Historical perspectives on South African cross-border and internal migration

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INTRODUCTION

This paper contains a historical overview of cross-border migration to South Africa (i.e. migration from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Namibia to South Africa), as well as a historical perspective on internal migration in the country.

Since the early 1990s, and more so after the first democratic elections in 1994, the number of migrants coming to South Africa, particularly those originating from the African continent, has increased. The migrants primarily came from South Africa's traditional labour supply areas, which include countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), e.g. Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Malawi. However, migrants have also come from other African countries, e.g. Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Kenya. It is widely accepted that the flow of migrants from the SADC countries and beyond has grown remarkably in a relatively short period of time.

Drawing on the literature, three streams of movement to South Africa from neighbouring countries are identified: contract mine migration, other categories of voluntary migration, and refugee migration. This is discussed in the first section of the paper.

The post-apartheid political, social and economic changes of the 1990s brought about some changes in internal migration patterns. Some dimensions of internal migration in South Africa do not have the same relevance they had in the past, while others are probably continuing in spite of the changes that have taken place. New trends can also be observed. To understand these trends, an analysis of the historical context is of particular relevance. In the second section of the paper a historical perspective of internal migration in South Africa is thus given and issues such as migration to urban areas, the government's measures to control migration to the cities and the government's responses to African urbanisation are discussed.

CROSS-BORDER MIGRATION

Contract mine migration

Early labour migration

Migration is by no means a new phenomenon in southern Africa. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the discovery of diamonds and gold, coupled with the accompanying industrialisation, lured thousands of migrant labourers from the southern African region to the mining and industrial centres of South Africa.

However, the discovery of diamonds and gold was not the beginning of labour migration in the region. By the time of the discovery and mining of diamonds in the Kimberley area in the late 1860s a system of labour migration had already been established. As early as the 1840s, but more so in the subsequent three decades, Pedi males had worked on farms and public works in the Cape Colony, the Basotho had worked on farms in the Orange Free State and the Tsonga (also known as the

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Shangaan) had been travelling from the present-day Mozambique to work as seasonal workers on farms in the Western Cape (Katzenellenbogen 1982:37).

The opening of the Kimberley diamond fields in 1870 created a huge demand for unskilled labour. As a result, large numbers of workers streamed to the diamond mines. By 1874 there were approximately 10 000 African mine workers on these mines (Van der Horst 1971:77) of whom the baPedi, Tsonga and Basotho were by far the majority.

The change in mining methods from opencast to underground extraction in the early 1880s necessitated a stable, skilled labour force. To achieve this the Kimberley mine owners provided housing for mine workers in closed compounds (Turrell 1987:149-150). By introducing compounds on the diamond fields mine owners ensured a continuous, controlled and cheap labour force. Besides the obvious short-term benefits for the mine owners, there were also long-term economic and political advantages. Over time the migrant labourer became an experienced yet affordable worker, whereas the possibility of an organised black working class being established in a white urban area remained slight. This pattern of large-scale utilisation of cheap labour and the control of labour by means of pass laws and the compounds was the beginning of a system that dominated migrant labour in South Africa for more than a century (Wessels and Wentzel 1989:6-7).

In 1886 gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand. This led to the establishment of the migrant labour system on a much larger scale than in Kimberley. Since gold reefs in South African mines are very deep and the ore grade low, production costs are quite high. Consequently, strong capital reserves and adequate cheap labour were necessary to make mining a viable business. The adequate supply of cheap labour was obtained through the launch of a very extensive recruitment campaign, especially in neighbouring countries (Van der Horst 1971).

Between 1890 and 1899 the total number of Africans employed on the gold mines rose from approximately 14 000 to 97 000. Although labourers from all over southern Africa and further afield went to the gold mines, most came from the former Portuguese East Africa (Van der Horst 1971:136). On the eve of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) about 60% of the unskilled labourers on the gold mines were Mozambicans. A labour agreement between the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) and the authorities in the former Portuguese East Africa was signed in 1897 and was operative for more than a century (Jeeves 1985:187-188).

Why did men migrate over sometimes very long distances to work in mines on the Witwatersrand? According to Katzenellenbogen (1982:37,38) men in the region migrated because they needed to earn money and could secure the highest wages on the mines. Cash was needed due to changes in the economic structures of communities, forced labour laws and restrictions on the use of land that made independent subsistence farming virtually impossible, as well as colonial taxation. However, it was also important to earn cash to pay lobola (bride wealth). Furthermore, African men were frequently encouraged to migrate by their chiefs who, in many instances, co-operated with recruiting agents who paid them a fee for each recruit.

Supplier countries: 1920–1990

During the period 1920–1990 virtually every country in the SADC region, at one time or another, sent migrants to work on the South African mines. Crush (1997) identified three types of supplying countries:

- Long-standing supply countries such as Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland

- Episodic supply countries such as Malawi and Zimbabwe

- Occasional supply countries such as Zambia, Tanzania and Angola

For many decades Mozambicans were the main source of labour on the South African mines. As mentioned earlier, a labour agreement between the ZAR and the authorities in the former Portuguese East Africa was already signed in 1897. Other labour agreements followed. When Mozambique gained independence in 1975 the labour agreements between South African and Mozambique were left unchanged. In November of that year the number of Mozambican mine workers reached a high of 127 000. However, due to increasing unemployment in South Africa, the South African authorities started to implement a policy of preferential employment of South African workers on mines in the middle of the 1970s. This, as well as other factors, resulted in a drastic decline in the number of recruited migrant mine workers from Mozambique. By April 1977 the number was only about 35 000 but gradually increased thereafter (Van Aswegen & Verhoef 1982:154-154). In 1997 the official figure for in-service Mozambican mine workers was about 83 000 (De Vletter 1998:12).

Workers from the present-day Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland had been involved in labour migration even before the discovery of diamonds and gold. However, before 1973 official labour agreements had not been signed with these countries. Labour relations and arrangements between the South African authorities and these former British High Commission Territories were governed by the informal inter-territorial undertakings that had existed since colonial days. In 1973 South Africa signed bilateral labour agreements with Botswana and Lesotho respectively. A similar agreement with Swaziland followed in 1975 (Breytenbach 1979:17-25).

Since 1977 Lesotho has been the main supplier of labour for South African mines. In 1995 about 100 000 Basuto workers were employed on the South African gold mines (Crush 2000:15).

Although workers from Botswana and Swaziland had always worked on South African mines, they were not here in large numbers (especially when compared to countries such as Mozambique and Lesotho). For example, in 1965 about 23 600 Batwana were employed on the South African gold mines and about 12 700 in 1995. In 1990 17 800 Swazis were working on South African gold mines and 16 700 in 1995 (Crush 2000:15).

Initially Southern Rhodesia (later Rhodesia and presently Zimbabwe) prohibited the employment of Rhodesian blacks outside the country. This policy resulted in numerous Rhodesians resorting to clandestine migration to South Africa compelling

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South Africa and Rhodesia to enter into an agreement regarding the administrative arrangements for, amongst others, travel documents, recruitments, repatriations and ports of entry regarding the Rhodesian migrant. It was agreed that South African employers would not recruit black Rhodesians, although an employer could re-engage a person employed previously. However, a 1974 agreement between the Rhodesian government and WNLA lifted the prohibition on the recruitment of Rhodesians for South African gold mines (Breytenbach 1979:32-33). After Zimbabwean independence in 1980 the government announced that it would not allow active recruitment of its citizens for employment in South Africa, although people would not be prevented from seeking or taking up employment in South Africa (Whiteside 1988:20).

As early as 1904 arrangements were made between WNLA and the colonial authorities in Njassaland (presently Malawi) regarding recruitment of workers for the South African gold mines. In 1913 the Union government prohibited the recruitment of any Africans from areas north of 22 degrees south latitude due to the high mortality rate caused by pneumonia and other lung diseases. This ban on the recruitment of labourers from Tropical Territories was lifted in 1937 (van der Horst 1971:221). In 1938 an agreement between WNLA and the authorities in Njassaland on the recruiting and employment of workers from Njassaland on the South African mines were formalised. The largest number of Malawians working in South Africa in any single year was in 1973 when there were almost 140 000 workers (Breytenbach 1979:30). However, after a WNLA plane crash in 1974, killing 72 Malawian workers, the Malawian government ended all external recruitment of labour on the grounds that it was not safe (Whiteside 1988:19). Consequently, the number of Malawian labourers in South Africa dropped dramatically. In 1977 recruitment in Malawi was again allowed, but stopped in 1988 after a dispute over HIV testing (Crush 2000:16).

Countries such as the present-day Zambia, Tanzania and Angola never contributed a large proportion of foreign migrant workers to South Africa. After the independence of both Zambia (1966) and Tanzania (1967) the countries prohibited all labour migration to South Africa (Breytenbach 1979:29). Since the middle of the 1970s Angolans also stopped working in South Africa (Crush 2000:15).

Main characteristics of the migrant labour system to South Africa

One of the main characteristics of the migrant labour system was that foreign workers had traditionally been denied permanent rights to work or take up residence in South Africa. Migrants were compelled to return to their countries of origin upon completion of their contracts, if only to negotiate new contracts for the same employment.

The idea of an African labour force entering the country only on a temporary basis was in accordance with the South African government's policy to prevent any settlement of African people in urban areas. This principle was, amongst others, captured in a number of laws, for example the Native (Urban Areas) Act (Act 21 of 1923) and the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (Act 25 of 1945) (Wentzel 1993:3).

In 1986 influx control was abolished and Africans were permitted to settle in urban areas. However, the migrant labour system continued to exist, as foreign workers

were still not entitled to residential rights in South Africa, and many South African workers from rural areas preferred to leave their families in their home areas.

Oscillating migration served the interests of the mining industry, as it meant that labour was cheap. Normally the employer only had to pay the worker enough for his upkeep and to have a small surplus in order to attract him back to the mines.

Participation in the South African mining economy came to be of major importance to the domestic economies of several countries in the region. For example, the system of compulsory deferred payment (and the voluntarily deferment of wages) constituted a significant proportion of the foreign exchange earnings of Mozambique and Lesotho. In the 1980s remittances from Basotho labourers working in South Africa accounted for about half of the country's gross national product (GNP). By 1994 about 40% of the Basotho male labour force was employed in South Africa, and their remittances accounted for a third of the Lesotho GNP. In 1997 mine workers' remittances contributed 32 per cent of Lesotho's GNP (UNDP 1998:29).

Much research has been done on the negative effect of out-migration of young men in the sending countries on rural development. Such patterns of migration resulted in considerable social costs to local households and communities, as families were fragmented and women and children left with the additional burden of traditional male work.

The occupational health consequences, particularly the long-term illnesses and progression of disabling injuries, have been a major cost to labour-sending countries. Sometimes ill health may only emerge after employment contracts have ceased and migrants returned home. This results in rural households and the public health systems of the sending countries bearing the medical costs associated with such ill-health (International Labour Office 1998:34).

Since the late 1970s patterns of migration to the mines "stabilised" as miners became professional mine workers. According to this system, trained and skilled mine workers are continuously employed on the mines and return home for a fixed period of annual leave. Normally the mine workers also work at one particular mine throughout their working careers (Wentzel 1993:4).

In 1995 the South African government offered permanent South African residence to mine workers from other countries who had been working on the mines since 1986 and who voted in the 1994 election. Yet, only about half of the eligible miners applied for the amnesty. Two studies by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) amongst miners and their wives in Mozambique and Lesotho (De Vletter 1998; Sechaba Consultants 1997) explain the reasons for this. Apart from ignorance about the amnesty and confusion and misinformation about the consequences of permanent residence on a variety of issues, for example pensions, taxes, visas, land rights, recruitment procedures and deferred pay, there were also other reasons for not applying for amnesty. It seemed that miners with resources in their home countries did not want to become permanent South African citizens, while those who did apply saw this as a strategic option for acquiring certain benefits. For example, permanent residence would allow miners to seek other employment in the event of retrenchments or job dissatisfaction. Importantly, both Mozambican and Basotho miners remain attached to their home countries, even if some have spent

many years working in South Africa, and most do not want to become South African citizens.

Throughout the twentieth century at least 40 per cent of the mine workforce was non-South African. This figure peaked in the early 1970s at over 80 per cent and more recently 50 per cent of the mine workforce were of foreign origin (Crush 2000:15-16). Thus, over the years, hundreds of thousands of male migrants from the southern African region have spent most of their working lives in South Africa.

Other categories of voluntary cross-border migration

Overview

Apart from contract mine migration, other categories of voluntary cross-border migration between South Africa and its neighbouring countries can be identified, covering the following broad "other" groupings:

- Skilled immigrants (mainly highly skilled, professional, semi-professional, managerial and technical people);

- Documented migrants (temporary residents in possession of visitors, business, study or medical permits; skilled migrants who enter legally as temporary residents with work permits);

- Undocumented or unauthorised migrants (migrants who entered South Africa clandestinely without proper or any documentation, or acquired false papers before or after entry; migrants who had entered South Africa legally, but whose permits expired and therefore became prohibited persons in terms of the former Aliens Control Act of 1991 (as amended in 1995) and the current Immigration Act of 2002; contract workers who illegally stayed on in the country after the expiry of their contracts)

Skilled immigrants

In the late 1980s, a "brain drain" of skilled and professional migrants to South Africa and Botswana from the region gathered pace. During this period South Africa and Botswana were the only regional countries that could offer real growth in income for the higher skilled occupations, hence professionals were keen to move to these two countries.

African countries accounted for an estimated 30-40 per cent of all skilled and professional legal immigration to South Africa between 1982 and 1988, with Zimbabwe contributing 90 per cent of South Africa's immigration from Africa during the early 1980s – the result of post-independence white emigration (International Labour Office 1998:12). Economically active immigrants to South Africa from Zimbabwe peaked at 1 144[1] in 1988, and then declined almost steadily to 221 in 1994. Economically active immigrants from Lesotho increased from eight in 1986 to

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[1] In 1988 a total of 5010 economically active immigrants immigrated to South Africa (Central Statistical Service, 1991:12).

76 in 1990[2] and then declined to 38 in 1994 (Presidential Commission to Investigate Labour Market Policy 1996). Immigration from Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi peaked in 1990/1, then declined for the next few years untill 1993, and all experienced a small increase in 1994 (Presidential Commission to Investigate Labour Market Policy 1996).

Although, overall, the number of economically active immigrants from the region has declined since 1988, the proportion of professional immigrants has increased, in contrast to the proportion of persons in clerical/sales and artisan occupations, which decreased over the same period.[3] In absolute terms the number of professional immigrants from the region fluctuated from 361 in 1988, to 233 in 1992 and to 259 in 1994 (Presidential Commission to Investigate Labour Market Policy 1996).

In 2001 the number of documented immigrants to South Africa was 4 832 of which 538 (11%) were from South Africa's neighbouring countries. About three-fifths (61%) of the documented immigrants from neighbouring countries came from Zimbabwe, 22 per cent from Lesotho, 7 per cent from Mozambique, 6 per cent from Swaziland, 4 per cent from Botswana and less than half a per cent from Namibia (Statistics SA 2002:20-21).

Interestingly only 13 per cent of the immigrants from the above-mentioned neighbouring countries were economically active.[4] A majority (56%) of those economically active immigrants were in the professional, semi-professional and technical occupational group, while 27 per cent were in the managerial, executive and administrative occupational group and 7 per cent in the clerical and sales occupational group (Statistics SA 2002:20-21).

Documented migrants

Since 1990 there has been a dramatic increase in legal cross-border movement within the southern African region, from less than 500 000 in 1990 to 3,3 million in 1995. The bulk of this cross-border traffic consisted of people moving temporarily to South Africa for various non-work related reasons, for example tourism, visiting relatives, medical attention, shopping and education. Only a small proportion of these entrants were in possession of work permits. However, some of those people did work illegally or engaged in informal sector and other trading activities once inside in the country (International Labour Office 1998:11).

Undocumented/unauthorised migrants

Initially the term "clandestine emigrant" applied to all Africans who went to work outside their country without securing official permission (Katzenellenbogen

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[2] A total of 3085 economically active immigrants immigrated to South Africa in 1986 (Central Statistical Service, 1988:12) and 6727 economically active immigrants immigrated to South Africa in 1990 (Central Statistical Service, 1991:12).

[3] This reflects, in part, a stricter application of the government's job preference policy, especially since 1991.

[4] In 2001 19,7 per cent of the total number of documented immigrants to South Africa were economically active. The 80,3 per cent that were not economically active were classified in the following categories: housekeeping, child, scholar/student and other (Statistics SA 2002).

1982:108). Since governments were generally more interested in monitoring the movement than controlling it, passes were relatively easy to obtain. There were no borders blocking them and people crossed wherever they wanted. Although most migrants went to urban areas to look for work, some also found employment on commercial farms.

South African recruiting organisations could officially recruit males in the region, but the official recruiting of females was not allowed. Women from the neighbouring countries that worked in South Africa were regarded as "clandestine workers". Women did, however, migrate more and more to South Africa out of their own accord and not because they were simply following their spouses and partners.

It is commonly assumed that South Africa's democratisation encouraged increased migration to the country from the region, both legally and illegally. The abundance of undocumented migrants had a two-fold impact. Firstly, employers in the temporary work sector had a ready supply of foreign labour without having to enter into a cross-border recruiting mechanism. Secondly, because of the "illegal" status of these workers, many were open to exploitation and abuse. Many of the undocumented migrants worked in the agricultural sector, construction industry, transportation services and the tourism industry.

One of the most contentious issues in the migration debate in South Africa is the number of foreign nationals living in the country. Official figures of "legal" border crossings are readily available, but it is not at all clear how many people are "illegally" in the country. There is, however, no reliable research methodology for determining the actual number of immigrants in South Africa (McDonald 1999:17).

Refugees

Although several thousand refugees arrived in South Africa from Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other countries further afield in Africa in the 1990s, a vast majority of South Africa's refugee population was Mozambican as a result of the civil war in their home country in the 1980s.

The majority of refugees to South Africa settled in areas near the border and, in particular, in the former homelands of Gazankulu and Kangwane. From 1985 onwards these two homelands issued the refugees with temporary residence permits. Mozambican refugees outside Gazankulu and Kangwane were, however, frequently arrested and deported (De la Hunt 1997:2).

The South African government of the time refused to recognize the Mozambicans who had fled into the country as refugees, and thereby deprived them of international assistance. This action forced thousands of refugees to become economically active in the country of destination. In many instances the refugees worked illegally on commercial farms in Mpumalanga and in urban areas. In some instances refugees even went to Gauteng to fill mainly low-skilled jobs, for example on construction sites (Hough & Minnaar 1996).

Although FRELIMO and RENAMO signed a peace accord in October 1992, drought and food shortages continued to drive Mozambicans to South Africa. In 1993 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated that there were

250 000 Mozambican refugees in South Africa. At the end of March 1995, when the UNHCR's repatriation programme ended, only 32 000 of these Mozambicans had been officially repatriated (Hough & Minnaar 1996:114-115).

Many refugees did not want to return to their country and remained illegally in South Africa. An HSRC study found that some of the refugees who returned to Mozambique after the war, decided at a later stage to return to South Africa mainly because their families had been killed, because they could not find employment in Mozambique, and because they were familiar with the situation in South Africa regarding employment, accommodation, etc. (Wentzel & Bosman 2001). These former refugees thus form part of the category of migrants that came legally or illegally without contracts to South Africa as discussed in the previous section.

The South African parliament passed the Refugees Act (Act No 135 of 1998) in 1998 to formally adhere to international principles and standards relating to refugees, to provide for the reception of asylum seekers into the country, to regulate applications for and recognition of refugee status, and to provide for the rights and obligations flowing from such status (RSA 1998).

In 1996 the South African government offered amnesty to citizens of SADC countries. The Department of Home Affairs received just under 200 000 applications, the vast majority of whom were Mozambican refugees who did not return to Mozambique after the war in their country had ended (International Labour Office 1998:14).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF URBANISATION AND INTERNAL MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Migration to urban areas

It was not until the later decades of the 1800s that South Africa formed an important part of the world economy. During this period, most of the inhabitants of the country were occupied in subsistence agriculture, thus limiting urban settlement to the four harbour towns, namely Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban (Gelderblom & Kok 1994). However, as South Africa became a modernist capitalist economy, increased economic activities pushed various population groups to move to the cities.

Afrikaners' migration to urban centres

At the end of the nineteenth century, thousands of Afrikaners were pushed off the land to gather in towns due to crises experienced in agriculture. This led to a rise of a class of landless rural Afrikaners, the "bywoners", who were eventually compelled to move to town to survive. As many of these Afrikaners were poor and had very few urban skills, the state undertook measures to address the "Poor White" issue by introducing the so-called civilised labour policy. Government public works programmes and job reservation were enacted to protect white workers. Semistate industries such as Iscor, the private sector, certain Afrikaner organisations such as the Reddingsdaadbond as well as the rise of big Afrikaner capitalist concerns such as SANLAM, Rembrandt and Federale Volksbeleggings, which mobilised Afrikaner

savings and gave preferential employment to Afrikaners, also helped to solve unemployment among the Afrikaners. These actions by the state and private sector therefore allowed Afrikaner urbanisation to take place easily (Gelderblom & Kok 1994).

Africans' migration to urban centres

Unlike Afrikaner urbanisation, the migration of Africans to urban centres mostly took the form of labour migration. As early as the 1840s, a large number of African males streamed to urban areas in search of work. With increasing urbanisation, which created many new markets for agricultural products and thus labour shortages, many white farmers used their political influence to declare squatter farming illegal. However, the labour tenants resisted these actions and thus attempted to use migration as an instrument for strengthening their bargaining position. By leaving the farms to work in town, tenants could deprive white farmers of their labour so as to get them to improve labour conditions (Gelderblom & Kok 1994).

The farmers understood the potential impact of their labourers leaving, hence a number of government measures was adopted to immobilise labourers on white farms and to give farmers greater control over them. The land acts (Act 27 of 1913 and Act 18 of 1936) defined the reserves for African occupation termed "scheduled areas" and declared illegal all land purchases or rent tenancy outside these reserves (Burger 1999). After the promulgation of the Native Service Contract Act of 1932 white farmers gained control over the labour migration of the dependants of the chief of the kraal with whom they entered into a service contract. Dependants were subsequently allowed to leave for the towns to perform migrant labour or to settle there permanently only if they obtained permission from both the farmer and the kraal chief (Lacey in Gelderblom & Kok 1994).

Government measures to regulate the conditions of urban Africans

The enforcement of influx control

Although thousands of Africans were involved in labour migration, many did not settle permanently in the towns, but remained migrant labourers. The state enacted several legal measures to regulate the movement of Africans and to ensure that they remained temporary residents in towns of the common area. The principle of temporariness was embodied in the system of influx control. The main reasons for influx control relate to the demand by employers for state regulation of the African labour market and the state's unwillingness to grant political rights to Africans in the common area (Gelderblom & Kok 1994). Given the number of legal measures taken over time to regulate the movement of Africans, this paper will only outline a brief overview of those measures that severely limited the movement of Africans.

The Natives (BlacK) Urban Areas Act of 1923

The Natives (BlacK) Urban Areas Act No 21 of 1923 divided South Africa into 'prescribed' (urban) and 'non-prescribed' (rural) areas, and strictly controlled the movement of black males between the two. Landowners within five kilometres of proclaimed urban areas were prohibited from allowing Africans other than their employees to reside on their property. The Act also allowed a local authority to

deport Africans from the area if they were "habitually unemployed" or did not "possess the means of honest livelihood" or led an "idle, dissolute or disorderly life" (Gelderblom & Kok 1994). In 1930, this Act was amended and among the new provisions was a restriction on the right of African women to enter an urban area unless "in possession of a certificate, issued by the local authority... that accommodation was available. However, in the long run, this provision proved to be impossible to police adequately (Gelderblom & Kok 1994).

The Native Law Amendment Act of 1937

This Act allowed Africans a maximum of only 14 days to find work in an urban area (reduced to three days in 1945). Thereafter, if their job search was unsuccessful, they might be compelled to return to rural areas where they come from if municipal returns showed a labour surplus. Controls over the entry of women to urban areas were also reinforced, but the legislation proved difficult to enforce (Lemon 1991). In 1945 a further restriction was added with Section 10 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, which allowed an African to claim permanent residence in an urban area only if s/he had resided there continuously since birth, had lawfully resided there for 15 years, or had worked there for the same employer for ten years (Lemon 1991). This measure only became mandatory in 1952 (Natives Laws Amendment Act of 1952).

The pass laws and the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act No. 67 of 1952

These laws were intended to serve as a means of controlling domestic migrant labour. The pass system thus served to supply mines, farms and towns with the required labour, and where labour shortages occurred, it functioned to channel labour to sectors and areas where needed (Muthien 1994). Although various commissions like the Holloway Commission and the Fagan Commission, recommended that the pass system be abolished, the government mostly ignored them and intensified influx control with various amendments to the Native Urban Areas Act. In 1952, the government consolidated the various documents that Africans had to carry into a single document through the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act No 67 of 1952. This Act did not, despite its title, abolish the passbook, but rather led to the rigid application of Pass Laws and extended its scope to women, who also had to carry passes (Gelderblom & Kok 1994). However, the Act met with various forms of resistance throughout the country during the 1950s and 1960s. For example, the Women's Anti-Pass Campaign, the women's march to the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956 and the Sharpeville protest March on 21 March 1960 where many protesters were killed and wounded.

The Group Areas Act, No 41 of 1950

The essence of this legislation that had originally been written into law in 1950 and eventually repealed in June 1990 was that people of different racial groups were not allowed to live in the same residential area. A fundamental aspect of this Act was the removal of the racially integrated locations found in numerous urban centres. State power in the group areas was extended in 1955 with the Bantu (Urban Areas) Amendment Act that enabled the government to abolish African freehold rights to their property (Unterhalter 1987). Furthermore, the government also made very little land available for township development, and this led to huge levels of overcrowding

and squatter movements. Squatter settlements were broken up during the 1950s, and the intensive application of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act made renewed squatting impossible until the 1980s. The areas where Africans could own land, were bulldozed during the 1950s and their inhabitants were forcefully moved elsewhere, with the result that they lost the security of land ownership (Gelderblom & Kok 1994). The forced removals inflicted human damage on the lives of those removed. The establishment of new townships, like Soweto near Johannesburg, accompanied the removals. However, the houses built in these townships were for rent and not for sale and their existence was therefore in line with the policy of temporariness (Gelderblom & Kok 1994).

The promulgation of the Group Areas Act did not register immediate success in its implementation. Various administrative shortcomings, and opposition from political organisations, local authorities and the black urban population, also retarded its implementation (Nieftagodien 1996). In the mid-1970s, the cities and towns in South Africa were still not fully racially segregated despite strict enforcement of the Act. With increasing numbers of middle-class blacks able to afford houses in white areas, this increasingly led to houses in those areas coming into black ownership, mostly via whites who acted, for a fee, as nominees on their behalf, or through closed corporation deals. In this way, a new generation of "grey areas" was born in several major cities, especially Johannesburg. Such changes led to other pressures and strong demands for the repeal or drastic amendment of the Group Areas Act (Cloete in Swilling, Humphries & Shubane 1991).

In 1981 the Strydom Committee was appointed to advise the government on possible changes in the Group Areas legislation. In turn, the State President requested the President's Council's advice on the report. Three bills were tabled, of which one, the Group Areas Amendment Bill, sought to strengthen enforcement of segregation by substantially increasing fines for contravention by landlords, vendors and residents, and by making it obligatory for courts to evict persons contravening the Group Areas Act. The bill was however, rejected by the coloured and Indian houses of the tricameral parliament, and was referred back for consideration by the President's Council. It was subsequently dropped. However, the other two bills, the Free Settlement Act of 1988 and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Act were passed. The establishment of the Free Settlement Areas proceeded until the government announced in 1990 its intention to abolish the Group Areas Act in 1991 (Cloete in Swilling, Humphries & Shubane 1991).

State responses to increased African urbanisation

When it became clear that state policies were ineffective, the government embarked on initiatives to improve circumstances in the homelands with a view to encouraging Africans to stay in the homelands and not move to towns, and to induce those already living in the common area, to return to the homelands. In some cases it meant that African townships in towns and cities that were within commuting distances of a homeland were disestablished and rebuilt in a homeland. Another strategy was to widen differentiation between "insiders" and "outsiders", where the "insiders" would be free to change jobs within the Administration Board area within which their Section 10 rights were held without recourse to labour bureaux. However, these attempts failed, largely because of a conservative drafting that failed to entrench the rights of urban residents. Meanwhile, the legal definition of those

who could potentially qualify for Section 10 rights was actually narrowed by the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (Lemon 1991).

Given the state of African urbanisation, the report of a President's Council was released in 1985, proposing the elimination of the discriminatory aspects of influx control and a shift to a positive strategy emphasising the development role of "orderly urbanisation". The new approach was embodied in the Abolition of Influx Control Act of 1986, which provided for a total repeal of the Natives (Urban areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 and the partial or entire repeal of 33 other laws. Henceforth, attention was focused on the provision of housing, infrastructure and social services. But the new strategy still controlled and channelled African urbanisation, using material constraints of land and housing as tools for distributing labour and population, and employing the decentralisation and deconcentration programmes developed under the new regional development strategy which had been operative since 1982 (Lemon 1991).

Within the townships, the passing of the Black Communities Development Amendment Act in 1986 allowed full home ownership and introduced procedures through which the supply of land for African housing could be increased, thus making possible the development of an African housing market. The government made clear its intention to withdraw from the direct supply of housing, preferring to concentrate on the supply of land and bulk infrastructure. Henceforth, the private sector could apply to build in these development areas (Lemon 1991).

Despite the fact that many government restrictions were lifted during the late 1980s and early 1990s, many areas continue to be marked by poverty and vulnerability. However, these inequities could escalate if people were denied the opportunity to move. It therefore becomes important to look not only at the causes and consequences of migration as a social phenomenon, but also to consider the causes and consequences of non-migration.

Internal migration in South Africa

Migration data from Census '96

With regard to internal migration in South Africa, I shall concentrate on the findings of the study undertaken by Kok; O'Donovan; Bouare & Van Zyl (2003) on the causes of internal migration in South Africa. The study placed emphasis on obtaining a better understanding of the complex migration/non-migration differentials. Despite some data problems, the study used Census '96 data to provide answers to questions on the characteristics of migrants and non-migrants, and the features of migration in South Africa. A comparison was also made between the basic migration patterns for two five-year periods (1975–1980 and 1992–1996).

Census '96 covered migration data for the entire population and for the country as a whole, and included five fields of data for migration analyses, namely, (a) 'lifetime migration' (b) 'migrant labour' (c) 'place of usual residence' (d) 'duration of residence' and (e) 'origin of the most recent move'. Taken together these questions provided a potentially powerful source of information on internal migration in South Africa, thus leading to a thorough understanding of the dynamics of migration (Kok et al. 2003).

A profile of migrants and non-migrants generated from census data

In their analysis, Kok et al. (2003) indicate that on average:

- Only about a quarter (24%) of the population has ever migrated across district boundaries. However, for the migration levels of two five-year intervals – 1975-80 and 1992-96 – the proportions of migrants were much lower. Despite dramatic political, social and economic changes in the country (including the abolition of migration control measures such as influx control and Group Areas Act), the overall level of migration between the 1970s and early 1990s declined from about 13% to 11%. It is however, difficult to draw firm conclusions about changes in mobility patterns among the African population because the figures for 1975–80 excluded the migration of residents of the former homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. While the level of mobility declined among whites during the 1992–96 period, the Indian population experienced increased mobility due to the abolition of migration control measures that had prevented them from settling in certain parts of the country (Kok et al. 2003).

- With regard to age-gender migration patterns, data for both the 1975–80 and the 1992–96 period did not differ significantly. Men were more migratory than women in virtually all age categories. People between the ages of 15 and 44 years were particularly inclined to migrate, with the most mobile people being between 25 and 29 years of age. Given these age-gender migration patterns, it is clear that young people, with better education, are particularly inclined to leave rural areas in large numbers. Another consequence is that as men migrate more, rural areas are left with high proportions of female- headed households that are often highly vulnerable and poor. It is thus doubted whether out-migration in search of better opportunities will ever be an option or even a solution for such households (Kok et al. 2003).

- In a logistic regression analysis, Kok et al. (2003) show that when the location, sex, age, race and educational level of people are considered simultaneously, five important predictors of migration probability emerge:

  ➢ The single strongest indicator of a probability to become a labour migrant is a low level of education while the strongest indicator of disinclination to being a labour migrant is being female or being non-African. The multivariate profiles of the former migrants and non- migrants, as obtained from a multiple classification analysis, show that Mpumalanga, Gauteng and Western Cape have by far the greatest proportions of former migrants (31– 32%), while the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Limpopo (17–18%) have comparatively few former migrants.

  ➢ The second predictor of migration probability is type of dwelling. Shack dwellers have higher proportions of former migrants (32 to 35%) than people living in formal dwellings (24–25%). Rural people living in traditional dwellings have by far the lowest probability to migrate (19%), even after standardisation in terms of locality type and other spatial and socio-economic differences.

> The third predictor of migration probability is type of locality. People in urban areas are more migratory (28%) than rural people (21%).

> The fourth set of predictors is population group, age and household size. The data show that whites are more somewhat more migratory than other population groups. As far as age is concerned, the proportion of former migrants among the population increases with age from a low of 20% among children under the age of 18 to a high of 30% among people in the highest age category (75 years or older). For household size, the largest households (of more than 15 members) contain only 18% former migrants compared to 31 per cent among the smallest households (1 to 2 members).

> The last important predictor of migration probability is total household income. Only 22 per cent of households with no income have former migrants, while 31% of households with the highest incomes (more than R192 000 per annum) have former migrants.

CONCLUSION

South Africa has a sad history of racist government interventions in the movement and settlement patterns of its own people and those from other countries in the region, with grave effects on the well being of most of its population. This policy also resulted in considerable social costs to local households and communities, as families had been fragmented and women and children left with the burden of traditional work. The dramatic political changes that took place in the early 1990s did remove the cause of this pain for most but not necessarily the lasting effects. Very poor rural people, trapped in the legacy of the apartheid homeland policy, have probably found it difficult to escape from their situation. This helps to explain the lack of significant changes in migration levels in South Africa between the periods 1975–80 and 1992–96. It is hoped that this literature review will contribute to a better understanding of the historical processes that impacted on current patterns of migration in this part of the world.

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