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PLANNING IMPLICATIONS OF THE PERSISTENCE OF CIRCULATORY MIGRATION IN A SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTAL ENVIRONMENT : FOCUS ON NORTHERN TRANSVAAL MIGRANTS WORKING IN JOHANNESBURG.

M A T U M E G A F F A N E

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Architecture, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science (Development Planning).

JOHANNESBURG 1990

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science (Development Planning) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It is has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

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(name of candidate)

14th day of October, 1990

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ABSTRACT
Urbanisation processes in South Africa have historically been influenced and affected by the government's political ideology based on segregation and racial discrimination . This has led to the constrained urbanisation of the African population facilitated by literally hundreds of restrictive pieces of legislation. The restricted mobility of the African people has led to the migrant labour system which encapsulates what is termed circulatory migration. This form of temporary migration appears to be persistent in nature, and as such the urbanisation process in South Africa appears to be different from what has been observed elsewhere, especially in first world, developed countries. This calls for a revision of theories which seek to explain the urbanisation process in South Africa in terms of urban transition models. Several planning implications of the misunderstood nature of urbanisation in the country emerge, and as such future urbanisation policies in South Africa ought to be informed by research into the complex nature of the process itself.

AIM

The aim of this discourse, in view of the problem statement above, is to formulate a framework for redressing current urbanisation policies and the recommend the implementation of policies which, instead of restricting urbanisation, will contribute to the development of the country and all its people.

OBJECTIVES

The aim stated above will be realised by pursuing the following set of objectives:-

- the discussion and analysis of past and present policies employed by the South African government to restrict African Urbanisation.

- outlining the nature of circular migration prevalent in

South Africa, especially among black people, and to use a case-study to establish certain facts about mobility as reflected in circular migration.

- to develop a framework for the implementation of new policies which do not restrict mobility

- to draw conclusions about the potential benefits of unconstrained urbanisation in South Africa.

METHODOLOGY

a) Data collection, analysis and synthesis

This involved the review of urbanisation literature and the interviewing of migrants and their families in the selected research area. This has been used as some theoretical background to the study at hand, with the case-study used to test some prevailing hypotheses concerning urbanisation in South Africa.

b) Alternatives and recommendations.

Attempts toward solving the problem stated above will dominate this stage in the discourse, with alternatives to existing policy directions offered, and recommendations made for the implementation of alternative policies which might guide the management of future urbanisation processes in the country.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO URBANISATION

In historical terms urbanisation on any scale is essentially recent, a feature of approximately the last one hundred and sixty years. The industrial revolution in Europe is one major factor which led to the urbanisation of the predominantly rural population, but several forms of urban settlements are known to have existed long before the industrial revolution took off. (e.g. Medieval cities).

Carter (1981) isolates groups of causes which have precipitated the (rapid) urbanisation of the present times. The most notable of these are economic development and agglomeration economies.

(a) Economic development.

This relates to the movement of people out of agricultural communities into other and generally larger non-agricultural communities. The crux of this approach, writes Carter (1981), is "a direct correlation of economic development with urbanisation and it is usually couched in the form of the identification of phases of economic development, each of

which is associated with a degree or urbanisation" (p27). He argues that many interpretations of urban origins are set out in this way, where urbanisation is seen as a product of increasing economic specialization and advancing technology.

b) Agglomeration economies.

This group of causes of urbanisation rests on the argument that growth is cumulative and cyclical, that "once a large city is created then the attractions it offers in terms of supplies of labour and capital, as well as the build up of infrastructures, will of themselves promote growth so that a rising spiral of development is set in motion" (ibid., p.28).

Most of South Africa's urban development materialised because of economic development and agglomeration economics, but the process of urbanisation since its inception has taken unusual forms. The history of urbanisation in South Africa centres around issues of racial segregation and the restriction of the urbanward mobility of African people. This was achieved by the legalised system of pass laws (as incorporated in the influx control measures scrapped in 1986), land dispossession and a variety of other legislation. The urbanisation process in South Africa has therefore been "abnormal" in the sense that it was not free, that it was selective and constrained. Despite these restrictions the African population in South African urban areas continued to increase, and in the 1980's

the South African government was seen to "accept" the irreversibility of African urbanisation, but it was already too late because a host of urban problems were already unmanageable. As pointed out elsewhere the policies of the South African government have "influenced where and how black urbanisation has taken place in South Africa. However it has not been able on any significant scale to prevent urbanisation. It has changed the natural course of urbanisation, altered its form, influenced its location and disguised its magnitude" (Urban Foundation 2, 1990 : 9).

The problems in South African urban areas are a direct consequence of restricted urbanisation over a number of decades. Some of these problems are unemployment, chronic housing shortages and related overcrowding, lack of adequate basic health, educational, recreational and other services. The statutory segregation of races has therefore created "an ineffective structure in all South African cities. This has led to gross variations in housing and service provision, wasted costs in duplicated services and negative impact on race relations" (Ibid).

Because of past urbanisation policies, South Africa today faces three major challenges (Urban Foundation, 2, 1990 : 1). These are...

a) the economic challenge to increase the rate of growth and

development in such a way as to provide millions of new jobs for a large and growing population, and to open access to economic opportunity and power.

b) the need for massive socio-economic development and maximisation on the dynamics of the (mainly black) urbanisation process so as to make the phenomenon an instrument of national development and personal betterment.

c) the task of building a democratic political culture that encompasses black and white South Africans, where diversity and its corollary, dissent, are encouraged and where the poor are not excluded from the social contract of a "new South Africa".

Cities, it is argued, are the fulcrum of the nation, and as a result the three challenges cited above can only materialise in the cities. Moreover, population concentration in South African cities is projected to increase by the year 2000 (see figure 1. overleaf).

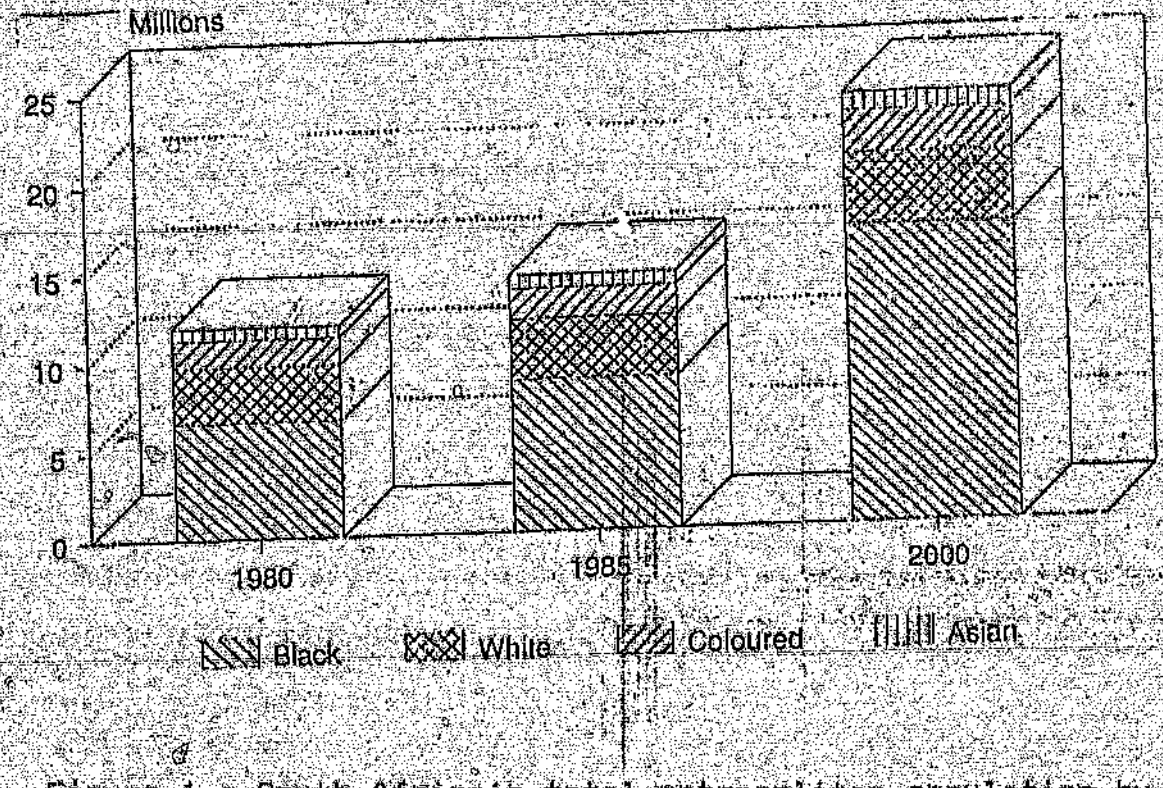

Figure 1 : South Africa's total metropolitan population by race, 1980 - 2000

Source : Urban Foundation 2, 1990.

Other pressures and South African urbanisation "facts" which necessitate the development of the country as a whole are listed below:-

- there is a formal shortage in urban areas of some 850 000 units (excluding homelands).

- more than seven million urban people live in informal housing circumstances (2,5 million of these people in the inner PWV area).

- between 25% and 40% of the total economically active urban black population is formally unemployed.

- about 70% of urban blacks do not have direct access to electricity or running water.

The "facts" stated above are a consequence of constrained urbanisation and the maintenance of a temporary migration system of a circular nature in particular. This was accompanied by low-wage remunerations for the migrating individuals (almost exclusively black), the deterioration of life in rural homelands, high illiteracy rates and general poverty and destitution, hence the current problems.

The next few chapters will enflesh some of the issues touched upon in this introductory chapter, thus contributing to an attempt to understand the processes which govern urbanisation in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2

Changing concepts of migration and urbanisation

An attempt will be made in this chapter to introduce the concept of urbanisation in the wider sense of its application and then briefly discuss several approaches to the concept of mobility as linked to urbanisation. Mobility is an important component of the migration process which is central to an explanation of urbanisation in South Africa and elsewhere in the developing world. A particular form of migration - circular migration - will be discussed and the persistence of this form of migration will be an important area of interest in an effort to establish the apparent inapplicability of the Urban Transition Model to third world urbanisation.

One major reality about urbanisation is that it is apparently the dominant process in the spatial organisation of the world's population. This process has been observed more closely after the Industrial Revolution era of the early nineteenth century, but this does not suggest a denial of the existence of cities and other urban forms of settlement prior to the said era.

There are basically three main perceptions of the urbanisation process in the social sciences. These fall under the behavioural, structural and demographic categories. The

behavioural explanation views urbanisation as an adjustment of personal behaviour in urban space, whereas the structural view advances the notion that urbanisation involves "the movement of people out of agricultural communities into other and generally larger non-agricultural communities" (Hauser, 1965). The demographic view holds that urbanisation deals with "the proportion of the total population concentrated in urban settlement or else to a rise in this proportion (Davis, 1965).

The existence of a diverse range of explanations poses a difficult question of the "proper" definition of the urbanisation process as each approach is suited to a different range of analytical questions, where each question poses its own peculiar difficulties of definition and measurements.

The geographical concentration of population in urban areas and the associated phenomena shall form the basis of an attempt to come to grips with the urbanisation process. Migration processes in particular emerge as crucial components of urbanisation as they involve mobility, and it is this mobility, classically termed rural-urban migration, which accounts for some components of the urbanisation process. McGee (1977) cites there main theoretical frameworks which have provided the sets of assumptions that are the basis of the most frequent studies of rural mobility.

and these are the conventional economic, situational and historical approaches briefly discussed below:

a) The conventional economic approach takes the unequal geographical distribution of the factors of production (e.g. labour, capital and natural resources) as a given *apriori* and assumes that this will determine the unequal remuneration of these factors (McGee, 1977). McGee writes that the model assumes that the decision of the migrant to relocate is the function of the gap in income between the city and the countryside as well as the possibility of being employed in the city.

b) The situational approach gives priority to given situations and the decision-making process of individual migrants within each situation (e.g. rural and urban situations)

c) The historical models of population movements - the theory of mobility transition in particular - postulate unilinear stages of the mobility transition which are related to levels of socio-economic developments. The basic assumption here is that all societies will pass through the various stages (e.g. the pre-industrial and transitional stages) and will experience the same set of

processes.

According to McGee (1977), the approaches discussed above are inadequate in explaining rural - urban mobility since they fail to recognise the important role of processes operating at a national level, especially the penetration of capitalism into the precapitalist system of production. Oberai and Bilsborrow (1984) tend to support this view, albeit remotely, by writing that the conditions under which people live and formulate their migration (and other) decisions are determined by underlying structural - historical forces that creates those conditions (e.g. how capitalism contributes to the creation of a working class). Moreover, migrants tend to have characteristics which lead them towards migrating or staying, and these can be influenced by, among other things, their socio-economic standing.

Most of the developing countries of the third world experience conditions of extreme poverty and unemployment in the rural areas partly due to the legacy of their past colonial heritage, notably a result of the penetration of Western capitalism. These conditions had the effect of triggering rural - urban mobility and the increase in levels of urbanisation in these countries. The urbanisation process and developing countries has been assumed by authors such as Reissman (1964 ; cited in McGee, 1971) to be identical to the

world. This has since been disproved by substantive research in many parts of the third world where it was established that the third world population, for example, was growing at higher rates than did the cities of Western Europe, and that "the largest component of (third world) urban population growth arises from the natural increase of urban population, not from high rates of rural-urban migration" (Mabin, 1990)

Given the brief introduction to urbanisation and the particular process of migration, it becomes necessary to examine urbanisation processes in South Africa. These processes have several implications in South Africa, especially in current times of socio-economic and political change.

URBANISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The establishment of urban settlements in South Africa took off during the mineral discovery periods of the late nineteenth century when diamonds and gold in particular led to the industrial revolution in the country. As mining activities progressed, an increasing number of people deserted their rural forms of subsistence (usually due to drought and other factors) in favour of the supposedly more lucrative livelihood in the emerging towns. However, the urbanisation process in South Africa did not "pick- up" until at the turn of the twentieth century when not only mining but

industrial and manufacturing activities demanded large volumes of labour. Both white and black people provided this much needed labour, and thus a relatively large-scale mobility from the rural areas was noted.

An interesting observation with regard to South African urbanisation is that for most of the twentieth century large-scale black urbanisation was discouraged, as "it was officially believed that cities were for white people, that black South Africans were only temporary sojourners in these urban areas, and that they should live in the predominantly rural reserves" (Urban Foundation, 1990). Wilson and Ramphele official commission argued that blacks should only be allowed into the towns as temporary workers and should be compelled to leave as soon as their job was done.

The urbanisation process in South Africa has therefore always been heavily influenced by segregation advocated by the South African government. This segregation was expressed in the board apartheid ideology later in the 1950's, and it involved, among a host of other issues, a segregationist spatial planning strategy at a national level which has led the splitting up of the country into ten homelands or bantustans for the black population, with the rest of the country (almost 87% of the land area) preserved for the white population (Smith, 1982), (see figure 2, overleaf)

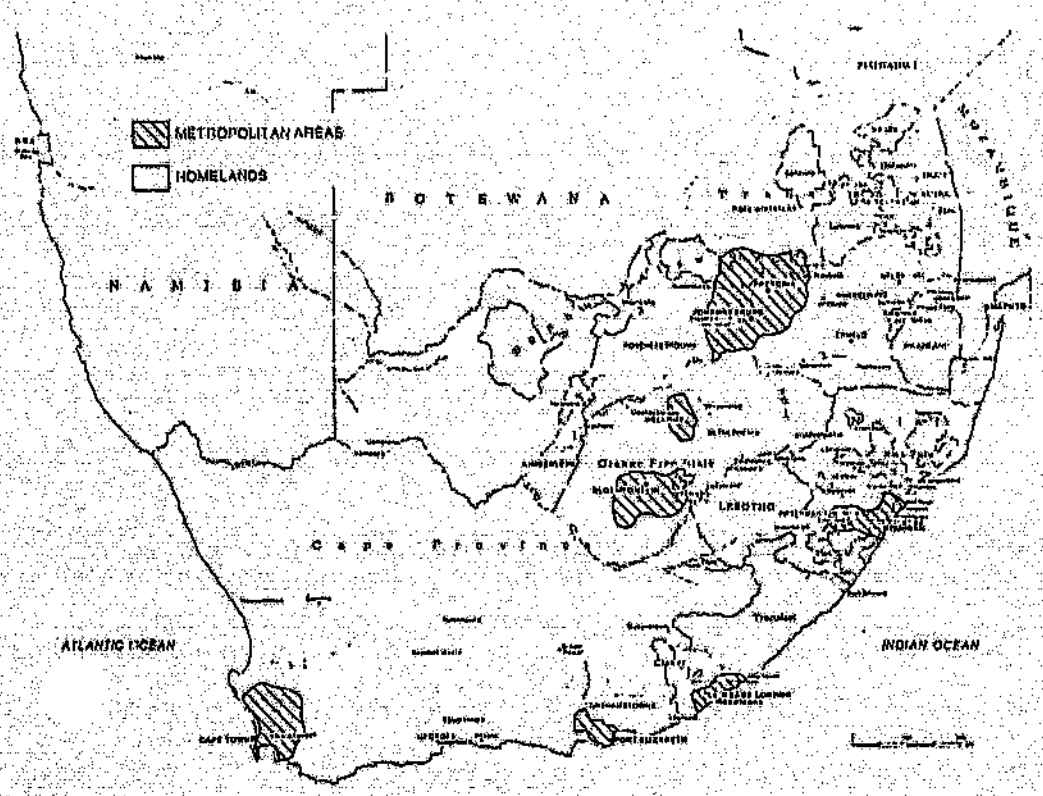

Figure 2. : South African Metropolitan Areas and Homelands

Source : Urban Foundation (1990)

Central to the official state policy of segregated urbanisation was the maintenance of a highly mobile African labour force under the migrant labour force. The migrant labour force was enforced by the government partly due to the fear that urban areas within "white" South Africa would be "swamped" by black workers, but more significantly by the realisation that the system contributed to the low-cost reproduction of cheap labour as migrants were paid "single-wages" (given the myth of a rural agricultural subsistence in the reserves which would augment migrant wages).

Generally the urbanisation of the black people in South Africa has been controlled by the state with the help of a variety of direct and indirect regulations. Billiomee and Schlemmer (1985) highlight several forms of these restrictions:-

a) The direct control of movement through influx control

b) the bureaucratic allocation of work opportunities

c) restrictions in the provision of housing or sites for the erection of housing in non-homeland urban areas.

d) the resettlement and "repatriation" of people to homelands.

The restrictions noted above have contributed to a particular type of migration within the African labour force which is circular in nature. Since there are other types of migration (e.g. floating migration., chain migration, step migration), circular migration refers to that short-term, repetitive movement of labour without permanent or long-lasting change of residence (standing, 1984), where migrants have a moderate committment to the city and generally strong rural ties. This definition appears inadequate, as indeed circular migration refers to complex processes " related to but not exhausted by the notion of labour circulation" (Mabin, 1990 , 714), and

that " within the notion of circular migration fall differential mobility and actual movement on the part of members of single households, splitting for varying periods of the location of the household's base, differing movements at various life-cycle states for individuals, movement for economic and non-economic reasons and many other complexities of migration" (Ibid). This type of migratic. appears to be persistent in nature, with most of the migrants coming from the rural bantustans towards established metropolitan areas like the Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vaal (PWV) growth point. This migration, however, does not appear to be so great as to account for the fact that by 1985, 57 percent of South Africa's population as a whole was urbanised (Urban Foundation Demographic Model, 1990). The growth of the established cities in South Africa might therefore be attributed to natural increases in population rather than migration.

Many parts of the third world exhibit circular migration patterns as well. Chapman's (1985) report on Kenya's migration activities serve as examples. Despite the predominant circular nature of most rural - urban migration in South Africa, a level of urbanisation which ties favourably with other countries of similar levels of economics development has been attained. The observation made by the Urban Foundation is that South African cities are still small by international standards, although this is

predicted to be less so in the future. Estimates of the South African level of urbanisation in 1985 compared to the other (developing) countries is reflected below.

TABLE 1 : LEVELS OF URBANISATION IN COUNTRIES WITH SIMILAR LEVELS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH TO SOUTH AFRICA (1985)

GNP per capita below S.A	%	GNP per capita above S.A	%
Tunisia	56	Mexico	69
Ecuador	52	Uruguay	85
Mauritius	54	Hungary	55
Columbia	67	Poland	60
Chile	83	Portugal	31
Costa Rica	45	Yugoslavia	49
Jordan	69	Panama	50
Syria	49	Argentina	84
Brazil	73	Korea	64
Malaysia	38	Algeria	43
A V E R A G E	59	A V E R A G E	59

(Adapted from Urban Foundation, 1990)

An important feature of circular migration in South Africa, however, is that it is a complex process. Attempts at understanding African urbanisation as affected by circular migration should therefore be based on a close examination of factors (at both individual and household levels) which influence the decision to migrate. Of particular interest is the persistence of circular migration even under conditions of a significant social change. An example of this social change is the abolishing of influx control regulations in 1986. These regulations formed part of a mechanism designed to curb the inflow of black people into "white" urban centres. With their repeal one expected an unprecedented increase in urbanward migration, thus confirming the South African state's fear of the swamping of "white" urban centres, but instead the rate of urbanward migration has not rocketed, and those who migrate still show a propensity to return to their predominantly rural areas of origins.

There are of course other considerations which might "discourage" migrants from settling permanently in urban areas outside the homelands (e.g. the shortage of housing in the urban townships, the existence of the Group Areas Act, and so on) but these do not seem to be having a major effect on the decision by migrants to return periodically to their areas of origin.

African follows the suggestion elsewhere that the urban transition model advanced by Todaro (1969), among others, has failed to account for most of the urbanisation during the developing countries. The urban transition model suggests that all nations (South Africa included) are undergoing a process of transition from rural and temporary urban residence to mostly permanent urban residence. If this holds true, the population concentrated in Bantustans and other rural areas in South Africa is expected to be urbanised as time goes on.

The persistence of circular migration in South Africa and elsewhere in the third world undermines this, thus casting serious doubts on the validity of the urban transition model. The persistence of circular migration itself has been attributed to several factors. Some of these are stated below:-

a) the Land Acts, the creation of bantustans and the nature of dispossession in general.

b) the relatively superior quality of life for poorer people in rural areas (including closer settlements) as opposed to urban areas.

c) the expenses and constraints of the urban land delivery process.

d) the importance of rural bases to cultural practices.

(source : Mabin, 1990)

There are many possible explanations for the persistence of circular migration in South Africa, but the lack of empirical research evidence of support such explanations becomes a major drawback towards a comprehensive understanding of the forces at play.

To conclude :

The urbanisation process in South Africa has historically taken place under restrictive conditions fostered by an array of regulations and policy formulations. These restrictions led to the divisions of the country into predominantly rural bantustans reserved for the black population and where most of the labour force is reproduced, as well as the "white" component of the country, for white people. This arrangement did not only lead to a physical separation of the races but also to the distancing of black people in particular from areas of economic opportunity, thus contributing to the existence of a migrant labour system whose persistence appears to be enduring. The consequences of restricted urbanisation in South Africa range from political struggles in the urban space to serious economic implications for the South African government. These will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 3

Problems in South African urbanisation

This chapter will outline issues which have shaped the scale and direction of urbanisation in South Africa over the years as well as the consequences of such policies on the development of the country in general. Particular interest will lie in policy measures employed to discourage the rate of urbanisation of the black population from the turn of the twentieth century to the present moment, thus highlighting important policy shifts over the years and their effect(s) on the South African urbanisation process in general.

POLICY OUTLINES

The South African government's enforcement and maintenance of segregation and temporary migration in particular was made possible by the passing of a variety of Acts. The Native Labour Registration Act of 1911, the 1913 Land Act, the Native Pass Laws of 1920, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and the Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936 represent just a handful of pieces of legislation aimed at discouraging the flow of black people into the urban areas. As Bloch and Wilkinson (1982) so succinctly put it, "since 1910, the urban policies of the South African state aimed at controlling the presence

and regulating the existence of Africans in the cities and towns of the country have received expression in literally hundreds of laws and regulations". These regulations have changed the natural course of urbanisation, altered its form and disguised its magnitude. Urbanisation in South Africa has therefore taken a unique course, and might have led to the misunderstanding of the dynamics of urbanisation in the country (eg how current policies do not address the needs of the poor adequately, and why migration remains circular in nature). The role of some of the laws and regulations in discouraging African urbanisation might shed some light in this direction.

a) The 1913 Land Act

The 1913 Land Act is probably one of the most critical Acts ever passed, for it practically instituted the dispossession of land owned by African people in particular. Until 1913, writes Horrell (1969)(13), "Africans were legally entitled to acquire land from whites in parts of the country outside the reserves. This was prohibited in terms of the 1913 Act unless the purchases were in some areas which had been recommended by various commissions for "release" Africans". The terms of the 1913 Land Act of 1936, "specifically extended the prohibition to the whole country, except that Africans could still buy in areas that were "released" in terms of this Act" (ibid, p14).

As one of the provisions of the 1913 Land Act, South Africa was divided into reserves where Africans could own land (about 13% of the total land area). These reserves did not always comprise of agriculturally viable land, and as time went on an increasing number of black people who depended on land for their subsistence led to the exhaustion of its productive potential. The pressure on the existing land forced many people, notably men, to migrate to urban areas in search of employment. This migration was not always voluntary, as indeed the Hut and Poll taxes imposed on many rural households were one government ploy aimed at persuading people to seek wage-employment in the mining and construction sectors, since taxes were to be paid in cash. To an extent the 1913 Land Act can be singled out as one factor which led to an accelerated move towards urban areas in the opening decades of the twentieth century.

b) The Native Pass Laws of 1920

The Native Pass Laws represented the state's response to the perceived likelihood of increasing African urbanisation. They were aimed at curbing migration to the urban areas. According to Wilson and Ramphele (1989), pass laws were instituted in the nineteenth century after the abolition of slavery, and that the 1920 provisions were not the first expression of restriction on the movement of African people in particular. As Wilson (1972 : 160) put it, "during much of the nineteenth

century the pass laws were designed to control vigrants and to discourage cattle rustlers. With the mineral discoveries and the massive increase in the demand for labour a third strand was added to their function. This derived from the need of the employers to ensure that workers recruited, at some cost, to work on the mines did not change their jobs or desert from Johannesburg before their contact was up". The pass laws therefore did not only limit movement into urban areas but also served to maintain a level of urbanised blacks as well.

During the second World War, when industrialisation raced ahead and when consequently the demand for black labour in towns accelerated, there was increasing pressure to ease the legal restrictions upon geographical mobility, writes Wilson (1972). By 1936 this attitude had changed as migration to the cities increased, hence the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act which tightened the pass laws. This act was "a measure which aimed to restrict the inward flow of Africans to the urban areas, to precipitate an outward flow in municipal returns showed that there was a labour surplus in the area, and as an after-thought to carry segregation in the towns deeper into the fields of religion, education and general culture" (Davenport, 1969, cited in Wilson, 1972 , 161).

c) The Natives (urban areas) Act of 1923

This Act proved to be the first attempt to systematise and regulate influx and efflux as well as the labour allocation system on a country-wide basis (Bloch and Wilkinson, 1982). The Act "empowered urban local authorities to set aside land for African occupation in separate areas known as locations, and to house the Africans living in town or require their employers to do so" (Wilson, 1972 : 187). This Act did not reject the possibility of black urbanisation as did the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act, but local authorities in urban areas were given the power, if they wished to exercise it, of deporting from their town "those who were habitually unemployed, those who had no honest livelihood, and those who were idle, dissolute, or disorderly" (Ibid).

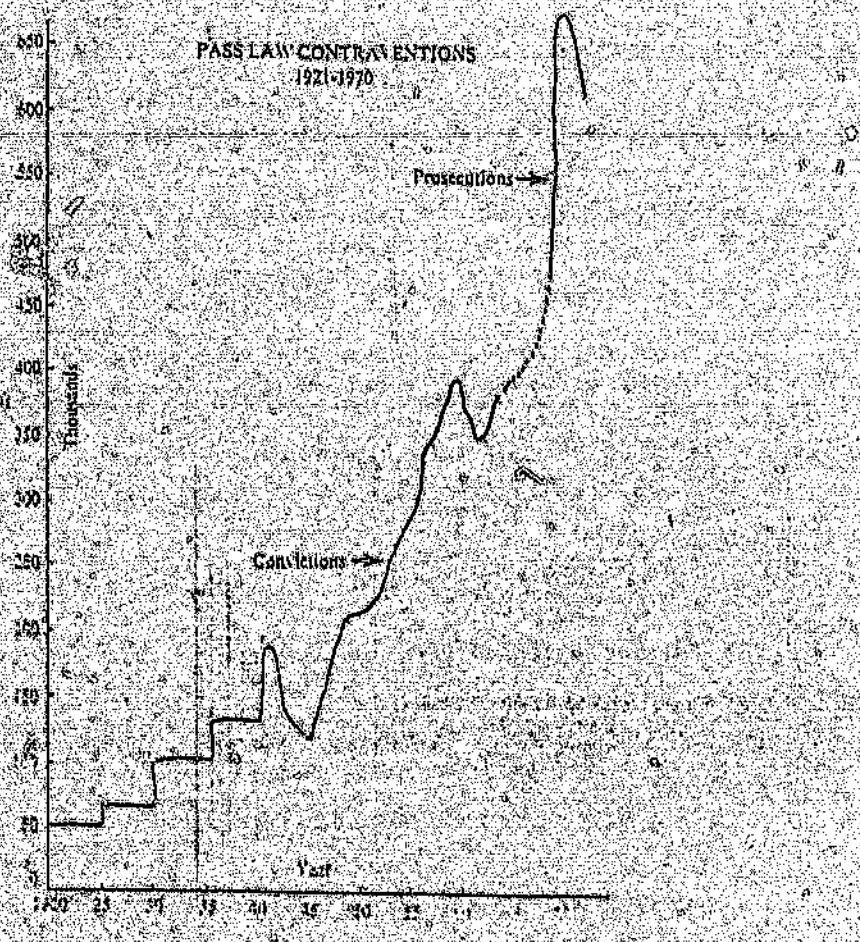
In 1952 an Amendment to the Urban Areas Act restricted the rights of Africans to be in the towns by defining, in Section 10 of the Act, who alone had the right to be there. The list specified only those who had either been born there and lived there continuously ever since, or who had worked continuously ever since, or who had worked continuously with the same employer for ten years, or who had lived there continuously (working for different employers) for fifteen years (Wilson, 1972). Section 10 was not at first applied to women, but gradually reference books were made compulsory and from 1959 in Johannesburg, and 1963 in Cape Town, women had to have

permits to be in "prescribed" areas. Wilson (1972) writes that besides making it more difficult for non-workers to stay in town the 1964 promulgation of the Act also.....

"..... laid the foundation for reconstructing the entire African labour force on a migratory contract rather than on permanent basis by making it compulsory for employers needing labour to apply for it through the machinery of the state's Labour Bureaux, which had first been established on a voluntary basis in 1952" (p 161).

The Labour Bureau system led to the insistence by the state that workers engaged in the rural areas for work in the urban areas should be employed on a fixed term contract of up to one year's duration, and required them to return to their homelands on the expiry of each individual contract. The migrant labour system was finally instituted, and this led to the widespread disruption of the social and family life of thousands of migrants who had to leave their households for such a long periods of time each year. The conditions under which these migrants lived there were appalling at best, as indeed hostels and compounds were "stables" which kept men confined to their workplace. These compounds were breeding grounds for homosexuality as well as tribal frictions, the latter extending to the present era as hostel-initiated violence which has claimed over five hundred in less than three weeks of August 1990.

The Pass Laws and the Urban Areas Act did very little to encourage African urbanisation. This can be seen from the number of Pass Laws contraventions. Kane-Berman (1978) estimates 4 million pass laws convictions between 1915-1962. Wilson and Ramphele (1989) estimate that from 1916, when the first statistics were recorded until 1986 when the Pass Laws were formally abolished, the total number of people prosecuted in South Africa for being in some place without official permission was well over 17 million, all "offenders" being of African extraction. Wilson's (1972) estimates are reflected in the graph below:-



Source : Wilson (1972 : 162)

The principles instituted by the Native Pass Laws of 1920 and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 can be summarised below as.....

i) the control of influx into the towns and efflux from the countryside, and a linked system of labour allocation

ii) the establishment and control of African housing by local authorities as well as residential segregation

iii) the self-financing of facilities and amenities by the inhabitants of the townships themselves, through a separate Native Revenue Account administered by the local authorities (Bloch and Wilkinson 1982)

iv) the limiting and eventual curbing of land purchases by Africans in the urban areas (refer to the 4. Amendment to the Urban Areas Act of 1939 discussed earlier on).

BANTUSTAN DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Based on the ideological cornerstone of apartheid, the policy of separate development pursued by the government led to the establishment of "national states" or homelands from the end of the 1950's onwards. Dugard (1980) writes that the homeland policy evolved slowly in the early years of National Party rule, accelerated after 1959 and reached its peak in 1976 on the grating of "independence" to Transkei. The establishment of "National States" meant that most Africans" South African citizenship was revoked and converted into that of the appropriate ethnic state as it acquired "independence" (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989).

The situation in the 1950's was contradictory since the state, on the one hand, was pursuing economic growth that inevitably led to further urbanisation, and on the other hand trying to uphold separate development, the homeland policy and the migrant labour system which "kept the workers moving, like shuttlecocks across the looms of the South African economy" (Ibid, p208).

As time went on the apartheid policy became more difficult to contain. More people migrated to the urban areas as "the rural material basis of temporary migration was rapidly diminished and the agricultural production and incomes within the bantustans dropped" (Hindson, 1987 : 386). Temporary

migrants became "migrating proletarians dependent on employment and incomes in urban areas yet unable to settle there with their families because of the influx Controls and shortages of housing and social services for family life" (Ibid).

The government's response to increased African Urbanisation was to freeze the building of African family housing (e.g. the Western Cape after 1955), resulting in a shortage of houses even for those legally entitled under Urban Areas Act provisions (Wait, 1982). This closing down of the already inadequate African housing was evident in the 1930's as well, when the second World War broke out. The local authorities in urban areas initiated this move, such that by early 1944 "the pressure on the available accommodation had grown enormous and, in March, Orlando township near Johannesburg became the site of the first wave of squatter movements which swept the Witwatersrand and other areas" for years to come (Bloch and Wilkinson, 1982 , 19). The urban areas thus became the prime terrain for the struggle of the dominated classes, and issued such as housing provision, the scrapping of Job reservation and Urban Areas regulations - to name a few - became rallying points for the prevailing state of discontent.

The defiance campaign and the women's resistance movement which were active between 1956 and 1959 signified a resistance to the influx and efflux control system as a whole. Despite

r ises public disapproval. Section 10 exemptions were made more difficult to obtain by 1964, and the migrant labour system was also strengthened by the existence of the labour contract system. Moreover, no further housing was provided in the urban areas, and this led to massive shortages which could be held liable for the mushrooming shanties and other forms of informal Shelter provisions. Smith (1982) estimated that by 1982 1 million people were living in shanties.

The government's intentions to discourage African urbanisation were accompanied by the development of bantustans in order to make them economically viable, for it was believed that bantustan development would discourage urbanward migration since job opportunities would be available in and around the bantustans. The move towards making bantustans viable took many forms, some cohesive. A few of these moves are discussed below:-

a) Closer Settlements

Closer settlements were designed to be allocated within bantustans as a consequence of the 1937 Land Acts when thousands of African squatters and tenants on white farms were removed and relocated (Hindson, 1987). A more cohesive manner of removing Africans from land identified as "black spots" also took place as "forced removals". The "black spots" referred to land bought by African people prior to 1936 but

which was surrounded by white-owned land. The government intended to "clear" such "black spots" so as to consolidate "white" South Africa as opposed to the bantustans.

Forced removals took several forms. These were.....

i) the removal of people from one part of an area to another, primarily in order to enforce ethnic segregation.

ii) the expulsion of people from urban areas to reserves or "black national states"

iii) the "black spot" or bantustans consolidation removals, whereby people have been moved from one part of rural South Africa to another in an attempt to reduce the number of islands in the archipelagos of "black national states" dotted across the sea of white-owned land (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989). An example of "black-spot" removal is the case of the Mogopa Village whose land was bought prior to the 1913 prohibitions. They were forcibly moved several times to Pachsdraai in Bophuthatswana, but have since returned to their land (Weekly Mail, 24 - 26/08/90).

iv) betterment programmes to consolidate people living scattered through the reserves into villages

v) Forced removal from white-owned farms where people have lived and worked for generations.

It is established that from 1966 to 1983 a total of 3.5. million people, almost all of them black, have been subject, in terms of government policy, to forced rem 'al from one place to another where they did not choose to go (Platsky and Walker, 1985).

b) Orderly Urbanisation

The assumption underpinning the government's policy of orderly urbanisation is that "racial and regional inequalities in South Africa are essentially the outcome of misplaced state interference in the economic system "(Hindson, 1987 ; 587). It was argued that African Urbanisation could be curbed by making bantustans economically viable. Nevertheless, the principles of orderly urbanisation remained embedded in racial residential segregation, the privatisation of house ownership, the devolution of provision of municipal services and the industrial and residential deconcentration within and between development regions (Ibid). Thus orderly urbanisation has been seen as replacing traditional apartheid with a policy which accepts African urbanisation as inevitable, but which seeks to reorder this process within a regional planning framework. Orderly urbanisation aimed at re-integrating

bantustans into new developmental planning regions which would cross-cut and supersede the existing bantustans and province boundaries.

Orderly urbanisation also "entails the abolition of traditional influx and pass controls, but it replaces these with new measures to control movement form the bantustans to the rest of South Africa and to control movement and settlement within non-bantustans areas "(Hindson, 1987 : 589). Squatter, health and trespass laws have replaced the former restrictions noted above.

The repeal of the Urban Areas Acts in 1986 did not necessarily imply that urbanward migration would be hassle-free. Most people who have resorted to informal housing schemes (e.g. the squatter settlements) have been confronted with squatter laws which stress the importance of "proper" building standards and service provision. The Group Areas Act is still in force, such that people are still restricted in terms of where they choose to be located.

The government's "controlled slum development" scheme led to the development of "ordered informal settlements" within the deconcentrated areas. Examples of such settlements are Onverwacht (about 65km from Bloemfontein), Khayelitsha and Ekangala. These deconcentrated areas have very few economic opportunities to offer. Walt (1982) describes Onverwacht as

"a little more than a (human) dumping ground, with people living in tents and tin shanties. Promises of land for cultivation and grazing are fraudulent; water supplies erratic and long queues for water a feature of daily life. Drainage and toilet systems are inadequate, food prices exorbitant; schools overcrowded and health services insufficient" (p 30)

(c) Industrial decentralisation

"Decentralisation policy traditionally sought, inter alia, to give economic and political credibility to the bantustans, which were treated as developmental units in their own right. When, in 1975 the physical planning branches of the state divided the South African space into 44 planning regions... it was forced to take as its starting point the confirmed centrality of bantustan development and homeland policy" (Cobbett et al, 1985 : 100).

The quote above suggests that the South African government's policy on the development of the bantustan was to make them economically viable and thus organise them into potential employment centres. The thinking behind industrial decentralisation is, apart from its economic rationale, the indirect curbing of African labour movement into established metropolitan areas, just like the notion of orderly urbanisation discussed earlier on. In fact both planned or orderly urbanisation and industrial decentralisation are the

state's economic intervention measures to restrain the tendency for industry, commerce and people to concentrate on South Africa's metropolitan centres (Cobbett et al, 1985) and as the state viewed them, to encourage a more even geugraphical distribution of jobs, income and welfare.

The division of South Africa into 8 developmental regions in 1981 included what the state termed the "soft-borders" approach to planning, for the boundaries and of the spatial planning units cut across bantustans boundaries therefore undermined the constraints imposed by "political borders" (Ibid). As a new planning approach by the state industrial decentralisation was also intended to provide the basis for the future political and economic map of South Africa, whether defined in federal or confederal terms. Cobbett et al (1985) argue that 8 regions did not simply represent abstractions superimposed on the map of South Africa, but that they correesponded to the changes in the spatial reproduction patterns of capital and labour that have been taking shape since the late 1960's.

They continue:-

> "The developmental regions define the contours of emergent labour supply and demand areas which have become interconnected through the growth of bantustan towns and informal settlements abutting the suburban

peripheries of key metropolitan areas in white South Africa" (p101).

It is also argued that the changes in official state policy on urbanisation are in part the unintended result of previous decentralisation policies which, more out of practical necessity than philosophical conviction, ended up promoting suburban industrial development in places such as Hammersdale, Brits and Rosslyn and that they are also the historical legacy of the National Party's policy of limiting the expansion of African urban settlement in "White" South Africa, and promoting the growth of bantustan towns.

In embarking upon deconcentration, the state might have been attempting to encourage private sector participation in industrial decentralisation. This is evident from the decentralisation incentives which have not been accepted by all sections of the private industry since they were perceived as "an artificial attempt to redistribute resources between regions than allowing regions to compete between regions than allowing regions to compete freely against each other "(Cobbett et al, 1985 : 103).

The apparent substitution of traditional influx restrictions by the notion of orderly urbanisation is evident from the 1986 scrapping of the influx laws and the subsequent manipulation

of labour movement and settlement through a policy of closely monitoring the provision of housing and employment opportunities. The monitoring of settlement, for example, can be said to be reflected in the state's attribute towards informal "squatter" settlements, where regulations pertaining to squatting (e.g. as in the prevention of illegal Squatting Act) have played a role in discouraging the invasion of unoccupied land in non-homeland urban areas.

C O N C L U S I O N

The South African government's attitude to urbanisation has historically revolved around policies aimed at discouraging the process, but realities of its permanance has necessitated a reviewing of the state's policies on urbanisation . The white paper on urbanisation (1986) reflected this shift in official policy, but has not initiated a new urbanisation policy which offers equal developmental opportunities for all people.

In the light of the absence of an appropriate and acceptable urbanisation policy in South Africa, planners ought to work towards generating alternatives to the current policies. The next chapter will attempt to shed some light in this direction.

CHAPTER 4

Circular migration : the case of Segopye

This chapter will be devoted to discussing the findings of an investigation into the migratory experiences of the people of Segopye, a Northern Transvaal Village situated in the Lebowa bantustan/homeland. The purpose of the investigation itself was to establish the extent of circulatory migration in the area and to look into the socio-economic and planning implications of this process. This interest in the nature and patterns of migration of South Africa's people of African extraction (although not limited to them) was sparked by reports suggesting that the social character of urbanisation in South Africa is poorly understood (e.g. Mabin,1990), and that much research at the household and individual levels ought to be done if the dynamics of urbanisation in the country are to be assessed in their proper perspective. This is crucial because policy proposals on urbanisation have to reflect the true nature of the process (i.e. urbanisation) as it occurs in the country in order to ensure their successful implementation.

The research was conducted by interviewing 78 households in the selected area, with 146 respondents participating. 74% of these households had at least one member who was once an

non-migrant in the last ten years, while the other 26% of the selected households in the area were fully aware of the migratory activities of members of other households in their community. The households visited proved to be invaluable insofar as contact with active migrant labourers is concerned, and this enabled the researcher to investigate circulatory migration processes at both the migrant area of origin and the destination area. Of the 146 respondents dealt with at the household level only 24 contacts of migrant labourers from the village worked in Johannesburg, the migrant destination area selected by the researcher. This is admittedly a limited number of individual migrants from the village under scrutiny, yet the data gleaned from them about their migratory experiences as well as their investment decisions cannot be discounted.

A. The Segopye case-study

Segopye is a rural village with limited health, educational and other amenities. Most of the households derive their income from wage-employment on nearby white farms, the Mankweng township (including the Mankweng hospital and the University of the North) as well as the nearest town (Pietersburg) which is within a commuting distance of approximately 30 kilometres. Households without migrant members also survive by supplementing their incomes with remittances from the migrants. Very little subsistence

agriculture prevails due to the shortage of productive land and labour. The level of out migration from the Segopye Community is significant yet not very high, such that most people commute daily between their homes and employment centres. Commuting and fairly long-term migration therefore provide access to employment opportunities in the area.

The central issue pursued in the interviews was the changes - if any - that people in the village have observed concerning the patterns of labour migration and the pace at which these changes were taking place. Several issues were addressed at the household level towards this goal, some of which follow below:

a) the age and sex of the out-migrants

b) the level of out-migration from the village and the extent of recent declines or increases in the level of out-migration.

c) the level of investments made by out-migrants in their area of origin

d) the frequency of home-visits by migrants and the

general attitude(s) of the migrants towards their area of origin.

Issues discussed with Segopye migrants at their destination area (i.e. Johannesburg) included the following:

a) the changing circumstances at their workplace and the influence this has on their investment decisions (e.g. employee housing concessions in the urban area of employment and the migrants' attitude towards this);

b) the physical location preferred for such investments (in the light of (a) above)

c) the rationale for the chosen location of investments and the nature of such investment decisions

d) the general conditions under which migrants live at their destination area

e) the role of improved transport networks in communication with the migrant areas of origin.

f) the attitude of migrants toward the migrant labour system in general.

It emerged from the interviews at a household level that most out-migrants were male and young, and that this does not seem to be changing significantly. It was also noted by the majority of the respondents that the level of out-migration from the village was relatively constant and that there was no mass-exodus from the village. The observation by most of the respondents in Segopye households with regard to the attitude of the migrants towards their area of origin appeared to be positive. This was gauged by the fairly regular remittances of money and food by out-migrants to their area of origin (Segopye).

Segopye migrants in Johannesburg do not share common fortunes when it comes to employment. They sell their labour as construction workers, domestic workers, miners and professionals. Their working conditions differ, but the successful development of organised labour unions over the years - especially in the mining and construction sectors - has improved working conditions for most migrants. This is

one area of change at least as far as migration is concerned. Most migrants from Sekopye appreciated the fairly stable security of their jobs in Johannesburg as a direct result of organised labour activities.

The migrant labour system itself did not bother most migrants much except for the inconvenience experienced with regard to accommodation. All migrants interviewed had no next-of-kin around the greater reef area and therefore the only forms of accessible shelter available to them are rented backyard rooms or shacks, hostels and "shacking up" with their "homeboys" (i.e. fellow migrants from the same areas of origin) who have a room or two in one of the reef townships or backyard rooms in white suburbs. All of these efforts at securing a roof over their heads do not guarantee any privacy to the migrants, let alone a basic service like satisfactory ablution facilities. Hostels, although cheaper than rented backyard rooms, are even worse due to the added problems related to "alienation" from established township residents as well as tribal frictions whose fatal consequences have shocked many South Africans in the second half of the year 1990.

The issue of housing schemes provided by some companies was welcomed with some reservations, especially due to the fact that certain requirements had to be met and the housing investment suggested had to be made in the immediate vicinity

migrants' wishes to retain and maintain their rural bases to the cost-effectiveness of investing the bulk of their meagre resources in Sekgopye as a result of the cheapness of land and labour there. A few quotes translated from the migrants' responses to the researcher's questions follow below :

"... how can I move my whole family from home once the company builds me a house here (ie Johannesburg)? Life is expensive here, just check the food prices. My whole family can live for a whole month with what I spend on food in a week here" (Mr Molemo Malaudi, AECI).

and

"... the bosses ignore our wishes. I do not want a house in Gauteng (Johannesburg). I want to build it myself, at home. It is cheaper there ..." (Mr Solly Makgahutlane, ESCOM).

One other change which most out-migrants acknowledge is the increased accessibility of their area of origin since the improvement of mass public transport system (notably the use of minibus taxis which shuttle on a daily and regular basis from Johannesburg to Pietersburg and back to Johannesburg). This development has affected the pattern of migration by increasing the frequency of home-visits (average once every

two months) as opposed to the "traditional" long-term migration stints where home-visits were restricted to once or twice in a year. The significance of the transport revolution noted above is that it facilitates circulatory migration (say from Segopye to Johannesburg and back to Segopye) instead of curbing it, and thus contributes to its persistence.

8. Analysis of the Segopye case-study.

To understand the social character of urbanisation in South Africa as affected by patterns of migration requires a study of the behaviour of households and individual migrants. The research undertaken in Segopye and whose findings are analysed in this section aim to contribute towards this understanding. The process of urbanisation encapsulates issues of socio-economic and political interest, and the household from which individuals emerge is crucial in forming opinions about the scale and direction of this process. The rural households from which Segopye migrants come were observed in conjunction with the individual migrants' experiences in Johannesburg. This case study will therefore help towards an understanding of problems and implications of circular migration for policy and planning. These processes have a lot to do with perceived changes in the nature of urbanisation in South Africa.

The Private Sector Council on urbanisation expects the major population shift in the near future to be from the rural areas (such as Segopye) to the metropolitan areas, and that black

urbanisation in particular will rocket (The Star, 25/07/1990). This is one of the perceived changes and in the nature of urbanisation in South Africa noted above. An analysis of the findings of the Segopye case-study on migration will be used to evaluate such statements on migration and urbanisation.

It should be noted that the decision to migrate is seldom confined to the individual migrant. Voluminous migration studies have revealed that migratory decisions of individuals and households are only one of a broad set of inter-related household decisions made to help satisfy perceived family economic and other needs, and that these decisions are constrained at any given time by the households' endowments (see, for example, Oberai and Bisborrow, 1984 : 24). Almost all Segopye migrants, young and old, were forced to seek employment outside their village due to the lack of employment opportunities and their households' economic needs. This appeared to have the strongest effect in tying most out migrants to their area of origin. This can be related to some explanations which seek to justify the tendency of migrants to maintain their rural bases for their importance in ritual and other practices (e.g. Moller, 1985 : cited in Mabin, 1990). As pointed out by Mabin (1990), such explanations are, however, not always adequate in grasping the circumstances which govern mobility and/or immobility.

Given the apparent persistence of circulatory migration (as in

the Sekgopye case-study), one important issue has to be analysed, and this is the social impact of the process of circular migration on both the rural area of origin and the urban destination area. This issue cannot be analysed in isolation, as indeed the "flows of capital, information and commodities as well as people between urban and rural households or part thereof" are crucial as well (ibid). Such considerations have important implications for development in general, especially in a developing country where population and economic resources are unevenly distributed.

Clark's (1988) research which investigated the present and future migration, commuter and financial linkages between sub-regions in bantustans (Gazankulu and Lebowa) and external commercial and employment complexes can shed some light in the direction. He argues that there prevails an imbalance in the distribution of population and jobs in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal, where population is concentrated in the bantustans, while employment opportunities are concentrated in economic growth centres outside the sub-regions (pp 1 - 6). This is a fair reflection of the state of affairs and partially explains the propensity to migrate, but his analysis of future population and movement patterns has a very thin empirical base. He envisages a strong possibility that at least 1/3 of the presently circulating migrants would, together with their dependents, settle closer to their employment areas.

It would appear that Clark's viewpoint on future migration patterns in South Africa has been clouded by the Urban Transition model which has proved to be inadequate in explaining the rates, direction and patterns of urbanisation and migration. Extensive research elsewhere (e.g. Standing, 1986 ; Chapman, 1985 ; McGee, 1985; Elkan, 1985, cited in Mabin, 1990) suggests that circulatory migration is a "normal" phenomenon in the third world, and that its expression in South Africa is not unusual. An attempt at understanding the underlying factors at play therefore calls for an investigation into the reasons why circular migration persists. This can only be accomplished by research over a long period of time, and as a result this discourse leaves a lot of questions concerning circular migration open.

The imbalance in the distribution of population and jobs as noted by Clark (1988) can be used to gauge the social impact of circulatory migration and the extent to which it influences settlement patterns, family structures and other related circumstances. A long history of land dispossession and the creation of bantustans have, in the long run, created communities such as Sekgopye where settlement patterns are nucleated and characterised by relatively high population

densities. The impact of circulatory migration upon such arrangements is minimal insofar as population transfers are concerned. As a result the low-scale out-migration is Segopye would not alter the settlement pattern significantly. The migration destination area would also not be "swamped" if the Segopye case could be a yardstick, thus casting some doubts on views which hold that the scrapping of influx control laws in 1986 initiated a process of excessive and uncontrolled urbanisation in South Africa.

The assumed persistence of circulatory migration has an impact on family structures in migrant areas of origin in particular. Where most men migrate, the system tends to leave rural communities dominated by women-headed households. In some cases marital stability might be threatened by fairly long absences from home.

A positive spin-off of circulatory migration is that migrant households and the community within which they are situated have the potential to gain new access to information and contacts with the distant destination areas. Oberai and Bilsborrow (1984) deal with such circumstances adequately. In cases where young adults or household heads migrate, the remaining household members might realise low levels of per capita consumption, but out-migrants' remittances might alleviate this condition. Circulatory migration therefore has several forms of significant social impacts on households and

individuals, and an analysis and understanding of such impacts becomes crucial if the nature and character of migration which occurs "on the ground" is to be comprehended.

The impact of circulatory migration on destination areas cannot be assessed in the light of the Segopye case-study. This can be attributed to the narrowness in focus of the research itself (including the low out-migrant numbers involved in the case-study) as well as the difficulty of keeping track of what individual migrants do in destination areas. Oberai and Bilsborrow (ibid) correctly point out that.....

> "the effects of migration on destination areas are more complex, and to examine them requires comparing the socio-economic and demographic situation before and after migration, such as population growth, levels of employment structures and composition of industry, and levels of government revenue and expenditure" (p23).

This is a mammoth task which necessitates extensive research over a long period of time, and as such falls outside the scope of the research project at hand.

Conclusion

Future urbanisation policies in South Africa should be informed by research findings on the process of mobility in general, and those of circular migration in particular. Issues to be addressed should include, inter alia, the socio-economic needs of migrants whose mobility is relatively high, as in the persisting circular migration patterns of the migrants in the case study presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

ALTERNATIVES TO CURRENT URBANISATION POLICIES

In this chapter an attempt will be made to generate alternatives to the inadequate urbanisation policy measures advanced by the South African state. This has several implications for the professional practice of Development Planning and as a result calls for planners to play a role in mediating in the "territorial politics" which have resulted in so much displaced human and natural resources. A brief overview of planning practice and its role is necessary in this regard, for alternatives to existing policies do not only involve planning theory (which forms planning practice) but the actual execution of policies/plans.

1. Planning Practice and the role of the Planner.

Planning practice is an issue for several reasons. Forester (1983) states, for example, the bewailing by planners of the irrelevance of much "theory" to their "real-world" work, that theories seldom "tell them what to do" in the situation in which they find themselves. Also, writers such as Bolan (1980), De Neufville (1982), Rowels (1983) have shown a

dissatisfaction with planning practice viewed as a "technical problem-solving activity, and have as a result "been forced to characterize planning as some sort of interactive process - as socially construction meaning, as shaping public attention and conversation..." (Forester, 1983 : 164). A major concern which makes planning practice an issue is the view held by Murphy (1980), Harris (1982) and others that it should be conceptured as a form of mediation linked to processes of social reproduction and learning in situation where not only technical but political and ethical questions as well are at stake.

Ethics and values are substantive issues in planning, and planning takes place in political space. Rowels analysis of territorial relations and territorial Politics outline the domain of social life in which urban planners operate, as well as their occupational consciousness. If planners are regarded as Public Policy Professionals "whose substantive fields of competence qualify them to, and whose particular work situations require them to participate in politics in the capacity of practical advisors" (Rowels, 1983 : 150), then they cannot be divorced from political issues in space.

Planners practice in South Africa has always been heavily influenced by politics, as indeed the present urbanisation policies have evolved from a political ideology based on racial segregation (hence, for example, the Group Areas Act).

if planning is to play a positive role in the future development of the country, it should involve itself in value - laden issues, such as the initiation of residential desegregation, to give an example. This can be one way in which urban planning can mediate in territorial politics, to borrow Rondeis (1983) phrase.

Because public policy deals with value-laden questions, it becomes impossible for planners to be value-neutral. Granted that planning is not politics, it nevertheless is in politics, playing an advisory role. Within which context does this role materialise? Is this context of planning action meaningful? Such questions are addressed by Kravshaar (1988), among others. In his article, outside the Whale : Progressive Planning and the Dilemmas of Radical Reform, Kraushaar outlines the difficulties faced by planners in trying to effect change (say in their employment contexts). Such a change is referred to as radical reform and the actors become progressive planners.

Progressive planning is defined as planning that involves radical action, and radical reform as the transformation of this planning from what it is to what it should be (i.e. the transformation of the economic, social and political fibre of society). Radical reform is distinguished from social reform by, inter alia, its demonstration objectives and the quest for the eradication of inequalities. The implementation of

radical reform has been problematic due to the dilemmas isolated by Krayshaar (1988), dilemmas and contradictions that more traditional planners do not face.

In his words, "planners work within the institutional and political structures that radical reformers target for change - structures that enforce the existing power relationships in society; hence the inability of most planners to work " outside the whole " (i.e. outside the institutional and political structures). Such planners resort to "rationally incremental" modes of practice "after Baum, 1982, cited in Roberts, 1983), and the fact that they exist within the state does not mean that they cannot be against the state as well.

As stated earlier on, planning activities in South Africa are influenced by the political practices and policies of the current National Party government. Urbanisation policies based on racial segregation dictate the patterns of town and regional planning (e.g. the effect of the Group Areas Act on the development of residential locations). Rowe's' (1983) concern with territorial politics is interesting here, for South Africa parallels however remote, fit. Planners in South Africa operate within institutional domains governed by politics, and it is in these institutions which influence the planners' relations with space and society.

For South African Planners to play a role which promotes interests of the general public (i.e. the public good as identified by, among others, Wood, 1982) they should strive for an overhauling of the current institutional and political structures within which they work. This is obviously an ambitious task, but one which can be possible to accomplish if the current reform initiatives by the government are any measure of change within the "Whole". Given this optimistic outlook towards the country's future and of the role of planning in particular, the following alternatives are suggested as possible replacements of the past and present urbanization policies:-

2. Planning alternatives

a) The immediate repeal of the 1950 Group Areas Act and related Land Acts.

b) The promotion of rural development as an integral part of urban management policies in the wake of the persistence of circulatory migration.

c) The phasing out of "orderly urbanisation" and its policy of subsidised industrial decentralization, as well as the promotion of a more positive regional development strategy.

d) Linked to (c) above, the scrapping of the homeland system.

e) The promotion of informal business activities as an important factor in the overall growth of the economy.

f) Given (e) above, the release of more land for low-income housing schemes initiated by the state as opposed to private developers.

g) Linked to (f) above, the upgrading existing "squatter" settlements and other self-help housing schemes.

h) The opening up of cities to all people.

i) The phasing out of hostels and the reviewing of the migrant labour system in general.

The list of alternatives outlined above is far from being exhaustive, yet it implies the need for Planning to serve the interests of the people, however defined. The broad implications for Development Planning are great, as an evaluation of some alternatives will show.

The repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts

a) The Group Areas Act

The Group Areas Act has imposed limitations upon the ability of cities to operate as efficient economic entities. The urban Foundation (1990) cites, for example, the distortion of residential property markets where the price of land is differentially affected by variable supply constraints in the declaration of Group Areas, and where black housing shortages are accompanied by White Housing surpluses. Moreover, the lack of (Legal) central residential options where the poor tend to be located in order to maximise their access to scarce economic opportunities has proved to be a negative effect of the Group Areas Act.

According to Professor Davies (The Daily Mail, 27-08-90), the abolition of the Group Areas Act will give rise to some major implications for constitutional matters, including educational and residential considerations as well. He argues that "it would sweep away much of the present constitution and force a deracialisation of our system of politics. Group rights will no longer be able to be protected by enforced residential segregation. Group rights will now have to be protected".

The opening up of residential areas (following the repeal of the Group Areas Act) will, for example, allow many of the

white school threatened with closure to continue as mixed schools, thus easing the pressure on overcrowded classrooms elsewhere, albeit minimally.

The scrapping of the Group Areas Act will also generate a few problems for planners. The South African scenario is such that in the past most whites had become reliant on public policy measures (especially the Group Areas Act) for the regulation of "neighbourhood character and residential lifestyle" (Schlemmer and Humphries 1989). The scrapping of the Group Areas Act might be followed by white residential "flight" from certain suburbs. This flight might be generated by the fact that whites are generally unaccustomed to the close juxtaposition of classes and races, and therefore might perceive this as a threat to residential lifestyles and perhaps property values as well as "policy actors" planners have to anticipate such likely events and plan for them adequately beforehand instead of reacting to their effects.

b). The Land Acts.

The recent announcement by the South African Government that the Land Act - which has underpinned rural apartheid for decades - is to be abolished (The Star, 03-10-90) was received with contrasting interests in the country. The government also made it known that the abolition of the Land Acts - which restrict black ownership of land largely to the homeland -

should be coupled with immediate non-discriminatory access by blacks to sources of financing such as the Land Bank and agricultural credit (Ibid).

A fear was expressed by one member of a homeland government that the homelands feared that after the restrictions on racial ownership of land under the Land Acts were gone, white money interests would snap up all the best land in their territories. This follows the Government's intention of removing all restrictions on whites owning land in the homelands. White farmers are expected to protest against the repeal of the Land Acts, but as pointed out by Aninka Claassens (Weekly Mail, 12 - 18/10/90), this is unnecessary since President de Klerk himself has assured whites that their property right will be protected.

There are several reasons why the repeal of the Land Acts is not regarded as a major reform, several of these are:-

- That the Land Acts have played their role by destroying black property rights and have entrenched white privilege.

- that to drop them now will have only a minimal effect on the racial distribution of the land since only a tiny position of blacks have the capital necessary to buy land at current prices.

- that the timing of the repeal is significant since white ownership of most of South Africa need to be legitimised before a majority government comes to power ("...laws which prohibit one section of the population from land ownership on the basis of race do not bode well for the prospects of white land owners under a black government").

- that if not done carefully, the abolition may lead to dispossession on a far worse scale than that caused by the policy of forced removal because in instances black property rights are not reflected in legal documents like title deeds.

- how the demands for land redistribution can be addressed and how existing commercial agriculture can be made more cost-efficient

- how rural development is to be conceived.

Professional planners and other policy formulators have a moral responsibility to influence policy makers within government circles to repeal the Land Acts in such a way as to confirm existing rights, especially in the homelands, rather than destroy them.

The promotion of Rural Development as an integral part of urban management policies.

The persistence of circular migration necessitates the development of rural areas as an integral part of urban management policies. It was noted in the Seqopye case-study (Chapter 4) that rural subsistence is generally low, and that employment opportunities in the rural areas are hard to come by. This calls for the development of rural areas in such a way that both rural subsistence and employment are generated. The planners role would be to facilitate the implementation of feasible R.D. policies. This calls for an examination of what rural development should be.

Rural development cannot be defined by a single set of ideas, hence the debates as to what it really is. Rural development is certainly not agricultural development, but that agricultural development is part of rural development. Singh (1986 : 78) defines rural development as "a process of developing and utilising natural and human resources, technologies, infrastructural facilities, institutions and organisations and government policies and programmes to encourage and speed up economic growth in rural areas, the provide jobs, and to improve the quality of rural life toward self-sustenance".

Rural development in South Africa should generally aim at

promoting the well-being of rural people through the provision of basic needs. It should also promote rural community participation. The state should intervene in the promotion of agricultural development, urbanisation and so on. The Urban Foundation (1990) argues that not only can sound rural development policies reduce pressure on rapidly urbanising cities, but that rapid urbanisation is often one important ingredient of successful rural development strategies since urbanisation has a tendency of lessening the pressure of population in rural areas themselves, thereby making certain rural development strategies more feasible.

The attitude of the Urban Foundation (1990) is that rural development in South Africa is presently poorly researched, and that policy development is therefore necessarily limited in the horizons at this stage. Planners and other policy "shooters" are therefore urged to establish the necessary preconditions future. Some key policy considerations are stated below:-

- Access to land is insufficient on its own to ensure productive use of land ; supporting infrastructure and services, and technical and managerial expertise are essential.

- the experience of land reforms in a number of countries (e.g. Kenya, Zimbabwe, Mexico and others) have some potentially important implications for the future of rural development in South Africa.

- a rural development strategy will in future need to consider a wider range of issues than the purely economic issues.

- an effective new rural development policy for the country can provide many benefits to a broader national development process by providing people with viable choices and alternatives to urban living.

(Source : Urban Foundation : Policies for a new urban future, 4, 1990).

The phasing out of "orderly urbanisation" and the promotion of a more positive regional development strategy.

The "orderly urbanisation" strategy advanced by the state emphasises, among other things, them promotion of a regional policy built around growth-centre strategies. These included the use of incentives to attract industry to remote places far from the cities (i.e. decentralisation). Although the industrial decentralisation policy as been in operation since the early 1960's, it has always served the purposes of

"orderly urbanisation" which are, to give an example, the re-directing of black (usually migrant) labour from established metropolitan centres to growth-points within or next to homelands.

Several objections to the present regional development strategies have been voiced. Some of these are from the Urban Foundation's (1990) policy document:-

- the attractiveness of the incentives has led to inefficient locational decision - making, some industries being sited very poorly in relation to sources of raw material.

- approximately 50% of the decentralised firms would have been able to operate at a profit without incentives, indicating that there has been a transfer of income from the urban taxpayer to these firms.

- infrastructure provision has proved problematic in decentralised areas.

The suggested alternative regional policy approach is one which encapsulates the following:-

- the implementation of region - specific policies

- the phasing out of the present system of industrial decentralisation

- the integration of regional and rural development (Urban Foundation, 3, 1990).

The phasing out of the homeland system

The homeland system has proved to be unworkable and costly, with the duplication of educational, health and other services a drain on the country's resources. The repeal of the Land Acts, for example, should be accompanied by the phasing out of the homelands since they were created, as a direct result of the dispossessing Land Acts. Planners legal authorities on land and other related disciplines have to assist this phasing-out process.

The promotion of informal business activities

Small informal businesses are important in South Africa as they provide much-needed employment opportunities for the unemployed although the scale of these income-generating activities cannot be assessed in this discourse. Small informal businesses in South Africa today survive under contradictory conditions of repression and encouragement.

This repression was severe in the 1950s, but presently the South African government has changed its policy on small-scale informal businesses, especially within black townships. As noted by de Silva (1987), the new focus on upgrading and formalising township (industries) marks a dramatic reversal of government policy which initially sought to ban African industries from black urban areas.

The importance of informal, small businesses cannot be discounted. Activities such as hawking, shebeening and minibus taxi services support the general formal sector (e.g. when purchases to "stock up" the informal businesses are made in the formal sector). The informal sector should encouraged and government policy should recognise the importance of this sector in the overall economic performance of the country.

<u>The release of more land for low-cost housing and the upgrading of "squatter" settlements.</u>

The South African Institute of Race Relations Survey estimates that there are close to seven million people living in and around South African cities in self-erected housing (The Star, 27-12-89). According to the Urban Foundation, two million of these are based in the PWV area, and that while two million people live in Soweto, the sprawling township has only 650 000 houses (The Daily Mail, 28-08-90). This gives one a rough

measure of the housing backlog in the country and the problems this has created in the urban areas in particular.

The mushrooming of informal, "squatter" settlements throughout the country is a manifestation of the housing crisis due to the backlog, the high prices asked for houses in the formal housing market and the unavailability of land for low-cost housing construction as Maasdorp (1980) has pointed out, the failure of official policy to meet the demand for housing by low-income groups is manifested in overcrowding in black residential areas as well as in the continuing growth of squatters areas throughout the country.

Most of the people who "invade" open pieces of land and "squat" there do not come from rural areas as a result of the relaxation of influx control laws, as might be argued elsewhere. These people come from white farms near the established cities and towns, as well as backyard rooms and shacks in the overcrowded black townships.

The so-called "squatter problem" can be eliminated by releasing more land for low-cost housing construction. With the imminent scrapping of the Land Acts this should not be very difficult. Instead of giving the land to private developers, it should be allocated to people who need it and who will build forms of shelter according to affordability. Such pieces of land should preferably be serviced, and

building standards should be lowered.

Future policy should be directed at the following:-

- the legalisation of existing informal settlements.

- the establishment of new site and service schemes on a new land laid out as townships (Urban Foundation 2, 1990)

- the drafting of an Informal Housing Act which should provide for flexible legal responses to the inevitable conflicts of interest arising from the development of informal settlements and the recognition that each settlement is unique (Ibid).

The opening of cities of all people.

The inadequacy of township tax-bases has been demonstrated by cases in Soweto to Alexandra. Years back it was suggested that , for example, Alexandra and Sandton share a common tax-base, but this has not yet materialised. It has also been suggested that Johannesburg be open to all races. This has since been done.

The rationale behind open cities has been, for example, the realisation that local black governments were crumbling, and that this crisis may force central government and everyone else involved to accept the incorporation of black local authorities with white local authorities so provision of services could continue.

The advantage of open cities apart, cities themselves have been identified as the fulcrum of the nation as they have the potential to spearhead future growth and economic development (Urban Foundation 1, 1990). Cities are viewed as engines of growth as they create jobs, benefit from economies of scale in service provision and will come to be the mass, urban, markets needed by manufacturing industries in the country (Ibid). South African planners should, as a result, make the transition from historical tradition of planning against expanded urban growth to planning for it.

The phasing out of hostels and the reviewing of the migrant labour system in general.

Hostels and compounds have historically provided accommodation for migrants only, with their families not allowed to enter them. The hostels were also designed as single-sex accommodation units, however, inadequate. These hostels have contributed to ethnic and tribal frictions in the past, and

continue to do so with fatal consequences. The migrant labour system led to the creation of these hostels, and as such should be reviewed.

The migrant labour system should be coupled with the provision of decent, family accommodation for individual migrants, even if this is done on a rental basis. Migrants should also be paid a living wage which takes into account the migrants' families in the rural areas.

Briefly put, the hostel system as an integral part of the migrant labour system should be phased away, and low-cost housing made available for migrants. This could herald a policy shift with regard to temporary migration. The government has already shown a willingness to scrap the hostel system. Planners should therefore play an active role in preparing the proposed conversion of hostels into family accommodation units.

CONCLUSION

The inadequacy of urbanisation policies in South Africa call for alternatives for such policies. These alternatives should take the plight of the poor and disadvantaged into consideration, hence the need for planners to play a role in the process of planning for people. Once such role can be promotive in nature, with planners promoting the interests of the general public and allowing for participation in processes of policy formulations and so on.

The implications of the persistence of circular migrations, for example, calls for the generation of alternative policies which should not only concentrate on urban development but rural development as well. The nature of circular migration in the country is such that individual migrants have to have two residential locations during their economically active lives, one at their (rural) area of origin and the other next to the place of employment. The inability of the present policy measures to provide urban residence for the migrants has led to complications and conflict situations in hostels where most migrants in hostels where most migrants are housed, hence the call for the abolishing of the hostel system and its replacement by more suitable family accommodation. This accommodation can be facilitated by releasing more land for low-cost housing schemes.

No single alternative can solve the crisis in South African towns, cities and perhaps rural areas as well. Planners can choose a mixture of alternatives suitable for a given developmental objective, as a single alternative is unlikely to succeed in initiating development. The alternatives suggested in this chapter are not exhaustive yet they can be regarded as the first step towards solving the crisis presently faced by the South African government.

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE POLICIES

Following several alternatives evaluated in the last chapter, this concluding section will offer some recommendations for the formulation of future policies which will influence rural development strategies, the management of urbanisation and related housing and other concerns as well as the redistribution of land following the imminent repeal of the Land Acts.

Generally, all policy formulations should be guided by a set of principles outlined below, although these are not necessarily the only guidelines available.

a) All policy should use existing human and natural resources to the maximum effect possible.

b) All policy should capitalise on the strength of both the informal and formal businesses and non-profit sector.

c) Policy formulations should pay particular attention to the poor, for they are the people who should benefit from developmental initiatives guided by new policies.

d) The essential component of all policy formulations should involve the community as much as possible, hence the call for community participation at all levels of policy formulation if possible. This desire to stimulate the involvement of the public in planning and development matters concerning the public is important for the following reasons:-

- participation is closely related to the value system of the society within which it operates (Oosthuizen, 1981)

- participation goes hand in hand with the concept of "the public interest".

- participation promotes a community spirit and a sense of cooperation and involvement.

- participation provides a forum for the exchange of ideas and priorities, as well as an assessment of the public interest in its dynamics and the practicality of planning hospitals (Ibid).

Community participation can, however, delay the planning process. Participation can also lead to group conflicts which might lead to decisions not being reached. Planners can facilitate consensus and erode hostilities in such situations if participation is to promote a participatory rather than a

representative democracy.

The crucial factor in national urban policies is that they should be complimented and ultimately meld into appropriate strategies of rural development (Richardson, 1977 ; cited in Rogerson, 1990). This approach of national development has the advantage of taking care of both the urban and rural areas, and thus leads to the spreading of developmental benefits.

Several factors might jeopardise the good intentions of development strategies. Poorly designed policies, inadequate implementation or infeasible goals are some of these factors. Policy-makers can also benefit from a critical examination of the international literature surrounding national urban policies (Rogerson, 1990). Technolog'cal innovations used during the developmental path, for example, have to be appropriate to the needs of the country in which they are to be used.

Each alternative evaluated in Chapter 4 of this discourse is important in its own right, but policy-makers should prioritise these alternatives and then select and implement the desired alternative(s) according to the urgency of the applicable situation(s). Planning implication of the persistence of circular migration, for example, cannot be evaluated within a context of urbanisation only, without

integrating rural development into the process. This in turn calls for the incorporation of all policies into the national development objectives.

A recommended general development strategy for South Africa should start with the repeal of all discriminatory and segregationist laws which have governed past policies. The upgrading of squatter settlements should be preceded by the scrapping of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, the promotion of informal small businesses by the current restrictions, the release of more land for low-cost housing construction by the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts and so on. In short, a complete socio-economic and political change is necessary if future policies are to contribute to the overall development of all people and to the national economic growth of the country which is so important.

C O N C L U S I O N

An attempt has been made in this discourse to outline changing views on the nature of third world urbanisation and of South African urbanisation processes in particular. Urbanisation in South Africa has been shown to take peculiar forms under policies of separate development. These policies have been analysed briefly to serve as a background to the nature of mobility patterns generated by these policies. One type of

mobility has been isolated for purposes of this discourse, and that is circular migration.

Circular migration in South Africa appears to be persistent in nature, and this has a strong likelihood of enduring. The case-study was used so as to gain some understanding of this process. Although most of the migrants interviewed showed an interest in retaining their rural bases, they nevertheless appreciated the benefits of living in cities which included, among other things, access to services. The emphasis on rural development as part of a future urbanisation strategy is important as it takes into consideration the well-being of migrant households in their areas of origin. The alternative of doing away with the hostel system and replacing this with family dwellings will also improve the migrant labourers' lot in urban areas where their employment opportunities are greatest.

The list of alternatives to existing urbanisation policy measures offered in this discourse is limited in scope, but can help serve the needs of future policy formulations. The recommendation offered for such policy formulations is that policy should be guided by several principles such as the efficient use of existing resources.

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