siegel, 1976:89), such a situation is not necessarily desirable, since it can have far reaching implications for the quality of life of poor people.

The housing situation in South Africa 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 areas and elsewhere in the cities and South Africa is no exception. In various parts of the country migrant-labour hostels are sometimes heavily overcrowded with relatives and friends living unlawfully with the registered occupants. These observations point to the enormous housing need in the cities.

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 South Africa, the African population experiences large-scale housing shortages. This obviously applies to the Witwatersrand, *supra* (Glover and Adler 1987:36). In Urban Foundation (1991c:23) it is stated 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 Eastern Transvaal. This indicates the housing needs of the poorest segment of the urban African population, who cannot be expected to take full responsibility for the acquisition of land and for the erection of a relatively permanent housing structure.

It cannot be expected of any government to bear the full responsibility for housing its people. However in this respect South Africa can be singled out as a country 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, albeit without 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).

The recognition of the permanency of Africans in the city and the abolition of influx control brought about 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 in the African residential areas. In this way provision was made for conforming the acquired upward social mobility of a large component of the urban African population and the scrapping of the Group Areas Act may have speeded up this process. 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 and Gelderblom 1994:105-106).

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.

Blair, (1971:231) states that not even with the aid of industry, foreign governments and international agencies can the housing problems be overcome if the major target is mass housing for wage-earning people because wage earners constitutes only a minute proportion of the able-bodied urban population. For every person employed in formal industries, business and government structures there are scores of self-employed artisans and traders, and thousands of unemployed migrants and their dependents. These groups form the human core of the urban housing problems, and are, therefore, the major markets 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 may have to be taken seriously.

3.4.2 *Economic development and in-migration*

People should have jobs. This simple statement fails to indicate the enormous challenges it implies. If we are to face these challenges effectively, new economic developments and solutions are probably required, and we may be forced to move away from what Max-Neef, Elizade and Hopenhayn (1989:33) call the economic failures of the past.

An in-depth study of economic development and how urban growth relates to it is necessary to describe a framework within which economic development and in-migration can possibly function. A brief review about this will be dealt with.

The current way of in-migration has the potential of creating job opportunities and long-term activities on a huge scale, which will contribute to a new phase of economic growth in the country as a whole. 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 and an intensive investigation must be conducted in all fields by experts, in order to

find a method through which it can be accomplished. The creation and provision of job opportunities must 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, must be used extensively in order to stimulate urban economy, and create job opportunities. Every local authority must find ways to identify new opportunities as well as existing obstacles and create 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).

It could be stated that 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 servicing is certain to evoke some reaction from politicians and governments.

While 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 study is primarily interested in in-migration within the framework of economic development in South Africa, particularly in the Gauteng province. 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 in the presence of economic development.

It has been earlier determined 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 migration 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 political 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 (supra:44).

It is also capable of making a contribution to the non-market production of the gross national product of a country.

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

From what has been said in this section, it can be concluded that urban growth and economic development are related in a positive way. In the second place it is possible to direct urban development to such an extent in a deliberate manner that it will be able 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 South Africa the implementation of a political ideology has led to an unbalanced urban growth structure, especially as regards the urban growth in the rural areas. It is of crucial importance that this situation be rectified in a responsible and co-ordinated national in-migration strategy.

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

- (i) Informal settlements must be positioned close to urban growth points.
- (ii) Industrial development must be encouraged in areas where the potential for economic growth is highest.
- (iii) The possibility of de-regulation must be investigated further.

- (iv) 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.

Due to the fact that the majority of the people who enter cities as squatters or as informal settlers are very poor and unemployed, and since these circumstances have a negative effect in the long run on these people personally and on the city as a whole, strategies must be planned by central government 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 the naïve masses, the local authorities, in conjunction with the private sector and representatives from the communities concerned, must create realistic community and economic development strategies which must be implemented on a structured basis.

3.4.3 Social development and in-migration

People require frequent contact with relatives, 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 planners will have to ask themselves if they are to play a significant role in accommodating people socially.

There are also other social factors which encourage people to move from one area to another in search of peace and harmony. Some people are forced by other factors which motivate them to want to change from the traditional and social restrictions which are placed upon them. Unwin (1989:25) agrees with 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 frame 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.

Further social factors that may lead to in-migration are internal 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 took place and approximately 16 million people have fled from the rural areas to the cities. Revolution made the rural areas extremely unsafe. The same situation prevailed in Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, south Sudan and Zaire (Gilbert & Gugler, 1982:55).

3.4.4 Cultural development and in-migration

Cities are places of cultural diversity and cultural expression. People rely on their cultural values and norms in their interaction with others and their cultural identity (as expressed by the mother-tongue, the arts and artifacts) should be respected before one can speak of their cultural accommodation. What role can urban planners play in this regard? Perhaps our urban planners can do more in terms of a needs assessment before starting with designs and other plans, and not rely on architects, artists and the like to implement cultural development in the later planning stages.

to development. Maitlana continues and states that employment is seen as

This statement is supported by Du Plessis (1993:36) who states that the migration decision is not made in isolation and the decision to migrate is usually made by an individual or often by a group. Three patterns exist in the third world whereby migration takes place: temporary migration whereby men are parted from their families; migration of households to urban areas which return as a whole to the rural areas at a later stage; and permanent migration and eventual settling in the cities. Many of the migrants already have settled families in the cities and this *extended family* serves then as basic security when the decision to migrate is taken.

Having conceptualized the phenomenon of cultural diversity and having described the reasons for in-migration, the process of in-migration in South Africa in earlier days was culturally influenced because in places such as former Transkei, Lebowa, Bophuthatswana and the others, people were automatically classified citizens of these homelands without their concern but were classified accordingly to the language they spoke. As a result of these facts an increasing pressure is being exerted on the government of the day to do away with classification based on race, colour and religion.

3.5 PLANNING REQUIREMENTS AND PRINCIPLES

Development is impossible without economic growth. It is, however, also true to say that real development cannot take place in the absence of equity, and that development which is not sustainable and viable cannot be real. Higher productivity, economic growth and employment are often put forward as the only criteria for development. It is true that people can only be productive if they are healthy, well-fed and properly housed, and that they can only be fully productive if the formal-sector of the economy provides them with the necessary opportunities. Economic growth is necessary to provide these opportunities, but it is not of overriding importance. Malhorta (1980:18) puts the economic issue into perspective by stating that economic growth, although much maligned in recent years, is still necessary; but it should not be the only goal and must be seen as one of the components of an integrated approach to development. Malhorta continues and states that employment is both a

means as well as an end in itself, in terms of the use of labour resources for production and for providing income to people as well as dignity and meaning to the lives of individuals (supra: 3.4.1). Strategies for providing accessible health facilities, sufficient and affordable housing, adequate food, security and suitable jobs are therefore needed. Planners have a vital role to play in this regard. (Emmett, 1990:52).

So far in this chapter a large number of planning requirements and developments have been discussed. In summary, it is necessary to touch upon a few of the most basic, and at the same time also the most important concepts. It is proposed that the basic objectives of development and planning at the national, provincial or local level should perhaps be: equity, sustainability and viability.

3.5.1 Equity

Equity or distributive justice, is achieved, among other things, by meeting the basic needs of the underprivileged section of the population. The elimination of abject poverty should therefore be the crucial objective of a development and planning strategy. Basic needs not only refer to physiological requirements, but the concept should be seen as dynamic and relating to the socially acceptable minimum standard of living commensurating with the stage of development in a country at a given time.

Equity can only be achieved through true public participation. People's participation is both a means and an end, but perhaps it is more an end in itself, because in social and political terms, it is the sine qua non of development, particularly at a local level. Just as implementation is the touchstone of planning, people's participation may be looked upon as the touchstone of the unified or integrated approach to development.

People's participation is part of a true democratic system which allows everyone, even the smallest and the poorest, to participate not only through (genuine) representatives but also directly, and the devolution of political power to the smallest village to ensure real democracy at all levels. These

are the means of such great significance and importance for people's participation that they may be looked upon as ends in themselves. People's participation, in turn, is also expected to lead to the inculcation or development of democratic values, and thereby to strengthening democracy, which is an end in itself (Malhorta, 1980:19-20).

3.5.2 Sustainability

Self-reliance, which is the will to make use of all available domestic resources and to rely on one's own resources for self-sustaining development is an essential component of sustainability. Reliance on external aid as the sole or major source of development has proved to be disastrous in many a country over the last few decades. Self-reliance again must be looked upon as a goal worthy of emulation not only at the national level but at all other levels – regional, local as well as intermediary. Max-Neef, Elizade & Hopenhayn (1989:48-49) believe that it is only by generating self-reliance, where people assume a leading role in different domains and spaces, that it is to promote development processes with synergetic effects that satisfy fundamental human needs.

The possibility of repeating a development successfully in another place at another time, which has come to be known as replicability in the literature on development, is also an important element of the concept *sustainability*. Another essential component of sustainability is the maintenance of an ecologically sound use and management of finite and renewable natural resources such as soil, water, air and forests. Maintaining an ecological balance is not only an important means but should be seen as a highly desirable objective of any well-integrated development strategy (Malhotra, 1980:20).

3.5.3 Viability

Closely related to sustainability is the much needed objective of viability of development and planning strategies, programmes and projects. It is proposed that viability should be interpreted to include not only economic feasibility but also considerations of social, political and strategic viability.

An example of the consequences of non-viable strategies and programmes was the policy of apartheid cities for the Africans on the fringes of the metropolitan areas and the resulting programme of deconcentration-point development. One consequence was the fact that the incentives for industrialists under this programme may have been largely wasted, particularly on those industrialists who wanted to relocate from the central parts to the outskirts of the cities. Another consequence of the deconcentration-point policy was that it contributed to a deconcentrated form of in-migration by locating future industrial growth at dispersed points within about an hour's drive of the cities, in close proximity to areas of displaced in-migration (Tomlinson, 1990a:32).

Since the programme has not been altogether successful, billions of rands had to be spent on subsidising the large number of people to commute between these peri-urban settlements and the city because these deconcentration points did not offer sufficient job opportunities. Tomlinson (1990a:34) summarises the consequences as follows: Clearly, the apartheid city is an extraordinarily inefficient and expensive city, both for the government and for the majority of its inhabitants, whose quality of life, productivity and material circumstances are negatively affected.

Growth pressures on the larger cities are inexorable. In order to cope with these problems of commuting between these peri-urban settlements, South Africa needs an in-migration strategy that includes a variety of policies pertaining, for example, to transport, housing, services, and the local economy. Ideally, the location of industrial zones and investment in infrastructure will be of great assistance.

3.5.4 Implications of development and planning

In line with Malhorta (1980:21) it is for us to emphasize two points with regard to the objectives mentioned above. They are, firstly, not only inter-dependent and inter-linked but must be looked upon as a single package, which means that they should not be traded off against one another. Secondly, the

objectives should be stated clearly to devise appropriate strategies and mechanisms, among other things, for the purpose of monitoring and evaluation.

Some of the implications of development and planning objectives are the following:

- (i) Migration control and close-city policies, such as the influx control practiced in South Africa for about fifty years are not compatible with any of the goals.
- (ii) Accommodating strategies, including affirmative action, are needed to reduce the abject poverty we find in South Africa. Although apartheid cannot be blamed for all the ills in our society, it certainly contained major elements of inequity, lack of people's participation, very limited sustainability and, despite noteworthy attempts by the government to nullify its effects, it dampened productivity, and reduced economic growth and employment creation.
- (iii) Access to opportunities is a central implication of these goals, and that means a positive approach to in-migration. Opportunities which are not available are one thing, but restriction on access to those opportunities that are actually available is a recipe for disaster. If planning does not aim to maximize all possible forms of access to all the available opportunities, it is not worth practicing.
- (iv) These objectives also mean that facilities and services should be affordable for the target population. For example, private sector housing cannot meet this requirement if one takes into account the fact that a very large portion of south Africa's population cannot afford to pay for housing without forfeiting even more basic necessities such as food.

This section contains broad opinions and principles that are perhaps more relevant now than ever before. First and foremost is the principle of participatory planning, coupled with equity, sustainability and viability, which should accompany measures of increasing productivity (through education and other means), economic growth and employment creation. Without that, planning is bound to remain being seen as an euphemism for the bureaucratic disruption of people's lives (Manuel, 1990:15).

It was pointed out that strategies that are aimed at accommodating the poor should deal with the need to accommodate them physically, economically, socially, culturally and politically. People need access to opportunities, and such access should never be the sole privilege of the more fortunate members of society: it should be purposefully made applicable to the poor. The poor need growth and development to make them feel that they are part of the community they live and associate with, if they are able to access resources they will attach meaning to it and feel that the economic, political, social, cultural and physical factors are something to associate with and progress will be experienced and achieved. Their living style will be focused on progress and success for the benefit of all and they will ultimately feel that they are not poor but rich as human beings and they can then contribute to the success of the community in which they live.

Unfortunately, mere access to such opportunities may not be enough. People may have to be assisted to make full use of the available opportunities. This means that self-reliance, an important condition for sustainable development, should only come into play once access to opportunities has been ensured.

If this conclusion is taken to its logical consequences, people living in formal neighbourhoods which are threatened by land invasions may in fact be experiencing as much poverty as the squatters themselves. Everyone's needs should therefore be addressed. This is why it is important to take note of the implications of adhering to the following three basic planning requirements and principles: equity, sustainability and viability. Basic to all equitable, sustainable and viable planning actions in participation is needed

because without that planning is bound to remain being labeled an euphemism for the bureaucratic disruption of people's lives. It is proposed that planning for people should develop the rationale for urban planning and design that responds to the consistency and variability of human needs, motivations, perceptions and cognition. For the principles of equity, sustainability and viability to succeed, interdisciplinary, knowledge-based, cross-cultural participatory planning, and community-building are needed.

3.6 PLANNING AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

Representative democracy, particularly at the local level such as in the case of elected city councils, does not sufficiently address the needs of citizens to be accepted and is not the only form of democracy that is required. Representative democracy does not represent a large enough proportion of the people for a large enough time period to be satisfactory in all respects. There are various reasons for this statement. Firstly, elected representatives cannot represent all the diverse interests in a local community, and therefore cannot be allowed to act as the sole and sufficient representative of all the people. Secondly, infrequent voting (normally every four years) means that people often have to wait for a long time for an unaccepted representative to be voted out of office. Thirdly, very few people usually participate in local government elections, because many of the non-voters are unwilling or discouraged to do so for reasons of alienation or even irrelevance to their lives. Fourthly, the fact that only one representative usually gets elected per ward means that even a proportion of those who voted are not represented by someone of their choice.

This does not mean that representative democracy is not important. In fact, a formal, credible electoral democracy is absolutely essential for the operation of a universalist democratic system, whereby every voter, regardless of wealth, education, ethnicity, gender or level of sophistication, has an equal right to participate (Atkinson 1992:8).

Nevertheless, whatever one's philosophy about democracy, the idea of public participation in planning is here to stay. This statement is supported by Potter (1985:152) who states that public participation has by now endured sufficiently to be taken seriously: it needs no longer be considered the current 'planning phobia' is highly relevant. However, according to Potter (1985:153) the idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you, clearly implies that the concept is still plagued by practical difficulties and impediments. People always attach meaning to things they were initially involved in and call them theirs. Without participation in planning for people chaos will reign and there will be no commitment, involvement and respect for whatever is planned, because they could feel that decisions were made for them and not with them, and consequently ownership and pride will be lost to destruction.

3.6.1 *The nature of participation*

People's participation in in-migration means involvement of the people in the planning process voluntarily and willingly. Such participation should not be coerced in any manner of speaking, but it should be comprehensive. People's involvement has to be understood in the following four senses:

- (i) participation in decision making;
- (ii) participation in implementation of development programmes and projects;
- (iii) participation in monitoring and evaluation of development programmes and projects; and
- (iv) participation in sharing the benefits of development (Yadav, 1980:87).

We should like to emphasise that the best form of people's participation in in-migration or urban development will include all four levels, but we understand that the appropriate level for a specific situation will depend on the nature of the project and local circumstances. These four levels have the following characteristics:

(a) 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 very positive, depending on the extent to which beneficiaries are equipped to understand and perform their tasks better.

(b) 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 given 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.

(c) Decision making

A still higher level of intensity may be said to occur when beneficiaries have a decision making role. Decisions may be made exclusively by beneficiaries or jointly with others on specific issues relating to in-migration. Decision making implies a much greater degree of control or influence by the beneficiaries than other consultation or information sharing.

(d) 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 get going 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, governments 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 concerned by both participants in terms of the same frame of reference, which is required in participation.

However, it would be naive not to acknowledge, from a pragmatic perspective, that there is simply no easy way of achieving true public participation.

3.6.2 *The problems of 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:

- (i) Community participation can be very time-consuming and therefore costly;
- (ii) it can delay project start-up;
- (iii) it increases the demands for project personnel and managers;
- (iv) it can increase pressures to raise the levels and range of services;
- (v) it can bring latent conflicts to the surface; and
- (vi) runs the risk of the project being cooped by certain groups or interests.

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

- (i) A lack of public interest;
- (ii) Ignorance on the part of the public;
- (iii) The communication gap between planners and the public; and

(iv) 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.

3.7 CONCLUSION

It should be clear by now that, whatever one's philosophy on democracy, the idea of public participation is here to stay, it has endured sufficiently to be taken seriously. There are many reasons for this, but the three most important seem 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 plans 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 in this chapter 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.

In the course of chapter four, the experiences of in-migration in the third world were elucidated coupled with urban agglomeration and regional disparities as indicators. Contemporary spatial such as urban primacy, export-orientation phase and migration to urban centres of unemployment and underemployment were explained. A subsequent discussion on the extent of in-migration in the world were dealt with. The impact of trends in rural population growth will be argued in chapter four, with particular reference to the relevant date in the form of figures and tables.