

The impact of immigration on the planning of mining cities in the North West Province

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PREFACE

This research was conducted at North West University, Potchefstroom campus under the supervision of Dr Ernst Drewes and Ms Mariske Van Aswegen from the faculty of Natural Sciences, Department of Urban and Regional Planning. Appreciation is duly given to the North West University for funding this research.

I undertake that all material presented in this dissertation is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I have presented.

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“Being confident of this, that he who began a good work in you will carry it on to completion until the day of Christ Jesus” (Philippians 4v6)

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God bless them all accordingly.

ABSTRACT

There has been an increase in immigration trends all over the developing world and the SADC region has not been left out, with South Africa hosting more immigrants than its SADC counterparts. The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact that immigration has on strategic planning carried out at local government level, in this case using the mining towns of Rustenburg and Klerksdorp as the case studies. In addition, the study investigates potential planning policy dilemmas related to immigration.

Using both qualitative and quantitative research methods, the study aimed to investigate the potential dilemmas brought about by immigration in the receiving cities. The study was split into two major sections, that is the literature review and the empirical sections. The empirical study included reviewing the history of international migration in the SADC and in South Africa, the policy environment was explored in order to assess if migration movements were incorporated into any planning policy and how in turn the migration flows to South Africa were influenced by the policy environment in the greater SADC and also in the South African context. The research sought to answer the question of whether immigration has been an obstacle or benefit to the two cities and especially to their planning. Thus, information from the respective municipalities was gathered to reach sound conclusions on the real impact immigration has on the physical as well as policy-related town planning. The key informants were purposively selected from the municipality officials, targeting experts (expert sampling) i.e. town planners and other experts in the various departments. Questionnaires were administered to the officials and to augment data collected from the questionnaires, other statistical data sources were used. These were obtained from the national Census and other surveys.

The results from the study reveal that immigration to developing regions has a more negative impact on planning at the local government level. Such is the scenario in this study. Immigration has proved to be detrimental to both Rustenburg and Klerksdorp. Immigration brings challenges in a variety of areas that are crucial to sound town planning. These include local economic development, housing and settlement patterns, local labour markets, sustainability and lastly provision of amenities. The local municipalities are not readily equipped to deal with these, especially given the obscure numbers of immigrants in the cities. Furthermore, the study discovered that what worsens the struggle in trying to deal with the impact immigration brings is the policy environment in South Africa which is ambiguous. The study found, however, that immigration is an inevitable reality that should be incorporated into all planning policy, especially at the local government level.

Key Words: immigration, spatial planning, planning policy, local government, South Africa

OPSOMMING

Daar is 'n toename in immigrasie tendense regoor die ontwikkelende wêreld, met die SAOG-streek wat soortelyke tendense toon, en Suid-Afrika spesifiek wat meer immigrante as sy SAOG eweknieë ontvang. Die doel van hierdie studie is om die impak te bepaal wat immigrasie op strategiese beplanning het, gefokus op plaaslike regeringsvlak, in hierdie geval word die myndorpe Rustenburg en Klerksdorp as gevallestudies ondersoek. Daarbenewens ondersoek die studie potensiële probleme aangaande beplanningsbeleid wat verband hou met immigrasie.

Die studie maak gebruik van beide kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe navorsingsmetodes, en is daarop gerig om potensiële probleme te ondersoek wat deur immigrasie teweeggebring word in die twee stede. Die studie is verdeel in twee hoofafdelings, en bestaan uit die literatuuroorsig en die empiriese afdelings. Die empiriese studie sluit 'n oorsig in van die geskiedenis van internasionale migrasie in die SAOG asook in Suid-Afrika, die beleidsomgewing word ondersoek ten einde te bepaal of migrasie bewegings opgeneem is in enige beplanningsbeleid en hoe migrasie vloeи na Suid-Afrika beïnvloed is deur die beleidsomgewing in die groter SAOG en ook in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks. Die navorsingstudie poog om te bepaal of immigrasie 'n struikelblok is of tot voordeel is vir die twee stede en met die fokus op fisiese beplanning en beplanningsbeleid. Gevolglik is inligting van die onderskeie munisipaliteite versamel om die werklike impak wat immigrasie op die fisiese sowel as beplanningsbeleid het te bepaal en daaruit gevolgtrekkings te maak. Die sleutel informante is doelgerig gekies uit munisipale amptenare van die plaaslike munisipaliteite, gefokus op kundiges (deskundige steekproefneming) in die geval stadsbeplanners en ander kundiges in die onderskeie afdelings. Vraelyste is geadministreer aan die beampes en data versamel uit die vraelyste asook ander statistiese data bronne, insluitende die nasionale sensus en ander opnames.

Die resultate van die studie toon dat immigrasie na ontwikkelende streke meer negatiewe as positiewe impakte op beplanning het, veral op die vlak van plaaslike regering. Uit die gevallestudie is bepaal dat immigrasie nadelig vir beide Rustenburg en Klerksdorp se beplanning is. Immigrasie bring uitdagings mee op verskeie gebiede wat suksesvolle stadsbeplanning strem. Dit sluit in plaaslike ekonomiese ontwikkeling, behuising en vestigingspatrone, plaaslike arbeidsmarkte, volhoubaarheid en laastens die voorsiening van noodsaaklike geriewe. Dit is gevind dat die plaaslike munisipaliteite nie geredelik toegerus is om die onbekende getalle immigrante in die stede te akkommodeer nie. Verder het die studie bevind dat dubbelsinninge beplannings- en immigrasie beleid in Suid-Afrika die stryd

vererger om die impak van immigrasie te bepaal en aan te spreek. Die studie het bevind dat immigrasie 'n onvermydelike realiteit is, en dat veral op die vlak van plaaslike regering, beplanningsbeleid aangespreek en aangepas behoort te word.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
CBD	Central Business District
CORMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DHS	Department of Human Settlements
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DU	Differential Urbanisation
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
HDA	Housing Development Agency
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IUDP	Integrated Urban Development Framework
LED	Local Economic Development
LM	Local Municipality
NDP	National Development Plan
NRC	Native Recruiting Corporation
NSDP	National Spatial Development Perspective
NWP	North West Province

NWPDP	North West Provincial Development Plan
NWSDF	North West Spatial Development Framework
OAU	Organisation for African Union
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperative Development
PIE	Prevention of Illegal Eviction
PR	Polarisation Reversal
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RLM	Rustenburg Local Municipality
RNLA	Rand Native Labour Association
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SADCC	Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
SSA	Statistics South Africa
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNPD	United Nations Population Division

URP	Urban and Regional Planning
USA	United States of America
ZAR	Zuid Afrikaans he Republic
WPSPLUMA	White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research orientation and background of the study

With the prevalence of globalisation, international migration has become a modern phenomenon and a cause for concern for governments. People are forever migrating from one place to another, the reasons for these movements being vast. Migration like any other contemporary trend has effects on both the sender and receiving places. As asserted by Segatti and Landau (2011:11), “these new forms of mobility offer the promise of moving out of poverty but at the same time generate new governance challenges”. Southern Africa has also experienced these movements and has often been referred to as a major migration hub.

Olivier (2011:126) states that the majority of migrants in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region target countries with better economies than their own. Migration flow is towards countries like South Africa, Botswana and Namibia because they have stronger economies and at the same time they experience skills shortages. However in this region, South Africa has hosted more immigrants than its counterparts. The reason for this scenario is explained by Maharaj (2004:5), who states that South Africa is perceived as being the land of a variety of economic opportunities and hope, especially after attaining its independence in 1994. According to Olivier (2011:4), a five year country study on intra SADC migration revealed that 86% of migrants from Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe are currently working in South Africa. These are probably numbers from documented immigrants and yet there are many more immigrants who come undocumented, fleeing political oppression and persecution even from outside the region especially from Somalia, Congo and Ethiopia. These heighten the numbers of immigrants to far above recorded numbers. As Olivier (2011:7) asserted, reliable data on the extent and volume of migration within and to the SADC is difficult to obtain and this also applies to South Africa, the major migrant receiving country in the region. Immigrants, however, tend to prefer settling in urban centres where there are economic opportunities, and this has its implications on urban planning.

Immigration is among the most important, yet controversial, forces shaping cities, regions and neighbourhoods. The extent to which foreign migrants exert positive or negative long range effects on the local, regional or national economy is, however, an under researched topic in many countries and this includes South Africa (Nijkamp *et al.*, 2012:13). The effects of immigration are experienced often at the local levels and there is thus a need to know the impact it has on the cities and on spatial planning. Kok *et al.* (2006:10) asserts that migration

interacts in complex ways with population trends, with the environment, with urbanisation, with poverty and with health, to name a few of the contextual features that shape and are in turn shaped by migration. All these are a concern for urban and regional planners at the different levels of government. Immigration apparently leaves a lot of diversity behind and the needs of different ethnic groups can no longer be disregarded in the framing of urban policy and in spatial planning. Immigration, although seen by some as the backbone for development, has become a challenge to the goals of urban and regional planning.

According to Bakewell (2009:4), the mining towns of South Africa have been known as a major hub for labour migration since the discovery of minerals, and thus an area of interest when it comes to finding out how immigration can impact on the planning of urban areas. Planners and policy makers have to be concerned about immigration and have to know where immigrants are settling, the social lives of immigrants, immigrant labour preferences, immigrant demographic patterns; immigration theory to explain the reasons behind the immigration. These are all crucial for better planning of cities with a large influx of immigrants, however, obtaining all this immigrant information data is challenging given the assumed large numbers of illegal immigrants. As Segatti and Landau (2011:13) point out, despite regular national censuses in some countries, migration data remain scarce and poorly maintained, even in South Africa which has the best data collection systems in the sub region.

1.2 Problem statement

There has been an increase in immigration trends all over the developing world and the SADC region has not been left out, with South Africa hosting more immigrants than its SADC counterparts. Immigration has an impact on the planning carried out at different levels of government; be it national, provincial and local level owing to the growing numbers and increasing diversity that it creates. More often immigration has been dealt with as a national phenomenon and previous research has concentrated more on its causes and impact on the nation states involved, be it sender or host, when in fact it is the cities and towns that experience its effects as they are closer to the immigrants. According to Gorter *et al.* (1998:26), within countries, the impacts of immigration may vary across regions, cities and even within cities. Nijkamp *et al* (2012:14) state that most difficulties and also opportunities associated with international migration are experienced at the local or regional levels and yet impact assessments of immigration at these levels are rare. The high influx of immigrants into the North West Province has affected settlement patterns of the cities resulting in informal settlements within the cities. Immigration policy has also been formulated only at the national level and there is little or no immigration policy at the local levels. The diverse shifts

in trends mean that the receiving towns and cities are experiencing different kinds of changes in ways that affect the skills and resources required of service providers. Immigration is overlooked as a major force shaping cities and regions and the socio-economic problems they face.

- Immigration is a challenging issue at local government level especially when most spatial policy and other planning policy have not addressed this crosscutting issue.
- Immigration is a challenge to the goals of urban and regional planning

It is of interest in this study to identify how immigration has become a challenge to the goals of urban and regional planning and to explore the extent to which immigration has impacted on the planning of the mining cities of Klerksdorp and Rustenburg and how best planners, policy makers and other role players can possibly shape immigration and its impacts in a positive manner. In short, the research will help answer the question of whether immigration is an asset or not to the receiving communities.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

The focus of the research is on the implications of immigration on the planning of cities. The study will look at how immigration has brought about challenges to both planners and policy makers in achieving their goals. Some of the goals for urban planning are to provide a better quality of life i.e. liveable, safe and pleasing of urban environments, providing environmentally and socially sustainable communities, thus ensuring effective spatial organisation of urban centres. Furthermore, it ensures smart growth of urban areas, providing a variety of housing options, economic development and employment opportunities and democratization of the planning process. These being the goals of urban and regional planning are affected in one way or the other by the influx of immigrants in cities. In short the research is going to be guided by the following objectives:

- To determine how and to what extent immigration has contributed to some of the problems faced by mining towns.
- To explain the prevalence of policies and legislation in addressing immigration at the different levels of government.
- To determine the effects immigrants have on public services and amenities.

- To determine roles which policymakers, planners and other community organisations can play in formalising immigration and its impact on urban and regional development policy.
- To determine how and where immigrants are accommodated in cities i.e. to understand and describe the settlement patterns of immigrants in the cities.
- To evaluate and suggest responses to current policy and planning challenges affecting immigrants and the receiving communities.

1.4 Hypothesis

It is perceived that immigration causes more harm than good to the host country and it is often perceived as a national problem; not a local problem.

1.5 Research methodology

This research will focus on two research approaches i.e. literature study and empirical study. The literature study of this research derives from a variety of sources which includes books, reports, scholarly journals and internet resources, in order to obtain a broad theoretical basis. The literature predominantly relates to theories/models of migration, typologies of international migration, global perspectives on international migration and regional development planning policy, all of which will contribute to the theoretical part of the research.

On the other hand, the research will make use of empirical study by investigating applicable policies and legislation and the effects they have on immigration and planning. This research will use both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Punch (2003) describes quantitative research as being empirical research where the data numbers are used to describe the observed situation. Quantitative methods to be used will be previous surveys on immigration and census data. Purposive sampling will be used to identify the key informants; in this context expert sampling. Data presentation and analysis will be carried out using a SWOT Analysis.

To augment the quantitative methods, some qualitative methods will be used. According to Gilbert (2002:24), qualitative research is designed to help researchers understand people and the social as well as cultural contexts within which they live. In this case qualitative data will be obtained from local municipality officials who will provide their views in dealing with immigration via an administered questionnaire. Other qualitative methods to be used are

mainly the secondary sources, such as the reviewing of planning journals, publications, text books and case studies but also primary data sources like interviews with key informants and eye observations. Data collection procedures to be used will be expert interviews with the local municipalities` officials and archival data analysis on immigration and its effects.

1.6 Arrangement of the study

In addition to this chapter the research document will consist of six other chapters and will be arranged as follows:

Chapter 2: Immigration in Context

This chapter, together with Chapter Three, will constitute the theoretical evidence chapters. This chapter in particular will look at immigration in context, how it is viewed in this century and the strands surrounding it. Theories that explain why international migration happens in the first place, together with the typologies of International migration will make up this chapter. Furthermore to understand the wider perceptions on international migration, global perspectives on the aspect of migration will be used. In addition, the different views on international migration and development will be discussed.

Chapter 3: Immigrants, Policy and Planning

This chapter will further explore literature from other sources that relate to the study focus. The chapter will merge the literature on planning and policy with that on international migration to provide a clear understanding on the relationship. The literature will mainly relate to the implications of immigration on the planning and service provision of cities i.e. the advantages and disadvantages of international migration. Literature on the urban and regional development policy will also be reviewed to evaluate and suggest responses to current policy and planning challenges affecting immigrants, receiving communities and service providers. Literature on Immigration, policy implications and possible solutions will be used.

Chapter 4 Historical background of immigration to South Africa and within the SADC

Chapter Four will be the introductory chapter of the empirical section. The chapter will provide an informed understanding of the history of immigration to South Africa and the rest of the SADC. The reader will be given insight into the complex relationship that international migration has had with cities and towns of South Africa. In addition the historical review of immigration in the SADC region, past to present, will be discussed.

Chapter 5 Policy and Legislation

Any phenomena are shaped and in turn shape the laws and regulations of any country. This chapter is solely dedicated to the analysis of policy and legislation that have influenced or that have impacted on both occurrences under study i.e. planning and immigration.

Chapter 6 Research Findings and Discussion

This chapter will outline the research findings as well as interpret, analyse and discuss data collected. Data obtained from the expert surveys and from other secondary data will all be presented and discussed in the form of tables, diagrams and maps. The chapter will provide an encompassing view of the two cities. To clarify further on how immigration can affect the planning of cities, case studies from the developing world will be used.

Chapter 7 Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter will go on to provide the reader with a summary of the chapters and in addition present the conclusions arrived upon from the findings. This chapter will provide a synthesis of the study by combining the theoretical foundation with the empirical investigation to make proposals for the study area.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter serves as the forerunner of the study. It provides the reader with a clear picture of what to expect from the research and how everything will be carried out.

CHAPTER 2: IMMIGRATION IN CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

International migration cuts across various disciplines such as sociology, economics and demography as well as urban and regional planning. International migration flows are every urban and regional planner's concern and thus planners should understand the contextual issues that surround this cross-cutting phenomenon. In order to understand the broader context of immigration and its relation to spatial planning issues, it is important to analyse it from its theoretical levels and to know the basic concepts of migration in itself and those associated with it. This chapter will first describe the concepts of immigration and explain terms relevant to it. Typologies of migration, theories of international migration, international migration and development, international migration and the urban system as well as the global perspectives on international migration will make up this chapter and will be discussed and analysed.

2.2 Understanding immigration

One cannot understand the aspect of immigration without first defining and explaining migration itself. According to Du Pisani (2000:11), migration is understood as a change in the location of the home and often involves entire communities. It reflects individual and collective decisions. Migration is divided into two broad categories i.e. International migration and internal migration. The former is the most relevant in defining immigration. International migration can be defined as the crossing of political or national boundaries into a country other than one's own. Nijkamp *et al.* (2012:5) define an international immigrant as someone who lives outside his or her country of birth for twelve months or more. The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2010:750) defines immigration as the process of coming into a country that is not one's own. An immigrant then becomes a person who comes to live permanently in a country that is not of their birth. These are, however, views from almost the same perspective. Immigration of late has been viewed not only in terms of settling permanently in a country but also for temporary periods of time.

As the International Organisation for Migration (IOM, 2012:2) states, migration can be defined from a geographical viewpoint. It is defined as movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border with the intention of settling indefinitely or permanently in a place other than their place of origin. Migration viewed from this point of view does not occur directly between the point of origin and point of destination but involves one or more countries of transit. This is regarded

by others as stepwise migration. The IOM (2012:2) also defines migration from a human stance, where the person who leaves his/her country with the intention to reside in another country is called an emigrant. That same person in the host country will be considered an immigrant. According to Parnwell (1993:13), migration involves the permanent or quasi permanent relocation of an individual or group of individuals from a place of destination. In this study definitions by the IOM will be used as they are most relevant because they acknowledge that not only those people who settle permanently are viewed as immigrants but even those who are indefinite are immigrants too. The other definitions undermine the fact that, the time spent by a person in that country has a bearing on the planning by urban planners.

The terms 'South' and 'North' will be used throughout this study e.g. south to south migration, south to north migration and conversely, and thus it is of importance to specify at the outset what is meant by the terms. According to Bakewell (2009:2), the south is often taken to be a convenient synonym for the set of developing countries. Hence in this scenario south to south migration will be between developing countries. Bakewell (2009:2) further attests that within the United Nations (UN) system, five developing regions are defined and they are as follows:

- Africa,
- Americas excluding North America,
- Caribbean,
- Asia excluding Japan, and
- Oceania excluding Australia and New Zealand.

Bakewell (2009:2) further highlights that the 137 countries falling within these regions are classified as less developed or developing based on the criteria of low income, level of human capital and economic vulnerability.

According to Ratha and Shaw (2007:4), for the World Bank, low and middle-income countries are designated as 'developing'. This excludes countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and much of the Persian Gulf, which are counted as developed in the UN classification. Since both the World Bank and United Nations have generated most of the statistics on international migration, their classifications are applicable to this research.

2.3 International migration theory in perspective

Urban planners need not only understand spatial trends and distribution of immigrants in urban areas which is crucial for urban planning decision-making. They also need to know why international migration happens in the first place for them to better deal with it and formulate sound planning and policy initiatives. According to Massey *et al.* (1993:432), a variety of theoretical models has been proposed to explain why international migration begins. According to Bogue (1994:1), the theories of international migration, however, are diverse and often contradictory.

Theories of migration may be divided into two well-known classes i.e. macro-level theories and the micro-level theories. According to Bogue (1994:3), macro level theories of international migration are those theories that explain migration in terms of population aggregates. The theories assert that, change of residence is set in motion by external forces over which the mover has little or no control i.e. the perspective is that of a detached observer. Micro level theories of international migration, on the other hand, are those that assume that the migrant is a self-directed person or family, managing his or her own fate. The migrants seek the best location for themselves and/or for their group. The perspective is the subjective choices of potential migrants. The theories of international migration better expose the realities that come with this process. The following theoretical overview on these models is predominantly based on the research of Massey *et al.* (1993:433). Each theory will be analysed separately in order to illuminate key assumptions and hypotheses as the chapter develops.

Table 2-1 International Migration Theories Summarised

THEORETICAL APPROACH	LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	ASSUMPTIONS
Neo- Classical	Country	Migration as a result of labour market gaps between countries
Neo-Classical economics	Individual	Individual rational actors decide to migrate because of cost benefit calculation
New Economics	Household	Individual migrants are influenced by households as a collective actor in economic survival
Dual labour Market	Structural (Internal)	Structural demands of developed countries
World Systems Theory	Structural (external)	Market and cultural penetration from the core to the peripherals

Source: Massey et al (1993:430)

2.3.1 Neo classical theory (macro)

According to Massey *et al.* (1993:433), international migration, like its internal counterpart, is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour. Countries with a large endowment of labour relative to capital have a low equilibrium market wage, while countries with a limited endowment of labour relative to capital are characterised by a high market wage, as depicted graphically by the familiar interaction of labour supply and demand curves. The resulting differential in wages causes workers from the low-wage country to move to the high-wage country. As a result of this movement, the supply of labour decreases and wages rise in the capital-poor country, while the supply of labour increases and wages fall in the capital-rich country. According to De Haas (2008:5), the neo-classical theory explains migration by geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour. The resulting differentials in wages causes workers to move from low wage, labour surplus regions to high wage labour scarce regions. Migration will cause labour to become less scarce at the destination and scarcer at the sending end. Capital is expected to move in the opposite direction. Figure 2.1 shows a schematic demand and supply diagram depicting the interaction regarding the demand and supply of labour and minimum wages.

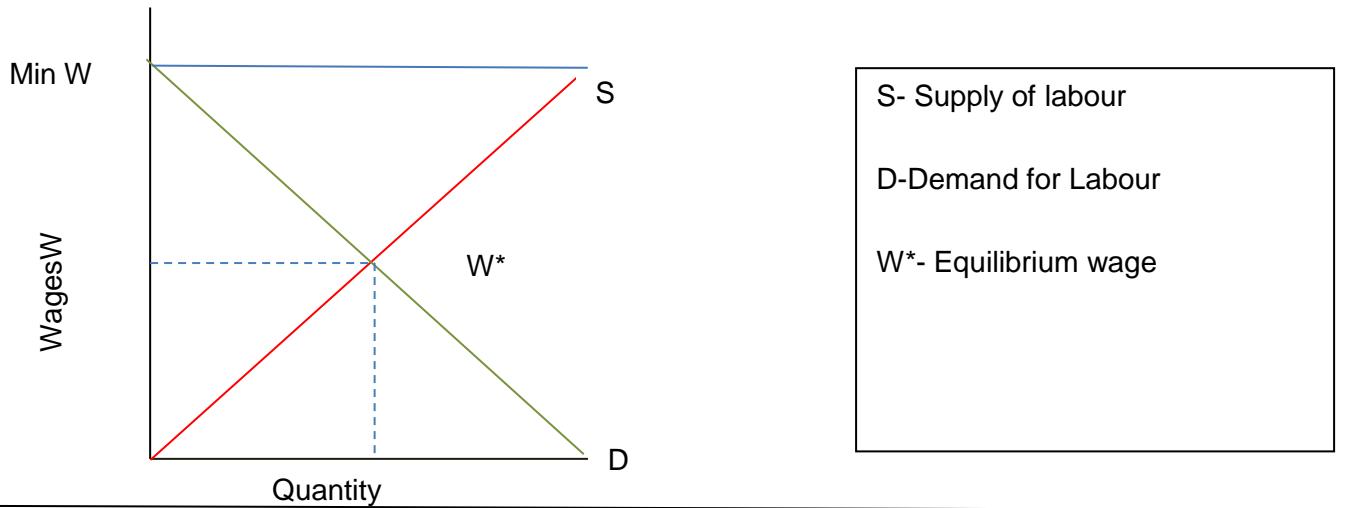


Figure 2-1 Interaction between demand and supply of labour and minimum wages

Source: Own deduction (adapted from Massey et al. 1993)

As shown by the diagram, when the equilibrium wage falls below the minimum wage, there will be a surplus supply of labour because demand for labour is low; hence unemployment sets in. This forces people to migrate, seeking opportunities in other countries.

According to Massey et al. (1993:434), the assumptions surrounding this theory include the following:

- (1) The international migration of workers is caused by differences in wage rates between countries.
- (2) The elimination of wage differentials will end the movement of labour and migration will not occur in the absence of such differentials.
- (3) International flows of human capital (that is, highly skilled workers) respond to differences in the rate of return to human capital, which may be different from the overall wage rate, yielding a distinct pattern of migration that may be opposite to that of unskilled workers.
- (4) Labour markets are the primary mechanisms by which international flows of labour are induced; other kinds of markets do not have important effects on international migration.
- (5) The way for governments to control migration flows is to regulate or influence labour markets in sending and/or receiving countries.

This theory would be the typical theory to explain most south to north flows experienced. People mainly migrate from countries where there is a large supply of labour and yet low wages to countries with a high demand for labour. This theory would explain the high emigrations by professionals in developing countries to the developed countries e.g. as many nurses migrated from Zimbabwe to the United Kingdom in the 1990s and early 2000s for this reason (Crush and Tevera 2010:30). However it does not always justify the economic movements by people. The theory assumes that when one moves, one has knowledge of the wages in the other country which is not always the case. Migration between developing countries for instance, does not always guarantee the migrant of real wages in the destination country and yet people still migrate despite little differences in wages.

2.3.2 Neo-classical theory (micro)

According to Massey *et al.* (1993:434), the neo-classical theory focuses on disparities in wages and employment conditions between countries and on migration costs. Generally it conceives of movement as an individual decision for income maximization. According to Castles and Miller (2009:22), the neo-classical theory assumes that potential migrants have perfect knowledge of wage levels and employment opportunities in destination areas and that their migration decisions are overwhelmingly based on these economic factors. The theory assumes that the central concept is human capital i.e. people decide to invest in migration and will migrate if the expected rate of return from higher wages in the destination country is greater than the costs incurred through migrating. Castles and Miller (2009:22), assert that the neo-classical theory has its antecedents in the earliest systematic theory on migration. Such theories emphasised tendencies of people moving from densely to sparsely populated areas or from low to high income areas. They further state that these are often known as push-pull theories because they perceive the causes of migration to lie in a combination of push factors (those compelling people to leave the areas of origin) and pull factors (those attracting them to certain receiving countries). According to Castles and Miller (2009:22) ‘push factors’ include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression and ‘pull factors’ may include demand for labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms.

Lee (1966:50) explained one such push-pull theory of international migration as shown in the figure below. It shows possible migration between a place of origin and a place of destination, with positive and negative signs signifying pull and push factors, respectively. Flows take place between two places, but there are intervening obstacles to these spatial movements. Restrictive immigration laws, for example, can present a formidable barrier to prospective migrants. Both the origin and destination have pushes and pulls, reflecting the

reality that any migrant must consider both the positives of staying and the negatives of moving, as well as their converses. The logic of the push-pull theory is that if the positives (pulls) at the destination outweigh the plusses of staying at the origin, as shown below, then migration is likely to occur.

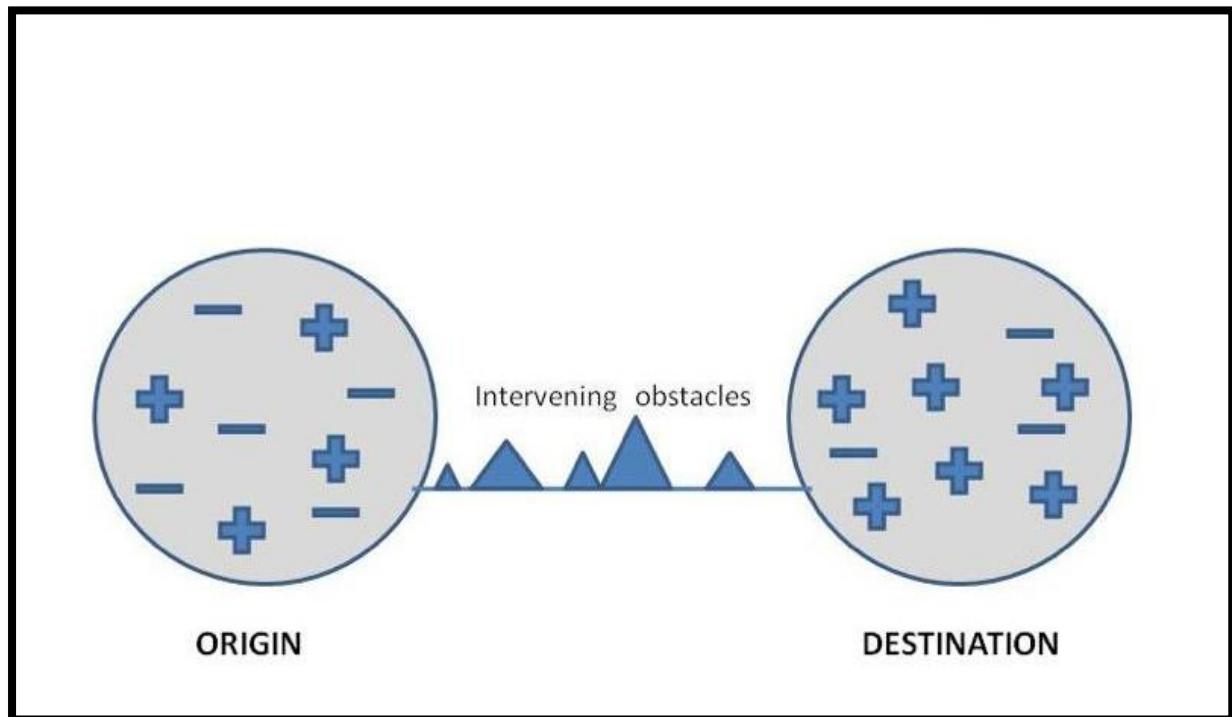


Figure 2-2 Lee`s Push-Pull theory

Source: Lee (1966:50)

Given the assumptions of this theory one may ascertain that it explains why, people migrate from third world countries and regions to first world countries or regions (low income to high income). Moreover its push and pull assumptions, especially by Lee`s model, clearly highlight that although movement between countries is apparent there are likely hindrances in the process. For example immigration laws between nations may hinder the free movement of people and is the likely cause of illegal migration. On the other hand the theory fails to explain why people migrate from Third World to Third World (low income to low income) or rather between countries with more or less the same income levels.

2.3.3 The new economics of migration (micro)

According to Castles and Miller (2009:24), the new economics of migration emerged in the 1980s. They state that migration decisions are not made by isolated individuals but by families, households or even communities. Massey *et al.* (1993:430), further emphasises that a key insight of this approach is that migration decisions are not made by isolated

individual actors, but by larger units of related people, typically families or households in which people act collectively not only to maximise expected income, but also to minimise risks and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures, apart from those in the labour market. This theory views migration as a household decision taken to minimise risks to family income or to overcome capital constraints on family production activities. The theory suggests that migration cannot be adequately explained just by income differences between two countries. Factors such as the chances of secure employment, availability of investment capital and the need to manage risk over long periods need to be considered.

This theory better explains why there is still international migration between countries with none or little differences in incomes, for example a person may choose to migrate from Namibia to Botswana or from Chile to Venezuela when labour incomes are nearly the same. The theory acknowledges that higher incomes are not necessarily the common factor when it comes to international migration. One may be prompted to move because there is availability of labour in the other country and not necessarily that there are higher wages.

2.3.4 Dual labour market theory (macro)

According to Massey *et al.* (1993:440), this theory sets its sights away from decisions made by individuals and argues that international migration stems from the intrinsic labour demands of modern industrial societies. Piore (1979:99) has been the most forceful and elegant proponent of this theoretical viewpoint, arguing that international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labour that is inherent to the economic structure of developed nations. According to Piore (1979:102), immigration is not caused by 'push factors' in sending countries (low wages or high unemployment), but by 'pull factors' in receiving countries (a chronic and unavoidable need for foreign workers).

Castles and Miller (2009:23) proclaim that the theory focuses on the demand side, emphasising that migration is driven by structural factors in modern capitalist economies. Strong employer demand for low skilled labour that is easy to control and exploit such as undocumented workers is likely to undermine border restriction policies, creating a black market for migrant labour and opportunities for people smugglers and recruitment agents. According to Massey *et al.* (1993:444) the assumptions surrounding this theory entail the following:

1. International labour migration is largely demand-based and is initiated by recruitment on the part of employers in developed societies, or by governments acting on their behalf.

2. Since the demand for immigrant workers stems from the structural needs of the economy and is expressed through recruitment practices rather than wage offers, international wage differentials are neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for labour migration to occur. Indeed, employers have incentives to recruit workers while keeping wages constant.
3. Low-level wages in immigrant-receiving societies do not rise in response to a decrease in the supply of immigrant workers; they are held down by social and institutional mechanisms and are not free to respond to shifts in supply and demand.
4. Low-level wages may fall, however, as a result of an increase in the supply of immigrant workers, since the social and institutional checks that keep low-level wages from rising do not prevent them from falling.
5. Governments are unlikely to influence international migration through policies that produce small changes in wages or employment rates; immigrants fill a demand for labour that is structurally built into modern, post-industrial economies, and influencing this demand requires major changes in economic organization.

This theory explains international migration to developed countries or regions e.g. the United Arab Emirates. The United Arab Emirates are characterised by great wealth, small populations and labour shortages and thus rely heavily on foreign labour to sustain its economic growth and its major developments. Immigrants to the United Arab Emirates come from India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Moreover it can be related to the need of foreign labour, especially low-skilled workers in the mines of South Africa.

2.3.5 World systems theory

According to Massey *et al.* (1993:444), proponents of the world systems theory linked the origins of international migration not to the bifurcation of the labour market within particular national economies, but to the structure of the world market that has developed and expanded since the sixteenth century. In this scheme, the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad, driven by a desire for higher profits and greater wealth. Owners and managers of capitalist firms enter poor countries on the periphery of the world economy in search of land, raw materials, and labour and new consumer markets. In the past, this market penetration was assisted by colonial regimes that administered poor regions for the benefit of economic interests in colonising societies. Today it is made possible by neo-colonial governments and multinational firms that perpetuate the power of national elites who

either participate in the world economy as capitalists themselves, or offer their nation's resources to global firms on acceptable terms. According to world systems theory, migration is a natural outgrowth of disruptions and dislocations that inevitably occur in the process of capitalist development.

According to Castles and Miller (2009:26) the world systems theory focused on the way the less developed peripheral regions were incorporated into a world economy controlled by core capitalist nations. They further state that the penetration of multinational corporations into less developed economies accelerated rural change leading to poverty, displacement of workers, rapid urbanisation and the growth of informal economies. Moreover the theory analysed international labour migration as one of the ways in which relations of domination were forged between the core economies of capitalism and its underdeveloped periphery.

The world systems theory can relate to Friedmann's (1966) core periphery model in which the core relies on the periphery for production factors and this may include labour from the periphery, thus initiating international migration. This is especially in phase two of the model or the transitional phase; a single strong centre exists to which the migration of skilled workers occurs. The model then states that as core regions develop it is necessary for them to exploit the peripheries. This might be in terms of net migration gain or exploitation of resources.

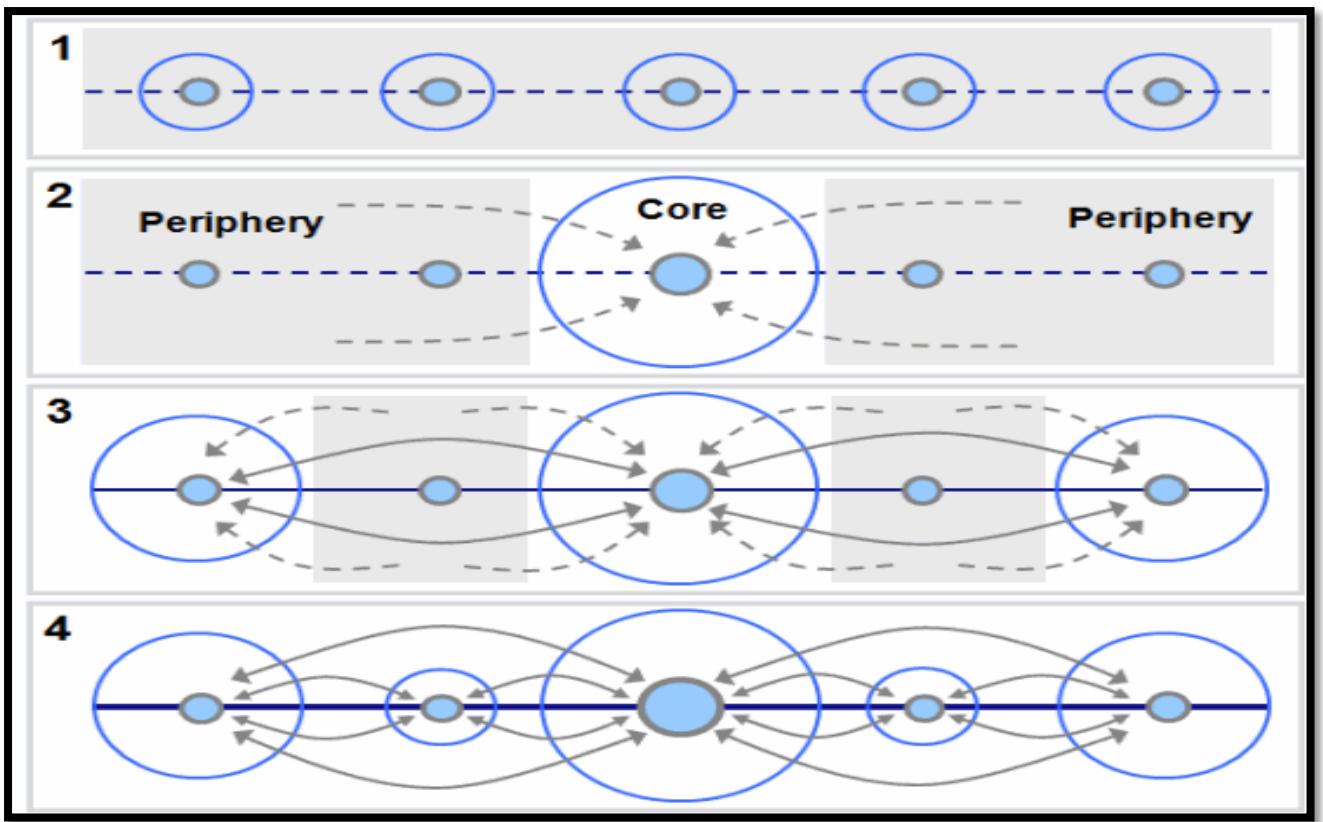


Figure 2-3 Friedmann 1966's Stages of Growth Model

Source: Friedmann (1966:36)

From the assumptions of the world systems theory, one can construe that international migration by colonisation as identified by Fairchild (cited by Parnwell, 1993:6), owes its initiation from this theory as exemplified by western powers coming to Africa especially for raw materials and new investments. It is the same theory that accounts for the accelerated industrialisation through foreign assistance in order to modernise less developed economies after colonialism. According to Lo and Salih (1978:14), the rapid industrialisation called for careful central planning of resource allocation injection of international capital for industrial development and resource exploitation through foreign investments and aid. This explains why international migration began. In short it explains international migration from the developed regions to the less developed regions. In addition not only do capitalist investments initiate international migration towards the peripherals but their establishments create links between the two worlds that facilitate the movement of people just as they do capital and goods. Thus people are able to migrate to the developed countries.

In summation, these theories, however, relate more to the economic side of international migration and yet there is more to international migration than economic aspirations. Although the earlier theories like the neo-classical theory explain the aspects of 'push factors' from the sending countries, they did so from an economic level and yet there are

social ‘push factors’ that prompted people to move across borders and are likely to be the cause of the perpetuation of large international migration flows around the globe. This applies especially to refugees and asylum seekers who make up a large portion of the international migrants in the world. To support, refute and reconcile these theories empirical tests will be carried out relying heavily on statistics on international migration flows by the United Nations Population Division and other national statistics.

2.4 International migration typologies

Different types of international migration present different challenges and opportunities for urban planning. It is therefore important to draw these distinctions at the outset. Migration typologies make it easier to understand the complexities and realities of migration for both the sending and receiving countries. According to Balbo ed. (2005:11), clearly different groups of migrants have different reasons for being in the city, engage in different activities, place different demands on city services and have variable requirements of city authorities. Consequently, Parnwell (1993:11) is of the view that knowing the typologies helps urban and regional planners to devise adequate and appropriate planning strategies. This section will describe and analyse the different typologies of migration as propounded by different scholars and authors. Various authors tend to classify the typologies differently. Some classify them according to time, space and purpose. Some choose to limit their classification to the former two.

According to Righard (2012:7), migration unfolds in time and space and is therefore defined against thresholds of distance and time. In this definition the space means that for international migration a national border has to be crossed. In addition the time that a person stays in the host country helps to classify migration. For example Righard (2012:7) goes on to state that, the threshold for statistical recording of migration is usually set at one year in the host country but can be more to even permanent settling. In other words Righard brings out the idea that, at one point temporary migration can mature into permanent migration. Parnwell (1993:11), on the other hand, brings a third aspect of purpose of movement in the classification. He asserts that behind each movement made there is a motive. Although the definitions bring out the aspect of time and space, they do not say anything about exactly where the immigrants are going to settle once they arrive. In using these three ways of classifying migration types, the common migration types would be international migration, internal migration, permanent migration, temporary migration, labour migration, refugee migration and undocumented or illegal migration which is a subset of all the other forms of migration. All these are classified according to the aspects mentioned earlier.

2.4.1 Labour migration

One of the major international migration types in the world and especially in the developing world is labour migration. As asserted by Ratha and Shaw (2007:13), income differences between countries have some influence in the south to south migration. It means that people are pushed to migrate to places where there are better incomes than their home countries. Ratha and Shaw (2007:15) further clarify the scenario by giving examples in the Third World where this is evident. They say that the clearest examples are seen in the middle income countries that have substantial numbers of immigrants from nearby low income countries. For example, Chile and Venezuela attract immigrants from Bolivia, Paraguay and Peru. Malaysia draws immigrants from Indonesia. South Africa attracts immigrants from Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Therefore, the difference in income levels is a major determinant of labour migration, though it is not the only one.

Another determinant of labour migration is the economic situation in most developing countries and developing regions. The developing world is associated with detrimental economies where there are not enough jobs to go around and associated with very high unemployment rates. Because of these conditions, people move across borders in pursuit of employment. Labour migration has often been associated with brain gain and brain drain respective of receiving and sending countries. According to Kok *et al.* (2006:59), sending countries therefore tend to lose an important part of their human capital in the process frequently referred to as ‘brain drain’. This is all to labour migration that has been emphasised by research on immigration and little has been said on its impact on the planning of towns and cities or rather the challenges it poses to this line of work.

Labour migration affects the planning of towns and host places in more ways than let on and thus should be a concern for urban and regional planning. For instance, one of the major goals of urban and regional planning in the developing world would be to ensure employment opportunities for all. From this view, one can see that labour migration can affect the duties of planners. For example in international migration, especially regional migration where borders are easily straddled either illegally or legally, low-skilled workers flood into cities and towns. Because most of them are desperate and illegal, employers tend to prefer them and the cheaper labour they offer especially in the agricultural and mining sector.

2.4.2 Refugee/asylum migration

Another type of international migration common in the developing world is the refugee or asylum form of migration. This type of migration falls under the broader form of forced migration, which is a non-voluntary movement of a person. In order to escape armed conflict, situations of violence, violation of his or her rights or a natural disaster. This term applies to refugee movements and forced exchanges of populations among states (IOM 2012:4). According to the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2011:3), the UN convention of 1951 defines a refugee as a person residing outside his/her country of nationality who is unable/unwilling to return because of a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality or membership in a particular social group or political opinion. Asylum seekers on the other hand are people who move across borders in search of protection but who may not fulfil the strict criteria laid down by the convention. Planners need to identify planning and policy dilemmas directly related to certain types of migration and how cities respond to immigrant populations.

According to Bakewell (2009:14), the end of colonialism brought to an end many coercive systems of labour migration control. The wars of liberation and civil wars that played out across the south particularly in Africa and Asia created a new form of forced south to south migration that of refugee movements. From the 1960s, prolonged liberation wars e.g. Algeria, Eritrea and Ethiopia and across Southern Africa in Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Namibia and civil wars for example in Nigeria, Sudan and Somalia forced millions of people to flee across borders as refugees to neighbouring countries. In addition, during the 1990s new brutal civil conflicts erupted in West Africa especially in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Rwanda and the DRC creating more refugees.

According to Kok *et al.* (2006:51), Southern Africa has in the past experienced volatile political transition and as a result has been both a source and destination for local and external refugees. They further assert that there has been a sub- category of forced emigrants consisting of asylum seekers. Crush *et al.* (2005:1) further states that countries in the SADC are still dealing with the legacy of mass displacements and forced migration. In addition Kok *et al.* (2006:60) highlight that all Southern African countries other than Botswana and Zambia have produced refugees at one time or another. In the past, these two exceptions hosted numbers of refugees who were both crossing from neighbouring countries and arriving from countries further afield. In 2001, Zambia continued to host the largest number of refugees followed by Namibia and South Africa respectively. Consequently as highlighted by Bakewell (2009:14), in many areas the arrival of refugees has eventually led to permanent settlement despite the government policies. In addition,

according to Lindley (2007:2), in Nairobi exiled Somalis have established a significant residential and business district in the city. In addition millions of Afghan refugees first came to North West Pakistan in the 1980s and have been integrated into social economic and political life of the area. Another example though borrowed from the developed world, where these ethnic communities have established, are the China towns in New York City and San Francisco in the United States of America.

This all being an overview on the issue of refugee and asylum movements in different places, it is of importance for planners to know where these immigrants are settled once they arrive. According to Castles and Miller (2009:3), for receiving countries, the key question is whether immigration will lead to settlement formation of ethnic communities and new forms of ethnic and cultural diversity. As highlighted earlier, often these refugee movements lead to permanent settling and as drawn from examples across the world, new ethnic enclaves tend to be formed. And this obviously becomes a concern of urban and regional planners in receiving areas. Refugee legislation in receiving countries dictates how refugees are to be treated. Drawing from South Africa's Refugee Act (130 of 1998), it provides for the needs of forcibly displaced persons coming to South Africa in search of asylum. It states that refugees are allowed to seek employment and to access education as well as being entitled to the rights enshrined in Chapter Two of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) with the exception of political rights and the rights of freedom to trade, occupation and profession which do not apply to non-citizens. However the Act is silent on the rights to access basic services such as housing, water, sanitation and safety which are all met through services delivered at local government level.

In light of the above as highlighted by Singer (2004:12), it is important for urban and regional planners to understand how immigrants fit into the local labour and housing markets and how they interact with institutions such as schools, transportation systems and healthcare systems. Since some of the legislation is silent on the consumption of services by immigrants the assumption is that, immigrants will assimilate into receiving societies and access services to which they are entitled in the same way as nationals e.g. housing, sanitation and water which are provided at the local government level. Thus urban and regional planners should be familiar with immigrant data and legislation or rather they should be part and parcel of the policy-making for immigrants.

2.4.3 Undocumented migration

Although it is just a subset of the types of International Migration, undocumented or illegal migration is a cause for concern when it comes to Urban and Regional Planning. According

to Kok *et al.* (2006:61), undocumented migration is comprised of immigrants who lack documents authorising their stay or residence in the receiving country. In addition, they are those who have overstayed their authorised duration of residence/stay and who are determined to avoid contact with the law enforcement. They are also defaulters of amnesty or those who failed to exploit that opportunity and unsuccessful applicants of formal granting of refugee or asylum status who try to avoid discovery in one way or the other. Therefore undocumented migrants can become illegal workers as identified by Appleyard (1989:490), who states that illegal workers are a subset of labour migrants; the difference being that unlike those officially recruited as migrant labour, they are unaccounted for in official statistics at least until they are discovered by officialdom. According to Parnwell (1993:53), for many the lure of economic opportunities may be such that they may be willing to take the risk of arrest and even imprisonment to avail themselves of these opportunities by illegal means.

Castles and Miller (2009:306) state that undocumented migration encompasses illegal border crosses, illegal entrants who overstay their entry visas or who work without permission, family members of migrant workers prevented from entering legally by restrictions on family reunion and asylum seekers not regarded as genuine refugees. They further assert that most of these immigrants come from poor neighbouring countries and seek employment but generally lack work qualifications. These people tend to compete with the lower qualified local people for unskilled jobs and for housing and social amenities, all provided for at the local government level. According to Ratha and Shaw (2007:3), illegal migration is by its nature difficult to measure, particularly in developing countries and regions. This is because in many developing countries, rules governing immigration are unclear. They may be supported by administrative or executive decrees rather than legislation. Moreover, in most developing countries it is difficult to control illegal migration because borders are porous and extensive and thus easy to straddle. In addition, they state that a lack of resources makes it difficult for many developing countries to police their land borders. Typical examples would be between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, lack of border controls in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Crush *et al.* (2004:12) give an example of South Africa's inability to limit irregular migration despite devoting significant resources to improving border controls. Consequently, typical of developing regions difficulty in obtaining travel documents from countries of origin can also encourage illegal migration particularly of poorer migrants.

In light of the above overview on illegal migration and the problems associated with its measurement, it is important to highlight how this becomes a concern for Urban and

Regional Planning. Firstly, because policy strategies are guided by the recorded as opposed to the actual levels of movement, the unavailability of illegal movements' data then compromises the effectiveness of urban and regional planning. According to Parnwell (1993:12), owing to the fragmented nature of the planning system in many third world countries with inadequate coordination and sometimes overt competition between development agencies, planners may only be interested in certain forms of population movements which may be of direct relevance to their particular areas of responsibility such as urban housing or agricultural extension. In addition one of the pillars of planning analysis, that of demographic analysis, relies heavily on the data on migration. Planners should understand the components of population change and should develop skills to use population information in the planning process and moreover to understand the impact of planning activities on population size, composition and distribution. Migration being one of the three processes of demography is crucial in the planning profession, for planners need to study changes in the population so as to plan for education, health services and economic development projects. The demographic information of all residents provides planners with the type of information needed to plan for the residents` diverse needs.

According to Wang and Vom Hofe (2007:53), population projections are the base for many planning activities such as producing land use and transportation plans, determining the direction of future economic development and providing guidance for housing, school and shopping centre developments. In a nutshell, population projections are the centrepiece of comprehensive plans and the future vision of localities and the importance of population estimates and projections in planning are apparent in some local planning issues. These entail land use planning, transportation planning, economic development, environment planning, housing, public services and amenities and sustainable development. One can see that from all this, in the developing world, where population projections are highly subjective rather than objective, and migration data is difficult to measure, one thus often relies on estimations. It is likely that the planning of towns and cities, where these immigrants eventually find themselves, is compromised. For instance, underestimating populations can lead to shortages and a reduction in the quality of life. On the other hand overestimating populations may result in wastage of local resources through costly oversupply of services.

2.4.4 Stepwise migration

According to Conway (1980:3), stepwise migration is a spatial relocation by steps or stages from an immigrant's place of origin to an intended destination. Paul (2011:1843) also defines stepwise migration in the international context when he states that, stepwise international migration is a pattern of multi stage international labour migration which involves stints of

substantive duration working in intermediate countries as an international strategy adopted by lower capital migrants unable to gain immediate entry into a preferred destination country. According to Paul (2011:1843) a process of stepwise international migration has become an alternative strategy for aspiring migrants from the developing world to surmount the structural barriers preventing them from gaining legal entry into their preferred destinations. Conway (1980:3) further states that, geographically patterns of migration are best distinguished on the basis of locational choices made by the individual households.

According to Paul (2011:1841) stepwise migration mostly has been applied to studies of unplanned, internal migration from a rural to an urban setting. The step by step progression of internal migrants from village to town and then to city mirrors the incremental and hierarchical movement of international migrants from their home country to a less preferred destination country and then onward to one that is more attractive. According to Paul (2011:1845) stepwise migration has been defined as a process of human spatial behaviour in which individuals or families embark on a migration path of acculturation which gradually takes them by way of intermediate steps from a traditional rural environment to a modern environment. While working overseas stepwise migrants attempt to increase their savings, gain the necessary work experience and educational certifications to qualify for jobs in preferred countries. More so to build their networks of overseas contacts, all with a goal of accumulating sufficient migrant capital resources so as to gain entry into a more desirable destination country. According to Conway (cited by Paul, 2011:1845) subsequent scholars have added a hierarchical interpretation to the concept of stepwise migration, applying it to progressions up an urban hierarchy. This hierarchical element is also a key to stepwise migration in the international arena.

Although the initial intention of most of the migrants in this category is to stay for a short while in the receiving country and then proceed to their desired destinations, more often than not they end up settling permanently.

2.5 International migration and development

Many studies have addressed the issue of migration and development from different perspectives. As stated by Castles and Miller (2009:60) international migration cannot be seen as isolated from development. Most of the studies have however focused on internal migration and development e.g. Todaro and Smith 2006. Where international migration and development have been addressed, focus has been on the development of the sending countries of which most scenarios are of migration between the developed and developing countries e.g. De Haas 2010. In most of these cases migration was associated with national

development. One can ascertain that international migration and development have only been analysed in relation to one form of cross border movement - that of labour migration. This section will try to bridge the gap left in most literature on international migration and development. The focus will be on the relationship between migration and development of the receiving country focusing on the receiving urban centres. The research will look at how international migration contributes to urban development/underdevelopment of the receiving urban areas. Todaro and Smith (2006:335) are of the view that urban development plays an important role in economic development. An analysis of literature regarding different views on international migration and development in both south to north and south to south scenarios will be made. As affirmed by De Haas (2010:1), the debate on migration and development has swung back and forth like a pendulum, from developmental optimism in the 1950s and 1960s, to the neo Marxist pessimism in the 1970s and 1980s. According to Todaro and Smith (2006:102) development should be perceived as a multidimensional process involving the reorganisation and reorientation of entire economic and social systems.

2.5.1 Optimists` views on international migration and development

Generally optimists view international migration as having positive impacts on the development of both the receiving and sending country and more so, on the migrants themselves. Optimists assume that migrants find jobs, develop their skills, earn money and remit some of it to their countries. In turn, receiving countries benefit from the skills and labour they receive from migrants. The optimists are of the view that increasing financial remittances are evaluated as new additional firearms for development. In addition, through remittances migration has a direct effect in the reduction of poverty. Furthermore, they view that a positive effect is also attributed to social transfers in the form of the flow of information and ideas. Finally, optimists are of the view that international migration leads to a more balanced supply and demand dynamic in the labour market because it is expected to contribute to erasing inequality and to lead to a better distribution of the advantages of globalisation.

2.5.2 Optimists' views and neo classical theory

The optimists borrow their views on international migration from the neo- classical theory of migration. As avowed by De Haas (2010:4), the neo- classical migration theory perceives migration as a form of optimal allocation of production factors to the benefits of both sending and receiving countries. He further elaborates that in this perspective of balanced growth the re- allocation of labour from rural, agricultural areas to urban, industrial sectors within or

across borders is considered as a pre-requisite for economic growth and hence a constituent component of the development process. The theory basically assumes that the free movement of labour in an unconstrained market environment will eventually lead to the increasing scarcity of labour. It will also coincide with higher marginal productivity of labour and increasing wage levels in migrant sending countries. Capital flows are expected to go in exactly the opposite direction. According to De Haas (2010:5) return migrants are seen as agents of change and innovation. It was expected that migrants not only bring back capital but also new ideas, knowledge and entrepreneurial attitudes. In this way migrants were expected to play a positive role in development and contribute to the accelerated spatial diffusion of modernisation role in stimulating economic growth. According to Ben (2014:1) neoclassical theory states that labour will migrate from less developed regions to more developed regions (where real wages are higher). In theory this should lead to a convergence in average real incomes (GDP per capita) across regions. The process is represented in Figure 2.4 below.

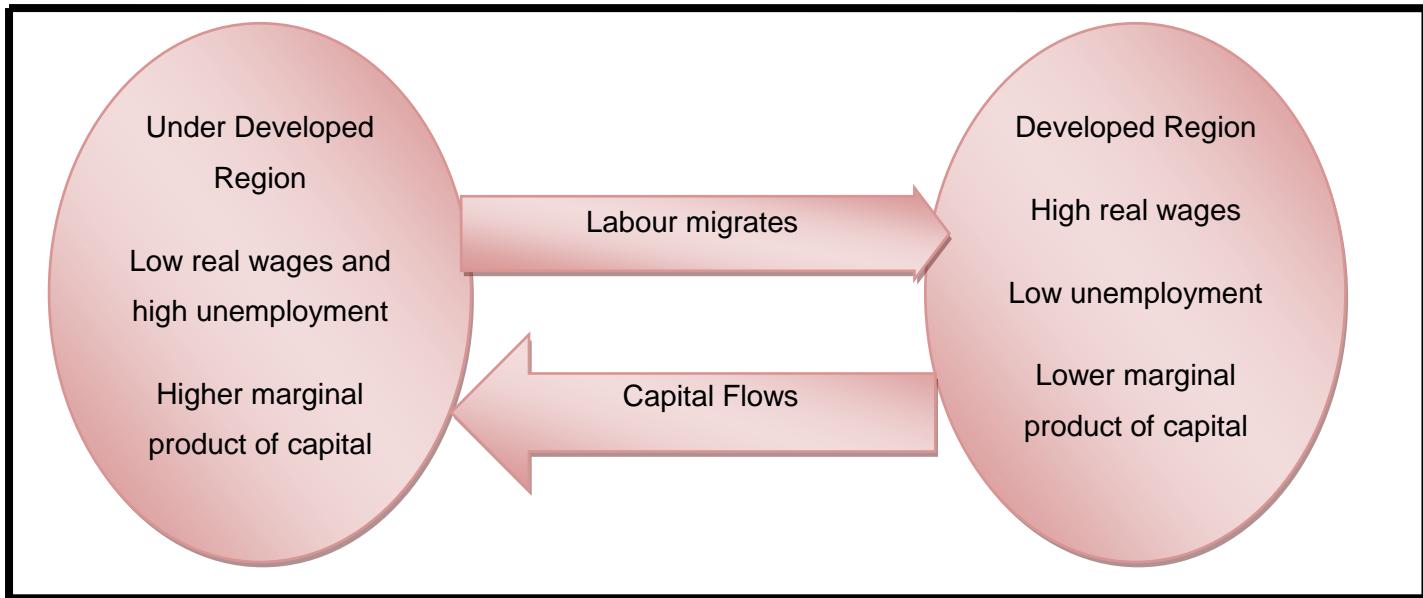


Figure 2-4 Neo-Classical Theories on migration

Source: Ben`s economics blog (2014:1)

The optimists' view on international migration is to some extent viable in some cases. It is true that in this world of movements of both people and capital, the result can be positive to the development of both sending and receiving countries. Because the optimists draw their assumptions from the neo-classical theory, which assumes that migration is only in the form of labour migration, their conclusion that international migration has positive impacts on the development of the receiving country can be valid. This can be seen in empirical examples where this is evident. As is the case of the United Arab Emirates, labour migrants have surely contributed to most of its development. Suter (2005:4) highlights that in the United Arab Emirates it is commonly said that `the first contract workers came to build up the country while the migrants of today maintain it`. He further states that, in fact with massive help from foreign workers the Gulf States developed in record time from poor underdeveloped into highly modernised countries. This is a scenario from the receiving developed country.

There are also cases in the sending countries (periphery) where the benefits of international migration are evident. According to Lessault *et al.* (2002:195) for example, this is the case with Senegal. He states that scientific and political observers agree that international migrants play a major role in promoting urban renewal via direct investments in property, their return or via cash transfers to their families. Lessault *et al.* (2002:195) further asserts that international migrants are the most active players in the improvement of household living conditions. Despite the effects of the lasting economic crisis, the housing quality in Dakar has improved substantially. Property construction and urban renewal in the city are largely funded from abroad. In Senegal emigrants are perceived as a mainstay of local

development. Clearly, from these two examples, like the optimists believe, international migration is beneficial to the development of both the receiving and sending countries.

However, on the other hand, one can still question its applicability in most of the international migration streams experienced today. Firstly, they took their arguments from the neo-classical theory, which limits international migration as to only happening between developing and developed countries. This is not always the case with international migration experienced. Today, migration between developing countries is just as common as migration between developing and developed countries, more so since their views are centred on the labour migration impacts on development. As a result it will be difficult to use these perspectives in analysing the impact of other forms of international migration on development. In addition the optimists assume that migrants readily find employment and earn enough to remit some of the money back to their home countries. Most receiving developing countries do not have enough jobs for their own residents and not everyone who migrates is qualified or legal to take up formal employment with real wages. Because most of the immigrants in developing countries are unskilled and often illegal, the sending of capital to their home countries is questioned. This is because if they obtain employment illegally the channels they use to send money home often become illegal too, especially across country borders. De Haas (2008:1) affirms this when he states that, the optimistic views on migration and development that often prevail today are testament to a lack of awareness of the substantial body of empirical and theoretical literature as well as past policy experiences with the issue.

2.5.3 Pessimists views

The weaknesses of the optimists' views on international migration and development are better criticised by the pessimists' views and also by Myrdal's cumulative causation theory as will be discussed. According to De Haas (2010:6), as from the 1960's, optimistic views were increasingly being challenged. Instead of decreasing, migration was now seen as increasing spatial disparities in developmental levels. Migration was now seen as aggravating problems of underdevelopment.

The pessimists generally emphasised a number of negative aspects and threatening dangers. Under the pessimists' views migration was evaluated as both a symptom and a cause of continuing underdevelopment. De Haas (2010:7) stresses that they also maintained that migration has largely negative impacts on development, draining regions of human capital, reducing productivity, undermining family and community life of sending areas, separating families, creating gender and age gaps in the population, exerting pressure on

physical infrastructure and services in destination areas and expanding urban slums. They also believe that migrants depress wages in destination areas, creating a pool of labour willing to work below legal minimum wages, thus increasing unemployment and exploitation.

2.5.4 Pessimists' views and Myrdal's cumulative causation theory

As emphasised by De Haas (2010:7) the pessimistic views seemed to fit particularly into the cumulative causation theory propounded by Gunnar Myrdal. According to Sai-Wing Ho (2006:359), Myrdal examined the problems of international inequalities. He interpreted these inequalities through the spread and backwash effects. He further asserts that Myrdal investigated uneven development between developed and underdeveloped countries. Myrdal's analysis encompassed both economic and non-economic factors.

According to Myrdal (1957:27), expansion in one locality has backwash effects in other localities. He asserts that migration, capital movements and trade are the media through which the cumulative process evolves, that is upwards in the lucky region and downwards in the unlucky ones. Myrdal elaborates that localities and regions where economic activity is expanding will attract net immigration. He further states that the other movements, that of capital and trade, have similar effects as migration of increasing inequality. According to Myrdal (1957:31), history shows that the cheap and often docile labour of underdeveloped regions does not usually attract industry; instead it is labour which has to move to the localities of rising demand and there make the difficult effort of adjustment to the different ways of values of an expanding society. In addition to the economic factors causing backwash effects, he also provides non-economic factors (Myrdal 1957:29). According to Myrdal (1957:4), the natural population increase is usually faster in the poor countries. This, he asserts, is usually as a result of a particular relation between fertility and mortality rates where both are on a very high level. This, in turn, affects the age distribution of their populations. Thus their economic development proceeds more slowly. He further asserts that many of these countries have, during recent decades, even moved backwards in average income.

On the other hand, in addition to the backwash effects, Myrdal (1957:30) points out that there are also spread effects which are owing to the expansion in localities. According to De Haas (2010:7) the spread effects, though positive, do not match the backwash effects. Myrdal assumes that, for example, it is natural that the whole region around a nodal centre of expansion should gain from the increasing outlets of agricultural products and be stimulated to technical advance all along the line. The cumulative causation theory can be applied on views of migration and development. According to De Haas (2010:8), migration is

expected to undermine regional and national economies by depriving them of their valuable human and material capital resources. These are exploited for the benefit of industrialised countries in need of cheap migrant labour. He further states that migration undermines regional and local economies by depriving communities of their valuable labour force, thus increasing dependence on core countries.

Unlike the optimists' views on migration, the cumulative causation theory proposes that even though labour migration does occur, it may not have the effects which are predicted by the optimists' views. In addition, unlike the neo-classical theory which postulates that owing to the diminishing returns of the production function, the developing countries will exhibit a higher marginal product of capital and thus grow faster, allowing them to catch up with more developed countries. The cumulative causation theory assumes that the increasing return to scale that happens in the developed world will lead to the clustering of economic activity. The developing region may or may not benefit from the growth in the developed regions through the spread effects and backwash effects as previously explained.

Regarding the optimists' and pessimists' views on migration and development, one can ascertain that although both give sound arguments, both have weaknesses. To begin with, both assume that international migration occurs between developed and developing countries only. It is therefore difficult to draw conclusions on international migration and development in a scenario where the international migration is between developing countries based on these perspectives, for the two are different scenarios. In addition, the optimists assume there is equilibrium between labour migration to the core and capital flows to the periphery which will lead to the developing region becoming developed. One can argue that given the time these views were first postulated i.e. the 1950s, there should be at least evidence that this can happen. Instead the lagging countries in the 1950s seem to be the same in this century. More so, both agree that development owing to the movements of labour occurs in the core region (developed country). It fails to explain the impacts of the same movements from a lagging region to a lagging region where levels of income are often low and the same and where immigrants, though employed, live from hand to mouth, hardly affording to send any money home.

Moreover, in respect of developing and receiving countries, the extent of positive impacts on development is questionable. For example, most developing countries are associated with low incomes, unemployment, high growth rates; thus the influx of immigrants is likely to create competition in employment, raise unemployment and further depress already low wages. There should be acknowledgment that unlike capital and trade movements, labour movements will not exist in a vacuum once they are in the receiving area. Labour migrants

will have a demand of goods and services in the receiving country; moreover they will occupy space. Because of this, it is no guarantee that the result will be positive development, especially if the receiving country is less developed. In short, if international migration is beneficial to the development of countries in the north, it does not necessarily mean it is the same with the receiving country of the south. In addition, the views highlight the impact of migration on national development and omit its impact on local development. As explained by Roberts (1989:681), migration to urban centres in non-core countries adds to the instabilities of urban life, accentuating competition for jobs and living space. In contrast to the cities or the core countries social heterogeneity and ethnic solidarity are accentuated, for example migrant ethnic enclaves in such cities as Los Angeles, New York City and Miami. It is these omissions on the impact of international migration on the development of receiving communities of the developing country which inspired this research.

2.5.5 Urban systems and international migration

According to Maksoud (2003:1), the urban system represents the frame within which all urban settlements are organised and interact with each other regarding their sizes and functions. Any urban settlement could not be studied separate from the urban system within which it is located. According to Bourne (1975:12) the urban system organisation can be divided into three levels. First, is a national spatial system which is dominated by metropolitan centres and characterised by a step-like hierarchy. The number of centres in the hierarchy increases with the decreasing population size in a regular framework. The second level is regional subsystems of cities. It is similar but less clearly differentiated around a single metropolitan centre with relatively smaller city sizes which drop off more quickly than in the national system. The third level is the daily or local subsystem within the other two systems. It represents the life space of urban residents and which develops as the influence of each centre, reaches out, absorbs and reorganises the adjacent territory. According to Aiken *et al.* (1987:344), the urban systems theory conceives of urban places as forming an independent hierarchy, the structure of which is determined by the spatial distribution of centres of production. According to Du (2001:213) in its narrowest and most traditional sense, the urban system refers to the set of cities in a certain region i.e. the system is simply an aggregate of cities.

According to Bourne (1997:12), urban systems are often subjected to a complex sequence of intense and often disruptive forces of change. These emanate from both external and internal forces. These may include global competition, introduction of new information, technologies and high national flows of capital and immigrants. Bourne (1997:339) further asserts that the combined implications of these forces for urban and regional development

and specifically for the nations' urban system however remain ambiguous. Consequently, Maksoud (2003:2) elaborates that one of the factors affecting the future of urban systems is future population growth. This is through both natural increase and migration. He further asserts that 95% of the population increase will be in developing countries. Bourne (1975:14) states that all levels of the urban system are interrelated aspects of the urbanisation processes and that policies designed to deal with this process must encompass such levels. Maksoud (2003:1) is of the view that urban systems of developing countries are suffering from severe problems such as rapid urbanisation growth, continuous rural to urban migration, urban concentration in one or more towns and cities, in addition to lack of infrastructure networks in urban areas and economic problems owing to failure of development policies and external debts. The majority of the developing countries still have to live with their unbalanced and over-concentrated urban systems. Such urban systems cannot cope with the rapid changes of the more globalised world of today.

In relation to Bourne (1975) `s three levels of the urban system, one can clearly see that previously, research on international migration and its effects on the urban systems has focused on the first and second levels of the urban system, yet it is the lower urban system that has to bear the direct effects that come with the influx of people, for example urban sprawl which is as a result of the expansion of the urban system. Regarding the lack of data on immigrants that many countries face and which in turn leads to unplanned urban growth in the urban systems, problems like insufficient infrastructure and public services as well as traffic congestion may also occur.

2.5.6 The differential urbanisation (DU) model

Since migration flows into a particular place have a direct bearing on population, it is necessary and appropriate to discuss some of the processes that are directly as a result of population flows. The processes are urbanisation, polarisation reversal and counter urbanisation. These will be discussed under the Differential Urbanisation (DU) model. According to Mookherjee (2003:38), the DU model is based on the hypothesis that the urbanisation process occurs in a series of stages. It is the evolution of the urban system that is of interest, however, since it is within it that the three phases of development occur and these are as a result of migration flows. Definitions of each of the terms will be given first so as to provide a better understanding of the model.

2.5.6.1 Urbanisation

According to Berry (1996:7) urbanisation is a process of population concentration and it implies a movement from a state of less concentration to a state of more concentration. According to Knox and McCarthy (2005:9), urbanisation results in some important changes in the character of the urban system (the complete set of towns and cities within a region or country) and within towns and cities. It causes changes in patterns of land use in social ecology in the built environment and in the nature of urbanism.

2.5.6.2 Polarisation reversal (PR)

According to Richardson (1996:143), PR may be defined as a turning point when spatial polarisation trends in a national economy give way to a process of spatial dispersion out of the core region and into other regions of the system. Richardson (1996:144) further highlights that the dispersion process may be accelerated by obstacles to continued rapid expansion in the core region such as soaring land and labour costs, increasing congestion, pressure on housing and infrastructure and an above average increase in living costs. These obstacles in turn accelerate the industrial decentralisation process and induce an increasing number of migrants to choose the urban destinations outside the core region. This process of integrated dispersion is the main feature of PR. According to Richardson (cited by Keen and Townroe 1981a:1), PR is the point at which the growth rate of the secondary cities located outside the core comes to exceed that of the primate metropolitan centre.

2.5.6.3 Counter urbanisation

According to Berry (1996:7), counter urbanisation is a process of population de-concentration and implies a movement from a state of concentration to a state of less concentration. Keen and Townroe (1981b:188) state that counter urbanisation may be a result of international migration because most immigrants compete for low-skilled jobs in the core and thus move to the outskirts.

According to Geyer and Kontuly (1996:290-291), the Differential Urbanisation model postulates that groups of large, intermediate-sized and small cities go through successive periods of fast and slow growth in a continuum of development that spans the evolution of urban systems in less developed and developed countries. As stated by Geyer and Kontuly (1993:291), the model considers literature on migration in both developed and less developed countries because although migration forces may be generated differently in developed and less developed countries the spatial effect of those forces on urban development is fundamentally the same.

According to Geyer and Kontuly (1996:292) the model proposed that there are five stages in the evolution of urban systems.

- (i) Many national subsystems initially go through a primate city phase in which a large proportion of economic development and large numbers of migrants are attracted to one or a few primary centres.
- (ii) As the national subsystem expands and matures, new urban centres are added to the lower ranks. In this process, economic development is dispersed whilst the urban system becomes more spatially integrated.
- (iii) Such expanding national urban systems develop various strata of territorially organised subsystems from the macro levels through the regional and sub-regional levels to the local or micro-levels.
- (iv) The sequence of tendencies observed in the development of a subsystem first towards concentration and then towards dispersion or de- concentration is not limited to systems at the national level but also at the sub-national level.
- (v) In a growing urban environment the odds normally favour the development of secondary centres closer to primary centres unless an outlying centre is located in an area with exceptional locational attributes.

According to Mookherjee (2003:38) the DU model postulates that the urbanisation process occurs over a series of stages of concentration and de- concentration of a population over space and time. For the first cycle of urban development the model postulates six stages of population changes within the broader spectrum of urbanisation, polarisation reversal and counter urbanisation. The three stages of the differential urbanisation are the urbanisation phase, which according to Geyer (2002:9) correlates with the early and intermediate primate city stages. The second stage is the PR stage which corresponds with the advanced primate and early intermediate city stages. In this stage polarisation forces start giving way to deco centration forces and economic divergence sets in. The final stage is the counter urbanisation phase and it corresponds with the advanced intermediate city and small city phases. According to Geyer (2002:9), at this stage spatially the economy will have become highly integrated with certain secondary and tertiary centres growing faster than the primate cities. These are shown in the figure below.

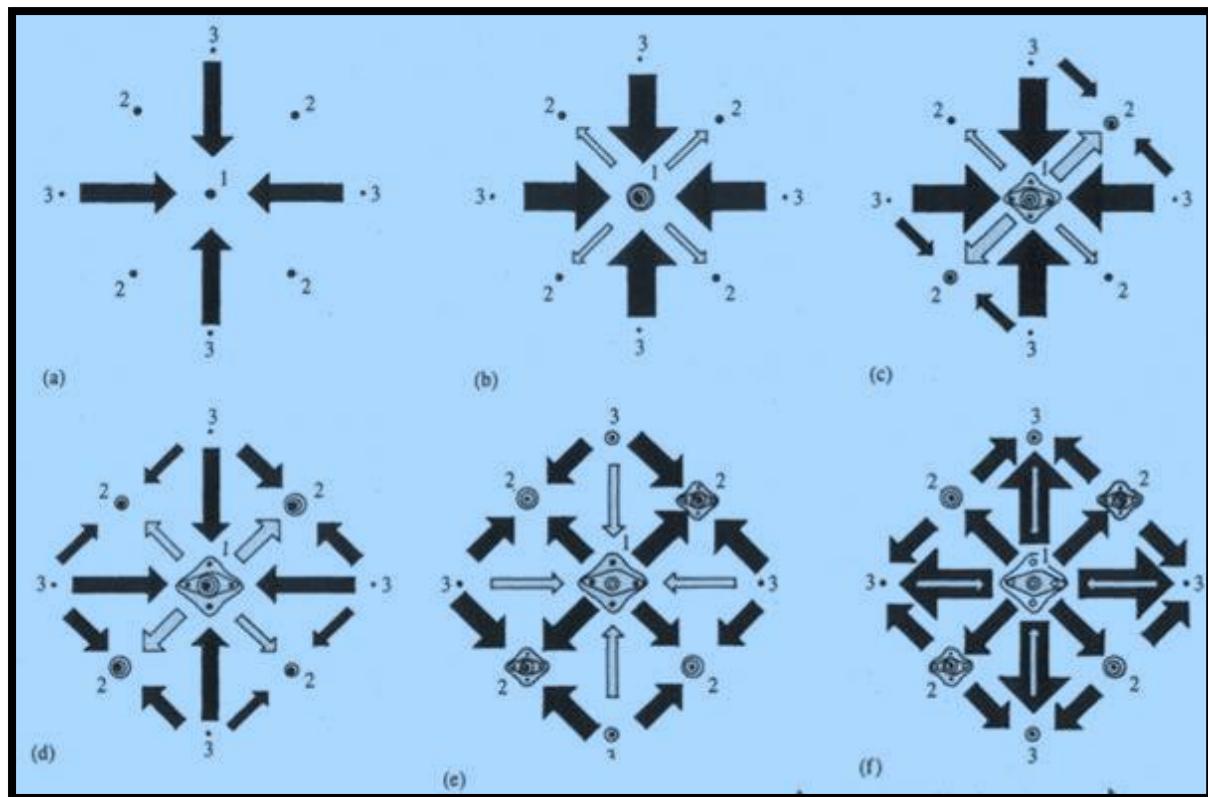


Figure 2-5 Phases of Differential Urbanisation

- (a) Early primate city stage (b) intermediate primate city stage (c) advanced primate city stage (d) early intermediate city stage (e) advanced intermediate city stage (f) small city stage

Source: Geyer (2002:10)

One can say that the model is useful in analysing the influx of immigrants in a particular urban area as it depicts how concentration of a population may lead and contribute to the expansion of the urban system. It is these effects on the urban system that are a concern to urban and regional planners.

2.6 Global perspectives on international migration

According to Balbo and Marconi (2005:2), international migration is a global phenomenon that is growing in scope, complexity and impact. The rise in global mobility, the growing complexity of migratory patterns and its impact on countries, migrants, families and communities have all contributed to international migration becoming a priority for the international community. International migration is a central dynamic within globalisation just like other factors of production such as goods and capital. The paragraph below highlights that we now live in a world in which International migration is becoming more and more globalised:

Areas such as the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or Argentina are considered ‘classical countries of immigration’. Their current people are the result of histories of large-scale immigration- often to the detriment of indigenous populations. Today, migration continues in new forms. Virtually all of Northern and Western Europe became areas of labour immigration and subsequent settlement after 1945. Since the 1980s, Southern European states like Greece, Italy and Spain, which for a long time were zones of emigration, have become immigration areas. Today Central and Eastern European States, particularly Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic are becoming immigration lands. The Middle East and North Africa, the vast area stretching from Morocco to Pakistan is affected by complex population movements. Some countries like Turkey, Jordan and Morocco are major sources of migrant labour. The Gulf Oil states experience mass temporary inflows of workers. Political turmoil in the region has led to mass flows of refugees. In recent years Afghanistan has been a major source of refugees, while Iran and Pakistan have been the main receiving countries. In Africa, colonialism and white settlement led to the establishment of migrant labour systems for plantations and mines. Decolonisation since the 1950s has sustained old migratory patterns such as the flow of mineworkers to South Africa and started new ones such as movements to Kenya, Gabon and Nigeria. Africa has more refugees and IDPs relative to population size than any other region in the world. Asia and Latin America have complicated migratory patterns within the region as well as increasing flows to the rest of the world (Castles and Miller 2009:8).

Regarding international migration from a global context helps urban and regional planners to quickly survey both the grand challenges they now face because of international migration and the opportunities proffered by international migration. It enlightens them on how to deal with this crosscutting issue in a way that supports global integration. In a world that consists of two extremes of life i.e. the haves and the have- not, the developed and the developing, the rich and the poor, south and north, it is plausible to look at international migration from both ends. This section will briefly discuss the global perspectives of international migration in the light of these categories; international migration and the city and south to south migration.

2.6.1 International migration and the city

According to Price and Benton-Short (2007:102), the number of major immigrant destinations is growing owing to the acceleration of immigration driven by income differentials, social networks and various state and local policies to recruit skilled and unskilled labour. They further state that, it is not impossible to understand the processes of globalisation without studying cities as they are the central locations in which global interconnections are forged. According to Singer (2004), where an immigrant arrives and settles is very important to planners and to the immigrant integration process which largely takes place at the local level. It is also important to understand how immigrants fit into the local labour and housing markets and how they interact with institutions such as schools, transportation systems and healthcare systems. Most of the world’s immigrants are living in urban centres and therefore it is important to acknowledge that the urban areas of the world

are the major migration hub. International migration has therefore shaped not only states but societies within the national states in one way or the other. In addition, as affirmed by Balbo (2005:3), clearly the current understanding of international migration in an urban environment is inadequate. Official census counts, surveys and registration schemes largely underestimate the real extent of international migration.

Price and Benton-Short (2007:102) are of the view that immigrants are culturally, economically and spatially changing cities in significant ways. They further assert that it is vital to study global immigration trends at the urban scale to better understand how large scale immigration is creating new and more immigrant destinations. According to Balbo (2005:5), international migrants tend to head towards urban areas where there are chances of finding income- earning opportunities. For example, immigrants have the guarantee of gaining access to the large and growing informal sectors in urban centres. Moreover the networks which migrants need to rely upon for shelter and jobs on first arrival can be found in the urban areas. Examples whereby international migrants are increasingly contributing to the urban population would be Zambia, which because of the large number of immigrants that went to work in the copper belt, became one of the most urbanised countries in Africa (Bakewell and De Haas 2007:14). Moreover according to Price and Benton- Short (2007:105), migrants from countries like Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay have contributed to the increasing portions of urban population in Santiago and Sao Paulo.

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (2010), housing patterns of urban space reflect the various urban communities in the town/city and the way they live together. Through integrated urban planning, cities have to address the needs of all communities and work towards spatial inclusion of immigrants. However, according to Balbo (2005:1), while in advanced economies the management capacities of local governments are sufficiently developed to face the current changes even as problems abound, in the developing world inadequate financial, human and technical resources can only have serious consequences. In the developing world, for example, immigrants are often forced to live in informal settlements that are generally devoid of basic services, healthy living conditions and security tenure.

Fagen (2014:325) elaborates when she says immigrants tend to move into the poorest parts of large and small cities, often to informal settlements outside of the urban core where municipal authorities are only nominally in control, services are lacking and conditions are precarious. In transition economies, and in several cities in the economically advanced countries, slums and irregular settlements were first established by international migrants arriving from one specific country or region. In the urban areas where immigrants move, they

often become concentrated in particular neighbourhoods, either through following existing family or community ties or through minimising costs.

According to the UNESCO (2010), local governments are seldom prepared to manage the proliferation of interaction between increasing migration and urbanisation. More so to integrate people of different cultural and religious traditions into the global urban society. International migrants add to the often significant current demographic growth, and the well-known and related urban issues it raises such as the expansion of informal settlements, insecurity of tenure, limited or no access to basic services, environmental deterioration and high levels of crime and violence.

2.6.2 South to South migration

According to Balbo (2005:2), to a significant extent, what was once a predominantly South to North migration stream has, since the early mid-1990s, come more and more to involve flows between developing countries such as those from South to East Asia to the Middle East, from Sub Saharan countries to South Africa or from Paraguay and Bolivia to Brazil, Argentina and Chile. According to Balbo and Marconi (2005:3), as the fastest growing and most dynamic city in South East Asia, Bangkok is attracting a large migration flow from neighbouring countries and other regions swelling the numerous international communities already living in the city. Hatton and Williamson (2005:15) noted that in the near future, opportunities will most assuredly change the directions of South to North flows in a more south to south direction, creating new problems for newly industrial countries. Figure 2.6 provides an outlook on the direction of international migration in the world at the moment.

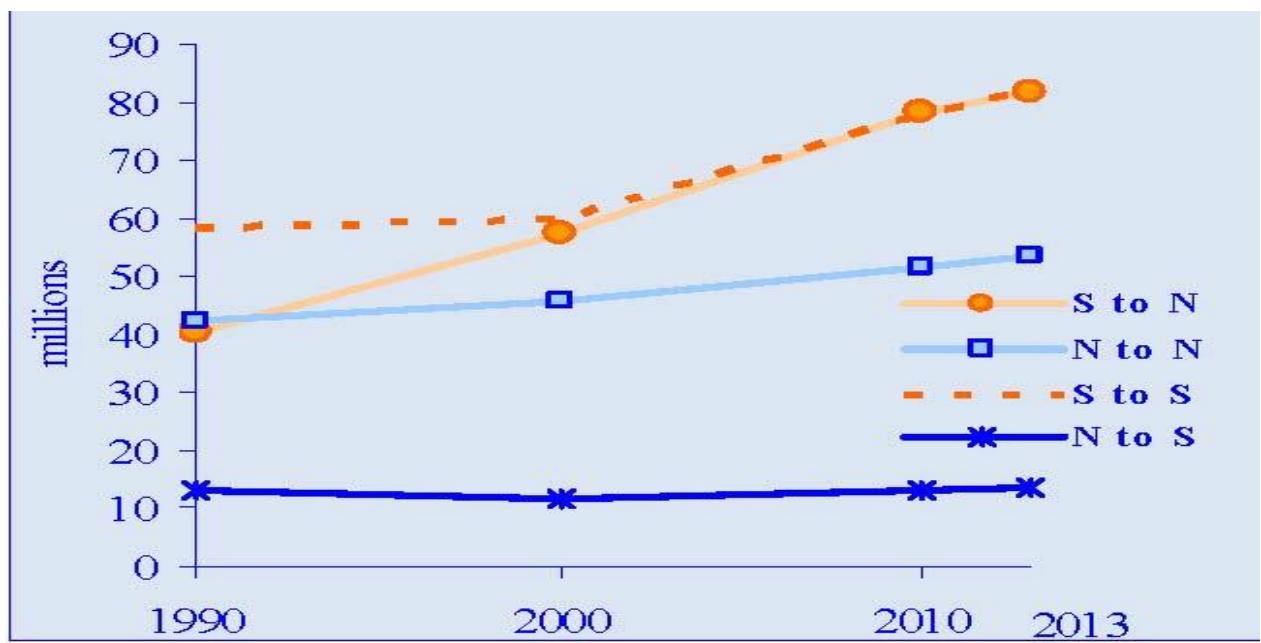


Figure 2-6 Numbers of International migrants by origin and destination 1990-2013

Source: United Nations Population Division (2013:3)

Although research has acknowledged that the direction of migration is likely to create new problems, more often than not problems identified have been on the development of the sending nation state and receiving nation states. Little has been said on what effects the immigrants themselves may have in the cities they settle in and what challenges they may bring to the local government level in terms of their service delivery. This shift of movement, though acknowledged by research, has concentrated on other aspects like effects on remittances, earnings, inequality and poverty and little was said on what this south to south flow would do to the planning of the receiving city of the developing country.

According to the United Nations Population Division (UNPD) (2013) the number of international migrants worldwide reached 232 million in 2013 from 175 million in 2000. They further state that 136 million international migrants lived in the north while 96 million resided in the south. This clearly shows that international migration is occurring in both the south and the north almost in like manners; yet notwithstanding the negative impacts that come with the flows of international migration differs between the developed and the developing world. Gindling (2008:2) is of the view that more than half who emigrate from developing countries move to other developing countries, yet there have been few studies on this south to south migration. According to Ratha and Shaw (2007:11), the extent and issues surrounding migration between developing countries however remain poorly understood, largely because data on migration in developing countries is incomplete and unreliable.

In light of these perceptions on the extent of the south to south migration flows i.e. that they have increased in number almost to the extent of the common south to north migration and that more often than not the developing receiving nations are ill- equipped to deal with the pressures that come with these large flows of international migration. This study will therefore try and unravel how this is true of South Africa. Whereas some scholars believe that there is a brain gain to the receiving countries, one argues that most of the migrants received are low- skilled and more often consist of asylum seekers who are not allowed to take up any form of employment, so there is really little brain gain to the host.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter was an attempt to shed more light on the issue of international migration and the concepts that surround it and to explain why local planners should be concerned about it. The first section was an introduction, detailing the meaning of issues to be discussed in the chapter and the rest of the study. Key definitions of international migration and other concepts surrounding it were provided so as to further enlighten the reader on the topic. The second section focused on the theories of international migration. The researcher believed it was more important to understand why international migration happens in the first place, before dealing with the effects it leaves behind. Moreover, knowing the 'why' part assists in policy formulation to better deal with the process. Five main International migration theories were summarised and discussed. These are the two Neo- classical theories, one at the macro and the other on the micro level; the New Economics of migration, the dual Labour market and finally the World Systems Theory of international migration. One can deduce that most of the theories explain why one type of international migration begins but cannot account for why a number of different types of migration can happen at the same time. Moreover, from analysing the theories one can conclude that it mainly covers the economic reasons for moving, yet there are more than only economic reasons for migrating.

After explaining why international migration occurs, the chapter goes on to provide an account of the types that may stem from the theories given. Although there are many types, the study is limited to three major types of migration which seemed applicable to this particular research. The types of migration explained were labour, refugee/asylum and undocumented migration. These seem to make up the flows of international migration. Knowing the types of migration helps planners to understand what they are dealing with. The chapter then continues to provide a detailed discussion on migration and development. The main concerns of URP include development of one form or another. It was thus plausible to review the thought surrounding the issue of migration and development. From the literature analysed one can see that the perceptions on the issue evolved from rigid

perceptions to much more flexible perceptions i.e. from the optimists who viewed international migration as entirely positive, to the pessimists who acknowledged that it can be both. The chapter also explores literature on urban systems since they are the ones within which changes occur due to the arrival of immigrants. Furthermore the differential urbanisation model was explained to clearly show how migration movements lead to the evolution of urban systems. Lastly, the chapter provides a global perspective on international migration. In this section an account of how international migration makes the core of the global world is provided. The flows of international migration generally respond to the interdependence of the world from city to city, south to south, north to south, north to north and south to north. The flows are forged owing to a dependency of one extreme on the other.

The chapter provided a review of international migration literature. Consequently, the follow-up chapter will be a continuation of literature review, focusing on the planning and policy side of the research.

CHAPTER 3: IMMIGRANTS, PLANNING AND POLICY

3.1 Introduction

According to Keely (2009:12) in 2009 approximately 2.9% of the people on this planet or an estimated 190 million were migrants. According to The United Nations Population Division (2013) the number of immigrants worldwide reached 232 million in 2013. Consequently Brown and Kristiansen (2009:30) state that the increasing urbanisation of migration is a consequence and a cause for growth of cities. They further proclaim that cities have many advantages for new migrants, providing the best opportunities for access to livelihoods, knowledge and learning and social networks. It is widely acknowledged then that these large migration flows are to the urban areas of the world. It is the aim of this chapter to further analyse theoretical perspectives on the issues concerning international migration and urban and regional planning. Urban and regional planners need to identify planning and policy dilemmas related to certain types of migration and how cities respond to the immigrant populations. The chapter will highlight the role of regional development planning and policy in addressing migration issues. The chapter will also discuss immigrants and the city, urban morphological models, immigrant settlement patterns and their implications on planning and policy and service delivery. According to Siemiatycki (2012:15), national governments set policies to immigration admission, status and citizenship, they frame the terms of integration around approaches ranging from marginalisation and assimilation and multiculturalism depending on the country, but it is the cities that are the destination of migrants.

3.2 Urban morphological models

It is of paramount importance to analyse and discuss urban morphology, for one cannot study the impacts of migration on cities without understanding their morphology first. According to Waugh (2009:420), spatial patterns in cities tend to change and reflect how urban areas have evolved economically, socially and culturally in response to changing conditions over a period of time. These conditions may include migration flows into a particular city or town. The models will be discussed.

3.2.1 Concentric zone model

The concentric zone model was propounded by Burgess in 1924 (Waugh 2009:420). The model was as a result of studies carried out within Chicago based on the outward expansion of the city and the socio-economic groupings of its inhabitants, so as to describe residential structures and to show processes at work in a city. There are also other assumptions from

various geographers. The assumptions as cited by Waugh (2009:420), Knox and McCarthy (2003: 133) are:

- Transport systems were of limited significance being equally easy, rapid and cheap,
- Land values were highest in the centre of the city and declined rapidly outwards to provide a zoning of urban functions and land use,
- The oldest buildings were found in or close to the city centre with newer buildings in the outskirts,
- Cities contained a variety of well-defined socio economic and ethnic areas,
- The poor had to live near the city centre and places of work as they could not afford transport or expensive housing, and
- Concentrations of heavy industry were absent.

Based on these assumptions the resultant model was the concentric zone model (Waugh 2009:420).

- (a) The Central Business District (CBD). This area contains the major shops and offices and is the centre for commerce and entertainment and the focus of transport routes.
- (b) Transition Zone. This is where the oldest housing is and is either deteriorating into slums or being invaded by light industry. The inhabitants tend to be poorer social groups and first generation immigrants.
- (c) Areas of low class housing. Occupied by those who have escaped from zone 2 or by second generation immigrants who work in nearby factories. They need to live near their place of work to reduce traveling costs and rent.
- (d) Medium class housing of higher quality. The inhabitants are mostly white collar workers and middle class families.
- (e) High class housing occupied by people who can afford the expensive properties and the high cost of commuting.

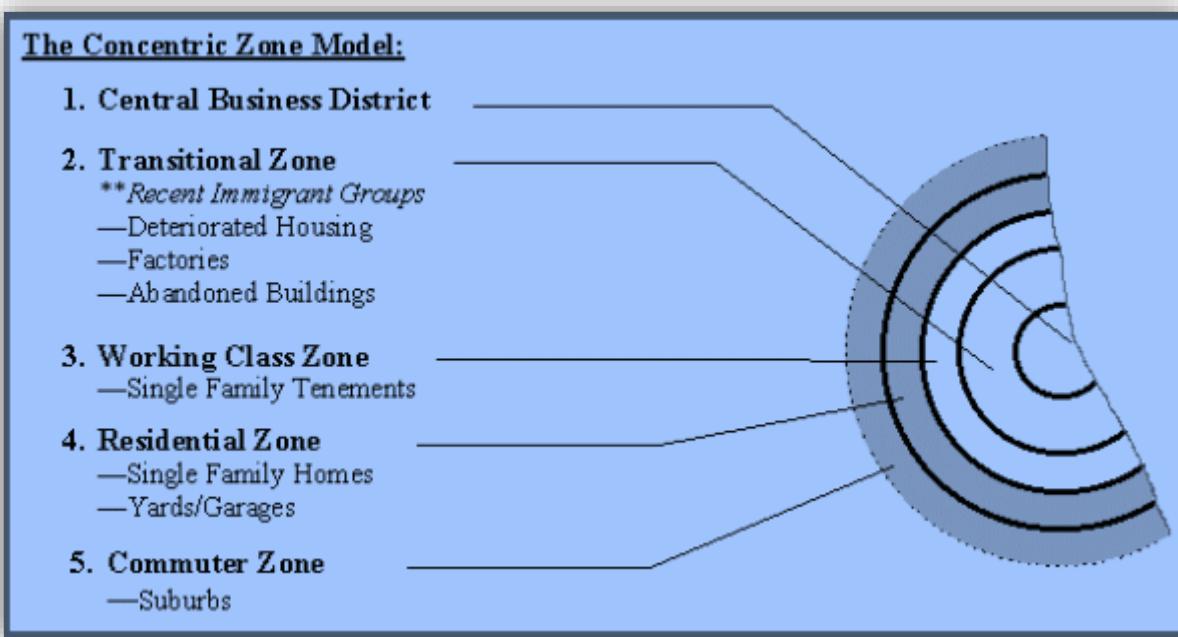


Figure 3-1 The Concentric Zone Model

Adapted from <http://www.umsl.edu/~keelr/200/socdisor.html>

The concentric zone model suggests that cities have a concentric pattern and these patterns show different types of land-use or spatial inequality. This is a model that tries to explain the patterns that urban processes produce in cities. According to this model, a city is divided into concentric zones with a tendency of each inner zone to expand into the other zones. Therefore one can establish that this will result in urban growth and thus a process of expansion and reconversion of land uses. The expansion of the inner city can be said to be caused by an influx of immigrants or newcomers who prefer settling in these areas where there are deteriorated housing and abandoned buildings because they are affordable.

3.2.2 Hoyt's urban sector model

According to Waugh (2009:422), Hoyt propounded the sector model based on the mapping of the housing variables for 142 cities in the USA, with the aim of accounting for changes in and the distribution of residential patterns. Hoyt's model had three other factors on top of Burgess, states Waugh (2009:423).

- Wealthy people who could afford the highest rates chose the best sites i.e. competition was based on the ability to pay,
- wealthy residents could afford private cars or public transport and so lived further from industry and nearer to the main roads,

- Similar land uses attracted other similar land uses, concentrating a function in a particular area and repelling others; this process led to a sector development.

According to Waugh (2009:422), Hoyt suggested that areas of the highest rent tended to be alongside main lines of communication and the city grew in a series of wedges. He claimed that once an area had developed a distinctive land use or function, it tended to retain that land use as the city expanded outwards. Furthermore, the model has some relevance to the phenomenon of segregation, visible in many cities around the world, and more specifically in South Africa under the Apartheid regime (Mayer, 1969:32).

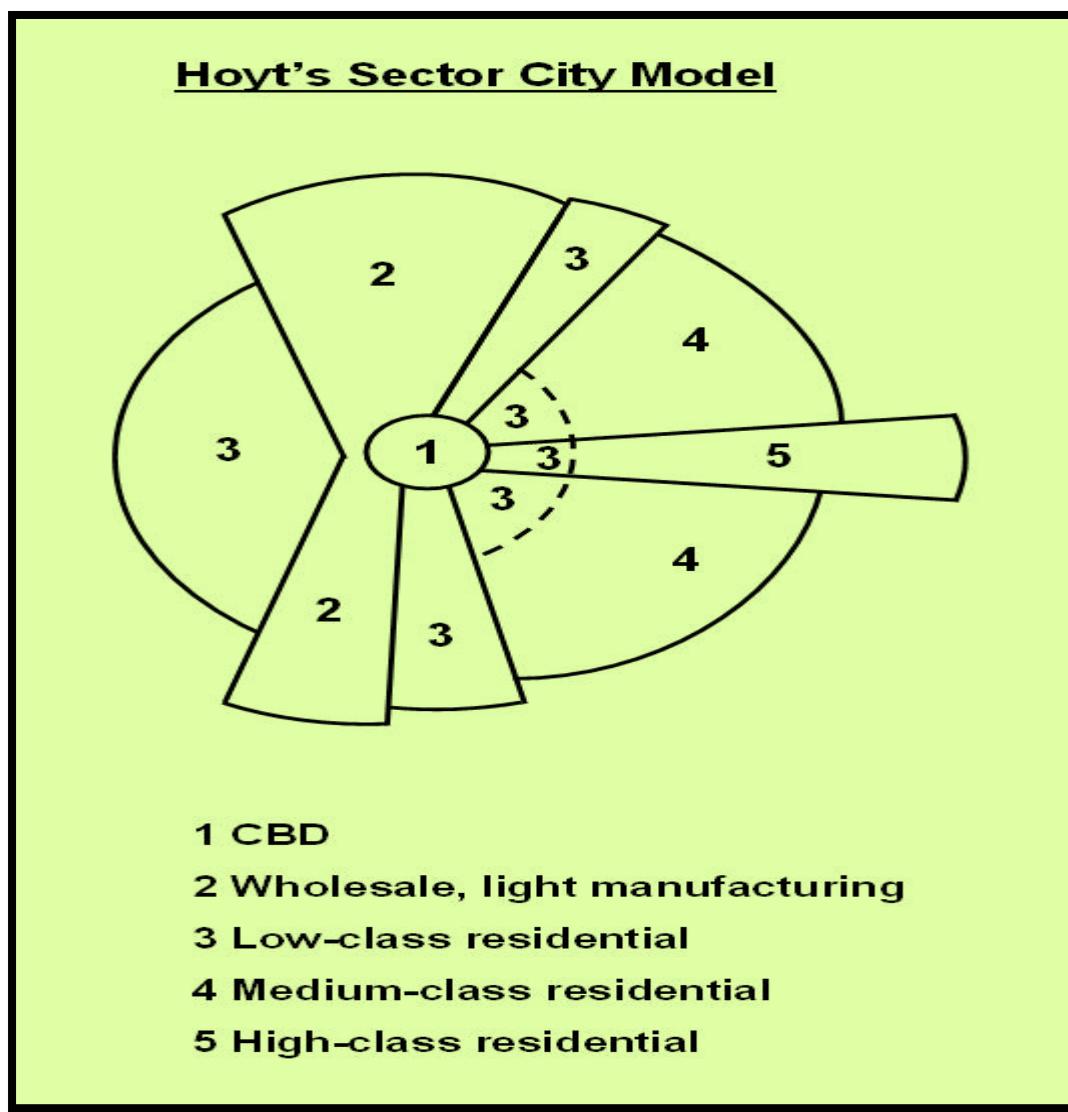


Figure 3-2 Hoyt's Urban Sector Model

Source: Adapted from Waugh (2009:422).

3.2.3 Apartheid city model

According to Simon (1989:191) the Apartheid city, as found in South Africa, is unique and incomparable to other cities around the world. Christopher (1984:77) asserts that the Apartheid city was the result of the 1950 Group Areas Act, which sought to separate various racial groups in South Africa into distinct areas. He further states that everyone in South Africa was classified into a particular racial group, which was again assigned to a specific residential area reserved for that group. Davies' model describes these areas and the way in which they were allocated. The model describes the following areas (Christopher, 1984:77; Simon, 1989:191-192):

- A white Central Business District (CBD), reserved for white business owners;
- An Indian CBD, which was an exception and usually located closer to the Indian residential zone;
- White residential areas of low, medium and high income situated around the CBD;
- An Industrial zone, which developed in the direction of non-white residential areas and, in many cases served as a buffer zone between white and non-white residential areas;
- An African residential area or township. These areas were usually separated from white residential areas by means of a physical barrier (like an industrial area);
- Indian and Coloured residential areas, which were adjacent to African residential areas

One can then ascertain that the Apartheid city model highlights that newcomers settle where they settle because of structural impediments. These impediments might be social e.g. racial segregation or economic, for example availability of finances or proximity to work or political e.g. policies and legislation inhibiting newcomers to settle where they wish. This was typical during Apartheid in South Africa as shown by Davies` Apartheid city model. The model shows that the African immigrants who came to work in farms and mines were housed in hostels and in black townships. This is a highly contributing factor as to why to this day there are second generation immigrants¹ residing in townships and new arrivals are likely to settle there because of the social ties already established. Figure 3.3 shows the Apartheid city model.

¹ Immigrants who have at least one foreign- born parent.

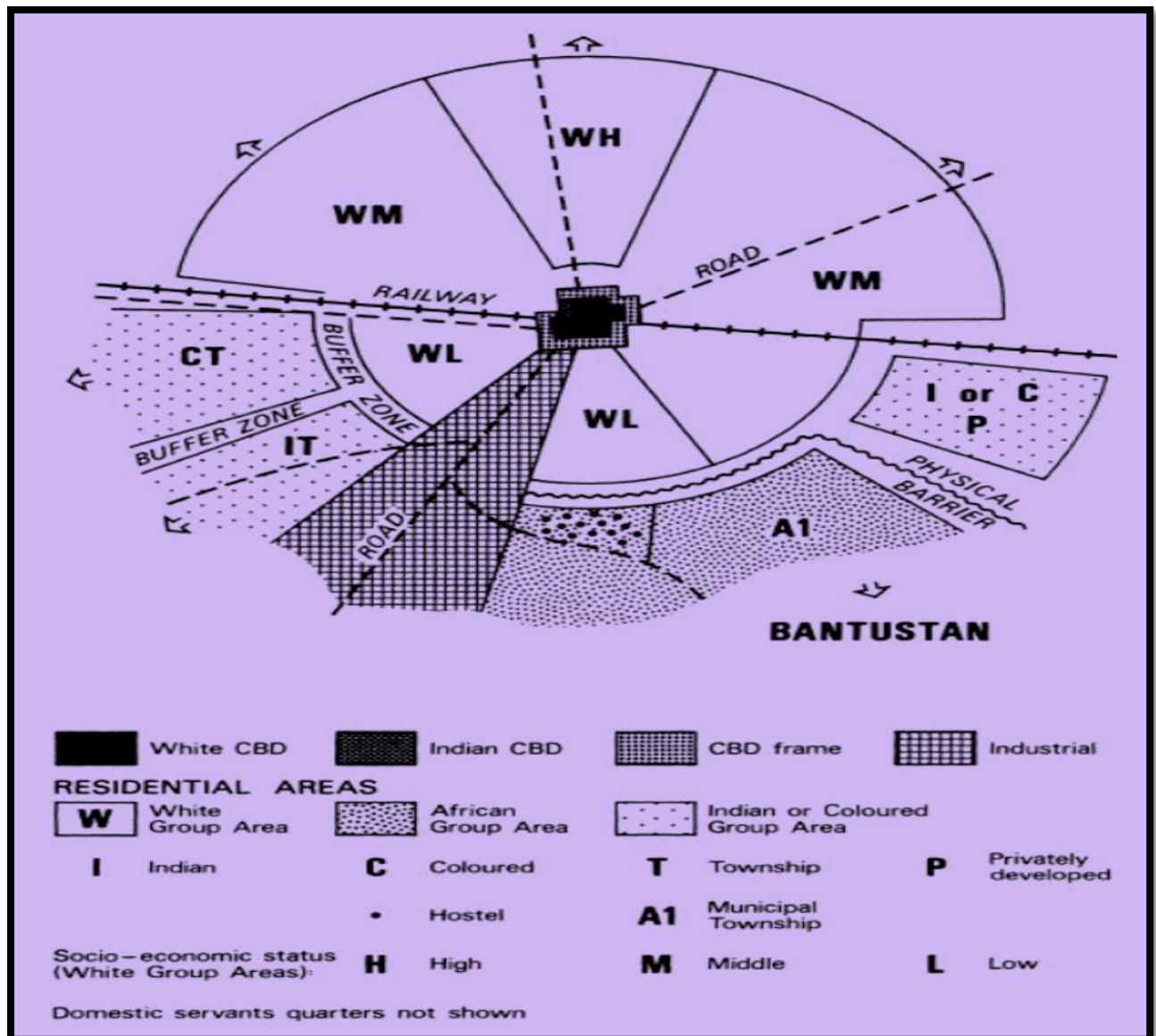


Figure 3-3 Davies` Apartheid City Model

Source: Davies (1981:64)

3.3 Immigrant settlement patterns

According to the UNESCO (2010:15), housing patterns and the use of urban space reflect the various urban communities in the city and the way they live together. Through integrated urban planning, (including streets, squares, parks and transport) cities have to address the needs of all communities and work towards the spatial inclusion of migrants. It is therefore of paramount importance for urban and regional planners to understand where and how immigrants live once they arrive in urban areas. According to Balbo (2005:8), housing and services is the single most important problem that immigrants have to deal with when they first arrive in their place of destination. Friedman *et al* (2005: 212) also state that, in order to

understand the patterns that emerge with respect to immigrants' settlement it is necessary to review the existing theories and research on the topic.

According to Balbo and Marconi (2005:8), spatial concentration is often the most visible element that characterises migrant settlement patterns in the host cities. The presence of ethnic enclaves within the city limits, or their absence, reflects the level of integration which foreign residents are able, or want, to achieve with the host society. On the other hand, the settlement patterns and the uses international migrants make of urban space contribute significantly to shaping the local population's perception of the phenomenon. According to Pendall and Hoyem (2009:127), the burgeoning literature on settlement patterns of immigrants has not yet examined residential patterns of foreign born population in the context of local government geography. Pendall and Hoyem (2009:128) further assert that regardless of the tenor of the debate at national level, immigration, however, continues at sub-national level and local governments have been left to respond in an ad hoc fashion to meet the needs of immigrants. Friedman *et al.* (2005:212) provide models in trying to explain immigrant residential location. Although the models were initially used to explain the formation of ethnic concentrations, they are also applicable in explaining the formation of immigrant settlements patterns. According to Logan *et al.* (2002:299), an analysis of the residential patterns of the largest immigrant groups in New York and Los Angeles shows that most ethnic neighbourhoods can be interpreted as immigrant enclaves. The models will be explained below.

3.3.1 The spatial assimilation model

Agrawal (2010:5) highlights that according to the spatial assimilation model, residential segregation reflects group differences in socio economic status such as education, income and occupational standing. Friedman *et al.* (2005:212) state that the model assumes that upon entry, immigrants then cluster mainly with their co-ethnics in neighbourhoods that are not of the highest quality. Iceland and Scopilliti (2008:80) also argue that the model posits that new immigrants often first settle in fairly homogenous ethnic enclaves within a given area. This may be owing to immigrants feeling more comfortable with and welcomed by fellow co- ethnics and to the inability of many immigrants to afford living in some neighbourhoods.

Lersch (2012:1014) argues that the model also assumes that households prefer to live in neighbourhoods with residents similar to their own social status and life course stage. Once they acquire higher levels of education and income, immigrants then seek to bring residential status in line with their improved socio- economic status. As a result, they leave their ethnic

neighbourhoods. As emphasised by Roberts (1989:678) people move to the cities using family and village relationships to help each other find work and lodging. These relationships become the basis for strong neighbourhood and ethnic solidarities within cities. The model also assumes that a potential outcome of this process is a decrease in the inequality present between the residential characteristics of minorities and those of majority group members.

The critique behind this model would be that it is applicable in long-standing immigrant gateways² like New York's Chinatown and is unlikely to be successful in characterising the residential choices of recent immigrants in newer second line gateways e.g. Washington because of its recent emergence as an immigrant gateway and thus few historic ethnic neighbourhoods or enclaves exist. Agrawal (2010:4) states that traditionally the inner city played an important role as a port of entry and reception for immigrants. According to Waldinger (1989:226), newcomers are expected to settle in old inner city neighbourhoods close to the C.B.D jobs. Figure 3.4 below shows the spatial assimilation model.

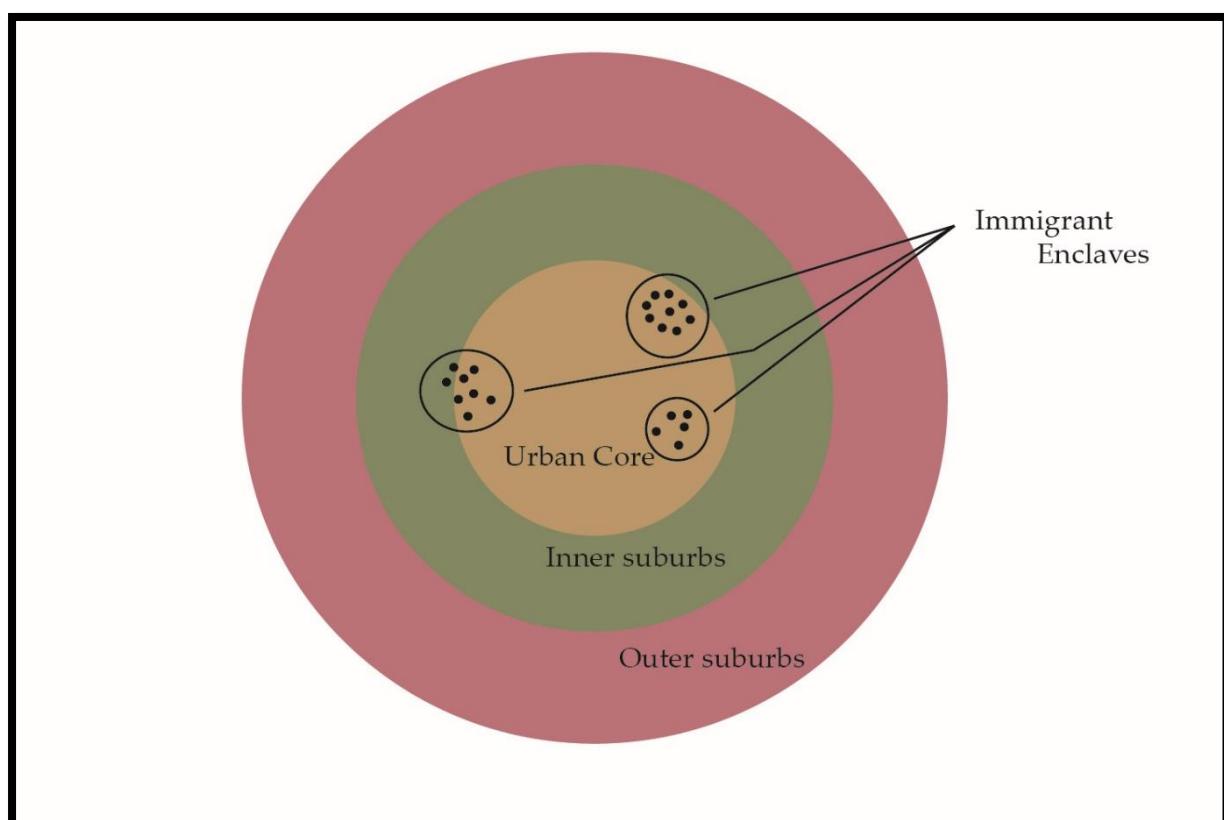


Figure 3-4 The Spatial Assimilation Model

Source: Myles and Hou (2004:38)

²Gateway cities have traditionally been midsize urban centres which were home to industries and employment opportunities offering residents good jobs

3.3.2 The place stratification model

Lersch (2012:1015) notes that the place stratification model highlights the importance of structural constraints for neighbourhood outcomes. The model assumes that since places are ordered hierarchically and consequently are associated with more or less favourable life chances and quality of life for people who reside in them. To improve their life chances, households prefer to move to better-off areas. However specific groups of the population e.g. natives, manage to constrain access to these areas for members of out-groups such as immigrants, restricting the best areas to themselves. In contrast to the spatial assimilation model, the place stratification model assumes that, while native and migrant households have the same preferences, they are not equally able to actualise their preferences even with the same financial resources because of structural constraints. Iceland and Scopiliti (2008:8) give an example when they say the effects of structural barriers are thought to be greatest for blacks in the United States of America because blacks have historically been perceived in the most unfavourable terms. Over the years discriminatory practices have included real estate agents steering racial groups to certain neighbourhoods, unequal access to mortgage credit and exclusionary zoning in which certain groups are restricted to particular neighbourhoods. It is thus safe to say discrimination plays a role in shaping the residential patterns of immigrants.

According to Friedman *et al.* (2005:212), the place stratification model suggests that the majority groups in society use their power to maintain social and spatial distance from their minority counterparts. Such power is often manifested in the use of discriminatory acts that allow for the creation and persistence of racially segregated neighbourhoods. As pointed out by Balbo (2005:8), even when the immigrants` contribution to the local economy is acknowledged, the formal markets for either housing or land tend to be out of bounds as far as immigrants are concerned to the possible exceptions of professional migrants. He further asserts that landlords often look upon immigrants as unreliable tenants. The formation of inner city slums or the expanding ethnic informal settlements on the outskirts also result from the fact that formal markets are inaccessible for immigrants. According to Froy (2006:33) immigrants are likely to settle in urban areas and in some gateway cities. Further in these cities, immigrants often become concentrated in particular neighbourhoods either through following family ties or through minimising costs.

This model attempts to explain why immigrants or other ethnic groups settle where they settle, giving structural reasons as the main reason immigrants settle in the least of likeable places. Balbo and Marconi (2005:8) argue that in the cities of developing countries social and spatial exclusion are driven mainly by economic factors, irrespective of whether the

excluded are locals or foreigners. An example where structural forces contribute to where immigrants are likely to settle and how they are going to settle would be during Apartheid in South Africa.



Figure 3-5 Schematic Diagram of the Place Stratification Model

Source: Own Construction (2014)

3.3.3 Other locational variables

Notably, Pendall and Hoyem (2009: 128) highlight that, when considering why immigrants live where they do within cities and neighbourhoods they give four main sets of explanatory variables i.e. characteristics of immigrant households, established activity and settlement patterns, characteristics of the built environment and finally the urban policy environment. These variables relate one way or another to the two models discussed. Pendall and Hoyem (2009:128) state that in analysing the immigrant household one looks at the use of micro level data sets and provide a keen understanding of the role of age, ethnicity/race, household structure, gender and immigrants' decision making. In regards to the second variable, that of established activity and settlements patterns, immigrants are known to base their decisions on the established geographic distribution of households across a housing market or according to class, race, ethnicity, household type, natural origin and sometimes religion. In cities with established enclaves of immigrants, new immigrants often gravitate towards these areas. The location of employment opportunities also contributes to spatial settlements of immigrants.

Pendall and Hoyem (2009:128) maintain that on the third variable, that of the characteristics of the built environment, households make decisions about location based in part on

characteristics of the built environment. These decisions include the options they face in housing structures and tenure, which are in turn embedded within neighbourhoods' environments. The availability of affordable and appropriate housing clearly shapes immigrants' location decision. Immigrant households are particularly drawn to certain kinds of housing and neighbourhoods e.g. immigrants usually have to rent dwellings upon arrival and more often choose to live in multifamily or attached housing. Those who plan to return and maintain connections with family in their countries of origin may choose to rent as little as a room or even a bed for a few hours a day. Even those who plan to settle permanently will often rent because they lack the income to purchase property. Immigrants also sometimes seek neighbourhoods where they can easily travel to employment, social, religious and other activities. They further state that such activities tend to have high land rents, which in turn contribute to market forces encouraging the development of high density housing. In the case of the fourth variable, that of urban policy environment as a factor in immigrant settlement choices, immigrant households make decisions about where they live in part on the urban policy environment in place at the time of their housing search. Some cities and nations welcome immigrants and accommodate them in short term housing.

From the models provided above and the other variables that explain why and where immigrants live where they do in recipient areas, one can ascertain that the socio-economic factors and structural factors influence where an immigrant is going to settle. As stated by Owusu (1999: 81), factors that may influence residential choices of minorities are the economic differences between racial and ethnic groups, proximity to other ethnic group members, social distance and discrimination. These models and variables will inform the empirical analysis in the later chapters.

One can also say, in respect of the issues associated with international migration that they come with policy issues to the spatial distribution of an immigrant population in any recipient country. These may include predicting where immigrants will settle and designing policies aimed at turning the immigrant population to an advantage for the city rather than a disadvantage. One can also add that concerning the settling of immigrants in already established ethnic enclaves, this is likely to be more apparent in the immigrant receiving country of the north, than it is in that of the south. Immigrants in the developing country are likely to settle in informal settlements at the fringes of the urban area and are likely to cause their expansion thereof. As affirmed by Fagen (2014:14), immigrants tend to move into the poorest parts of large and smaller cities and often to informal settlements outside the urban core.

3.4 Implications of immigration on the host areas

According to Ratha *et al.* (2011:11), unlike commonly believed, approximately half of the official international migration from the South is to other developing countries rather than wealthier countries in the North. In addition, official statistics likely underreported south-south migration, especially between contiguous countries because of lack of border controls. They estimate that almost 80 percent of the South-South migration is estimated to take place between countries with contiguous borders. According to Parnwell (1993:119), in assessing the effects of migration on the places to which people move and settle, we must remember that the impact of migration depends upon who is moving, the circumstances which led to the move, the reasons for the migration, the characteristics of the movement and the social, cultural and economic setting within which the migration is taking place. These will likely lead to social, economic and cultural impacts on the receiving country. However the effects of immigration on receiving areas are both negative and positive. These will be discussed below.

3.4.1 Spatial trends associated with immigration

Like any other process, immigration results in trends both positive and negative. These call for intervention through regional development planning and policy. As proclaimed by Gellat *et al.* (2014:1) trends that result because of immigration, like population growth, affect strategies that policy makers at all levels adopt for effective service delivery. Besides population growth, immigration results in other trends like increasing diversity. These will in turn have implications on service provision and policy making. Gellatt *et al.* (2014:1) further claim that some of the challenges brought about because of these shifts in immigration are working with different cultural and religious beliefs and meeting different needs for economic, social and education levels. Moreover, trends which result in population growth in turn lead to unplanned urban growth. As stressed by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development OECD (2010:12), unplanned urban growth can cause problems like insufficient infrastructure and public services and traffic congestion. According to Ottaviano and Peri (2013:3), immigrants can have some positive effects on the societies they arrive in, but on the other hand they tend to increase overcrowding, intensify competition, (which may both negatively affect productivity and wages) and will affect local amenities. Immigrants bring to urban areas important dynamics of population growth and a different age profile, which may affect housing markets and prices. Planning for growth entails planning for immigrants because growth is both as a result of natural increase and migration.

3.4.2 Economic structure of the receiving urban area

According to Brown and Kristiansen (2009:30), migrants are a core component of the urban economy, providing a low- cost flexible workforce in the building sector, services or urban informal economy. Waldinger (1989:221) also upholds that the immigrant labour force can bolster the declining goods production sector and help revive sagging urban economies. They can also help stabilise industrial employment through providing a more flexible labour force, thus allowing for more customised production and greater subcontracting. Waldinger (1989:221) goes on to say that they can revive sagging economies since they have been a more pliant labour force, with the result that manufacturing wages relative to the national average have declined.

The South Centre Analytical Note (2006:17) also maintains that immigration can be helpful to the host country because often immigrants take jobs that its own citizens do not wish to take or do not have skills to do. Migrants are likely to take up jobs that are so- called dangerous and difficult to do. Moreover the growth of the immigrant population adds to the aggregate local demand for cheap consumer goods, which can be best served by local producers. According to Ottaviano and Peri (2013:4), if immigrants contribute complementary skills to natives, they will increase a city's total factor productivity with a positive impact on the average native wages. As highlighted by Ratha *et al.* (2011:11), the public and the policy makers in the destination country usually believe that immigration can become an economic burden despite evidence to the contrary. In the OECD countries aggregate effects of immigration on wages have been found to be very small and similar findings have been reported in the context of South to South migration. According to Muller and Espenshade (1983:14) regarding the effects immigrants had on the Los Angeles County, they affirm that immigrants spurred economic growth, both as a source of low wage labour and as consumers of services mainly produced and provided locally. They also provided for replacements of outmigration that were mainly blue collar workers and declining sectors.

On the other hand, as highlighted by Nijkamp and Poot (2012:1), most countries of the world are increasingly affected by international migration, either as senders of emigrants or as receivers of immigrants, or in many cases both. He further argues that the extent to which foreign migrants exert positive or negative effects on the local, regional or national economy is, however, an under researched topic in many countries. Nijkamp and Poot (2012:1) assert that migrant sending countries are concerned about a brain drain of highly qualified workers, while receiving countries worry that the migrant absorption capacity has been exceeded, leading to detrimental outcomes and rising social tensions. In addition, according to Gindling

(2008:2), many in the destination countries worry that the increased supply of relatively low-skilled immigrants will drive down wages, increase inequality, increase poverty and reduce the social protection of workers offered by destination country governments. Muller and Espenshade (1985:18) state that further results of immigration are that wage pressure eases up and relative wages in goods production decline.

3.4.3 Demographic impact

An influx of immigrants in a particular area is bound to have demographic effects on the receiving area. It is likely to change the population structure i.e. age groups, population and stimulation of even more immigration. These are likely to lead to further impacts on the urban environment, as will be emphasised in the following section.

Parnwell (1993:119) argues that one of the most obvious effects of migration is its contribution to urban growth in the third world. He states that as a rule of thumb, migration accounts for between a third and half of the rate of the third world urbanisation. Parnwell (1993:120) highlights that whilst migration can add substantially to the rate of urban growth in the third world countries, cities in fact play host to an even greater volume of movement than the rate of urban growth suggests. He asserts that at one point therefore the urban population may be made up of a significant number of people who originate elsewhere. For example, some two thirds of the populations of the Ghanaian capital Accra and the Kenyan capital Nairobi are made up of people who are not born in these cities. According to Parnwell (1993:120) third world cities have to face the fact that labour (much of it derived from migrants) is in oversupply, a situation to which the large numbers of underemployed and swollen informal sectors clearly attest. He also highlights that not only have urban areas had to come to terms with an overabundance of labour, but the large scale influx of people from outside the city has also placed a massive burden on already over-stretched urban amenities and services, such as health, education, housing, water supply and sanitation, transportation and recreational facilities. The high cost of investment needed to deal with such problems often means that city authorities are unable to cope. The oversupply of labour further has the effect of depressing wage levels.

According to Morrison (1975:240), migration produces many complex subtle changes that are felt most immediately at the local level but that are ultimately felt nationally as well. Moreover, Brown and Kristiansen (2009: 30) maintain that the increasing urbanisation of migration is both a consequence and a cause of the growth of cities, and cities are now becoming crucibles of peoples' cultures and traditions. According to Clark (2007), the issue is that many family migrant households include children who need education, health care

and support services. This burden is often borne locally while the benefits are, broadly speaking, to the national economy. Clark (2007) further states that, developing countries are struggling with high levels of demographic growth and are not producing enough jobs to deal with their expanding numbers of young people. When the excess supply of labour is combined with the poor ability of local authorities to manage immigration, the result is increased disparities and expansion of slum areas in urban areas. More undocumented immigration flows, not less, are expected in the coming decades.

3.4.4 Social impacts

In regards to temporary migration, Lucas (2008:18) states that it can raise problems for the host country owing to its nature that discourages social integration. According to Lucas (2008:18), where refugees are the main portions of the migrant stock special considerations arise. Because little is known about their duration of stay the livelihoods of these refugees raise major issues for planners, both out of concern for the poverty levels of refugees themselves, but also of the potential substantial impacts upon the host country. There is little study on this, with the result that planning remains uninformed.

The OECD (2010:34) further highlights that the increasing inflows of migrants could still impose a challenge for migration management and integration in the host countries. In many of the developing countries scarce resources, weak administrative capacity and porous borders make it difficult to manage cross border migration. Most international migrants end up in cities of developing countries because of employment opportunities. According to the South Centre Analytical Note (2006:19), the poorest benefit from migration is through an indirect increase in demand of their labour which in turn helps to alleviate poverty.

According to Ottaviano and Peri (2013:5) on the other hand, they will also increase crowding and intensify competition which may both negatively affect productivity and wages as well as affect local amenities. Local amenities may be deeply affected by the presence of immigrants owing to the fact that immigrants bring to the urban areas important dynamics of population growth and a different age profile, which in turn affects housing markets and prices. According to Gindling (2008:12), the large and uncontrolled increase in the immigrant population in recent years threatens to generate negative pressure on variables such as urban space, employment, the quality and coverage of social services, the rational use of renewable resources and security. Balbo and Marconi (2005:9) also add that the majority of international migrants add to the urban poor and challenge urban management and governance.

According to Newbold (1999:254), international migration has led to various debates, e.g. whether immigration is good for the receiving country, how immigrants adjust and what their impact to the receiving areas is. As Driedger (1999:117) points out, the hypothesis that rapid growth of ethnic and racial minorities through immigration will increase their concentration and segregation from major groups has been posited by others and has found some support. The assumption is that the rapid and substantial increase of such immigrants will stimulate negative attitudes towards them; they may be seen as a threat to employment opportunities and a strain on local services and welfare systems.

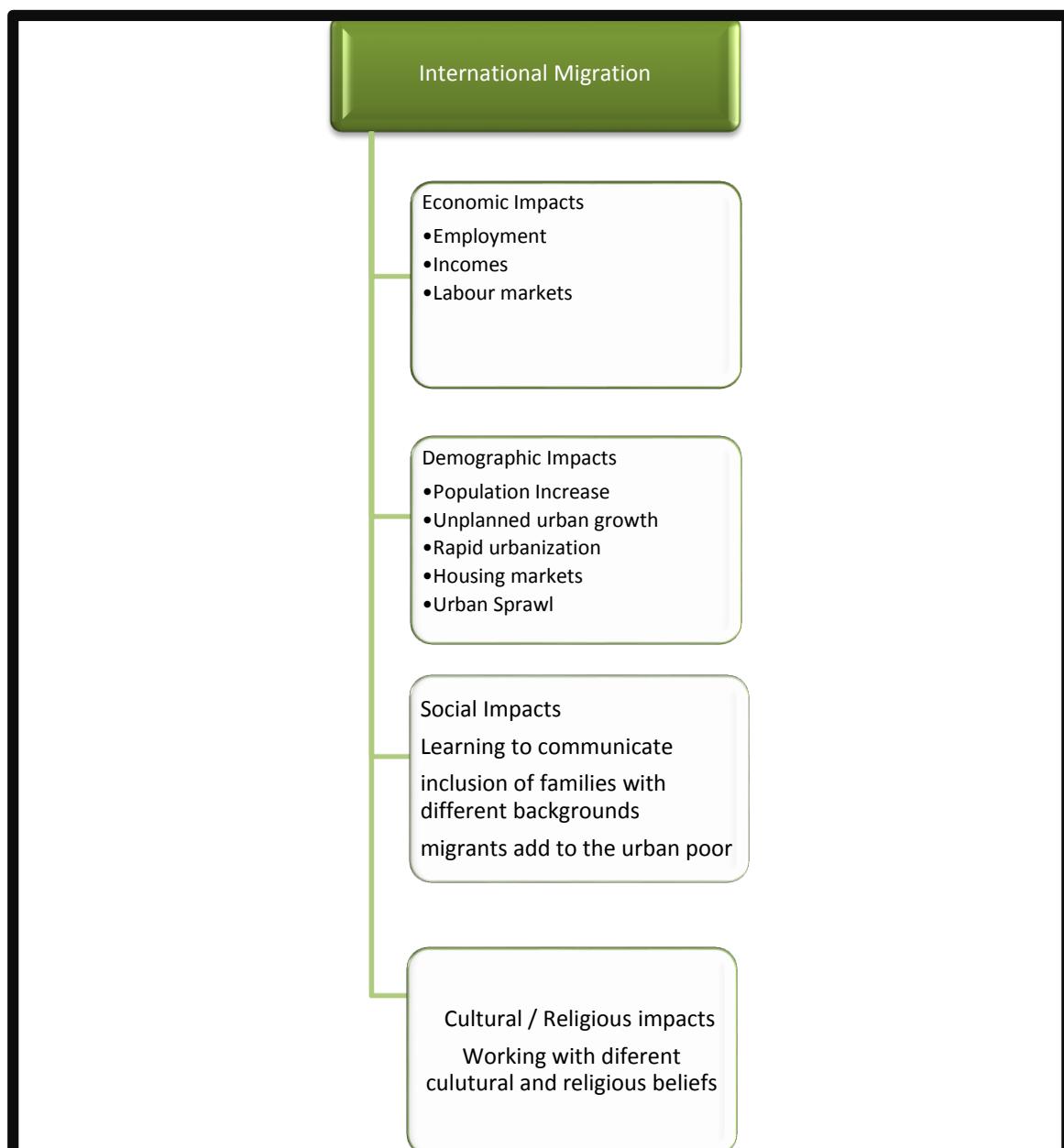


Figure 3-6 The Impacts of International Migration on Receiving Areas Summarised

Source: Own Construction (2014)

According to Fagen (2014:17) urban planners in most places are very well aware of the severity of the problems they face as a result of rapid growth. They seem less aware, however, of the dimensions of the problems that are producing such rapid urbanisation. Immigration is one of those and is linked to some urban processes. According to Malpezzi and Mayo (1987:687) cities in developing countries are growing at extraordinary rates, often compressing into decades the urbanisation process that has taken centuries in developed countries.

One can therefore deduce that, concerning the benefits of immigration, credit is given to the skilled migrants yet there are other types of immigrants. One would agree with Parnwell (1993:119) who said in assessing the impacts of immigration, one should assess the reasons for moving. Most scholars are of the view that immigration results in a brain gain scenario in the receiving area and leads to economic growth. One can argue that this scenario is unlikely, especially when most of the immigrants are anything but skilled. It has been highlighted that most immigrants, especially from one developing country to another, are the poor who are likely to have no basic education and are likely to be illegal immigrants and even asylum seekers who are not allowed to take up any work. Thus the issue of a brain gain is highly questionable. Agreeably, immigration is of paramount importance especially in highly developed countries like Canada, Australia, United States of America and The United Arab Emirates where either there is an extremely ageing population - thus labour is sourced from outside and also where the population is just too low. High levels of immigration to a developing country, however, are likely to pose a different picture, especially where the rates of urbanisation are already high.

As noted by Myrdal (1957:4), in the poor countries, the natural population increase is usually faster and is a result of a particular relation between fertility and mortality rates where both are on a very high level, which in addition tends to make the age distribution of their populations relatively less advantageous. He further states that as a result of all this, and of the tradition of stagnation which has entrenched itself in their entire culture, their economic development usually proceeds more slowly. It is in relation to this view by Myrdal that one argues on the benefits of immigration to a developing country. In addition to the natural population increase, immigration is increasing populations that are already on the increase. And these, in turn, leave trends which are a growing concern for urban and regional planners. Roberts (1989:678) highlights that migration to urban areas in non-core countries adds to instabilities of urban life, accentuating competition for jobs and living space.

In summary as stressed by Gellat et al. (2014), each type of shift in immigrant characteristics in a community brings different challenges for service delivery and planning such as:

- learning to communicate across new languages or increasing numbers of languages,
- working with different cultural and religious beliefs,
- meeting different needs for economic, social, education or other supports,
- including families with different types of immigration and legal status
- identifying different strategies for reaching families, and
- a large immigrant population means settlement patterns continue to shift requiring concerted efforts.

3.5 Urban and regional development planning policy

According to Friedmann (1966:5), regional policy emerged as a concern after the Second World War, together with issues of national independence, national economic development and national planning. He states that regional policy deals with the locational aspects of economic development and reflects the need to deal with regional problems at the national level. According to the JICA (2004:9), urban and regional development can be broadly divided into urban development and regional development. The areas covered by the issues inherently differ; therefore the approaches to development differ. They further assert that because regional development covers wide areas where several cities and rural areas have organically combined, it needs to tackle integrated problems such as regional disparities, depopulation problems and regional stagnation. On the other hand, various issues are also involved in urban development compared to regional development. It covers relatively limited areas namely cities and a more concrete set of problems such as infrastructure and the upgrading of residential environments. The JICA (2004:10) assert that with regards to regional development it is important to clarify the direction and desired outcomes of future development plans and making decisions on the future direction.

The rationale for regional planning and policy is varied. According to Alden and Morgan (1974:83), regional policy and regional planning are both considered as forms of planning action. In addition, Alden and Morgan (1974:9) state that the development of regional planning in Britain and other countries provides evidence to show that this form of planning is able to provide solutions to a wide range of problems and issues in contemporary society, and that its use is being extended in a variety of ways. According to Alden and Morgan (1974:86), the objectives of regional policy have moved from those essentially concerned with social welfare towards those concerned with the problems of the development areas, of

growth and of equality in the distribution of economic resources. According to the JICA (2004:22) regional and urban development is concerned with the correction of regional disparities or problems. Regional planning and policy then become tools to tackle these inequalities. According to the JICA, development cannot proceed without plans and it is essential to recognise that formulating long term plans is fundamentally important. Measures dealing with urban and regional problems, however, differ depending on the issues involved. For countries and cities in the very early stages of progress these measures may be the development of administrative capabilities that allow the sustained operation and maintenance.

Friedmann (1966:7) draws attention to the importance of regional policy, stating that it depends on the stage in national development; that it is inappropriate, critical and vestigial in the pre-industrial, transitional and industrial stages respectively. According to Friedmann (1966:6), regional policy appears as a function of the spatial transformations engendered by growth. Not only will policy problems be different for each major period of national development, but the importance attached to regional policy will vary. Friedmann (1966:7) further highlights that spatial planning in post-industrial society involves chiefly urban and metropolitan problems. Moreover, such a society is likely to be more troubled by the quality of the physical environment and the internal spatial adjustments occasioned by growth and circulation, than with generating growth through more intensive resource use. He further asserts that transitional societies are clearly the most directly concerned with regional organisation partly because of the spatial shifts involved in moving an agrarian economy to an industrial economy. In addition partly because a large portion of their potential resources are likely to be unutilised. Thus, Friedmann (1966:8) further states that spatial aspects of development arise as a critical policy issue during the transitional stage.

The diagram below, adapted from Friedmann (1966:7), shows the phases of national development and the importance of regional policy in each.

Table 3-1 Phases of national Development and regional Policy

Type of Economy	Pre-industrial	Transitional	Industrial	Post-industrial
Industry as share of GNP	0-10%	10-25%	25-50%	Declining
Importance of regional policy for national economic growth	Inappropriate	Critical	Vestigial	Shift to a new focus
Policy emphasis	Creating preconditions for economic development	Creating spatial organisation capable of sustaining transition to industrialism	Depressed area problems, area redevelopment, spatial adjustments to common market organisation	Urban renewal, spatial order and circulation within metropolitan regions, open space and amenities of landscape
Examples of countries in each category	Tanganyika Paraguay Bolivia Afghanistan Cambodia Burma	Venezuela Brazil Colombia Turkey India Pakistan Iraq Mexico	France Italy West Germany Japan Israel United Kingdom Canada Australia	U.S.A

Source: Adapted from Friedmann (1966:7)

According to JICA (2004:12), in formulating regional development plans and making decisions on the future direction, it is important first to understand the current circumstances and the development issues faced by the region and to take stock of the resources that may be used in conjunction with development. As avowed by Glasson (1978:18), the rapid rise in population (especially urban population), increasing affluence and rampant technology, have all increased the need for planning. Glasson (1978:24) further states that, regional planning can also be seen as a response to certain problems within a regional dimension i.e., a response to pressing issues. Examples of such issues may include population growth, increasing urbanisation, depressed industrial and rural regions. Morgan and Alden (1974:10) also state that the development of regional planning has been a movement to seek solutions to problems experienced at the level of everyday living. Such problems are problems of

income, cost of living, unemployment, changing jobs, overcrowding, long daily journeys to work inefficiency and inequality in the provision of services especially transport, housing, health and social services, water and recreation.

According to Glasson (1978:26), regional planning can also be seen as a supportive device for national and local planning, with the actual stimulus to action carrying not from within the regional level but from the adjacent national and local levels. However, as Glasson further asserts regional information is a major formulation of national plans, and policies and regional policies are of some importance in their implementation. At the other end of the scale, it is recognised that a city or a large urban centre cannot be planned in isolation from its hinterland for physical, economic and social resources. It must be seen and planned in its regional context.

According to Bachtler and Yuill (2001:1), regional policy is formulated to deal with locational aspects of social processes and is a government response to uneven economic growth and development. It is concerned with the spatial aspects of social and economic activity. Bachtler and Yuill (2001:3) provide four aspects as the rationale for regional policy and these are: National stability, social justice, economic efficiency and policy efficiency. Bachtler and Yuill (2001:4) note that at its most basic, regional policy is undertaken to ensure national stability from temporary or persistent problems. He provides another reason for regional policy, that of social justice and this originates from the concern with the relativities between regions in the form of spatial inequalities in income standards, infrastructure and employment opportunities. Regional policy then comes into play, attempting to ensure that people in all parts of the territory have a right to the same or similar standards of living. Another reason for regional policy as proclaimed by Bachtler and Yuill (2001:6) is the pursuit of regional and/ or national economic efficiency. They assert that regional policy action may be justified on the basis of presumed market failure. The final reason for regional policy as stressed by Bachtler and Yuill (2001:6) is policy efficiency. They argue that often unequal development is actually attributed to the failure of public policy. He suggests that inefficiencies in market ecosystems and unequal development and agglomerations that result are caused by government policies that distort the functioning of market mechanisms. Thus, regional policies are there to counteract the distorting effects of other aspects. The rationale for regional policy as explained by Bachtler and Yuill (2001) are summarised in the diagram below.

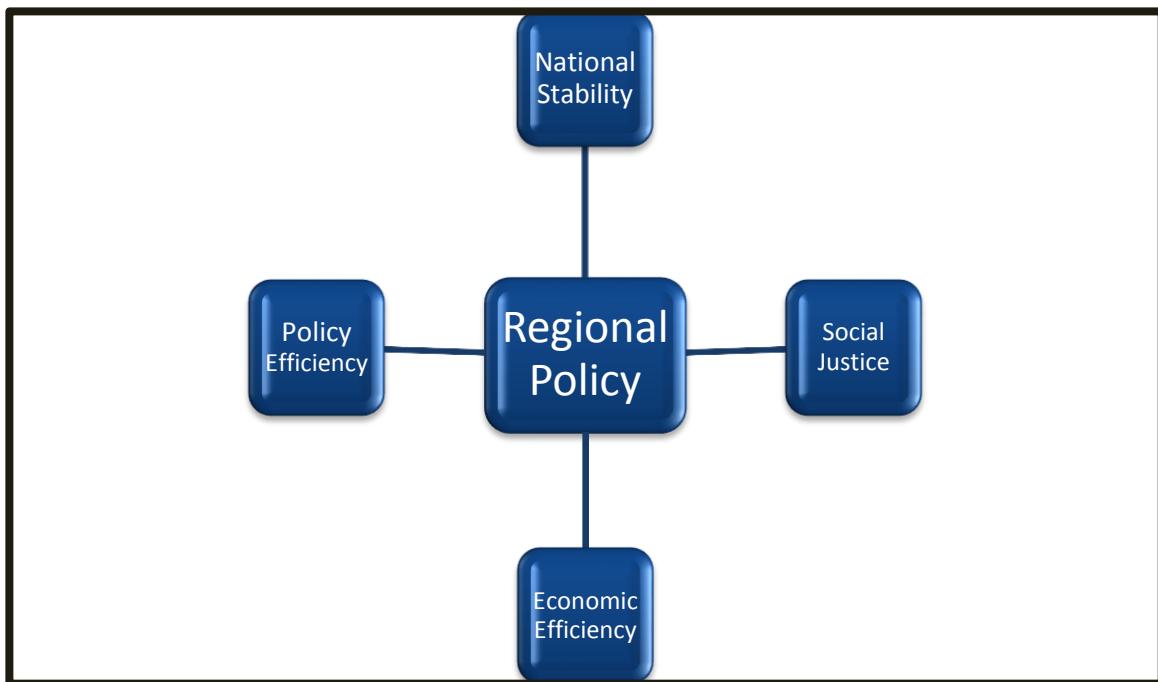


Figure 3-7 Rationale for Regional policy

Source: Own Deduction (2015)

In summation regional policy and planning is a way to solve problems at the national level, to solve problems of social inequalities at the regional level, economic disparities and is a solution to failed public policy as depicted by the diagram above.

3.6 International migration implications on planning policy

According to the South Centre Analytical Note (2006:26) migration is increasingly becoming an issue for developing countries mainly owing to the complex relation it has with development. Migration could be used as a tool for further development or it could become a cause for continued underdevelopment. From the paragraph below, adapted from Balbo and Marconi, (2005:4), one can see that international migration is becoming a policy issue, however this time not only at the national level but at the local level.

International migration affects and is affected differently by the political, social and institutional context of the host country, and represents an increasingly central element of the interactions between national policies and the socio-economic conditions at the urban level. However, since migration policies are generally set nationally- given that migration is looked at principally as a security issue- national and local priorities differ, leading to contradictory policies, with local governments having very little capacity to control migration flows into their cities. Notwithstanding they have to cope with the tangible consequences of migration and are entrusted with the responsibility of complying with the diversified demands arising from an increasingly multifaceted and dynamic urban society. (Balbo and Marconi, 2005:6).

It is the aim of this section to highlight the implications international migration has on planning policy of the host areas. Fagen (2014:16) asserts that urban planning often ignores the needs of new arrivals and the especially vulnerable crisis migrants e.g. refugees. Unfortunately, because crisis migrants and refugees are generally unwanted, they are likely not to be taken into account when local authorities put into action their urban reform plans. According to the UNESCO (2010:5), the majority of migrants are heading towards cities both as cause and consequence of the growing urbanisation that is occurring worldwide. Hence, cities are the main actors to deal with the proliferation of interaction between increasing migration and rapid urbanisation.

According to Morrison (1974:241), improving amenities in cities, achieving equity in race relations and preserving the integrity of rural areas, all depend on instituting national policies to guide population redistribution. He states that there are realistic and effective ways to guide the migration system as a whole toward achieving desirable ends and these emerge from a better understanding of how migration works, what causes it to occur, what its effects on migrants are and how it affects places they come from and the places to which they go. Brown and Kristiansen (2009:31) state that despite the scale of migration, few cities have explicit migration policies. Moreover, they state that there are rarely reliable statistics on the numbers of international migrants in the cities and urban policies may not distinguish between the urban poor and migrants. According to Lucas (2008:17), the immigration policies of the industrialised countries are not the only ones that matter. Developing countries as diverse as Jordan, Kazakhstan, Cote d'Ivoire and Grenada, are all estimated to have very large migrant stocks relative to their population. In many of the developing and transitional countries the majority of migrants are irregular; few low income countries maintain effective border controls. He points out that nonetheless policies towards immigrants matter in these states. According to Lucas (2008:19) migration is shaped by an extremely wide range of policies and in turn the efficacy of a wide range of policies is shaped by migration. According to Ratha *et al.* (2011:12) migration can be a powerful vehicle for the development of both sending and receiving countries. They further state that targeted migration policies are needed in order to turn migration into an advantage rather than a disadvantage.

3.7 Regional economic development theory

According to Tsheola (2008:34), the emergence and evolution of capitalist development and globalisation were accompanied by increased interactions among regions of the world, primarily through trade, capital flows and migration. These developments came with opportunities which have unevenly spread across the whole world economy. The issue of

regional policy thus emanated from the admittance that regions have inequalities deeming it appropriate to highlight some of the regional economic development theories that explain this disequilibrium. Because international migration is assumed to be both the cause and result of inequalities between regions, it is necessary to explain theories of regional economic divergence since they acknowledge the prevalence of inequalities between regions. According to Dawkins (2003:134) regional economic development theory explains if regional economies are more similar or more differentiated over time and in addition, to find out how they can inspire regional policy.

As previously mentioned in the former chapter according to Sai-Wing Ho (2006:359), Myrdal examined the problems of international inequalities. He interpreted these inequalities through the spread and backwash effects. Dawkins (2003:139) highlights that Gunnar Myrdal argues that increasing returns to scale produces a clustering of economic activity within those regions that are first to industrialise. Moreover, the process of growth tends to feed on itself through a process of cumulative causation. Dawkins (2003:141) further notes that although underdeveloped regions offer the advantage of low-wage labour, these benefits tend to be offset by the agglomeration economies found in the industrialised regions. Myrdal (1957:9) argues that underdeveloped regions may benefit from growth in developed regions through spread effects resulting from the diffusion of innovations into a lagging region and the growing export markets for lagging region products. However, these benefits will tend to be offset by the backwash effects, resulting from the flow of capital and labour from the lagging region into the developed region.

Without making a repetition of the theory as it has been already explained in the previous chapter, one can go on to explain how it highlights the issue of regional inequality and how this will contribute to this research. Spread effects out of the industrialised region will help to solve the problems of depressed regions. It is especially this aspect of the theory that one can attribute its contributions to regional policies especially in the SADC where South Africa is the better off in the region and thus people migrate there; and in turn via spread effects like remittances and knowledge contribute to the development of their backward home areas. This is why most policies support regional integration, however, at times with repercussions weighing on one side of the scale. Below is a sketch diagram showing international migration from the rest of the SADC to South Africa.

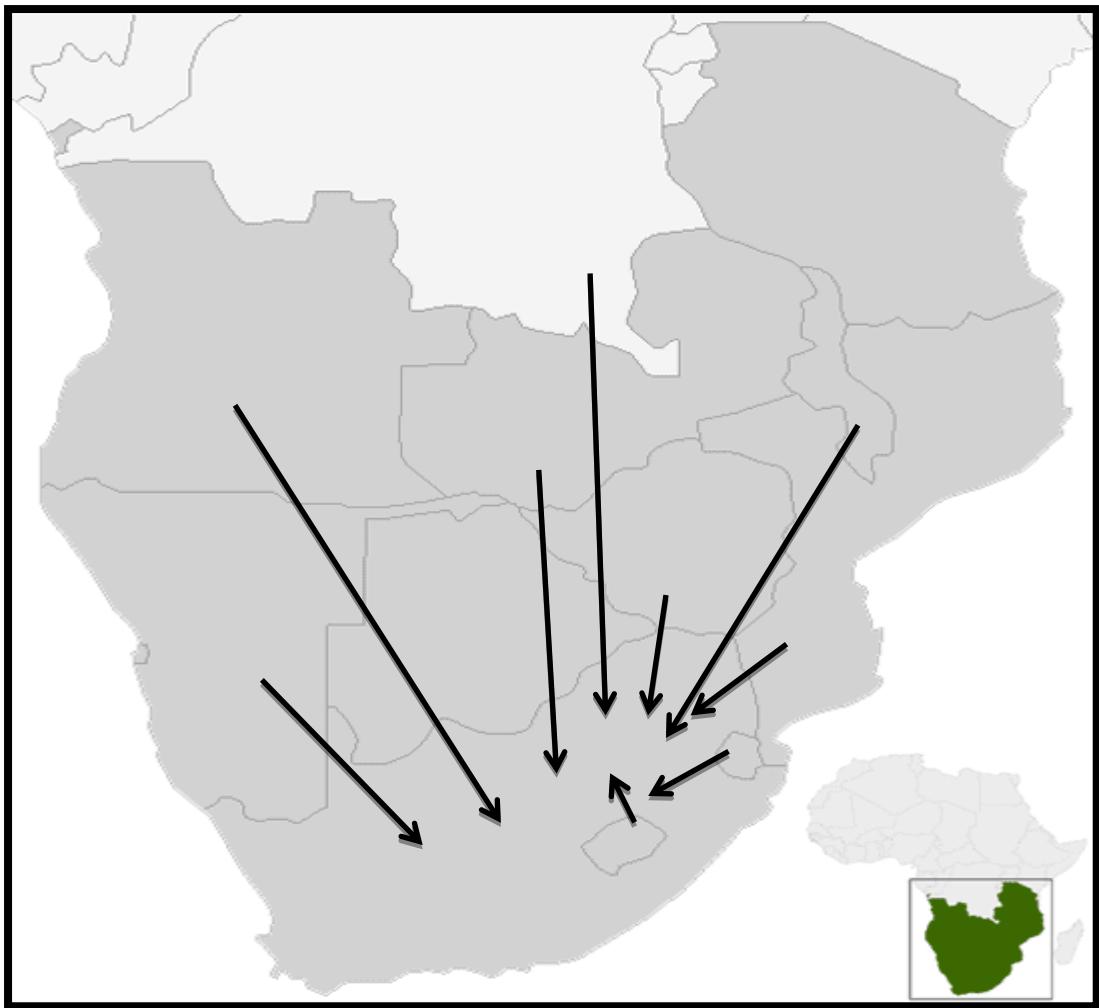


Figure 3-8 Schematic map of the SADC, highlighting the cumulative process through International Migration

Source: Own Deduction (not drawn to scale) (2014)

3.8 Conclusion

In conclusion this chapter provided a synthesis of the relationship between urban and regional policy and planning and the issue of immigration to a particular place. It was a discussion of urban morphological models, immigrant settlement patterns and models that explain the reasons why immigrants settle where they settle. In addition, trends that are associated with immigration, immigrants and the economic structure of the host place, demographic and social effects were all discussed. Moreover, urban and regional development planning policy and the implications of immigrants on planning policy were discussed. This was an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of how immigration affects planners and policy makers and, in turn, to advise how planners at different levels can respond to the consequences of immigration. The next chapter is a historical background of

immigration to South Africa and within the SADC which will be followed by the chapter on policy and legislation affecting and affected by international migration. This section will survey public policies and strategies and legislation related to migration at the local, regional and transnational scale.

CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA AND WITHIN THE SADC

Human migration is a global phenomenon that dates back to the origin of life when people migrated to other regions primarily in search of a better livelihood. Migration offers opportunities for people to move from areas of political, economic and social distress to places and regions of better socio-economic opportunities and more harmonious living conditions. The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region presents unique diversity in socio-economic and geo-political structures that have triggered massive out-migration of people from crisis-riddled and distressed economies such as Zimbabwe, Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and in-migration into resource-rich ones such as South Africa and Botswana that offer spectacular economic opportunities. (Nwonwu 2010:149).

4.1 Introduction

Reviewing the history of international migration in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and in South Africa, should give one an informed understanding of its complex relationships with cities and towns and the way it has brought challenges to urban and regional planning and more so influenced human settlement from past to present. According to the ILO (2013:6), being a cross-border migrant severely limits ones access to public services such as sanitation, education and banking, however place of residence is the main determinant of access to decent housing and sanitation. This chapter will outline the flows of international migration within the SADC and in South Africa. As highlighted by Walliman (2011:177), all research studies require secondary sources for the background to the study. The study will therefore make use of secondary data obtained from surveys by different entities; amongst them the International labour Migration, United Nations Population Division, Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa, Southern Africa Migration Programme and Statistics South Africa.

4.2 Historical review of international migration in the SADC

Bakewell and De Haas (2007:1) state that Africa is often portrayed in both contemporary and historical accounts as a continent of people on the move. According to Nijkamp *et al.* (2012:1), migration is as old as humanity itself. They further state that the evolution of human settlement and socio-economic and cultural development was shaped by migration. Segatti (2011:9) avows this when she says that the domestic and international migration labour on which mine based capital accumulation in Southern Africa relied for decades, has helped shape the region's economies, forms of settlements, primary livelihoods strategies and forms of political leadership and resistance. Adepoju (2008:17) states that southern Africa is a region characterised by a variety of migration configurations; contract workers,

labour migrants, skilled professional and displaced persons in both regular and irregular situations. According to Adepoju (cited by Baker and Aida (1995:81) various forms of population movements in response to political, economic, religious and security situations and demographic factors have been recorded from early times. Spatial mobility has been a fundamental and historical aspect of African life. The historical evolution of SADC countries, colonial experience, post-colonial development strategies and the current political and economic situations are linked to migration in the region. Adepoju (2008) proclaims that migration in Africa can be better understood within the context of the political and historical evolution of African societies. He further states that the effects of colonisation and decolonisation on the economy and indirectly on migration are most visible when examined in the context of the pre-colonial, the colonial and post-colonial eras. In this regard, like the rest of Africa the history of international migration in the SADC region will be demarcated into three different phases i.e. pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.

4.2.1 Pre-colonial period

According to Bakewell and De Haas (2007:106), for many people of Southern Africa the story of their origins is one of migration in response to conquest; search for new land and to resolve power struggles. For example some Zambians and Eastern Angolans originated from the upper Kasai in the Democratic Republic of Congo. According to Castles and Miller (2009:4), historically migration movements were associated with ethnic movements in an attempt to expand states. As time passed different forms of migration began to appear. From centuries back people have moved and relocated elsewhere. This is also apparent in the SADC region where migration dates back to as early as the Stone Age and Iron Ages in which the movements of the natives in the region are symbolised today by the ruins they left behind.

These movements according to Du Pisani (2000:12), were influenced by factors such as climate and water. In the pre-colonial era, population movements were associated with restoring ecological balance, search of subsistence food, better shelter, greater security and state expansion. Du Pisani (2000:12) asserts that migration is embedded in the long dawn of history that goes back thousands of years with the establishment of early and late- Stone Age throughout Southern Africa. Well established patterns of migration live to date as is evidenced by scattered Iron Age ruins scattered throughout the region. These movements occurred over a wide area and were restricted only by warfare. Migration in Africa continued into the colonial era and postcolonial era. The facets of migration have also evolved with time.

4.2.2 Colonial period

The colonial period was associated with an increase in international movements. It is wise to agree with Whitman (2000), who viewed colonialism as migration in its own right. These movements were from all over the world and Southern Africa was also a part of it. Like contemporary migration, this was the major form of migration that had a major influence on the cities and towns of today and the way they are spatially laid out. Moreover, not only was colonialism a form of migration itself, it influenced other forms of movements as well. Adepoju (1995:90) upholds that most of the population movements in this period were linked to the economic strategies of the colonial governments. In Southern Africa a larger influence of these movements was the discovery of diamonds and gold coupled with the accompanying industrialisation which influenced a major type of migration i.e. labour migration. The establishment of urban settlements by the colonialists also required workers to serve in the new administration, the armies and police forces across the whole continent.

As stressed by Adepoju (1995:91), the colonial system reinforced the foundation of present day demographics, flows and patterns of migration in the region. Trade and migrant labour systems between neighbouring countries as well as cultural affinities facilitated movements across borders. Colonialism impacted on migration in complex and varied ways. For example as pointed out by Kowet (1978), labour migration to South Africa was influenced by the interaction of centre- periphery economic and political relations, adding that centre-periphery relations were linked to British colonisation. According to Miller (cited by Bakewell and De Haas 2008:107), European influence spread in from the coasts and stimulated new forms of mobility. Prior to the mineral discoveries in South Africa, around 1874-86, migrant labour was predominantly engaged in agriculture. Agriculture was highly labour intensive and thus called for immigrant labour. The great mineral discoveries of the nineteenth century in South Africa and later in Zambia and Namibia provided the passageway for a system of migrant labour that penetrated deeply in the lives of millions of people in Southern Africa. According to Bakewell and De Haas (2007:107), despite attempts to avoid permanent settlement around mines the industrial development stimulated growth of urban areas driven by both internal rural- urban migration and international migration. Effects were seen in the region for example with the growth of the copper belt; Zambia became the most urbanised country in Africa with 40% of its population living in urban areas, according to its 1990 census.

The discovery of minerals in other Southern African countries prompted more immigrant labour; at the same time the miners needed more food, thus boosting immigrant populations both in the mining and agricultural sectors. Moreover, the colonial period was characterised

by the liberation and civil wars in the region, for example in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and this gave rise to refugee and asylum migration. In this period, according to Baker (1995), in Southern Africa the migration system had been profoundly shaped by the economic attractions of work in the core economy of the region- that of South Africa. According to Adepoju (2008:19), in the 1970s Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique were the main suppliers of labour to South Africa. Adepoju (2008:19) notes that in recent years Botswana has become a major country of immigration because it is a prosperous stable country with rapid economic growth and has attracted highly skilled professionals who are in short supply from Ghana, Zambia, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Kenya. According to Bakewell and De Haas (2007:108), by the late 1980s the one million Mozambican refugees in Malawi represented about a tenth of the population.

In this period focus was on policy challenges that migration posed on the process of regional development and policy and also to the security of national governments. This was characterised by policies that restricted free movements across colonial boundaries and even internal ones. Movements across the country borders of the SADC nations were strictly controlled and though clandestine migration was present, it was not as pronounced as it was to be after colonialism. Nothing was said about the challenges international migration would pose for local governments and their planning. Consequently one can say that during this period, transport networks, city development, demography, land use patterns and local labour were some of the major contextual features of urban planning that shaped and in turn were shaped by international migration, though the relation is vaguely acknowledged in most research.

4.2.3 Post-colonial period

According to Kok *et al.* (2006:32), Africa's sub regions are characterised by dominant migration flows, specifically labour migration in Western, Middle and Southern Africa and refugee flows in Eastern Africa. According to Bakewell and De Haas (2007:15), the end of wars in Namibia, Mozambique and eventually Angola and the defeat of Apartheid in South Africa have heralded a new set of migration motivations and opportunities in the region. Refugees and exiles have been returning to their countries and thousands have seized the opportunity to move. Crush *et al.* (2005:1) are of the view that the ensuing integration of South Africa with the SADC region brought a major increase in both legal and undocumented cross border flows and new forms of mobility within the region. According to Du Pisani (2000:18), intra-regional migration for non-economic reasons is significant in the SADC, for example the numbers of refugees from Angola and Mozambique had exceeded 2, 5 00,000 by 1990.

According to Adepoju (1995:91), the post-independence period intensified the developmental pattern inherited from the colonial administrators. The urban based development strategies, the introduction of free primary education and high population growth rates reinforced the volume, intensity and determinants of International migration. According to Crush *et al.* (2005), the end of Apartheid, a system designed to control movement and exclude outsiders, produced new opportunities for internal and cross border mobility and new incentives for moving. Another factor that increased international migration in the region would be the recurrent civil strife in the rest of Africa which in turn generated mass refugee movements and new kinds of asylum seekers to and within the region. The post-colonial period in the region resulted in the burgeoning of migration mainly as a result of policies that aimed at regional integration. These accepted international migration as inevitable. As previously noted, focus was directed on the migrants themselves rather than on the communities in which they settled. Nonetheless it is evident that immigration is now a central concern for planners at the local level.

According to Bakewell and De Haas (2007:108), by the year 2001 Zambia became the leading country of asylum in the region with over 200 000 Angolan refugees and 60 000 Congolese. They further highlight that the collapse of Zimbabwe generated new internal displacement and refugees in the region. As stressed by Bakewell and De Haas (2007:108), the reactions to migration among the SADC countries has become increasingly negative with more controls on immigration and restrictions on migrants, but instead of reducing migration the result has been to drive it underground and there has been a significant growth in the numbers of undocumented immigrants.

4.3 South Africa: Migration history

Like the rest of Africa, the history of migration into South Africa stretches before colonialism and till now it is a common occurrence especially in the globalising world. The history of international migration to South Africa was shaped by different major events that took place in South Africa and the world, for example colonialism, discovery of minerals, industrialisation, agricultural activities, incorporation of South Africa into the global world by signing of treaties e.g. the UN convention for Refugees and Asylum seekers of 1951, the fall of Apartheid, crises in the region in the form of political instabilities and economic downfalls e.g. Zimbabwe, DRC and Mozambique all influenced the direction of migrant flows towards South Africa. The Southern African migration system, centred on South Africa and involving its neighbours as migrant senders, has developed since the late 19th century, in parallel with the emergence and growth of the South African mining industry (Agdjan 2008:428). According to Bakewell and De Haas (2007:108), South Africa has become the focus for

migration both from within the region and the rest of Africa. Du Pisani (2000:17) states that, migrant labour has characterised a significant portion of cross border mobility and flows are primarily in the direction of labour flowing from most SADC countries into South Africa. Figure 4.1 shows some of the factors that have influenced international migration into South Africa from past to present.

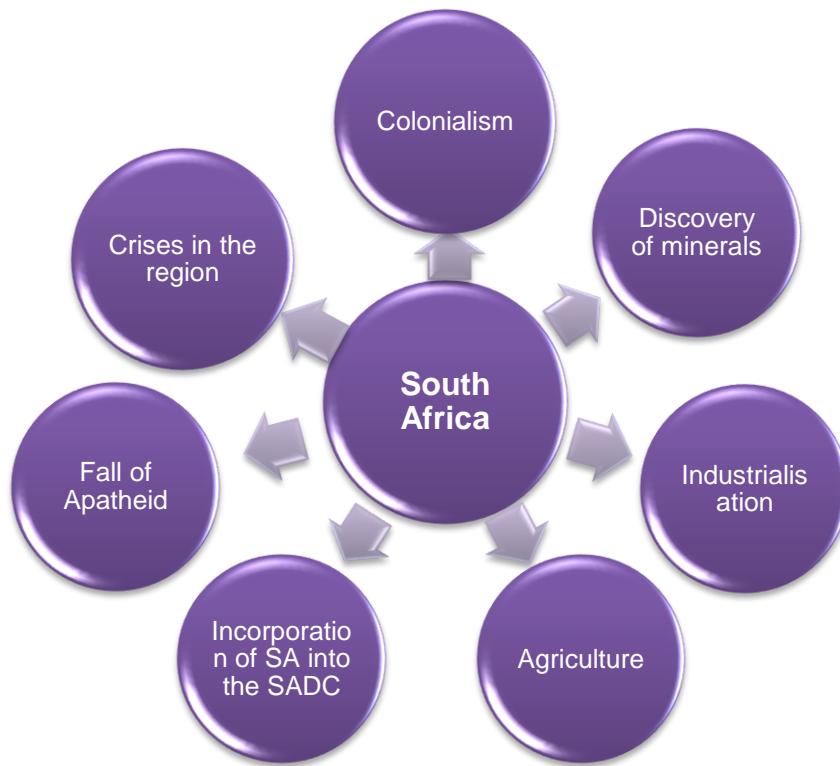


Figure 4-1 Factors that influenced international migration towards South Africa

Source: Own Construction (2015)

Adepoju (2008:19) states that the main migrants in the region have been from nearby countries to meet South Africa's labour requirements. He states that migrants have been employed in mining, agriculture and domestic services. Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:71) identified three main streams of movements from neighbouring countries. These are; (i) contract mine migration, (ii) voluntary migration and (iii) refugee migration. According to Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:72) during the latter half of the 19th century the discovery of diamonds and gold together with industrialisation lured thousands of migrant labour from the southern region to South Africa. They assert that, as early as 1840 before the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly, Bapedi men from Sekhukumeland had worked on farms and public works in South Africa. They further highlight that in the 1860s Mozambicans worked as seasonal workers on farms in the Western Cape. According to Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:72) the opening of the Kimberly diamond fields in 1870 created a huge demand for

unskilled labour and the majority of the mine workers were immigrants, so that by 1874 approximately 10000 African mine workers worked on the mines. Moreover they stress that the change in mining methods from open cast to underground extraction in the early 1880s created a need for stable skilled labour force. Thus the mine owners in Kimberly provided housing for mine workers in closed compounds.

In addition, Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:73) highlight that the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886 led to an increase in migrant labour especially from neighbouring countries, mainly because limited working opportunities existed there and because foreign workers were willing to work for a lower wage than the South African natives. Between 1890 and 1899 the total number of Africans employed on gold mines is believed to have risen from approximately 14000 to 97000. Between 1899 and 1902 about 60% of the unskilled workers on gold mines were Mozambicans. Many migrated because they needed to earn money and on the mines they could secure a wage. Wentzel and Tlapela (2006: 74) point out that during the period 1920 and 1990 every country in the SADC region at one time or another sent migrants to work on South African mines. They identified the three types of supplying countries as:

- Long standing supply countries such as Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland
- Episodic supply countries such as Malawi and Zimbabwe
- Occasional supply countries e.g. Zambia, Tanzania and Angola.

According to Bakewell and De Haas (2007:107), although the migrant labour system stretched over the region to serve the mines and farms of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, Swaziland and Botswana, its core has always been in South Africa e.g. by 1920 there were 100 000 foreign contract workers in South African mines from all over the region. By 1970 they had risen to 265 000 and by 1990 had declined to 192000. According to Bakewell and De Haas (2007: 107), the formal system of labour migration for the mines was supplemented by a parallel system of irregular migration that provided labour for other sectors like farms and plantations, domestic services, transport and construction. In 1951 the South African census data recorded over 600 000 foreign born Africans in the country and this declined steadily because of Apartheid laws.

Since 1977 Lesotho has been the main supplier of labour to South African mines. In 1990 about 108 000 Basotho workers were employed on the South African gold mines with a slight drop to about 100 000 in 1995 (Wentzel and Tlapela 2006:75). Adepoju (2008:17) points out that South Africa's contractual labour laws required migrant workers and recruited

from Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Malawi to leave their families at home to work for two years and then return to their countries. He further states that in the 1970s Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique were the main suppliers of labour to South Africa.

Bakewell and De Haas (2007:107), are of the view that the arrival of settlers in South Africa and the Zambian Copper belt and especially the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand resulted in more sophisticated systems to control labour. According to Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:71) the number of migrants to South Africa, especially those from the African Continent, has increased since the early 1990s and especially after 1994. They state that the immigrants came primarily from South Africa` s traditional labour supply areas especially in the SADC. Previously South Africa was not a signatory to any refugee policy and thus it did not receive refugees. However, it all changed when South Africa signed the UN convention for Refugee Protection. This coincided with the fall of Apartheid, which simultaneously resulted in a drastic increase of foreigners flocking into South Africa. In addition, Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:74) state that there were thousands of refugees in South Africa in the 1990s that arrived from Angola, the DRC and from Mozambique. In 1993 the UNHCR estimated that there were 250000 Mozambican refugees in South Africa.

According to Du Pisani (2000:17), sources in South Africa claim that there is significant clandestine migration from Zimbabwe to post-Apartheid South Africa. Du Pisani (2000:18) points out that South Africa recorded some 582 000 immigrants from the region in 1993. He states that significant numbers of illegal migrants` estimates vary from 2,000,000 or 3, 000,000 mostly from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Democratic Republic of Congo and even from outside the region like Nigeria and Somalia.

In addition Crush *et al.* (2005:1) is of the view that the end of Apartheid produced new opportunities for internal and cross border mobility and new incentives for moving. Moreover, the integration of South Africa with the SADC region brought a major increase in legal and undocumented cross border flows and new forms of mobility. According to Segatti (2011:9), in a single decade between 1990 and 2000 South Africa became the migration hub at the Southern tip of the continent. Crush and McDonald (2000:2) avow this when they state that the demise of the formal Apartheid has created new opportunities for migration to South Africa. Moreover, they state that legal migration to South Africa has increased almost tenfold since 1990 mainly also because of South Africa`s re- insertion into the global economy. Crush and McDonald (2000:3) go on to state that the easing of legal and unauthorised entry to South Africa has made the country a new destination for African asylum seekers, traders, business people, students and professionals.

According to Reed (2012:73), migration was severely restricted during the Apartheid era, and the Pass Laws required both residential and work permits for blacks to live in restricted areas. Still, there is strong circumstantial evidence that these permits and restrictions were ignored by many blacks in South Africa. To gain access to jobs and public services, informal settlements were formed, land invasions occurred and forced removals were opposed (Goodlad 1996:1634). The ending of the Apartheid system of racial segregation in South Africa during the late 1980s and early 1990s brought dramatic social changes to the country. One of the social changes that may benefit them is freedom of movement. Geographical mobility, previously restricted by migration control laws, is now legally free for everyone.

According to Olivier (2009:10), there was an increasing proportion of foreign workers in contract labour, particularly in mining, with levels rising from 40 per cent in the late 1980s to close to 60 per cent in 2009. According to Crush (2005:113), after 1990 and the collapse of Apartheid, South Africa became an attractive destination for workers, tourists and asylum seekers from the rest of Africa. Crush (2005:116) states that the task of improving the lives of South Africans is seen as so urgent that the foreigner is, explicitly or implicitly, precluded from plans and strategies for sustainable urban developments. More often than not immigrants are actually seen as a threat to poor South Africans and to city plans to improve their quality of life. Housing delivery has failed to keep pace with demand so that a significant proportion of the population now lives in informal backyard shacks.

According to Mpedi and Nyenti (2013: ii), historically the largest number of migrants to South Africa has been concentrated in the mining industry. They assert that in the 1950s the number of black foreign labourers in the mines averaged about 327 000 per annum. However in the 1960s and 1970s the foreign component of workers reduced i.e. from 37% in 1966 to 16% by 1979 and about only 16 000 foreign men employed in 1977. In 1984 the numbers rose to about 183 000 and in 1994 declined to about 147 000 mainly as a result of mine closures. Mpedi and Nyenti further state that foreign mine employees were about 38% of the total workforce by 2006. In 2010, as highlighted by the International Organisation for Migration, it estimated that about 60% of workers in the mining sector in South Africa were from neighbouring countries- mainly from Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland. According to the Infrastructure News and Service delivery (2013), the mining sector in South Africa has had a long history of providing migrant labourers with old style hostel accommodation.

4.4 International migration types common in South Africa

South Africa hosts different kinds of international migrants; illegal and legal, some temporary, some permanent and some in transit.

4.4.1 Labour migration

A major type of international migration to South Africa would be labour migration, both temporary and permanent. From past to present labour migration to South Africa has been the most common of the other forms of international migration. As highlighted above, the need for agricultural labour, public works in the new colony and especially the discovery of mining activities all directed labour migration towards South Africa. Moreover, the declining economies in the other SADC countries, coinciding with South Africa's integration into the global family, resulted in large flows of labour immigrants into South Africa.

4.4.2 Refugee/Asylum migration

Before 1993 South Africa was not a signatory of any refugee treaty. Thus refugees, if ever they were present in South Africa, were probably clandestine. In 1993 South Africa signed the UN convention of Refugees of 1951, thus agreeing to the admittance of refugees in the country. Coinciding with the civil wars in Mozambique and the DRC, this brought large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers into the country, according to Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:81).

4.4.3 Illegal/Clandestine migration

Although illegal migration to South Africa was definitely experienced during Apartheid, it was not as prominent as it was/is after the fall of Apartheid. For example, because refugees were previously not welcome to South Africa, they came clandestinely especially from Mozambique. Moreover because most of the labour contractual agreements were for the mines, the other sectors like construction and agriculture were flooded with mostly illegal migrants. Furthermore, most illegal immigrants, especially after 1990, were those who had lost their jobs and decided to stay or those who had not qualified for refugee and asylum status, as well as those who crossed the borders illegally. Table 4.1 provides a summary of historical turning points that shaped migration within the region.

Table 4-1 Historical turning points that influenced migration within the SADC especially to SA

Period	Major Events	Resultant Immigration flows
1840s	Agricultural production	Basotho men came to work in farms in the Orange Free State Bepedi men came to work in farms and public works in the Cape Colony
1860	Discovery of mining of diamonds in the Kimberly area	Opening of the diamond fields created a huge demand for unskilled labour. Bepedi, Tsonga from Mozambique and Basotho men became the main workers
1880s	Change in mining methods from open cast to underground extraction	More low-skilled workers were now required to ensure a continuous controlled cheap labour force Mine owners provided housing for mine workers in closed compounds
1886	Discovery of gold at Witwatersrand	This resulted in a much larger migrant labour system than in Kimberly. More immigrant workers into the country
1896	The Rand Native Labour Association was established to coordinate the recruitment of labourers and to eliminate competition	A more formal channel to allow the recruitment of foreign labourers; thus more legal workers crossed borders to work in the country
1897	A labour agreement between the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) and the authorities in Portuguese East Africa was signed	This resulted in a much larger migrant labour system than in Kimberly More immigrant workers into the country
1900	The Rand Native Labour Association was renamed to Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA)	The WNLA had a recruitment monopoly with Mozambique, Nyasaland and Zambia.
1912	Chamber of mines established the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC)	To organise recruiting from South Africa, Botswana and Swaziland
1938	An agreement was formalised between WNLA and the authorities in Nyasaland regarding the recruitment and	More labour immigrants were allowed into the country

Period	Major Events	Resultant Immigration flows
	employment of Malawians working in South Africa	
1973	South Africa signed a bilateral labour agreement with Botswana and Lesotho and in 1975 a similar agreement with Swaziland	Number of labour migrants into the country increased
1980s	Civil war in Mozambique	This saw an increase in refugees
1994	Civil war in Mozambique	Resulted in a new migration flow towards South Africa
Post 1994	Zimbabwe crisis	Resulted in the Zimbabwe Dispensation programme ³ and more permits were issued to Zimbabweans since 2010

Source: Own Construction Adapted from Wentzel and Tlabela 2005

As shown above even before Apartheid, there existed major events that resulted in different migration flows within the SADC and especially to South Africa. Each era had different events that influenced international migration ranging from a need of the colonial governments for cheap labour to more recently South Africa's foreign policies which influenced more flows towards the country e.g. the Zimbabwe's Dispensation programme. Table 4.2 below shows the typologies of international migration most common within the region.

Table 4-2 Typology of current migration in Southern Africa by typical characteristics and country of origin

Type of Migration	Characteristics	Origin	Destination
Permanent Labour	Permanent Residence Naturalisation Amnesty Beneficiaries Unskilled/Semi-skilled Skilled professionals	Rest of Southern Africa as well as beyond Rest of Southern Africa Rest of Southern Africa	South-Africa, Botswana, Namibia South Africa (mainly to mines and Farms) South Africa, Botswana, Namibia
Refugees and Asylum Seekers	Clandestine (smuggled refugees) Fleeing Home Country Repatriated or returning nationals	Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe Zimbabwe, Mozambique, DRC Rest of Southern Africa and Africa	South Africa South Africa Namibia, South Africa

³ A special programme by the Department of Home Affairs that was aimed at, creating a record of Zimbabweans who had been living illegally in South Africa, by issuing them with special permits

Type of Migration	Characteristics	Origin	Destination
Documented/illegal/clan destine/irregular	Lacking documents authorising stay/residence Over stayers Amnesty Defaulters Unsuccessful applicants of refugee or asylum status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rest of Africa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Africa, Botswana

Source: Wentzel and Tlabela 2005

As shown in the table above the major destination countries in the region are Namibia, South Africa and Botswana. This is mainly because they have better economies than the rest. The types of international migration in the region are typical of the crisis in each sending country. For example refugees are from war torn countries like DRC and Mozambique, labour migrants are mainly from countries which are experiencing economic downfall like Zimbabwe.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter was a brief history of migration within the SADC and also to South Africa. The history of migration within the SADC was divided into three phases i.e. pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Reasons for migration and direction of flows were given. Consequently, the history of international migration to South Africa was tackled separately dating back before colonialism to the fall of Apartheid and to the current period. The history of immigration to South Africa saw different shifts owing to external forces from past to present and the number of immigrants would either fall or increase as a result of different events. For example, the 1990s saw a reduction in immigrants owing to mine closures and thus the large numbers of migrant workers lost their jobs and returned home. However the post 2000s saw a gradual increase of migrants owing to crises in the neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe. Conclusively, one can say that international migration to South Africa was shaped by major events and changes that occurred in its history and within the SADC region. From colonialism to the fall of Apartheid, a shift in the flows of international migration was witnessed with each major event. The next chapter will consequently proceed to analyse policies relating to international migration and urban and regional planning.

CHAPTER 5: LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY FRAMEWORK

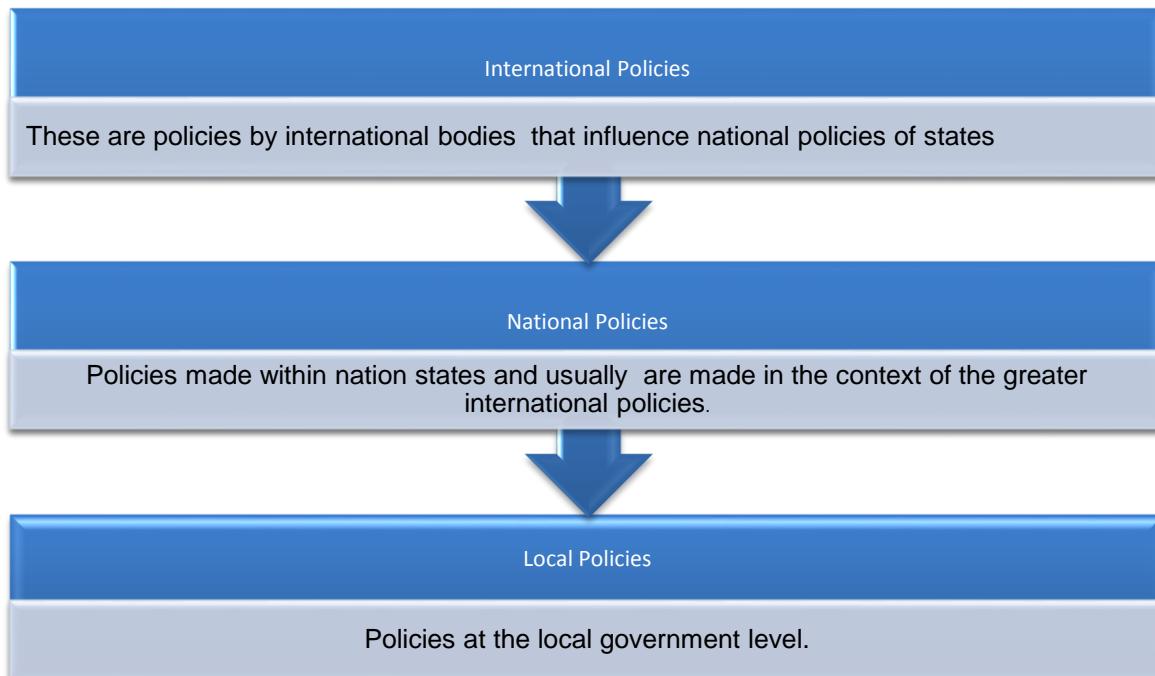
5.1 Introduction

Immigration to a particular place is known to impact on the host place in different ways, either negatively or positively. Immigration is known to boost the local economy, if managed well. Conversely, it can bring challenges to the planning profession in ways that are often not acknowledged. For instance, it can bring challenges to service provision because of the diversity it causes i.e. the municipalities are forced to render services to a more diverse population with different cultures and thus different needs. Kim (2010:1) elaborates this when she states that, as society becomes more diverse, the traditional planning practices are becoming less salient for addressing current and future planning challenges. It also increases dispersion i.e. the way people will spread out in space; immigrants tend to have their certain preferences such as informal housing and inner city dwellings which are in themselves a challenge affecting urban planning. Not only does immigration affect the socio-economic, housing and settlement aspects of planning but also the demographic nature as well. It is in this context that one is bound to analyse the policies at all levels, mainly because different guidelines and regulations in the form of policies and legislation may either hinder or enhance the meeting of planning objectives. The aim of this section therefore is to explore how the different policies and legislation may have influenced the direction of migration flows in the SADC region and in turn how spatial planning and planning policy have incorporated migration or not. These entail policies by the SADC and beyond which may in turn shape the national policies on migration and planning and how these should help shape spatial planning policies at both provincial and local levels.

According to Bracken (1981:227), it has become increasingly important for policy makers and planners to know the effects that the various policies and programmes bring about, particularly so that decisions about the use of limited resources can be made wisely and that policies can be kept under review to remain relevant to changing circumstances. Broadbent 1979 (cited by Bracken 1981:227) asserts that it is a real concern that the development and use of planning methodology should help to close the gap between the preparation of plans, policies and powers and be more directly harnessed to the achievement of planning aims. According to Pillay (2006:445), policies are typically in the form of white papers which are governmental policy position papers. Policies are the guidelines to enforcing laws or legislation. On the other hand laws are in the form of acts of parliament and these are the regulations or rules governing a country. According to Pillay (2006:444), most policies are framed within the context of grand policies such as Apartheid and national reconciliation.

Therefore it is important to understand the broad political context within which different policies operate. This study will first look at the grand policies going down to policies at the local level i.e. policies at the transnational level i.e. the SADC and beyond and then the South African context. Figure 5.1 shows the relationship of policies and how they influence each other from international to local level.

Figure 5-1 Policy Hierarchy (SA Context)



Source: Own construction (2015)

According to Lucas (2008:19) migration is shaped by an extremely wide range of policies and in turn the efficacy of a wide range of policies is shaped by migration.

5.2 International conventions

Bodies of international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), the International Labour organisation (ILO) and the African Union (AU) are the external powers that influence national policies and legislation of countries. South Africa is a signatory to some of these conventions and its policies are influenced by such. Some of the conventions and protocols relating to migration that SA was a part of or not will be explained below.

5.2.1 The 1951 UN convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 protocol

The 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 Protocol are the centre piece of refugee protection. They are grounded in the universal declaration of human rights of 1948 which stipulates the basic human rights for every person. The 1951 convention

relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 protocol state that, refugees are not to be discriminated against in terms of race, religion or country of origin. The UN convention relating to the status of refugees (1951) also granted freedom of religion and religious education for their children. It further stipulates the right to housing of refugees and other basic needs.

5.2.2 OAU Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa (1969)

The then Organisation for African Unity (OAU) now the African Union (AU), signed the convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa in 1969. The convention was held after the African States came to a realisation that they needed a means to alleviate the refugees` misery and suffering as well as providing them with a better life (OAU 1969). According to the OAU convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa (1969), because the numbers of refugees were rising immensely, the convention was meant to solve the problems they caused among member states as they were causing friction. The convention was also meant to protect the refugees` human rights in line with the UN Universal Declaration of human rights. South Africa only signed after Apartheid; it both signed and ratified the convention in 1995 and 1996 respectively.

5.2.3 The UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (2003)

The convention aims at protecting the rights of migrant workers and members of their family and was ratified by 20 countries. The convention was based on the connection between migration and human rights. According to the UN (2003), the convention is aimed at guaranteeing equality of treatment and the same working conditions for migrants and nationals through:

- preventing inhumane living and working conditions, physical and sexual abuse and degrading treatment
- guaranteeing migrants` access to educational and social services

The convention stipulates that whether the immigrants are regular or irregular all migrants are entitled to a minimum degree of protection. It recognises that legal migrants have legitimacy to claim more rights than undocumented migrants, but it stresses those undocumented migrants must see their fundamental human rights respected like all human beings. However, most migrant receiving countries have not ratified the convention. For

example, no migrant receiving state in Western Europe or North America has ratified the convention. Countries including Australia, United Arab Emirates, India and South Africa have not ratified the convention.

5.3 SADC policies and their influence on international migration within the region

Given the SADC agreement of regional integration, one then aims to analyse how the policies on immigration are trying to achieve regional integration between states or whether they are causing more harm than good especially to the receiving countries. According to Williams (2006:4) when South Africa became part of the newly formed SADC in 1993, it consented to its objectives. Amongst them, developing policies aimed at the progressive elimination of obstacles to the free movement of capital and labour, goods and services and of the people of the region generally, among member states. This was carried out through signing the treaties and protocols of the SADC.

5.3.1 SADC Treaty (1992)

The SADC Treaty was signed in 1992. All member states are signatories to the treaty. Concerning this study, the article of the treaty most relevant would be in Chapter 3 article 5 2(d) which states that, the SADC will develop policies aimed at the progressive elimination of obstacles to the free movement of capital and labour, goods and services and the people of the region among member states. As a member of the SADC, South Africa signed and ratified the treaty. This treaty could be regarded as the gateway to the migration flows within the region. Prior the formation of the SADC, South Africa was not a member of its predecessor, the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Thus it was not subject to free movements in and out of its borders. Instead, it was engaged in contractual relationships with other countries specifically for labour supply in its mining and agricultural sectors. These contractual relationships were through the recruitment agencies such as Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) and Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC). These recruited from Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho and other Southern African countries.

5.3.2 SADC Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons (1998)

The draft protocol on the facilitation of movement of persons was signed and approved by six member states of the SADC. It was seen as a means to give effect to the SADC Treaty of 1992 that calls for the promotion of sustainable economic growth and development and the elimination of the obstacles to the free movement of capital and labour, goods and services and of people generally among member states (SADC treaty of 1992 Article 5 2(d)).

According to Williams and Carr (2006:6) the objectives of the protocol are to facilitate the movement of persons and to facilitate entry into member states without the need of a visa for a maximum period of ninety days per year. According to the SADC (1998) in the preamble of the draft protocol on the facilitation of movement of its provisions include:

- Promoting interdependence and integration of the SADC national economies to achieve regional equality.
- Adopting a flexible approach in order to accommodate inequalities in levels of economic development among the SADC states.
- Redressing imbalances in large scale population movement within the SADC.
- Supporting in all ways the efforts of the Organisation of African Unity which encourages free movement of persons within regions.

According to Article 3 of the protocol, the immediate objective of this Protocol in relation to every citizen of a Member State is to facilitate:

- Entry, for a lawful purpose and without a visa, into the territory of another Member State for a period of three months at a time;
- Residence in the territory of another Member State; and
- Establishment of oneself and working in the territory of another Member State.

According to Article 2 of the SADC draft protocol on the facilitation of movement of persons (1998), the ultimate objective of the protocol is to develop policies aimed at the progressive elimination of obstacles to the movement of persons of the region generally into and within the territories of Member States. South Africa, however, was not a signatory of this protocol. The protocol supports the movement of persons within the region on the assumption that it will be for the benefit of the region as a whole. Yet movements are usually in one direction, as highlighted in the previous chapter, and when most of the immigrants recorded in the region are refugees and asylum seekers and the low skilled that are unlikely to send any remittances home. Article 16 of the protocol provides for the meaning of residence to be adopted by the member states. It defines residence as permission or authority to live in the territory of a state party in accordance with the legislative and administrative provisions of that state party. Whereas planning laws are often concerned with the actual residence by humans i.e. the type of shelter/accommodation that a person will occupy, the protocol did not take this into consideration.

5.4 South African Policy

The study will go on to provide an analysis of some of South Africa's relevant policies and from them draw some of the dilemmas that urban and regional planners in South Africa may face because of immigration. After providing an analysis of the policies, an overview of the state of planning in South Africa will be illustrated so as to provide an insight of what immigration could mean to host urban areas that may already be experiencing planning challenges.

5.4.1 The Constitution of South Africa (109 of 1996)

Governing every country is the constitution which is the most important piece of legislation in any sovereign. The Constitution of South Africa (Act No 109 of 1996) is such legislation and its broad purpose as outlined in the preamble is (SA, 1996):

- To heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
- Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and in which every citizen is equally protected by law;
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and lastly
- Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

All other laws are therefore subject to the Constitution. Chapter 2 of the Constitution (SA 1996) is applicable to this study and it outlines the Bill of Rights. This enshrines the rights of all people in South Africa and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. Aside from political rights, immigrants are entitled to all other rights in the Bill of Rights, noting a few that directly affect planning which are housing, property, healthcare, water, education, and social and security services.

Moreover Chapter 7 provides for the recognition of local government as an important sphere of government and stresses its developmental role. According to Chapter 7 section 153 (RSA, 1996b:52), municipalities must structure and manage their own administration, budgeting and planning processes so as to promote social and economic development while at the same time participating in national as well as provincial development programmes.

5.5 Migration and population policies in South Africa

Immigration policy extends beyond nationally mandated decisions on how many new immigrants can enter a country or who is eligible for public benefits. South Africa's immigration policies will be discussed together with its population policies since migration is a key factor in population studies.

5.5.1 Identification Act (68 of 1991)

South Africa's Identification Act of 1991 (SA, 1991), provides for the national population register which states the identities of citizens and permanent residents and internal migrant flows. According to Poulain and Herm (2013:183) a population register is a mechanism for the continuous recording of selected information pertaining to each member of the resident population of a country or area, making it possible to determine up to date information about the size and characteristics of the population. However in South Africa, it does not include information on other types of immigrants e.g. temporary migrants. Yet, temporary migrants reside in the countries for very long periods of time (as long as they can renew their temporary permits) and this is crucial to urban and regional planning. It is crucial to urban and regional planning specifically, because, although they are temporary, whilst they are in the country they consume services just as citizens do; they have housing needs just as citizens do. Moreover some types of migrants like refugees whose stay in the receiving country is indefinite, have no reason not to be part of the population register. Although in South Africa the population register is available to municipalities on request for planning purposes, the administering of their own population registers is called for. Mainly because of better population projections, which are crucial for integrated development planning and budgeting, instead of relying on national records. For some countries like Spain, the Netherlands and Norway the maintenance of a population register is the duty of municipalities. The latter, for example, granted its municipalities the right to take annual local censuses and to collect information about migration within their municipalities as early as 1905 (Skaug 1967:1).

5.5.2 White Paper on Population Policy (of 1998)

The White Paper on Population Policy of 1998 (SA, 1998), was designed to provide a comprehensive multi framework for addressing population issues that match with achieving sustainable socio-economic and environmental development. It is rooted in an approach which recognises the three demographic processes of fertility, mortality and migration as

critical indicators of factors influencing the attainment of sustainable development. The policy's objectives are:

- The systematic integration of population factors into all policies, plans, programmes and strategies aimed at enhancing the quality of life of the people at all levels and within all sectors.
- Developing a coordinated multispectral interdisciplinary and integrated approach in designing and implementing programmes and interventions that affect major national population concerns.
- Making reliable and up to date information on the population and human development situation in the country in order to inform policy making and programme design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation at all levels and in all sectors.

According to the White Paper on population policy (SA, 1998), these objectives are underpinned by a need for reliable and up to date information on population and human development to inform policy making and programme design implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The policy is guided by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1994 (SA, 1994) and the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Strategy of 1996 (SA, 1996). Therefore, population data is needed to formulate and implement practical and realistic interventions for achieving the objectives of the RDP and for continuous monitoring and evaluation. The central focus of the White paper on population policy (SA, 1998), is a strong lobby for maintaining population growth. In relation to international migration, the policy aims to determine the impact immigrants have on the local economy.

In order to achieve the objectives laid down, the White paper on population policy (SA, 1998), identified nine strategies to be followed. This study will only make use of the ones that are of concern to urban and regional planners in relation to migration issues i.e. the one on migration and urbanisation. The policy aims to reduce backlogs in urban infrastructure and social services and make adequate provision for future increases in the population living in urban areas. In addition, it aims at reviewing the nature and impact of all forms of international migration on sustainable development in order to formulate and implement an appropriate policy. Furthermore, the second strategy is on poverty reduction, which aims to reduce poverty and socio economic inequalities through meeting people's basic needs for social security, employment, education, training and housing as well as infrastructure and social facilities.

However, the major challenge that affects its implementation is the obscure numbers of international migrants within the country mainly owing to illegal/ clandestine migration. Thus, achieving its objective of integrating population factors into all policies, plans and programmes is affected.

5.5.3 South Africa Refugee Act (130 of 1998)

In its preamble, the Act gives effect within South Africa to the relevant international legal instruments, that of the Refugee Convention relating to the status of refugees of 1951 and the 1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees. It outlines the principles and standards relating to refugees to provide for the reception into South Africa of asylum seekers, to regulate applications for recognition of refugee status, to provide for the rights and obligations flowing from such status and to provide for matters connected with these. According to the Refugee Act (130 of 1998), it is to be implemented regarding any relevant convention or agreement to which South Africa is to become a party. The South African Refugee Act (SA, 1998), provides for the needs of forcibly displaced persons coming to South Africa in search of asylum. It states that refugees are allowed to seek employment and to access education as well as being entitled to the rights enshrined in Chapter Two of the South African Constitution. Unlike other countries however South Africa has no refugee camps and its refugees are highly urban. This implies that they disperse freely once they arrive in the country and because most are fleeing refugees, they do not possess any identity documents with them and thus do not easily find employment and cannot access housing markets easily. Refugees tend to choose the only accessible housing available and affordable to them that of informal settlements and low cost housing.

5.5.4 South Africa Immigration Act (13 of 2002)

According to Segal (2010:30), immigration policy defines the parameters of those admitted into a country, identifying who may be allowed in and under what circumstances; it also specifies who should be prevented from coming. Segal (2010:30) further states that immigrant policy addresses issues of immigrant integration once they are in, how the immigrants are helped to integrate into society and what resources they may access and with what stipulations.

The Immigration Act (13 of 2002) of South Africa (SA, 2002) provides the regulation of admission of persons to, their residence in and their departure from South Africa and for the matters connected with these. According to the Act its aim at its initiation was to set in place a new system of immigration control which ensures that temporary and permanent residents'

permits are to be issued as efficiently as can be and on the basis of simplified procedures. In addition, security considerations should be fully satisfied and the state to retain control of the immigration. The Act states that immigration control should be performed within the highest applicable standards of human rights protection.

According to the Immigration Act section 2(1b) (SA, 2002) it facilitates and simplifies the issuance of permanent and temporary residences to those who are entitled to them and concentrating resources and efforts in enforcing the Act at community level and discouraging illegal foreigners. Section 2(1c) (SA, 2002) states that it will ensure the detecting and deporting of illegal foreigners and section 2 (1d) (SA, 2002) states that creating a climate of cooperation with other organs of state to encourage them to take responsibility in implementing this Act within range of their respective powers and functions.

In this regard, one can ascertain that immigration policy focuses on migration control rather than its management, and thus local governments more often view it as a national responsibility. For example, the Immigration Act does not address the consumption of services and amenities by immigrants. Thus they will assimilate into the societies they arrive at and access services just as citizens do.

5.6 Spatial Planning Policy and Legislation

As asserted by Segatti and Landau (2011:9), some immigrant receiving countries like South and South East Asia have controversially built their national development strategies around migration. On the other hand, Southern Africa's national policies and regional initiatives remain marooned in an approach based on border control and national sovereignty. In this section further analysis of South African policy and legislation will be performed to ascertain how it has attempted to deal with immigration beyond just border control and management but also in spatial planning at all levels of government. Those policies that have or should have incorporated migration issues will be discussed.

5.6.1 White Paper on Housing (of 1994)

In its preamble the White Paper on housing (SA, 1994) acknowledges that housing the nation is one of the greatest challenges facing the government of South Africa. The White Paper goes on to highlight that the extent of the challenge derives not only from the enormous size of the housing backlog and the desperation and impatience of the homeless, but stems also from the extremely complicated bureaucratic, administrative, financial and institutional framework inherited from the previous government. The White Paper on Housing (SA, 1994) also proposes the partnership of the various tiers of government, the private

sector and the communities for the sustained delivery of housing. It requires all parties not only to argue for their rights but also to accept their respective responsibilities.

The White Paper on housing (SA, 1994) clarifies that the country faces serious housing challenges. One would state that this is one crucial area where a large influx of immigrants has a bearing. As highlighted in the previous chapter, immigrants are highly concentrated in informal housing which is a great challenge to urban and regional planning.

5.6.2 Housing Act (107 of 1997)

There is a housing backlog in South Africa such that a significant proportion of the population now lives in informal backyard shacks. The Housing Act 107 of 1997 (SA, 1997) was enacted to provide the facilitation of a sustainable housing development process to lay down the general principles applicable to housing development in all spheres of government and to define the functions of national, provincial and local governments in respect of housing development. The preamble of the Housing Act (SA, 1997) expresses how, in accordance with the Constitution of South Africa (SA, 1996) the state must take reasonable and other measures within its resources to meet everyone's right to housing.

The Housing Act (SA, 1997) outlines the duties of each level of government in the process of housing development. However, for the sake of this study the role of the local government will be stated as the study is confined to the micro level. Part Four of the Act stipulates the functions that the local government should fulfil in the provision of housing to everyone in accordance with the Bill of Rights. Section 1a (i) (SA, 1997) states that as part of its integrated development planning a municipality should ensure that the inhabitants of its area of jurisdiction have access to adequate housing on a progressive basis Section 1a (ii) (SA, 1997) also emphasises their role in ensuring healthy environments and safety of the inhabitants. Section 1a (iii) (SA, 1997) goes on to emphasise the responsibility of local authorities in providing amenities such as water, sanitation, electricity, roads, storm water drainage and transport.

Because in most cases neither local authorities, nor the provincial and national government have exact numbers of immigrants and only deal with estimates, it is highly likely that the housing backlog is going to take even longer to eradicate, owing to unrecorded people moving into the municipalities' jurisdiction. In addition some citizens rent out their houses to affording immigrants and move into informal housing themselves. Moreover as highlighted by Ndinda *et.al* (2006:75), South Africa has its own housing crisis and this cannot be

resolved in isolation to the housing problems of other groups within the cities. Hence, issues of refugee housing need to be integrated into South Africa's housing policy.

5.6.3 The Prevention of Illegal Eviction Act (19 of 1998)

The Prevention of Illegal Eviction (PIE Act 19 of 1998) (SA, 1998) provides for the prohibition of unlawful eviction of unlawful occupiers of land. It sets out procedural and functional requirements that must be satisfied before a court may grant an order to evict anyone occupying land illegally. The PIE Act applies to unlawful occupiers of land situated in both rural and urban areas. The law regulates whether the granting of an eviction order will be just and equitable and taking into consideration all the critical circumstances surrounding the people to be evicted. The law then decides what is considered to be relevant in each case. The Act stipulates that the rights and needs of the elderly, children, the disabled and households headed by a woman must be taken into consideration.

In this regard one can applaud the Act for protecting the poor and marginalised. As highlighted by McDonald (1998:451), many migrants in South Africa are in search of employment and housing in urban areas. This, he states, has the potential to add significant pressure on limited housing resources in South Africa. However, as propounded by the spatial assimilation model, immigrants' housing choices are usually in informal dwellings where they can afford. Even if the local municipalities can order their eviction, because doors are closed elsewhere and going back home is not an option, immigrants tend to disperse freely and invade other pieces of land. This leads to informal settlements being a perpetual challenge. Local authorities are often left perplexed as to what to do with unlawful occupiers of land who are not even legal at times or who are protected by laws such as the Refugee Act. Municipalities are then faced with the dilemma of enforcing legislation that reduces unlawful occupation yet they must provide amenities to communities irrespective of whether they are illegal or not (Du Plessis *et al*, 2003: 507).

5.6.4 White Paper on Local Government (1998)

The second section of the White Paper on Local Government (SA, 1998) and Chapter 7 section 153 of the South African Constitution (SA, 1996) make provision for developmental local government, which centres on working with local communities to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives. The White Paper on Local Government (SA, 1998) discusses four characteristics of developmental local government, namely:

- exercising municipal powers and functions in a manner which maximises their impact on social development and economic growth;
- playing an integrating and coordinating role to ensure alignment between public (including all spheres of government) and private investment within the municipal area;
- democratising development; and
- Building social capital through providing community leadership and vision, and seeking to empower marginalised and excluded groups within the community

The White Paper on local government (SA,1998) encourages local government to focus on realising developmental outcomes, such as the provision of household infrastructure and services; the creation of liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas; and the promotion of local economic development and community empowerment and redistribution. According to the White Paper on Local Government of 1998, Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) are crucial tools in assisting local governments in achieving these development outcomes as specified in the Constitution (DPLG, 2000:17).The success of any IDP thus depends on the extent to which it has assisted the local government to execute the following goals as described in Section 152(1) of the Constitution (SA, 1996b:51):

- Provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- Ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- Promote social and economic development;
- Promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- Encourage the involvement of communities and community organizations in the matters of local government.

According to the White Paper on Local Government, it establishes the basis for a new developmental local government system which is committed to working with citizens, groups and communities to create sustainable human settlements which provide a decent quality of life and meet the social, economic and material needs of communities in a holistic way. Section 3 outlines developmental local government characteristics which are:

- maximising social development
- integrating and coordinating

- democratising development
- Leading and learning

The White Paper on Local Government (SA, 1998) and the Municipal Systems Act (SA, 2000) clarify the use of integrated development planning as a method of achieving greater coordination and integration and is a powerful tool for municipalities to facilitate integrated and coordinated delivery within the locality. However, according to Landau *et al.* (2011:92) municipalities` IDPs reveal little mainstreaming of population dynamics into the planning process. In most cases demographics are mentioned as a background element not cited as a basis for development plans.

Moreover, the White Paper on Local Government Section C (SA, 1998) makes provision for cooperative government amongst all spheres of government. It situates local government within a system of cooperative government. It notes that, under the new Constitution, local government is a sphere of government in its own right and not a function of national or provincial government. While acknowledging that the system of intergovernmental relations requires further elaboration, the section provides a preliminary outline of the roles and responsibilities of national and provincial government with respect to local government.

The White Paper on Local Government (SA, 1998) also provides a summary of national departmental programmes which impact on local government, and notes that local government is increasingly being seen as a point of integration and coordination for the delivery of national programmes. However, amongst the national departmental programmes listed in the White Paper on Local Government (SA, 1998), neither the Home Affairs Department nor Statistics South Africa, are listed in the summary of national departmental programmes that impact on local government, and yet these have the most detail on immigrants. This clearly shows that international migration is omitted in most local government policies.

According to the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA 2011:17), constitutionally empowered to be a leading force for development, provincial and municipal authorities have nevertheless been wary of addressing population movements or acknowledging human mobility as a fundamental driver of or response to development. Rather than take a proactive approach that plans for mobility in all of its forms, South African local authorities have typically shied away from addressing concerns related to migration, including inter - group conflict, economic marginalisation and the inability to access suitable housing and services. This Consortium, CoRMSA (2011:17), further highlights that these are

concerns that directly affect the rights and welfare of both domestic and international migrants, who often struggle to find their way in a new location. Yet, failing to meet the very real challenges of domestic and international migration creates the risk of increasing conflict, violence, poverty and social exclusion, thus negatively affecting all urban residents.

5.6.5 The Local Government Municipal Systems Act (32 of 2000)

According to the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (SA, 2000) its aim is to seek to provide services to all people especially the poor and disadvantaged, but to be fundamentally developmental oriented. The Act also states that it will promote the active engagement of communities in the affairs of municipalities of which they are an integral part and in particular in planning, service delivery and performance management. Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 of this Act are of relevance to this study.

Chapter 2 Section 2 (b) (SA, 2000) states that a municipality consists of the political structures and administration of the municipality and the community of the municipality. Chapter 2 section 5 (1b) (i) (SA, 2000) states that members of the local community have a right to contribute to the decision making processes of the municipality. Since the Act does not make a distinction on the members of the community, it is safe to assume that this encompasses everyone and anyone under the jurisdiction of a municipality. Chapter 2 section 5 (f) (SA, 2000) goes on to state that everyone has a right to the use and enjoyment of public facilities and Chapter 2 section 5(g) (SA, 2000) states that everyone has to have access to municipal services which the municipality provides and this presumably includes immigrants.

According to Chapter 2 section 3 (c) (SA, 2000), the purpose of effective cooperative government, organised local government is to seek to find solutions to problems relating to local government generally. Since the immigrants bring both opportunities and challenges to local government the local municipalities have a task to find solutions. In Chapter 5 of the Municipal Systems Act (SA, 2000) there is provision of integrated development planning for municipalities. The Act stresses the issue of participatory planning as the core of the preparation of municipal IDPs especially of the marginalised groups. However, as highlighted previously, local municipalities have little knowledge of the numbers of immigrants who are a marginalised group themselves to even deal with the challenges they bring with them to the communities at which they arrive.

5.6.6 White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001)

According to the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (WPSLUMA) (SA, 2001), its broad objective is to facilitate allocation of land uses which provide the greatest sustainable benefits in order to promote the transition to a sustainable and integrated management of land resources. It aims to rationalise the existing excess of planning laws that will be applicable in each province in order to achieve the national objective of wise land use. The WPSLUMA proposes certain elements in the new system i.e. (SA, 2001):

- principles which will form the backbone of the new system with the aim to achieve sustainability, equality, efficiency, fairness and good governance in spatial planning and land use management,
- The emphasis on land use regulators such as municipalities and other authorities. It is proposed that municipalities be the most prevalent regulators responsible for decisions to do with spatial planning and land use management,
- IDP local spatial planning is encouraged, providing the minimum elements to be included in a Spatial Development Framework (SDF) as a step towards integrated and coordinated planning for sustainable and equitable growth and development,
- A uniform set of procedures for land development approval i.e. procedures for proposed development to be harmonised into one set for the whole country, thereby eliminating the situation whereby procedures are different in all provinces and zoning areas, and
- The minister to prescribe national planning frameworks around particular programmes or regions for the sustainable and equitable spatial planning pertaining to national priorities.

5.6.7 National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP of 2006 and 2010)

The National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) is a framework that encourages interaction and coordination between departments and spheres of government (SA, 2010). It provides a framework for deliberating the future development of the national space economy and recommends mechanisms to bring about optimum alignment between infrastructure investment and development programmes within the localities of the NSDP (2006: i). It is seen by government as a critical instrument for policy coordination, with regards to the spatial implications of infrastructure programmes in national, provincial and local spheres of government (Department of Water Affairs 2011:10). According to the NSDP, it provides a set

of principles and mechanisms for guiding infrastructure investment and development decisions. It also provides a description of spatial manifestations of the main social, economic and environmental trends that should form the basis of a shared understanding of the national space economy; and lastly it provides an interpretation of the spatial realities and the implications of government intervention.

According to the NSDP (SA 2006), different regions have different economic potential and the spatial variations in the incidence of poverty are also vastly different. The NSDP argues that these diverse and disparate spatial contexts suggest a policy approach that itself should be differentiated and conducive to the requirements of the different contexts. Hence, in areas of low or no economic potential, the path of development and poverty reduction should be through a focus on investment in human capital development.

According to the NSDP (SA 2006:16), it summarises the spatial reality through the provision of a snapshot of some recent demographic, settlement, environmental, economic and government investment trends. The NSDP is supposedly a planning guideline, yet in actual fact it does not address the spatial realities of international migration in the country but is limited to internal migration. The NSDP is supposed to be a major guideline for spatial planning plans and policies and because international migration is fast becoming a major aspect of the space economy it ought to be addressed in the NSDP.

5.6.8 The National Housing Code (2009)

The National Housing Code of 2009 is a policy initiative by the Department of Human Settlements (DHS). It sets out the underlying policy principles, guidelines, norms and standards which apply to the government's various housing assistance programmes introduced since 1994 (DHS 2009:9). Such National Housing Programmes include the Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP), Upgrading of Informal Settlements, and housing assistance in emergency circumstances, Institutional Subsidies and Individual subsidies amongst others. Each programme stipulates requirements that qualify anyone to receive housing assistance. It is in this regard that one is left to scrutinise how and if immigrants are a part of this national policy. The IRDP, Individual subsidy, Institutional Subsidies and the Rural Subsidy: Communal Land Rights, for example, stipulate that for entry into the programme one has to be lawfully resident in South Africa i.e. a citizen or a permanent resident. On the other hand, some of the National Housing Programmes such as the Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme and the Housing Assistance in Emergency Circumstances all consider illegal immigrants but only on conditions prescribed by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). One can ascertain that when it comes to immigrants,

national housing programmes in South Africa only recognise two types of migrants i.e. the permanent residents and the illegal immigrants. Other temporary residents who are also in very large numbers are not beneficiaries of these programmes. However since the considerations of illegal immigrants to receive assistance should be prescribed by the DHA first, they are likely not to apply for fear of deportation.

5.6.9 National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030 (of 2012)

In relation to this study, the chapter that is of paramount importance in the NDP is Chapter 8 which is on human settlements. The NDP specifies that by 2030 South Africa will no longer have poverty traps in rural areas and urban townships, sorcerers isolated on the periphery of cities and inner cities controlled by slumlords and crime. In addition, the NDP states that South Africa will no longer have a backlog in the provision of amenities such as water, sewers and roads. Moreover it states that there will no longer be exclusive enclaves of the rich, nor fearful immigrant communities living in confined spaces or rural communities dying.

The large influx of immigrants that South Africa receives is going to be a significant hindrance to this vision because immigrants tend to settle in the cheapest and accessible parts of urban areas, that of the inner city, and because they are protected by human rights laws little can be done by urban planning that will not pose as a threat to their humanity.

5.6.10 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act SPLUMA (16 of 2013)

The Spatial Planning and Management Act (SPLUMA 16 of 2013) regulates the provision of frameworks for spatial planning and land use management in South Africa (SA, 2013). In addition, it specifies the relationship between spatial planning and land use management system and other kinds of planning to provide for the inclusive, developmental, equitable and efficient spatial planning at different levels of government. From the preamble one can deduce that the Act aims to be a holistic approach to spatial planning and land use management. The preamble states that the Act was enacted to do away with spatial planning and land use laws and practices which were based on racial inequality, segregation and unsustainable settlement patterns. The objectives of the Act are to ensure that (SA, 2013):

- A uniform, recognisable and comprehensive system of spatial planning and land use management is established throughout the Republic to maintain economic unity, equal opportunity and equal access to government services;

- The system of spatial planning and land use management promotes social and economic inclusion;
- Principles, policies, directives and national norms and standards required to achieve important urban, rural, municipal, provincial, regional and national development goals and objectives through spatial planning and land use management to be established; and
- Procedures and institutions to facilitate and promote cooperative government and intergovernmental relations in respect of spatial development planning and land use management systems should be developed,

Since the SPLUMA is focused on the achievement of sustainable human settlements, notice should be given to how immigrants may contribute to unsustainable human settlements. After identifying most immigrant settlement patterns one is left to assume that they aggravate the problems of unsustainable human settlements since they usually settle in informal housing and inner cities which are a challenge to sustainability. Table 5.1 summarises some of the policies in South Africa that influenced migration to the country.

Table 5-1 Historical turning points of policies in South Africa that influenced migration

Year	Policy	Resultant effect on migration
1913	Immigration Regulation Act No 22	International migration into the then Union was minimal. Since the Act prohibited not only natives but most groups of immigrants deemed by the minister unsuitable to the requirements of the Union.
1923	The Native Urban Areas Act No 21 of 1923	Accompanied by pass laws which prevented settlement of African people in urban areas
1937	Aliens Act	Required employers who hired workers to comply with a complex registration approval procedure when hiring Aliens.
1945	Native Urban Areas Consolidating Act No 25 of 1945	Tightened influx control. Black Africans were restricted from moving into urban areas.
1986	Abolishment of the influx control	Africans were permitted into urban areas
1991	Aliens Control Act encompassing all provisions of legislation regarding admission and residence of	This involved controlling and deporting migrants. It was based on the 1913 Immigration Act and the 1937 Aliens Act. Restriction was mainly towards the African immigrants; thus

Year	Policy	Resultant effect on migration
	immigrants passed	immigration was still minimal.
1993	South African government signed an agreement with UNHCR to establish procedures for the determination of refugee status and to grant asylum to certain refugees	An influx of refugees was witnessed from war torn countries of Congo and also from Mozambique
1996	South Africa signed and ratified both the 1951 UN convention on refugees and the 1969 OAU convention regarding protection and treatment of asylum seekers and refugees	An increase in refugees into South Africa from SADC and beyond
1998	South African Government passed the Refugee Act No 135 of 1998	Recognising the issue of refugees as a national problem, South Africa embraced more refugees.
2002	Immigration Act No 13 of 2002 was passed by the South African Government	Sets the parameters of who should be admitted in the country and the duration of their stay. Aimed at limiting illegal migration however large flows of illegal immigrants into South Africa are still presumed.

Source: Own Deduction (2015)

As shown above the policy environment that existed from past to present has contributed in a large way to shaping international migration to South Africa and to the mining towns in particular. Some policies kept the immigration flows to a minimum with others opening the doors wider for immigrants. Examples would be policies passed during and before Apartheid which were largely restricting movements across borders into South Africa, whereas the ones after Apartheid were largely liberal when it came to allowing immigrants into the country.

5.7 The state of strategic planning in South Africa

It is vital to understand the planning realities first, so as to know how South Africa has dealt/not dealt with immigration and its effects. The state of planning in South Africa and how immigration may propound some of the challenges already faced in the country in both planning and policy context will be described.

According to the Draft Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF 2014:10), what characterises South Africa's cities and towns are the spatial legacy - that of sprawl, low densities, functional segregation between home and work and racial and class separations.

These in turn lead to high levels of inefficiency and wasteful use of scarce resources. In addition, concerning human settlements, the National Development Plan (NDP 2011:235) notes five main challenges which are:

- Dysfunctional settlement patterns across the country
- Challenges facing towns and cities
- Uncertain prospects of rural areas
- Challenges of providing housing and basic services and reactivating communities
- Weak spatial planning and governance capabilities

The NDP vision 2030 also states nine major planning challenges that are faced by South Africa, however this study will highlight those development challenges to which urban and regional planning could respond, and these are:

- Too few people work
- Infrastructure is poorly located, under-maintained and insufficient to foster higher growth
- Spatial patterns exclude the poor from the fruits of development
- The economy is overly and unsustainably resource intensive
- A widespread disease burden is compounded by a failing health system
- Public services are uneven and often of poor quality

According to the NDP (2011:238), one challenge facing towns and cities of South Africa is urbanisation though slower than in other parts of Africa. It is projected that another 7.8 million people will be living in South African cities by 2030 and a further 6 million by 2050, exerting pressure on municipalities to deliver services. Moreover, a large proportion of new urban residents will be poor, reflecting a phenomenon referred to as the urbanisation of poverty. One can establish that one of the major contributions to this urbanisation is international migration to South Africa.

5.8 International Policy approaches

It is necessary to highlight best practices from the international community so as to be able to learn and imitate such practices for further development in the area of concern. In this

section examples where planning policy has incorporated migration issues will be highlighted. Real life scenarios where planning and policy have incorporated international migration do exist. As asserted by Melde and Ionescu (2010:27), home and destination countries should mainstream migration respectively into development strategies. These may include National development Plans, Poverty reduction Strategy papers and National adaptation plans of action concerning climate change. This section will give two examples in brief from both ends of the world. The Bangladesh example will represent how international migration can be integrated into development strategies from a developing country's perspective at national government level. The Providence city will provide a good example of how local municipalities can plan for immigrants.

5.8.1 Bangladesh

An example from the developing immigrant receiving countries is worth mentioning. The South Asian countries are known to have mainstreamed international migration into their development strategies. According to Wickramasekara (2015:6) the South Asian countries have managed to use tools for mainstreaming migration. Some of the major tools used are the National Development Plans and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSPs).

These are a form of centralised planning and are ideal tools that can be used for highlighting migration into development agendas by a country. According to Wickramasekera (2015:6), although few countries adhere to centralised planning, national development plans can be used as a tool to integrate migration concerns. Most countries in the developing world are known to still use centralised planning thus national development plans are ideal to integrate migration issues.

Bangladesh is one South Asian country that has acknowledged the role of migration to the socio-economic development of Bangladesh and has made efforts to mainstream migration into its developmental processes Melde and Ionescu (2010:24). According to Wickramasekera (2015:11), Bangladesh is among the few developing countries that have successfully included migration into its national development planning. The Bangladesh 2013 national development plan recognises the role of migration in creating employment opportunities, reducing inter-regional disparities and raising status of women. In its 2005 PRSP document, Bangladesh mentioned a number of initiatives for providing services to migrants as part of its development strategy.

5.8.2 Providence, Rhode Island City

As they say, 'an example is worth a thousand words' incorporating migration into local planning is again possible. This can be well explained by using the Providence city in the USA example. The city participated in a project to demonstrate ways in which immigrant data could be used. In 2002 the Urban Institute worked with the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Providence Plan, a non-profit member of the Casey Foundation's Making Connections network, to develop a profile of immigrants in Providence, Rhode Island and surrounding communities, based on the census and a variety of other data sources. From the census data the Providence city was able to develop an immigrant profile. They profiled the immigrants according to country of origin, place of birth of immigrants coming during the 1990-2000 decade. More so, they were able to map settlements patterns of immigrants. They discovered that immigrant settlement patterns vary substantially with the country of birth, with immigrants likely to prefer certain settlements. For example the Portuguese in Providence were known to settle in the Northern and Eastern suburbs. The Latin Americans mostly lived in the Western and Southern parts of the city.

Thus, as highlighted in this example, the most important step when trying to find out the impacts immigration has on planning is to identify immigrant populations in the particular city. Planners and policy makers would develop an immigrant profile from the census data and other data sources like the population register. The local municipalities could then profile the immigrant characteristics, contributions and needs to identify the planning challenges they may pose.

5.9 Conclusion

In summation, one can therefore deduce that, the large influx of immigrants into South Africa is largely shaped by the regional and international policies of which it is a part. As noted by Freeman (2005:147), South Africa's first democratically elected president Nelson Mandela, set the bar very high. He was quoted as saying, "South Africa will not be indifferent to the rights of others". In addition he pledged and further stated that, "Human rights will be the light that guides our foreign affairs". This and what followed, i.e. the signing of treaties and protocols as part of regional integration led to high flows of immigrants into South Africa, especially after 1990. However, national initiatives are concentrated in how immigrants are to be admitted in the country and their periods of stay; not how and where they will live, which is often overlooked. Spatial planning and policy in South Africa does not address housing for immigrants and where the immigrants are mentioned it is vague. Planning policies should be integrated with population and immigration policies to better plan for

migrants. One can still presume that since the high influx of immigrants into South Africa is inevitable, it is now up to the Government, especially the local government, to plan for these large groups of people coming to reside in their local communities. The next chapter will form the research findings and analysis chapter.

CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDY AND FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the case study and findings chapter and aims to present the impact that immigrants have on urban planning, using the case studies of Rustenburg and Klerksdorp mining towns. This chapter determines how far the research findings support the research hypothesis or answer the research questions. Firstly the research methodology will be explained to put in context how the conclusions were arrived at. A brief background of the two towns will be given, drawing from their Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) to explore the challenges that they face and how immigration may/may not have propounded these. Furthermore, a presentation and analysis of the results from the surveys conducted with the respective local municipalities' officials to determine their views and experiences with international migration will be carried out. In addition, population statistics from the Statistics South Africa community survey of 2007 and the 2011 census will be used to determine the approximate number of immigrants each town receives. Furthermore, a SWOT Analysis will be drawn out from the responses obtained to summarise the various impacts of immigration on both towns. Both cities will be dealt with separately.

6.2 Research Methodology

Before presenting the results, the research methods that were mentioned in Chapter One will be explained in detail. A description of the research design, the data collection methods, the data analysis and the justification of each one of them will all be given. Criteria for studying the two mining towns were based on the fact that immigrants have been known to come to the mining towns to work in mines both before and even after Apartheid (See Table 4.1) and thus mining towns have been known to be major immigrant destinations and thus ideal case studies.

6.2.1 Methodological approach

The research took both a qualitative and quantitative approach (mixed methods) as highlighted by Duminy *et al* (2014:9). Quantitative data alone are not enough for the purposes of revitalising the field of planning thought and praxis; there is thus a use of mixed methods. The reason for this, that both quantitative and qualitative data will augment the other census data, was used to derive the estimates of international migrants to the North West Province (NWP) and to understand the patterns of immigration unfolding in the province. However, the census data for international migrants was only available at

provincial level and was not available at local level, so qualitative data from the service providers themselves were necessary.

6.2.2 Research Design/Strategy

The research is a case study on the two mining cities of Rustenburg and Klerksdorp in the NWP. According to Patton (1990:554) a specific case may be purposefully selected as it might be information rich or unique. This was the case when selecting the mining cities for this research. The two cities were selected also basing on the fact that both are intermediate cities with a long history of mining thus likely places to be immigrant destinations. Intermediate cities are emerging to be the major immigrant gateways (See Section 3.3.1). More over their proximity of the cities to neighbouring countries was another reason they were ideal for this research. The case study strategy was advantageous because it is a holistic approach to collect data and analysis. The case study research strategy was best for putting the problem of immigration on town planning into context.

6.2.3 Data Collection

This section discusses the research tools/instruments that were employed in conducting the research of the two mining cities. Both primary and secondary data were used in this study. The primary data was collected from the local municipality officials and they were purposefully selected. In addition the secondary data was the national immigration data from the Statistics South Africa and other data from different policies.

Respondents to the questionnaires were purposefully selected from relevant departments of each local municipality. Questionnaires were distributed in different departments namely, the Town planning, Human Settlements and Housing and Local Economic Development departments. The interviewees were selected on their ability to provide subjective answers to the questions asked. Thus, the target was on the professional urban and regional planners in the various departments who have first-hand information on planning for immigrants if any is performed. The method of survey used in this study was by means of a questionnaire. Questionnaires were both open ended and close ended. Close ended questions are more quantitative in nature whereas the open ended are more qualitative in nature. This study made use of the open ended one and this was done by providing a suggestion of possible answers and then providing an open space in case the respondent has their own opinion on the matter.

Since there are no available community surveys as yet of the number of international migrants at local municipality level in South Africa, the study is based mainly on narrative

information obtained from respondents through questionnaires. The study therefore adopted mainly a qualitative research approach. The study also draws on statistical and other written evidence such as the Statistic South Africa, government policies and the increasing housing research literature on South Africa. The findings and the accompanying discussions form the foundation upon which conclusions and recommendations of the study will be based.

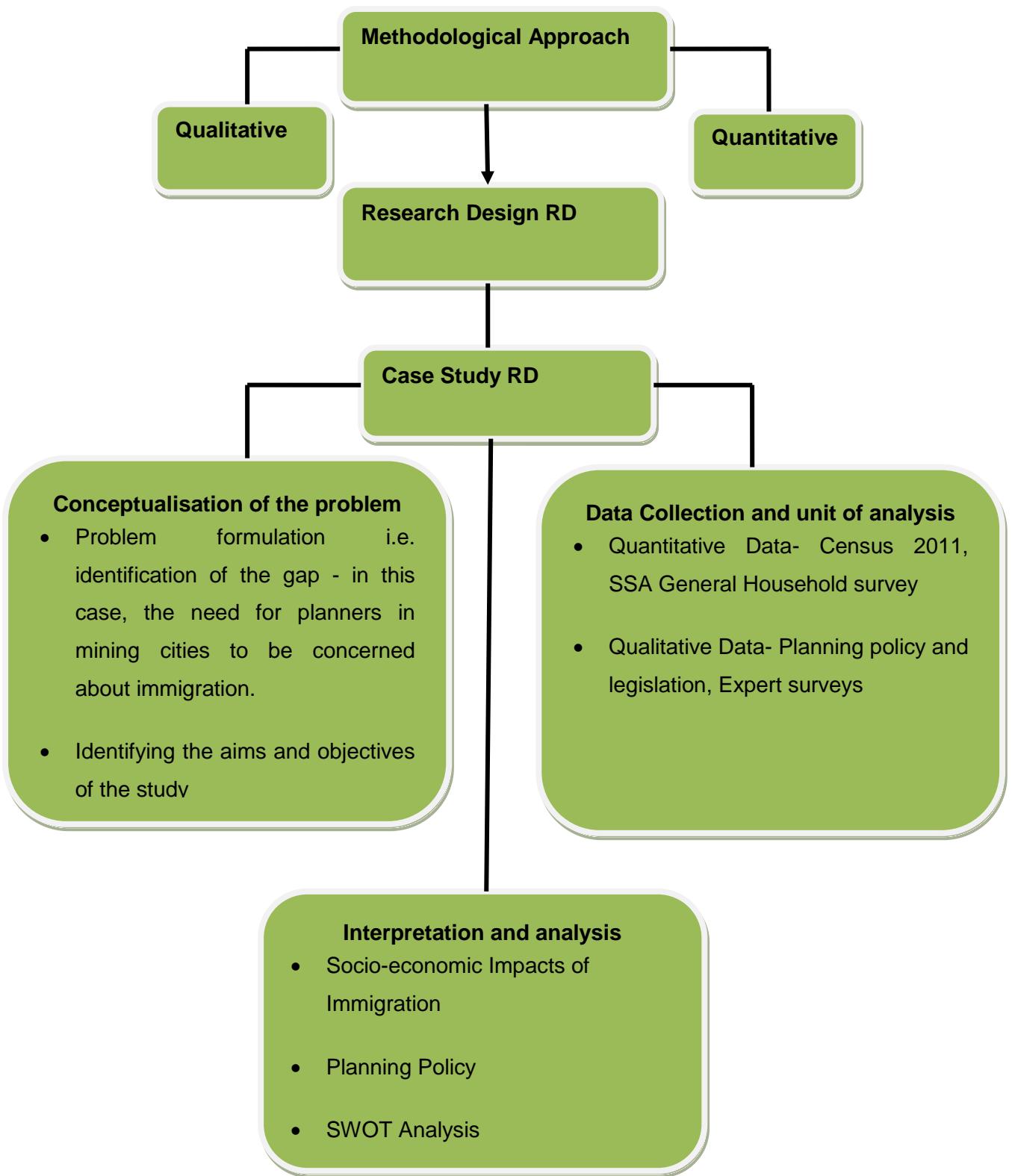


Figure 6-1 Summary of the Research Methodology Research Methodology

Source: Own Construction (2015)

Figure 6.1 above provides a summary of the research methodology that was used in this study.

6.3 Immigration patterns in South Africa

To understand the impact that immigrants have on the planning of mining towns in the North West province, one has to highlight the broader profile of the country as a whole, then that of the province and finally that of the two cities under study. South Africa is one country of the global South known to be a major migration hub in the SADC and even the whole of Africa. According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA 2013), in 2013 the number of immigrants born in the South who lived in the North almost equalled the number of migrants born in the South who resided in the South. Despite being a middle-income country, South Africa faces challenges with unemployment, service delivery, poverty and economic inequality, which puts refugees, asylum-seekers and other immigrants in competition with host populations.

6.3.1 International migrants in South Africa

In 2014 the Department of Home Affairs estimated the number of asylum seekers and refugees alone to reach 367, 300. The Statistics South Africa's 2011 census estimated about 2.2 million foreigners to be living in South Africa. Their 2015 estimate places the number of undocumented migrants between 500, 000 and one million. Although just a small percentage of the total population, their effects are overwhelming, especially at local government level. As witnessed by service protests around the municipalities, which the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) believes, are not only as a result of failure by the municipalities but by international migration as well. As the SALGA (2011) states, "Service delivery protests cannot be attributable solely to the lack of delivery of basic services by municipalities; the developmental role of local government is complicated by migration flows across South Africa and the uncertainties associated with it". According to the Stats SA community survey (2007) most Local Municipalities improved but nonetheless service protests continued. According to the SALGA (2011) as people move into various localities they demand more services which the municipality did not plan for. For example, the more people move into an area the more the need for accommodation which is often unavailable or expensive. People will then evade municipal land and build shacks regardless of what the land was initially demarcated for. This results in the mushrooming of informal settlements and unending backlogs, which as a result undermine municipal performance.

6.3.2 Net immigration

Net immigration to a place also says more on the eventual implications immigration has on that particular place. Net immigration is defined by the Migration Observatory (2015) as the

amount by which the number of immigrants is greater than the number of emigrants. Table 6.1 below shows the net immigration in South Africa compared with the other major immigrant destination countries. As shown in the table below during the decade between 2000 and 2010 the number of emigrants fell, leaving a net immigration of 247,000 which saw South Africa up the ladder of countries with a high net immigration.

Table 6-1 Net Immigration Countries or Areas (in thousands)

Numbers in ('000s)				
Rank	Country/Area	1990-2000	Country/Area	2000-2010
1	USA	1292	USA	1055
2	Russian Federation	453	Spain	508
3	Germany	407	UAE	468
4	Afghanistan	264	Russian Fed	389
5	Canada	146	Italy	376
6	Spain	112	South Africa	247
7	Ethiopia	99	Saudi Arabia	235
8	South Africa	96	Canada	228
9	Australia	87	United Kingdom	181
10	UAE	79	Australia	181

Source UNDESA, Population Division 2013. World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision, DVD Edition

As shown above the net immigration for South Africa has more than doubled between the two decades. This implies that South Africa receives many more immigrants than it lets out emigrants. Between the two decades South Africa has more than doubled in its net immigration.

6.3.3 International migrant stock

According to the World Bank (2015), International migrant stock is the number of people born in a country other than that in which they live. It also includes refugees. The data used to estimate the international migrant stock at a particular time are obtained mainly from population censuses. As shown in map 6.1, the South African international migrant stock increased by more than 50% between 2000 and 2013. This implies that South Africa is amongst the countries that has a high immigrant stock in the world.

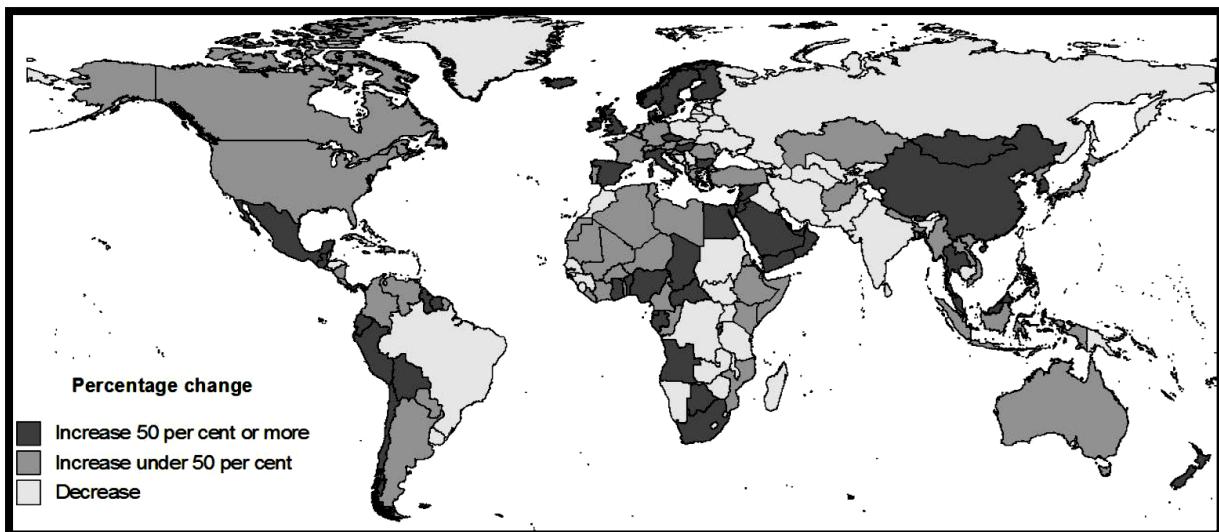


Figure 6-2 World map showing change in the international migrant stock 2000-2013 (percentages)

Source: United Nations Population Division (2013), Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision.

The map above shows that not only South Africa is the developing country that has had an increase in immigrant stock but also the larger developing world. The map above clearly shows that unlike previously presumed, that international migration is highly towards the developed world, in recent years immigrants have also gravitated towards developing countries. As shown, developing regions of the world have had their share of large increases of international migrant stocks; the larger increases were in countries like Mexico, Chile, Peru, Botswana, Angola, Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, China and Mongolia which all fall under the developing countries. Thus one can agree with scholars who say that international migration flows are now taking a South to South turn unlike the previously common South to North flows (see 2.6.2).

6.4 Limitations in immigration data

Sound planning at any level requires population projections that are highly objective and which are based on actual movements. However, data available to the local municipalities is usually in estimates and often unreliable. As asserted by Landau *et al* (2011:7) in South Africa municipalities do not have units or even staff dedicated to collecting and managing data. Moreover they state that outside the major metropolitans, authorities typically rely on scanty, incomplete, inaccurate, outdated and decontextualized population information. Rustenburg and Klerksdorp typically suffer from this lack of data on international migrants in their jurisdictions which makes it difficult or nearly impossible to project their future inflows

for planning and budgeting purposes. Statistics South Africa (SSA), being the most common source of data, is disadvantageous in so many ways. As highlighted by Landau *et al* (2011:7) the data from SSA is often outdated, inaccurate and misleading.

6.5 North West Province (NWP)

6.5.1 Spatial Orientation

The history of immigration to South Africa is largely shaped by the need for labour in different sectors but mostly in the larger sectors of mining and agriculture. Thus the case study of the North West Province seemed ideal when it came to this study, knowing that mining is the major economic activity in the province as well as agriculture.

The North West Province is the province in which both mining towns are found. Rustenburg is located in the Bojanala District municipality which is largely a platinum district and Klerksdorp is located in the Dr Kenneth Kaunda District Municipality. Figure 6.2 above shows the map for the NWP and its four District Municipalities.

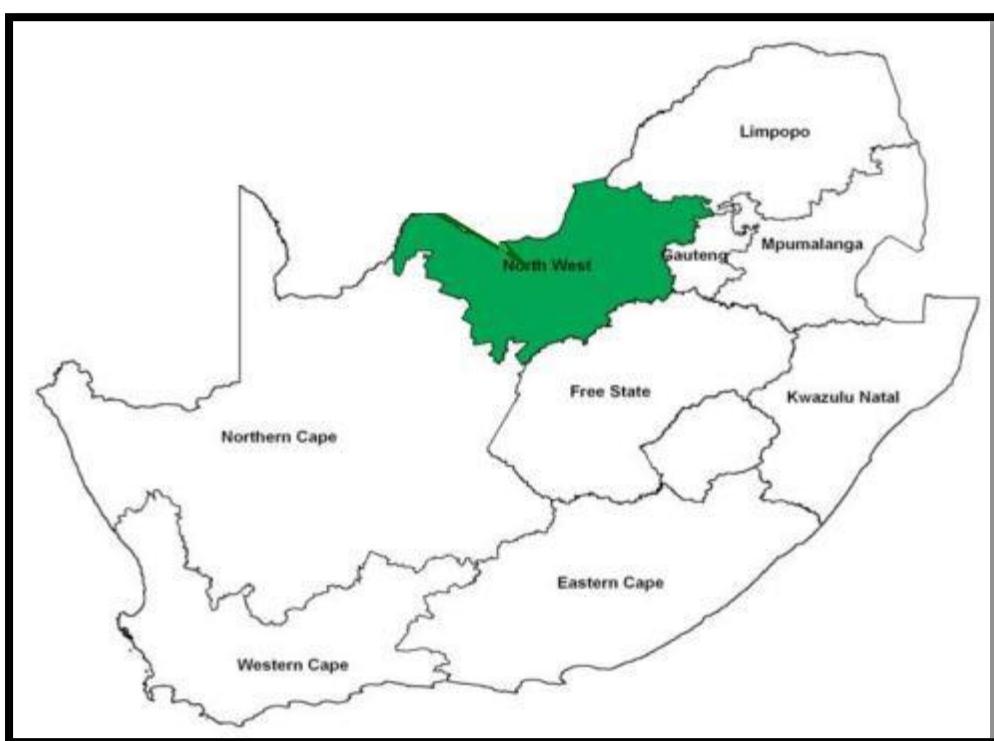


Figure 6-3 Map of North West Province

Source: DWAF (2012:293)

The NWP of South Africa is bordered by the provinces of Gauteng, Limpopo, Northern Cape, Free State and the Republic of Botswana, North West Spatial Development Framework (NWSDF 2014:3). It is the sixth largest of the nine provinces and has a population of about

3.51 million in accordance with the census of 2011. Spatially, the province is divided into four District Municipalities and 21 Local Municipalities. Outside the mining and minerals sector, private sector production activity is mostly limited to agriculture and food production. Water is a scarce natural resource and is often the limiting factor for development. This section will present the migrant patterns into the NWP based on the statistics from the 2011 census. The data will be presented in these different categories; patterns of migration into the NWP by place of previous residence (Figure 6.3) and by place of birth (Table 6.2) and finally province of usual residence by citizenship (Table 6.3). It is important to note that the provincial level is the lowest level of government in which international migration trends can be found. Currently in South Africa data of international migration at local municipality level is nearly non-existent.

Although it is not the major international migrant receiving province in South Africa the NWP has had a share of its migrants coming from outside the country. As highlighted by the SSA (2011:27) the highest inflow to the North West came from outside South Africa (about 28% of all inflow) as shown in the figure 6.3 below. The reasons for this being that, most international migrants are labour migrants who come to the province to seek employment in the mining sector which is the main economic activity in the province. International labour migration has played a fundamental role in the history and economic development of South Africa. As previously mentioned in the previous chapters, the mining and agricultural industries have been known to depend on migrant labour, thus the resultant large inflows to the mining cities of the North West Province.

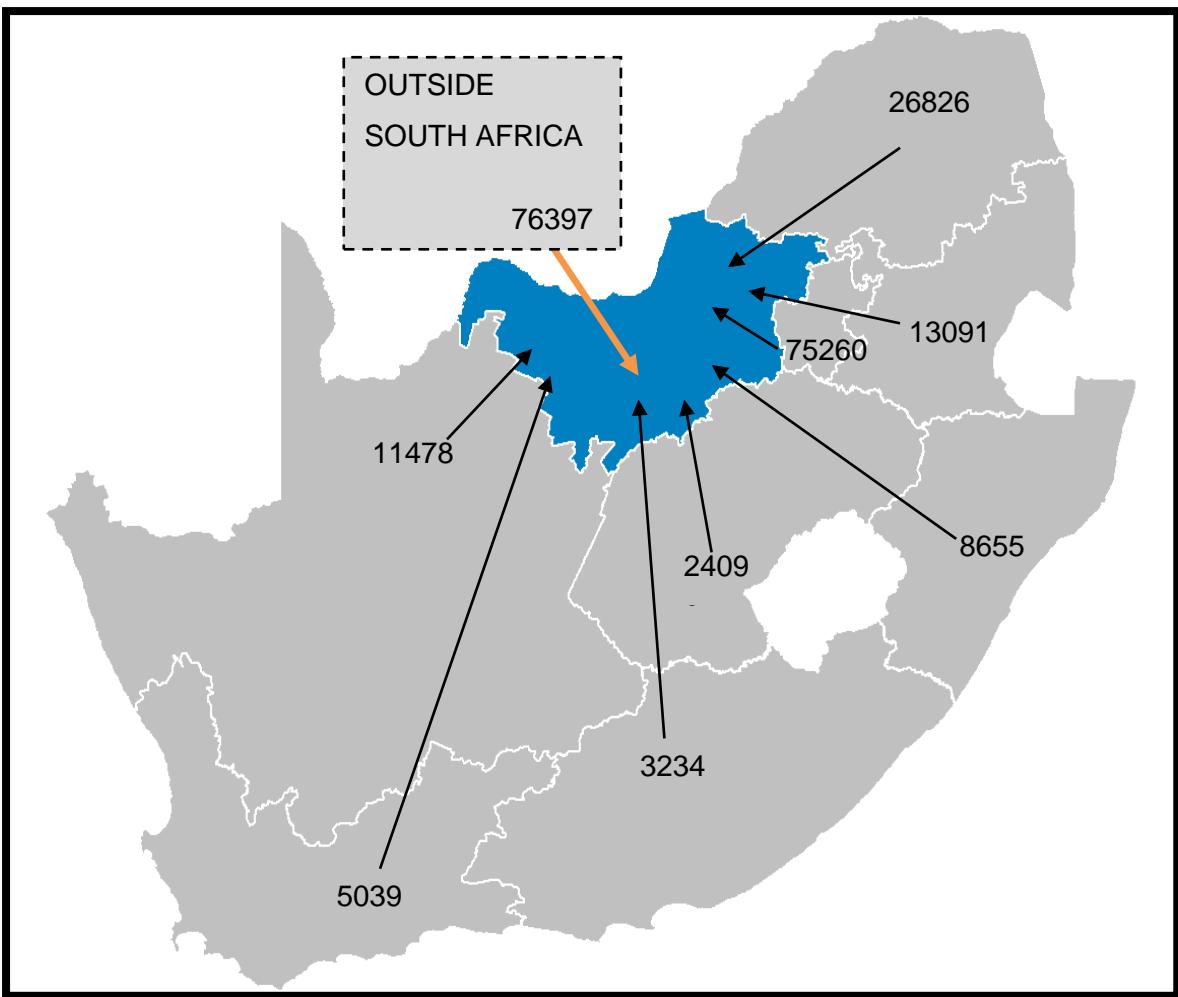


Figure 6-4 Map showing number of migrants to the North West by province of previous residence

Source: Own Construction (2015) figures from SSA (2011:26)

In addition, the SSA (2011:28) classified the number of immigrants in particular provinces by place of birth against place of usual residence. This gave the number of immigrants in the North West Province as 148,948 as shown in table 6.2 below. These are the figures of migrants who reside in the NWP but were born outside the country.

Table 6-2: Province of Birth by province of usual residence

Province of Birth	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Northern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu Natal	North West	Gauteng	Mpumalanga	Limpopo
Outside South Africa	255371	74220	19345	66932	165622	148948	1109745	150036	161425

Source: Own Construction 2015 Figures from SSA (2011:28)

In addition, the migrant patterns into the NWP were classified according to citizenship; the North West Province had the second highest percentage of non-citizens (3.5%) after Gauteng province according to SSA (2011:29) as shown in table 6.3 below.

Table 6-3: Province of usual residence by citizenship

Province of usual residence	Citizenship				Numbers
	SA citizens	Non-citizens	Unspecified	Total	
Western Cape	96,0	3,2	0,9	100,0	5 650 462
Eastern Cape	98,4	0,9	0,7	100,0	6 437 586
Northern Cape	98,8	0,9	0,4	100,0	1 125 306
Free State	97,8	1,9	0,4	100,0	2 663 080
KwaZulu-Natal	98,1	1,1	0,8	100,0	10 113 978
North West	95,9	3,5	0,5	100,0	3 439 700
Gauteng	91,9	7,1	1,0	100,0	11 952 392
Mpumalanga	96,8	2,6	0,6	100,0	3 983 570
Limpopo	96,9	2,6	0,5	100,0	5 322 134

Source: SSA (2011:26)

According to the North West Province Development Plan (NWPDP: 2013:21) however, the migration reality in the North West province includes negative impacts such as an increased development burden and the gain of numerous lower skilled, low-income, non-entrepreneurial migrants. These have developmental implications on the province as a whole, for example, as asserted by the NWPDP (2013:22) an extra developmental burden is created for the province owing to the fact that migrants who are entering the province are less skilled and poorer than those leaving the province. According to the NWPDP, the NWP as a whole has had a positive net migration in recent years and according to the 2011 census 31,722 more people migrated to the NWP than from the province.

6.5.2 Housing and infrastructure planning

According to Phago (2010:191), South Africa and many other developing countries throughout the world are facing serious public housing challenges. As highlighted previously, one major area that immigrants have a bearing on is housing and infrastructure. The researcher first looked at the national level and statistics from the general household survey

will be used. According to the general household survey SSA (2013:12) between 2002 and 2013 the percentage of households that lived in formal dwellings and whose dwellings were fully owned increased from 52.9 % to 54.9 %. It is worth noting what the general provision of housing in the North West Province is like. According to the Statistics SA General Household survey of 2014, the North West Province had the highest number of households living in informal settlements with a percentage of 21 which was above the national average of 12.9%. Both Rustenburg and Klerksdorp have a large share of informal settlements. According to Hartford (2013) some of the reasons for mining strikes were not only socio-economic drivers but also appalling housing conditions of migrant miners. Using this as a point of departure, one is to analyse how the housing provision is affected by the large influx of immigrants.

According to Van Der Merwe (2014), during the budget debates, Human Settlements Minister Lindiwe Sisulu admitted that the delivery of housing in all South African provinces was a massive problem and that it had dropped drastically. As further highlighted by Davis (2014), the problem is that too many people are moving to South African cities, and there is not enough land available for them. According to the HDA (2013:14), census data indicates that the number of households living in shacks, not in backyards, has increased in the North West. Together, shacks in backyards and shacks not in backyards accommodate 21% of all households in the Province. It is worth noting however, that both municipalities are recipients of the presidential package given to distressed mining towns to help fast track programmes in the mining towns, states Matlosana IDP Review (2014/15:18). The Presidential Package⁴ is aimed at the revitalisation of mining communities in distress.

6.6 Matlosana Local municipality and Rustenburg Local municipality: Case study

6.6.1 Background

Figures 6.4 and 6.5 below show the maps for Matlosana local municipality and the Rustenburg local municipality respectively. A description of each of the municipalities will be provided before presenting the findings from the research.

⁴ A special presidential package passed by the Presidency in 2012 designed to improve the living conditions in and around mining towns.



Figure 6-5 Map of Matlosana

Source: The Local Government Handbook: (2015)

Since the study is on planning challenges that are owing to immigration at the local level, it is necessary to first understand the current outlook of the city in terms of its history and socio-economic context. The Klerksdorp city area consists of urban settlements of Klerksdorp, Orkney, Jourberton, Buffelsfontein and Stillfontein with their associated settlements/townships and falls under the management of the City of Matlosana Local Municipality which is in the Kenneth Kaunda District Municipality in the North West province (Department of Water Affairs 2011:vii). The Klerksdorp city area has a visible Central Business District (CBD) and is surrounded by relatively open spaced urban free-standing housing and extensive lower income housing. It is largely formally laid out and there is evidence of informal dwellings on the fringes.

Klerksdorp is situated approximately 164km South West of Johannesburg on the N12 highway (Matlosana IDP 2011). The municipality was classified as a category B municipality by the Municipality Demarcation Board in terms of section 4 of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act of 1998. The area has strong physical and socio-economic linkages and economic interactions with Gauteng as well as other towns like Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Welcome, Ventersdorp, Wolmaranstand and Ottosdal. According to Marais

(2014:9), the Matlosana Local Municipality's total population is just under 400 000. According to Marias (2014:9), Klerksdorp originally developed as a rural service centre and mining activities only began in the early 1900s and later these gave birth to Orkney, Stillfontein and Hartbeesfontein. However, because of the mine downscaling between 1996 and 2011 there was a decline of its economy by 2.9% and this also led to unemployment.

According to the South African Cities Network (2014:24), throughout the Matlosana a large number of businesses and retail activities exist on residential stands or on properties where the activity is in conflict with the zoning of properties. According to the South African Cities Network (2014:26), business compositions have transformed as well, with many former Indian traders being replaced by foreigners who have opened low order businesses in the city. The highest concentration of these informal traders is found in the CBD. According to the South African Cities Network Report (2014:28), although the local municipality has implemented initiatives to formally accommodate the informal business sector in rental stalls in approved locations in the CBD, the initiatives have been inadequate. This seems so because many of the informal traders are still trading in an informal manner around the city.



Figure 6-6 Map of Rustenburg

Source: The Local Government Handbook: (2015)

According to the Rustenburg Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan (2012: i), the Rustenburg LM is located in the eastern parts of the North West Province. It is also

accessible to a number of major South African urban centres. These include Johannesburg and Pretoria, which are located approximately 120km from Rustenburg. Smaller towns that surround Rustenburg include Madibeng, Mogale City and Zeerust. Rustenburg is linked to these urban centres by an extensive regional road network. RLM is one of the five municipalities in Bojanala District Municipality in the North West Province. It is a secondary city and as highlighted by the Department of Economic Development (2013:1) the international spotlight today is on secondary cities because they have the fastest population and economic growth. So is the case of RLM.

According to the Rustenburg Local Municipality IDP Review (2014/15), Rustenburg LM has a population of approximately 475 232. Rustenburg is the most populous city in the NWP and is one of the fastest growing municipalities in South Africa. Rustenburg has reported a growth rate of 3.9% in 2010 against a national average of 2.8% owing to the two platinum booms since 2008 according to Young (2013). Rustenburg LM's major economic activity is mining for it is rich in platinum and other minerals. According to the Rustenburg Local Municipality IDP Review (2014/15:i) the mining sector provides around 50% of all formal employment.

6.6.2 Challenges facing Matlosana LM and Rustenburg LM

Using their IDPs to identify the challenges already faced by the local municipality is essential as the IDP entail views from diverse perspectives i.e. different stakeholders whose inputs make up the IDP. According to the Matlosana IDP review (2014/15:116) some of the challenges faced by the local municipality include: The ever- rising housing backlog, lack of suitable land for human settlement development, blocked housing projects, abandoned RDP houses owing to closure of mines and illegal occupation of land and RDP houses.

On reviewing the impacts that immigrants have on the planning of RLM, it is essential to first highlight the city's weaknesses according to its IDP, mainly because these bring out perceptions of various stakeholders through stakeholder meetings that are held as part of the IDP process and these provide valuable inputs on the existing conditions facing the local municipality. According to its 2014/15 IDP Draft some of the challenges/weaknesses faced by the local municipality are summarised below:

- Influx of people (uncontrolled)
- Vulnerable economy dependent on the mining industry
- Strikes surrounding the mining industry cause uncertainty to investors

- Most mining employees are faced with retrenchments.

As these are some of the weaknesses that the municipality already faces, one is left to highlight and analyse how the influx of immigrants in the city may have exacerbated these already existing problems. The responses from the municipal officials examined against these weaknesses will provide a clear picture on the effects that immigrants have on planning.

6.6.3 Responses to questionnaires

Between them, the municipalities have eight departments from which the responses that follow were derived. These are the Strategic Planning, Monitoring and Control, Macro City Planning, Environmental Services and the Civil Services and Human Settlements departments respective of Matlosana LM. From Rustenburg Local Municipality responses were obtained from the Community Development, Local Economic Development, Planning and Human Settlements and the Technical and Infrastructure departments. Though the departments go by different names, they all one way or the other proffered information that was important in this particular study. As previously highlighted, there are currently no data on the international migrants in local municipalities only at provincial level and national level. Thus the responses are presented in a descriptive manner.

The responses are consistent with the study objectives and will be grouped in these broad sections:

- Housing and Infrastructure planning,
- Immigrants and sustainable development,
- Immigrants and Local Economic Development (LED), and
- Local government responses to immigration.

6.6.3.1 Housing and infrastructure planning

One of the objectives of this study was to find out where most immigrants are accommodated so as to understand their settlement patterns and more so to determine the effects their influx might have on public services and amenities. This section will answer the questions where most immigrants reside in the city, the type of accommodation with which they are most associated and the challenges to housing and infrastructure planning that they pose.

The responses will be highlighted below.

6.6.3.2 Housing preferences of immigrants

According to the responses, the housing preferences of immigrants in Matlosana are mainly in the form of formal housing and usually in the form of rented apartments. However, most immigrants who own businesses in the CBD have turned their shops into their residence as well. In addition some immigrants rent out backyard shacks.

According to the responses the choices of immigrant housing have their implications on town planning. According to the officials at Matlosana LM, this leads to informality, overcrowding and housing shortages. Informality occurs in the form of backyard shacks which landlords build to rent out to immigrants especially the low income ones. In addition informality is owing to informal businesses owned by most immigrants. This becomes a challenge to town planning. Moreover the officials saw the choices of immigrants housing as leading to overcrowding, because when immigrants first arrive they usually stay with fellow immigrants until they find a place of their own. However this leads to too many people per room, thus leading to overcrowding. Moreover the planners believe the choices of immigrants housing worsen the shortages of housing in the city.

The major area that the influx of people has a bearing on is housing and infrastructure planning, because on arrival in any place the major concern is a place to stay, so housing is a major area to look into when trying to come up with the effects immigrants may have on the planning of any host city. As shown in the fig 6.6 below, Rustenburg already faces a housing backlog which has been steadily increasing over the years.

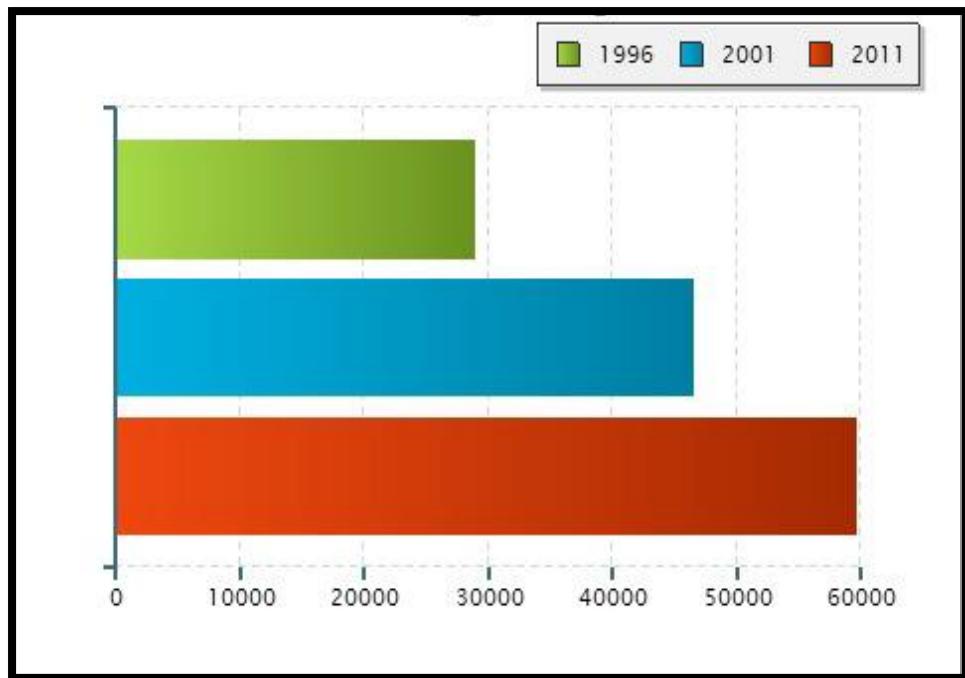


Figure 6-7 Housing Backlog in RLM 1996-2011

Source: **Housing Development Agency (2013:9)**

The case in Rustenburg is slightly different from that of Klerksdorp. According to the responses concerning housing for immigrants, most immigrants settle in informal settlements and mostly in shacks; not on stands. This has led to overcrowding and increased the problem of informality in the city. This has thus worsened some of the problems the city faces, for example as stated, these trends have put a strain on land that needs to be developed as formal townships. According to Tshikotshi (2009:68), informal settlements within the RLM have developed around mining activities and are often located along the mining belts.

As asserted by Landau *et al* (2011:7) the major challenge to local governments if they are to address migration and other developmental challenges is that they have little knowledge about the people living in their cities. One can therefore construe that local authorities already suffer because of this lack of knowledge. Historically in South Africa, for example, authorities knew where immigrants settled e.g. in enclaves and townships with regards to African immigrants, that is, as symbolised by the Apartheid City Model. This was because of the Group Areas laws that were present at that time. Today immigrants disperse freely on arrival, making it difficult for authorities to identify who is staying where. This thus poses a challenge if planners are to map immigrant settlement patterns.

6.6.3.3 Immigrants and sustainable development

In Klerksdorp the influx of immigrants has affected sustainable development in a negative way. According to the responses, owing to the backyard structures, for example, in which most immigrants are housed sustainable development is affected negatively. The backyard structures are built without council approval and most of them do not meet/comply with the National Building Regulation Development parameters as specified in terms of the Land Use Scheme. Moreover immigrants create unsustainable jobs through their informal businesses which are not recognised by the government and most are not licenced; thus no tax revenue is obtained from them.

The responses in Rustenburg regarding how immigrants have contributed to sustainable development were that immigrants have contributed in a negative way. According to the responses the immigrants put the local municipality under more strain by providing basic services for them which were originally unplanned for.

6.6.3.4 Immigrants and local economic development (LED)

In response to how immigrants have contributed to LED in the city of Matlosana, the officials highlighted that they contributed both positively and negatively. Creation of jobs is one area of LED and immigrants contribute in a positive way through their informal business sector which has grown substantially and has managed to create employment. In addition, most immigrants are business-minded and have managed to create employment for a vast amount of locals.

Bearing in mind that LED includes the local municipality, they are developing an LED Strategy in an attempt to create a suitable environment for investment. This is carried out through the provision of infrastructure and quality services. In Rustenburg, regarding the responses as to whether immigrants have a positive or negative impact on LED, the responses indicated that they have a negative impact. However, they noted that most immigrants in Rustenburg were skilled employees although most were in the informal sector.

As highlighted in the Rustenburg Local Municipality IDP Review (2014/15) all wards within RLM are already facing challenges when it comes to LED. For example, there are high unemployment rates especially amongst the youth and the local municipality is flooded with unsustainable jobs i.e. which are there today and absent tomorrow. In relation to immigrants contributing to this, one should not neglect the fact that there is a positive correlation with migration and development in general. However in this case, according to the findings, many immigrants are operating unlicensed or unapproved small businesses which are not

recognised by the government. These in turn are not sustainable enough as they have no guarantee of future operations.

6.6.3.5 Local Authority and immigration

- Obligation towards planning for immigrants

In response to whether they feel local municipalities should be tasked to deal with immigration and its effects on town planning and development, the officials at Matlosana LM were in support of local government to be tasked to deal with it. This is mainly because the immigrants need services that are provided for by the local government to get by and thus increase demand in service provision. Moreover they feel that local government should be part of policies and regulations with regard to migration. However they stated that the policing agents i.e. Department of Home Affairs and the South African Police Service (SAPS) should tighten control and ensure they keep records of all immigrants.

In Rustenburg as well the response to whether the planners should be left to plan for immigrants was affirmative. The officials believed the LM should plan for immigrants mainly because they find the immigrants consuming the very same services of which they were not part in the first place. For example, as stated in the responses, some landowners apply for businesses e.g. tuck shops or taverns and when site inspections are performed, one discovers that they are operated by immigrants; thus leaving no control over the immigrant who will just be renting. In addition, according to the responses, they should be left to deal with immigration but only when there are supporting policies. This way the immigrants can contribute positively to the local economy through taxes and rates.

- Obstacles in dealing with immigration

However, in dealing with immigration at the local government level, the officials at Matlosana LM noted some potential obstacles. They stated that the major challenge were that policies and legislation are often not specific about planning for immigrants. One can say that there are inconsistencies when it comes to policies and legislation as they do not specify the position of the local government in dealing with immigration issues. For example, as proven by some of the responses, they feel the SAPS and Home Affairs Department are fully responsible for immigrants, yet being closer to the people and having full responsibility for the provision of the services that enable immigrants to make it anywhere, local government should be atop policy making that relates to immigration.

On the other hand, regarding the responses of the officials in Rustenburg LM as to what major obstacles they found in dealing with immigration effects, the responses were that policies and legislation were unclear; immigrants and citizens' 'attitudes and the unknown numbers of the immigrants were all obstacles faced. For instance, the attitudes of both citizens and immigrants are a major obstacle when it comes to dealing with immigration effects. Although the developmental role of immigrants could be realised, it is worth mentioning that the citizens' attitudes are such that they view immigrants as stealing their jobs and ruining their economy as proven by xenophobic attacks around the country. According to the natives the presence of immigrants leads to a loss of jobs, a heavy burden on the government, social tension and increased criminality. In addition, service protests and strikes are not entirely blamed on service providers but on migrants as well. Hartford (2013:1) argues that at the heart of the strikes apparent in the mining industry, the migrant labour system, especially their housing conditions, have led to an economic burden.

- Mechanisms to evaluate the impact of immigrants

In response to whether there were any mechanisms to evaluate the impacts that immigrants have, the Matlosana LM officials responded that there were no such mechanisms as yet, mainly because the exact numbers of immigrants are not known and worse still, most of the immigrants are illegal and are thus evasive with regards to any information about them. Moreover there are no policies that directly entrust the local municipalities with the task to make impact assessments at local level.

In Rustenburg LM, regarding the responses as to whether there are any mechanisms, the officials responded that there were no such mechanisms at the local municipality to evaluate the impacts of immigrants.

- Dealing with town planning dilemmas

Another area of interest was what the Matlosana LM should do to deal with town planning dilemmas that they said were brought about by immigrants. According to the responses, the officials suggested that, as local government, they should develop by laws in line with national policies to deal with immigration and its challenges. Moreover they stated that increasing the capacity of bulk services so as to cope with the increasing influx could also help mitigate the direct effect brought about by these unplanned influxes of immigrants.

According to the responses from the Rustenburg LM, the officials suggested that cities and towns can best respond to the dilemmas by having by laws in place with regards to immigrants and landownership so to allow them to conduct businesses in a legal manner.

6.7 SWOT analysis

The Strengths Weaknesses Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) Framework⁵ is based on the responses provided by the municipal officials and from other secondary data. The various impacts of immigration on the planning of the two cities will be analysed in the context of a migration SWOT Framework. Each unit of analysis will be tackled separately. First, a table showing a summary of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats is presented and then an analysis is made from the variables.

Table 6-4 SWOT Framework- LED

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
Economic Growth	Transfer Abroad
Entrepreneurship	
SMMES	
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
International relations	Rise of informal economy (informality)
Export promotion/outward looking development	
New markets	

Source: Own Construction (2015)

One major area that the research questions aimed to answer was how immigration has contributed or not to LED. In accordance with Section 26 of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act of 2000 every municipal IDP has to have an LED strategy. LED involves creating a convenient environment for investment through the provision of infrastructure and quality services and attempting to create jobs. As shown in the table above, immigration has its own strengths and weaknesses on LED. At the same time it proffers opportunities to LED and it also poses threats. As shown above, the strengths immigration has on LED are that immigration boosts economic growth through most economic migrants. Another aim of LED is employment creation and immigrants do so by opening businesses and thus creating employment. At the same time the weaknesses identified are, that, although immigration is beneficial this is usually short-lived; for example, through stepwise migration most immigrants who contribute to the local economy usually transfer to other better off countries. South Africa is often seen as a transit country. At the same time immigration proffers opportunities to the LED of the receiving area. For example, they open new markets and enhance export promotion. As asserted by Costello (2009) migrants stimulate the local

⁵ A strategic planning methodology in project or policy evaluation of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats

economy by increasing the market size for which goods and services can be provided. When immigrants arrive in the new host area, they do not cut contacts with their home countries and more often contribute to outward development through exportation, which is a strategy for development. Immigrants also foster international relations through trade. Consequently, immigration can also pose threats to local economic development through the creation of an informal economy, thus leading to informality. As highlighted in the responses from both local municipalities, most immigrants take up informal businesses, thereby increasing informality in the cities.

Table 6-5 SWOT Framework Labour Markets

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
Employment and Jobs	Unemployment
Wage Levels	Unsustainable Jobs
Educational Levels	
Varied labour supply	
Balanced demand and supply in the labour market	
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
Skills Gain	Discrimination
Knowledge Intensification	Structural Unemployment
Internationalisation	

Source: Own Construction (2015)

The study unveiled the fact that immigration has an impact on the labour of the receiving city. The strengths identified, as highlighted in the table above, include employment and jobs, wage levels, varied labour supply and a balanced demand and supply in the labour market of the receiving area. To some extent immigration has helped boost the labour market by creating employment, through the businesses of the immigrants. Moreover immigration has contributed to a varied labour supply. For example, the immigrants are willing to take up the most dangerous and undesirable jobs which the natives would rather not do. In the mining towns most immigrants are known to be employed in the mines. In addition they bring different and new skills from abroad. At the same time the weaknesses identified include creation of unsustainable jobs, and can contribute to unemployment. Opportunities of immigration on labour markets are that they intensify knowledge because although most immigrants are low-skilled some are highly skilled immigrants who bring new ideas to different sectors. Moreover they enhance internationalisation since they remain in contact with their home countries. Nonetheless, immigration could cause threats to the labour market, for example in unemployment. Instead of immigration solving the problem of

unemployment it could worsen it as immigrants keep flooding the country, the same country in which too few people work and could thus propound unemployment.

Table 6-6 SWOT Framework Housing and Infrastructure Planning

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
Rentals	Worsening the housing backlog
	Crowding effects
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
Economic benefits on housing markets	Immigrant Enclaves/ghettos
	Informality (informal Settlements)

Source: Own Construction (2015)

As previously highlighted, once immigrants arrive in the host city, the first thing they have to deal with is dwellings. Whether they are temporary, transit or permanent on arrival they have to seek homes in which to stay. As with all the other areas where immigration impacts, immigration also has some strengths that it brings to housing and infrastructure planning as well as weaknesses and threats that it poses. As shown above, immigration has its strengths in the housing markets and has a positive impact on the rentals of the receiving areas. Take for instance the city of Klerksdorp, in which it was identified that most immigrants reside in rented apartments, through paying rates and taxes the municipality is benefited. However, on the other hand immigration has its weaknesses and poses threats to housing and infrastructure planning of any receiving area. As revealed above, immigration worsens the housing backlog, as witnessed in the city of Rustenburg, as shown in Figure 6-7. Rustenburg is currently facing a housing backlog which has been steadily increasing over the years. In addition, crowding effects are often experienced in the host places. As proven in the responses from Klerksdorp, most immigrants reside in their shops and often there are too many people per room. Moreover, when immigrants first arrive they sort to reside with fellow immigrants who at most times do not stay in spacious houses and thus lead to overcrowding. Thus, immigration could worsen the problem. Immigrants may also have economic benefits on housing markets of receiving areas. Immigrants increase population which may imply a higher demand for housing and if acquired in proper channels may aid the housing markets through e.g. renting and ownership. Furthermore, immigration poses threats to housing and infrastructure planning by causing immigrant enclaves. Although not yet clearly defined in these mining towns, in Klerksdorp for instance, most immigrants make up the most of the informal traders found in its CBD. A threat identified in both cities would be that immigration contributes to informality, for example through the establishment of informal settlements and informal businesses. According to the HDA (2013:13) data indicates that shacks not in backyards tend to be concentrated in key municipalities. For

example, Madibeng and Rustenburg together account for 52% of households living in shacks not in backyards in the North West Province. As previously highlighted, most immigrants in Rustenburg for instance arrived to take up employment. However not until recently after the Marikana incident⁶ and the aftermath Presidential Package awarded to mining towns, most immigrants resided in informal settlements along mining activities. The same applies to Klerksdorp, as the respondents stated that immigration has contributed to informality around the CBD. For example, most informal traders are immigrants and are found in the CBD. In addition, most immigrants have turned their shops into residence places as well.

Table 6-7 SWOT Framework- Public Services/Amenities

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
Tax revenues from the use of amenities	Overloading on hard infrastructure
	Illegal activities
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
	Decay of the CBD
	Unregistered activities

Source: Own Construction (2015)

Another major area where immigration has a bearing is public services and amenities. From the findings one can construe that immigration has its strengths and weaknesses as well as threats on amenities of the receiving city. Take for instance; the strength identified is that the immigrants contribute to the tax revenues through their use of amenities. For example, most of them are entrepreneurs who own small businesses in the CBD and have to pay for business licences and thus contribute to revenue of the host area. On the other hand, immigration has its weaknesses on amenities and immigration results in illegal activities in the host area. For example as identified in Klerksdorp, most immigrants make up the most of informal traders around the city which in turn contributes to informality. In addition, immigration results in an overload on hard infrastructure. As identified in the responses given, they lead to overcrowding and overloading on services such as sewer. Furthermore, immigration poses threats to the receiving areas, for example leading to eventual decay of the CBD. As identified in the Klerksdorp town area, most property owners with Gross Leasable Area (GLA) in the CBD have split their shops into even smaller shops to make more money through rentals. In addition most have turned these businesses into their homes as well.

⁶ A massacre that killed and wounded mine workers and the police at Marikana in 2012 during protests for wage increases at the Lonmin Platinum mine

Table 6-8 SWOT Framework- Sustainable Development

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
	Unsustainable housing
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
Sustainable competition	Unsustainable housing
	Unsustainable jobs

Source: Own Construction (2015)

Another area that immigrants have a bearing on is sustainable development. As proven by the findings, immigrants seem to pose threats to sustainable development. For example, through their informal businesses, although migrants create jobs, the jobs are unsustainable and cannot be fully relied upon. Moreover, the future of immigrants in a particular area is uncertain because most are stepwise/transit migrants who are on their way to even better places. Thus, the jobs are not guaranteed. In addition, as previously highlighted, most immigrants help create unsustainable housing. For example, as witnessed in Rustenburg, most migrant workers make up most of the informal settlements that surround the mining belts. In addition, in Klerksdorp most natives move out of their homes and rent them out to immigrants and build backyard shacks where they will live.

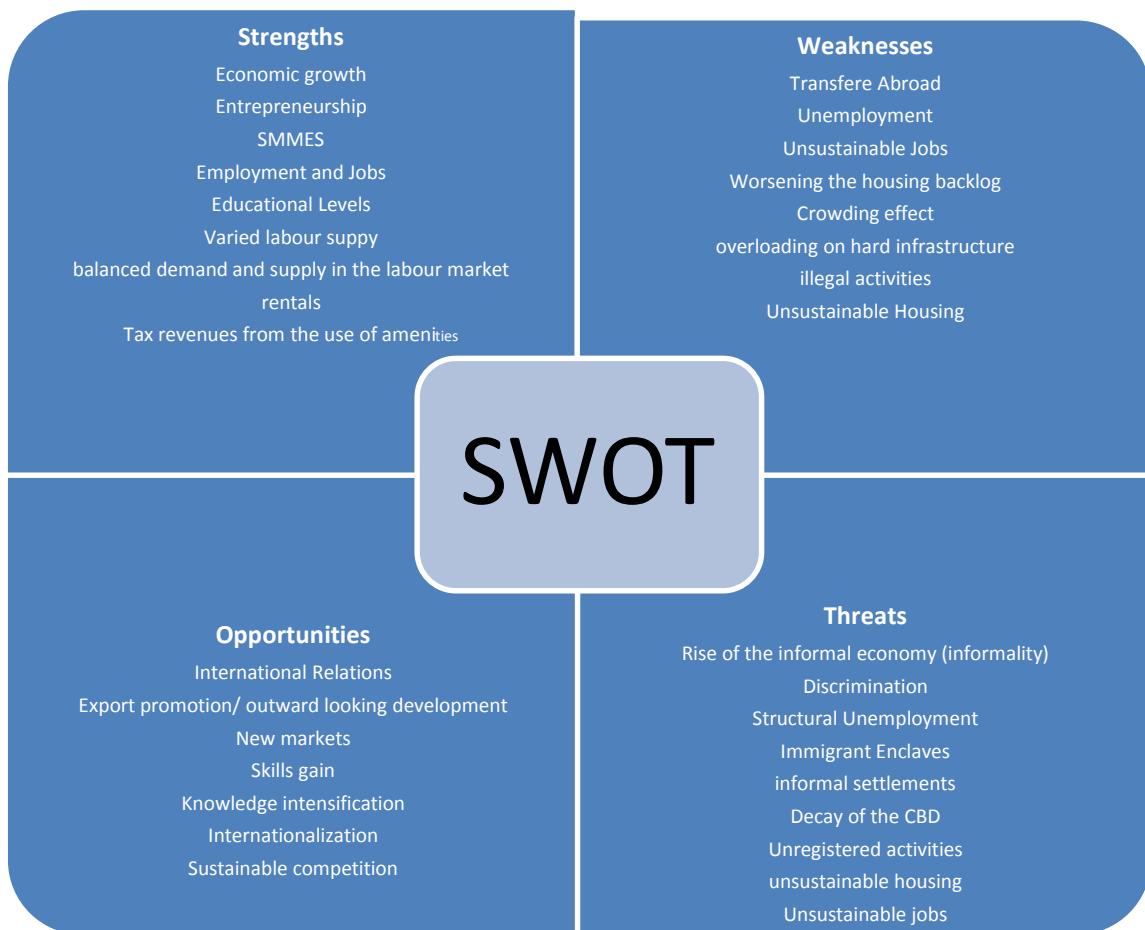


Figure 6-8 Summation of the SWOT Framework

Source: Own Construction (2015)

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented and analysed data obtained from the respondents of both local municipalities. In addition to the responses, other secondary data was used to complement the primary data. The findings show that immigration has both negative and positive impacts on the planning carried out by the local municipalities. The major areas that were looked at that immigration has an impact on, were housing and infrastructure planning, local economic development, sustainable development, local labour markets and public services and amenities. As presented above, immigration brings many challenges to the planning of the receiving city, especially that of the South which is usually bombarded by problems of its own. The SWOT analysis helped to identify in detail the potential threats that immigration could pose to each local municipality. The follow up to this chapter is the synthesis and planning recommendations chapter. A synthesis of the empirical and literature study will be performed and planning recommendations will be given.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SYNTHESIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The study has up to this stage established that international migration has both positive and negative impacts on the planning of the host cities of Klerksdorp and Rustenburg. However these impacts differ from place to place and are influenced by the policy environment of the receiving place. This chapter has three sections that is the synthesis, proposals and conclusions. The synthesis reflects on an integrated overview of all the previous chapters. The synthesis of both the literature and empirical findings of this study will be provided. In addition, the recommendations for future research will be presented in this chapter. These will be applicable to local planners and policy makers in helping them to deal with the impacts immigration brings on town planning. First an overview of the research chapters will be highlighted. The proposals will be based on the synthesis.

7.2 Overview of the Study Chapters

Chapter One, was the reflection of what the study would entail. Chapter One provided the reader with the direction of the study. As the foundation of the study, it laid down the background to the research, highlighting how the researcher took an interest in the particular topic. Furthermore, the chapter gave the problem statement which explained the identified problem to its core. The hypothesis stating the assumptions was provided together with the research objectives, which served as the guidelines to carrying out the research. It also stated the research methodology to be used.

Chapter Two provided the theoretical foundation of the study. The chapter reviewed literature on immigration and the strands surrounding the phenomena. The chapter provided the basic theories of international migration, enticing the reader to have an outlook on what exactly causes this crosscutting phenomenon. Moreover, the chapter went on to provide the different typologies so to reveal, how each type causes problems of its own different from the other. International migration theory and development were discussed in this chapter, providing the different views on the matter. Both the optimists and pessimist` views were discussed. Urban systems and international migration was discussed having realised that international migration can contribute to changes within urban systems. The DU model was also discussed so to give a picture of what changes take place within the urban system. Concluding the chapter was the global perspectives on international migration which basically shown the different perspectives in which international migration is viewed.

Chapter Three was a continuation of the theoretical review, only this time focusing on the other aspects making up the research objectives. A review of immigration, planning and policy was carried out. Pertaining to planning, urban morphological models and immigrant settlement patterns were discussed. The morphological models gave the reader an understanding of the shape of the cities and how immigration contributes to changing them. Moreover, immigrant settlement patterns were discussed; these gave an understanding of spatial patterns of immigrants apparent in cities. Chapter Three also provided understanding of urban and regional development planning policy, rationale for planning and policy and the implications international migration has on planning policy to give a perspective on immigration and planning policy.

Chapter Four presented the historical background of immigration to South Africa and within the SADC. The chapter gave an insight on how international migration to South Africa has been like from old. The major events and policies that shaped international migration before and during Apartheid were discussed. Reviewing the historical background helped in analysing how the types of migration today were influenced by those in the past. More so it helped explain the settlement patterns of immigrants that exist in cities to this day.

Chapter Five was an analysis of policy and legislation pertaining to migration and urban planning. The chapter managed to identify how immigration has been incorporated or not in spatial planning and planning policy both locally and internationally. From this chapter it was realised that South African planning policy has not yet given priority to international migration issues even though it is a major immigrant destination.

Chapter Six was the core of the empirical study. Findings from both Matlosana and Rustenburg Local Municipalities were presented. Using both qualitative and quantitative data, the study unveiled the challenges that both cities faced in their planning as a result of immigration. Data obtained were interpreted, various aspects were revealed, some common in both cities some only to one city. A SWOT analysis based on the findings was carried out and presented.

7.3 Synthesis

The main empirical findings are chapter specific and were summarised within the respective empirical chapters i.e. Chapter Four- the historical review of international migration in the SADC and South Africa, Chapter Five – legislative and policy framework and Chapter Six- the research findings and discussions. This section will synthesise the empirical findings and

the theoretical concepts to answer the study's objectives. The study was guided by the following objectives:

- To determine how and to what extent immigration has contributed to some of the problems faced by mining towns.
- To explain the prevalence of policies and legislation in addressing immigration at the different levels of government.
- To determine the effects immigrants have on public services and amenities.
- To determine roles which policymakers, planners and other community organisations can play in formalising immigration and its impact on urban and regional development policy.
- To determine how and where immigrants are accommodated in cities.
- To evaluate and suggest responses to current policy and planning challenges affecting immigrants and the receiving communities.

Since international migration has been overlooked as a force that shapes towns and cities even of the global South and some of the problems they face. The aim of the study was therefore to investigate the impacts that immigration has on planning carried out at local municipality levels, highlighting the socio-economic dimensions and the spatial planning of mining towns. The following are the conclusions arrived at after analysing the findings of the study. They will be explained in line of the objectives of the study.

7.3.1 Contextualising Immigration

Before investigating what impact immigration has on the planning performed at local levels, the first step was to put it into context (see Section 2.2). Chapter Two thus presented the types of international migration that are most familiar in both the developing and developed world (see Section 2.4). Knowing the types of migration helps planners to understand the complexities that migration brings to the local level. As the study revealed, most immigrants who migrate to the mining towns are economic migrants who come for employment opportunities in the mining sector (see Section 6.5).

The theories of international migration went on to provide the reasons why people move in the first place, to better formulate sound planning and policy initiatives. Theories like the neo-classical theories, the dual labour market theory and the world systems theory all highlight

how regional inequalities are a major cause for international migration within the SADC, be it in the labour market or wage differences, makes South Africa an attractive country to migrate to. In addition, Myrdal's (1957) cumulative causation theory (see Section 2.5.4) explains well how regional inequalities forge migration flows between regions. Without making a repetition of the theory, one can go on to explain how it highlights the issue of regional inequality and how this contributed to this research. Spread effects out of the industrialised region help to solve the problems of depressed regions. It is especially this aspect of the theory that one can relate to the flows of international migration in the SADC. South Africa is the better off in the region and thus people migrate there and in turn via spread effects, like remittances and knowledge, contribute to the development of their backward home areas. This is why most policies support regional integration; however at times with repercussions weighing on one side of the migration chain i.e. the receiving local municipalities (see Section 6.5).

7.3.2 Immigration has more detrimental effects on the planning of the city of the receiving south

The study has established that although it has been recorded that immigration is positively correlated to development at the local level, in the long run, especially in the developing world, it has negative consequences on the planning performed at local government level. As supported by the views of Morrison (1975:240) who states that, migration produces many complex and subtle changes that are felt most immediately at the local level but that are ultimately felt nationally as well.

According to Lucas (2008:18) even temporary migration can raise problems for the host country. Lucas (2008:18) further asserts that, for example, when refugees make a larger proportion of the immigrants there is concern, as there is little information on the duration of stay. Moreover the camps only host a few and most disperse freely in the cities and rural areas. The livelihoods of these refugees raise major issues for planners out of concern for poverty levels of refugees.

As proven by the pessimists' views on international migration and development (see Section 2.5.3) international migration increases spatial disparities in developmental levels. For example, the pessimists assert that immigrants lead to problems of underdevelopment. In addition, according to the pessimists, international migration results in pressure on infrastructure and services in destination areas and expands urban slums. Moreover they believe immigrants depress wages in destination areas by creating more labour and are willing to work below minimum wage. In addition, they construe that they contribute to

unemployment and exploitation. This has concurred with the findings of this study, as shown in both cities, as highlighted in the SWOT analyses in the previous chapter (see Section 6.7).

7.3.3 Policy and legislation environment

The policy and legislation environment in South Africa is a major drawback when dealing with immigration at municipal level. As highlighted in the previous chapter, when it comes to local authorities dealing with immigration and its impacts, the major setback is the policy environment in which they exist. Planning policy in South Africa has not been clear on the role of local governments in dealing with this crosscutting phenomenon. Moreover planning policy in South Africa has not been formed around migration like some recipient countries did. Major immigrant destinations of the world have formed their regional development and national strategies around migration.

Concurring with these findings are the ideas of Brown and Kristiansen (2009: 31) who state that despite the scale of migration, few cities have explicit migration policies. There are rarely reliable figures on the numbers of international migrants in cities and urban policies may not distinguish between the urban poor and migrants. Few national planning documents in the developing countries acknowledge the role of migration (see Section 5.8.1). Certainly much more could be done to recognise the importance of migration in its various forms in achieving national goals.

7.3.4 Implications of immigration on urban morphological patterns Vis a Vis settlement patterns

Most international migrants live in the cities (see Section 2.6.1) where there are better employment opportunities. However immigrants culturally, economically and spatially change cities. Spatial patterns in cities tend to change and reflect how urban areas have evolved economically, socially and culturally in response to changing conditions over a period of time (see Waugh 2009). It has been identified that migration cannot be overlooked as a force shaping cities today as well as their morphology. For example, the Apartheid city model reflects just that (see Section 3.2.3). It highly reflects the structural impediments that immigrants face on arrival and thus determine where they are going to stay. These impediments might be social e.g. racial segregation or economic, for example availability of finances or proximity to work or political e.g. policies and legislation .inhibiting newcomers to settle where they wish. This was typical during Apartheid in South Africa as shown by Davies` Apartheid city model (see Figure 3-3). The model shows that the African immigrants who came to work in farms and mines were housed in hostels and in black townships. This

is a highly contributing factor as to why to this day there are second generation immigrants residing in townships and new arrivals are likely to settle there because of the social ties already established.

Immigrant settlement patterns are as a result of their choices upon arrival. As highlighted before, migration causes changes in the urban system (see Section 2.5.5). For example, migration leads to the expansion of the urban system which will eventually lead to urban sprawl. These structural impediments are explained in the place stratification model (see Section 3.3.2). Just like the place stratification model, the Apartheid city model highlights that newcomers settle where they settle because of structural impediments.

7.3.5 Immigrant data

The study managed to conclude that immigrant data are scarce at local municipality level (the numbers problem). As highlighted before, immigrant data in South Africa and the rest of the developing world are scarce (see Section 6.4). Thus; budgeting and integrated development planning of both municipalities is compromised as any form of planning must be highly objective if it is to succeed. Any form of planning is objective and thus the unavailability of accurate immigrant data has negative effects on the planning performed at local level. The main reason for this obscurity in immigrant numbers is the issue of illegal immigrants who have managed to evade authorities.

7.3.6 Impact on host areas

Immigration has some positive impact on the receiving municipalities as well. It will be totally wrong to suggest that immigration has entirely negative consequences on the planning of the mining towns. As the optimists suggest, international migration is positively correlated to development at the local level. In this study, although the SWOT analyses proved that international migration can have positive impacts, the negative impacts seem to have outweighed the positive ones.

7.4 Proposals

The scale of this study is extensive and multifaceted especially at the local level. To come up with achievable policy strategies with regards to the impact of immigration on town planning, there is a need for more case studies at local government level to allow for further assessments on the subject.

Exploring and applying the following as principles and strategies could facilitate the attainment of this goal:

7.4.1 Enhance immigrant data collection

Statistics on migration are often of poor quality, especially in developing countries and at local government level. Few statistics measure migration flows, and data are even scarcer when it comes to stepwise and illegal migration. As proven by the study, the unknown numbers of immigrants especially because of illegal migrants, lead to subjective urban planning. Improving data collection especially at local government level can facilitate better planning to enhance migration for development. The collection of immigrant data can be narrowed down to ward level. Ward councillors could carry out immigrant surveys within their jurisdictions.

7.4.1.1 Immigrant Surveys

As an immigrant country, the best way South Africa can know the characteristics of the residents in its cities and towns is to task local municipalities in carrying out immigrant surveys in their jurisdictions. Having realised that data from the SSA is often outdated and usually reaching only provincial government it is therefore recommended that local municipalities carry out immigrant surveys. By so doing local municipalities will obtain raw data of the characteristics of all immigrants in their areas as opposed to relying on the national census data which, as previously highlighted, are extremely ambiguous (see Section 6.4).

7.4.1.2 Local municipalities to keep population registers

One way to obtain immigrant data is through a population register. Population registers are an effective administration tool to record the data of all residents in a given area (see Section 5.5.1). The administering of their own population registers by the local municipalities would be the most effective way to obtain migrant data. Instead of using a national population register they could be allowed to administer a localised one of their own. Evidence from some European countries is worth emulating (see Section 5.5.1). Countries like Norway, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland have all tasked their local municipalities in the administering of population registers. This provides local governments with a degree of autonomy in population management. This could be made a part of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act.

7.4.2 South Africa's development strategies

Migration should be an integral part of South Africa's development strategies. According to the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM 2005:4), international migration

should become an integral part of national, regional and global strategies for economic growth, in both the developing and developed world. In addition, international migration should also be an integral part of even local strategies. However, while many developing countries have large stocks of immigrants, very few have clear policies on how to deal with immigration or the capacity to manage their borders effectively. This seems to be true to this study, the first and foremost initiative to take, so to better curb the negative impacts of immigration on the host local area is to make this cross cutting phenomenon a part of the country's national strategies. This empowers the receiving country of the South to plan for and manage international migration and will eventually improve the impacts migration has on town planning. An example where migration issues have been explicitly incorporated into development strategies would be in Singapore, Japan and Korea (Huguet 2010:34). Bangladesh has also managed to incorporate migration into its national plan and its poverty reduction strategy paper. Migration issues could be made an integral part of the National Development Plan in South Africa

7.4.3 Immigration Impact Assessments

Determining the exact impacts immigrants have on the planning of local governments requires effective tools that are highly based on actual and accurate migration data. Once a fully functional system of recording migrant data has been established, the local municipalities could carry out immigration impact assessments⁷ in their respective jurisdictions. The immigration impact assessment will be the best alternative to making a scientific analysis on research on immigration impacts, however where there are no known figures of immigrants, it is impossible to carry out. Furthermore, for this study the expenditure to carry out such a study was the major limitation as there would need to be a team to do a survey on the number of immigrants first. The best way to make this possible would be to incorporate within the Spatial development framework international migration issues for example this will help identify the spatial impact of immigration in different areas.

7.4.4 Policy environment

There needs to be an overhaul in the policy environment that surrounds immigration and planning. Immigration policies need to go beyond immigration control and management and in turn, planning policies should be integrated with population and immigration policies. In South Africa there is a gap between policy goals and policy outcomes. As confirmed by Clark (2007:86) the migration crisis requires a fundamental change in national policies,

⁷ The integrated application of scientific tools to trace the broad socio economic impacts of cross border migration and related policies.

including the minimisation of borders, a change in rules of entry and new policies to deal with the immigrants. More often local authorities are torn between what is right and what is wrong, for example as identified regarding the PIE Act (see Section 5.6.3). For planners, the Act allows for eviction of unlawful settlers, provided there are clear circumstances. However when encountered with a situation involving poor refugees (who cannot afford any other housing and who do not qualify for a housing subsidy because they are not citizens) this becomes challenging for the local government, as they are already protected by the same law.

Although policies were put in place to encourage international migration to be part and parcel of all planning policies and programmes e.g. The White Paper on Population Policy (see Section 5.5.2), its implementation has not been successful, especially at meeting all of its objectives e.g. the incorporation of population issues in all policies and programmes for example at the local level. Urban and regional planners, as well as policy-makers, need to work on how to incorporate international migration in local plans. As suggested by Brown and Kristiansen (2009:31), to be effective city administrators must acknowledge that migrants are diverse and come from different cultural, educational and religious backgrounds and have very different notions of citizenship. The best way the South African local governments can do so is to first take the developmental role tasked to it at another whole new level i.e. to take into consideration migration and population policy and make them a backbone of planning policies instead of just barely browsing the surface. For surely South Africa, in addition to being a rainbow nation, has become an immigrant country and the diversity this brings about should make the most part of the planning policy.

7.4.5 Illegal immigration

Local Government should take a comprehensive approach to reducing illegal immigration. Local governments are emerging as the places where global connections are forged and thus the best player to deal with clandestine migration. The Constitution of South Africa propounds for inter-governmental cooperation. Just as the responsible ministries try to curb illegal migration, the local authorities must chime in to assist. Currently in South Africa, policing for illegal immigrants is solely the responsibility of the Department of Home Affairs. Being a major immigrant destination, especially the rise of illegal immigrants, it is time the local governments are at the forefront at controlling illegal migration. Firstly, by taking it up to themselves to evict all illegal immigrants in rented housing and secondly, to hold responsible landlords who rent out properties to illegal immigrants. Therefore this issue must also be of concern to other departments like the Department of Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs and also the Department of Land Affairs.

7.5 Conclusion

As suggested by the hypothesis of this study, the consequences of immigration on the planning carried out by the receiving area are detrimental and often overlooked at local government level. This study therefore takes a pessimistic view when it comes to immigration effects on the host areas. As proven by the study (see Figure 6-8), more threats and weaknesses are apparent when it comes to dealing with immigration in both mining towns than there are strengths and opportunities as a result of immigration. This study has contributed in a significant way in identifying the real challenges faced by planners as a result of larger immigrant populations in the South African Local Government context. What was once overlooked as a matter of the National Government has been proven that it should be the local municipalities that play a forefront role in dealing with immigration i.e. through their planning. This is because they are the ones that bear the effects that come about with immigration. It has also revealed that although South Africa is a major immigrant destination, little research has been carried out in relation to immigration effects at the local level. Thus, it is appropriate that local governments play a major role in the identification of immigrant populations in their jurisdictions and how they can minimise the negative impacts they might have on the planning. The most practical ways local governments can do this is by first identifying the immigrant population in their jurisdictions and create an immigrant profile. Clearly the arguments presented in this study were able to reveal that, unlike in the developed world where little negative effects are realised in the cities owing to high influx of immigrants, the developing world has experienced a different picture. The mining cities of Klerksdorp and Rustenburg have provided the evidence that even though South Africa is the better off in the region, the continued influx of immigrants is highly affecting the capacities of the local municipalities to achieve their mandated goals. On the other hand however, to some extent immigrants have been beneficial to the cities, as shown in the immigration SWOT analyses presented. This study provided a way that receiving cities can respond to this major force of growth.

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ANNEXURES

Questionnaire for Local Municipality Planners and Other Officials

Name: Majory C.N Dzingai

Designation / Department: Town planning/LED/Human Settlements

Municipality: Matlosana Local Municipality/ Rustenburg Local Municipality

Contact Details: majorydzingai@gmail.com Tel: 0731758276

Date: 23 June 2015

Please tick where applicable

1. Where do most of the international migrants reside in this town?

Formal Housing Informal Housing

2. What type of accommodation are immigrants mostly associated with?

Rented Apartments Backyard Structures

Shacks not on stand Other

3. What challenges to housing and infrastructure planning have been brought about by these preferences?

Housing shortages overcrowding

Informality Other

4. Do you feel that immigrants have contributed to some of the challenges that you face as a Local Municipality?

YES NO

If yes, please comment below:

5. How have immigrants affected sustainable development in this town?

Negatively Positively

Please comment below:

6. Indicate whether you feel immigrants have had a positive or negative effect on the local economic development of this town?

Positive Negative

Please comment below:

7. To your best knowledge, in which labour group can most immigrants in this town be classified?

Skilled Unskilled Low skilled

8. To your best knowledge, in which sector are most immigrants employed in this town?

Informal Sector Formal Sector Not sure

9. As a Local Municipality, do you feel a need to deal with immigration and its effects on town planning and development?

YES NO

Please comment below:

10. What major obstacles have you encountered in trying to deal with immigration and its effects pertaining to development?

Policies and legislation not being specific

The immigrants` attitudes

South African citizens` attitudes

The vague numbers of immigrants

Other

11. Are immigrant housing and services a part of planning policies at the local level?

YES

NO

Not Sure

12. If YES, what are some of the policies that guide the municipality when dealing with immigrants?

13. Are there any mechanisms in place to evaluate the impact of immigrants at the local level?

YES NO

If yes, please provide details below:

[Redacted]

14. Do you feel that local government in South Africa should be concerned with ways to deal with immigration and the effects it brings about?

YES NO

Please comment below:

[Redacted]

15. Do you feel the local government should play a more active role in planning for immigrants?

YES NO

Please comment below:

[Redacted]

16. In your opinion how can cities and towns best respond to town planning dilemmas brought about by immigration?

[Redacted]

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION