MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION:
SOME THEORIES AND APPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

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FLORIDA
AUGUST 1991

RONALD MEARS

DECLARATION

I declare that

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is my own work, that all the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this thesis was not previously submitted by me for a degree at another university

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SUMMARY

In this thesis migration is assumed to be practically tantamount to urbanization. After setting out the nature of the study to be pursued in Chapter 1, the thesis analyses various theories of migration/urbanization in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3 the major demographic and economic features of the migration/urbanization process in the presently developing countries are compared with those of the developed countries in the past. The general evidence on migration/urbanization trends in South Africa, and for selected towns, is examined in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 6 is a summary of the main findings of the study and finally, Chapter 7 contains some policy implications.

The thesis draws some tentative conclusions on migration or urbanization in general, and for South Africa in particular. Thus, cities which are growing largely as a result of rural-urban migration have a very different character to those that are growing largely on account of natural population increase. Moreover, differentials between urban and rural incomes are generally greatest where urban growth has been very rapid. It would seem that migration or urbanization have had an equilibrating effect on income distribution in the developed countries, whereas the corresponding effect is generally disequilibrating in developing countries.

Migration/urbanization is also a disequilibrating process in most developing countries or communities as far as geographical population distribution is concerned. This has generally also been the case in South Africa which in many ways represents a microcosm of the world as a whole. The migration/urbanization process has clearly been disequilibrating among the various race groups in South Africa. However, the process has generally had an equilibrating effect on the income distribution within the various population groups. In the case of the black population group, in particular, the effect on income distribution has been disequilibrating, while urbanization has had an equilibrating effect on the geographical distribution due to stringent control measures.

The urbanization process in South Africa is of a dual nature: nearing saturation in the case of white people but far from complete for black people.

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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

1.1 Background to migration and urbanization in South Africa

While the character of the migration and urbanization process in South Africa is in many respects comparable to that of other developing countries, it differs markedly from that of industrialized countries in the past. The character of migration and urbanization in South Africa also differs in some respects from that of other developing countries today. South Africa is classified as a developing country, inter alia, because of its relatively low level of urbanization, compared to the level of economic development in the country as a whole. Differences between South Africa and other developing and industrialized countries, provide some interesting insights into the benefits of urbanization as well as into the conditions necessary for those benefits to be realized. Moreover, the observed differences show that the rate and character of migration and urbanization in South Africa are not necessarily synonymous with development. Official policy and practice up to 1991 was to develop separate residential areas for the various population groups within the same urban area. This has resulted in black towns within the Republic of South Africa (RSA)[1] developing primarily as residential or dormitory towns, rather than fully-fledged urban centres in their own right.

South Africa is in many respects a microcosm of the world as a whole. This also applies to its demographic composition of developing and developed communities. In Africa,

[1]South Africa includes the close-knit group of independent states comprising the RSA and the TBVC-countries (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei). See also geographical note in Section 4.2 and Figure 4.1.

particularly sub-Saharan Africa, most countries have not even begun the process of demographic transition from higher to lower population growth rates (Mostert & Lötter, 1990). The difference between migration/urbanization in developing and developed countries may generally be ascribed to the rapid population growth in the developing countries. In South Africa, however, the overriding problem of numbers is complicated by the racial composition of the population. This is especially true with regard to economic development, the level of migration and urbanization, and the cultural stratification that broadly divide the population into its developing and developed components. Migration/urbanization in South Africa had a distinct race characteristic until 1991, which was caused by the system of demarcating group areas.

Historically, urbanization in South Africa has consisted of two main components. Firstly, a "natural" urbanization process based on the economic and social mobility of the white population group. Secondly, a "regulated" urbanization process based on the control of the mobility of black people. Moreover, South Africa has a long history of planned intervention in urban development for political, social and other non-economic reasons. However, intervention has only succeeded in postponing the inevitable economic causes and consequences of urbanization, while the welfare losses from these policies have left South Africa with an underdeveloped urban infrastructure relative to its general economic development. Since the Abolition of Influx Control Act, No. 68 of 1986, and the acceptance by government of an "orderly" or "positive" urbanization strategy in April 1986 (RSA, 1986; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:48), there has been a significant increase in the horizontal and vertical mobility of black people in South Africa. The increased migration or urbanization could well lead to greater growth and development in South Africa. Moreover, the urbanization together with the so-called inward industrialization strategies aims to channel urban growth along constructive lines.

The term "urbanization" is used in economic literature to describe de facto increase in localized population numbers. It is generally held that three reasons exist for such increases. Firstly, an increase as a result of natural population increase (births minus deaths); secondly, an increase as a result of a redefinition of geographical boundaries; and thirdly, increase through rural-urban migration. Urbanization is the process that follows when these causal factors lead to an increasing percentage of the total population taking up residence in urban areas. However, whereas the natural population increase is generally highest in the developing countries, the largest portion of the population there still resides in rural areas. Thus, natural increase would lead to a decrease in urbanization, all other things being equal. A redefinition of geographical boundaries has a limited effect on urbanization. Although international migration generally leads to increased urbanization, the effect thereof has been insignificant in most developing countries. The main contributor to urbanization is therefore rural-urban migration.

Rural-urban migration leads to urbanization, that is a rural-to-urban change in an individual's or group's place of residence. Although migration and urbanization are not exactly the same, rural-urban migration is generally the dominant cause of urbanization, especially in developing countries. In this thesis differences in the natural population growth rate between rural and urban areas, and the redefinition of geographical boundaries, are not explicitly considered. Thus, migration is assumed to be tantamount to urbanization resulting from rural-urban migration, unless stated otherwise. Although intra-urban migration is also analysed it does not contribute to new urbanization, but only to changes in the distribution pattern of existing urbanization.

There is no common definition of the term "urban" in the RSA or in world literature. Published data are therefore not directly comparable internationally or locally. For example, growth centres have been described as anything from villages

of 5 000 inhabitants to the world's largest metropolitan centres. In the United States the official definition of the urban population includes all persons living in incorporated and unincorporated areas of 2 500 or more inhabitants. In South Africa the situation is less clear due to various changes in the definition, at different times, of what is urban. According to census reports in 1960, "urban" is an area with a population of 500 persons of all races. However, well established "white" towns with less than 500 persons were also classified as urban. The definition changed in 1970 and since 1980 "urban" has been narrowed down to an area with some or other form of local authority (Central Statistical Service, 1985). Furthermore, due to substantial boundary changes such as the transfer of the predominantly rural Griqualand East to Natal, and the de jure independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, comparisons of urbanization in different regions are problematic after 1970.

1.2 Nature of the problem and reasons for the research

A clear analysis or understanding of urbanization and its underlying causes could, in principle, be obtained from complete and reliable statistical data. In developing countries such statistical data are, however, usually not available. Therefore, analyses and interpretations have to be based on very limited statistical information and on general estimates. While demographic studies are based on careful analysis of existing data, they also leave substantial scope for judgement and revision in the light of new information. Extremely rough methods of estimation are used in producing workable data. For example, urbanization is assumed to rise in proportion to the increase in rural population. Urban growth rates in turn may rest on equally arbitrary assumptions, in the absence of registration of births and deaths, or direct data on migration. The availability of reliable data corresponds to the level of development in a specific country or region.

The main problem encountered in researching this issue lay in obtaining data on migration and urbanization for the

developing urban areas of South Africa. Incomplete or scant statistics are often a limitation in defining or describing the course and magnitude of urbanization. When the necessary data are available for the developing countries, comparisons can be made between migration/urbanization in developing and developed countries. However, as in many developing countries, reliable data are available for the developed urban areas in South Africa, but virtually nothing exists for the developing urban areas, or black towns. Even a large city council like that of Soweto cannot provide the most basic data for a number of years. Since 1985, the administration of black towns in South Africa has reverted from central control to provincial control to local administration, and back to provincial control again in some towns. In Khayelitsha near Cape Town, it seems as if the financial administration has been deliberately concealed by merging it with other black towns. Khayelitsha was under the jurisdiction of the Ikapa Town Council, the local authority also responsible for Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga. The developed area of Khayelitsha has been proclaimed as the local authority of Lingelethu West with effect from 22 July 1989.

Urbanization in South Africa is occurring on an unprecedented scale today. Moreover, migration/urbanization impinges mainly on the black population groups. Black people at present migrate to urban areas which are underdeveloped in respect of infrastructure of all kinds. To do proper planning for the development of the urban areas a basic knowledge of such areas is necessary. An important and vital part of this knowledge is basic statistical information. It appears that such data, even in the most "modern" and "developed" areas, are often lacking.

Knowledge will not be complete if the history of migration or urbanization in developing countries is not taken into account. This study shows that urbanization is less of a problem in developed countries, if it is derived mainly from natural population increase, than in developing countries. Moreover, developed countries have had time to provide for,

and adjust to, the urbanization process. By contrast, the transformation caused mainly by rural-urban migration in developing countries, incurs additional pressures. Migration at the rates experienced by the contemporary developing countries causes disruptions and strains and is therefore an important object of study. Migration/urbanization is a process with great potential for meaningful economic and human development in the RSA. If its contents, nature and dynamics are understood, urbanization can be employed as a major factor in the development process.

1.3 Purpose and objectives of the study

The purpose of this study is to obtain a clear understanding of the migration/urbanization process in developing and developed countries in general, and in South Africa in particular. Urbanization is potentially a major force in the economic and human development of a country. In fact, urbanization is a dynamic process of which the overall implications for national development are difficult to identify or predict. It is necessary to analyse empirically the process of socio-economic change as it is taking place, as well as its interrelationship with migration/urbanization, to determine what these implications are. This being the case, the urbanization experience of every country must be regarded as unique. The purpose of this study is to outline the major migration/urbanization theories and to interpret aspects of South African urbanization experience in terms of key aspects of these theories (Oberai, 1988:62).

One of the courses of urbanization resides in migration. However, migrant activity is very complex and cannot be incorporated into a single universal model that could be applied to every historical period. This thesis provides an empirical rather than a mathematical analysis of economic events, in order to achieve an improved understanding of current urbanization trends. Knowledge is usually obtained from past experiences and empirical data or desription of historical events. Therefore the purpose of this thesis is to use empirical data on historical events to understand the

present character of migration/urbanization in South Africa.

The purpose of this study is to compare and contrast the South African urbanization experience with key aspects of the generally held theories of migration/urbanization. Although the role of migration is specifically emphasized, it must be pointed out that no economy can be observed in a state of equilibrium, particularly not ex post facto. Real economic development is dynamic and often unsteady and unbalanced. Likewise, urbanization is not a process which can be isolated and examined outside the societal context. The location, size, distribution and internal social and spatial organization of cities are at the same time an empirical record of past decisions and a contextual environment which channels and constrains contemporary social action and behaviour. To understand the dynamics of migration and urbanization requires a macro-perspective which can encompass the continuous and holistic interaction between social process and spatial form as it evolves over time.

Migration embraces four elements, namely space, residence, time and activity changes. Understanding the process of population mobility is hampered by the tendency to condense, collapse or even ignore important distinctions in each of these elements. Thus, an essentially heterogeneous process is treated as a homogeneous one by calling it "migration". Attempts to present migration merely as a response to a finite number of seemingly relevant causes, invariably mask the real complexities of genuine human action and social behaviour. Therefore, reliable statistics and/or empirical studies are in fact the only way to reconcile the theory and practice of migration/urbanization. The empirical research for this study was done, partly, to overcome the problem of a lack of reliable statistics.

1.4 Alternative hypotheses

The process of migration/urbanization may have either an equilibrating or a disequilibrating effect on the spatial distribution of population and income. A theoretical case

may be argued for both hypotheses, but what has been the factual outcome in South Africa? The present study aims to find an answer to this question. If urbanization acts as a force in the creation of growth and development in general, it may have an equilibrating effect on population and income distribution. However, if urbanization distorts a generally "stable" growth and development process, then it has a disequilibrating effect. It is a special feature of the migration/urbanization process in South Africa that a relatively small, economically developed population component (that is the white people), has played a predominant part in the analysis that follows here. By contrast, the largest, though economically less developed, component of the South African population (that is the black people), has played only a subsidiary role, as a result of official policies that have restricted their spatial mobility in the past.

The alternative hypotheses of either equilibrating or disequilibrating effects of migration/urbanization are traced back to some standard theories which were formulated to describe and explain the process of urbanization and its effects in developing and developed economies. This will be followed by a general comparison of migration/urbanization between the different population groups in South Africa as a whole. This macro-based approach will be followed by case studies in order to determine the validity of the premiss of the hypotheses in certain developing and developed urban places in South Africa. Although these micro-based examinations are not completely representative of all towns, they nevertheless expose most of the migration/urbanization characteristics prevailing in South Africa.

1.5 Methodological note

This thesis is mainly a historical study of both published literature and unpublished material concerning migration and urbanization. Research in this context is mainly analytical and thus amounts to the "meaningful" elimination of more or less "irrelevant" information. In other words, the thesis is an attempt to retain and condense the relevant information

from thousands of pages in as short and analytical a document as is practically possible.

The empirical research for this study was undertaken by the author over a two-year period at the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA). As project leader and urban specialist on urban appraisal and urban development planning projects, valuable insights and information on migration or urbanization in developing towns of South Africa were obtained. The investigation involved, inter alia, three urban appraisal projects and one urban development plan (see Annexure 1 for background). The projects were based on existing information about the four towns concerned. However, where available data proved insufficient, separate studies were undertaken to supplement such information. For example, a socio-economic survey of the Cape Flats (including Khayelitsha) was undertaken to establish the population size and income levels of black people in the Cape Metropolitan Area.

Although the original research involved investigation of the economic, technical, institutional and financial aspects of the four towns, the thesis includes mainly economic and demographic data. The investigation included several field trips and site meetings, project meetings and discussions with community representatives, elected officials and institutions within the selected areas (see Annexure 3). Research material was then analysed and integrated with published literature available on the subject.

This thesis emphasizes both similarities and differences between developing and developed communities in general and for South Africa in particular. A macroeconomic approach is used to evaluate the theory of migration/urbanization. The deductive method is used primarily in this thesis to examine migration/urbanization theory. The methodology comprises three steps, namely, the alternative hypotheses, examining of the evidence, and the conclusions reached. Although the conclusions are, logically, offered at the end of the study, they are foreshadowed in the process of analysing the data.

The conclusions yielded by any empirical research are expected to throw some light on the hypothesis it sets out to investigate. In the present case, the ultimate object of the exercise was to consider whether the effects of migration or urbanization have been either of a generally equilibrating or disequilibrating nature in South Africa. The fact that an unequivocal answer to the question remains elusive, at least at the present stage of South Africa's economic development, is an indication of the complexities involved in the present study.

1.6 Deployment of study

Chapter 2 analyses the migration/urbanization theories. Migration theory constitutes the hypotheses which are examined in this thesis. The theories fall into two broad categories, namely those which analyse the forces that determine the nature and scope of migration, and those which analyse migration as an equilibrating or disequilibrating process in a changing economy.

Chapter 3 compares some demographic and economic features of the migration/urbanization process as they occur in developing and developed countries. The implications of these differences are also considered and interpreted in relation to the South African migration/urbanization experience. Thus, Chapter 3 investigates the field of application or the initial migration/urbanization conditions that exist in developing and developed countries. The general evidence on the developing and the developed countries of the world is discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 discusses the major features and trends, as well as factors, that influence the present population settlement character in South Africa. Chapter 4 also discusses the general evidence on migration/urbanization trends in South Africa. Moreover, it establishes some background for later chapters.

Chapter 5 analyses case studies of selected urban areas in South Africa. The towns discussed in this chapter are functionally and locationally distinctly different and also have a diverse range of micro-characteristics. Migration and urban settlement in all these case studies has been motivated significantly by historical developments and politics.

Chapter 6 is a summary of the findings of the study and draws tentative conclusions on migration/urbanization in general, and for South Africa in particular. This may constitute an experimental proposal or theory which could be further investigated in other studies.

The thesis concludes with some policy options, predictions and implications for South African migration/urbanization. Some policy proposals are considered in Chapter 7 in the light of the poor record of past migration/urbanization policy in South Africa.

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CHAPTER 2

MIGRATION THEORIES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses a number of migration theories. These theories fall into two broad categories. The first category comprises theories which analyse the forces determining the nature, scope and direction of migration. Ravenstein's laws of migration and Lee's theory of migration are specifically dealt with. The second category comprises theories which analyse migration as an equilibrating or disequilibrating process in a changing economy. The following theories are discussed: the dual economy model of development; Sjaastad's human investment theory; Todaro's model of rural-urban migration; the radical or dependency theory and its criticism of narrowly conceived migration theories; and computer models which are used to analyse and determine migration. The model of Kelley and Williamson is outlined as an example.

2.2 Relationship between migration and urbanization

An increase in the urban population, as a whole, can be the result of natural population growth, a redefinition of geographical boundaries, or of rural-urban migration. Increased urbanization is the process that follows when these causal factors lead to an increasing percentage of the total population taking up residence in urban areas. The high rates of urban growth currently experienced, especially in developing countries, are attributable only in part to rural-urban migration. According to World Bank (1984:97) estimates, rural-urban migration on average accounts for only one-quarter to one-third of the increase in the urban populations of most developing countries. Natural population increase accounts for about 60 per cent of the urban population growth in both developed and developing countries,

while approximately 8 to 15 per cent may be attributed to the reclassification of rural areas to urban status. In a study of 26 large cities in 20 developing countries between 1960 and 1970 the United Nations Population Division (1985c) found that 37 per cent of urban population growth was due to migration and 63 per cent to natural increase.

Migration is the primary term used to describe a rural to an urban change in an individual's or group's place of residence. However, urbanization is a term used to describe a similar process. It is used to describe the phenomenon whereby population growth leads to an increasing percentage of the total population taking up residence in urban areas. Since it is generally accepted that the natural population growth rate (births minus deaths) is higher in rural areas than in urban areas, this would lead to a decrease in urbanization, all other things being equal. If no rural-urban migration takes place the urbanization rate will therefore decrease because of the rural population's higher natural increase relative to urban areas. The main contributor to urbanization is therefore rural-urban migration.

The above estimates of the World Bank refer to absolute increases in the urban population. This should not be confused with urbanization which is the process whereby an increasing percentage of the total population takes up residence in urban areas. Although it is accepted that migration and urbanization are not 100 per cent the same thing, this thesis concentrates mainly on rural-urban migration. Thus, differences in the natural population increase between rural and urban areas and the redefinition of geographical boundaries, are not explicitly considered. For this reason the term migration is assumed to be tantamount to the term urbanization resulting from rural-urban migration, unless stated otherwise. These terms are used interchangeably in this thesis to describe the process of rural-urban movement of people. Although intra-urban migration is also analysed it does not contribute

to new urbanization, but only to changes in the character and distribution pattern of existing urbanization.

In South Africa the term migration is often used for workers who temporarily take up residence near the place of their work, that is migratory labour. In this thesis the term migration/urbanization is used to mean the difference between permanent immigration and emigration. Migration trends and the migrant labour system in South Africa are discussed in Sections 4.6 and 4.7.

2.3 Theories of migration

There is no generally agreed definition of a migrant, or of migration. Neither has a definition yet been agreed upon that is independent of the measurement process. The phenomenon of territorial human mobility is usually referred to as migration. In this sense the term embraces four elements, namely space, residence, time and activity changes (Oberai, 1988:17-18). An understanding of the process of human or population mobility (migration) may be hindered by the tendency to condense, collapse or even ignore important distinctions in each or any of the four elements. Thus, an inherently heterogeneous process is sometimes treated as a homogeneous one by calling all processes pertaining to one or more of these variables migration (Bilsborrow, Oberai & Standing, 1984:32). This is often inevitable as migration essentially means the movement of people from one location to another, that is one region to another.

Migration theories may be divided into two broad categories namely those which analyse the forces determining the nature, scope and direction of migration, and those which analyse migration as an equilibrating or disequilibrating force in a changing economy (Truu, 1971:170).

2.3.1 Theories which analyse the forces determining the nature and scope of migration

The first application of the gravity concept to social phenomena, developed as an analogy to Newtonian physics of matter, has been attributed to H.C. Carey towards the middle of the 19th century (Isard, 1966:499). Theoretical explanations of rural-urban migration have a long history, dating from at least the 1880's when Ravenstein (1885 and 1889) first proposed his "laws of migration".

2.3.1.1 Ravenstein's laws of migration

Ravenstein's laws of migration may be summarized as follows:

a. The number of migrants between a place of origin and a place of destination is inversely proportional to the distance between the two places;

b. Migration is a diffused process which advances in stages from remote rural districts to "the great centres of commerce and industry", until it affects all regions within a country;

c. Each mainstream of migration produces a compensating counterstream;

d. The residents of urban areas are less prone to migration than those of rural areas;

e. Over relatively short distances, females migrate more often than males;

f. Technological progress serves to increase the volume of migration; and

g. Migrants are primarily motivated by economic factors.

Most subsequent migration models tend to be modifications or elaborations of Ravenstein's laws. However, they do not

adequately allow for the selectiveness of migration, which is implied in laws d and e above.

Ravenstein's macro laws are usually expressed in the following general mathematical form (Isard, 1966:68):

Mij = Pj divided by dij multiplied by f(Zi) where,

Mij = volume of migration to destination i from origin j;
f(Zi) = some function of Zi which measures the attractive force of destination i;
Pj = population at origin j; and
dij = distance between destination i and origin j.

The emphasis placed on the basic elements in the above formulation by different migration models, varies. For example, Zipf's well-known P_1P_2 divided by D hypothesis may be regarded as a general statement of the "principle of least effort" in human behaviour (Zipf, 1949:386-409; Heide, 1963:56-76). The hypothesis states that the volume of migration between two places is directly proportional to the product of the populations of those places, and inversely proportional to the distance between them (Truu 1971:171). The attraction of a given place of destination, relative to those at a place of origin, becomes reduced as the ratio of opportunities at intervening places to opportunities at the place of destination, increases. Stouffer (1940:846) postulates that "the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities". Stouffer not only concentrates on Ravenstein's second rather than first law, but also suggests that the gravity of a region should be represented by a variable denoting opportunity rather than the size of its population.

A disadvantage common to any gravity model is that it tends to be descriptive rather than analytical in its content. Obvious difficulties remain in the identification, qualification and weighting of the relative variables. This

is especially true with regard to the forces of attraction and repulsion at places of destination and origin, as well as at intervening places (Truu, 1971:171). Information is not only the necessary condition for migration to take place at all, but the information problem as such has a number of ramifications pertaining to the decision to migrate.

Based on Ravenstein's laws, Lee (1969) developed a general scheme into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed.

2.3.1.2 Lee's theory of migration

Lee divides the forces exerting an influence on migrant perceptions into so-called push and pull factors. He divides the theory of migration into the following four related parts (Lee, 1969:283; Truu, 1971:172-174).

2.3.1.2.1 Factors which influence the decision to migrate

These are factors which either attract or repel migrants and which create regional interaction or cause friction. They consist of a mix of positive and negative factors (see next two paragraphs) at both the place of origin and the place of destination and include a set of intervening obstacles. In general, a person is motivated into migrating when he believes that the balance of positive factors at the place of destination exceeds the sum of the balance of positive factors at the place of origin, the intervening obstacles and the weight of normal human inertia. Migration can also be caused by certain crucial events in an individual's life-cycle, which may be largely independent of "pull-push" considerations, for example attaining adulthood, joining the labour force, retirement, and so on.

A "rural push" in general may result from any, or a combination, of the following factors: population growth outstripping the carrying capacity of the land in the subsistence sector of the economy; mechanization in commercial agriculture; the alienation of land; measures

such as taxes or fines imposed, which force the households of subsistence farmers to engage in wage labour to earn the required cash; the extension of modern, urban-based education; cultural values and consumption patterns in the rural areas (Dewar, et al., 1982:9; Beier, et al., 1975:1-2; Sandbrook, 1982:50-52; Mazumdar, 1987:1100). All these, as well as the migration flow itself, are facilitated by the expansion of transport and communication links between the urban and rural areas.

In general, "urban pull" factors may include the increasing demand in urban areas for labour which keeps urban wages above subsistence levels of income; unionization which enforces high wages; the concentration of services and the greater social opportunities and freedom offered in urban areas (Dewar, et al., 1982:9). As migration and urbanization proceed, the presence of family or friends in an urban area is an important factor in the decision to migrate. Established contacts and informal information networks become increasingly important in obtaining urban employment (Sandbrook, 1982:44-45; Gilbert & Gugler, 1983:77-80).

Mazumdar (1987:1105) criticizes Lee and states that step-wise migration is likely to be the prevalent pattern if there is a well-developed hierarchy in terms of the size of urban centres. When large principal or dominant cities play a significant role in the distribution of the urban population, short-distance migration may not be the dominant form of rural-urban movement (see Section 4.6 below). Large cities may develop their individual "catchment areas" from which migrants are drawn. These are not necessarily concentrically distributed in terms of distance.

2.3.1.2.2 Factors which determine the volume of migration

These factors are largely determined by the power of the factors set out under the previous point. Intensified specialization and growing economic diversification tend to raise the general propensity to migrate. Moreover, a high degree of social and occupational mobility increases the

force of attraction of specific regions. Industrialization and continued economic progress therefore promote migration. Uneven rates of economic progress within a country tend to entrench and magnify the factors of attraction and repulsion in different localities. The passage of time itself, if accompanied by technological improvements and the spread of information, will encourage migration. Migration tends to become a cumulative process, the volume of further migration being a function of the degree of migration already reached.

2.3.1.2.3 Streams and counterstreams of migration

These streams are developed where people proceed along well-defined routes towards specific destinations. The flow of information from the place of destination back to the place of origin induces more migrants to join the stream. A counterstream may come about for various reasons. For instance, the positive factors at the place of destination may disappear or lose some of their power of attraction. Migrants may also become aware of untapped opportunities at their place of origin and return to exploit these with their newly acquired skills. The "efficiency" of a migration stream is defined by Lee (1969:292) as the ratio of stream to counterstream, that is, the net redistribution of population effected by the opposite streams. Efficiency tends to be high if negative factors at the place of origin are primarily responsible for the development of the stream, if the intervening obstacles are great, and/or when general economic conditions are good. Efficiency tends to be low if the places of origin and destination are similar and/or when economic conditions are depressed (Truu, 1971:173). Any of these factors could apply and they may be influenced by each other.

2.3.1.2.4 Selectiveness of the migration process

Different individuals react differently to positive and negative factors at the places of origin and destination. People also have different abilities in overcoming the intervening obstacles. In consequence, migration is

inevitably a selective process. Migrants who respond primarily to the positive factors at the place of destination are positively selected. Those who respond primarily to the negative factors at the place of origin are negatively selected. The degree of positive selection tends to increase with the increase in difficulty of the intervening obstacles. The concurrence of certain life-cycle events and the act of migration makes migration an age-selective process (Truu, 1971:173-174). Moreover, the characteristics of migrants in general tend to be a blend of those of the populations at the places of destination and origin.

Lee's approach is not so much a theory as a conceptual framework for classifying factors in taking migration decisions (Oberai, 1988:38). Gravity models do not readily lend themselves to empirical testing as far as the motivational elements are concerned (Kok, 1990:15). Furthermore, any predictions resulting from such models tend to presuppose a degree of regularity that is normally not encountered in human behaviour. As such they are prompted by many forces and it is impossible to reduce the variety of forces in operation to a simple analytical model (Lachmann, 1970:5). Attempts to represent migration merely as a response to a finite number of seemingly relevant causes therefore invariably mask the real complexities of genuine human action and social behaviour (Truu, 1971:177).

2.3.2 Theories which analyse migration as an equilibrating or disequilibrating process in a changing economy

The dichotomy which prevails between the Classical and Keynesian viewpoints in Economics in general, is also found in the theory of migration as an interregional process (Truu, 1971:174). The Classical approach suggests that inter-regional deviation in real personal income levels tends to be self-correcting in consequence of the migration of labour and capital which they engender. The Keynesian approach again suggests that such deviations will be amplified by labour and capital migration. Converging regional income patterns would also tend to bring different regions into greater conformity

in terms of general economic performance, while diverging income patterns would act to increase the economic inequality between regions.

The original Neo-classical models of rural-urban migration are premised on the assumption that the migration process helps to establish spatial equilibrium in the earnings of the factors of production. Migration thus occurs from low income (rural) areas to high income (urban) areas (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:32). Moreover, the individual migrant is motivated by both "push" and "pull" factors.

The following statement by Ohlin (1967:116) may be regarded as a fairly representative Classical viewpoint: "As factors move from regions where their prices are relatively low to regions where they are dear, their scarcity and therefore their rewards in the former are increased, whereas their prices in the latter fall, unless there is at the same time some counteracting tendency. Interregional mobility tends to make prices more uniform in the regions concerned." The belief in ultimate regional convergence appears to be deeply ingrained in the Classical viewpoint.

The Keynesian viewpoint, however, leads to a theory of regional divergence, rather than convergence. In Keynesian dynamics, the price (wage) adjustments brought about by the respective labour markets are too slow to compensate for the interregional differences in real income (or employment) which tend to become cumulative with the passage of time (Truu, 1971:175). Consequently there is no tendency towards an interregional equalization of real wage levels. On the contrary, initial regional imbalances tend to become greater in the course of time.

The difference between the Classical (equilibrating) and Keynesian (disequilibrating) theories is due to the assumptions made about the adjustment behaviour of the two systems. In the short term, the Classical system adjusts to changes in money expenditures by means of price-level movements while the Keynesian system adjusts primarily by way

of real income movements (Leijonhufvud, 1968:51).

As with gravity models, the Classical and Keynesian theories are also liable to provide an inadequate prognosis of human migration. Although economic factors may often predominate, they do not necessarily represent the only reason why people migrate (Kuroda, 1965:506). The economic causes of migration are themselves deeply embedded in a more general social environment. The economic models appear to have limited value in evaluating questions about economic causes and effects of migration (Lind, 1969:77). Moreover, the causes of migration patterns are more complex than, and not necessarily related to, employment.

2.3.2.1 The dual economy model of rural-urban development

The economic model of development devised by Lewis (1954) and later extended by Fei and Ranis (1961), was the first to include, as an integral element, the process of rural-urban labour transfer. The model is based on the concept of a dual economy. This comprises a traditional rural subsistence sector characterized by zero marginal labour productivity and underemployment and a modern urban industrial sector with high employment. Labour from the subsistence sector is gradually transferred to the urban sector (Todaro, 1989:69-73). Oberai (1988:38) considers migration as an equilibrating mechanism in this model. Wage equality in the two sectors is eventually brought about through the transfer of labour from the labour surplus to the labour deficit sector.

In terms of this model the marginal productivity of labour is either zero or very low in the subsistence sector. Moreover, wage rates exceed marginal products and workers are paid wages equal to their cost of subsistence. By contrast, wages in the modern urban sector are much higher because of higher productivity and/or labour union pressures. The difference in wage rates leads to migration from the subsistence to the industrial sector. Increased industrial production and profit which are reinvested in the industrial sector lead to

further demand for labour from the subsistence sector. This process continues as long as surplus labour exists in the rural areas (Oberai, 1988:38). This may also continue while the population growth rate in the rural sector either exceeds or equals the rate of labour out-migration.

The dual economy model has a number of limitations. Firstly, migration is not induced solely by low wages and underemployment in rural areas. Secondly, the assumption of near-zero marginal productivity and surplus labour in agriculture has been widely criticized on empirical grounds. Thirdly, the model assumes a high expansion rate of employment opportunities through continuous investment of rural human capital surplus in the urban sector. In the modern industrial sector of developing countries, the employment growth rate has generally not been sufficient to absorb the increasing labour supply resulting from both natural population increases in the urban sector and from net rural-urban migration. Migration has instead caused a shift of underemployment from the rural to the urban sector (Oberai, 1988:39). Nevertheless, the analytical value of the model is that it emphasizes the structural and economic differences between the rural and the urban sectors, as well as the central importance of the process of labour transfer between them (Todaro, 1989:275).

The postulated tendency towards regional disequilibrium in a changing economy was raised by Gunnar Myrdal (1963:6), to the status of a general principle of "Circular Causation". This had positive spread-effects in prosperous and negative backwash-effects in backward regions. The combined result is to increase regional imbalances and inequalities which are regarded to be of a greater order in the developing than in the developed countries. Once spatial competition gives one area an advantage over another, an accumulative process of mutual interaction sets in whereby a change in the one factor will continuously be supported by the reaction of the other factor. Even if the original push or pull were to cease after some time, both factors will be permanently changed (Mabogunje, 1980:59). The process of interacting changes

seems to continue without any sign of neutralization.

Myrdal (1956:49) sees a circular cumulative causation in both ways between the relative lack of national economic integration and relative economic backwardness. A low level of economic development is followed by low levels of social mobility, communications, education and national sharing in beliefs and values. This implies greater impediments to the spread-effects of expansionary momentum for developing communities (Meier, 1989:385). For much the same reasons internal inequalities in the level of migration/urbanization prevail in developing countries.

2.3.2.2 Sjaastad's human investment theory

Sjaastad (1962) advanced a theory of migration in which he sees the decision to migrate as an investment decision involving an individual's expected costs and returns over time. During resource allocation the market mechanism creates "external" costs and benefits which prevent the spontaneous attainment of a general equilibrium (Truu, 1971:176). Costs and returns comprise both monetary and non-monetary components, the latter including changes in "psychic benefits" as a result of locational preferences. Monetary costs include transportation, disposal of property, wages foregone while in transit, and any form of training for a new job. Psychic costs include leaving one's familiar surroundings, adopting new dietary habits and social customs, and so on (Oberai, 1988:39). Since these returns and costs are difficult to measure, empirical tests in general have been limited to income variables.

Sjaastad's approach assumes that people desire to maximize their net real incomes during their economically productive period. It further assumes that they can at least compute their lifetime income streams in the present place of residence as well as in all future destinations (Oberai, 1988:39).

2.3.2.3 Todaro's model of rural-urban migration

Todaro (1989:278-280) suggests that the decision to migrate is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs. Migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected rather than actual earnings. This includes a perception by the potential migrant of an "expected" stream of income which depends both on prevailing urban wages and on a subjective estimate of the probability of obtaining employment in the modern urban sector, which is assumed to be based on the urban unemployment rate (Mazumdar, 1987:1100). Todaro's model is basically an extension of the human capital approach of Sjaastad (Oberai, 1988:39).

The simple economic theory of supply and demand should lead to a reduction in wage differentials, both in areas of emigration and in points of immigration. However, such an analysis is not realistic within the institutional and economic framework of most developing nations. Todaro (1989:280) argues that developing countries face significant unemployment with the result that a typical migrant cannot expect immediately to secure a highly paid job. In making his decision to migrate, the individual must balance the probabilities and risks of being unemployed or underemployed for a considerable period of time, against the positive urban-rural real income differential.

Migration rates exceeding the growth of urban job opportunities are not only possible but also rational and probable in the face of expected large positive urban-rural income differentials. High levels of rural-urban migration can continue even when urban unemployment rates are high and known to the potential migrants (Oberai, 1988:40). The Todaro approach therefore offers a possible explanation of a common paradox. Moreover, rural-urban migration acts as an equilibrating force which equates rural and urban expected incomes in Todaro's model.

Oberai (1988:400) argues that a major weakness of the Todaro model is its assumption that potential migrants are homogeneous in respect of skills and attitudes and have sufficient information to work out the probability of finding a job in the urban modern sector. Both the Todaro and the human investment models do not consider non-economic factors and abstract from the structural aspects of the economy. An analysis of the macro-economic and institutional factors that generate rural-urban differentials is also required. For example, a distinction needs to be made between socio-economic structural factors and the specific mechanisms, such as unemployment and wage differentials, through which the structural factors operate. Todaro's model analyses migration theory at the micro level by focusing on the individual as a decision-making unit (Theron & Graaff, 1987:34).

2.3.2.4 The Harris-Todaro model

The basic Todaro model and its extensions by Harris consider the urban labour force to be distributed between a relatively small modern sector and a larger traditional sector (Harris & Todaro, 1970:127). Wage rates in the traditional sector are determined competitively and considered not to be subject to the non-market forces, such as trade unions, that serve to maintain high wages in the modern sector. Wages in the traditional sector are therefore substantially lower than those in the modern sector. The higher wages in the urban formal sector cause people to migrate from the rural areas. Most urban in-migrants are assumed to be absorbed by the traditional or informal sector of the economy while they seek employment in the modern sector (Oberai, 1988:40).

Thompson and Coetzee (1987:35) criticize the Harris-Todaro model on a number of grounds including the role it assigns to the informal sector, its neglect of the importance of family and other networks in urban areas, and its overemphasis on "pull" factors. Initially the model also failed to take into account the employment opportunities available in the urban informal sector. Moreover, both the Todaro and the

Harris-Todaro models focus on the motivational factors of the individual migrant, and have as such been criticized from a neo-Marxist perspective (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:32).

2.3.2.5 Radical or dependency theory

The neo-Marxist school has not developed alternative models, but views the process of migration/urbanization as explicable only within the specific social, political and economic context within which it occurs (Dewar, et al., 1982:12). Radical writers do not develop theories to predict migration (see point f below). They concentrate rather on analysing and criticizing the development of rural-urban migration within its politico-economic context. The essence of their views can be deduced from their criticism of the neo-Classical explanations of migration and urbanization.

According to dependency theorists the two economic sectors, that is, the industrial-monetary and traditional-subsistence sectors, are not independent but closely intertwined. The modern sector forcefully imposes its demands on the subsistence sector, keeping it in a position of functional underdevelopment (Dewar, et al., 1982:13). The subsistence sectors differ sharply from their respective modern sectors in respect of income levels, quality of life, social values, technological achievement and political power. They serve only to supply cheap labour, raw materials and a "reserve army" of labour to the modern sector. The highly modernized sector of developing countries has far closer links with developed countries than with their own subsistence sectors (Theron & Graaff, 1987:10).[1]

The issue which divides the two theoretical streams is inequality. This includes inequality of access to material and non-material scarce resources at both international and

[1]A number of neo-Marxist writers, notably Bill Warren (1973) have reverted to Marx's original thesis that developing countries are increasingly showing signs of repeating the development paths of the developed countries.

national levels, and in both spatial and intergroup dimensions (Theron & Graaff, 1987:1). Radical or dependency theorists analyse economic concepts mainly at the macro level and reject prices and wages in the market or push and pull variables as explanatory factors (Theron & Graaff, 1987:15). The framework in which these factors operate is itself structured by political class struggles.

Neo-classical or modernization theories predict that a country's development process will take it to a situation of relative equality in the distribution of income and wealth following a period of inequality. The radical theory of migration, by contrast, foresees that inequality will be maintained or will increase over time (Theron & Graaff, 1987:1). The radical writers maintain that persistent inequality is necessary for the growth of a capitalist economy.

According to radical theorists the neo-Classical approach to migration is based on the following six basic premises, all of which are questioned by them (Theron & Graaff, 1987:2-3):

a. Migration is a rational response to prevailing socio-economic conditions. This implies a parallel assumption that reasonable knowledge of alternative conditions exists;

b. Socio-economic development follows a more or less inevitable path or progression and the broad features of the progression repeat themselves internationally;

c. A dualistic process of development occurs within any developing country;

d. The direction of the progression or path of development is towards equilibrium in the price of factors of production and in living standards;

e. Migration is consequently a self-correcting or self-balancing process; and

f. Theories may be developed to predict levels and rates of migration.

The mainstream radical theorists start with a critique of the Rostovian and dual economy assumptions listed under points b and c above. Dependency theorists view developing countries as a mirror image, rather than a parallel, of development in the older industrialized countries. The needs of capital accumulation in developed economies are imposed on developing countries and actively serve to underdevelop them (Theron & Graaff, 1987:10). Moreover, they emphasize the surplus drain from the periphery or poor countries to the centre or rich countries (Todaro, 1989:104). Likewise, the surplus drain applies within countries from developing to developed communities.

The radical thinking can be criticized mainly on the assumption of universal applicability of political policy and on the overemphasis of economic factors. Radical writers assume that the parts of a social system are useful to the whole, irrespective of either time or place. Thus, they develop a political policy based mainly on Marxian theory which they apply to arrive at their economic and migration policies. Due to the poverty and large unemployment rate in most developing countries, a strong economic growth rate with the emphasis on equal opportunities for all people may be more efficient (Mears, 1988:54). This is the Classical view, in contrast to the Marxian view of social and economic equality. In terms of the radical perspective, migrant labour is seen to have been useful to various capitalist sectors over considerable periods of time in South African history. However, circulating migration (see Section 4.7 below), is not the same as migration as these people did not have a free choice of location. Radical writers see state policy merely as the outcome of the dominant alliance of ruling class interests. As Yudelman (1983) argues, this excludes the possibility of any independent influence by the state where policy might be based on political rather than economic considerations (Theron & Graaff, 1987:14-15). From an opposing point of view the aim of the migrant labour

system in South Africa may have been to deny migrants access to political rights in the modern sector rather than to ensure cheap labour. Therefore, economic factors were not the only considerations of the migrant labour system.

2.3.2.6 Computer models to determine migration

Many computer models exist whereby migration can be estimated or predicted. One such computable general equilibrium model was developed by Kelley and Williamson (1980, 1982, 1984 and 1987:33). A distinctive feature of the model is that it can analyse the past and the present as well as predict the future growth of cities in the developing world. The model is in the neo-Classical general equilibrium tradition.

The model provides for eight sectors distinguishing between tradable goods and non-tradable goods or services. This is not the first multi-sectoral model to recognize non-tradables, but it is the first spatial development model to emphasize the importance of non-tradables (housing and services) as an influence on spatial cost-of-living differentials, on migration behaviour, and thus on the urban growth rate (Kelley & Williamson, 1987:33).

Furthermore, the model is savings-driven with the aggregate savings pool generated endogenously from three sources. They are retained after-tax corporate and enterprise profits, government savings and household savings. This savings pool is allocated competitively and endogenously to three uses, namely, investment in physical capital (productive investment), investment in human capital (training), and investment in housing (unproductive investment). Some exogenous variables have helped to drive the economy over time and are alleged to have influenced city growth. These variables include the nominal value of foreign capital and aid available each year to help finance the development effort and forestall balance of payments problems; the total unskilled labour force as determined by earlier demographic events; the sectoral rates of change in total factor productivity, which favour modern sectors and are labour

saving; prices of imported raw materials and fuels; and the terms of trade between primary exportables and manufactured importables, which are distorted by domestic price policy and the political economy of protectionist and liberal industrial nations (Kelley & Williamson, 1987:35).

From the approximately one hundred endogenous variables used by the Kelley & Williamson (1987:37) model, urbanization, city growth and rural-urban migration are the most important. The urban population, city growth rates, net rural out-migration rates, and net urban in-migration rates are the four key aspects of urban development used. Urban land use and density, land and housing scarcity and cost-of-living differentials are other urban indicators generated by the model. In addition to land scarcity, excess demand for housing units in the short-term and rising costs of housing construction in the long-term may inflate the cost of city life.

According to the model the major determinants of urban growth can be divided into three parts: The size of the past and future changes in the exogenous variable (migration) and its influence on endogenous rates of urban growth; the short-term comparative static impact of that exogenous variable; and the long-term forces set in motion by the short-term comparative static impact (Kelley & Williamson, 1987:38). To understand urban growth, the short-term comparative static elasticities and the impact on urban growth of some key macro-economic events, such as the oil price increase, are also explored.

The short-term elasticities of unbalanced productivity, world market conditions and price policy, investment, demographic change, and land scarcity, reflect the full general equilibrium impact of the exogenous variables in question, based on the initial conditions in the economy. Labour markets adjust through migration while urban land markets seek an optimal land use solution. However, capital markets are severely constrained in the short-term analysis because old capital cannot migrate and new capital goods and newly

trained skilled workers are not added to capacity (Kelley & Williamson, 1987:38). Investment responses are also ignored in the short-term analysis. It is thus assumed that recent historical experience with sectoral investment allocation will guide entrepreneurs who are slow to adjust to the new, unexpected and shock-distorted rates of return. From the above explanation it is clear that this is a comprehensive and complicated model.

A long-run general equilibrium model such as that of Kelley and Williamson cannot be expected to account adequately for the short-term trends that developing countries have undergone since 1979. The model predicted that exogenous economic and demographic conditions would have a powerful impact on urbanization in developing countries during the 1970's. The model indicated that rapid population growth rates are not the central influence behind rapid urban growth in developing countries. Capital transfers to developing countries and rural land scarcity have also played a relatively modest role. The most potent influence of urban growth appears to have been the rate and imbalance of sectoral productivity advances. Technological progress and prices which have favoured the urban modern sectors contributed most to city growth. Thus, Kelley and Williamson (1987:43) predict that trade policy in the industrial countries and price policy in developing countries are likely to have the most important impact on city growth in the next two decades.

Virtually all economic theory, as well as the above model, has been developed with the concept of equilibrium at its core. Movements or changes in any variable are viewed as returns to equilibrium following some exogenous change. It is very difficult to break out of this method of comparative statics to the kind of theory needed to explain the continuity of successive rises and falls in economic activity resulting in cyclical behaviour (Dauten & Valentine, 1978:95). Moreover, a satisfactory theory of economic fluctuations, in which migration is one exogenous variable, has not yet been developed. Furthermore, migration models

including the Kelley and Williamson one, are only as reliable as the data and assumptions on which they are based. Each assumption made can be criticized on the grounds that it may be static and therefore does not conform to the dynamic real world.

2.4 Lessons learnt and importance of migration theory

Migrant activity is far too complex to be incorporated into a single universal model that can be applied to every historical period. However, a great deal can be learnt from existing theory that may be relevant to the present situation. A comprehensive understanding of the migration processes should also adopt an interdisciplinary approach. Migration models should ideally include inputs from fields such as Economics, Sociology, Social Psychology, Geography and Anthropology (Theron & Graaff, 1987:31). A variety of existing disciplinary approaches purport to explain how migration decisions are made. Traditionally the study of migration belongs to the domain of Sociology to a much greater extent than to other disciplines, dating back to the early work of Ravenstein (1885, 1889; Oberai, 1988:35-36).

Migration is a dynamic process of which the overall implications for national development cannot be stated a priori. It is necessary to analyse empirically the process of socio-economic change as it is taking place, as well as its interrelationship with migration, to determine these implications (Oberai, 1988:70). It is also true that most positive conclusions on migration are contested by several other studies. For example, it is difficult to state unequivocally whether migration worsens or improves rural income distribution. A study conducted in Western Colombia, found that work skills acquired by migrants outside the village had little relevance for the local economy (Taussig, 1982; Oberai, 1988:62). Oberai (1988:65) also found some empirical support for various possibilities. For example, although urbanization may reduce overall fertility, migrants who are socialized in an area of high reproductive norms and high fertility behaviour are still likely to have higher

fertility than other urban residents.

Given the above weaknesses of econometric techniques, other ways of testing, such as appeals to economic history should also be used to achieve an improved understanding of current migration/urbanization trends (Mayer, 1980:18). Most knowledge is generally obtained from past experiences and empirical data or description of historical events. Therefore, empirical data on historical events are also of fundamental importance in understanding the present character of migration/urbanization. Moreover, no economy can be observed in a state of equilibrium. Real economic growth is dynamic and often unsteady and unbalanced (Blaug, 1985:255). Likewise, migration/urbanization is not a process which can be isolated and examined outside of its societal context.

Techniques for assessing the extent and the impact of migration were developed during the last decade or two. These techniques have been refined by statisticians and others to the point where the relevant data can be selected for critical analysis and used in social and economic planning. From these studies the general conclusion is that the character and immediate implications of migration have probably changed more in recent years than the pace of migration itself. Moreover, migration has been a principal means by which human civilization has unfolded to enrich cultures, to spread technologies and to ferment social needs (Bilsborrow, Oberai & Standing, 1984:1-2).

Although rural-to-urban migration/urbanization has been the focus of most migration studies, other forms of mobility such as rural-to-rural, urban-to-urban and short-term circular migration are now being shown to be of equal, if not greater, importance in many developing countries. Both within and between countries, the comparability of studies of internal migration is seriously hampered by differences in the concepts and definitions used (Oberai, 1988:17).

Migration has a dominating influence on the character of population growth especially in developing countries.

Development does not reduce the impetus of migration but increases it in the short term. The transformation process from a predominantly rural to urban situation is essentially revolutionary and highly disruptive. It displaces many people from traditional livelihoods and past ways of life (Massey, 1980:384). On the positive side rural-urban migration and the growth of cities play an important role in the development process.

The magnitude of population movements makes it increasingly important to understand the causes and consequences of migration in order to formulate appropriate policies for checking or channelling migration in "socially desirable" ways and for harnessing its potential role in development (Oberai, 1988:2). All development policies affect and are affected by migration.

An adequate knowledge of the causes and consequences of migration is vital to any attempt to determine the role played by migration in the development of the origin and destination areas, or to change the direction or magnitude of future migration streams in ways that are consistent with long-term development goals (Oberai, 1988:35). Without sufficient knowledge of specific characteristics the formulation of appropriate policies is severely handicapped.

The magnitude of population movements makes it increasingly important to understand the causes and consequences of migration. Real world conditions, however, differ from the hypothetical framework of the economists' development scenario (Oberai, 1988:11). In both market and centrally planned economies the factors that influence migration often change with a community's level of development. Transportation and communication systems, for example, not only reduce the cost of migration but also lessen the psychological and cultural gap between the origin and destination areas, thereby facilitating migration (Oberai, 1988:45). For example, most recent studies based upon survey data have shown that migrants are able to increase their welfare as a result of migration in spite of adjustment

difficulties and urban unemployment (Oberai, 1988:51).

An integration process has started to take place within the national boundaries of the highly advanced industrialized countries. At a very high level of economic development expansionary momentum tends to spread more effectively to other localities and regions. In these developed countries inequality has also been mitigated through intervention in the play of market forces by organized society. In the highly advanced countries the national integration process has led to a relatively high level of equality of opportunity for all their inhabitants. In contrast to this small group of highly developed and progressive countries, all other countries are in various degrees poorer and generally less progressive economically. In a rather close correlation to their poverty these developing countries experience internal economic inequalities. Furthermore, these inequalities tend to weaken the effectiveness of their democratic systems of government (Myrdal, 1956:47-51; Meier, 1989:385). Migration theory should take cognizance of any changes that may effect or facilitate their validity in a changing world.

According to Oberai (1988:2) the problem arises when migration exceeds the income-earning opportunities available in urban areas. Large concentrations of people and economic activities in a few cities may involve great social costs, and may lead to a breakdown of urban services.

2.5 Summary

Migration embraces four elements namely space, residence, time and activity changes. Understanding the process of population mobility is hindered by the tendency to condense, collapse or even ignore important distinctions in each of these elements. Thus, an essentially heterogeneous process is treated as a homogeneous one by calling it migration.

A disadvantage common to theories which analyse the forces determining the nature, scope and direction of migration, is that they tend to be descriptive rather than analytical in

their content. It is difficult to identify, qualify and assign weights to the different variables by means of gravity models, especially with regard to the forces of attraction and repulsion at places of destination and origin. Any predictions resulting from such models therefore tend to presuppose a degree of regularity that is normally not encountered in human affairs. Attempts to represent migration merely as a response to a finite number of seemingly relevant causes invariably mask the real complexities of genuine human action and social behaviour.

Theories analysing migration as an equilibrating or disequilibrating process provide an inadequate prognosis of human migration. Although economic factors may often predominate in both the Classical equilibrating and Keynesian disequilibrating theories, they do not necessarily represent the only reasons for the migration of people. The economic causes of migration are themselves deeply embedded in the social environment. Equilibrating economic models appear to be of little assistance in the evaluation of questions about economic causes and effects of migration because they overemphasize employment. In developing countries migration has shifted underemployment from the rural to the urban sector.

Long-term general equilibrium computer models cannot account for short-term fluctuations in economic activity. They view movements or changes in any variable as returns to equilibrium following some exogenous change. Moreover, the factors that influence migration often change with a community's level of development. Furthermore, migration models are only as reliable as the data and assumptions on which they are based. Each assumption made can be criticized on the grounds that it may be static and does therefore not conform to the dynamic real world.

Migrant activity is far too complex to be incorporated into a single universal model that can be applied to every historical period. However, a great deal can be learnt from existing theory that may be relevant to the present

situation. A comprehensive understanding of the migration processes also requires an interdisciplinary approach. Thus, migration models should include inputs from fields such as Economics, *Sociology, Social Psychology, Geography and* Anthropology.

All development policies affect and are affected by migration. Thus, migration is a dynamic process of which the implication for national development is not easy to identify or predict. It is necessary to analyse empirically the process of socio-economic change as it is taking place, as well as its interrelationship with migration and urbanization, to determine these implications. Migration differs in the various countries and regions within countries, resulting in most positive conclusions on migration being contested by several other studies. In developing countries the magnitude of population movements makes it increasingly important to understand the causes and consequences of migration. Reliable statistics and empirical studies are therefore the only way to reconcile the theory and practice of migration or urbanization.

Chapter 3 will describe the general evidence pertaining to migration/urbanization in developing and developed countries of the world. Chapters 4 and 5 will analyse the South African evidence to determine the equilibrating or disequilibrating effect of migration/urbanization in South Africa.

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CHAPTER 3

SOME ASPECTS OF MIGRATION/URBANIZATION IN DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter compares some demographic and economic features of the migration/urbanization process as they occur in developing (Third World) and developed (First World) countries. The general features of urbanization in developing vis-à-vis developed countries are discussed first, and are followed by a more detailed comparison of some demographic and economic differences in the respective processes of migration/urbanization. The implications of these differences are considered next and interpreted in relation to the South African migration/urbanization experience.

This chapter aims to establish the initial migration or urbanization conditions that exist in developing and developed countries. This constitutes the field of application for the migration theories discussed in Chapter 2.

This thesis concentrates mainly on rural-urban migration as discussed in Section 2.2 above, except where it is specifically stated that other factors are included. Thus, differences in natural population growth between rural and urban areas and a redefinition of geographical boundaries are not specifically considered. Migration is assumed to be tantamount to urbanization resulting from rural-urban migration.

3.2 General features

It is acknowledged that countries differ widely with regard to patterns of population distribution, levels of urbanization, rates of urban growth, urban settlement

character and rural population growth. They also vary in their levels of development and in their economic and political systems (Oberai, 1988:96).

The history of city development and growth[1] dates back to more than five thousand years, although comparatively few large urban centres were established before the Industrial Revolution. During the nineteenth century, the urbanization process in Western Europe and the United States of America (USA) was determined largely by industrialization. Population growth in the cities was mainly affected by health conditions. Health conditions in urban environments were so poor that at certain times natural population growth played a relatively insignificant role in the increase of urban populations (Dwyer, 1974:10-11). Unlike the past, present-day developing countries have health records and infrastructure that compare favourably with those of cities in the industrialized countries and are far better than the records of rural areas in developing countries. Natural population growth and rural-urban migration therefore play a more important role in developing countries today.

In developed countries migrants can generally choose their destination as options are spread over a variety of locations and different-sized cities. In developing countries migration is often limited to one or only a few options. The burden of urbanization is thus focussed on a limited number of cities and this tends to aggravate and accentuate the problems of urbanization in these cities. By contrast, the rate of urban growth in developed countries has been much more gradual and extended over a longer period of time, compared to the relatively rapid growth over limited periods of time in many developing countries (Breeze, 1966:107).

Urbanization is the natural outcome of economic development and creates the necessary conditions for more efficient use

[1]A city can develop without growing by upgrading its infrastructure and services.

of economic resources (Kelley & Williamson, 1984:3). Therefore, the phenomenon of urbanization needs to be viewed from a long-term perspective. It has long been recognized that the knowledge gained and example set by developed countries constitute an invaluable resource of learning for developing countries to draw upon, enabling them to leapfrog some of the intermediate stages in the process of economic development (Baum & Tolbert, 1985:x). Since the early 1970's urbanization trends have moved in different directions in developed and developing countries (Renaud, 1987:61). The contrast between the two groups of countries may facilitate the understanding of migration/urbanization policies in developing countries. Knowledge will not be complete if the history of migration/urbanization in developing countries are not taken into account.

Thompson and Coetzee (1987:14-15) consider the experiences of the developed countries of limited significance to past, present and future migration/urbanization in contemporary developing countries. They hold the view that theories and models which were developed to analyse the processes of migration/urbanization in developing countries, should differ from those based on the experience of the now industrialized, or developed countries. Theories and models are sensitive to the different circumstances surrounding the urbanization experiences of the developing vis-à-vis developed countries. The most important of these differences are the following: Populations are growing much more rapidly in rural areas of developing countries and are, on average, poorer today than were their counterparts in the now developed countries; in most developing countries there is limited land to be drawn into use; opportunities for migration to other countries are very limited; the growth of the modern sector is much less labour-absorbing today; the tertiary (including the informal tertiary) sector today is much more important in the economies of developing cities than it was in those of developed countries, where secondary activities absorbed most of the available labour; and the economies of developing countries are externally focused and form an integral part of a sophisticated and powerful world economic system, in which

they are the relatively poor and less sophisticated partners (World Bank, 1984:79; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:14-15; Todaro, 1989:128-133).

A danger inherent in juxtaposing urban growth and economic growth, is that of assuming the existence of a continuous link between the two in the course of time. Reisman (1964:167-168) notes that such a viewpoint might encourage the assumption that comparable rates of urbanization in the now developed and the developing countries today is basically the same process, although far separated in time and locality. Such an assumption would underpin earlier attempts to analyse urbanization on a global scale. The level and rate of migration/urbanization in the developing world were assumed to follow the same path as that characterizing urban transition in the developed countries, the time lag being about 75 years (United Nations, 1980:17). However, it is acknowledged now that the transition in developing countries is accompanied by high population growth in both urban and rural areas. Rapid urban population growth in the developing countries is also taking place against the background of lagging industrialization, thus giving rise to problems generally referred to as overurbanization (Muller, 1982:10).

The World Bank (1982:72) found that future urban growth in developing countries is expected to be so rapid that the extent to which it still bears any relation to past experience of urban growth in developed countries will probably become less and even debatable. The features of contemporary urbanization in developing countries already differ markedly from those that were evident in developed countries in the past. In industrialized countries, migration/urbanization has been a slow process taking place over many centuries. This allowed for the gradual emergence of various socio-economic and political institutions and physical infrastructure necessary to deal with the growth in urban populations. Contemporary migration/urbanization in developing countries, by contrast, is taking place far more rapidly and are happening against a background of high

population growth, low income levels, and fewer opportunities for international migration, as stated above.

The phenomenon of urbanization, although universal, is ultimately the product of so many forces that are operating with such varying intensity from country to country that there would be little sense in trying to summarize the process in general terms (Jones, 1975:1). Urban centres are the products of their particular time and culture and must be seen and assessed within such a context. For example, the historical events of the colonial era undeniably were of fundamental importance in helping to shape present-day patterns of migration/urbanization in the developing countries. In fact the roots of urban growth in these countries extend back to periods even before the colonial era (Dwyer, 1974:15). This is important for a better understanding of current migration/urbanization.

The location, size, distribution and internal social and spatial organization of cities are the empirical product of past decisions. Concomitantly they constitute the environment which dictates and constrains contemporary social action and behaviour. Understanding the dynamics of urbanization requires a macro-perspective broad enough to encompass the continuous and holistic interaction between social process and spatial form as they unfold over time (Soja & Weaver, 1976:259).

Climatic conditions are also an important factor in the understanding of migration/urbanization in developing and developed countries. Almost all developing countries are situated in tropical or sub-tropical zones. Historically, almost every example of modern economic growth has occurred in low temperature countries. Climatic factors directly affect production in most developing countries. Where extremes of heat and humidity occur, this may contribute to deteriorating soil qualities and the rapid deterioration of many natural goods which perish due to the heat. Extremes of heat and humidity cause discomfort to workers. Moreover,

these extremes weaken workers' health, reduce their desire to engage in strenuous physical work, and generally lower their levels of productivity and efficiency (Todaro, 1989:129). Therefore, climatic conditions must also have an indirect as well as some direct influence on urbanization. For example, the climate in Europe and other developed countries dictates that people build permanent houses to protect them from the extreme cold. In most developing countries the high temperatures and droughts may necessitate a nomadic existence and temporary housing. Developing communities are therefore rational when they build temporary housing because it suits their climatic conditions (World Bank, 1986:1-15; Todaro, 1989:125). However, higher densities and population pressures necessitate the provision of sanitation and other services in informal and temporary housing settlements.

Population concentration is an adaptive process, and urban tradition is country-unique. According to Lampard (1965:522+539), the number and size of cities are mainly the products of the interplay of four variables namely population, environment, technology and organization. The far-reaching changes accompanying urban transformation in developed countries took more than a century to reach completion. In contemporary developing countries, where the aeroplane and the mule are being used at the same time in the same locality, lags and overlaps inevitably occur between modernization and traditionalism. Some of the policies adopted suggest that developing countries today do not have the patience to wait for slow evolutionary change, but often opt for radical urban measures designed to accelerate economic development (Yue-Man Yeung, 1976:302).

3.3 Demographic differences

In this section a comparison is made of some demographic differences between urbanization in contemporary developing countries, and developed countries at a comparable stage of development.

Almost all developing countries consider migration or urbanization to be their most pressing population problem. They even regard this as more pressing than high fertility and natural population growth (United Nations, 1985a; Oberai, 1988:1). Developing countries experience increasing urban unemployment, scanty housing, inadequate water and electricity supply, poor sanitation, a shortage of transport and other services, and an overall decline in the quality of urban life, mainly due to the influx of migrants from the rural areas. Similarly, it is generally believed that migration to the cities also affects the rural areas as it tends to draw away their more dynamic members and diverts national investment resources towards the cities (Oberai, 1988:1).

Most developed countries, by contrast, experienced a shortage of unskilled labour due to insufficient migration from their rural hinterlands. In France during their period of rapid urbanization, the natural increase accounted for only 21 per cent of the urban growth between 1846 and 1911 (Davis, 1987:327). The contrast with today's developing countries lies mainly in the high level of natural increase of their total populations (Kok, 1990a:7). Thompson & Coetzee (1987:39) found that the problems of congestion, bottlenecks in the supply of infrastructure, and planning and management constraints, are therefore experienced more acutely in developing countries than in the cities of developed countries at a comparable stage of development.

The migration/urbanization situation is likely to become more serious in most developing countries in the remainder of the twentieth century. It is estimated that the urban population in developing countries will increase from 1 164 million in 1985 to 1 959 million in the year 2000, that is a compound growth rate of 3,53 per cent (United Nations, 1985b). The corresponding increase in developed countries is estimated to grow from 849 million to 992 million in the year 2000, that is at a compound growth rate of 1,04 per cent. Most of the growth in the world's urban population will therefore be in

the developing countries. This calls for a large increase in investment to cope with unemployment, housing, sanitation and other associated problems of urban growth (Oberai, 1988:2). By the year 2000 the urban population of developing countries will be almost double that of the developed countries. By the year 2025 it is estimated to be almost three-and-a-half times that of developed countries (United Nations, 1985b: Table A-3; Oberai, 1988:6).

It is estimated that the urban population growth in developing countries will continue at a very high rate well into the next century (United Nations, 1985b: Table A-12; Oberai, 1988:9). In 1982 it was estimated at three times the rate of developed countries, that is, 3,5 per cent a year with a doubling time every 20 years. Africa has the highest urban population growth rate of 5 per cent a year, implying a doubling time every 14 years. McGee (1971:38) notes that a city which is growing largely from the in-migration of rural people has a much different character to that of a city which is growing only from natural population increase. It is necessary to account for the forces underlying migration if correct policy measures are to be taken. The interventionist role of government is therefore more important in developing countries now than it had been for developed countries when they were at similar levels of urbanization (Renaud, 1987:61).

The demographic components of urbanization in today's developing countries differ from those that were present in developed countries at a comparable stage of development (McGee, 1971:164). In the developed countries, high population growth rates coincided with high mortality rates in the cities, but at the same time extensive rural-urban migration took place (Lampard, 1969:8). Therefore, migration was the principal mechanism whereby urban transformation was brought about. Developing countries, by contrast, are caught up in what Davis (1971:48) describes as a combination of pre-industrial fertility and post-industrial mortality. The main cause of the rapid growth in their city populations is

an unprecedented biological rate of increase, rather than rural-urban migration (Yue-Man Yeung, 1976:293). As a result of these demographic differences the cities in developing countries of today continue to grow but they lack sufficient qualitative change and significant industrialization and economic progress, as were present in contemporary developed countries in the past.

The rapid population increase in some parts of the world means that a great deal of urbanization results simply from the fact that more people reside in rural areas (Tolley, 1987:20). Decreasing mortality has enabled developing countries to make death-control gains in twenty years that required 70 to 80 years to achieve in developed countries, starting at a similar level. In both urban and rural areas the net reproduction rates are higher than they were in most of the developed countries. City population growth is to some extent a function of good health and low mortality, but it is also a function of the very changes that make better health possible. Berry (1981:78) found that economic improvement, public welfare, international aid, subsidized housing, and free education reduce the penalties for having children, compared to what the costs once were.

The effect of migration/urbanization on aggregate fertility is limited in the short term, especially because most migrants tend to be of child-bearing age. This raises the total number of births in cities, even when migrants' fertility is relatively low (World Bank, 1984:97). In most developing countries the urban poor, as much as their rural counterparts, are seemingly caught in a vicious circle where low incomes cause poor education, nutrition and health. This in turn leads to low productivity and low incomes (World Bank, 1982:83). The poverty of the developing countries, caused mainly by high fertility and low mortality, denies the people the means of economic improvement, seeing that betterment is aborted by social and biological forces. In the developed countries, by contrast, conditions are almost the opposite, and their population increases may well yield

increasing returns to labour (Galbraith, 1984:53). The birth rate is under control and the death rate no longer significantly responds to improved living standards.

3.4 Economic differences

In this section a comparison is made of some economic differences between urbanization in contemporary developing countries, and developed countries at a comparable stage of development.

In most developing countries, the potential long-term benefits of having more people must be weighed against the immediate or short-term costs of coping with rapid population growth, which could result in less progress, and lost opportunities for raising standards of living (World Bank, 1984:79). At present population growth in developing countries is a greater economic burden than it had been in today's developed countries (World Bank, 1984:79). Some of the reasons for this have already been discussed in sections 3.2 and 3.3 above.

The economic growth of today's developed countries was helped by a massive shift of labour from agriculture where the capital per worker, and average productivity, were relatively low to manufacturing industry and service activities, where they were relatively high. The transfer of labour from agriculture proceeds more slowly in today's developing countries because of the high growth rates of their total labour force and their low initial share in modern sector employment. The World Bank (1984:88-89) found that many of the technological innovations available to developing countries are labour saving. They are mainly derived from the capital-rich industrial countries. Subsidies on capital investment in the developing countries further serve to discourage labour-intensive production methods and lead to inefficient use of scarce capital resources.

In nineteenth-century western Europe, industrialization proceeded much faster than urbanization. Todaro (1989:246)

found that the percentage of the working force in industry has always been higher than that of the urban population in developed countries. By contrast, the pace of industrialization in developing countries has been much slower than that of urbanization. In almost all developing countries the percentage of the population living in cities greatly exceeds the percentage engaged in manufacturing activities.

Very few towns and cities in developing countries are industrial in the modern sense. Characteristically, many opportunities of employment are provided by small-scale units of production, such as the traditional weaving enterprises (Dwyer, 1974:22-23). Advanced technology has contributed directly to excessive growth of cities, both through the relatively high incomes generated by it and through its effect of destroying the village crafts that once provided many work opportunities. Large-scale technology is conducive to centralization and concentration. This technology is typically located in urban centres which have the necessary infrastructure. It takes work away from the villages to the cities, while at the same time demanding skills that the migrating villagers do not possess. Thus, in developing countries industrial development has not followed the same course as in developed countries. Industry was often forcibly developed without adequate agricultural capability to support it. Political leaders, impatient for results, copied the outward appearances of Western economies while ignoring the actual processes by which they had come about (Harrison, 1987:188-207). Large-scale industry was developed before small-scale industry had provided an indigenous pool of know-how and skills that could serve as a basis for spontaneous further growth.

Industrialization and urbanization have occurred concomitantly in developed countries although the precise relation between the processes has varied among countries and within any one country over time. While it is very difficult to separate the processes as cause and effect within any one of the countries, there can be little doubt of their joint

influence on one another. In Australia, Belgium, and the USA industrialization and urbanization have occurred concurrently with the importation of labour from foreign countries. The two processes also occurred simultaneously in Italy, Japan and the Soviet Union in the absence of any appreciable immigration. This suggests that urbanization and industrialization proceeded at a slow pace during their early phases in the developed countries where there was a heavier reliance upon national human capital alone (Goldstein & Sly, 1977:824). In the less developed countries, the rate of migration and urbanization has run far ahead of the rate of industrialization and the growth of the labour force. This pattern is more pronounced in India and Nigeria than it is in Hong Kong, Iran and Mexico, but it is characteristic of most developing countries.

Although contemporary migration/urbanization rates in developing countries is comparable with those in the now developed countries at the end of the nineteenth century, there are also significant differences. These differences are noticeable in both the antecedents and the consequences of migration/urbanization. The portion of the non-agricultural labour force engaged in manufacturing is significantly lower in today's developing countries than in their historical counterparts. The World Bank (1983:148) estimated this at approximately 40 per cent in 1981 compared with 55 per cent in 1900 (Squire, 1981:Table 1). Oberai (1988:11) cites one reason for the lower proportion of industrial employment in developing countries, relative to the comparable period in the history of the now developed countries, as the labour-saving bias in the former in spite of abundant labour.

In the developed countries, urbanization was initially the product of increases in agricultural productivity which produced capital accumulation on the one hand, and created a rural labour surplus on the other. Capital inputs were therefore available for urban labour and expanded industrialization. The higher incomes which followed, operated to pull surplus agricultural labour to urban areas

where the growing manufacturing sector provided job opportunities. The increase in the size of the urban population and workforce led to a greater division of labour, increased specialization, easier application of technology, mass production, and economies of scale. The significant results of these developments were increased productivity, higher wages and higher standards of living in urban areas which encouraged rural-urban migration (Oberai, 1988:12). In the experience of the now developed countries, urbanization was therefore both a cause and a consequence of higher standards of living.

By contrast, urbanization in developing countries has largely taken place as a result of the push of rural inhabitants to urban areas. The increase in natural growth due to sharp decreases in death rates while fertility rates remained high, had the effect of increasing both the sizes of cities and the rate of migration/urbanization. The more rapid natural population growth in rural areas could not be absorbed in the agricultural sector. This contributed to the acceleration of rural-urban migration. Simultaneously, the contribution of natural increase to urban growth was often greater than that of rural-urban migration (Oberai, 1988:12). Thus, rather than being a response to increased productivity and higher standards of living, urban growth aggravated problems of labour absorption and its effective utilization.

All developed countries have experienced a change from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban society. Population transfer from the agricultural to the industrial sector appears to be a necessary condition for successful economic development. This has taken place in nearly all the presently developed countries and must, presumably, also happen in the developing countries (Ingles, 1975:21). These mainly poor countries, being chiefly producers of agricultural and other primary products, tend to have a persistent surplus of labour. Galbraith (1984:25) found that agricultural wages and prices are kept at a relatively low level in developing countries. This gives rise to the perceived need to channel labour to industry. By contrast,

wages, costs and prices in the developed countries are seen to remain at a high level as a result of a persistent demand for labour.

Differences in wages can also be attributed to the presence of collective bargaining. The degree to which trade unions succeed in causing the wages of workers to be raised critically depends on the extent to which the relevant industry or area is organized (Freeman, 1979:94-95). In addition to raising wages, trade unions have been instrumental in raising expenditure on fringe benefits to a level above that occurring in non-union establishments.

In developed countries, there is often very little difference between urban and rural incomes, and even less so when relative costs of living are taken into account. In developing countries Harrison (1987:146) found that urban incomes are on average, two-and-a-half times higher than rural incomes. Such differentials are generally highest in Africa, where urban growth has been very rapid (Harrison, 1987:414). Moreover, urbanization in developing countries is often characterized by a heavy concentration of economic activity and wealth in a few large population centres, standing in sharp contrast to the economic stagnation and much lower average incomes found in some rural regions. It would seem that migration/urbanization has an equilibrating effect on income distribution in the case of developed countries. By contrast the effect is disequilibrating in developing countries.

The tertiary (including the informal) sector is economically much more important in today's developing countries than it was in the now developed countries, where secondary economic activities absorbed most of the available labour (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:15). The informal sector is viewed as an important source of income and employment for the poor, while also making a contribution towards the efficient use of a country's scarce capital resources and serving as a source of indigenous entrepreneurial talent (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:45+63). Dualism in the economies of developing

countries is more often manifested as informal versus formal activity than as wage versus subsistence employment. Informal activities are largely located in and around urban areas and in squatter settlements, which are characteristic of today's developing countries.

Migrants, who are unable to find employment in industry, turn to hawking and other informal sector activities. In developed countries the employment of a large portion of the labour force in the retail trade and in restaurants, hotels, government, education and other services has come about only at a late stage in their economic development. The average developing society, with a large sector of informal service workers and a large government bureaucracy, has tended to leapfrog the gradual evolutionary process (Parish, 1987:77). In developing countries, the government sector is often also over-expanded and overpaid, to a point beyond the capacity of the economy to support it with impunity.

In developed countries the rapid expansion of service sectors lagged behind industrialization. However, industrialization created many technical and highly skilled jobs to support and administer industrial, economic, and government expansion. Cities in developing countries serve primarily as service centres in the absence of industrial and economic expansion (Goldstein & Sly, 1977:824). However, the jobs created by the services offered in these centres tend to be mainly non-technical and low-skilled.

3.5 Contemporary differences

One way in which today's developing countries differ from those countries that underwent development earlier, lies in the tendency of their migration/urbanization to be more heavily concentrated in large cities (Tolley, 1987:3). The process of urbanization in developing countries has gone hand in hand with extremely rapid growth of large cities. Although rapid growth also occurs in small and medium-sized cities, the problems and difficulties associated with adjustment to fast growth and expansion tend to be more

marked in the case of the larger centres (Linn, 1983:3). The urban hierarchies of developing countries tend to be dominated by one, or a few large centres with limited links to their hinterlands (World Bank, 1972:12-13; Gilbert & Gugler, 1983:198). A clearly defined hierarchical structure of urban centres is also virtually absent.

The pattern of urbanization characterizing some developed countries is one of declining city cores and expanding rings. Growth is spilling over into the outer rings and creating areas having little affinity to the central core (Drewett, et al., 1976:78; Gilbert & Gugler, 1983:46). In some developed countries an urban-rural migration turnaround or counter-urbanization movement is taking place. Significant numbers of people are moving from urban centres to rural areas. Some of the high-technological industries in these countries have decentralized their activities from metropolitan to more rural environments to attract and keep their highly skilled staff (Kok, 1990a:9-10). Affluence played a significant role in the urban-rural turnaround in the United States, for instance (Wardwell, 1987:95). The urban-rural turnaround seems to have been selective of the more affluent population in the countries where it has been observed (Kok, 1990a:29).

Thompson & Coetzee (1987:30) found that developing countries focus on the external sector with their cities frequently more closely linked to centres in other countries than to large parts of their own hinterlands. The outer-peripheral areas or non-modern parts of their hinterlands remain functionally peripheral to their economy, as does a large portion of the population, both rural and, increasingly, urban. This means that the continued growth of sophisticated, mostly non-primary activities does not result automatically in a more even geographical distribution of the urban hierarchy and the elimination of dualism in the economy, as occurred in developed countries. It would seem as if migration/urbanization is a disequilibrating process in developing countries. By contrast, the process is generally equilibrating with respect to population distribution in most

developed countries.

The portion of the world population living in large cities is estimated to double between 1970 and 2025 because of the growth of large cities in developing countries. The United Nations (1985b:Table A-9) estimated that by 2025, almost 30 per cent of the urban population in developing regions will be living in cities, each of over 4 million people. This is more than double the figure for the developed regions, where the trend is towards deconcentration. Oberai (1988:7) estimates that a relatively small portion of the African population currently lives in large cities, but it could have the highest percentage of all continents by the year 2025.

Evidence from India, Iran, Mexico, and Nigeria suggests that the motivation for migration/urbanization is more explicitly and completely economic in developing than in developed countries. In these developing countries, rural to urban migrants appear to move in quest of employment and a higher standard of living. There is also a general consensus that one important factor in rural-urban migration relates to the general economic structure of the areas of origin. In rural areas where subsistence agriculture dominates, very little money income is ever acquired. In cities, on the other hand, the potential for earning money income is at least present, as well as the potential freedom to spend income above that needed for subsistence. In countries such as India, Nigeria and Mexico this potential could be enough to stimulate migration from rural areas. This is particularly so when rural residents are likely to be influenced by contact with successful migrants who return to their villages for periodic visits. In India and Nigeria the inter-urban migration is also closely tied to the search for the opportunity to earn a living (Goldstein & Sly, 1977:820). In many low-income communities migration is therefore inevitable, given the high densities and limited income-earning opportunities in these peripheral areas.

In both Western and Eastern Europe, commuting has spread over vast areas. Commuting has, in fact, served to put a stop to

the rural exodus of people and has brought about a transformation of agricultural villages to commuter settlements, as for example on the Mediterranean. Commuting has also replaced traditional forms of seasonal labour migration (Lichtenberger, 1976:85). From 1970 onwards some large American metropolitan areas have shown a tendency to grow more slowly than the country's total population and have actually lost people to the non-metropolitan areas (Berry, 1976a:17). In general terms, growth has taken place most rapidly in the smaller metropolitan areas and peripheral towns, with substantial daily commuting occurring to the larger metropolitan areas. In developed countries commuting and migrant labour generally have an equilibrating effect on population distribution, which is narrowly related to the level of development.

In developing countries, the process of economic growth and the achievement of independent status has been very uneven between the various states, classes, regions and ethnic groups. Warren (1984:110) found that this has given rise to new forms of social tension. The communities in developing countries are generally far more heterogeneous than those of developed countries. Grouping the so-called developing societies together as a single unity becomes questionable when the extremely uneven level of development that exists between the developing countries is considered. A comparison of GNP growth rates by Kuznets (1971:30-31) suggests the extent to which "all other things are not equal" in determining the capacity for material development in today's developing countries. One factor in particular, namely new technology, has been instrumental in improving the prospects of more rapid material advancement in developing countries (Warren, 1984:12). Such advancement generally proceeds from a much less appropriate base than was the case with the developed countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Herbert (1975:12) has argued that the hope of trying to solve the problem of urbanization by means of agricultural development and the development of small towns, is false.

The combined effect of population growth, long-term agricultural export potential, and the relative income elasticities of demand for urban and rural output, suggest that the future of developing countries is likely to be of a predominantly urban nature. The essential policy objective is, therefore, not to slow down migration/urbanization but to economize on existing resources in order to upgrade the quality of urban life. This may increase a society's total resource stock by making aggressive and imaginative use of urbanization itself. Given the very different demographic and structural economic circumstances between the present-day urban situation in developing countries and the historical situation in the now developed countries, it would be unrealistic to rely on accelerated industrial growth alone to solve the problems of growing urban unemployment.

It was previously thought that a reduction in the birth rate in developing countries would require a typical sequence of economic change, namely urbanization, industrialization, a shift from household to factory production, and income rising to the levels enjoyed by today's economically developed countries. The actual decline in birth rates observed in some developing countries since the late 1960's has, however, been related to a different process of development. This includes success in education, health, and the alleviation of poverty. Declining population growth has been more closely associated with adult literacy and life expectancy than with GNP per capita (World Bank, 1984:106). Birth rates declined most rapidly where income gains and social services were more evenly distributed.

3.6 Implications for South Africa

The comparison between developing and developed countries contains certain lessons for South African migration or urbanization policies. South Africa is in many respects a microcosm of the world (see also Chapters 4 and 5). This also applies to its demographic composition of developing and developed communities. In Africa, and particularly sub-Saharan Africa, most countries have not even begun the

process of demographic transition (Mostert & Lötter, 1990:Foreword). The difference between migration or urbanization in developing and developed countries may generally be ascribed to the rapid population expansion taking place in developing countries (Todaro, 1989:194). In South Africa, the overriding problem of numbers is complicated by the racial composition of the population. This is especially true with regard to economic development, levels of urbanization and the cultural stratification that broadly divide the population into its developing and developed components (RSA 1985:4-5). Urbanization in South Africa has a distinct race character which was caused by the system of demarcated group areas.

While the migration/urbanization process in South Africa is in many respects comparable to that of other developing countries, it differs markedly from that of major industrialized countries in an earlier period (Mears, 1988:48-55; Brand, 1989b:1). However, the pattern of urbanization in South Africa also differs in some respects from that in other late developing countries (Brand, 1983:49-51). These differences in the migration/urbanization patterns provide some interesting insights into the potential benefits of urbanization, as well as into the conditions necessary for those benefits to be realized (Brand, 1989b:1). These differences demonstrate that the rate and pattern of urbanization in South Africa are not synonymous with development.

The practice until 1991 was to develop separate residential areas for the various population groups within the same city or urban area (Mears, 1987:54 and 64). This has resulted in black townships within the RSA developing primarily as residential or dormitory towns. In South Africa, a developing component and a developed component must be accommodated satisfactorily and effectively in the same urban space in accordance with the views of all the participating groups (RSA, 1985:4-5). The demarcated group areas have amplified the geographical differences between districts and towns in South Africa.

While South Africa has experienced many of the tendencies previously discussed for other late developing countries, its own migration/urbanization process has certain peculiarities that distinguish it from other developing countries (Brand, 1983:48-51). The first such peculiarity is the unusually important role of mining in the general economic development and in the urbanization process in South Africa. The fixed gold price for a large part of this century, as well as the ease with which the mines could recruit migrant workers from neighbouring countries, resulted in a low-wage pattern in the mining sector. This also had an influence on wage patterns in other economic sectors.

Secondly, the strict statutory controls over the vertical and particularly the horizontal mobility of labour, strengthened the low-wage pattern. It also created a pattern of urban development where a large portion of the urban population was located in compounds and dormitory towns. This portion of the urban population was not truly part of the urban environment but lived in relative isolation from it. Migrant (guest) workers, for example, remit a significant part of their earnings to their home countries and regions. In technical terms the multiplier effects of this kind of urban involvement on other economic activities in the immediate urban environment, were very limited. A third distinguishing peculiarity of urbanization in Southern Africa is the extent to which new urban concentrations have been brought about by non-voluntary resettlement, in most instances on political considerations (Brand, 1989b:5-6). This was often done on the assumption that such concentrations of people would lead to economic development.

Comparisons by Simkins (1984:120-121) between South Africa and other capitalist countries, suggest two linked features of particular importance. Firstly, the lag between social and economic development in South Africa shows up in relatively low figures in the fields of social welfare (health and housing), social organization and behaviour (fertility rate). Economic development is above normal with

only a few exceptions. These include low school enrolment, a low share of industry in both production and employment and low urbanization. Secondly, South Africa has an unequal distribution of income which is derived directly from reported income distribution figures and indirectly from its effects. The political retardation of migration/urbanization has had as its accompaniment the preservation of a more traditional social organization than would otherwise have been the case. This has led to the poor distribution and unequal allocation of resources within education which again led to low social mobility (also restrained by law). This contributes to social and income inequality which in turn leads to poorly distributed education. Inequality in the allocation of public resources to health and housing also lowers the results of these social indicators (see also United Nations, 1970).

To turn South African developing cities from stagnation to dynamic development, the RSA and the national states accepted an integrated urban development approach (Brand, 1989a:6-10). This approach includes five mutually supportive elements, namely the development of a sustainable economic base, the creation of infrastructure, the procurement of housing, the provision of educational and social services, and the creation of a sound urban financial base and management system. Given the large backlogs in developing urban areas in the provision of these facilities, and the large existing income differences between communities, these changes may have to be effected by means of a reallocation of government expenditure and the provision of services (Brand, 1989a:6-10). The 1985 per capita disposable income of white people was more than eight times that of black people (Van Zyl, 1988).

The greater the difference in economic opportunities between rural and urban regions, the greater the flow of migrants from rural to urban areas. In addition to the primary economic motive, people also migrate in order to improve their levels of education or skills, to escape social and cultural confinement in rural areas, and to join relatives

and friends who have previously migrated to urban areas (Todaro, 1976:66). Migration/urbanization takes place because economic development is uneven and the benefits of economic growth are unevenly distributed. The long history of migration in both directions between town and country in South Africa has made country dwellers keenly aware of urban values and aspirations. This has given rise to the phenomenon of dislocated urban communities in South Africa. This means that communities living in rural areas have urban characteristics in all aspects except physical location (Muller, 1982:95).

The World Bank (1982:77) holds the view that it is important to reduce birth rates in order to slow down population growth in general, and urban growth in particular. Such a reduction in birth rates is likely to be associated with a narrowing of differences in educational investment according to socio-economic classes, and an increase in wages in relation to rents and profits. This in turn, implies a more equal distribution of income and a more rapid elimination of poverty. A reduced birth rate naturally reduces the growth rate of the school-age population. Improving the quality of education will be difficult until a larger proportion of the population has gained access to basic education. This process will be delayed if the number of school-age children is constantly on the increase (World Bank, 1984:84-86).
Population increase can only be effectively checked by means of birth control - also referred to as family planning. In some poor countries like China, and increasingly in India, it has been concluded that this is no longer a matter of parents' free choice or a purely spontaneous matter. However, governments of developing countries are reluctant to propose this remedy for poverty due to the sensitive nature of the issue. Galbraith (1977:285) has remarked that the consequences of uncontrolled population growth are visited upon the poor but not upon the rich. In China, where the birth rate is already low, the number of poor people is expected to decline by between 80 and 90 per cent by the year 2000. In Sub-Saharan Africa, by contrast, the number of people living in poverty by the end of the century is

expected to increase by nearly 70 per cent, assuming a standard projection of birth decline. The World Bank (1984:83) estimates that even with a rapid fall in the birth rate, the number of poor people will still increase by approximately 20 per cent. In fact, Africa is the only continent where an increase in poverty is expected after the year 2000.

In many developing countries, particularly those with distinctive regional, ethnic or political differences, it may be important to maintain a certain balance between various regions and between rural and urban development. Hence, attempts to slow down the migration and urbanization process, and to spread economic development spatially more evenly, may be politically desirable, even if the economic benefits may be far from obvious. Galbraith (1984:90) defines economic development as a process that enlarges the opportunities of those thus motivated, to escape the entrenched nature of a culture of poverty. Likewise, equal opportunities for all the inhabitants of South Africa may contribute most to the economic development of low-income communities. People migrate primarily for economic reasons and this opportunity should not be restricted. Migration/urbanization may have an equilibrating effect on population and income distribution of the South African community.

3.7 Summary

The combined process of migration and urbanization is the natural outcome of economic development. Urbanization cannot be stopped once it is in motion unless the population's natural growth is curbed. Increased urbanization can only result from natural population growth, a redefinition of geographical boundaries, or from rural-urban migration. Rural-urban migration in most developing countries accounts for only one-quarter to one-third of the increase in the urban population. In developing countries, where most of the population still resides in rural areas, natural population growth is generally higher than in the cities. Rural-urban migration could therefore tend to increase over the short

term or become a long-term process in developing countries.

This thesis concentrates mainly on rural-urban migration while ignoring differences in the natural population growth rate between rural and urban areas and a redefinition of geographical boundaries as causes of urbanization. Migration is assumed to be equal to urbanization resulting from rural-urban migration. Migration/urbanization needs to be viewed from a long-term perspective. The location, size, distribution and internal social and spatial organization of cities are the empirical product of past decisions. They are also a product of the environment which dictates and constrains contemporary social action and behaviour. To understand the dynamics of urbanization requires a macro-perspective that encompasses the continuous and holistic interaction between social process and spatial form as it unfolds over time.

Although there are divergent views on the value of the knowledge gained and example set by developed countries, such knowledge constitutes an invaluable resource for developing countries to draw upon. Thus they do not need to rely solely on their own experience but can take the best from the experiences of other countries. The differences between developing and developed countries may facilitate the understanding of migration/urbanization in developing countries. Most of the urbanization differences between developing and developed countries can be ascribed to the significant differences in demographic characteristics of the populations of these countries. Although almost all developing countries consider migration/urbanization to be their most pressing population problems these are caused directly by high fertility and natural population growth rates. In the remainder of the twentieth century, urbanization is likely to become more disruptive in most developing countries as most of the growth in the world's urban population would be in the developing regions. The main cause of the high growth rates in the urban populations of these countries is the extremely high rate of biological increase, rather than rural-urban migration. The rural-urban migration that takes place is a

result of the high overall population increase.

At present migration/urbanization in developing countries is a greater economic burden than had been the case in what are today's developed countries. Developing countries and their problems are no longer isolated. The economies of developing countries are an integral part of a sophisticated and powerful world economic system, in which they are the relatively poor and less sophisticated partners.

Most of the technology available to developing countries is of a labour-saving nature, originally developed for the capital-rich industrial countries. Subsidies on capital investment in developing countries further serve to discourage labour-intensive production methods and lead to inefficient use of scarce capital resources. Moreover, the pace of industrialization in developing countries is also much slower than that of urbanization and the growth of the labour force.

This paragraph summarizes some characteristics of developing countries as discussed in this chapter. Migration or urbanization are mainly taking place as a result of the push from rural areas to urban areas. The motivation for migration is more economic in developing countries now, than in developed countries at a comparable stage of development. Migrants move largely in quest of employment and a higher standard of living. Rather than being a response to increased productivity and higher standards of living, urban growth aggravates problems of labour absorption and its effective utilization. Moreover, urban incomes are much higher than rural incomes. The pattern of urbanization is also often characterized by a heavy concentration of economic activity and wealth in a few large centres, standing in sharp contrast to the economic stagnation and much lower average incomes found in some rural areas. The societies of the developing countries are far more heterogeneous than those of developed countries. The process of economic growth and the achievement of independent status have been very uneven between the various states, classes, regions and ethnic

groups, and give rise to new forms of social tension in developing countries. In general it would seem that migration/urbanization has a disequilibrating effect in most developing countries.

By contrast, the effect of migration/urbanization seems to be of an equilibrating nature in most developed countries. There is often very little difference between urban and rural incomes, and even less so when relative costs of living are taken into account. The pattern of migration/urbanization characterizing developed countries is one of declining city cores and expanding rings. Growth is taking place in the outer rings and creating areas with little affinity to the central core. Growth generally takes place more rapidly in the smaller metropolitan areas and peripheral towns. Substantial daily commuting also takes place to the larger metropolitan areas. This has led to the transformation of smaller towns and agricultural villages to commuter settlements.

Distinctions in the patterns of migration/urbanization between South Africa and other countries demonstrate that the rate and pattern of urbanization in South Africa are not synonymous with development. Up to 1991 the practice was to develop separate residential areas for the various population groups within the same city or region. This has resulted in black towns developing primarily as residential or dormitory towns.

Migration/urbanization takes place because economic development and the benefits of economic growth are unevenly distributed. In addition to the primary economic motive, South Africans also migrate in order to improve their levels of education or skills, to escape social and cultural confinement to rural areas, and to join relatives and friends who have previously migrated to urban areas. The long history of migration in both directions between town and country in South Africa has made rural dwellers aware of urban values and aspirations. The migrant labour system has given rise to the phenomenon of dislocated urban communities,

that is, communities living in rural areas, but having urban characteristics in almost all aspects but physical location.

The examination of South African evidence on migration or urbanization is the subject of the next two chapters.

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CHAPTER 4

MIGRATION/URBANIZATION TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the general evidence on migration or urbanization trends is reviewed. The aim is to determine whether migration/urbanization has had an equilibrating effect on population and income distribution in South Africa. The major features and trends as well as factors that influence the present settlement character are discussed. The following aspects are discussed in this chapter: Current economic and spatial ordering of urbanization in South Africa; overview of urbanization trends; current settlement character of the respective population groups with special reference to black communities in the RSA as well as in the independent and self-governing national states; overview of migration trends in South Africa; the migrant labour system; and commuting.

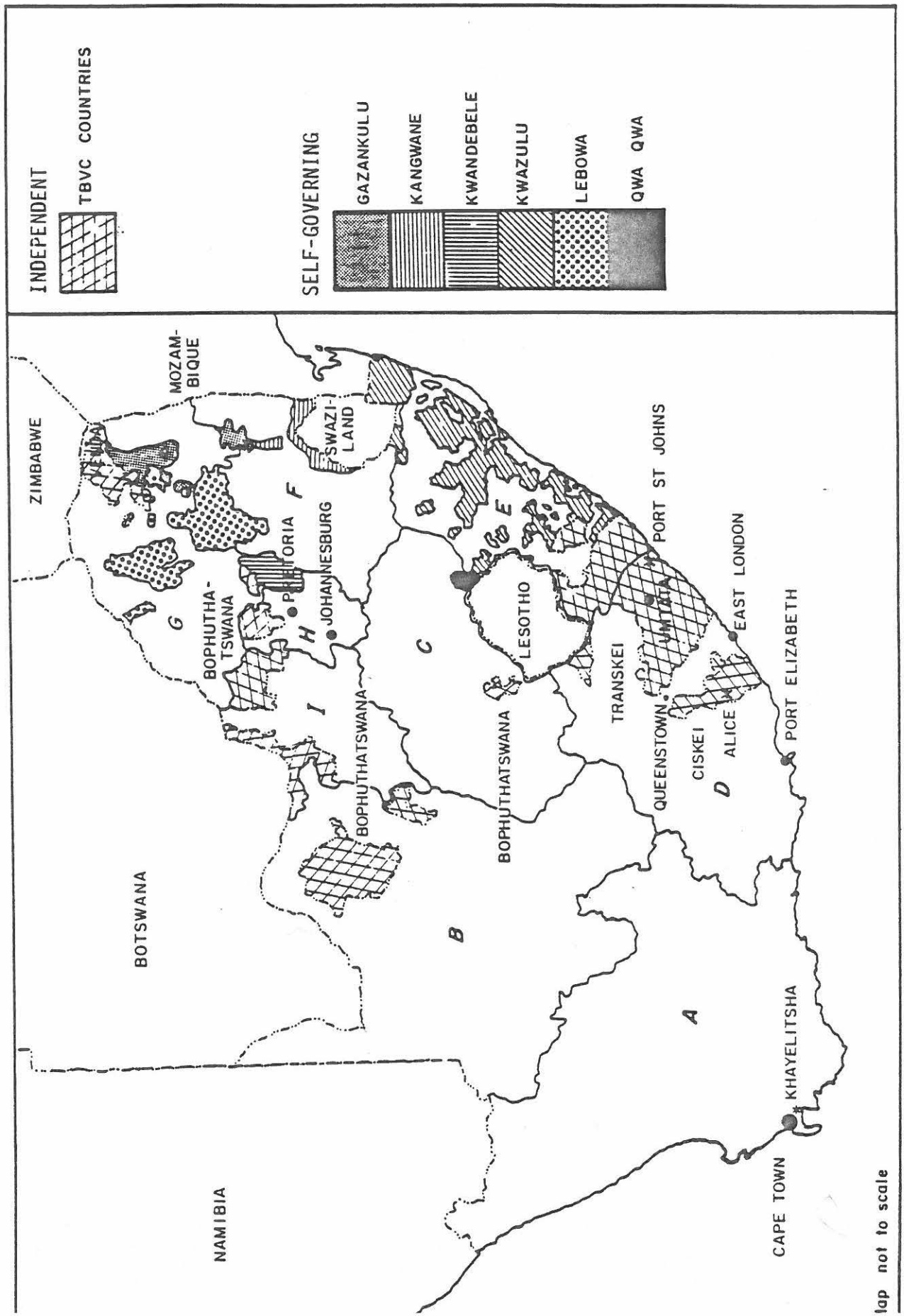
4.2 Glossary and geographical note

South Africa includes a close-knit group of independent states comprising the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and the TBVC-countries, that is Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (see Figure 4.1). These five independent states are also collectively known as the Economic Community of Southern Africa (ECOSA). South Africa has the same borders as the former Union of South Africa and therefore excludes Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia (see Figure 4.1).

The RSA includes the self-governing national states of KwaZulu, Lebowa, KaNgwane, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa and KwaNdebele.

National states in this thesis include both independent and self-governing national states.

Figure 4.1: Demarcation of South Africa into independent and self-governing national states and development regions A-I (Adapted from DBSA, 1987b:6).



The RSA population is concentrated largely in four metropolitan complexes, namely the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area, (PWV), Greater Cape Town, Durban-Pinetown, and Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage. While these four areas constitute only 4 per cent of the total land area of the RSA some 53 per cent of the total population and about 80 per cent of the urban population were residing here in 1980. Except for the four metropolitan areas a few smaller urban agglomerations occurred on the Free State Gold-Fields around Welkom, in the East London-King William's Town, Klerksdorp-Orkney-Stilfontein, and Bronkhorstspruit-Witbank-Middelburg areas, and in the vicinity of Richards Bay and Newcastle. South Africa has an isolated urban concentration pattern where only 11 out of 631 urban settlements identified in 1980, accommodated total populations of more than 100 000 people. Of these settlements, 266 had populations of less than 2 000, accommodating only 1,6 per cent of the total population (RSA, 1985:28-29; Van der Merwe, 1982:15; Esterhuysen, 1989:3).

In 1985 only 13 centres in South Africa had populations of over 100 000 people. These centres contributed 66 per cent of the total urban population. 115 centres had populations between 10 000 and 100 000 and 599 centres had populations smaller than 10 000, contributing 23 per cent and 11 per cent respectively to the total urban population (Van der Merwe, et al. 1987; Coetzee, 1989:10 and Table 5). The largest percentage of the total urban population resided in Region H in 1985, namely 38 per cent, followed by 16,5 per cent in Region E, 16,1 per cent in Region A and 10,8 per cent in Region D (Coetzee, 1989:10 and Table 4). These figures confirm the significant influence of the spatio-economic development on urbanization.

Mineral discoveries set the pattern for urban development in South Africa and led to a shift in the centre of economic activity from the coastal regions to the interior. Thus, an urban core consisting of four big metropolitan areas emerged. The growth of non-metropolitan regions, some with "modern" mining and agricultural activities and their associated

towns, developed as an inner periphery. The periphery includes the areas and towns surrounding the metropolitan areas. Moreover, it includes all the towns within the RSA as well as the larger towns within the national states. Finally, an outer periphery or region of declining traditional or "non-modern" activities remained. The outer periphery corresponds roughly with the non-urban areas of the national states (Friedmann & Wulff, 1976:11; Smit & Booysen, 1981:9; Fair, 1982:43-61; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:50; Nattrass, 1988:131-160). Labour, potential purchasing power and surpluses of human capital were drawn from the outer periphery to the core.

4.3 Economic and spatial ordering of urbanization in South Africa

Significant structural changes have taken place in the South African economy during the twentieth century, transforming it from an agriculturally orientated economy to a modern industrialized economy. This development has been spatially uneven with the main industrial activities now concentrated in the northern-central region of the country or the Southern Transvaal region. This spatial and economic unevenness has caused a complementary shift in the distribution of the population (Nattrass, 1988:38-39). The urban concentration in this area brought about an advanced technology, automation and mechanization. These factors add to the attraction of all the large metropoles. Metropolitization is further associated with the increasing importance of social support services and infrastructure (Houghton 1973:136-137; Maasdorp, 1985:230-231; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:53-54). Furthermore, metropolitan areas contain a relatively skilled labour force and an environment in which such a labour force is willing to live.

The South African economy is in many ways typical of that of a relatively advanced developing country. However, its spatial population distribution and patterns of migration are similar to those of less developed countries. Since the 1950's, the urbanization of black people has been retarded by

official policy. A specific pattern was brought about by the migrant labour system, influx control and the peculiar system of land tenure in the national states (Thompson and Coetzee, 1987:48). Despite a relatively long history of urban and economic growth, only 55,9 per cent of the total population lived in urban areas of the RSA in 1985. The level of urbanization among black people in the RSA stood at 39,6 per cent and that of the self-governing national states at 16,1 per cent (Central Statistical Service, 1985:1-7; Mears, 1988:53). The relatively low levels of black urbanization were brought about by policies that were aimed at discouraging permanent black settlement in white urban areas (Muller, 1982:94).

The settlement character in the RSA reflects the interaction between its population, economic development and the environment. Certain socio-economic and political processes that are at work also have a direct and indirect influence on its internal migration. Moreover, the various population groups have reacted differently to economic development impulses at different times. In addition, some institutional and political measures have also had considerable effect on the mobility of some population groups. The distribution of land has also complicated the population distribution character which has imposed a definite character on the speed and direction of urbanization.

The current human settlement is characterized by three main features, namely, the dominant position of a few large urban concentrations, the numerical superiority of certain population groups in certain geographic areas, and the much greater density of the population in the eastern part of the country in comparison with the western part (RSA, 1985:27).

4.4 Overview of urbanization trends in South Africa

In 1937, Shannon (1937:164) made the observation that urbanization was in the forefront among the numerous socio-economic problems confronting South Africa. Before 1937 much of the urbanization in South Africa was related to

the establishment of the gold-mining industry. The high profit margins on gold after 1932, caused a major state of disequilibrium between town and country, as well as between goldmining-related industries and other branches of industry. Shannon (1937:170) then predicted that future trends in urbanization would depend primarily on the price elasticity of the demand for gold. The future of migration and urbanization would further be influenced to a large extent by the demand for agricultural produce, the nature of socio-economic legislation, and the handling of the social problems arising from the needs of the different race groups. The impact of gold on urbanization was not seen to be restricted to the Witwatersrand. Its multiplier effects encouraged urbanization elsewhere too, especially in the country's main coastal areas (Shannon, 1937:190). More than fifty years later most of these predictions seem to have come true.

Empirical evidence indicates that the large metropolitan complexes, especially the PWV area, have experienced sustained growth since the 1970's. Concomitantly, most smaller towns in the inner and outer periphery have shown a trend towards either stagnation or decreasing population numbers. The core and inner peripheral areas are becoming increasingly functionally linked, with many small agricultural service centres in decline. In addition, the shedding of surplus population to the outer periphery or national states as well as to core areas took place. This has raised the average levels of per capita income and reduced the portion of poor people located in the inner periphery (Simkins, 1981b:27-28; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:54-56; Coetzee, 1989:4).

The effects of the mineral discoveries and subsequent economic growth, as well as changes in white agriculture on the outer periphery or areas of black-controlled agriculture, were very different. In the 1930's, the tribal system of land tenure was strengthened by the reinstatement of the chief system in those areas set aside for black ownership in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts. This severely impeded the emergence of a class of viable black farmers in these

areas (Vink, 1986:21-27; Giliomee, 1985:45). With an expanding population in the outer periphery the average size of agricultural holdings and per capita production fell. This gave rise, firstly, to an increasing tendency among males to enter the labour force as migrants to earn cash, and secondly, to the stagnation of black-controlled agriculture (Lipton,1977; Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1985:336-338).

Perceived inadequate supplies of labour had always been a problem for white farmers. This situation was greatly aggravated after the the Second World War by more mineral discoveries. The politically and economically more powerful white group recruited black workers for unskilled labour (Wilson, 1971:127-129; Moller, 1985:29). Measures were adopted by the state to enforce this, including various taxes and restrictions on private and communal access to land.

Continued population growth in the outer periphery led to an increasing dependence on the earnings of migrant labourers employed in the urban formal sector. This was mainly due to the natural increase and the voluntary and involuntary resettlement of black people. Simkins (1981a:28-29) estimates that after 1918 the outer peripheral areas had been unable to meet more than one third of the subsistence requirements of their inhabitants, and this portion fell to below 20 per cent by the late 1960's. Thompson and Coetzee (1987:58) estimate that in 1980, 71 per cent of the income of these areas came from migrants and commuters, while virtually all rural households engaged in subsistence production in order to satisfy basic needs.

The system of temporary labour migration was firmly entrenched during the period 1950 to 1970. Permanent out-migration was restricted by means of pass laws. The outer peripheral areas increasingly accommodated the economically inactive dependants of migrant labourers, and unemployed and underemployed members of the black labour force. Very little was invested in these areas, either by the state or the private sector. Moreover, leakages of purchasing power from these areas remained very large. Up

until 1991 the system of land tenure has also remained virtually unchanged. A change from its present form has been identified as one important precondition for rural development in the outer periphery. The following factors were also identified: provision of credit, infrastructure, social services and marketing facilities, as well as changes in urbanization policies. These factors are prerequisites to enable those households whose economically active members do not wish to farm, to settle permanently in urban areas (Vink, 1986:37-38; Leseme, Fènyes & Groenewald, 1980:189).

4.5 Settlement character of the respective population groups

Regional development in South Africa today generally stems from the policies of separate development. Even before the National Party took office in 1948, all the former South African Prime Ministers expressed themselves in favour of a geographical separation of the various population groups (Eiselen, 1967:104). Economic realities gradually led to policy adaptations when it was realized that the national states did not have the carrying capacity to provide for the faster-than-expected increase in the black population (Van Eeden, 1990:2). The Tomlinson Commission estimated the black population at between 16,3 and 21,4 million people in the year 2000 as against recent estimates of 37,3 million (Union of South Africa, 1955:29; Sadie, 1988:56).

The acceptance of a new regional development policy in 1982 finally concluded the era in which geographical separation of the population groups was seen as the prime objective. By 1990 the independent and self-governing national states were treated as integral parts of the nine broader development regions demarcated on functional grounds (Van Eeden, 1990:3; see also Figure 4.1). Intra- and inter-regional cooperation are essential within and between these regions.

4.5.1 The white population

Six urban areas in South Africa accommodate more than

two-thirds of the white population, while 424 smaller towns with populations of less than 2 000 white inhabitants each, accommodated a total of only 5,7 per cent in 1980 (Van der Merwe, 1982:15). The PWV area accommodates more than 40 per cent of the total white population. Owing to the growth in the PWV area population numbers in the Cape and Orange Free State are increasingly lagging behind the Transvaal which accommodated 53 per cent of the white population in 1980 (RSA, 1985:31). As can be seen from Table 4.1 this figure increased to 54 per cent in 1990. Of the remaining white population it was estimated that 26,2 per cent lived in the Cape Province, 12,2 per cent in Natal and 7,3 per cent in the Orange Free State. Despite attempts by the state to decentralize economic activities, the nature of economic growth has led to, and will probably continue to promote, the increasing dominance of the PWV region in the urban hierarchy (Maasdorp, 1985:226-233).

The white population, of whom 89,6 per cent had already urbanized by 1985, have virtually completed their rural-urbanmigration phase (Central Statistical Service, 1985:127). The current migration of the white population to urban areas is taking place mainly from the south to the north and from the smaller towns to larger urban areas (Smit, Booysen & Cornelius, 1983; RSA, 1985:31).

4.5.2 The coloured population

The Cape Metropolitan Area accommodates the majority of the coloured population, followed by urban centres along the Cape South Coast. The urbanization rate of the coloured population was relatively slow during the period 1970-1980. This was caused by the relatively slow economic growth in the Cape Peninsula, the shortage of housing, and an initial reluctance to move to other metropolitan centres (Simkins, 1985:1; RSA, 1985:31). In 1990 it was estimated that 84,7 per cent of the total coloured population resided in the Cape Province, 9,4 per cent in Transvaal, 3,5 per cent in Natal and 2,2 per cent in the Orange Free State (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Estimated population of South Africa by population group and area, 1990 - Thousands

Area	Population group				
	White	Coloured	Asian	Black	Total
Cape Province	1 318	2 731	36	2 325	6 410
%	26,2	84,7	3,7	8,2	17,1
Natal	614	113	773	1 134	2 634
%	12,2	3,5	79,4	4,0	7,0
OFS	369	71	0	2 033	2 473
%	7,3	2,2	0	7,2	6,6
Transvaal	2 730	303	161	6 293	9 487
%	54,2	9,4	16,5	22,2	25,3
Self-governing states	6	7	4	9 319	9 336
%	0,1	0,2	0,4	32,9	24,9
Total RSA	5 037	3 225	974	21 104	30 340
%	100	100	100	74,6	80,8
TBVC states	*	*	*	7 193	7 193
%	*	*	*	25,4	19,2
Total	5 037	3 225	974	28 297	37 533
%	100	100	100	100	100

*Included with the black population group.
Source: Steenkamp, H.A. 1990. Regional Population Estimates for 1990. Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa, Research Report No. 174. Pretoria.

The coloured population, of whom 77,8 per cent was urbanized in 1985, are also in a new phase of migration to the cities. This is very similar to that of the white population (Central Statistical Service, 1985:1-7). Migration takes place mainly from the more arid inland farming areas, extending from the North-western Cape through the Karoo and the Eastern Cape Province, towards the districts of intensive agriculture of the South-western Cape and to the Cape Peninsula. This is accompanied by the adoption of urban lifestyles and an

increase in a variety of skills. Many of the more skilled persons move to the PWV and Durban-Pinetown areas for better employment and higher wages. These areas have experienced rapid increases in the number of coloured people since 1980. For example, Pretoria had the largest increase in the number of coloured people during the period 1980 to 1983 (Martins, 1984:10; RSA, 1985:32).

The vacuum left in the rural areas by these migrants is filled by other coloured people and increasingly by black people, mainly from Transkei and Ciskei (RSA, 1985:32).

4.5.3 The Asian population

The Asian people were already 93,4 per cent urbanized in 1985 (Central Statistical Service, 1985:1-7). The predominant concentrations of Asians are around Durban, Pinetown, the Natal North Coast, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg. The largest growth rate of the Asian population was recorded in the PWV area over the last few decades (RSA, 1985:32; Steyn, 1989:13-14). In 1990 it was estimated that 79,4 per cent of the total Asian population resided in Natal, 16,5 per cent in Transvaal and the remaining 3,7 per cent in the Cape Province (see Table 4.1).

4.5.4 The black population

With the exception of a few mining and industrial areas that were to develop later, the broad pattern of black urbanization had been laid by 1904. Urban growth since then was partly as a result of immigration, but largely as a result of the natural increase in population in the urban areas. This historical development and the constant expansion of the large metropolitan areas over a period of 80 years have some implications for the future urbanization of black people. The foundations of a permanent urban black population were therefore laid more than 40 years ago (RSA, 1985:32-33). An ever-increasing number of black people are born with no direct ties with the national states.

In terms of numbers, the urban black population overtook the urban white population soon after 1946, and has since steadily increased its numerical superiority (RSA, 1985:33). The black urban-population growth rate was 6,4 per cent per annum for the period 1946 to 1951 which levelled off to 4,3 per cent for the period 1951 to 1960. Since 1951 the black urban townships such as Soweto began to grow very rapidly as a result of accelerated urbanization. Corridors of urban concentrations began to develop while concomitantly squatter areas were being cleared. In the 1950's stricter influx control and the institution of a network of labour bureaux contributed to the decline in the rapid immigration of black people to cities and towns (RSA, 1985:33).

During the period 1951 to 1960 the Far West Rand, Klerksdorp and Free State gold fields, as well as the coal fields of the Eastern Transvaal and Natal, experienced a rapid increase in black population. Another feature of black migration and urbanization during this period was the establishment of black urban/regional residential areas. In this process black residential areas were moved from the "inner cores" of urban areas to the "peripheral zones". The establishment of towns in the national states and decentralization measures lent greater momentum to this process. Urban areas with a black component increased from 614 in 1951 to 693 in 1960 (RSA, 1985:33). Mining areas such as Sishen, Phalaborwa and Stilfontein as well as the power stations, where coal was mined, were the main attraction areas.

The 1960 decade was characterized by attempts to resettle black populations in the national states. Measures which were employed to bring this about included the freezing of family accommodation for black people in the RSA urban areas (excluding the National States), the establishment of towns in the national states, the resettlement of black people in such towns, the clearing up of "black spots", and industrial decentralization. The application of migrant labour was again emphasized while industrial and mine compounds absorbed ever-increasing numbers of single black male migrants. However, attempts to counteract the rapid urbanization of the

black population were largely defeated by the economic upswing of the 1960's. Urbanization continued unabated at a rate of approximately 3,9 per cent per annum. Natural population increases increasingly contributed to this growth of urban areas (RSA, 1985:34 and 47).

According to the 1980 census figures, about 32 per cent of the black population of South Africa was urbanized at that time, compared to 39,6 per cent in 1985 (Central Statistical Service, 1985:1-7). If the figures of the TBVC-countries are not taken into account, this figure increases to 38 per cent for 1980. In 1980 only 8 per cent of the population of the TBVC-countries was urbanized, as against about 15 per cent in the self-governing national states. Applying the same definition of urbanization for 1970 and 1980, the growth rate of the urban black population for the period 1970 to 1980 was 3,7 per cent per annum (RSA, 1985:34 and 47). Simkins (1983:81 and 134; RSA, 1985:35) points out that between 1970 and 1980 just over half a million black people from the RSA emigrated to the national states, mainly from white farms. This move was neutralized to a large extent by the immigration of young people in particular, mainly to towns in the RSA.

The official estimates do not give an accurate account of actual levels of urbanization because the size of the squatter population is unknown. Large squatter settlements are for instance found in the Odi and Moretele districts of Bophuthatswana north of Pretoria, in KwaZulu around the Durban-Pinetown area, in Ciskei near East London-King William's Town, in Botshabelo near Bloemfontein, in Lebowa near Pietersburg, and around Johannesburg, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Numerous smaller squatter settlements exist in or around urban areas (Smit, 1985; Van den Berg, 1985; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:67). Thompson & Coetzee (1987:68) and Coetzee (1989:8) found that if account is also taken of black people "illegally" resident in the formal towns at the time of the census, but probably not enumerated as such, and those who are functionally urbanized but resident in the outer periphery, it becomes evident that the actual level of

national states during the period 1970 to 1980, but decreased in the RSA excluding the national states (RSA, 1985:37-38).

Most formal urban areas in the national states have also been established close to their borders. This is done to accommodate black people employed and often previously resident in the RSA. The remaining formal centres are generally smaller and serve either as administrative centres, university towns or industrial development points (IDPs). Only the IDPs have an economic base of their own while the others are often the black residential suburbs of adjacent towns in the RSA (Smit, 1985:118-122; Letsoalo, 1983:375-377). Specific socio-economic conditions in these towns vary from area to area. Amenities such as schools, clinics, hospitals, shopping facilities and recreational areas are generally in short supply. This is especially true in those towns containing informal dwellings and/or where there are sizeable squatter communities in the vicinity (Ardington, 1984:62-104; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:79). There is also a shortage of formal housing in most of these towns.

In 1990 it was estimated that 32,9 per cent of the total black population resided in the self-governing national states, 25,4 per cent in the TBVC-states, 22,2 per cent in Transvaal, 8,2 per cent in the Cape Province, 7,2 per cent in the Orange Free State and 4,0 per cent in Natal (see Table 4.1).

4.5.5 The national states

The functions of the areas set aside for black agriculture changed progressively after the Second World War and have emerged as primarily political entities. The concept of politically independent states serving as avenues for channelling the political aspirations of black people evolved during the 1960's (Giliomee, 1985; Brand,1989b:5-6). The ideal was that their economic function might change from supplying migrant labour to becoming eventually self-sustaining units providing employment and incomes for the

majority of the black population. This ideal did not materialize and the economies of the ECOSA states, or South Africa as a whole, became increasingly integrated. Within the context of a rapidly growing urban-based formal sector and the increasing commercialization and mechanization of farming in the inner-peripheral areas, as well as the political philosophy of separate development, the outer periphery came to serve three new functions (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:60).

Firstly, the outer periphery serves to accommodate a large number of households previously resident on white-owned farms and "black spots", whose economically active members mostly became members of the migrant labour force. They also came to accommodate increasing numbers of economically inactive black women, children, the aged and the unemployed not permitted by law to remain in urban areas (Davenport, 1977: 337-338; Hindson, 1985:17-21; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:60-61). Most of these "resettled" households are accommodated in "closer settlements", which are officially established villages in the rural areas with no arable or grazing land available and only the most rudimentary infrastructure such as roads and schools (Simkins, 1981a:5-6). Secondly, as the labour requirements of the economy changed and an oversupply of unskilled labour emerged, these areas accommodated a large portion of the potential migrants who are unemployed (Greenberg & Giliomee, 1985). Thirdly, outer peripheral areas had to accommodate increasing numbers of urban black people in formal towns (Simkins, 1981a:7; Smit, 1985:119).

The first two changes represent an intensification of the national states' role as an outer periphery which benefits the core and inner periphery at the expense of its own economic development. The third represents the extension of the urban hierarchy of the RSA (excluding the self-governing states) into these areas. These extensions have a draining effect on their rural hinterlands by attracting labour and purchasing power, while not providing much by way of investment, administrative or technical assistance. However,

they do allow for a greater extent of out-migration from the rural areas (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:60-62). In this way these formal black towns reduce the burden of excess population in the rural/agricultural areas of the outer periphery.

The national states are areas of declining subsistence activities. These outer peripheral areas also accommodate people who, to a large extent, would have settled in RSA cities had they not been prevented by influx control measures (Simkins, 1981a:8). These settlements which Simkins terms "displaced urbanization" could be purely spatial, as in the case of towns built to accommodate the black labour force of adjacent white urban areas, or as centres of decentralized economic and/or administrative activities, when urban squatter populations locate within the borders of national states. The remainder is "functional" displacement, that is where households resident in rural areas have no interest in farming and/or are not able to farm, and depend entirely on the incomes of migrant labourers employed in urban areas, and/or on transfer payments. Most landless rural dwellers and some dependants of migrant labourers with actual or potential access to land are thus de facto or functionally urbanized. Smit (1985:118), Simkins (1981b:28-32) and Thompson & Coetzee (1987:62), conservatively estimated these functionally urbanized people at one million in 1980.

The national states are primarily political rather than economic entities. Their populations have become increasingly dependent upon the formal urban-based sector of the economy located largely outside their boundaries. They have become increasingly urbanized, initially mainly in a functional sense but increasingly also in a physical sense (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:63). The growing urban populations located in both their formal towns and in the growing squatter settlements are characteristic of all developing countries.

4.6 Migration trends

During this century a marked acceleration in rates of migration has been a feature of the urban experience of most developing countries (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:83). This is also true for South Africa where permanent migration occurs from both the inner and outer peripheries. The forces that operate in these areas are different, but the rural push factors tend to dominate. Rural-urban migration from the inner periphery often occurs via the outer-peripheral areas.

Approximately half the urban population growth in developing countries is currently due to immigration and the subsequent birth of families to first-generation migrants in the cities (Dwyer, 1974:20). This figure may have decreased slightly in some countries due to changes in demographic characteristics. However, demographic characteristics in most developing countries have not changed significantly over time. The demand for better housing, electricity, transport and employment opportunities rise concomitantly with urbanization (RSA, 1985:58). The uneven population and income distribution in South Africa makes internal spatial mobility inevitable. Moreover, the increasingly greater mobility of the developing population in South Africa, both horizontally and vertically, has placed great emphasis on urban infrastructure.

Empirical evidence on the patterns of migration to the PWV metropole shows that 55 per cent of all migrants, and 97 per cent of those born in rural areas, migrated directly from a rural environment to the PWV. Thus, there is little indication of stepwise migration (Kok, 1984:22; Mostert & Kok, 1985; Kok, et al., 1985:56). Family reasons constituted an important motivation in the migration decisions of both men and women. While more than 23 per cent of the black population has lived outside the PWV area at some stage, only 7 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were considering moving from the area permanently. The PWV area is apparently the ultimate migration destination for a large portion of migrants (Kok, et al., 1985:59-60; see

Section 2.4.2.1 above).

Conditions of poverty in the rural areas of the national states in particular are deteriorating for the following reasons: Subsistence production is very low; unemployment is substantial and growing; and many households have no access to arable land or even clean drinking water. Many more black households therefore need to be accommodated in urban areas to enable development of the outer periphery and to secure a better quality of life in rural/agricultural areas. Rural or agricultural development will not be possible without a substantial reduction in rural population densities in the outer periphery (Ligthelm & Coetzee, 1984:9-11; Coetzee, Geringer & Thompson, 1985:64-66). A higher level of urbanization among black people has been given wide recognition in both government and business circles (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:49). It appears that the current issue is where and how this migration/urbanization could be facilitated.

Average levels of welfare fall progressively when moving from the white and more affluent coloured and Indian formal urban areas, to the black and less affluent coloured and Indian urban areas in and around the metropolitan areas and other towns. This situation worsens when moving to formal and squatter settlements of the small towns in the national states. Those households that are functionally urbanized and living in closer settlements or rural villages in the national states without access to land are worst off. The households in rural villages with actual or potential access to agricultural land are only marginally better off (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:82). These differentials influence patterns of migration and urbanization as much as, if not more than, legal and administrative restrictions.

Since the 1960's internal migration has gained momentum within the national states mainly due to restrictions in the RSA. This has led to a redistribution of the population within the borders of the national states, particularly under the influence of urbanization. The increasing mobility of

the population has made the expression of a nation state, that is a homogeneous ethnic population inhabiting and exercising authority in a specific demarcated geographic area, increasingly difficult (RSA, 1985:40-42). This has implications for further planning and constitutional development of the outer periphery.

There has also been a net emigration to other countries during the period 1950 to 1980. The economic role foreigners play in the South African economy is in relative and even in absolute terms smaller now than it was in the past (Simkins, 1984:85). Therefore, as time passes, migration towards the cities becomes less important as a source of urban population growth. Natural population increase has already become the most important source of urban population growth for all the population groups in South Africa (Cilliers & Groenewald, 1982:9-25; RSA, 1985:48).

Subsistence agriculture in the outer periphery has declined to the extent that virtually the entire economically active male population is one of wage earners, whether actually employed or not (Simkins, 1981b:43-50; Tapson, 1985). The choice faced by many of these rural dwellers is whether to forfeit their homes and potential or actual land rights in the rural areas to move permanently to the urban areas, or to live as separated family units with migrants spending most of their working lives in the urban areas. The reason that many more black families in the outer periphery have not migrated permanently, is a consequence of the combination of influx control measures, the system of temporary labour migration, and the system of land tenure that permits a large number of households to retain access to land with a reasonable amount of security simply by virtue of continuous occupation (Giliomee & Schlemmer, 1985:336-338).

Growing landlessness due both to resettlement from commercial farms and "black spots", and the sub-division of land among brothers in families with land rights, has also encouraged rural-urban migration. Additional factors encouraging the rural-urban flow include the opening up of opportunities for

vertical mobility to certain migrants who decide to urbanize permanently. Furthermore, migration/urbanization in the national states has also allowed for permanent migration without the harrassment associated with influx control (Greenberg & Giliomee, 1985:68-82; Schlemmer & Moller, 1985:126-140).

South Africa has a long history of planned intervention in urban development for political, social and other non-economic reasons. Direct control of migration to restrict urban growth has had limited success in only a few countries. According to Gilbert the only country, outside the socialist world, in which controls on population movement have been successful, is South Africa. Mostly, such attempts have met with little success before being abandoned. Their only real effect has generally been to make life more difficult for the poor and to encourage corruption (Gilbert & Gugler, 1983:187-188; Richardson, 1977:45-46; Simmonds, 1983:215-220). This is also true for South Africa where intervention has only succeeded in postponing the inevitable economic causes and consequences of urbanization (Simkins, 1984:85). The welfare losses from these policies have left South Africa with an underdeveloped urban infrastructure relative to its general economic development and the potential demand for urban accommodation.

Rural push factors in the outer periphery also play a larger role in South Africa than the Harris-Todaro model allows for (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:90). The stagnation of subsistence agriculture, landlessness and redundancy in the outer periphery, leave rural dwellers with virtually no source of income and little option but to seek urban employment. This in turn increasingly requires permanent rural-urban migration. The low level of education of most rural-urban migrants, obstacles to finding urban employment, and the unemployment, poverty and poor living conditions in both squatter areas and formal towns suggest that urban pull factors cannot have a significant role in the migration flow.

As set out in the White Paper on Urbanization in April 1986,

(RSA, 1986) the state has accepted the permanence of urban black people in South Africa, the abolition of influx control, and an orderly or positive urbanization strategy. A positive urbanization strategy means that urban settlement is made possible for everyone in urban centres. There may however be a differentiated stimulation of such settlement. The emphasis shifts from limiting urban growth to the accommodation of, and planning for, urban growth. Thus, the development role of the urbanization process is emphasized. Orderly urbanization, as defined by the President's Council (RSA, 1985:198-201), means that the process of urbanization is ordered and directed mainly by indirect forms of control, but also by direct measures. Indirect measures consist mainly of incentives and restrictive measures based on market forces in particular. Its object is not only the spatial ordering of urbanization but also the accommodation of urban growth (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:48). It is the state's intention that market forces be allowed to operate more freely in future than in the past.

4.7 The migrant labour system in South Africa

Nattrass (1976:26) distinguishes between temporary and permanent migrants. Temporary migrants leave their families behind but continue to regard the area of origin as their home while they seek work in a new area. Thus, migrant workers are men of two worlds. The first is the urban world with modern urban-sector work, in which they spend much of their adult lives. The second is the rural world of family and subsistence farming, in which they were born and to which they later retire. The South African migrant labour system is to a large extent the result of restrictive government intervention. Since whole families are discouraged from migrating to the cities, individual members of these households seek employment there. The ostensibly temporary absence of the migrant labourer from the area of origin, sometimes stretches over his/her entire working life, with numerous socio-economic and demographic consequences (Kok, 1985; Kok, Hofmeyr & Gelderblom, 1985:3). However, the repeal of influx control in 1986 and all legislation based on

racial discrimination in 1991 (RSA, 1991:2-3), have effectively ended the institutionalization of the migrant labour system.

Rural-urban circulating or temporary migration has become institutionalized and is still a way of life for many members of South African rural households. Such migrants are generally no longer tied to their rural lifestyles either economically or socially. They are also not rural dwellers who have an interest in the development of the area in which they live (Mayer, 1980; May & Nattrass, 1986:25). Migration is essential for many households' livelihood and has become, for many years now, not only a matter of free choice. Moreover, the changing attitudes of families to their agricultural land and to labour migration suggest that many households would permanently leave the land. This would happen if the perceived cost of living in rural areas, which includes the monetary and physical costs of subsistence production, exceeds the perceived cost of urban living (May & Nattrass, 1986:25). The extent to which permanent migration and urbanization may take place depends partly on a household's relative and absolute economic position, and partly on the way in which that household is integrated into the urban economy. The significant income inequality in the rural areas in relation to urban areas, could also play a major role in determining future migration and urbanization.

The root causes of the migrant labour system lie in the historical establishment of a system of perceived cheap labour through oscillating migration and the mechanisms which maintained it. The productive base of the rural areas has been destroyed effectively, largely through oscillating migration (May, 1985:33-34). Access to wage income does not improve households' ability to farm, but rather perpetuates their dependency for daily subsistence of the outer peripheral areas on the core.

4.8 Commuting by black people

The spatial ordering of individual South African cities and

towns is unique in that the largest part of the low-income urbanization has taken place on the peripheries of RSA towns and cities. This specifically involves black people at both the micro-spatial and the macro-spatial level. At the micro level peripheral settlements are typical around towns and cities within the RSA (excluding the national states). Macro-peripheral settlement relates mainly to migration or urbanization in the national states, near bigger cities and towns in the RSA. In recent years urbanization has been taking place mainly in the form of informal settlements. Both micro-peripheral and macro-peripheral black urban settlements have implications as regards commuting time, outflow of buying power and limited employment (RSA, 1985:43). The low-income population groups living in the outer periphery are therefore obliged to travel relatively long distances to their places of work and other facilities not available in the settlements (RSA, 1985:91).

The extent of formal and informal urbanization in the national states varies, depending mainly on their proximity to large urban centres within the RSA. The highest concentrations are found in Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, and are located close to the East London-King William's Town, Durban-Pinetown and Newcastle, and PWV complexes respectively. The urban residents of these macro-peripheral settlements are mainly commuters. The number of across-border commuters rose from about 10 000 in the 1950's to over 800 000 in 1985 (Rosholt, 1985:289). Moreover, the largest squatter settlements are also found in these states, pushing the actual levels of urbanization even higher. The 1984 urban population had been estimated at 54 per cent in Bophuthatswana of which most were dependent on commuting (Van den Berg, 1985:204; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:70).

A large portion of the black urban population of the Pretoria complex is located in Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele, both in formal towns and squatter settlements (Pillay, 1984:9 and 32; Van den Berg, 1985:203-204; Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:75). Generally, living conditions and levels of income

are very low, particularly in the large squatter settlements of which the Winterveld is the best known. Informal economic activities are also important sources of income in these areas. Low skill levels and the fact that the squatters have limited access to more stable and better paying employment in the formal sector, also encourage informal economic activities. Even in the formal settlements of Mabopane and Garankuwa a large number of residents live in shacks, indicating both housing shortages and low levels of income in these towns.

In 1984 there were more than 2,1 million black urban commuters in South Africa. There has been a significant shift to medium and long-distance commuting. This trend has probably continued since then. In 1985 some 400 000 commuters travelled more than 30 kilometres per day. Twenty per cent of all black commuters travel between 3,5 and 7 hours per day or on average 4,5 hours per day, while the other 80 per cent travel on average 2,5 hours per day. Half this travelling time is spent outside the vehicle, walking to the two end points and waiting at bus-stops and railway stations (Naudé, 1984:8-10; Oosthuizen & Naudé, 1985:2-4). The total annual cost of black commuting was estimated at R1 624 million in 1982. Of the total about 50 per cent was for transport, 34 per cent for time (at 30 cents per hour) and 16 per cent for indirect costs. About 50 per cent of the transport costs was subsidized (Naudé, 1984:16). Morris (1985:15-23) found that in the Pretoria area 42 per cent of the black public-transport commuters travels between 31 and 60 kilometres and 23 per cent travels more than 61 kilometres per day.

4.9 Summary

The South African economy is in many ways typical of a relatively advanced developing country, while its spatial population distribution and patterns of migration are less developed. In 1985 the level of urbanization among black people in the RSA stood at 39,6 per cent and that of the TBVC-countries at 16,1 per cent compared to 55,9 per cent for

the total population. This was largely the result of specific policies aimed at discouraging permanent black settlement in white urban areas.

The RSA population is concentrated in four metropolitan complexes constituting only 4 per cent of the total land area, while some 53 per cent of the total population and about 80 per cent of the urban population were residing there in 1980. Mineral discoveries led to a shift in the centre of economic activity and the emergence and strengthening of an urban core consisting of four big metropolitan areas. Other non-metropolitan regions, containing modern mining and agricultural activities, as well as their associated towns, developed as an inner periphery. Finally, an outer periphery or region of declining traditional or non-modern activities remained. The last region corresponds roughly with the non-urban areas of the national states.

Regional development in South Africa today generally stems from the previous policy of separate development. The system of temporary labour migration and related policies was firmly entrenched during the period 1950 to 1970. Economic realities gradually led to policy adaptations when it was realized that the national states did not have the carrying capacity to provide for the faster-than-expected increase in the black population. The acceptance of a new regional development policy in 1982 concluded the era in which geographical separation of the population groups was seen as the prime objective. The national states are now treated as integral parts of the nine broader development regions demarcated on functional grounds.

The RSA's white population with 89,4 per cent, the coloured population with 77,8 per cent, and the Asian population with 93,4 per cent already urbanized in 1985 have virtually completed their urban-rural migration phase. In contrast the black population was only 39,6 per cent urbanized in 1985. The official estimates, however, do not give an accurate account of actual levels of black urbanization, because the size of the squatter population is unknown while many

residents were also staying illegally in formal townships at the time of the 1985 census.

With the exception of a few mining and industrial areas that were to develop later, the broad pattern of black urbanization had been laid by 1904. The foundations of a permanent urban black population were also laid more than 40 years ago. Since then, urban growth was partly the result of immigration, and largely as a result of the natural increase in population in these areas. The urban black population overtook the white population in terms of absolute numbers soon after 1946, and has since steadily increased its numerical superiority.

The role of the areas set aside for black agriculture in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, changed progressively to emerge as primarily political rather than economic entities. They constitute the outer periphery and serve three functions. Firstly, they accommodate a large number of households previously resident in white-owned areas, whose economically active members are migrants. Secondly, the oversupply of unskilled labour and potential migrants who are unemployed are accommodated there. The national states accommodate increasing numbers of urban black people in formal towns. The populations have become increasingly dependent on the formal urban-based sector of the economy located largely outside their boundaries. Thirdly, they have become increasingly urbanized, initially mainly in a functional sense but increasingly also in a physical sense. The urban populations located in both their formal towns and in the large squatter settlements are, however, characteristic of all developing countries.

The uneven population and income distribution in South Africa make internal spatial mobility inevitable. The increasingly greater mobility of the developing population, both horizontally and vertically, may place great pressure on urban infrastructure. Moreover, many more black households need to be accommodated in urban areas if development is to occur in the rural or agricultural areas. This development

may not be possible without a substantial reduction in rural population densities in the outer periphery. That many more black families in the outer periphery have not migrated permanently, is a consequence of the combination of influx control measures, the system of temporary labour migration, and the system of land tenure that permits a large number of households to retain access to land simply by virtue of continuous occupation.

Since 1986 the state has accepted the permanence of urban black people in the RSA, the abolition of influx control, and an orderly or positive urbanization strategy. The emphasis shifted from limiting migration and urbanization to the accommodation of, and planning for, urban growth. The development role of the urbanization process was also emphasized.

Empirical evidence shows that 55 per cent of all migrants and 97 per cent of those born in rural areas migrated directly from the rural environment to the PWV area. There is little indication of stepwise migration while the PWV area is regarded by most migrants as the ultimate migration destination. Migration is essential for many households' livelihood and no longer only a matter of free choice. The productive base of the rural areas has effectively been destroyed largely through migration. Access to wage income also perpetuates the dependency of the outer peripheral areas upon the core for daily subsistence.

Peripheral settlements are typically found around towns and cities within the RSA and in national states, near bigger cities and towns in the RSA. The number of commuters across borders rose from about 10 000 in the 1950's to over 800 000 in 1985. In 1984 there were more than 2,1 million black urban-transport commuters in South Africa.

In South Africa, the overriding problem of numbers is complicated by the racial composition of the population. The South African population is broadly divided into a developing and developed component. Furthermore, South Africa had a

distinct race component, which was manifested in the system of demarcated group areas. The abolition of discriminatory legislation during 1991, may thus come to have a significant influence on the formerly dualistic character of migration or urbanization in South Africa. Intra-city and migration or urbanization differences give South Africa a unique character. Moreover, spatial and intra-city differences have led to the migration/urbanization process being disequilibrating with respect to the different race groups.

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CHAPTER 5

SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRATION/URBANIZATION: DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED TOWNS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses case studies on selected urban areas in South Africa. These predominantly micro studies serve as further evidence to evaluate the alternative hypotheses that migration/urbanization may have either an equilibrating or a disequilibrating effect on the spatial distribution of the population. The selection of urban areas is largely based on urban appraisal projects of the Development Bank of Southern Africa for which the author was project leader or urban specialist during 1988 and 1989[1]. Supplementary and background information placing these towns in context but which could impede the flow of arguments, is discussed in the annexures.

Although the original research involved investigation of the economic, technical, institutional and financial aspects of the towns concerned, this chapter includes mainly economic and demographic data. Different aspects are emphasized in the various case studies. This stems from the fact that such information was only available and/or emphasized for specific towns. One town in the metropolitan areas or core, and three towns in the outer periphery in South Africa, are analysed. No town in the inner periphery is analysed because no urban appraisal has yet been done there. The relatively small size and concomitant absence of significant problems in the inner peripheral towns have not necessitated such projects. The developed towns are discussed in conjunction with the developing towns within their regional context.

Although the towns discussed are not completely representative of all towns, they nevertheless expose most of

[1]See Annexure 1 for background on urban appraisals.

the migration/urbanization characteristics prevailing in South Africa. The case studies discussed in this chapter are functionally and locationally distinctly different and also have a diverse range of micro-characteristics. Khayelitsha, for example, is a relatively new dormitory town in the highly developed Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA), whereas Whittlesea has the characteristics of a small rural service centre in an independent national state which grew largely through the resettlement policy of the RSA government. Alice, like Whittlesea, was designated the regional service centre for one of the five regions in Ciskei. However, the slower growth rate of Alice compared with that of Whittlesea has placed less economic and political pressures on it. Port St Johns with its significant tourist potential is a regional service centre in Transkei. Its extreme peripheral location at the border of Region D has greatly limited its growth and development. Migration and urban settlement in all these case studies have been motivated significantly by historical developments and politics.

5.2 Comparison of migration/urbanization in Cape Town and Khayelitsha

5.2.1 Introduction

Although it may appear paradoxical to compare a developing town, in existence for less than 10 years, with the oldest developed town in South Africa, it is specifically done in order to accentuate the sharp contrasts that exist with respect to urbanization in developing and developed towns.

Khayelitsha was conceived of as a dormitory town of the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA)[2] to house unskilled black labourers working in the CMA (Dewar & Watson, 1984:9; see also Figure 5.1). The main national and regional policy associated with the initial development of Khayelitsha was that of influx control.

[2]See Annexure 2: Conurbation of the Cape Metropolitan Area.

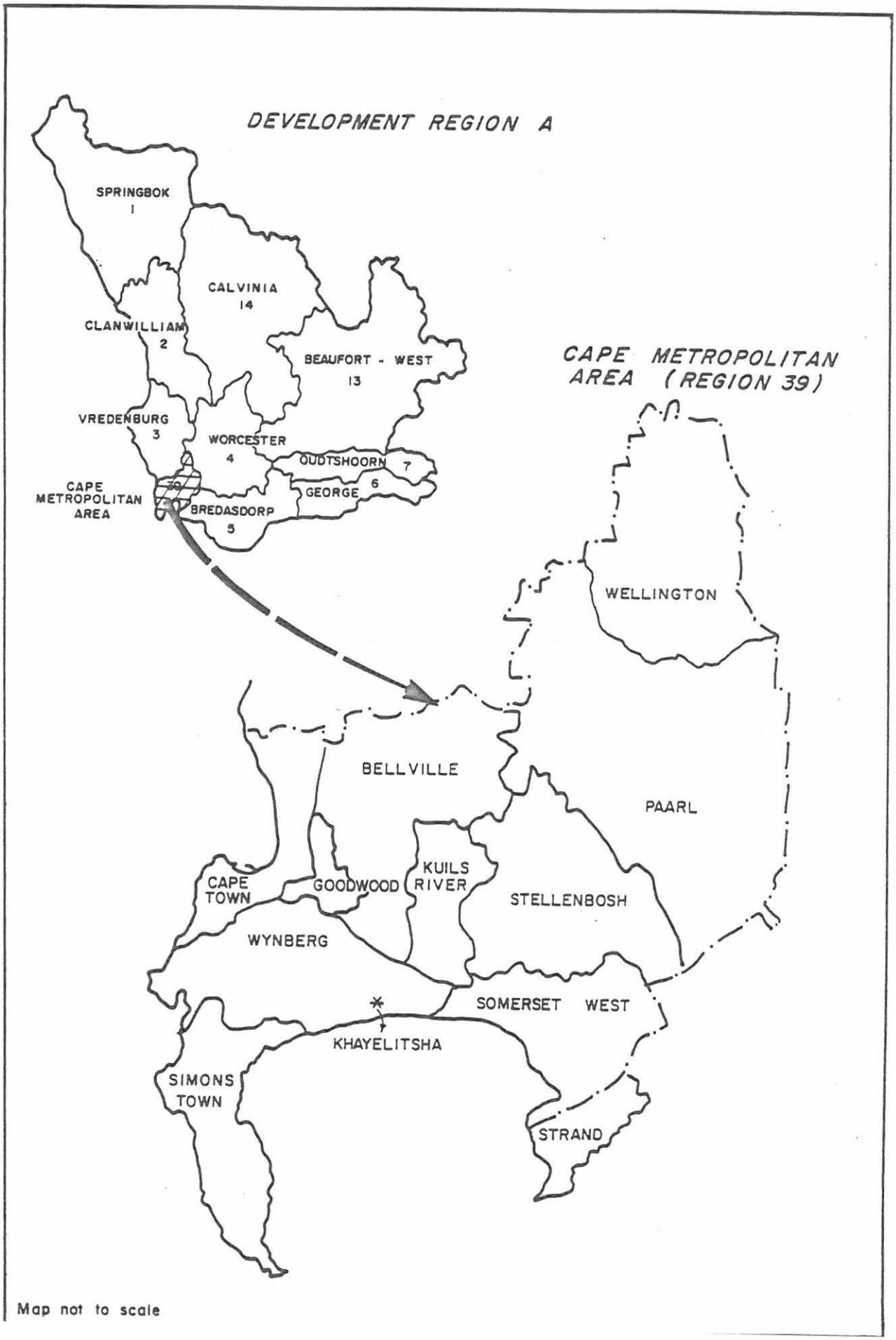
5.2.2 Migration/urbanization in the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA)

The implementation of influx control policy was executed somewhat differently in the Western Cape to that in the rest of the RSA (Black Laws Amendment Act No. 54 of 1952). In 1955 this area was declared a "coloured labour preference" area. The intention was that black people would ultimately be phased out of the Western Cape. Under the assumption that the number of black people in the region would stabilize, all housing construction for black people was stopped in 1964. Squatting and overcrowding increased rapidly in the absence of available accommodation (Dewar & Watson, 1984:4; Lewis, 1987:171+219-220). Repeated attempts to demolish these squatter camps and to repatriate those without permanent residence rights resulted in conflict and negative publicity, both abroad and in South Africa.

During the past decade there has been a migration of coloured and black people from almost the whole of the Cape Province to the CMA (Department of Development Planning, 1988:29; see Table 5.1). This has made significant demands on the limited land available for urban development, especially with regard to the provision of employment and housing. The CMA plays a dominant role in all respects in the Western Cape Region. More than 80 per cent of the region's population lives and works in the CMA.

The CMA guide plan identified the need for more land for residential development for coloured and black people as one of the development problems in the metropolitan context. Khayelitsha in the Drift Sands/Swartklip area on the Cape Flats is the only area identified for the settlement of the growing black community. The development of Khayelitsha to higher residential densities in order to make optimal use of the limited land suitable for residential development in the CMA was also identified. The unfreezing of development in Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and Mfuleni has also been acknowledged in the report (Department of Development Planning, 1988:49). The upgrading of the squatter town at

Figure 5.1: Khayelitsha within regional and subregional context (Adapted from DBSA, 1989b:20+21).



Crossroads to a fully-fledged town may further alleviate the migration and urbanization pressure on Khayelitsha.

Between 1970 and 1980, the estimated black population in the CMA grew by almost 4,7 per cent per annum according to census data corrected for undercount (Central Statistical Service, 1985). This is significantly faster than the corresponding natural growth rate of 2,8 per cent for the black population of South Africa (Department of Development Planning, 1988:35). This indicates a considerable migration of black people to the CMA, particularly from the Eastern Cape, Transkei and Ciskei. The high unemployment figure in the latter peripheral areas had a significant push effect on black migration to the CMA. At the same time the increasing demand for black labour, especially unskilled labour provided traditionally by coloured workers, exerted a considerable pull on black migration to the CMA.

The estimated portion of the national population living in the CMA increased from 9,2 per cent in 1970 to 10,4 per cent in 1985. The CMA's share of the gross domestic product decreased from 11,6 per cent in 1960 to 9,1 per cent in 1980 (Cape Town City Council, 1987:1). While the region lacks a mineral or heavy industrial base its greatest economic assets are its people, and natural and created environments.

The abolition of the coloured labour preference in the Western Cape and the abolition of influx control of black people throughout the country has contributed to increased migration/urbanization since 1985. The Cape Provincial Administration estimated the black urban population of the CMA at close to 600 000 people in November 1986 (Department of Development Planning, 1988:35). Some other reasons for the increased migration were improved transportation and communication links. This has brought the outer periphery and the core closer together. A bus service from Queenstown passing through the Ciskei to Cape Town, runs twice a week. This is supplemented by a rail service and minibus transport. A combination of factors has therefore given greater momentum to the migration of black people to the CMA.

The CMA's economy does not compete favourably on a national and international basis. This is mainly because of too little economic agglomeration. The fragmented nature of its spatial development, represented by towns such as Atlantis, Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha, is the reason for the inefficient, artificial and fragmented location of economic activity and markets (Dewar & Watson, 1984:24). The artificial creation of satellite cities almost exclusively for low-income people in a radius of 30 to 50 kilometres from the city, generally had the effect of aggravating the diseconomies of agglomeration, as well as the social and environmental concerns which they were designed to overcome. The CMA, made up of discrete pockets of development, demands a significant duplication of services and facilities. Moreover, the creation of satellite or dormitory centres around Cape Town cannot be justified on the grounds of agglomeration (Dewar & Watson, 1984:26).

5.2.3 Population estimates in the Cape Metropolitan Area

The Cape Peninsula forms the spatial basis of the CMA, and as such, the economic core of Region A. A demarcation of the area and population in Region A is shown in Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1. From Table 5.1 it can be seen that the Peninsula and Kuils River incorporate 86 per cent of the CMA's population. The CMA constitutes some 82,4 per cent of the Western Cape. The Western Cape also accommodates approximately 9,4 per cent of the total South African population.

Table 5.1 also reveals differences in the racial composition of Region A and South Africa as a whole (see also Section 4.5 above). Whilst just over half of the coloured population reside in this region, it accommodates only 3,8 per cent of South Africa's black population and 17,1 per cent of the white population. The Cape Peninsula and Kuils River, in turn, accommodates over 70 per cent of the black, half of the coloured and 63 per cent of the white population of Region A. Based on these estimates the black population constitute 30 per cent of the CMA's total population.

Table 5.1: Estimated 1987 population of development Region A and South Africa (including the TBVC states) - Thousands

Demarcation	Total popu-lation	% of SA	Col-oured	% of SA	Black	% of SA	White	% of SA
Peninsula & Kuils River CMA	2 350	6,7	1 105	27,6	700	2,7	545	10,9
Western Cape	2 720	7,7	1 300	32,5	780	3,0	640	12,8
Region A	3 300	9,4	1 680	42,0	870	3,3	750	15,0
South Africa	3 850	11,0	2 020	50,5	975	3,8	855	17,1
	35 000	100	4 000	100	26 000	100	5 000	100

Source: Thomas, W.H., 1988. "Economic Growth Prospects in the Western Cape", Intercom Special Report, February 1988, Cape Town. Estimates by Thomas based mainly on Central Statistical Service, 1985 and Cape Town City Council, 1986.

The available population statistics for the CMA do not provide any real indication of black demography in the area, except for the census figures[3]. The estimates on population size in the CMA were made mainly by people with a vested interest in large numbers. Consequently, these figures have a large margin of error since they are not based on primary research. Due to the high rate of black migration, accurate measurements of the population in the CMA do not exist. The population figures which do exist, differ sharply from each other, as is reflected in Table 5.2. Table 5.2 contains a range of estimates for the black population of the CMA by a variety of authorities.

No single population estimate can be defended without contradiction. While estimates are largely based on subjective, albeit informed assessments, the census figures

[3]The Central Statistical Service discontinued their current population survey of black people until the results of the 1991 population census and a drastic revision of the survey, which includes the questionnaire and the sample, are completed. Due mainly to migration and other measurement problems the estimates have become unreliable (Central Statistical Service, 1991:2).

Table 5.2: Estimated black population of the Cape Metropolitan Area, 1980-2000 - Thousands

Authority	Estimated population for selected years					
	1980	1985	1987	1988	1990	2000
Census 1980	210					
Guideplan 1984*	210				293	410
Census 1985**		339				
City of Cape Town***	188	568			771	1 379
W. Thomas 1987#			780		925	1 370
Health 1988##				1 000		
Guideplan 1988###			600		771	1 379
HSRC 1988+				491		
Wesgro 1990++	238	438			659	1 100

Source: Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1989b. Khayelitsha Urban Appraisal, Unpublished internal assignment File No. ARC 07027 of 2 May 1989, Halfway House. Updated from recent information obtained from Wesgro 1991 and DBSA.

*Van Niekerk, Kleyn & Edwards, 1984:2. The figures quoted are the high estimates. The low estimates were 274 100 for 1990 and 357 800 for 2000.

**Central Statistical Service, 1985. Total for Statistical Regions 01 and 02 adjusted for undercount.

***Cape Town City Council, 1986. Estimates done by R.R. Stroud based on a consensus figure of 568 000 in 1986.

#Thomas, W.H., 1988.

##Quote in Parliament by the Minister of National Health, 1988.

###Department of Development Planning, 1988.

+DBSA memorandum dated 18 April 1989. This figure was officially accepted by the Executive Committee of the Cape Provincial Administration as the number of black people in April 1988.

++Wesgro, 1991:19-20 plus a two-page supplement on the estimated population of individual local authorities within the Western Cape Regional Services Council area for 1990. The projection for the year 2000 is the average of the standard and alternative estimates.

are unrealistically low[4]. The above figures indicate that estimates in 1987/88 are generally about two-and-a-half times greater than the 1984 Guide Plan projection for 1990. The latter figure provided the basis for planning and the allocation of land for all the population groups. However, the guide plan was drawn up before the abolition of influx control, and other political changes in South Africa.

The total black population on the Cape Flats was estimated at approximately 463 000 people in April 1988 (Kok, 1990b:1-3). This comprised the following residential areas: Nyanga 56 992, Guguletu 108 131, Langa 61 703, Crossroads 72 566, Site C 53 768, and Khayelitsha with 109 830 people. Of the total black population approximately 72 per cent indicated that they were born outside the study area and that they had migrated to the Cape Flats. Of the total population 7,8 per cent was estimated to be of Ciskei origin and 52,1 per cent of Transkei origin. Furthermore, almost 80 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had previously lived elsewhere on the Cape Flats. Therefore, to a large degree stepwise migration from informal to more formal residential areas and intra-urban migration took place within the CMA. A large portion of this migration within the CMA could probably be ascribed to political decisions of the past.

The two areas comprising Khayelitsha had the following migration characteristics: In Site C, the informal settlement of Khayelitsha, approximately 84 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were born outside the CMA and that they had migrated to the Cape Flats. Of the total population 10,6 per cent originated from Ciskei and 59,3 per cent from Transkei. On average the number of housing structures on each plot was estimated at 1,98 dwelling units. Moreover, 95 per cent of these respondents indicated that they had previously lived elsewhere on the Cape Flats (Kok, 1990b:109-110). In Khayelitsha, with its more permanent structures, 50,1 per cent of all respondents

[4]See Annexure 3: Lessons learnt on population estimates.

indicated that they were born on the Cape Flats. Of the total a further 3,4 per cent migrated from Ciskei, 5 per cent from the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, while 35,6 per cent were of Transkei origin. The Transkei Census of 1985 indicated that 145 267 persons were employed as migrants in the CMA (Republic of Transkei, 1987:7). The average number of housing structures on each plot in Khayelitsha was 1,47 dwellings (Kok, 1990b:123-124).

The most recent attempt at estimating the black population in the Western Cape Regional Services Council Area, or CMA, is the initiative "Growing the Cape" (Wesgro, 1991:1-18). The authors acknowledge that at best they can present orders of magnitude, and in a few cases, alternative estimates on present data. Moreover, it is difficult to verify these figures since they are based on unofficial estimates of areas which are in a high state of residential flux (Wesgro, 1991:21; see also Annexure 3). Wesgro[5] estimated the total black population in the CMA in 1990 at 658 767 people. Of this total 305 523 people were estimated to live in Khayelitsha (including Site C). Migration has therefore played a large role in the population growth of Khayelitsha from 163 598 in April 1988, that is at a compound growth rate of 36,6 per cent per annum. Even if DBSA's (1989b) estimate of 200 000 people in 1988 is accepted, the compound growth rate for the two-year period is 24 per cent per annum.

A growth rate of 24 per cent for the Khayelitsha population seems unrealistically high. This may indicate that the Wesgro estimate is too high. However, many difficulties, mainly of a political nature, were experienced during the official 1991 census. The collecting of data is expected to be completed only towards the end of 1991. Due to the problems experienced, the census survey will have to be based on some assumptions, raising some doubt regarding its reliability. The Wesgro figures, which are regarded as conservative estimates and for which wide consensus was

[5]A two-page supplement to Report No. 1 updating and expanding on Table 2.1, pp 19-20.

established, would probably be used irrespective of what the census figures may indicate (see also Annexure 3).

Forecasting black population numbers proves to be the most difficult, particularly with regard to the degree of reliability of migration estimates. The laws governing black migration to the metropolitan areas have undergone substantial changes over the last five years. This has contributed significantly to making black migration to the CMA very volatile and unpredictable (Thomas, 1988; Cape Town City Council, 1987:10; Department of Development Planning, 1988:35). However, based on the official census data these population estimates seem to be an overestimation of the black population.

Sadie (1990:11-12) estimates that rural-to-urban migration may take place even if there is a relatively small chance of the prospective migrant finding employment in an urban area. This is mainly due to the relative attractiveness of employment and income levels in cities. Migration is further encouraged by the presence of family members in the CMA. The CMA's black population comprises a relatively large percentage of young, unskilled and poor people. For many of these people a marginal existence in the city is a considerable improvement on the more difficult conditions experienced in the outer peripheral areas. Large-scale net immigration is likely to continue, although it is showing signs of slowing down (Department of Development Planning, 1988:55; Annexure 3). However, the rate of migration will probably be lower than that triggered by the sudden relaxation of inhibitory factors when many people who were in the area "illegally" became visible. It is expected that the black population growth rate will level off to an average of just less than 6 per cent per year for the period 1990-2000, mainly as a result of an expected reduction in migration to the area as well as the levelling off in the natural growth rate of the urban population.

The housing situation in the Western Cape is characterized by the severe problems experienced by the coloured and black

population groups, mainly due to their rapid migration or urbanization. The non-availability of affordable serviced land in the desired locations is primarily due to constraints imposed by the Group Areas Act (De Vos, 1987:23). The most important problems are the shortage of residential land within the CMA and the inability of a large portion of these population groups to afford a house.

5.2.4 Migration/urbanization in Cape Town

Although the basis for an urban pattern of perpendicular streets was laid by 1660, Cape Town grew slowly and by 1750 its 5 000 inhabitants still lived within 700 metres of the Fort (Department of Development Planning, 1988:39). Bellville was established in 1861 but it was only after the Second World War that this part of the eastern growth axis began to develop with increased momentum. In the areas around Cape Town the stage of development has now been reached where these areas are largely saturated and can no longer absorb the growing population. To decrease the pressure on Cape Town and its environs a start has been made with developing the West Coast, north of Cape Town.

Basically, Cape Town comprises two types of areas. Firstly, the older areas that consist of linear arms focusing on the city centre. Primarily these arms grew in response to major metropolitan movement routes, which attracted work opportunities, shops, community facilities and housing. Secondly, a series of planned environments developed between the arms and on the Cape Flats. This development took place largely during the last fifty years, and was aimed at housing the poorest people of Cape Town. Moreover, the Cape Flats is characterized by separation and dissipation. It largely comprises a series of separate, unifunctional housing areas. These areas are cut off from each other and from the rest of Cape Town by freeways and buffers of open space. Owing to their being isolated, each area attempts to generate from within itself the full range of services and activities necessary for urban living. This co-existence also gives rise to an intra-metropolitan core-periphery relationship

(Dewar & Watson, 1980:6). This dominant-dependency relationship means that there is a continual drain of people and money from the Cape Flats along the linear arms towards Cape Town.

Concentrations of economic activity remained largely centrally situated. Whereas employment opportunities and other economic activities were concentrated, the residential component spread out towards the outer areas of the CMA. The lower income groups are adversely affected by this development because of their having to travel longer distances and subsequently pay higher travelling costs (Department of Development Planning, 1988:43). The low residential densities further contribute to the existing mass transport systems being unprofitable and to roads being overloaded with private vehicles and combi-taxis.

The central business district of Cape Town is experiencing a degree of overconcentration of economic activities. By contrast, business and economic activities in Khayelitsha are insufficient to cater for the local community (see also Annexure 2). The CMA is also experiencing a relatively low level of economic growth in comparison to the relatively high population growth rate, especially of black people in Khayelitsha. This creates problems as regards the provision of employment opportunities in the formal sector of the economy (Department of Development Planning, 1988:49). In many respects Cape Town is the same as the CMA and is no longer the magisterial district only.

5.2.5 Migration/urbanization in Khayelitsha

In April 1983 the establishment of a new black city in the Western Cape was announced in Parliament. Khayelitsha was situated 30 kilometres from the Cape Town city centre on the Cape Flats. The objective was that residents of the existing black townships of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu, as well as those of the squatter camps of Crossroads and KTC, would be moved there (Dewar & Watson, 1984:i).

Khayelitsha was planned as a dormitory suburb without much attention given to economic activities on any real scale within the area. Moreover, a full range of living, working and recreational activities, from which each part of the city and each inhabitant could benefit, was never planned for Khayelitsha. In fact, the town was planned as a poorly serviced labour dormitory, and this did little to promote the minimum quality of life (Dewar & Watson, 1984:26+28). Furthermore, the combined effect of high rents, high transport costs, high commodity prices, hours of forced daily commuting, inadequate social infrastructure and isolation from the rest of the CMA, have not discouraged the migration of black people.

An estimated 200 000 people or about 35 000 households lived in Khayelitsha in 1988 (DBSA, 1989b). Within a mere two years the thrust of the CMA's black urbanization process shifted from the Guguletu-Nyanga-Crossroads axis to the Crossroads-Site C-Khayelitsha axis. This shift is part of an even wider shift in the settlement pattern of the CMA. This South East Axis consists of a semi-circle of new towns stretching from Macassar to Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Eersterivier and Blue Downs, up to Blackheath, Kuils River, Kraaifontein and Scottsdene (Thomas, 1987:1). The expected population growth in these areas could lead to a large diversification of the metropolitan development pattern.

The establishment of Khayelitsha and design by the authorities, were based more on ideology than on economic principles. The massive housing project at Khayelitsha is an example of where the electrification of houses has been ignored (Eberhard, 1984:8; Wilson & Ramphele, 1989:327). By not providing electricity in black houses, low-income communities are further disadvantaged. They have to meet the higher costs of fuels such as coal, gas, paraffin, candles and batteries. The pollution both within houses and in the wider environment, caused by coal fires and paraffin stoves, is also a major health hazard.

Since the announcement of the establishment of Khayelitsha, three important changes to the original concept have been made. Firstly, increasing calls that the concept of self-help housing had no chance of success without some form of secure tenure, led to the 99-year leasehold legislation being extended to this development. Secondly, inhabitants' resistance to being moved to Khayelitsha, led to the acknowledgement that any moves from Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu would be voluntary. Thirdly, the Crossroads and KTC squatter areas grew substantially, making it impossible to move these settlements entirely to Khayelitsha within the foreseeable future (Dewar & Watson, 1984:ii). Moreover, Crossroads is being upgraded to a fully-fledged town as stated above.

Khayelitsha is an integral part of the CMA. As such, the major contribution of Khayelitsha to the CMA's economy lies in the large and rapidly growing number of semi- and unskilled workers, and secondly, in the large potential market for consumer goods and services. The major constraint to Khayelitsha's economic development is the fact that it has developed mainly as a housing and roads project (Financial Mail, 1988:59; Dewar & Watson, 1984:30 Thomas, 1987:2). Khayelitsha can provide the unskilled labour which is relatively scarce in the CMA in relation to the rest of South Africa. The rapid expansion of surrounding coloured towns is also providing a large number of employment opportunities in the construction industry. However, the formally employed population mostly find employment outside Khayelitsha in the CMA.

The commuter labour force remains the mainstay of the town's economy. A large portion of the community is also engaged in informal activities. Moreover, the income received from the formal sector is supplemented by a strong informal sector within Khayelitsha. In turn, this demand for consumer goods and services indicates the potential for employment creation and internal economic growth within Khayelitsha (Thomas, 1987:3; DBSA, 1989b:3). Khayelitsha has to be integrated with the CMA to a larger extent to enable it to make its

rightful economic contribution to the area.

The development of this town cannot be justified on planning grounds, either as an alternative to free, full-scale urbanization, or as an alternative to cohesive and integrated metropolitan development. Taking into account the size of Khayelitsha, local business development should include the full spectrum of commercial, industrial, services and administrative activities for a town planned to accommodate more than half a million people (Dewar & Watson, 1984:34; Thomas, 1987:2). Typical of most black towns, the business and economic activities in Khayelitsha compare poorly with white towns having a population of 10 000 people. From this economic situation it may be inferred that migration/ urbanization has been economically disequilibrating. The income gap that triggered the migration/urbanization process in the first place has not closed significantly in Khayelitsha.

5.3 Migration/urbanization in Whittlesea

5.3.1 Introduction and regional setting

Historical events and politics have influenced the settlement and development character of Whittlesea to a large degree. It is therefore important to discuss the historical developments in both the surrounding subregion and in Whittlesea. The evolution of the independent national state of Ciskei from a Native reserve, bantustan and subsequently a homeland, is also traced through the political changes in South Africa and more specifically in the subregion[6].

The historical spatio-economic development strategies of South Africa and Region D have had a fundamental influence on the subregion and on Whittlesea. For example, the independence of Transkei in 1976 caused thousands of people to flee from the Hershel and Glen Grey districts to the

[6]See Annexure 4: Historical development of population settlement in the Whittlesea subregion.

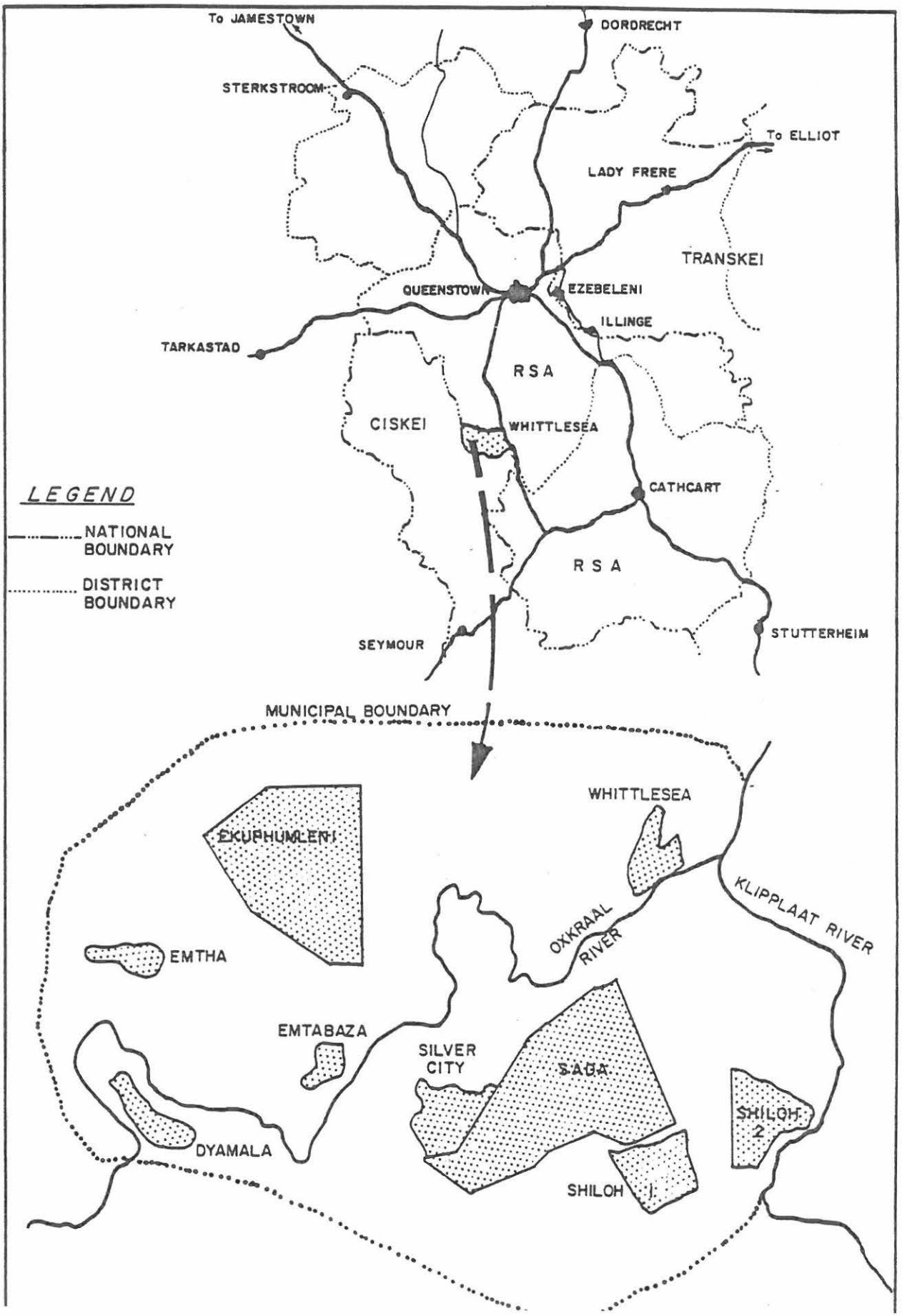
Ciskei. The independence of Ciskei in 1981 also stripped about two million people of their South African citizenship (Platzky & Walker, 1985:57). Furthermore, the subregional development potential is directly related to its peripheral location in the national spatial-economy, as well as the regional and urban development of South Africa.

Whittlesea is located in the outer periphery of Region D (see Figure 5.2). Although the subregion falls within three separate administrative units, that is the RSA, Ciskei and Transkei, it is functionally integrated with Queenstown as its spatial, economic and service locus (Setplan, 1989:1+30). However, economic resources cannot support an adequate quality of life in Ciskei and Transkei where economic conditions are poor, relative to the RSA sectors.

5.3.2 Whittlesea within regional and subregional context

Historically, the subregional economic development has been subjected to the continued South African spatial development policy of restricting the natural process of urbanization and the containment of the black population in the rural/outer peripheral areas (See 5.3.3 below). The decline in the South African economy, and especially in Region D since 1970, has had a direct negative effect on the subservient subregional economy. The outer peripheral location of the subregion, in relation to the principal core market areas, causes high real and opportunity costs of providing development inputs in the subregion. Therefore, development capital is relatively limited and the creation of an industrial economic base by means of the decentralization of industries has a limited applicability in the region. Moreover, Region D has been affected detrimentally by the decentralization policy in the RSA. This is mainly due to the limited resource base and agricultural character of the area and given the limited resource potential of the subregion (Setplan, 1988:29-30).

Figure 5.2: Whittlesea within regional and subregional context (Adapted from Setplan, 1989:15+16.)



Economic growth in the metropolitan core areas was associated with restricting the natural process of urbanization and the containment of the black population in rural peripheral areas such as this subregion. Urban influx control and the migrant labour system were the primary mechanisms for achieving this policy (Setplan, 1988:10). These factors have contributed largely to the over-population of the Whittlesea subregion in relation to the economic resource potential of the area.

As can be seen from Table 5.3 the population distribution was estimated at 340 000 people in 1988. The black population comprises 94 per cent of the total subregional population. This population is roughly distributed in the ratio 1:1:2 between the RSA, Ciskei and Transkei, respectively.

The degree of urbanization varied considerably, with the Transkei and Ciskei sectors having, respectively, 13 per cent and 36 per cent of their population urbanized, as opposed to 72 per cent in the RSA urban sector. Based on the 1985 RSA, Ciskei and Transkei census data, 68 per cent of the subregional population was non-urban (Republic of Transkei, 1987; Republic of Ciskei, 1985b; Setplan, 1988:11+B2). The RSA urban sector includes Queenstown, Sterkstroom and Cathcart, while Ciskei includes the Whittlesea urban area, and Transkei includes the urban areas of eZibeleni and Lady Frere but not Ilinge, which was considered rural (see Figure 5.2). The 1988 rural population densities within the subregion were estimated at 28 hectares per person in the RSA, 1,7 hectares per person in Transkei and 2,1 hectares per person in Ciskei (Setplan, 1988:B3, Table B3). More than 80 per cent of the black population in the subregion has a traditional rural subsistence lifestyle. Moreover, 75 per cent of employment opportunities is provided through temporary migration outside the subregion (Setplan, 1989:1).

5.3.2.1 Influence of Queenstown and RSA-sector on Whittlesea

The population distribution in the subregion indicates a steady decline of the white population over the period 1960

Table 5.3: Whittlesea subregional population distribution - 1988

Country (Region)	Population group			Total	Percent-age
	Black	Coloured/ Asian	White		
RSA	62 203	6 350	13 102	81 655	24
Ciskei (Hewu) .	82 003	-	-	82 003	24
Transkei (Cacadu)	176 760	-	-	176 760	52
Total	320 966	6 350	13 102	340 418	100
Percentage	94	2	4	100	-

Source: Central Statistical Service, 1985. Population Census 1985, Report No. 02-85-01, Geographical distribution of the population, Government Printer, Pretoria; Setplan, 1989:11.

to 1985. This decline has been most evident in the Sterkstroom district where the 1985 population was about 50 per cent of the 1980 population. The white population in the Queenstown and Cathcart districts has also declined at an average rate of about 0,2 per cent per annum over the same period (Setplan, 1988:B3).

The emigration of white people from the Cape Midlands is confirmed by Truu (1971:189). The Midlands towns have been experiencing a continuous net loss of migrants, especially of younger working ages. This process has also been taking place in many other small South African towns (see also Section 4.5.1 above). For example, a study of the white population of King William's Town in 1962, concluded that it seemed clear that migration is an important element of life of both the individual and the community throughout South Africa. Moreover, the scale of migration from small towns is surprisingly extensive (Watts, 1966:73).

Furthermore, Truu (1971:179-180) determined the dynamics of migration by analysing the population (first generation) and their direct descendants who were residing outside the Midlands region (second, third and fourth generations). The "multiplier effect" of a given body of out-migrants from a region indicates the dynamic nature of migration. While the direct population loss through migration amounted to some 2 403 persons, the indirect loss of their descendants was estimated at some 5 781 persons. Moreover, the total population loss to the region was estimated at about 3,4 times its initial population loss. While the second and third generations represent a loss of persons of working ages, the third and fourth generations represent a loss in terms of youth and fertility.

There has also been a minimal rate of decline in the coloured and Asian populations in the Sterkstroom and Cathcart districts, especially since 1970. However, the coloured and Asian populations of the Queenstown district have increased at an average rate of about 2,1 per cent per annum over the past 25 years. The rate of increase was about 4,0 per cent per annum over the last 10-year period, centred mainly on Queenstown (Setplan, 1988:B3).

The black population in the RSA increased slightly during the period 1960 to 1980 at an average rate of 1,5 per cent per annum. However, since 1980 the black population of the Sterkstroom and Cathcart districts has declined rapidly at an average rate of 5,9 per cent per annum. The black population of Queenstown, including eZibeleni, has experienced a steady increase. The population has virtually doubled over the past 25 years, reflecting an annual growth rate of 2,5 per cent (Setplan, 1988:B4). This growth has centred entirely on Queenstown with a concomitant population decline in the rural areas of the Queenstown district.

By contrast, the population growth rate in Ciskei and Transkei was relatively high over the 25-year period, 1960 to 1985. For example, the population in the Hewu district increased from 18 000 in 1960 to 31 000 in 1970 and 80 000 in

1985, that is at an average annual growth rate of 5,6 and 6,5 per cent respectively. Moreover, the above growth rates relate to the de facto population situation and these growth statistics could be considerably higher given the high level of migrant employment. Considering that the natural growth rate of the black population in South Africa was in the order of 2,7 per cent per annum, these high growth rates constitute a net influx into the subregion (Setplan, 1988:13+B4; Data extracted from original betterment scheme reports of 1957 to 1963 and Hewu Regional Plan by Setplan, et al., 1985).

The question of how to resolve the serious problems that were developing in the black residential areas of Queenstown was fraught with many ramifications and complexities. At the root of them lay the issue of who was to bear the cost of improvements. Faced with a critical situation, the Queenstown municipality built about a thousand new houses south of Mlungisi in an area which was named White City in 1955 and 1956. In November 1965 the Council endeavoured to proceed with the erection of more black housing in Queenstown. However, Government was prepared to develop Queenstown as a Border Industrial Area on condition that the existing Bantu residential areas be moved and re-sited in the adjacent Bantu homelands. In the light of the Government policy and the financial implications, the Council accepted the establishment of a new Bantu location in the homelands (Greaves, 1987:149).

In 1972 work started on building the new black town eZibeleni. The removal of black families from the slums of eSikidini to eZibeleni was carried out on a voluntary basis. The black people and their effects were moved there by truck as fast as new houses were completed. Simultaneously the old slum dwellings at eSikidini were demolished (Greaves, 1987:150). Some people also moved from Mlungisi and from White City.

In 1974 the RSA Government assumed responsibility for all black townships throughout the country. In Queenstown, the regional authority was the East Cape Bantu Administration

Board (Greaves, 1987:150). Since 1974 the Town Council therefore had no further legal responsibility for the development of the black residential areas which had been under its jurisdiction. In 1976 the Government decided that eZibeleni, which had been built as the new black town for Queenstown, was to be incorporated into Transkei. The decision was consistent with Government policy, which required the purchase of several white-owned farms in the Queenstown district, and their hand-over to Ciskei and Transkei. Moreover, a reversal of the policy that existing black residential areas at Queenstown should be moved to the homelands, took place in 1981. Government decided that Mlungisi should remain where it was.

The poor living conditions in Mlungisi still prevailed in 1985. By then the situation had become so explosive that it was ripe for exploitation by township leaders (Greaves, 1987:150). A total black consumer boycott of white-owned shops started on 12 August 1985 and lasted until the winter of 1986. A decision to spend some R15 million on upgrading Mlungisi contributed to resolving the problem. In 1987 an ambitious project to build 3 000 new houses in the area south and south-west of the approximately 2 000 houses of "old Mlungisi" was started (Greaves, 1987:188; see also Section 5.3.3 below).

The economic decline of the subregion is a function of national influences and over-population with regard to the economic development potential of the subregion. The majority of the population is characterized by high levels of poverty, migrancy and dependency. Although the provision of economic and social overhead capital has been directed mainly at Queenstown/ eZibeleni, other urban areas have been promoted in terms of infrastructure and facilities (Setplan, 1988:31). However, Whittlesea is the only significant service centre/settlement in this regard in the subregion, within Ciskei.

5.3.3 Development of population settlement in the Whittlesea-subregion since 1981[7]

The Republic of Ciskei was formed in terms of the Status of the Ciskei Act No. 110 of 1981. At independence it was recognized that Ciskei was unable to generate or maintain fully the capital inputs needed to sustain development. The Financial Arrangements Bill of 1981 formulated certain independence agreements to provide such inputs. The Bill provided for the capital requirements of certain identified projects over a period of 3 years. These agreements included the development of certain areas and settlement projects in the subregion. Also included was the provision of houses in Whittlesea for the orderly settlement of landless people resettled in Zweledinga in 1978, residents of Oxton and Silver City, and for the Ciskei residents of eZibeleni. For this purpose the development of Ekupumleni was initiated in 1983 to construct 2 000 dwelling units. The Department of Development Aid also planned an additional 600 units but to date only the first 2 000 houses have been completed (Setplan, 1988:A18). Furthermore, the development of Mlungisi was unfrozen in 1985 when plans were formulated to enlarge the town by about 1 300 dwelling units.

There is little likelihood that the subregion can effectively accommodate the needs of the large and rapidly growing subregional population. Urban mobility and migration from the subregion may be promoted to influence an equilibrating urbanization process at the regional and national levels. The role of Whittlesea is seen as the focus of urbanization in northern Ciskei (Setplan, 1989:2). It contributes to the subregional development by being a major service town offering focussed settlement and urbanization opportunities for the Hewu Region.

[7]See Annexure 4: Historical development of population settlement in the Whittlesea subregion, for an overview of the historical development from 1828 to 1981.

5.3.4 Local perspective on Whittlesea

Whittlesea is an urban agglomeration, comprising the original settlement of Whittlesea or town centre, the two resettled suburbs of Sada and Ekupumleni, the informal settlement of Silver City and the peri-urban/rural villages of Shiloh with which the Shiloh irrigation scheme is associated. Additionally, there are the three rural residential areas of Dyamala, Emtha and Emtabaza adjacent to Whittlesea, which are functionally considered part of the Whittlesea urban complex (Setplan, 1988:20&46; see also Figure 5.3).

The historical settlement pattern in Whittlesea was discussed in Annexure 4 and Section 5.3.3. Although no accurate and detailed information is available, certain socio-demographic assumptions have been made on the basis of existing data. The 1988 population of Whittlesea was estimated at 37 500 persons. This population was distributed within the residential areas of the town based on an average occupancy rate of 7,3 persons per dwelling (Setplan, 1985). The population distribution is estimated at 146 people in Whittlesea, 15 111 in Sada, 15 300 in Ekupumleni, 3 694 in Silver City, 1 059 in Shiloh 1 and 2 132 people in Shiloh 2 (Setplan, 1988:38).

According to the 1985 Ciskei Census the age distribution of the population indicated that 46 per cent of the population was in the pre-school and primary school age of 0 to 14 years. Only 30,2 per cent of the population was in the economically active age group of 20 to 54 years, with 25 per cent of this age group being between 20 and 44 years of age [8]. Moreover, 9,8 per cent of the population was over the age of 55. The high dependency ratio and youthful population create a significant demand, especially for education facilities (Republic of Ciskei, 1985a; Setplan, 1988:39). Furthermore, high fertility creates an increasing need for employment and housing.

[8]These figures are not according to the standard calculation and are not comparable with those of section 5.5.2.

The estimated number of employment opportunities in Whittlesea was about 5 325 in 1988. Of these some 1 340 were in industry, 1 625 in Government service, an estimated 1 000 in the informal sector, 590 in agriculture, 140 in commerce or services and the balance of 630 in construction. Furthermore, it was estimated that daily, about 800 economically active persons commute to Queenstown to work or seek employment outside the subregion as migrants. Based on a full employment scenario and accepting 36 per cent of the total population to be economically active, there was a need for 13 490 employment opportunities in 1988. Considering the total employment situation, there were approximately 7 365 unemployed in Whittlesea (Setplan, 1988:42). Many households are largely dependent on remittances from migrants and/or commuters. The development of employment opportunities are also influenced by the following two factors. Firstly, education and skill levels are very low in Ciskei. In addition, about 60 per cent of the population is either unskilled or considered functionally illiterate. Secondly, household income levels are extremely low, with about 75 per cent of households living below defined minimum subsistence levels (Setplan, 1989:3).

Due to the manner in which settlement has occurred through separate resettlement actions, Whittlesea is spatially fragmented with individual residential areas being spatially isolated and functioning independently (see Figure 5.2). Furthermore, a differential level of engineering services is supplied to the various residential areas. Whittlesea for example has no reticulated water supply and no waterborne sewerage, yet it has reticulated electricity and a sophisticated telephone system. Ekupumleni has on-site water supply, waterborne sewerage, electricity and a telephone network (Setplan, 1989:3-5; see also Annexure 4). This differential level of supplied services is a major bone of contention with the local communities in view of historical community conflicts.

The absence of a coordinated national, spatial and economic development plan for Ciskei makes any comparison of the

relative cost of investing in Whittlesea as opposed to Alice or any other areas in Ciskei, very difficult if not impossible. In this respect the findings of the Whittlesea urban appraisal indicate that the DBSA has approved projects in terms of Ciskei priorities rather than on effective demand, and the economic base of the area. For example, R29 million was directed at telecommunications infrastructure in Whittlesea where some members of the community are living without an adequate water supply (Setplan, 1988:C35). Whittlesea, as the second largest settlement in Ciskei, needs large investments to address effectively the infrastructure and other backlogs in the town. However, at the political level in Ciskei there is significant pressure for economic development of Whittlesea. These pressures are not always based on sound economic principles.

5.4 Migration/urbanization in Alice

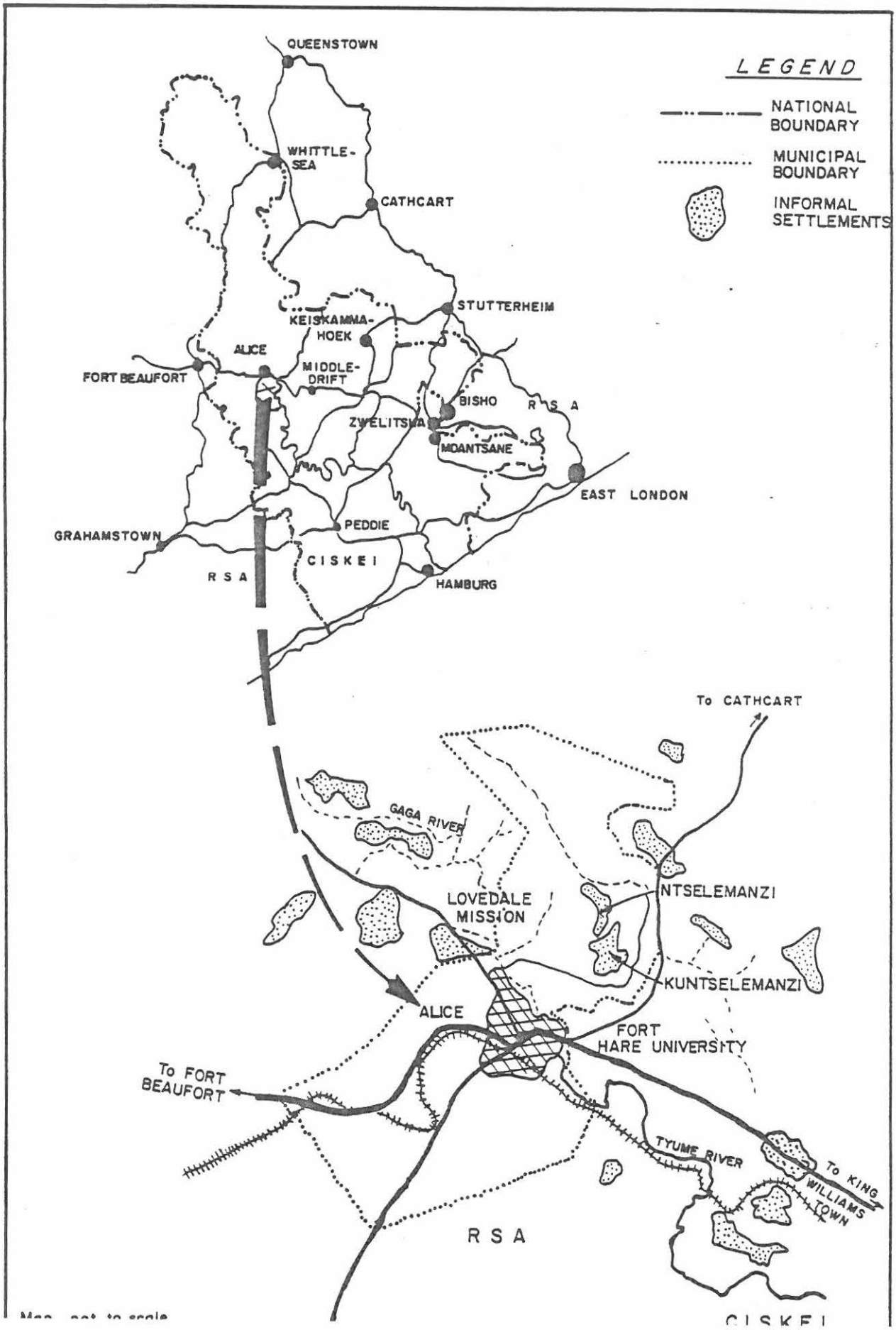
5.4.1 Alice within national and regional perspective

As both Alice and Whittlesea are regional service centres within Ciskei, Section 5.3.2 above, with regard to Whittlesea, also applies to Alice and vice versa.

By virtue of Alice's location at the intersection of important regional roads, which in turn intersect with the major transportation axis of Ciskei, the town links the Alice region to other regions and urban centres both within and outside Ciskei (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:9-18; see also Figure 5.3). However, being the largest of the urban areas within this region, Alice offers the best chances of economic development and employment.

Ciskei's economy is highly integrated with, dependent on, and directly influenced by, the South African economy. Due largely to international economic isolation initiatives South Africa has experienced a structural decline in economic growth over the last decade. Ciskei is affected by this decline and is also faced with problems of increasing urbanization caused by rapid population growth. Moreover,

Figure 5.3: Alice within regional and subregional context (Adapted from Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:17+18).



Ciskei's situation is compounded by the fact that it is located within Region D, which is currently the region economically most depressed (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:5). Thus, any benefits which may be derived from its residents commuting to adjacent employment nodes in the RSA, have significantly decreased.

The population in the Ciskei practically doubled between 1970 and 1980, increasing from 350 741 to 630 353. This represents an average annual increase of 6 per cent. Although the population statistics derived from censuses are normally regarded with suspicion and may be quite inaccurate, they do reflect certain trends (Sadie 1970; Hirsch, 1984:121-123). Assuming that the natural growth rate of black people in Ciskei was 2,7 per cent, as was the average rate of natural increase for black people in South Africa as a whole (Sadie, 1988:49; see also p.125), net immigration into the Ciskei amounted to 172 537 people. The urban population in the Ciskei increased from 102 380 in 1970 to 228 539 in 1980 representing an average annual increase of 8,2 per cent. The corresponding rural population increased at an average annual growth rate of 4,9 per cent, from 248 361 in 1970 to 401 794 in 1980. The Hewu and Victoria East districts experienced very high growth rates while Keiskammahoek and Middledrift had moderate population growth (see also Table 5.4).

The most important source of people resettled in the Ciskei was from farms and towns in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape. An estimated 70 000 of the net immigrants into Ciskei came from the farms, while a further 11 500 were drawn from small country towns (Hirsch, 1984:124+127). Those who moved voluntarily to the Ciskei saw it as the only secure place of residence, where state housing could be obtained. Others moved there in order to gain access to social security payments which were only paid out inside the Ciskei.

Resettlement was a complex product of the form of political policy in the RSA. Furthermore, resettlement has contributed to the concentration of poverty throughout the Ciskei.

It is important to note that the Republic of Ciskei has not accepted the results of the 1980 or 1985 population census. The Human Sciences Research Council (Stoker, 1990:1) was commissioned by the Development Bank of Southern Africa to try to resolve the impasse between the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of Ciskei in respect of the de facto population size of Ciskei for every year since 1985. As the first step towards resolving this matter, various sources of data concerning the population size of Mdantsane town were analysed, evaluated and accepted by all parties on 23 April 1990 (Stoker, 1989). The next stage consisted of comparing the population figures of the 1984 sample population census based on a photographic count of structures, with those of the 1985 population census on a micro level. The aim was to determine the most reliable population figures for Ciskei for each year since 1985. These population figures were compared with those obtained by Sadie who approached the problem from a macro level (Stoker, 1990:1). The memorandum dated July 1990, containing the above findings, has also not been accepted by the Republic of Ciskei yet.

Table 5.4 contains the estimates by the Republic of Ciskei for the regional population distribution of Ciskei in 1980, 1985 and 1990. It shows that the Mdantsane/Bisho region has grown, while the relative position of regions 2, 3 and 4 have decreased. The Alice region or Region 5 which comprises the Victoria East and Seymour districts, has remained relatively constant. A more recent study by Sadie (1990:1-16) shows that these Ciskei estimates may be significantly overenumerated. Sadie estimates that the 1985 Ciskei population of 717 260 grew to 818 880 in 1990, that is at a compound growth rate of 2,69 per cent per annum (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:7-8; see also p. 124). Although the much larger figures in Table 5.4 may be suspect, the relative sizes of the regional population distribution will probably not change significantly. This again emphasizes the problem of obtaining reliable data for developing communities.

Table 5.4: Ciskei regional population distribution for 1980, 1985 and 1990 - Thousands

Region	Population			Percentage of Total		
	1980*	1985**	1990***	1980	1985	1990
Mdantsane/Bisho .	356	425	559	52,5	56,7	61,3
Middledrift/ Keiskamma/ Dimbaza	110	92	124	16,2	12,3	13,6
Hewu	78	88	75	11,5	11,7	8,2
Peddie	61	70	55	9,0	9,3	6,0
Victoria East/ Seymour	73	75	99	10,8	10,0	10,9
Total	678	750	912	100	100	100

Source:
*Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1985. Ciskei Development Information 1985. The 1980 information was extracted by the Data Section of DBSA from unpublished operational information of the Republic of Ciskei 1985b, Office of the Presidency, Directorate of Planning, Bisho. DBSA, Sandton.

**Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1990a. SATBVC Countries Statistical Abstracts 1989, DBSA, Halfway House. The 1985 information was abstracted from an unpublished summary of the Ciskei population census 1985. The summary is a one-page document accepted by the Republic of Ciskei (1985b), instead of the population census figure of 612 463 which was unacceptable.

***Information supplied by Ciskei Central Statistical Service per telefax on 26 April 1991.

Ciskei adopted a regional development strategy whereby the establishment of urban growth points is utilized to ensure an integrated pattern of development and a more equitable spread of wealth (see also Annexure 1). Emphasis is placed on the major urban centres at Mdantsane and Bisho where urbanization pressures are greatest. The establishment of an industrial node at Dimbaza is also important to this strategy. Smaller

centres, such as Alice, Whittlesea, Keiskammahoek and Peddie have been identified as regional service centres to their surrounding agricultural/rural hinterlands (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:6). They serve as settlement areas to which population from agricultural land could be attracted.

The implications of the above strategy for the future development of the Alice urban area are twofold, particularly when viewed against the overall political-economic background. Firstly, the majority of commuters and migrants may by-pass the town for better economic opportunities at larger urban centres in Ciskei and/or in the RSA. This may alleviate population growth and the subsequent pressures for additional services, community facilities and housing in Alice. Secondly, employment opportunities within the Alice urban area are unlikely to be generated by large-scale industrial activities. The local economy could be supported mainly by rural agriculture, existing public services and facilities, subregional commercial and services needs, remittances, the Fort Hare University and informal activity (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:6-8).

5.4.2 Local perspective on Alice

The current composition of the Alice urban area is a result of both the historic sequence of events in the town, and the Group Areas legislation of South Africa. Alice consists largely of the land holdings of the University of Fort Hare, Victoria Hospital and Lovedale College, each administered by a different government department; Kuntselemanzi, a town administered by a magistrate from the Department of Justice in terms of Regulation R293; and Ntselemanzi, a rural village which is also administered by the magistrate, but which simultaneously adheres to tribal administration procedures (see Figure 5.3). The urban area is fragmented by the floodplains, formed by the confluence of the Tyume and Gaga rivers, dissecting the town into two distinct groupings (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:19-20). In addition to the above constraint each organization is administered separately, resulting in an uncoordinated and impractical

management of the urban area.

The approximate land area of each area of jurisdiction is: Alice Municipality 1 418 hectares; Fort Hare University 100 hectares for the main and east campuses, plus 1 354 hectares comprising the research farms, namely, Fort Hare, Honeydale, Napier Park and the Lovedale extension (University of Fort Hare, 1991); Victoria Hospital 18 hectares; Lovedale College 76 hectares and Kuntselemanzi and Ntselemanzi 1 259 hectares. The urban area has substantial potential for the development of the economic base of the area. It possesses the infrastructure to support a range of training facilities, accommodation for small businesses and extension services which are already being used through the University (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:20+23).

The estimated population of Alice in 1990, was 11 000 persons, based on 1985 estimates from the Alice Framework Plan and assuming a growth rate of 3 per cent per annum. This total includes 3 911 students (University of Fort Hare, 1991) and 5 418 persons in Alice, based on an occupancy rate of 6 persons per dwelling unit (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:23+24). The population of Kuntselemanzi and Ntselemanzi was estimated at 2 448 people in 1985 based on an occupancy rate of 6 persons per dwelling for the 408 units. However, this figure was not updated due to insufficient information on developments in these two informal settlements. Observations during field trips to Ciskei and Transkei seem to indicate that rural and peri-urban areas, where sites are readily available and more affordable than in urban areas, are growing fastest. Rural and peri-urban areas are urbanizing while the areas within the town boundaries are not developing. The development of informal settlements on the boundaries of outer peripheral towns is typical in the national states.

Urbanization of Alice may be affected largely by two factors. Firstly, migration to the town from surrounding settlements is related to the natural growth rates of the rural populations and the capacities of the rural areas to

support population increases. As stated above this may also be influenced by the relative attractiveness of Alice compared to larger urban centres, both within Ciskei and in the RSA. Secondly, the student population of the university is directly linked to the institution's growth and not to the growth of Alice (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:8). Fort Hare University can therefore not be included unconditionally as part of the base population. Moreover, changes to admission regulations at universities throughout the RSA, coupled with the fact that these universities offer a greater variety of courses and are located in centres which offer greater amenities by way of accommodation, recreation, entertainment and part/full-time employment, may affect the university's growth.

A health sciences campus of the university has been established at the Cecilia Makiwane hospital in Mdantsane. In addition, a division for external studies has been established at Bisho. In total, student figures have increased from 3 357 in 1988 to 5 486 in 1990. At Bisho the increase was from 814 in 1988 to 1 423 students in 1990. The main campus grew from 2 381 students in 1988 to 3 911 students in 1990, while there was a slight decrease in student figures at the Cecilia Makiwane campus from 162 in 1988 to 152 in 1990 (University of Fort Hare, 1991). Furthermore, other tertiary education facilities such as the relocation of the Masibulele Teachers Training College at Whittlesea and the Technikon at Mdantsane detract from Alice's role as the education centre of Ciskei (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:25). It is anticipated that growth in the tertiary education sector may shift partially to other centres.

The urban area has higher and middle income sections located within central Alice and lower income housing development at Kuntselemanzi and Ntselemanzi. The University of Fort Hare provides hostel accommodation as well as housing for both students and staff on its campus. However, many of the white personnel at the University live across the border in Fort Beaufort or elsewhere within the RSA (Horne Glasson Partners,

1989:34). With the exception of Fort Hare University, the separate urban authorities such as the Alice municipality, the magistrate and the tribal authorities are unable to direct and manage the maintenance and development in Alice effectively. Although these land holdings are located within its boundaries, the Alice municipality has no jurisdiction over settlements controlled by the magistrate (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:43-47). The university is virtually a separate town within Alice with high quality management and operational skills within its organization.

The fragmented development and management of Alice have also resulted in a differentiated supply of infrastructural services. For example, a number of sewage disposal systems are in operation which include the following: Sewage treatment works at Fort Hare University; separate treatment works at Kuntselemanzi and Victoria Hospital; pond system in Alice municipal area for treating effluent from conservancy tanks and night soil buckets; and pit latrines in the Ntselemanzi Village (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:39). Alice could therefore benefit significantly from the rationalization of existing services and administration.

Low incomes, particularly for Kuntselemanzi and Ntselemanzi residents significantly constrain their economic development. The average annual income for households in regional centres was R6 397,37 or R1 043,10 per person in 1987. The average income per earner in these regional towns was R4 006,95 per annum in 1987. Translated into monthly household income, the figure was R533,11. The comparable figure for rural households was R401,14 in 1987. In September 1989 the Household Subsistence Level for King William's Town, the nearest surveyed area to Alice, was R528,15 per month for a family of six (University of Port Elizabeth, 1989:73; Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:28-30). Although incomes have increased by 13,9 per cent for the period 1981 to 1987 the inflation rate was 13,8 per cent during the same period, indicating that real income has not increased and that affordability levels have not improved.

Based on the fragmented nature of the settlements in Alice, the migration/urbanization process has had a disequilibrating effect on the population distribution in the town. It may further be inferred that migration/urbanization in this outer-peripheral location has not had an equilibrating effect on the income distribution of the population. The average income of households, especially in rural areas are nearly the same as the Household Subsistence Level, while affordability levels have not improved much.

5.5 Migration/urbanization in Port St Johns

5.5.1 Introduction and regional setting

Port St Johns is situated 93 kilometres from Umtata, and 35 kilometres from Lusikisiki. The town serves as a gateway to Pondoland since the Pondoland bridge is the only point at which vehicles can cross the Umzimvubu River between the N2 and the coast (see Figure 5.4).

Port St Johns is the only town on the Transkei coastline. It also performs an important role as a regional service centre for the Umzimvubu and Southern Lusikisiki districts. Port St Johns served an estimated catchment population of 28 500 people in 1988. Furthermore, it has a significant, although highly seasonal, tourist function. Its economic base, physical infrastructure and building stock, have undergone a period of decline during the past decade. This is largely due to the organizational and financial difficulties in the town, as well as the departure of many of the pre-independence farmers, entrepreneurs and residents (Vandeverre Apsey Robinson & Associates, 1989a:1; see also figure 5.4).

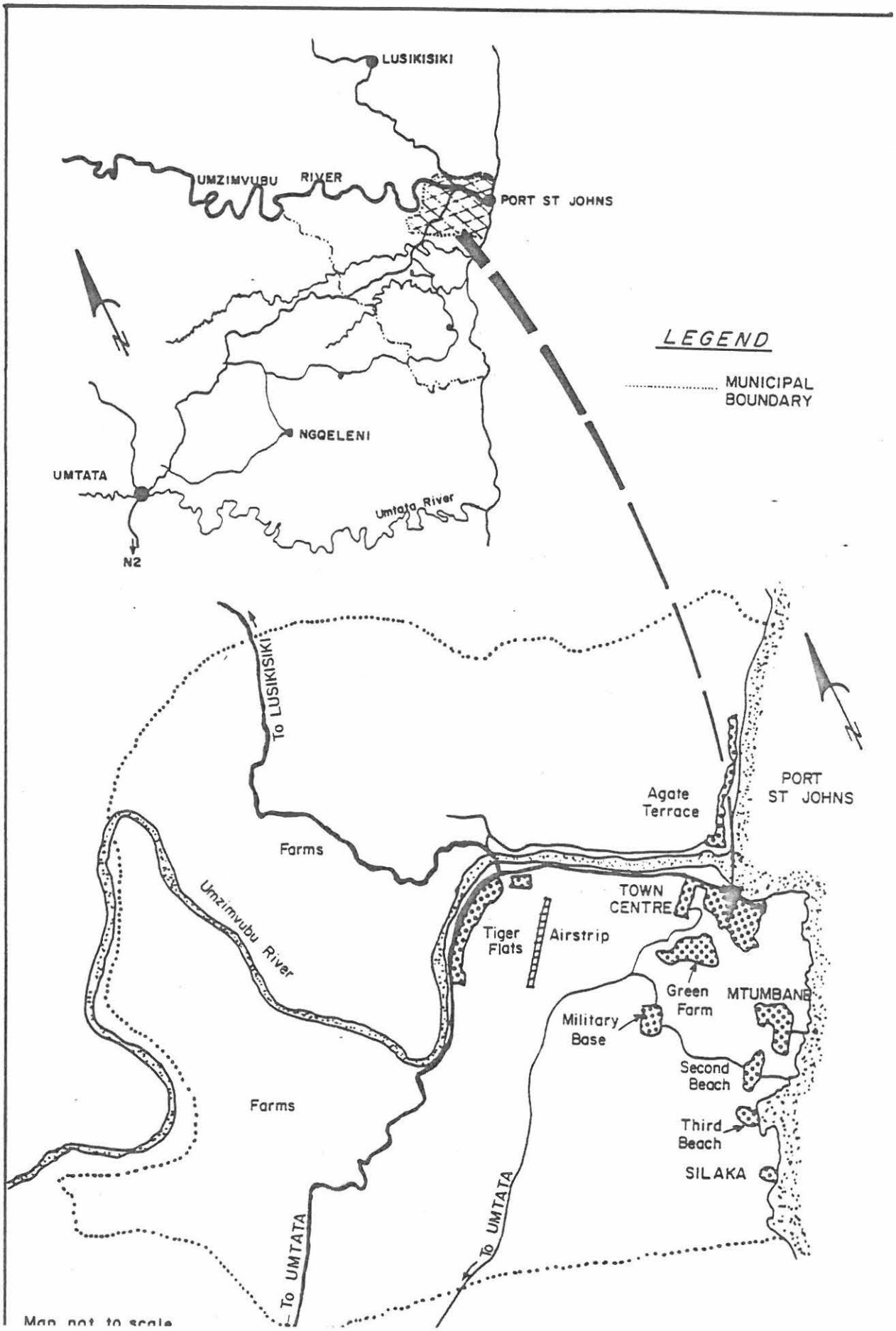
Port St Johns is the magisterial seat of the Umzimvubu district which forms part of the Nyanda Regional Authority. The district has been included in Region D in the delimitation of development regions (see Figure 4.1). However, it lies at the extreme north-east of Region D and borders on Region E. Within the Transkeian context, Port St

Johns and the Umzimvubu district are part of the designated North-East region. The town embraces the present commonage of Port St Johns, including not only the built-up urban areas, but also the adjoining farms which were added to the commonage area prior to independence. Many farmers had their farms incorporated within the municipal boundaries in the belief that Port St Johns would remain part of the RSA. The municipal commonage extends along both banks of the Umzimvubu river for a distance of 13 kilometres inland of the river mouth and 5 kilometres on either side of the river (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:6). Prior to 1970, the local authority boundary included an area 550 hectares in extent. However, the subsequent incorporation of all surrounding privately owned farms extended the municipal commonage to 8 800 hectares (see Figure 5.4). The town comprises a number of distinct areas, including the town centre, Agate Terrace, Tiger Flats, Mtumbane, Second Beach, Third Beach, Green's Farm informal settlement, the military base and a number of farms.

5.5.2 Population size and distribution

According to official census statistics the Umzimvubu district population has increased from 29 348 in 1960 to 53 688 in 1985, that is at an average rate of 2,6 per cent per annum. This is slightly below the national average of 2,7 per cent for South Africa and well below the natural growth rate for rural areas. Over the same period the urban population of Port St Johns has increased at 6 per cent per annum to approximately 6 000 people in 1988. The urban population growth in the district has also increased at an estimated 4 per cent during the 1960's to some 8,5 per cent in 1988 (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:14). Migration and urbanization have therefore taken place from this rural district to urban areas both within Transkei and in the RSA.

Figure 5.4: Port St Johns within regional and subregional context (Adapted from Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:19+20).



The 1988 population of Port St Johns' eight distinct settlement zones are estimated in Table 5.5. On the basis of field surveys, the population of each zone was calculated, using estimated occupancy rates. Table 5.5 indicates that 30 per cent of the urban population lives in Mtumbane, which is the low-income residential area or former black town of Port St Johns. The 24 per cent of the population living on farms in the commonage, consists largely of rural dwellers within the municipal boundaries. Most of the residents of Agate Terrace, Tiger Flats and Green's Farm live in informal settlements.

The age and sex structure of the town's population, based on the household surveys in the town proper, Mtumbane and Tiger Flats were the following: The male-to-female ratio represents a balanced situation of 50,3:49,7; the dependency ratio of those under the age of 15 and over 60 was 42 per cent, while the percentage of potentially economically active people was 58 per cent. If the military base personnel are included, as was the case with the 1985 Population Census, the male to female ratio would change to 59,4:40,6 (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:15-16).

Excluding the military base and the farms, the average household size was estimated at 6,3 persons per dwelling unit. An estimated 555 households lived in Port St Johns while the number of people per household varied from 1 to 24 persons per dwelling. Over two-thirds of households consisted of five or more people. Occupancy rates varied between residential areas, ranging from 2,5 in Second Beach, to 9,0 persons per dwelling unit in Tiger Flats (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:17).

The estimated 34,8 per cent of the total population in the town centre and Tiger Flats was employed locally. However, only 22,9 per cent of the people living in Mtumbane was estimated to have been employed in Port St Johns. The unemployment figure, relating to people actively seeking work at the time of the survey, was 10,4 per cent in the town

Table 5.5: Port St Johns population estimates for 1988

Resident zone	No. of sites*	Average occupancy rate	Estimated population (1988)	Percentage
Town proper	141	5,6	790	13,6
Agate Terrace ...	23	5,6	129	2,2
Tiger Flats	37	9,0	333	5,7
Mtumbane	265	6,6	1 749	30,1
Second Beach	19	2,5	48	0,8
Greens Farm informal settlement	70	6,6	462	7,9
Military Base** .	-	-	900	15,5
Farms in the commonage***	156	9,0	1 404	24,2
TOTAL	711	6,9	5 815	100,0

Source: Vandeverre Apsey Robinson & Associates, 1989a. Port St Johns Development Plan, Report 1: Data Base, Umtata.

*Derived from the land use survey which includes informal settlement and non-residential sites on which people are living.

**Figures provided by the military base, excluded for purposes of calculating occupancy rates and number of sites.

***In the absence of reliable figures the population estimate for farms and small holdings (156) is based on the average occupancy rates of 9 persons per erf as experienced at Tiger Flats.

centre and Tiger Flats area[1]. A survey in 1985 indicated the unemployment figure (workseekers) in Mtumbane to be 9,3 per cent of the total number of residents. A further 4,4 per cent of the population was involved in migrant labour in the RSA or elsewhere in Transkei. In 91 per cent of the households at least one person was employed, while the average number of people employed per household was estimated at 2,6 (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:18-21). Employment in Port

[1]The standard method of calculating unemployment was not used. These figures are for registered unemployment and relate to people actively seeking work.

St Johns tended to be largely of the low-skilled and low-income labour type, as 85 per cent of occupations fell into this category. Almost half of all low-skilled work comprised domestic labour, while a third of all semi-skilled work was clerical. The male-to-female ratio of the employed population was 53:47.

While many people live within reasonable walking distance of their place of employment, some 20 per cent of employees spend from between 45 minutes and 2 hours per day commuting to and from work outside Port St Johns. Three out of four households in Port St Johns do not have their own transport. Of those who owned vehicles 67,3 per cent had motor cars and 20,4 per cent small trucks (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:25-26). This is an indication of the position regarding the relative wealth and mobility of households in Port St Johns.

5.5.3 Economic activities in Port St Johns

Tourism forms the mainstay of the town's economy, both as the major income generator and, excluding the military base established in 1982, as the largest single employer. The formal as well as the informal economic sectors play an important and interdependent role in the local economy. Formal activities in Port St Johns tend to be largely service-related, providing direct or ancillary services to the tourism sector. Some 32 per cent of all formal activities rely exclusively on tourism, for example hotels, resorts and the crafts industry. Some 45 per cent of the remaining formal activities relies on the presence of tourists to some extent. The other important sector of the town's economy is commerce (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:29+37). However, growth of the town's economy is constrained by its heavy dependence on seasonal and generally declining tourism.

Informal economic activities provide an important source of income in a situation of widespread poverty in Port St Johns and its surrounding areas. The handcrafts industry includes small-scale productive activities such as clothing

manufacture, basketware, beadwork and carvings, with market outlets in a number of shops in town. Income is also derived from the sale of local agricultural produce at a number of small stalls, particularly along the main access road into Port St Johns. Furthermore, the Transkei Small Industries Corporation (Transido) had erected stalls at the bus stop for approximately 25 vendors, thereby providing a central market place for locally-produced artifacts and articles of clothing. Seasonal casual labour, mainly young boys who assist fishermen and tourists, also provides an important source of income for many households (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:29-31). Due to the nature of informal economic activity it is difficult to gauge the extent of these activities.

Formal employment opportunities were grouped into various economic sectors. However, no data were available for people working on farms in the commonage. In 1988 the largest employer was the military with 900 workers, followed by tourism 313, the public sector 253, commercial sector 219, services 164, the informal sector 90 and construction 82. Tourism accounted for 30,4 per cent of total formal employment (excluding the military). A further 25 per cent were civil servants, in many cases single people recruited from other urban areas in Transkei. The road construction team contributed another 8 per cent of formal employment (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:32-33). Although the number of people involved in informal activities was relatively low, the importance of this sector to supplement formal income is significant.

The male-to-female ratio of those employed is 72,3:27,7. However, this ratio appears to be balanced once the military is excluded, giving a ratio of 50,1:49,9. A typical gender bias is evident as no women are employed as drivers, policemen or rangers, and no men as domestic workers. Men also tend to occupy a wider range of professional and technical jobs. Approximately 7 per cent of employment may be described as professional or requiring technical skills. The remaining 93 per cent of employment is semi- or unskilled

with corresponding low wages (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:32-33). Most professional and skilled labour was drawn from areas outside Port St Johns, while most less-skilled labour was local.

The income distribution of those informally employed was highly uneven in 1988. An estimated 70 per cent of the total workforce earned R150 or less per month. 10 per cent earned between R150-R300 per month, 17 per cent earned between R300-R800, while 3 per cent earned in excess of R1 000 per month. The standard wage for labourers was R125 per month, while domestic workers such as gardeners and cleaners typically earned approximately R90 per month (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:36). Although reliable figures on income from informal activities were not available, the percentage of people earning less than R150 per month would increase if those involved in informal activities are taken into account.

Port St Johns has experienced a steady decline in tourism over the past 10 years. This has placed significant constraints on municipal revenue. The consequent decline in the provision and maintenance of infrastructure and services has further undermined its potential to attract tourists (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:37+43). Tourist establishments reported that average annual occupancy seldom exceeded 20 per cent, and that for the most part, off-season occupancy is about 10 per cent. The number of migrant workers from Port St Johns decreased from 1,5 per cent of those employed in 1985 to 1,2 per cent in 1988. This accords with the broader trends with regard to increasing unemployment in the RSA labour market (Vandeverre, et al., 1989b:16). This places additional pressure on the local economy to generate employment opportunities.

The formal retail sector in Port St Johns comprises 39 outlets. These outlets are aimed not only at the local consumer but also at the tourist market. Most retail activities provide for basic consumer goods with a limited range of brand names. Most higher-order shopping is done in Lusikisiki or in Umtata, Kokstad and Port Shepstone, when

special monthly trips are made. Economic linkages between shops in Port St Johns are generally weak as 43 per cent depend largely on Umtata and a further 44 per cent on towns within the RSA for supplies. Economic links between general dealers and other firms are almost negligible, while the bakery appeared to be the only activity with significant linkages with other businesses in Port St Johns (Vandeverre, et al., 1989a:45-46). Thus, the town has a strong economic dependency on Umtata and other urban centres in the RSA.

Within the Transkeian urban system Port St Johns has traditionally had limited possibilities for urbanization stemming from immigration. In the Transkei context its role is seen in the development of the tourism potential. The effective urban population, excluding those people on the 166 farms and smallholdings and within the military area, was approximately 3 500 people in 1988. These residents have relatively good access to health and education facilities. Moreover, the town is relatively well served by buses and taxis, but there is no internal public transport service because economic thresholds are insufficient. Recreation facilities are inadequate for local and tourist requirements. The existing housing stock has also deteriorated in recent years and there has been virtually no investment in new housing for the past 15 years (Vandeverre, 1989d:1-4). The town's infrastructure in general is inadequate.

5.6 Summary

This chapter analyses selected urban areas to illustrate that migration/urbanization may have an equilibrating or disequilibrating effect on population and income distribution. Although the towns discussed are not fully representative of all towns, they nevertheless expose most of the migration and urbanization characteristics prevailing in South Africa. Migration and urban settlement were motivated and/or restricted significantly by historical events and politics in all these towns. In this sense urbanization was a destabilizing as well as a stabilizing force.

Due to the coloured labour preference, influx control policy was applied strictly to black people in the Western Cape. Under the assumption that the number of black people would stabilize or ultimately be phased out of the Western Cape, all housing construction for these people was stopped in 1964. This has contributed to significant differences in the racial composition of Region A compared to South Africa as a whole. Whilst more than half of all coloured people resided in this region, it accommodated only 3,8 per cent of South Africa's black population and 17,1 per cent of the white population in 1987. However, the abolition of the coloured labour preference and influx control policies has increased the migration of black people since 1985. Moreover, improved transportation and communication links have also brought the outer periphery and the core closer together. A combination of factors has given greater momentum to the migration of black people in the CMA.

Due mainly to the high rate of black migration accurate and reliable figures of the black urban population do not exist. Moreover, none of the population estimates ranging between 300 000 and 1 000 000 for the CMA's black population in 1988, can be defended without contradiction. In general, population estimates are too high while census figures are too low, especially in developing communities. Estimates of the black population in 1987/88 were generally about two-and-a-half times higher than the figure forming the basis for planning and the allocation of land in the CMA.

Of the total black population, approximately 72 per cent indicated in April 1988 that they were born outside the area, and that they migrated to the Cape Flats. Of the total population 7,8 per cent were estimated to be of Ciskei origin and 52,1 per cent of Transkei origin. Almost 80 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had previously lived elsewhere on the Cape Flats. The conclusion can therefore be drawn that stepwise migration, mainly from informal to more formal residential areas, as well as from intra-urban migration took place to a large degree within the CMA. By

contrast, there is little indication of stepwise migration in the PWV area (see Section 4.6 above). A large portion of this migration could probably be ascribed to political decisions of the past.

Rural-to-urban migration may take place even if there is a relatively small chance of the prospective migrant finding employment in an urban area. This is mainly due to the relative attractiveness of employment and income levels in cities. Migration is further encouraged by the presence of family members in the CMA. For many young, unskilled and poor people, a marginal existence in the city is a considerable improvement on the more difficult conditions experienced in the outer peripheral areas. Large-scale net immigration to the metropolitan areas is likely to continue. However, the rate of migration/urbanization will probably be lower than that triggered by the sudden relaxation of inhibitory factors.

Cape Town, as the oldest town in South Africa, is characteristic of settlement in most "white" towns. The artificial creation of satellite towns, almost exclusively for low-income people, is characterized by separation and dissipation. These separate towns generally aggravate the diseconomies of agglomeration, as well as the social and environmental concerns which they were designed to overcome. They largely comprise a series of separate, unifunctional housing areas, cut off from each other and from the rest of the white town by freeways and buffers of open space. Owing to their isolation, each area attempts to generate from within itself the full range of services and activities necessary for urban living. This co-existence gives rise to a core-periphery relationship. This dominant-dependency relationship means that there is a continual drain of workers and money from the low-income areas towards the high-income area. The central business district of the white town generally experiences a degree of overconcentration of economic activities. By contrast, the business and economic activities in the satellite black towns are insufficient to cater for the local communities.

Khayelitsha was planned as a dormitory suburb without much attention being given to the creation of employment opportunities within the area. Moreover, a full range of living, working and recreational activities was never planned for Khayelitsha. The establishment of the town 30 kilometres from the Cape Town city centre, was based more on ideology and design by the authorities than on economic principles. Typical of most towns accommodating poor people, a large part of Khayelitsha consists of similar unifunctional basic houses. A growing portion of the town consists of informal houses, while some sections are set aside for the development of middle- and high-income housing. Site C is the informal settlement section of Khayelitsha, with waterborne sewage and tarred roads provided.

The commuter labour force remains the mainstay of the town's economy. The formally employed find work mainly outside Khayelitsha. A large and increasing portion of the community is also engaged in informal economic activities, both within and outside Khayelitsha. However, the combined effect of high rents, high transport costs, high commodity prices, hours of forced daily commuting, inadequate social infrastructure and isolation from the rest of the CMA, as well as influx control measures, does not discourage the migration of black people into the CMA.

Political decisions in the RSA determined the evolution of Ciskei from a native reserve, bantustan, homeland and subsequently an independent national state. The Whittlesea subregional development potential is directly related to its peripheral location in the national space-economy, as well as to regional and urban development in South Africa. The subregional economic development was subjected to the continued South African regional development policy. This included the restriction of the natural process of migration/urbanization. This was achieved mainly by restricting the black population to the rural/outer peripheral areas such as Whittlesea. This was associated with a process of economic decline in the outer periphery of

South Africa, whereas economic development took place in the core and inner periphery.

The black population comprises 94 per cent of the total Whittlesea subregional population. They are distributed in the ratio 1:1:2 between the RSA, Ciskei and Transkei, respectively. Economic resources in the subregion cannot support an adequate quality of life in Ciskei and Transkei where economic conditions are poor, relative to the RSA sectors. The population distribution in the subregion indicates a steady decline in the white population numbers over the period 1960 to 1985. By contrast, the population growth rate in Ciskei and Transkei was relatively high over the same 25-year period. The multiplier effect indicates the dynamic nature of migration. The total population loss (or gain) to a region was estimated at about 3,4 times its initial population loss (or gain). While the second and third generations represent a loss of persons of working age, the third and fourth generations represent a loss in terms of youth and fertility.

The population in the Hewu district, including Whittlesea, increased from 18 000 in 1960 to over 80 000 in 1985. However, 75 per cent of employment opportunities is currently being provided through the migrant labour system outside the subregion. The economic decline of the subregion is due mainly to the over-population with regard to the economic development potential of the subregion.

The most important origin of people resettled in the Ciskei was from farms and towns in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape. During the period 1980 to 1990 the Mdantsane/Bisho region has grown significantly, while the relative position of regions 2, 3 (Whittlesea) and 4 have decreased. The Alice region (Region 5), has remained relatively constant. These regional service centres to the surrounding agricultural or rural hinterlands also serve as settlement areas to which people from agricultural land could be attracted.

Whittlesea is an urban agglomeration consisting of two resettled suburbs, informal settlements and peri-urban and rural villages. All these portions are functionally considered part of the urban complex. Whittlesea is spatially fragmented, while the individual residential areas are spatially isolated and functioning independently. Furthermore, a differential level of services is supplied to the various residential areas. Whittlesea contributes to the subregional development by offering focussed settlement and urbanization opportunities for the Hewu Region.

The Alice urban area is fragmented and administered by different government departments resulting in an uncoordinated and impractical management of the urban area. The university is virtually a separate town within Alice, with high-quality management and operational skills within its organization. The relatively low population growth rate in Alice compared to Whittlesea has placed less economic and political pressures on the town. The majority of commuters and migrants may by-pass Alice for better economic opportunities at larger urban centres in Ciskei and/or in the RSA. Although the student population is increasing it cannot be included unconditionally as part of the base population.

Port St Johns is a small regional service centre in Transkei with a significant tourist potential. However, its economic base, physical infrastructure and building stock have undergone a period of decline since Transkei's independence. The existing housing stock has also deteriorated in recent years. There has been virtually no investment in new housing for the past 15 years which is indicative of the stagnation and decline of Port St Johns.

Port St Johns comprises a number of distinct areas including a colonial town with modern additions, a typical black town, informal and more formal settlements, a military base and a number of farms. Both formal and informal economic activities play an important and interdependent role in the local economy. Port St Johns has a strong economic dependency on Umtata and some urban centres in the RSA. This

relationship has negligible spin-offs for the local economy. Economic linkages between shops in these towns are generally weak and they depend largely on major towns within the national states or on larger towns in the RSA for supplies.

Population statistics for all three these regional service centres are based on estimates. The official data on which the statistical estimates are based were calculated by Ciskei and Transkei governments, as both these governments have not yet accepted the population census figures of 1985. Although the population statistics derived from censuses in developing areas are normally regarded with suspicion and may be quite inaccurate, they do reflect certain trends. The subjective estimates by parties with vested interests are however generally speculative and unreliable. Urban populations are generally estimated by multiplying an assumed occupancy rate per dwelling by the number of dwellings or by projecting a base figure with an assumed growth rate.

Due largely to international isolation initiatives, South Africa has experienced a structural decline in economic growth over the last decade. Ciskei and Transkei are affected significantly by this decline in economic growth while faced with increasing urbanization caused mainly by rapid population growth. Resettlement to the national states has also aggravated poverty throughout Ciskei and Transkei. Furthermore, the income distribution of those in formal and informal employment is highly uneven in the outer peripheral towns. Their situation is compounded by the fact that they are located within Region D, which is currently the economically most depressed region. Thus, any benefits which may be derived from its residents commuting or migrating to adjacent RSA employment nodes have significantly decreased.

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CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the findings of the study. Tentative conclusions on migration and urbanization in general, and for South Africa in particular, are also drawn. This may constitute experimental proposals, or migration theory, which could be further investigated in other studies.

The combined process of migration and urbanization is the natural outcome of economic development. This process cannot be stopped once it is in motion unless the population growth rate is curbed. Literature defines three reasons for urbanization: Firstly, an increase as a result of natural population increase (births minus deaths); secondly, an increase as a result of a redefinition of geographical boundaries; and thirdly, an increase through rural-urban migration. Increased urbanization is a process that follows when these causal factors of population growth lead to an increasing percentage of the total population taking up residence in urban areas. Since the natural population growth rate of rural areas is generally accepted as being higher than that of urban areas, this will lead to a decrease in urbanization, all other things being equal. This situation could only change when more than 50 per cent of the population is urbanized. In this thesis any differences in the natural population growth rate between rural and urban areas, as well as the redefinition of geographical boundaries, were not explicitly considered. Thus, migration was assumed to be tantamount to urbanization resulting from rural-urban migration.

The conclusions yielded by any empirical research are expected to throw some light on the hypothesis it sets out to

investigate. In the present case, the ultimate object of the exercise was to consider whether the effects of migration or urbanization have been either of a generally equilibrating or disequilibrating nature with regard to population and income distribution in South Africa. The fact that an unequivocal answer to the question remains elusive, at least at the present stage of South Africa's economic development, is an indication of the complexities involved in the present study.

6.2 Migration theory

Migration/urbanization is a dynamic process of which all the implications for national development are not easy to identify or to predict. It is necessary to analyse empirically the process of socio-economic change as it is taking place, as well as its interrelationship with migration/urbanization, to determine these implications. The character of migration differs in various countries and regions within countries, resulting in most positive conclusions on migration often being questioned. Given the contradictory results when using mathematical techniques, this thesis makes an analytical analysis of economic history to achieve an improved understanding of current migration/urbanization trends.

Attempts to present migration merely as a response to a finite number of seemingly relevant causes invariably mask the real complexities of genuine human action and social behaviour. Migrant activity is far too complex to be incorporated into a single universal model that can be applied to every historical period. Migration/urbanization displays the following characteristics: It is not a process which can be isolated and examined outside of its societal context; the location, size, distribution and internal social and spatial organization of cities, are at the same time an empirical record of past decisions. It is also the contextual environment which channels and constrains contemporary social action and behaviour; understanding the dynamics of migration/urbanization requires a macro-perspective which can encompass the continuous and holistic

interaction between social process and spatial form as it evolves over time; and population concentration is an adaptive process while urban tradition is country-unique. A great deal can however be learnt from existing theory that may be relevant to the present situation. Given these circumstances, reliable statistics and empirical studies are the only means to reconcile the theory and the practice of migration/urbanization.

The fact that migration/urbanization may have either an equilibrating or a disequilibrating effect on the spatial distribution of population and income is the only prediction that can be made. The ultimate object of this thesis was to investigate what the factual outcome has been in South Africa.

6.3 Migration/urbanization in developing and developed countries

In both the urban and rural populations of developing countries fertility is generally higher than it was in most of the developed countries at a comparable stage of development. Moreover, cities which are growing largely from rural-urban migration have a very different character to a city which is growing almost exclusively from natural population increase. Therefore, it is necessary to account for the forces underlying rural-urban migration if correct policy measures are to be taken. The interventionist role of government is also more important in developing countries now than it had been for advanced economies when they were at similar levels of urbanization.

In most developing countries the urban poor, as much as their rural counterparts, are seemingly caught in a vicious circle where low incomes prevent access to better education, nutrition and health. These in turn lead to low productivity and income which deny poor people the means of economic improvement. By contrast, conditions are almost the opposite in the developed countries. Their population increase may yield increasing returns to labour, because the birth rate is

under control and the death rate does not respond significantly to improved living conditions.

In most developed countries, there is often very little difference between urban and rural incomes, especially when relative costs of living are taken into account. As discussed in Chapter 3, urban incomes are generally two-and-a-half times higher than rural incomes in developing countries. Such differentials are generally highest in Africa, where urban growth has been very rapid. Moreover, urbanization in developing countries is often characterized by a heavy concentration of economic activity and wealth in a few large population centres. It would seem that migration/urbanization has an equilibrating effect on income distribution in developed countries. By contrast, the effect is generally disequilibrating on income distribution in developing countries.

The urban hierarchies of developing countries tend to be dominated by one, or a few large centres with limited links to their hinterlands. By contrast, the pattern of urbanization characterizing metropolitan systems in developed countries is one of declining city cores and expanding rings. Growth is spilling over into the outer rings and creates areas with little affinity to the central core. The urban-rural turnaround seems to be selective of the more affluent communities in the countries where it occurs. As such it could have an equilibrating effect on population and income distribution. However, it is too soon to determine the effect because the urban-rural migration process has only begun.

Developing countries generally focus on the external sector with their cities more closely linked to centres in other countries than to large parts of their own hinterlands. Their outer-peripheral areas or non-modern parts of their hinterlands remain functionally peripheral to their economy. The same applies to a large portion of the population, both rural and, increasingly, urban. In developing countries the continued growth of sophisticated non-primary activities does

not result automatically in a more even geographical distribution of the urban system and the elimination of dualism in the economy, as have occurred in developed countries. Thus, it would seem that migration/urbanization has a disequilibrating effect on the spatial population distribution in most developing countries. This effect is generally equilibrating in most developed countries.

The general conclusion drawn from this study is that the combined process of migration and urbanization has not had an equilibrating effect on geographical population distribution in most developing countries. From this it may be inferred that migration/urbanization has also been economically disequilibrating, in the sense that it has not closed the income gap that triggered the migration/urbanization process in the first place. This has generally also been the case in South Africa which is in many respects a microcosm of the world as a whole. By contrast, migration/urbanization has generally had an equilibrating effect in the highly developed or industrialized countries, where there is also little difference between average urban and rural incomes. Affluence plays a significant role in the urban-to-rural migration turnaround or counter-urbanization movement that is already evident in the advanced industrialized countries. Urbanization has hitherto had a generally equilibrating effect in the developed countries. The new urban-rural movement also seems to be potentially equilibrating. However, the quantitative impact of the urban-to-rural turnaround is likely to be much less than that of the previous rural-to-urban population shift that preceded it.

The integration process in developed countries only started after they had attained a certain threshold in the economic development process. It is not self-evident that this threshold will be reached in all developing countries. Economic development and urbanization are therefore country-unique and depend largely on social action and human behaviour. Moreover, the lack of sufficient investments in developing countries will probably lead to more concentration in and domination of one or a few large urban centres.

Differences in the character of the migration/urbanization process between South Africa and other developing and developed countries, provide some interesting insights into the benefits of urbanization as well as into the conditions necessary for those benefits to be realized. Moreover, the distinctions demonstrate that the rate and character of migration/urbanization in South Africa are not synonymous with development. The practice up to 1991 has been to develop separate residential areas for the various population groups within the same urban area. This has resulted in black towns developing primarily as residential or dormitory towns. However, urbanization is a major force which could be employed in the economic and human development of South Africa.

Migration/urbanization is the natural outcome of economic development and is a feature of the developing countries of the 20th century. This cause-and-effect relationship in the urbanization process cannot artificially be halted once it is in motion, unless population growth itself is curbed. Even then there is a lag of many generations before the status of economic development and/or a stable population is attained. While these countries are in the process of development (cause) migration and urbanization will take place (effect). Economic development is a matter of choice between various alternatives. Likewise, migration or urbanization is a trade-off between alternatives. Developing countries could opt for a high migration rate now, followed by higher economic development later. The alternative is a lower migration rate now, followed by lower economic development later. Trying to delay the migration/urbanization process can only postpone the inevitable economic causes and consequences of urbanization.

6.4 Migration/urbanization trends in South Africa

The mineral discoveries in South Africa led to a shift in the centre of economic activity and the emergence and strengthening of an urban core consisting mainly of the four big metropolitan areas. The growth of non-metropolitan

regions with "modern" mining and agricultural activities and their associated towns developed as an inner periphery. Thirdly, an outer periphery or region of declining traditional or "non-modern" activities remained from which labour, potential purchasing power and surpluses of human capital were drawn. The outer periphery corresponds roughly with the non-urban areas of the national states.

South Africa has an isolated urban concentration pattern. In 1985 only 13 centres in South Africa had populations of more than 100 000 people. These centres contributed 66 per cent of the total urban population. Some 115 centres had populations between 10 000 and 100 000 and 599 centres had populations smaller than 10 000, contributing respectively 23 per cent and 11 per cent to the total urban population. The nature of most secondary and tertiary economic activities has had, and continues to have, significant spatial implications for the urban hierarchy. In addition, advanced-country technology, automation and mechanization add to the attraction of the large centres. The current human settlement is characterized by three main features, namely the dominant position of a few large urban concentrations, the numerical superiority of certain population groups in certain geographical areas, and the much greater density of the population in the eastern part of the country in comparison with the western part.

The spatial ordering of individual South African cities and towns is unique in that the largest part of the low-income group's urbanization has taken place on the peripheries of RSA towns and cities on both the micro-spatial and the macro-spatial level. At the micro level peripheral settlements or satellite towns are typical around "white" towns and cities within the RSA. Macro-peripheral settlements relate mainly to urbanization in the national states, near bigger cities and towns in the RSA. These black urban areas increasingly take the form of informal settlements. The low-income population group living in the outer-periphery or low-income suburbs are mainly commuters. As such, they are obliged to travel relatively long distances

to their places of employment and other facilities not available in the settlements. Both micro-peripheral and macro-peripheral black urban settlements have implications as regards commuting time, outflow of buying power and limited employment for these communities.

The settlement character in South Africa reflects the interaction between its population, the environment and certain socio-economic and political processes that have been at work and have had a direct and indirect influence on its internal migration/urbanization. Historically, the various population groups have reacted differently to economic development impulses at different times. Institutional and political measures had a considerable effect on the mobility of some population groups. The distribution of land also complicated the population distribution character and influenced the speed and direction of urbanization. Thus, urbanization in South Africa has two main components: Firstly, a natural urbanization process based on the economic and social mobility of the white population group; and secondly, a regulated urbanization process based on control of the mobility of black people.

The acceptance of a new regional development policy in 1982 finally, concluded the era in which geographical separation of the population groups was seen as the prime objective. Since then the national states have been treated as integral parts of the nine broader development regions demarcated on functional grounds. Moreover, intra- and interregional cooperation is essential within and between these regions if migration/urbanization is to have an equilibrating effect on population and income distribution in South Africa.

Dualism in the levels of income distribution, economic development, migration and urbanization has a high positive correlation between the race groups. Furthermore, this dualism broadly divides the population into a developing low-income peripheral component and a developed high-income core. The practice of developing separate residential areas for the various population groups within the same urban area,

has strengthened and perpetuated the dominant-dependency relationship between the core and the periphery. The migration or urbanization process has clearly been disequilibrating between the various race groups in general.

6.4.1 Settlement character of the different population groups

The white population, of whom 89,6 per cent was already urbanized in 1985, has virtually completed its rural-urban migration phase. The current migration of the white population is taking place mainly from the south to the north and from the smaller towns to larger urban areas. Owing to the growth in the PWV area, population numbers in the Cape and Orange Free State are increasingly lagging behind the Transvaal which accommodated 54 per cent of the white population in 1990.

Of the coloured population, 77,8 per cent was urbanized in 1985. In 1990 it was estimated that 84,7 per cent of the total coloured population lived in the Cape Province, the majority living in the Cape Metropolitan Area.

As discussed in Chapter 4, some 93,4 per cent of the Asian population was already urbanized in 1985. In 1990 it was estimated that 79,4 per cent of the total Asian population lived in Natal, 16,5 per cent in Transvaal and the remaining 3,7 per cent in the Cape Province.

In absolute numbers, the urban black population overtook the urban white population soon after 1946, and has since steadily increased its numerical superiority. However, according to census statistics only 32 per cent of the black population of South Africa was urbanized in 1980, compared to 39,6 per cent in 1985. In 1980 it was estimated that 8 per cent of the population of the TBVC-countries was urbanized, as against about 15 per cent in the self-governing national states. An urbanization rate of 57 per cent was estimated for the black population in 1990. In 1990 it was also estimated that 32,9 per cent of the total black population

lived in the self-governing national states, 25,4 per cent in the TBVC-states, 22,2 per cent in Transvaal, 8,2 per cent in the Cape Province, 7,2 per cent in the Orange Free State and 4,0 per cent in Natal.

The official estimates of black urbanization do not give an accurate account because the size of the squatter population is unknown and omitted from the totals. If account is also taken of black people "illegally" resident in the formal towns at the time of the 1985 census, but probably not enumerated as such, and those who are functionally urbanized but resident in the outer periphery, the actual level of black urbanization is much higher than the official figures.

The functions of the areas set aside for black agriculture changed progressively after the Second World War and have emerged as primarily political entities. Within the context of a rapidly growing urban-based formal sector and the increasing commercialization and mechanization of farming in the inner-peripheral areas, as well as the political philosophy of separate development, the outer periphery came to serve three new functions: Firstly, it served to accommodate a large number of households previously resident on white-owned farms and "black spots". The economically active members mostly became members of the migrant or commuter labour force. Moreover, the outer periphery accommodated increasing numbers of economically inactive black women, children, the aged and the unemployed. In many cases these people were not permitted by law, to remain in urban areas. Secondly, as the labour requirements of the economy changed and an oversupply of unskilled labour emerged, these areas accommodated a large portion of the potential migrants who were unemployed. Thirdly, outer peripheral areas had to accommodate increasing numbers of urban black people in formal towns.

The populations of national states have also become increasingly dependent upon the formal urban-based sector of the economy located largely outside their boundaries. Furthermore, they have become increasingly urbanized,

initially mainly in a functional sense but increasingly also in a physical sense. The growing urban populations located in both their formal towns and in the mushrooming squatter settlements are characteristic of all developing countries.

The white, Asian, and to a lesser extent the coloured population groups, have virtually completed their rural-urban migration phase. Their transition was largely a natural urbanization process based on free economic and social mobility. It may be inferred that, with some exceptions, the process has generally had an equilibrating effect on the income distribution within these groups. However, marked income differences still exist between the different race groups in South Africa. The observed spatial population distribution within the various population groups seems, however, to have been less equilibrating than in the case of income distribution.

6.4.2 Migration trends and the migrant labour system

The demographic characteristics in most developing countries have not improved significantly over time. Approximately half the urban population increase in most of these countries is still the result of immigration and the subsequent birth of families to first-generation migrants. The uneven population and income distribution in South Africa makes internal spatial mobility inevitable. In addition, the increasingly greater horizontal and vertical mobility of the developing population in South Africa, places great pressure on urban infrastructure and services.

Empirical evidence in 1985 shows that 55 per cent of all migrants, and 97 per cent of those born in rural areas, migrated directly from a rural environment to the PWV complex. Although stepwise migration is not significant in the PWV context, it has had a significant effect in the CMA. While more than 23 per cent of the black population has lived outside the PWV area at some stage, only 7 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were considering moving from the area permanently. Apparently, the PWV area is the

ultimate migration destination for a large portion of migrants.

Rural-urban circulating or temporary migration has become a way of life for many members of South African rural households. However, many households would permanently leave the communal land they live on if the perceived cost of living in rural areas should exceed the perceived cost of urban living. The significant income inequality in the rural areas in relation to urban areas, could also play a major role in determining future migration/urbanization.

South Africa has a long history of planned intervention in urban development for political, social and other non-economic reasons. Many more black families in the outer periphery have not migrated permanently, because of the combination of influx control measures, the system of temporary labour migration, and the system of land tenure. Communal land rights permit a large number of households to retain access to land with a reasonable amount of security simply by virtue of continuous occupation. Moreover, the only real effect of planned intervention on migration or urbanization has generally been to make life more difficult for the poor and to encourage corruption. In South Africa intervention has only succeeded in postponing the inevitable economic causes and consequences of urbanization. The welfare losses from these policies have left South Africa with an underdeveloped urban infrastructure relative to the general economic development.

The economic role foreigners play in the South African economy is smaller now than it was in the past. As time passes, migration towards the cities becomes less important as a source of urban population increase. Natural population increase has already become the most important source of urban population growth for all the population groups in South Africa. However, as far as increased urbanization[1]

[1]That is an increased percentage of the total population taking up residence in urban areas.

is concerned, rural-urban migration remains the main source. The higher natural population growth rate in rural areas than in urban areas implies two options. Rural-urban migration could increase significantly over the short-term or become a long-term process in developing countries. In the South African situation the first option seems preferable, given the low carrying capacity and overcrowding of rural areas as well as the long-term advantages this could have.

Since 1986, the state has accepted the permanence of urban black people in South Africa, the abolition of influx control, and an orderly or positive urbanization strategy. The emphasis has shifted from limiting migration/urbanization to the accommodation of, and planning for, urban growth. The development role of the urbanization process has also been emphasized. Moreover, it is the State's intention that market forces be allowed to operate more freely than in the past (see also Chapter 7). Furthermore, the abolition during 1991 of discriminatory legislation, may have a significant influence on the future character of migration/urbanization.

The migration/urbanization process, as it affected black people, was regulated and controlled through various institutional and political measures. This had a significant negative effect on their mobility. Although it may be inferred that there are large differences in income distribution within and between regions, the strict control

of the horizontal and vertical mobility of the black population has led to a more equal geographical distribution of this population group. Income distribution between the core, inner-periphery and outer-periphery differs significantly for the black population group. Income distribution varies with the relative distance from the core.

6.5 Migration/urbanization in developing and developed towns of South Africa

Although the towns discussed in Chapter 5 are not in all respects representative of all towns, they nevertheless

expose most of the migration/urbanization characteristics prevailing in South Africa. Available evidence shows that as far as individual black towns are concerned, the controlled migration/urbanization process has had a generally disequilibrating effect. This seems to be even larger in the outer-peripheral areas than in the core and inner-peripheral areas.

6.5.1 Comparisons between Cape Town and Khayelitsha

Although it may appear paradoxical to compare a developing town, in existence for less than 10 years, with the oldest developed town in South Africa, the comparison is specifically made in order to accentuate the sharp contrasts that exist between developing and developed towns with respect to urbanization.

Due to the coloured labour preference, migration control to the Western Cape was applied specifically to black people until 1985. Under the assumption that the number of black people would stabilize or ultimately be phased out of the Western Cape, all housing construction for black people was stopped in 1964. Squatting and overcrowding increased rapidly in the absence of available accommodation. The establishment of Khayelitsha in 1983 was the first major development to address this situation. The initial objective was that residents of the existing black townships of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu as well as those of the squatter camps of Crossroads and KTC would be moved there. Although migration and urbanization increased significantly, especially after 1985, Khayelitsha was still the only area identified for the settlement of the growing black community in 1988. However, the unfreezing of development in Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and Mfuleni as well as the upgrading of Crossroads to a fully-fledged town has alleviated some pressure on Khayelitsha.

A combination of factors has given greater momentum to the migration of black people to the CMA in particular and to metropolitan areas in general. Improved transportation and communication links have brought the outer periphery and the

core closer together. Due mainly to the high rate of black migration, accurate and reliable figures of the black urban population do not exist. Furthermore, estimates of the black population in 1987/88 were generally about two-and-a-half times higher than the official figure forming the basis for planning and allocation of land in the CMA. In most instances official estimations seem to be too low, while non official estimates seem to be too high.

Of the total black population in April 1988, approximately 72 per cent indicated that they were born outside the study area and that they migrated to the Cape Flats. Of the total population 7,8 per cent was estimated to be of Ciskei origin and 52,1 per cent of Transkei origin. Almost 80 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had previously lived elsewhere on the Cape Flats. The conclusion can therefore be drawn that stepwise migration, mainly from informal to more formal residential areas, as well as intra-urban migration took place within the CMA to a large extent. A large portion of this migration could probably be ascribed to political decisions of the past. The increased horizontal and vertical mobility, due to the abolition of all legislation based on race and colour in 1991, could lead to a further migration within the metropolitan area.

Rural-to-urban migration may take place even if there is a relatively small chance of the prospective migrant finding employment in a city. For many young, unskilled and poor people, a marginal existence in the city is a considerable improvement on the more difficult conditions experienced in the outer peripheral areas. The relative attractiveness of employment and income levels, as well as the presence of family members in the CMA, encourage rural-urban migration. Large-scale net immigration to the metropolitan areas is likely to continue. However, the rate of migration and urbanization will probably be lower than that triggered by the sudden relaxation of inhibitory factors after 1986.

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Cape Town is characteristic of the settlement character of most white towns in South Africa. The fragmented nature of

the CMA's spatial development, represented by towns such as Atlantis, Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha, is the main reason for the inefficient, artificial and fragmented location of economic activity and markets. The artificial creation of satellite cities almost exclusively for low-income people about 30 to 50 kilometres from Cape Town, generally had the effect of aggravating the diseconomies of agglomeration. This also exacerbated the social and environmental concerns which the satellite cities were designed to overcome. These towns largely comprise a series of separate, unifunctional housing areas, cut off from the rest of the white town by freeways and buffers of open space. Moreover, the satellite towns are characterized by separation and dissipation.

The settlement character in the RSA strengthens and perpetuates the dominant-dependency relationship between developing and developed towns. Each area attempts to generate from within itself the full range of services and activities necessary for urban living. This co-existence gives rise to a core-periphery relationship with all its disadvantages for the low-income or dependent communities. The dominant-dependency relationship means that there is a continual drain of people and money from the low-income areas towards the high-income core area. While the central business district of the white town generally experiences a degree of overconcentration of economic activity, those of the satellite towns are insufficient to cater for the local communities.

Khayelitsha was planned as a dormitory suburb without much attention being given to the spatial and physical infrastructure essential for the creation of economic activities and/or employment opportunities within the area. Its establishment was designed by the provincial authorities and based more on ideology than on economic principles. Khayelitsha's location 30 kilometres from the Cape Town city centre, was mainly politically motivated. Typical of most black towns a large portion of the developed section of Khayelitsha consists of similar unifunctional basic houses.

A growing portion of the town is composed of informal houses. Some sections are nevertheless reserved for the development of middle- and high-income housing. A section called Site C is an informal settlement with electricity, waterborne sewage, and tarred roads provided.

A socio-economic survey of the Cape Flats by the Human Sciences Research Council (see Section 5.2.3:105), reveals that the two areas comprising Khayelitsha have the following migration characteristics. In Site C approximately 84 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were born outside the CMA and that they had migrated to the Cape Flats. Of the total population 10,6 per cent originated from Ciskei and 59,3 per cent from Transkei. Of these respondents 95 per cent indicated that they had previously lived elsewhere on the Cape Flats. In Khayelitsha, with its more permanent structures, 50,1 per cent of all respondents indicated that they were born on the Cape Flats. Of the total a further 3,4 per cent migrated from Ciskei, and 5 per cent from the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, while 35,6 per cent were of Transkei origin. Large differences in the migration characteristics can therefore exist in the same town or region.

Wesgro estimated the total black population in Khayelitsha at 305 523 in 1990. Migration has therefore played a large role in the population growth of Khayelitsha from 163 598 people in 1988, giving a compound rate of 36,6 per cent per annum. Even if the estimated population of 200 000 in 1988 is accepted, the compound growth rate of 24 per cent still seems unrealistically high. In 1988 the average number of housing structures on each plot in Site C was estimated at 1,98 dwelling units, while the corresponding figure in Khayelitsha was 1,47 dwellings. Accurate and reliable data which are unbiased and not based on guestimations, are important to plan the development of black towns. With proper planning migration/urbanization could contribute significantly to the economic and human development of the CMA.

The fact that Khayelitsha was isolated from the rest of the

CMA, and susceptible to the combined effect of high rents, transport costs and commodity prices, as well as hours of forced daily commuting, and stringent control measures, could still not discourage the migration of black people into the area. Khayelitsha which is planned ultimately to accommodate more than half a million people should include the full spectrum of local business development. Moreover, the strong informal sector and the demand for consumer goods and services, indicate the potential for employment creation and internal economic growth within Khayelitsha.

No towns in the inner-periphery are discussed specifically in this thesis. This stems from the fact that no urban appraisals have been made for such towns. Towns in the inner-periphery are relatively small and their problems are thus relatively small in national context. Towns in the inner periphery are however discussed briefly within the regional context, for example Queenstown is discussed with Whittlesea. Moreover, these towns were cast in the same mould as the large South African or metropolitan towns, albeit on a smaller scale.

6.5.2 Migration/urbanization in developing towns

Historical development and political events have influenced the settlement and development character of all black towns to a large extent. Furthermore, the subregional development potential is directly related to the peripheral location of these towns in the national space-economy, as well as in the regional and urban development of South Africa.

Large socio-economic and demographic differences exist between communities and sections within the same subregion. The fact that the Whittlesea subregion falls within the RSA, Ciskei and Transkei complicates its situation. In 1988 the black population comprised 94 per cent of the total subregional population. The population was roughly distributed in the ratio 1:1:2 between the RSA, Ciskei and Transkei, respectively. The respective urbanization rates were 72 per cent in the RSA, 36 per cent in Ciskei and 13 per

cent in the Transkei urban sector. Moreover, the 1988 rural population densities within the subregion were estimated at 28 hectares per person in the RSA, 2,1 hectares per person in Ciskei and 1,7 hectares per person in Transkei. While more than 80 per cent of the black population has a traditional rural subsistence lifestyle, some 75 per cent of the employment opportunities is provided through the temporary migrant labour system outside the subregion. Temporary migration is therefore an important element of life of both the individual and the community throughout South Africa. Thus, seen from a historical perspective, migration or urbanization has had a disequilibrating effect on the spatial population distribution in the subregion.

The subregional economy is highly integrated with, dependent on, and directly influenced by, the South African economy, and more specifically by Queenstown. Economic linkages between shops in these outer peripheral towns are generally weak while they depend largely on major towns within the national states or on larger towns in the RSA for supplies. However, the contact with these towns has negligible spin-offs for the local economy due to the dominant-dependency relationship.

Since 1960 there has been a steady decline in the white population of the subregion. By contrast, the black population's natural growth rate and immigration into Ciskei and Transkei was relatively high over the same period until 1985. The multiplier effect of such changes indicates the dynamic nature of migration. For instance, the total population loss (or gain) to a region was estimated at about 3,4 times its initial population loss (or gain). The unequal spatial population distribution will therefore lead to large gains in the low-income population and a loss in the high-income population. While the second and third generations represent a loss/gain of persons of working age, the third and fourth generations represent a loss/gain in terms of youth and fertility.

There is little likelihood that the subregion can effectively

accommodate the needs and aspirations of the large and rapidly growing subregional population. The population in the Hewu district, including Whittlesea, increased from 18 000 in 1960 to over 80 000 in 1985. The black population of Queenstown, including eZibeleni, has also experienced a steady increase. The population has virtually doubled over the past 25 years, reflecting an annual growth rate of 2,5 per cent. Migration from the subregion may be promoted to influence an equilibrating urbanization process at the regional and national levels. Whittlesea contributes most to the subregional development by offering focussed settlement and urbanization opportunities to the Hewu region.

The fragmentation of developing towns in the outer-periphery gives an illustration of town management along racial lines in South Africa. Whittlesea is an urban agglomeration consisting of two resettled suburbs, some informal settlements and adjacent peri-urban and rural villages. All these areas are considered functionally part of the urban complex. The town is spatially fragmented while the individual residential areas are spatially isolated and functioning independently. This results in duplication of services and infrastructure and leads to escalating costs. Furthermore, a differential level of engineering services is supplied to the various residential areas. This has led to conflict between the various communities of the Whittlesea residential areas.

Likewise, the Alice urban area is fragmented and administered by different government departments. This results in an uncoordinated and impractical management of the town. The university is virtually a separate town within Alice, with high-quality management and operation skills within its organization. This also results in duplication, while efficient town administration sometimes exists next to totally incapable administration.

The relatively low population growth rate in Alice compared to Whittlesea has placed less economic and political pressures on the town. The majority of commuters and

migrants may also by-pass Alice for better economic opportunities at larger urban centres in Ciskei and/or in the RSA. Migration/urbanization has had a significant disequilibrating effect on population distribution and the settlement character of most developing towns in South Africa. The large majority of the population falls within the low-income group. Although migration/urbanization has had an equilibrating effect on income distribution in the outer-peripheral areas, this income is generally very low.

Port St Johns is a small regional service centre in Transkei with a significant tourist potential. However, its economic base, physical infrastructure and building stock have undergone a period of decline since Transkei's independence. The existing housing stock has also deteriorated in recent years. There has also been virtually no investment in new housing for the past 15 years. This is indicative of the stagnation and decline of Port St Johns. Port St Johns, like most developing towns, comprises a number of distinct areas including a colonial town with modern additions, a typical black town, informal and more formal settlements, a military base and a number of farms. Furthermore, Port St Johns has a strong economic dependency on Umtata and other urban centres in Transkei and the RSA, typical of most peripheral towns.

Population statistics for all three of these regional service centres are based on estimates and assumptions. The official statistics on which the estimates are based were calculated by Ciskei and Transkei. Neither of these states has yet accepted the 1985 population census figures. Although the population statistics derived from censuses are normally regarded with suspicion and may be quite inaccurate, they do reflect certain trends. The subjective estimates by parties with vested interests are however often speculative and unreliable. Urban populations are generally estimated by multiplying an assumed occupancy rate per dwelling by the number of dwellings or by projecting a base figure with an assumed growth rate. This may have serious implications for the planning of urban development, especially in developing towns.

Due largely to international isolation initiatives, South Africa has experienced a structural decline in economic growth over the last decade. The independent states are significantly affected by this decline in economic growth. Moreover, they are faced simultaneously with increasing urbanization caused mainly by rapid population growth. Resettlement to the national states has further contributed to the distribution of poverty throughout Ciskei and Transkei. The income distribution of those in formal and informal employment is highly uneven in the outer peripheral towns. Their situation is compounded by the fact that they are located within Region D, which is currently the region economically most depressed. Thus, any benefits which may be derived from its residents commuting or migrating to adjacent employment nodes in the RSA, have significantly decreased.

Differences between South Africa and other developing as well as the developed countries, indicate that the rate and character of migration/urbanization are not synonymous with development. However, urbanization may become a major factor in the economic and human development of South Africa in the future. If urbanization can in fact be used as such a factor of growth and development, it may also come to have an equilibrating effect on interregional income distribution. However, if urbanization only serves to distort the development process, as has happened in South Africa in the past, it would then have an economically disequilibrating effect. Some policy options in this regard are discussed in Chapter 7.

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CHAPTER 7

SOME POLICY OPTIONS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRATION/URBANIZATION

7.1 Introduction

As stated in Section 3.5 above the future of the developing countries is likely to be of a predominantly urban nature. Therefore, the policy objective should not be to try to slow down migration/urbanization, but to economize on existing resources in order to upgrade the quality of urban life for the low-income communities. These societies' total resource stock may be increased by a positive and imaginative approach to urbanization (Herbert, 1975:12). Given the very different demographic and economic circumstances between the present-day urban situation in developing countries and the historical situation in the now developed countries, different policies are needed to solve the problems of growing urban unemployment.

Although some policy options are discussed, this thesis does not propose any new policies, strategies or plans for future urbanization. Such proposals would imply value judgements which should rest in the political arena. Such policies and strategies as were formulated and imposed on low-income communities in the past, were neither effective nor economically efficient. Neither will they be any better in future if they are not formulated in conjunction with the low-income communities. In a democratic society "the people" elect the institutions which plan and decide on their behalf. A democratically elected government or town council represents "the people" and decides for them.

Advocates of city change often fail to understand that physical change and the redistribution of city functions have great social and cultural implications for the communities concerned. Moreover, architects, planners and policy-makers

can obtain some understanding of these implications through a study of the historical process of urban growth, decay and revitalization. The largest and most difficult challenges to urban policy will be encountered in developing countries over the next decades. "In these countries, rapid and unanticipated urbanization, economic transformation and the legacy of past policy failures and neglect have led to a decline in the physical and human living environment in the cities and towns" (Ramachandran, 1989:2-3).

Some recent and authoritative predictions (Sadie, 1988; Simkins, 1990; Urban Foundation, 1990), and the implications for South Africa, are considered in this chapter. Tentative policy proposals are also suggested in the light of the poor record of migration and urbanization policies in South Africa in the past. This chapter analyses the projected urbanization trends in South Africa to the year 2000. This is followed by some lessons learnt from past experience. The author's impressions on two contemporary initiatives in South Africa are also briefly discussed.

7.2 Projected urbanization trends in South Africa

The South African urban population is expected at least to double between 1980 and 2000. Unless urban policies and practices are to be fundamentally different from what they were in the past, urban living conditions are more than likely to deteriorate progressively for all city dwellers (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:134). The metropolitan areas in particular, are expected to experience an accelerated black population growth. If for no other reason, this is bound to follow from the removal of official barriers to the black urbanization movement. Thus, an average annual growth rate of 6,1 per cent has been estimated for metropolitan Cape Town, that is, an increase in the black population from 187 900 persons in 1980, to 1 379 330 persons in 2000 (Cape Town City Council, 1986:25; see also Table 5.2).

The Urban Foundation (Simkins, 1990:6-Table 1) estimates that the black urban population will increase from 10,3 million in

1980, to 24 million in 2000. Coetzee (1989:9) argues that a figure of between 21 and 25 million people is a realistic estimate of black urbanization in the year 2000. The total urban population in South Africa is estimated at 35 million in the year 2000 (Van der Merwe, et al., 1988:1). The urban black population will increase significantly from 1991 to well into the next century. The main challenge in this respect is to create economic viability in the urban areas and for the people living in the growing informal settlements.

It can be expected that the total population of the eight functional metropolitan regions will increase from 12,0 million in 1980, to 24,1 million in 2000. This represents a 3,5 per cent compound growth rate per annum. Of this total the metropolitan regions in the national states are expected to grow from 2,2 million in 1980, to 6,7 million black people in 2000. Growth rates of between 3,0 and 7,65 per cent per annum are assumed for the different metropolitan regions (Simkins, 1990:5-6; Urban Foundation, 1990a:Appendix 6). The black component of the metropolitan areas is estimated to increase from 60 per cent in 1980, to 70 per cent in 2000. Of the total increase in the metropolitan areas, 44 per cent is estimated to be accounted for by net migration and 56 per cent by natural population increase. Nedcor-Old Mutual (1991) estimate the average number of rural-urban migrants per annum at 360 000 black people for the period 1986-2010. This is more than 1,0 per cent of the total black population per year.

If different growth rates are applied for metropolitan, urban and rural areas, the following projections of the number of black people to the year 2010 are projected. Based on these estimates the percentage of black people living in metropolitan areas, both in and outside the national states, is projected to rise from 35 per cent in 1985, to 45 per cent in 2000, to 49 per cent in 2010. The percentage living on farms outside the national states is projected to decrease from 14 per cent in 1985, to 9 per cent in 2000, to 8 per cent in 2010. The percentage of black people living in the

towns outside the national states is projected to remain constant at just under 7 per cent (Urban Foundation 1990b:10-11).

The absolute number of people in the rural areas outside the national states is expected to stabilize at about 4,2 million. The net out-migration from these areas is estimated at about 70 000 per year on average between 1985 and 2000. Furthermore, existing dense settlements are expected to be the source rather than the destination of migration flows. The rural areas of the national states are likely to become the principal regions of out-migration in the 1990's (Simkins, 1990:7). The rate of migration and urbanization will also depend to a large extent on the policy framework within which they take place.

It is unclear what the "new" South Africa (free from racial discrimination) will eventually look like. However, some indication of the changes and reversals of state policy on urbanization was given by the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs when introducing the debate on his budget vote on 21st May 1990. Mr Kriel (Star, May 22 1990:12) said that estimates indicated that the current black urbanization rate was between 56 and 57 per cent. This meant that about 15 million black people were urbanized in 1990. It was further estimated that this rate could increase to 75 per cent at the turn of the century when between 25 and 26 million black people may be urbanized. These figures correspond with those given by most demographers for South Africa (RSA, 1983:147; Sadie, 1988:4; Thompson & Coetzee 1987:9). However, large numbers of people will end up in informal settlements adjacent to the existing, fairly modern cities. Thus, within a relatively short period South Africa will also have the appearance of a developing country (Van Eeden, 1990:9).

7.3 Some lessons learnt from past experiences

One of the most painful lessons learnt from the experience of the past forty years in South Africa, is that economic

realities cannot be ignored and are essential to political decision-making. Issues and realities of economic efficiency have not always received sufficient attention. The basic problem was, however, that a mass restructuring of the economy as originally envisaged did not prove to be possible. In a "new" South Africa any programmes to bring about changes in the distribution of income and wealth between population groups, should therefore take cognisance of what is economically possible. Future development will probably involve a gradual movement towards minimum basic standards for everybody, with user-charging for anything above these standards (Van Eeden, 1990:3-4). Initially, these minimum basic standards may include the site with water and basic sanitation only for the very low-income communities.

It is a misconception that the mere provision of housing in itself can form the basis of, or lead, the economic development process in urban areas. If however, the provision of self-help and other forms of housing for low-income groups can be stimulated, the demand for building materials and household accessories can play a significant role in strengthening multiplier effects. This may support an inward-directed development process in urban areas. The development of infrastructure and low-cost housing at affordable standards implies that service standards should differ over the full spectrum of incomes. However, the initial differentiation will no longer be based on race but on income levels. The possibility of upgrading existing housing and services to higher standards, as incomes increase, should also be built into the development process as a motivating force (Brand, 1989b:8-10). Under these circumstances urbanization can be a stimulating factor in the development of the manufacturing sector. However, the provision of housing cannot provide the kind of initial economic base needed for an inward-directed development process on its own.

Another lesson learnt from past experience of regional development concerns financing. Urban services and

decision-making cannot be decentralized without the necessary means to finance them. These means should be available on a basis that will facilitate financial responsibility, accountability and stability. The lessons concerning the more micro-aspects of development programmes and projects can be summarized as sustainability and affordability. A link is, however, still to be found between the administrative and political decision-making processes and institutions in South Africa on the one hand, and functional economic realities, as found in the nine development regions, on the other (RSA, 1986; Van Eeden, 1988:97-98; Van Eeden, 1990:6). Many possibilities for future development exist, for example cooperation on the basis of the present KwaZulu and Natal joint executive authority and amalgamations of self-governing territories and provinces, in line with the principles of functional development units.

Planning in conjunction with developing communities while taking cognisance of the affordability and economic realities within these communities is needed for successful economic development. In most developing African countries, rapid and unanticipated urbanization, economic transformation and the legacy of past policy failures and neglect, have led to a steep decline in the physical and human living environment in these cities and towns since independence. The process of urban growth in most developing countries is not official new urban development, but the spontaneous settlement in squatter and shanty towns outside and within all large Asian, African and Latin American cities. These settlements house nearly half the urban population and are growing twice as fast as the regulated parts of these cities. According to estimates, as much as 80 per cent of urban housing in some countries is of the self-built variety in these settlements (Ramachandran, 1989:3). South Africa must accept that it is a developing country. The needs and aspirations of the low-income communities' migrating to cities, should be accommodated in future planning.

Given the fact that informal settlements house one-third to one-half of the total urban population, and are growing twice

as fast as the regulated parts of cities, they are indeed the real new towns of the developing countries. They constitute a new world built on top of the old. Ultimately, the only option is to view the phenomenon from the perspective of the low-income participants and to work with them in improving their physical environment. Such an enabling approach to shelter is as necessary to human health and welfare as it is to sustaining stable family life in particular and social stability in general (Ramachandran, 1989:4-5). This in turn is a necessary prerequisite for a sustainable development process. Moreover, government policy, institutions and legal frameworks that enable people to develop and improve their own situation as far as practically possible, may have the best chance of success.

The Development Bank of Southern Africa is currently facilitating urban development plans[1] for a number of black towns and cities. The development objectives of these plans are to give direction, and to cater for the coherent and integrated implementation of development actions. This may facilitate these towns to fulfil their regional economic and urban functions. However, the problems experienced, and the backlogs in black towns being so large, hundreds of millions of rands will be needed for the upgrading of existing facilities only. The urban development plan project constitutes the first phase of a longer-term development planning and programming process. However, this can take a long period to prepare, while being a costly exercise.

The most important constraints present in many black towns are the management and maintenance of the current and proposed infrastructure and development projects. Even if funds were available, the institutional capacity for supervising the implementation and for maintaining of the infrastructure and other economic development projects, does not exist in these communities (DBSA, 1989b:33 and 54; Cook, 1989:7-21). Although priority projects can be implemented

[1]See Annexure 1 - Port St Johns development plan.

during the preparation of the urban development plan, the whole process needs further refining to speed up the process and to adapt it to the various urban sizes and forms in South Africa.

The urbanization pattern resulting from the unique set of influences in South Africa, cannot be conducive to the development of balanced urban areas (Brand, 1989b:6). The low earnings, high portion of migrant workers and associated incomplete families, weak local-government institutions and inadequate financial structures in developing urban areas, are rather conducive to economic stagnation and growing poverty.

To turn these low-income cities from stagnation to dynamic development, South Africa has accepted an integrated urban development approach (Coetzee, 1988). This involves five mutually supportive elements, namely the development of a sustainable economic base, the creation of infrastructure, the procurement of housing, the provision of educational and social services, and the creation of a sound urban financial base and management system. Given the large backlogs in the provision of these facilities in most developing urban areas, and the large income differences between communities, changes in present policies and strategies should be effected. This may be achieved by means of a reallocation of government expenditure. One example is the provision of infrastructure and services through DBSA's urban development projects.

Empirical experience gained from urban development in South Africa shows that an increase in the income base is essential for development in the tertiary and informal urban sectors. These changes may be stimulated through multiplier effects to the extent of providing an acceptable quality of life. Where the industrialization route had been chosen in an attempt to expand the economic base of urban areas, but did not yield adequate results, a substitute base has been provided by earning income in other urban centres through a system of migrant and/or commuter labour. A significant degree of economic development, derived from migration/commuter

remittances, has occurred in many black towns in the vicinity of white towns (Brand, 1989b:7). Although this occurs at a high social cost, the optimum development strategy for such areas is to maximize the local multiplier effects of the migrant and/or commuter incomes.

The World Bank also has policy papers dealing with urban policy and economic development (World Bank, 1991:54-72). Their new urban agenda for the 1990's includes the following strategy for the developing countries. Firstly, it is of considerable importance to ensure the productivity of the urban economy. Its contribution to macroeconomic performance can be increased by reducing the constraints on urban productivity. Secondly, it is important to increase the contribution of the urban poor to the urban economy. This should contribute directly to alleviating the growing incidence of urban poverty. Thirdly, sustainable approaches to the management of the urban environment should be developed, and fourthly, there is a need to increase the level and broaden the scope of research and development in the urban sector. This strategy shares many similarities with the approach, as discussed below, of the Multi-lateral Technical Committee on Urbanization.

An improved understanding of the new character of urban growth, such as the emergence of megacities and the urban linkages to macroeconomic performance, is essential to formulate policies and strategies at the national, regional and local levels. The diversity of local conditions and the capacities to respond thereto, create the need to develop a broad-based learning approach (World Bank, 1991:55). South Africa can therefore learn from the international experience of the World Bank. Moreover, the people who could do such research are available and ready to proceed. These initiatives cannot wait until the political solutions have been achieved in South Africa. Panels of experts (see RSA, 1989b) could be nominated by the different political parties to deal with socio-economic problems while others concentrate on the political agenda.

7.4 Some policy options

Squatter-settlement upgrading has proved insupportable in the legal and bureaucratic context of most developing countries. Furthermore, hardly any developing country has been able to produce affordable sites and services on a scale remotely approaching housing needs. Therefore, this approach has had only limited success. Moreover, settlement needs are growing many times faster than they are being met by present programmes. Something more than squatter-settlement upgrading and site-and-services programmes in their present form is required if settlement needs are to be met (Hyland, 1989:4). The main objective of a new strategy should be to make conditions for self-help and mutual aid as favourable as possible. This may be done through sets of enabling actions in support of locally determined, self-organized and self-managed settlement programmes.

The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) assigns the pivotal role in urban management to local government. Greatly expanded training programmes are prerequisites for upgrading urban management to acceptable levels. An enabling settlement strategy and/or settlement management is one way of creating these new responsibilities. However, enabling settlement strategies have little to offer to those who live in poverty and destitution. These communities need direct assistance through programmes shaped by principles other than those of affordability and cost recovery (Hyland, 1989:5-14). Although most of these sentiments are generally shared by the authorities, the empirical record and recent successes in South Africa are not significant.

Ways and means to bridge the gap between the developed and developing communities and economic sectors in South Africa may become increasingly important. Programmes and projects which facilitate access to opportunities and resources are needed. Moreover, such projects should be supported by deregulation, financing, extension, training and infra-structural programmes (Van Eeden, 1990:8-10). South Africa's

experience, know-how and proven record of success could serve as a stimulant for donor countries to become involved in the subcontinent as a whole if political developments are successful. However, economic stability and growth are prerequisites for the success of any development initiatives.

The challenge facing South Africa lies in allowing for a rapid rate of migration or urbanization of black people. Conditions in urban areas for existing and new residents should be improved simultaneously, in terms of both living conditions and income-earning opportunities. Given the limited availability of capital and the shortage of skills, it is inevitable that the urban areas will increasingly accommodate the low-income developing component of South Africa (Thompson & Coetzee, 1987:49). Moreover, mass poverty may be reduced by developing relatively larger portions of less sophisticated housing and informal economic activity as discussed in 7.5 below.

In Southern Africa, a pressing need remains for reducing the birth rate in the shortest possible time-span. Any delay in bringing down fertility is bound to result in less economic progress, and missed opportunities of raising living standards. Moreover, the growth in the numbers of the working-age population will continue. South Africa therefore faces large increases in its labour force. It needs a sustained increase in both human and physical capital investment, merely to maintain the stock of capital per worker and current levels of productivity (concluded from World Bank, 1984:86; Mears, 1988:56). Failure to decrease the population growth rate in the low-income communities in general, and in Southern Africa in particular, may itself reduce the set of feasible macroeconomic and spatial policy options. The World Bank (1984:104) found that this may permanently foreclose some of the available long-term development opportunities.

7.5 Current initiatives in South Africa

Some impressions on two contemporary initiatives are briefly discussed in this section.

7.5.1 A policy framework for urbanization and urban development in Southern Africa

The above policy framework was approved on 23 August 1990 by the ECOSA Ministers responsible for urban development. While this policy framework only establishes the underlying principles and guidelines for urban development, the application of the policy and the formulation of urban development strategies are left to the national states concerned. This document is the product of cooperation between ECOSA states and was formulated by the Multi-lateral Technical Committee on Urbanization. It is based on the South African White Paper on Urbanization, the ECOSA Integrated Approach to Urbanization and Housing, the South African President's Council Report on Urbanization as well as the Southern African Regional Development Policy (RSA, 1986; MTC, 1990:1+15). Similar or other types of cooperation and communication between the state and different interest groups, may be essential for all future policies in South Africa.

Due to many complex problems an integrated and comprehensive approach was adopted "embracing the economic, social, physical, technical, institutional, financial and environmental dimensions of urban development" (MTC, 1990:2). Moreover, it is seen as important that urbanization and urban development policies promote "structural economic reform" and "viable urban communities" (MTC, 1990:2-3). The interdependent and complementary nature of rural and urban development is also accepted as a pillar of this policy. Furthermore, emphasis is placed on the following aspects inter alia: Appropriate standards to ensure the cost-effective and affordable attainment of development objectives; improving the institutional capacity at central and local government level; and sound financial management.

Given the reality of the urbanization process and the scarcity of resources, urban development planning may provide the framework to facilitate "strategic decision making".

Moreover, urban management and urgent projects should proceed in a synchronized manner within a realistic programming and budgeting system. Urban development planning should also be directed at economic growth, employment and social stability. Three sets of urban development programmes are distinguished to promote an integrated approach to urbanization and urban development (MTC, 1990:3-11). These are programmes to improve the economic base of urban areas, socio-economic development and productivity, and the financial and urban management of these areas.

Some regional or metropolitan form of government that may integrate development functions at the local government level, is also needed. Systems similar to the present Regional Services Councils, which are devised by all interested parties, may be used. This may provide certain facilities and services jointly while sharing sources of revenue (MTC, 1990:11-15). Shared goals may also be reached by urban development planning. The hidden agenda of these plans is to improve urban management systems by strengthening the institutional structure and developing the administrative support function. Planning may also be based on a realistic development perspective which identifies opportunities and constraints, as well as the key points of intervention needed from the different role players.

Unless the poor are allowed increasing participation in the development of their own communities and national societies, the risk of social alienation, political discord and civil strife may threaten the stability in developing countries (Ramachandran 1989:6). Even with the correct policy measures and management it is still doubtful whether many developing countries could successfully accommodate their rapidly increasing urban populations.

7.5.2 The inward industrialization strategy

In the last few years, the concept of inward industrialization has been propagated by many researchers and other interested persons in academic and government circles. In

addition, the inward industrialization strategy is seen as a cure for many structural economic problems, and more specifically the overregulation of the South African economy.

The term was first used in South Africa by Lombard, et al., (1985:1) and is defined by Lee (1987:15) as "domestically generated growth, based upon supplying basic consumer products[2] and facilities[3] to the rapidly urbanizing black population, with the increasing labour force coming from the rural areas simultaneously finding employment in these existing industries." Thus, industrial development is in essence generated by the growing domestic urban market. According to Maasdorp & Hofmeyr (1987:1), the only contribution made by this strategy lies in creating an awareness in various influential quarters, including government and the African National Congress, that there is a large potential black consumer market and that the exploitation of this potential offers an opportunity for further industrial growth. Moreover, this potential could be employed in the economic and human development of South Africa.

This concept has obtained an applicability quite specific to the South African situation, with several important elements attached to it. These elements include, inter alia, the provision of "basic needs" goods, the generation of incomes in providing these goods, as well as the associated multiplier effects on expenditure and incomes, and the stimulation of employment opportunities resulting from the envisaged expansion in the market. Furthermore, policy-makers distinguish it from import substitution (Zarenda, 1989:4-5). In short, there are nearly as many inter-pretations of the concept as there are authors on the subject. For example, "inwards industrialization" was also defined as an agricultural development strategy to exploit

[2]These include clothing, shoes, furniture, basic foodstuffs, building materials and housing utensils, also referred to as urban products.
[3]Sites and services, low-cost housing, transport services and inputs in infrastructure, also referred to as urban services.

market opportunities created by increased agricultural investment (Van Rooyen & Vink, 1989:28).

From an economic development point of view, inward industrialization is perceived to change potential demand into effective demand. This means creating employment opportunities for the increasing labour force of the urban areas. The increased employment brings about increased purchasing power and the satisfaction of basic and other needs. In this process inward industrialization may stimulate other industries. Thus, it may multiply the employment-creating effect in a particular area (Kirsten, 1989:1). However, development literature is rich in slogans but poor when it comes to practical and workable development objectives and policies (Schaefer, 1980:6).

The state's envisaged development pattern foresees that as the process of political reform develops, more black people may gain effective participation in the economy. The Economic Advisory Council (1986:9) expects that the distribution of income could then shift towards the lower-income groups. The ensuing larger domestic demand is expected to lead to a more differentiated production structure, with producers being more dependent on the growing local market and less dependent on imports and exports.

The Economic Advisory Council (1986:10) does not see the process of inward industrialization replacing export promotion and/or import substitution. "On the contrary, it can only provide a supplementary stimulus for economic growth" (1986:10). The domestic demand structure arising from urbanization may even create new opportunities for export and/or import substitution. The Government's industrial development policy should therefore be "implemented on the understanding that due account should also be taken of the possibilities inherent in inward industrialization" (1986:10). The new opportunities for exports, and especially for import substitution, which may emanate from such developments should be exploited. Moreover, inward-directed industrialization strategies

perform poorly and generally have a much lower growth potential than outward-looking strategies (Nedcor-Old Mutual, 1991).

According to Lombard (1989:3+7) the assumption underlying inward industrialization in South Africa is that production creates its own demand. This means that production creates income and income creates demand and expenditure. However, the South African national accounts totally ignore the significant economic activity that is taking place in the informal sector. People making a living in the informal sector should also have free access to the formal sector and to its progress while extending the market. The rural counterpart of the informal sector, in the form of traditional agriculture, is also not taken into account. Unemployment estimates tend to be overstated as a result of the omission of the informal sector and traditional agriculture (Truu & Contogiannis, 1987:175). The effect of informal-sector activity may increase black per capita income by about 50 per cent, thereby reducing the racial income gap considerably (Van den Berg, 1990:12; RSA, 1989a and 1990:44-45).

Inward industrialization is mainly based on urbanization of low-income communities and the economic benefits attributable thereto. This may play a significant role in the development of the late-developing countries of today, as it did in the development of the already developed countries. Moreover, certain social benefits are associated more with urban life, for example the availability of amenities in respect of education, health services and cultural and sport facilities. These services create the potential for a richer social life in urban as compared to rural areas. Moreover, they can often be provided economically in an urban setting only (Brand, 1989b:3-4). A further benefit of urbanization is that a decline in the natural population growth rate is encouraged by the economic and social circumstances characteristic of healthy urban areas.

The President's Council (RSA, 1987:95) attempted to specify various options to effect the initiating increases in real income. According to the Report, deregulation of economic activity and promotion of the small-business sector may create employment opportunities and allow more urban black people access to markets. However, there is greater emphasis on the preconditions of the proposed inward industrialization strategy without suggestions on how to break out of the low-growth equilibrium trap which characterizes the South African economy (De Wet, 1990:62). An autonomous investment in the domestic economy is needed for industrial growth. Different writers (Terreblanche, 1985; Lombard, 1986a and 1986b; Maasdorp & Hofmeyr, 1987; Kirsten, 1988:22-29) have different ideas on what this trigger or "big push" should be. There is also a lack of visible and tangible attempts to initiate or sustain the process.

The role of the state is significantly underestimated by the advocates of inward industrialization. Firstly, the state should spell out the policy, goals and objectives for industrial growth in South Africa. The present industrialization policy is already outdated, given the rapid changes that have taken place over the last few years. The new partners in the political and economic fields are also not accommodated in current policies. An inward industrialization policy could significantly stimulate the current import-substitution and/or export-promotion policies. Secondly, the state's role as initiator of economic growth is essential. The initial autonomous investments should come from the state to enable South Africa to break out of the low-level equilibrium trap (Mears, 1990:20). Policy certainty and consistency as well as fiscal and monetary policy geared towards long-term economic growth are vital for employment creation in South Africa. More, rather than less, state control is therefore needed to ensure benefits for the low-income population. If migration and urbanization can facilitate and stimulate economic and human development, it may also have an equilibrating effect on spatial population and income distribution in South Africa.

7.6 Epilogue

A continous evolution of insight and understanding forms part of the process of development economics. This also provides the basis for realizing South Africa's development potential. Cooperation and communication may be the only options to achieve stable urban development for low-income communities. Economic growth and stability, rather than political "solutions" are the main prerequisites for achieving economic development. The abolition of discriminatory legislation during 1991, may thus come to have a significant influence on the formerly dualistic character of migration/urbanization in South Africa.

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ANNEXURES

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ANNEXURE 1: URBAN APPRAISAL FRAMEWORK

The urban appraisal was developed by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) to provide a more consistent approach to project appraisals and to achieve a better utilization of resources in the urban environment. Urban appraisals are internal assignments of DBSA with the aim of providing management with information to base their decisions on. The urban appraisal entails a full urban assessment, with the emphasis on the use of existing data, to investigate the role of a town within the regional and sub-regional spatial economics, as well as the institutional relationships and the financial arrangements required (DBSA, 1989b:2).

The urban appraisal assesses both the existing and projected economic base of an urban environment. The economic considerations take account of various sectors such as small business, industries and commerce which in part constitute the economic base of the urban area. The institutional component addresses the capacity and capability of existing or mooted management systems to manage and maintain the urban environment. The financial assessment addresses the financing of the developments over extended periods into the future. Fourthly, the technical considerations relate to requirements and standards of actual projects and to particular physical infrastructure. These considerations are done on the national, regional and local planning levels (DBSA, 1987a:4). Thus, the urban appraisal is a detailed analysis of the economic, technical, institutional and financial components of an urban economy.

The development objectives are: Firstly, to establish the needs and priorities of an urban community across the full spectrum of income levels and urban activities; secondly, to specify the major development parameters which influence these needs and priorities and to identify development issues, such as budget deficits, levels of affordability and management inadequacies. The aim of this economic viability study is to timeously identify any critical factors and deficiencies before planning and programming commence. None

of the so-called black towns is economically or financially viable, which implies some form of subsidy is necessary to finance development projects. The third development objective is to establish the direction of development the urban area should embark on with regard to land, housing, employment creation, sources of capital, institutional capacity, promoting and establishing community involvement and participation, and improving the rate base (DBSA, 1989b:2).

The Whittlesea and Alice Urban Appraisal assignments were a derivative of the Planning of Regional Centres project initiated by Ciskei in 1984. Whittlesea was designated as the primary urban growth centre for the Hewu Region. The Whittlesea Development Plan (Setplan, 1985) and Whittlesea Development Plan Phase II (Setplan, 1986) on project identification and costing, gave a comprehensive description of the Town's overall position. These reports came up with a potential five-year capital expenditure programme of R82 282 711 for the 1986 to 1990 period (Setplan, 1988:1 and appendix C).

Alice was designated the primary urban growth centre of Region 5 in Ciskei. The Alice Framework Plan (Republic of Ciskei, 1985a) and the Alice Master Planning and Project Identification Phase II (Republic of Ciskei, 1986), was done by Rosmarin and Associates. Subsequently in 1986, the Ciskei Government applied to DBSA for financing for ± 25 urban development projects costing R17 160 250 based on the findings of these reports (Horne Glasson Partners, 1989:64-76). The programming and sustainability of these projects in Whittlesea and Alice were questioned and this led to the Urban Appraisal Assignment projects.

The Port St Johns development plan was prepared on behalf of the Transkei Government. The development plan goes further than the urban appraisal. In conjunction with all the parties represented on the coordinating committee a detailed five-year action plan for the town was also prepared. Available information was found to be outdated and inadequate

for the purposes of the development plan. The existing data were therefore augmented by a series of surveys which included field research and interviews (Vandeverre, et al., 1989:1). Existing data used were mainly obtained from the Port St Johns Structure Plan (Rosmarin, et al., 1981), the Coastal Development Control Plan (Republic of Transkei, 1979; Rosmarin, et al., 1979) and the Spatial Development Plan for North-East Transkei (Osmond, et al., 1983). DBSA only facilitates a client in developing an urban development plan, but does not undertake the project itself.

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ANNEXURE 2: CONURBATION OF THE CAPE METROPOLITAN AREA

The CMA is defined as that area covered by Planning Region 39, which includes the magisterial districts of the Cape, Wynberg, Simonstown, Goodwood, Bellville, Kuils River, Stellenbosch, Strand, Somerset West, Paarl and Wellington, together with that part of the magisterial district of Malmesbury situated within the guide plan area for Atlantis and environs (Department of Development Planning, 1988:27). The CMA also coincides roughly with the boundary of the Western Cape Regional Services Council Area (Thomas, 1988:5; see also Figure 5.1).

The Cape Peninsula guide plan area (CMA) includes all or part of the areas of jurisdiction of the following local authorities: Bellville, Brackenfell, Cape Town, Durbanville, Fish Hoek, Goodwood, Kraaifontein, Kuils River, Milnerton, Parow, Pinelands, Simonstown, Western Cape Regional Services Council and the Cape Township Committee (Khayelitsha, Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu). In the CMA the growth of towns such as Paarl, Strand and Somerset West can be attributed to the growth of commuter suburbs and the outward movement of industries requiring space (Dewar & Watson, 1980:15). Beyond this belt, however, the area is sparsely populated and of a peripheral nature.

The Cape Metropolitan Area guide plan for the Peninsula requires that all urban development must fit into the programming of development as determined by the local authorities concerned and the Cape Provincial Administration. The guide plan provides a set of official guide-lines for the future spatial development of the CMA. The plan was formulated in view of present knowledge about the Peninsula, which may be supplemented and improved to keep up with changing circumstances, changes in peoples' needs, preferences and attitudes, and with technological advancement in many fields (Department of Development Planning, 1988:13-21). The guide plan shows some similarities to the urban appraisal although it analyses a wider area. New industrial areas of a limited extent may be established at

Khayelitsha, in particular the Philippi industrial area and the industrial areas on the Kuils River/Macassar axis under the guide plan.

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ANNEXURE 3: LESSONS LEARNT ON POPULATION ESTIMATES[1]

Valuable insights were obtained from a two-day field trip to Cape Town with the main objective of obtaining a better understanding of the widely fluctuating demographic estimates of between 300 000 and 1 000 000 for the black population of the CMA in 1988[2]. Discussions were held with Professor Sadie, a demographer at the University of Stellenbosch, Mr Thomas from the Small Business Development Corporation, Mr Ehlers, the director of Metplan with Mr van den Berg, Mr Naude of the CSIR, Mr Stroud, the principal planner of the Cape Town Metropolitan Transport Planning Committee, Dr Bekker, the HSRC director and Drs Schutte and De Wet, two methodologists of the HSRC's Western Cape branch. The visit also included a work session with Mr Sturgeon, the town planner responsible for the technical module of the Khayelitsha Urban Appraisal. Various discussions with CPA officials, academics and DBSA personnel also contributed to shaping the findings in this section.

In general, population estimates are too high while census figures are too low, especially in developing communities. Estimates on population size are generally conducted by people who have a vested interest in large numbers. Consequently most estimates and projections of population and migration figures have a large margin of error since they are not based on primary research.

[1]This section is based on a memorandum of the Development Bank of Southern Africa dated May 1989, with the title "Some pitfalls and lessons learnt during the determination of the population figure for the Khayelitsha Urban Appraisal" written by R.R. Mears. The author wishes to acknowledge the constructive comments of Glynn Davies, head of the former Urban Economic Policy Unit of DBSA and Gerd Sippel, a colleague.

[2]In April 1988 the HSRC survey of black people in the CMA estimated the total population at 293 470 people. Due to the large undercount a resurvey was conducted in November 1988. Based on the second survey and certain adjustments by the Cape Provincial Administration, the figure of 491 503 people was officially accepted for April 1988 (DBSA memorandum dated 18 April 1989; see also Table 5.2).

In this context the initial figure of 293 470 estimated by the HSRC survey is valuable as it provides information based on primary research. Except for the census figures, the available statistics do not provide any real indication of black demography. As such it is impossible to verify or assess the accuracy of estimates (Mears, 1989:2).

DBSA policy on population figures is to use existing data and official statistics where and whenever possible. Where demographic information is unavailable or unreliable, DBSA considers technical assistance for data collection. The Data Research Department of the DBSA has on computer the 1985 population census figures, adjusted for undercount by the HSRC. These statistics are available for development regions, statistical regions, magisterial districts, population groups and for urban and non-urban areas (Mears, 1989:3). These figures may be projected at any growth rate and for any period, and may also be adjusted to make provision for migration and/or for extraordinary population growth rates.

A neutral attitude towards population figures is desirable to guard against being influenced or persuaded to adopt a specific figure. In this respect an objective analysis based on realistic assumptions and all the relevant factors is required. An unbiased analysis is needed to make objective observations on population size and growth rate. Where doubt exists the available professional knowledge available at academic and other institutions may be utilized, especially those within the relevant area. Sound advice on how to address demographic problems can be obtained from these sources and/or data can be verified with knowledgeable sources.

Determining an accurate base figure for short-term planning is neither essential nor sufficient, but should not be used as an excuse for not obtaining reliable data. Where consensus on population size cannot be reached, a range of estimates may be used. In Khayelitsha it was found that the base figure was less important for planning than the growth

rate of the population. A survey spread over time and using block counting techniques may provide a better understanding of migration and seasonal fluctuations than one comprehensive survey, especially in developing communities. However, certain assumptions based on objective interpretation of data and verified with knowledgeable sources are needed to determine reliable population data in most developing countries.

Finally, it is important to define clearly the boundaries of the study area. In assessing Khayelitsha within a regional and subregional perspective difficulty was encountered with the conurbation of the CMA (Mears, 1989:2; Annexure 2). Confusion in the collection of data can be avoided by timeously and clearly defining the area under consideration.

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ANNEXURE 4: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POPULATION SETTLEMENT IN THE WHITTLESEA SUBREGION

This annexure exposes the effects of political developments in South Africa on the subregion in general, and on Whittlesea in particular. The historical developments in both the surrounding subregion and in Whittlesea, influenced the settlement in the area. Furthermore, they are the principal determinants of existing economic, social, physical and institutional structures and conditions. For convenience, the historical development of both the subregion and Whittlesea is described under four development periods, namely origins to 1910, 1910 to 1948, 1948 to 1981 and 1981 to the present. The last section is contained under Section 5.3.3 in the text.

4.1 Origins to 1910

The first settlement in the area was a mission station established by the Moravian Mission at Shiloh in 1828. The need for a colonial administrative outpost was recognized when the mission attracted a limited number of people from the surrounding Hlubi and Thembu tribal hinterland. Subsequently, a magistrate was posted at the Shiloh Mission in 1847 and Whittlesea was proclaimed in 1849. In 1850 a military garrison was established at Whittlesea and the magistrate was transferred from Shiloh to Whittlesea (Greaves, 1987:1+225; Setplan, 1988:A1).

The first white pioneers settled on the banks of the Komani River (the present Queenstown) in the early 1850's. Queenstown was proclaimed a colonial settlement area in 1853 and continued to grow in response to its location on major arterial routes and the increasing needs of the surrounding agricultural hinterland. In 1879 Queenstown was declared a municipality and in 1880 a railway link to Queenstown was constructed (Setplan, 1988:A1).

Rudimentary homes were built for the black people of Queenstown south of the river and fairly close to town. This area became known as eSikidini[3] and as the settlement grew it deteriorated into an unpleasant slum due to overcrowding (Greaves, 1987:149). Towards the end of the 1880's a new black residential area sprang up to the south of eSikidini. This area, called Mlungisi, also had poorly-built dwellings, lack of infrastructural services, and was as overcrowded as eSikidini. In the late 1800's an additional small residential area called Ezingxandeni was built next to eSikidini by the Basutos, who came from the Tarkastad district (Setplan, 1988:A2).

By 1910 Queenstown had developed rapidly as a regional centre of industry, commerce and education. The town boasted a relatively sophisticated domestic water supply and other infrastructure, except in the rudimentary black residential towns. The minor administrative centre of Whittlesea lacked entirely in infrastructural service development. Whittlesea was limited to a handful of residences, a garrison, a magistrate's offfice and a trading store. The Shiloh mission station had equally limited residential and infrastructural development. The surrounding rural hinterland comprised traditional black and white settlers, predominantly livestock agriculturalists (Setplan, 1988:A3).

eSikidini and Mlungisi was administered by the Queenstown municipality. Due to the poor conditions of the town and lack of municipal finances the situation was easier to ignore than to address (Greaves, 1987:186-187; Setplan, 1988:A3). Therefore, no effective local institutional framework was established and only limited infrastructural or housing developments took place in these black towns. Settlement during this period was determined mainly by economic factors and natural development.

[3]The name originates from Sidikidini meaning "unmethodical". Usage of the name has varied over the years (Greaves, 1987:184+188).

4.2 1910 to 1948

This historical period is characterized by major urbanization and industrialization in South Africa. The national spatio-economic development strategy was formulated to promote urban industrial growth. Whereas economic development took place in the core and inner periphery, this was associated with a process of economic decline in the outer periphery, specifically in the rural reserves. The principal political events of this era were chronologically the following (Setplan, 1988:A4): Firstly, the declaration of the Union of South Africa in 1910 and the definition of Native reserves as contained in the Native Land Act of 1913; secondly, the declining rural economies, the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, and the initiation of Rural Betterment Schemes; thirdly, industrialization and urbanization and the ensuing conflict over industrial and agricultural labour requirements; and finally, the Second World War and the immediate post-war national economic growth strategy.

The Scheduled Areas reserved for African/black occupation in terms of the Natives Land Act of 1913 were basically those areas that had already been reserved less formally as tribal land before 1910. The State recognized the inadequacies of the provision of land, and set up the Beaumont Commission to investigate the issue. In 1916 the Commission identified the additional land for incorporation into the African Reserves. After two years of negotiation with Local Land Committees, the boundaries of these released areas were defined. However, in 1918 there was a lack of legislation to facilitate the incorporation of the Released Areas. This was prepared over the following 15-year period and promulgated as the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 (Setplan, 1988:A4 & A5). In terms of the Act the land would be acquired by the South African Native (later Bantu) Trust. However, the purchasing of Released Areas was slow due to opposition from white farmers and the limited availability of funds for this purpose.

The declining yields, and the growing landlessness of people in the reserves, were aggravated by overpopulation. This undermined the indigenous agricultural economic base of the subregion. People were pushed permanently to larger urban areas, where employment in industries was potentially available. Furthermore, the political and social instability caused by the entrenchment of the migrant labour system exacerbated the situation in the outer periphery. In an attempt to control land use in the reserves and thereby address the declining conditions, betterment schemes were initiated in the 1930's and 1940's (Setplan, 1988:A6). The schemes included cattle-culling, the moving of people into rural villages set away from farming land, and the fencing-off of arable and grazing units in each rural location.

The betterment schemes, however, did not address the fundamental problem of overpopulation in the outer periphery. Soil erosion, deforestation, declining yields and frequent scarcities and famine increasingly became the norm. The betterment planning and purchasing of released areas was effectively halted in the 1940's due largely to the economic pressures of the Second World War and the immediate post-war period (Setplan, 1988:A8). It was only renewed in the late 1940's with the coming to power of the Nationalist Government.

A conflict also arose between the industrialists and the white farmers who were faced with a chronic shortage of farm labourers. Agricultural labour problems were aggravated by the higher wages paid by industrialists in the urban areas. Furthermore, increasing agricultural mechanization initially exacerbated the labour shortage because of increasing labour requirements during harvesting (Setplan, 1988:A7). Work seekers were encouraged to migrate to the industrial cores largely due to significant wage differentials between rural and urban areas.

The situation which existed in the subregion and in Whittlesea in 1948 was basically the following: Queenstown had grown and remained the dominant subregional settlement in

terms of size, function and role. The growing economy was largely service-related and geared towards serving the surrounding hinterland. The black town of Mlungisi increasingly accepted the rural immigration of black people from the subregion. However, the town remained poorly serviced. Housing was inadequate and the town remained an overcrowded slum settlement (Greaves, 1987:186). Whittlesea in Ciskei and Lady Frere in Transkei grew little and functioned as localized commercial outposts which included administrative offices. Moreover, these towns lacked bulk infrastructural services, with the exception of telephone services (Hirsch, 1984:10; Setplan, 1988:A8).

The white farming areas in the RSA had a low population density. In comparison, the Ciskei and Transkei reserves were overcrowded and the resource base and production were declining. The subsistence agricultural economy was increasingly being supported by remittances earned by migrant workers in the industrial cores. The rural villagization strategy of the betterment schemes had led to the development of a large number of small localized villages which had limited thresholds. Moreover, these villages had a low level of services and facilities and even fewer job opportunities (Setplan, 1988:A9). Social conditions were poor and infrastructural services were limited to a few boreholes.

4.3 1948 to 1981

Rapid urbanization and industrialization took place in South Africa during and after the Second World War. Migration and urbanization of black work-seekers to the urban areas also took place at a high rate. In the subregion, migration and urbanization centred on Queenstown. As a result Mlungisi experienced a high immigration of black people from the surrounding area. The labour conflict between industry and agriculture was increasingly politicized and became a central national development issue. The incoming Nationalist Government was faced with the need to resolve this conflict and opted to strengthen the existing segregation policy. The policy of separate development was formalized, and the

ideological rationale of the spatio-economic development model gained precedence over economic considerations. The policy of black reserves that had changed relatively little between 1913 and 1950 was transformed into a bantustan system which denied black people's rights outside of the bantustans (Hirsch, 1984:55; Setplan, 1988:A9). This national development model has increasingly dominated the control over all aspects of the national states' economy, that is, over land, labour and development capital.

The formulation of various laws in the early 1950's had a direct influence on the subregional development. In 1950, the Group Areas Act was promulgated to control and limit the development of black towns. Further legislation to complement the aims of the Group Areas Act was promulgated to curb the fast-growing black population in urban areas. The first of these acts was the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 to prevent people living "illegally" in urban areas. This act destroyed many black peoples' hold on an urban livelihood (Platzky & Walker, 1985:104). Secondly, the Urban Areas Amendment Act (Black Laws Amendment Act, No. 54 of 1952), categorized black people in terms of their being allowed to stay in urban areas and to carry passes to this effect. The corollary of the restriction on black urbanization was the entrenchment of the migrant labour system. A system of labour bureaux was established in towns to control the numbers of black people allowed to enter urban areas for employment (Setplan, 1988:A10). They also directed labour to those sectors of the economy most in need of it.

The direct result of these policies in the subregion was that the growing black population was increasingly displaced from the white agricultural areas. Furthermore, the option of black rural dwellers to migrate outside the subregion was increasingly restricted. Over-crowding in Mlungisi increased and the already poor living conditions in the town deteriorated. An increasing portion of unemployed or structurally unemployable people accumulated in the rural areas in the Ciskei and Transkei (Setplan, 1988:A11). At the

same time the proportion of landless people in the rural villages increased.

Concomitant with the influx control measures, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 made provision for the establishment of Tribal, Regional and Territorial Authorities in the Ciskei and Transkei. In 1956, Tribal Authorities with limited powers of local government were established in Ciskei. The Zulukama and three smaller tribal authorities, namely the Shiloh, Mdadlana and Ndlovukazi (Lessyton) Tribal Authorities were formed. Shiloh was further declared a community authority under the jurisdiction of the Whittlesea magistrate. Chiefs became salaried officials of government and they controlled matters such as the allocation of land, welfare and pensions and development capital (Hirsch, 1984:111; Platzky & Walker, 1985:111; Setplan, 1988:A11). This meant that some essential economic decisions were being taken locally, on a political basis.

In 1954, the Tomlinson Commission was appointed to investigate and plan the future of the South African reserves. The Commission recommended, inter alia, the creation of bantustans as ethnic units to accommodate black people. The concept of "homelands" to which black people "belonged" was born (Setplan, 1988:11). A further recommendation that steps be taken to establish border industries near the reserves was also accepted by government (Hirsch, 1984:11; Platzky & Walker 1985:112; Setplan, 1988:11).

In 1954, the serious overcrowding of blacks in Queenstown was addressed with the initiation of a 5-year programme to construct 1 000 dwelling units in Mlungisi. Slum conditions still prevailed even though schools and other social or community facilities were provided in Mlungisi and the residential area had been marginally upgraded by having some water standpipes and public latrines installed. Residential development in Mlungisi was however frozen from 1959 until 1985, when the first notions of further residential development in Mlungisi were entertained (Setplan, 1988:A14).

Concomitant with the freezing of residential development in Mlungisi, the strategy of promoting residential growth within the bantustans was initiated.

The promulgation of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 was the next major step in the political reconstruction of the reserves. This Act essentially provided the political justification to transfer the previously loose groupings of chiefdoms and clans into ethnically-determined "nations" (Platzky & Walter, 1985:112-114). In 1961 the Ciskei graduated to a territorial authority. Moreover, the period 1968-1971 marked a very important turning point in terms of bantustan policy as a whole. Two important Acts of Parliament, namely the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act No. 26 of 1970 and the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act 21 of 1971, signalled the transition from bantustans to self-governing territories and towards independence (Hirsch, 1984:19). The Ciskei Territorial Authority was replaced by a Legislative Assembly in 1971 through the provisions of the Bantu Homeland Constitution Act (Setplan, 1988:A13). Since the 1960's the resettlement of Black people into bantustans/homelands increased considerably.

Sada was initiated in 1963 on land expropriated from the Shiloh Location. The people, who were resettled at Sada, were people "relocated" from "black spots" and from the white rural hinterland, as well as people who were displaced from Western and Eastern Cape urban centres. The initial development at Sada was extremely rudimentary (Desmond, 1971:95; Platzky & Walter, 1985:115-116; Setplan, 1988:A14). Although Sada has been upgraded over time, only basic infrastructure and services were provided.

A further growth in the subregional population occurred in the mid-1960's when "displaced" people were resettled at Ilinge. The principal function of Ilinge was to accommodate Transkeian resettlement from various parts of South Africa. Initially, development at Ilinge was also very rudimentary (Infraplan, 1987:10). A new black town on the outskirts of

Queenstown was also planned by 1972. In 1974 the construction of eZibeleni started and the removal of 22 000 people from Mlungisi to eZibeleni was initiated the same year (Setplan, 1988:A16). However, the complete resettlement did not occur due to the incorporation of eZibeleni into the Transkei at independence in 1976.

Upon Transkei's independence, the two Ciskeian rural districts of Glen Grey (Cacadu) and Herschel were placed under Transkeian administration. Due to conflict between patriotic Transkeian people and local residents loyal to Ciskei, a large number of people from these two districts were relocated to Ciskei. Two Released Areas, Ntabetemba and Zweledinga, were incorporated into the Ciskei for the resettlement. Officially, some 28 000 people were resettled in these two Released Areas, but the actual number of people resettled far exceeded this number (Green & Hirsch, 1983:47; Hirsch, 1984:63-68; Setplan, 1988:A16). Typically, these people were resettled under extremely rudimentary conditions. Many of them were landless and settled in Oxton, an informal settlement, and in Makadeni/Silver City, another informal settlement which developed adjacent to Sada. Moreover, this resettlement had an adverse effect on the rural agricultural base and led to the immigration of resettled people to Whittlesea.

Four industrial enterprises were established at Sada in 1970 under the decentralization programme aimed at locating industries in peripheral border areas. Further industrial development was initiated in Queenstown with the initiation of Queendustria in 1978 and the simultaneous declaration of Queenstown as an industrial growth point. However, most industrialization still took place in the regional metropolitan areas of Port Elizabeth and East London (Setplan, 1989:2). For political reasons the decentralization incentives were extended to Whittlesea in Ciskei and eZibeleni in Transkei. This meant the duplication of infrastructure which was already available in Queendustria.

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