

A MODEL OF ADAPTIVE POPULATION MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA[†]

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INTRODUCTION

Change is inherent in every society. Such changes are brought about by an indefinite array of circumstances and occurrences, *inter alia*, natural disasters, wars, urbanization, demographic changes and technological innovations, which in turn effect change, thereby reflecting the dynamic nature of society. One result of human response or adaptation to these changes is seen, for example, in areal patterns of population distribution. Whether at the national (macro), regional (meso) or local (micro) levels these patterns are wrought by two processes, mostly operating simultaneously. Firstly, there is the continual evolutionary process represented by individuals or by groups of people adapting spontaneously and voluntarily to societal changes by deciding to migrate temporarily or permanently from one place to another. The second process is manifested by the sporadic intervention of governments in a given population distribution pattern and/or process. Their decisions or policies to effect population redistribution by guiding, controlling or restricting evolutionary migration and/or by enforcing movement are designed to create in terms of their perceptions new and desirable patterns of distribution (See for example, United Nations, 1981; Clarke & Kosiński, 1982; Fuchs & Demko, 1983; Van der Wijst, 1984; Rogerson, 1984/85; Kosiński & Elahi, 1986). Both these processes, in the example quoted, contribute to societal change by altering the areal pattern of population distribution, making it a factor effecting change, once again evoking spontaneous adaptive migratory responses of people.

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In turn governments may react by formulating new intervention policies and actions.

In the paper, an attempt is made to devise a largely descriptive model of adaptive population migration in South Africa (Fig. 1). In this country the distribution pattern of a heterogeneous population has historically been shaped not only by socio-economic forces but very markedly by political ones. Where members of the different population groups live – mainly Asians, Blacks, Coloureds and Whites – has, for many years to a greater or lesser extent been determined by legislation promulgated by consecutive White governments. Despite the effect of

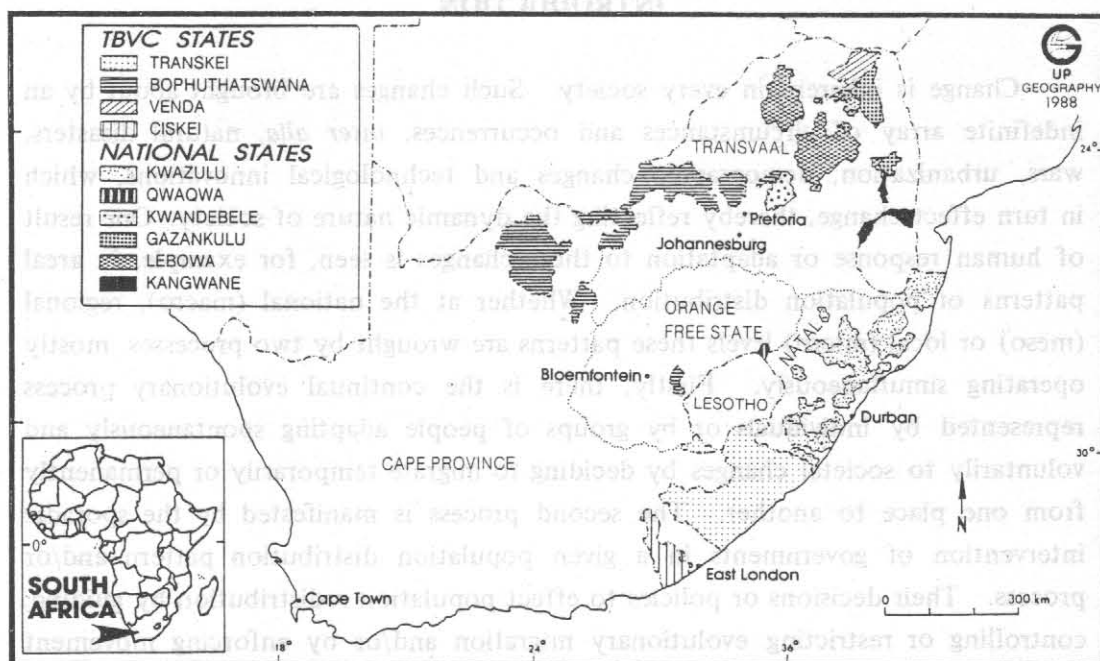


FIG. 1: SOUTH AFRICA: ORIENTATION MAP

intervention measures on spatial population patterns, economic and political realities have recently brought adaptive changes in government policy with concomitant migration responses. Though these policy changes attract greater attention, significant evolutionary migratory movements are also taking place.

In explaining the model (Fig. 2), three recent movements are addressed. Two stem from policy changes as reflected in the national and urban distributional patterns of Blacks, and the movement of Indians to the Orange Free State. The third deals with the movement of elderly Whites in the city of Pretoria.

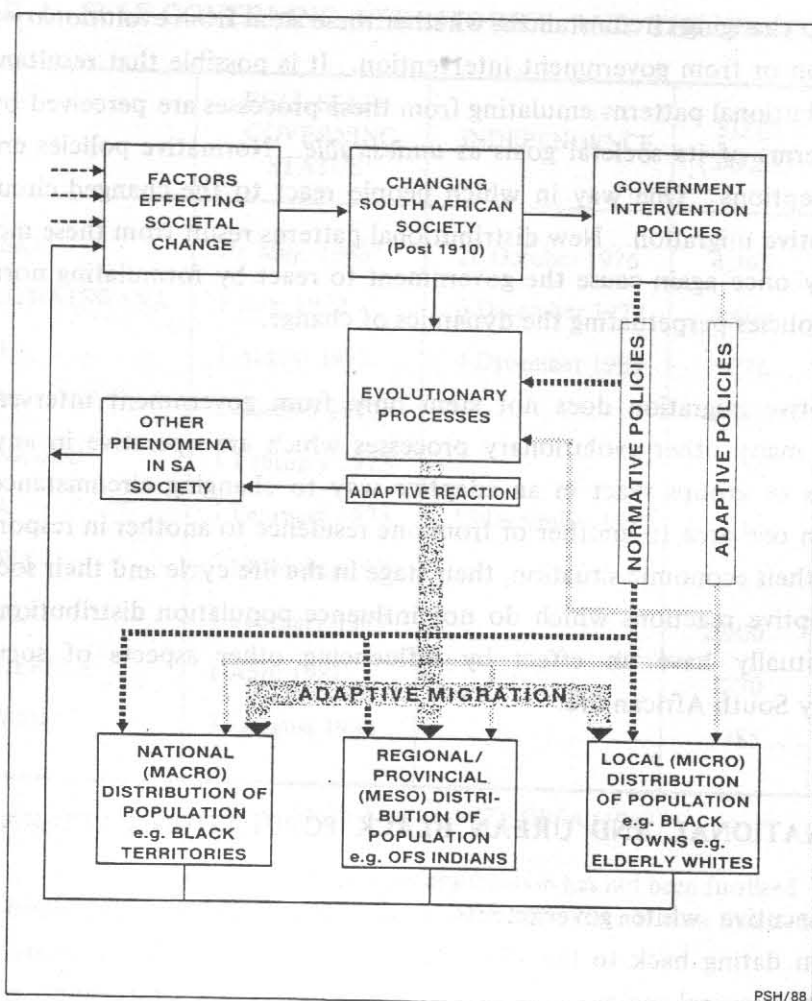


FIG. 2: MODEL OF ADAPTIVE POPULATION MIGRATION

The model shows how population patterns at various areal scales are affected by evolutionary processes and policies of government intervention. Normative policies are designed in terms of set government goals and objectives. They are aimed directly or indirectly at existing distributional patterns and/or processes creating these patterns so as to effect more desirable population patterns as perceived by government. Adaptive policies as defined here are intended to ameliorate the effects of normative policies without changing the essential fabric of society. It is contended here that the evolutionary processes and their results trigger government intervention. Adaptive migration which is the focal point of analysis in this paper, is one such evolutionary process and is defined as the spontaneous and voluntarily legal or illegal movement of individuals or groups in

response to changing circumstances, whether these stem from evolutionary processes in operation or from government intervention. It is possible that resultant population distributional patterns emulating from these processes are perceived by government in terms of its societal goals as *undesirable*. Normative policies ensue from these perceptions. One way in which people react to the changed circumstances is via adaptive migration. New distributional patterns result from these movements. These may once again cause the government to react by formulating normative or adaptive policies perpetuating the dynamics of change.

Adaptive migration does not stem only from government intervention but also from many other evolutionary processes which are operative in any society. Individuals or groups react in an adaptive way to changing circumstances. They move from one area to another or from one residence to another in response to, for example, their economic situation, their stage in the life cycle and their social status. Other adaptive reactions which do not influence population distribution patterns, may eventually have an effect by influencing other aspects of society, here specifically South African life.

NATIONAL AND URBAN BLACK POPULATION PATTERNS

Consecutive white governments, against an historical background of group segregation dating back to the 17th century and identified evolutionary processes, promulgated several major acts. They reflect normative intervention on the part of the South African Government and were intended to shape the national distributional patterns of the Blacks. This was achieved by the demarcation of areas reserved for Black occupation and by restricting the outflow of people from them. The *Black Land Act, No. 27 of 1913*, reserved some nine million hectares for exclusive Black occupation and placed restrictions on the ownership and occupation of land outside these scheduled areas. The *Development Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936*, added a further 6.3 million hectares of released areas to be acquired over an indefinite period of time. Land set aside for Blacks now totalled 13% of the country. Till 1959 when the *Promotion of Black Self-government Act, No. 46 of 1959*, was passed, these were simply Black areas. Eight Black national units or ethnic groups were identified eventually giving rise to 10 homelands (Table 1). The *Transkei Constitution Act, No. 48 of 1963*, brought self-governing status to the

TABLE 1: SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES AND THE TBVC-STATES¹

	FULL SELF-GOVERNING STATUS ²	INDEPENDENCE	SIZE ³ (⁰⁰⁰ ha)	NO. OF LAND UNITS ⁴
TRANSKEI	30 May 1963 ⁵	26 October 1976	4,365	3
BOPHUTHATSWANA	1 June 1972	6 December 1977	4,400	7
CISKEI	1 August 1972	4 December 1981	776	1
LEBOWA	2 October 1972		2,150	6
GAZANKULU	1 February 1973		749	3
VENDA	1 February 1973	13 December 1979	718	3
QWAQWA	2 November 1974		62	2
KWAZULU	1 February 1977		2,900	10
KWANDEBELE	1 April 1981		230	1
KANGWANE	31 August 1984		385	2

1. Sources: South Africa (1985a); South Africa (1987); DBSA (1987)

2. In terms of *Act 21 of 1971*

3. Sources differ as to exact size, also because consolidation has not been finalized

4. Sources differ as to number of units because consolidation has not been finalized

5. In terms of *Act 48 of 1963*

Transkei. The other nine homelands could attain the same status in terms of the *National States Constitution Act, No. 21 of 1971*. Subsequently independence was accorded to four of the homelands, the so-called TBVC-states, though their independence is not acknowledged internationally. It is doubtful whether this option will be pursued by the other six (now called) self-governing territories i.e. the GKKKLQ-territories.

Other normative measures were also introduced by government. Under the Black spot removal programme, for example, Blacks living in undesirable areas were resettled in the homelands (Hattingh, 1976; Benbo, 1976). This intervention by government together with the consolidation process which commenced in 1972

and added White land to and excised Black areas from the homelands the large number of scattered areas reduced to less than 40 separate land units (Table 1 and Fig. 1). Obviously this is not a suitable basis for geopolitical cohesion or in most cases even viability.

Despite all these normative measures Blacks have reacted through adaptive migration to the largely push factors of the Black areas (e.g. mounting pressure on the limited agricultural resource base because of rapid population growth, unemployment and low wages) and pull factors of the White area (e.g. recruitment and perceived socio-economic opportunities), called so not because of White numerical supremacy, but because it is directly under the jurisdiction of the White Government. This area is frequently now referred to as the common area. In the 1904 census, held six years prior to the formation of the Union of South Africa, 3,488,384 Blacks were enumerated in the country (Table 2). Of this total 45.4%

**TABLE 2: TOTAL AND BLACK POPULATION
IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1904 – 1985¹**

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION IN S.A. ²	BLACK POPULATION IN S.A.		BLACK POPULATION IN WHITE S.A.		BLACK POPULATION IN BLACK AREAS ³	
		TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%
1904	5,174,987	3,488,384	67.4	1,583,751	45.4	1,904,633	54.6
1911	5,972,757	4,018,878	67.3	2,012,502	50.1	2,006,376	49.9
1921	6,927,403	4,697,285	67.8	2,393,193	50.9	2,304,092	49.1
1936	9,587,863	6,595,597	68.8	3,538,879	53.7	3,056,718	46.3
1946	11,415,925	7,830,559	68.6	4,574,235	58.4	3,256,324	41.6
1951	12,671,452	8,560,083	67.6	5,250,673	61.3	3,309,410	38.7
1960	16,002,797	10,927,922	68.3	6,802,095	62.2	4,125,825	37.8
1970	21,794,328	15,339,975	70.4	8,201,778	53.5	7,138,197	46.5
1980 ⁴	25,016,525	17,022,248	68.0	10,154,748	59.7	6,867,503	40.3
1985 ⁵	23,385,645	15,162,840	64.8	8,287,552	54.7	6,875,288	45.3
1985 ⁶	27,722,100	19,051,500	68.7	10,956,800	57.5	8,094,700	42.5
1985 ⁷	33,605,725	24,882,100	74.1	13,925,300	56.0	10,956,800	44.0

1. Sources: South Africa (1976); South Africa (1985a); South Africa (1986); DBSA (1987)

2. Including TBVC-states

3. Self-governing territories and TBVC-states

4. Central Statistical Services estimate, excluding TBV-states (Ciskei included)

5. Census, excluding TBVC-states

6. HSRC estimates, excluding TBVC-states

7. HSRC estimates, including TBVC-states

resided in White area. The census data show that in 1960 the percentage of Blacks in White area peaked at 62%. Apart from the exclusion in the 1980 census of three of the independent states (i.e. Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda), to which the Ciskei was added in 1985, matters are complicated as both these censuses represent under-enumerations probably in excess of 22% (South Africa, 1986), compelling the reliance on estimates.

Growth of the total Black population and those living in White area for the 81 year period, 1904-1985, is 2.46% and 2.72% respectively. These rates imply a 7.1 fold increase in the case of the former, and 8.8 in the latter. It appears however, that since the 1960 peak the Black population's growth in White area has been less than that in the Black areas (self-governing territories and TBVC-states), namely 2.9% and 3.3% respectively.

Table 3, based on estimates, shows in greater detail the realities of the macro population distribution pattern for 1985. Probably around 56% of the Blacks were

TABLE 3: BLACK POPULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1985¹

AREA	TOTAL POPULATION (1)	BLACK POPULATION			
		TOTAL (2)	%	%	% OF (1)
White South Africa	19,554,000	10,956,800	44.1	57.5	56.0
Self-governing Territories	8,168,100	8,094,700	32.5	42.5	99.1
RSA Total	27,722,100	19,051,500	76.6	100	68.7
TBVC-states	5,883,600	5,830,600	23.4		99.1 ²
South Africa Total	33,605,700	24,882,100	100		74.1

1. Based on estimates (South Africa, 1986: ix; DBSA, 1987)

2. Percentage as for self-governing territories

living in White area. About 99.1% of the self-governing territories' 1985 census population were Black. If it is assumed that this was also the case in the TBVC-states it is calculated that of the estimated total Black population of 24.9 million in all the states, close on 11 million, or 44% lived in White area making up significantly more than half (55.8%) of this area's total population!

Table 4, using the 1985 census data, shows where the various Black ethnic groups lived, excluding the TBVC-states. The following general observations may be made:

TABLE 4: BLACK ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1985¹

GROUPS	% RESIDENT IN OWN TERRITORY	% RESIDENT IN OTHER SELF- GOVERNING TERRITORIES	RESIDENT IN 'WHITE' AREA	TOTAL POPULATION
North Ndebele ²	0 (—)	45.2	56.8	267,722
North Sotho	65.7 (Lebowa)	3.8	30.5	2,306,235
Shangana/Tsonga	43.9 (Gazankulu)	20.6	35.5	1,024,594
South Ndebele	34.4 (KwaNdebele)	7.3	58.3	378,144
South Sotho	8.6 (Qwaqwa)	3.2	88.2	1,579,570
Swazi	30.7 (KaNgwane)	9.4	59.9	841,071
Tswana ³	? (Bophuthatswana)	2.9	98.1	1,147,932
Venda ³	? (Venda)	11.5	88.5	125,555
Xhosa ³	? (Transkei & Ciskei)	3.5	96.5	2,080,082
Zulu	67.5 (KwaZulu)	1.7	30.8	5,337,334
Other Blacks	0	11.6	88.4	74,601
Total	—	—	—	15,162,840

1. Source South Africa (1986). TBVC excluded
2. Does not have a homeland
3. Data not available

- (1) the North Ndebele, though recognized as a separate group for census purposes, is not regarded as a national unit in terms of the *Promotion of Black Self-government Act, No. 46 of 1959*;
- (2) about two thirds of the North Sotho and Zulu live in their own territories; between 43.9% and 8.6% of the other four groups having self-governing territories, reside in them;
- (3) with the exception of the Shangana/Tsonga (20.6%) relatively small percentages of the groups live in other self-governing territories;
- (4) more than 88% of the South Sotho live in White area;
- (5) it must be borne in mind that the high percentages of Tswana, Venda and Xhosa living in White area results from the TBVC-states being excluded from the census and detail on ethnicity is not available.¹

Before proceeding to discuss governmental adaptive intervention, attention is turned briefly to urban growth and racial segregation in urban areas with reference to Blacks. These aspects and the evolutionary processes and policies involved have been dealt with in sufficient detail elsewhere (e.g. Davies, 1981; Western, 1981; Smit & Booysen, 1981; Olivier & Hattingh, 1985; South Africa, 1985b; Christopher, 1987). Here a brief account is given merely as a backdrop for identifying some adaptive migration responses.

Table 2 discussed above, showed the increase in Black numbers in White areas; Table 5 shows that this growth has been concentrated in White urban areas. In 1904 about 10% (353,000) of the Blacks were urbanized. The total increased to an estimated seven million and the percentage to about 36 or 37.

In terms of the model (Fig. 2) several important acts (excluding most amendments) have been passed bearing witness to government intervention in the evolutionary processes of urbanization and the structure of the South African city:

Black Land Act, No. 27 of 1913

Black Urban Areas Act, No. 21 of 1923

Black Amendment Act, No. 46 of 1937

1. It is estimated that about 40% of the Xhosa live in White area. Corresponding figures for the Tswana and Venda are probably in the vicinity of 50% and 25% respectively.

TABLE 5: BLACK URBANIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1904-1985¹

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL URBAN POPULATION ('000)	% URBANIZED
1904	3,488,384	353	10.1
1911	4,018,878	508	12.6
1921	4,697,285	587	12.5
1936	6,595,597	1,142	17.3
1946	7,830,559	1,689	21.6
1951	8,560,083	2,329	27.2
1960	10,927,922	W 3,471 SG } 31.8	
1970	15,339,975	W 4,475 SG 595 } 5,070 33.1	
1980	17,022,248	W 5,297 SG 1,161 } 6,458 37.9	
1985 ²	15,162,840	W 4,898 SG 1,107 } 6,005 39.6	
1985 ³	24,882,100	W 7,000 Other 2,000 } 9,000 36.0	

1. Sources: Table 3; Smit & Booysen (1981); DBSA (1987)

2. TBVC excluded. Marked undercount reported. TBVC urban population (all groups) 685,408 (DBSA, 1987)

3. HSRC estimate

Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945

Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, No. 52 of 1951

Black Laws Amendment Act, No. 54 of 1952

Excluding the specific and implied restrictions contained in earlier legislation, the *Black Urban Areas Act, No. 21 of 1923*, was the first comprehensive act to control the lives of urban Blacks, and did so for more than twenty years. It empowered, *inter alia*, local authorities to establish Black *locations*, prohibited property ownership, regulated labour relations, and placed restrictions on Black women. More restrictions were added by the *Black Amendment Act, No. 46 of*

1937. With the incorporation of many amendments, the *Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945*, operated for more than 40 years. Influx control was introduced via the well-known *Article 10* of the *Black Laws Amendment Act, No. 54 of 1952*. Schlemmer & Giliomee (quoted in South Africa, 1985b: 149), for example, report that 17.12 million Blacks were arrested for pass law contraventions related to influx control for the period 1916-1981. According to Mare (1982) almost four million Blacks were resettled in the period 1960-1979 in terms of influx control legislation. Even in the 1980's the extent of arrests were alarming (South Africa, 1985b: 149):

1980	158,400
1981	162,000
1982	206,000
1983	262,900
1984	238,900

Also, in conjunction with the restriction of free adaptive migration, Black urbanization in the White area was slowed down by the implementation from 1960 onward of a programme of town establishment in the homelands. In that year only three Black towns with relatively small populations were located in the homelands. Today their urban population is estimated at two million, and the towns number close on 100. Apart from other forces at play, adaptive migration to these towns has undoubtedly contributed markedly to the population increase. However, as these formal towns could not accommodate the influx of people many settled legally or squatted illegally on adjacent tribal or privately owned land. Hundreds of thousands of people live near the Black towns as these are also gateways to bordering White urban and industrial complexes. The Klippan-Winterveld squatter area adjacent to Mabopane in Bophuthatswana north of Pretoria is a case in point² Estimates of population vary between a quarter and three-quarters of a million.

As far as structure is concerned, the towns and cities of White South Africa have passed through several stages, each reflective of the processes in operation. Racial segregation whether brought about by intervention or by socio-economic

2. Unpublished data, Department of Geography, University of Pretoria.

forces, has been characteristic of the Colonial city (pre-1910), the segregated city (1910-1949) and the apartheid city (1950-present). Though largely shaped by the *Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950*, its amendments and later consolidation in the *Group Areas Act, No. 36 of 1966*³. Blacks were not directly affected, but by *Act 25 of 1945* and the *Slums Act, No. 76 of 1979*. The effect is however similar. Despite the existence of the Black townships (formerly locations), greater numbers of Blacks have (illegally) migrated into White residential area sharing single quarters, into high rise apartment areas, while some executives have moved into high class residential areas contrary to the *Group Areas Act*. Some grey areas where members of all racial groups live, have resulted from adaptive migration. In distinguished Johannesburg suburbs like Houghton and Northcliff (also in Durban and Cape Town) at least one percent of the contracts for the sale of immovable property in 1986 were concluded with Blacks (Thomashausen, 1987: 23). A recent survey in Johannesburg indicated *inter alia* that some 5,000 Blacks were living in the central part of the city in suburbs zoned exclusively for Whites (De Coning *et al.*, 1986)⁴.

Structuring urban areas on group lines was even attempted by assigning certain residential areas to specific Black groups. Well known examples are Daveyton and Soshanguve⁵. The former is a township on the Witwatersrand. The latter was at one time part of Bophuthatswana, but has subsequently been excised and is in essence a Black suburb of Pretoria. Adaptive migration, and inter-ethnic marriages have foiled official policy.

The above discussion coupled with the knowledge that an estimated 1.3 million migrants from the self-governing territories and TBVC-states (South Africa, 1987; DBSA, 1987) – i.e. about 12% of the estimated 10.9 million Blacks in White area – and a further 371,000 legal and an estimated 1.2 million illegal foreign Blacks shows that the creation of areas/states for Blacks, together with direct and indirect intervention measures did not prevent adaptive migration responses at the macro level playing havoc with a so-called “White area” as well as the official viewpoint,

3. The *Group Areas Act* goes hand in hand with the *Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950*.

In 1985-86 more than 1,000 people were reclassified (Star, 1987).

4. A very recent contribution by Rule (1988) also refers to this issue.

5. So = Sotho; sha = Shangaan; ngu = Nguni; ve = Venda.

lasting until the late 1970's, that those Blacks in urban areas were temporary sojourners.

Faced with the realities outlined above and with mounting internal and external pressure for political change the South African Government has reacted in an adaptive fashion. In Table 6 the major changes since 1978 in adaptive legislation are listed. The permanency of urban Blacks was given recognition by the

**TABLE 6: ADAPTIVE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION REGARDING
BLACK LAND AND MIGRATION ISSUES, 1978-1988¹**

- * Black (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, No. 97 of 1978: Introduction of a 99-year leasehold scheme for legal residents in black townships.
- * In 1979 & 1980 official statements to the effect that the Development Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936 no longer regarded as 'sacred cow.'
- * Black Communities Development Act, No. 4 of 1984 . . . Proclamation No. 115 of 1985: Repeals Labour Act, No. 67 of 1984 which was used to enforce influx control.
- * Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Act, No. 91 of 1985: Granting of permanent residential rights to Blacks under certain specified conditions.
- * Proclamation No. 112 of 1986 . . . Notice No. 524 of 1986: Relaxation of restrictions on rights of residence in areas reserved for another group, relaxation of procedures concerning special permits.
- * Abolition of Influx Control Act, No. 68 of 1986: Granting free movement to all population groups, amends sections of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, No. 52 of 1951 as amended (Controlled squatting is made possible), and repeals Blacks (Urban Areas) consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945.
- * Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, No. 73 of 1986: Restoration of TBVC citizens to South African citizenship under specified conditions; also they no longer need temporary residence permits to sojourn in South Africa.
- * Black Communities Development Act, No. 74 of 1986 . . . Proclamation No. 1538 of 1986 and No. 1898 of 1986: Removes restrictions on the acquisition of ownership of immovable property by Blacks in urban areas (townships) ending of compulsory resettlement (Section 11) and conversion of 99-year leasehold rights into absolute ownership.

1. Sources: Bekker (1986); Thomashausen (1987); South Africa (1987).

Many other examples of adaptive intervention, frequently referred to as reforms have been introduced, but do not have a direct bearing on migration.

introduction of a 99-year leasehold scheme in 1978. Permanent residential rights for specified groups of Blacks followed in 1985, while restrictions on the acquisition of ownership of immovable property were removed in the following year.

The *Abolition of Influx Control Act, No. 68 of 1986*, grants free movement of all population groups and repealed the whole *Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945*, as amended. Some restrictions on the right of residence in areas reserved for another group were also relaxed. Wide reaction is now prevalent in the country as further adaptive legislation – the *Free Settlement Areas Bill, 1988*, allowing for open residential areas for all population groups, has been announced. Simultaneously stricter normative application of the group areas concept is provided for in the *Group Areas Amendment Bill, 1988* (South Africa, 1988a). One can therefore conclude that despite the lifting of major restrictions as regards Black ownership rights and movement of Blacks, together with upgrading programmes in established towns and squatter areas (e.g. Crossroads), which will stimulate urban growth in White area, government does not envisage a change in the structure of the apartheid city.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE'S INDIAN ISSUE

The second example chosen to illustrate the functioning of the model (Fig. 2) relates to the province of the Orange Free State (OFS) (Fig. 3) which has as far as Indian related matters are concerned, been out of main-stream developments (This was also true for parts of Northern Natal). In the 1985 census 821,361 Asians were enumerated in South Africa, excluding the TBVC-states (an estimate puts them at 861,300) (South Africa, 1986). With the exception of about 15,000 people (about 1.8%) the group is comprised of persons of Indian descent. Till 1961, a century after the first of them arrived in Natal, consecutive South African governments regarded them as temporary sojourners (South Africa, 1985c). With the passage of time and by a process of adaptive migration, despite some opposition, Indians moved to other parts of the country. The 1985 census (South Africa, 1986) found them distributed (%) as follows:

Natal	80.3] <table> <tr> <td>White area</td> <td>99.6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Self-governing territories</td> <td>0.4</td> </tr> </table>	White area	99.6	Self-governing territories	0.4
White area	99.6					
Self-governing territories	0.4					
Transvaal	15.4					
Cape	3.9					

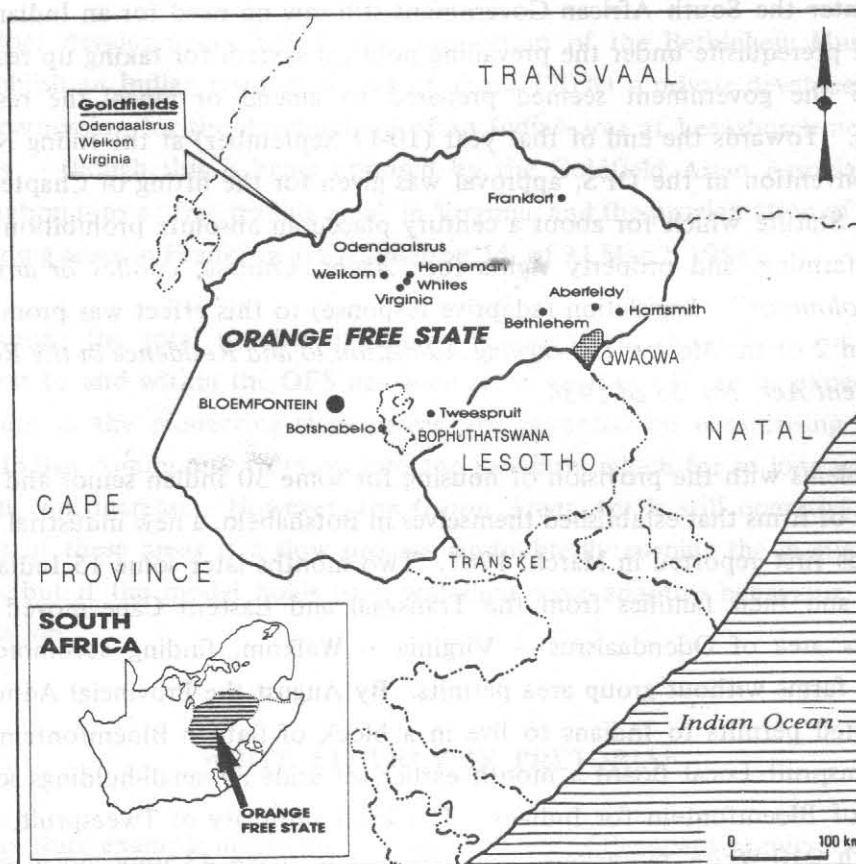


FIG. 3: ORANGE FREE STATE: ORIENTATION MAP

Though 53 Asians (a breakdown is unavailable) were counted in the Orange Free State in 1985, this population group was effectively barred (normative intervention) from settling or trading in that province by a 1890 Ordinance of the OFS Parliament. For many years the only legal (and OFS born!) Indian lived in Bethlehem where his grandfather settled in 1880. Since its inception in 1964 the then Indian Council made repeated representations for the opening up of the province for members of their community but to little avail. A 1981 newspaper report states that between 30 and 40 Indians were living in the province... but as Coloureds (adaptive reaction!). A permit was issued for the second Indian to take

up residence in Aberfeldry where he was working for the Water Research Board.

In April 1983 the Administrator of the OFS was quoted as being willing to support the scrapping of laws prohibiting Indians to live and work in the province. A year later the South African Government still saw no need for an Indian group area – a prerequisite under the prevailing political system for taking up residence. By 1985 the government seemed prepared to amend or repeal the restrictive measures. Towards the end of that year (10-11 September) at the ruling National Party Convention in the OFS, approval was given for the lifting of Chapter 33 of the OFS Statute which for about a century placed an absolute prohibition on the trading, farming, and property rights for “*Arabs, Chinese, coolies or any other Asiatic coloureds*”. Legislation (adaptive response) to this effect was promulgated in Section 2 of the *Matters Concerning Admission to and Residence in the Republic Amendment Act, No. 53 of 1986*.

Problems with the provision of housing for some 30 Indian senior and middle managers of firms that established themselves in Botshabelo, a new industrial growth point, was first reported in March, 1987. Two months later some 15 Indian businessmen and their families from the Transvaal and Eastern Cape moved to the Goldfields area of Odendaalsrus – Virginia – Welkom, finding accommodation on White farms without group area permits. By August the Provincial Administration granted permits to Indians to live in a block of flats in Bloemfontein, while the Bloemfontein Local Board a month earlier set aside 37 small-holdings some 15 km east of Bloemfontein for Indians. The local authority of Tweespruit, a small town with 210 White ratepayers, was prepared to make 43 unoccupied serviced sites available to Indians. The idea was to apply for permits as this was quicker and easier than to have a group area proclaimed.

On 11 December 1987 the first OFS group area for Indians was proclaimed in Harrismith (*Proclamation 174/1987*). About 43 homes, some flats and facilities could be erected on the 10.9 ha of land provided. Though a second group area for the OFS was identified in March 1988, it has as yet not been proclaimed. It is intended, *inter alia*, for those Indians living in the back of shops and the apartment block mentioned above, of whom some are working in Botshabelo factories 80 km to the east.

Newspapers reported in March and April, 1988, on the 35 Indian families who wish to move into the fully developed 33 ha White's Township administered by the Henneman Municipality. Most of the 53 homes are reportedly vacant, while it is possible to erect a further 70 homes.

Other developments include the application of the Bethlehem Municipality to establish an Indian residential area of about 170 ha; a private developer wishing to get permission for the development of an Indian area at Leeusbosch near Odenaalsrus – though this is being opposed by the Goldfield Asian Association; the investigation into a “free trading area” in Virginia; and the proclamation of two such free trading areas in Frankfort (*Proclamation 56*, of 31 March 1988).

Though the total number of Indians is very small, the process for adaptive migration to and within the OFS has been set in motion. It can be expected that with time as the pioneering stage passes, the potential for enterprising members of the Indian community to move into the province, which for so long was closed to them, will increase. However, the *Group Areas Act* is still operative, and the creation of these areas is a slow process, undoubtedly curbing the in-migration of Indians, but if the model holds true, will elicit some adaptive behaviour, inclusive of migration.

WHITE ELDERLY IN PRETORIA⁶

The third example illustrating the applicability of the adaptive migration model (Fig. 2) centres briefly on the adaptive migration behaviour of the White elderly in South Africa's capital city, Pretoria.

Elderly populations, i.e. when more than 10% of the people are 65 years or older (Shryock & Siegel, 1971: 234), are characteristic of many developed countries. For example, in Sweden 21.9% of the population is elderly and in the USA its 13.1% (South Africa, 1988b: 17). The percentage White elderly in South Africa is on the increase – 8.4% in 1985, and estimates of 9.6% and 15.1% in the years 2000 and 2050 respectively. This trend has led to a growing South African

6. This section is based on Hattingh *et al.* (1988).

interest in the study of ageing, which is an evolutionary process requiring adaptive reactions by elderly, also in their migratory behaviour (e.g. HSRC, 1986; South Africa, 1988b). Little geographic work has however been done; the notable exception being the work of Van der Merwe (1979) on Cape Town.

The migration of elderly, i.e. their in- and outward migration and residential relocation, is influenced mainly by three sets of determinants according to Wiseman & Roseman (1979). The first is linked to changes in the life and career cycle; the second stems from environmental influences; and the third arises from the general improvement in economic status, especially the young elderly (65-74 years). Studies concur that elderly migration is relatively low compared to non-elderly (e.g. Golant, 1972; Wiseman, 1979).

The Pretoria study, done in 1985 (Mulder, 1987), is based on a selection of 200 respondents of whom 15 lived in housing schemes, 16 in homes for the aged, while the remaining 169 formed independent households. It focuses on the elderly's migration to, and residential relocation in the city after they attained 65 years of age. The direction of movement is defined in terms of three concentric zones around the centre of the city, i.e. the Central (<3 km), Intermediate (3-8 km), and Peripheral Zones (to municipal boundary) (Fig. 4).

Adaptive responses to evolutionary processes as reflected in the three sets of determinants stated above, motivated 70.5% (= 141 persons) of the 200 respondents to in-migrate or relocate (Fig. 5); relocators making up 43% (= 86) and in-migrants 27.5% (55). Movement to and from the Central Zone was the greatest. The number of relocators declined in each subsequent zone. The majority in-migrants (= 25) came from Transvaal towns, while movement from rural areas is negligible (= 1). The evolutionary processes caused about half of the elderly relocators to move intra-zonally (= 44), while the other half moved inter-zonally toward the centre (= 24) as well as in the opposite direction (18). The young elderly tended to move centrifugally to areas where the available facilities can enhance their quality of life, while the old elderly relocated centripetally to areas where help is available and affordable.

The Pretoria study shows that the elderly as elsewhere migrate and relocate in response to evolutionary processes altering their circumstances and needs. By

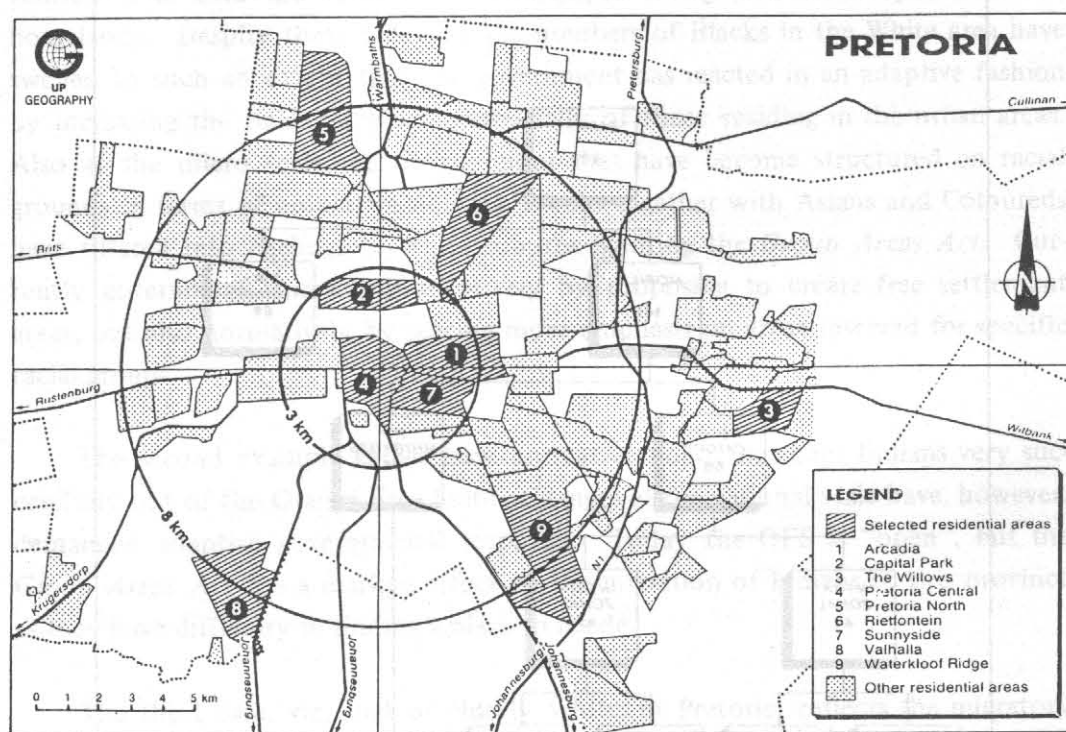


FIG. 4: PRETORIA: ORIENTATION MAP

doing so they are a contributive factor to a changing society. Their specific and changing needs ought to be reflected in the adaptive reactions of other sectors of society responsible for the provision of *inter alia*, housing, and recreational, shopping and transport facilities.

CONCLUSION

By analysing three case studies of varying scales and vastly differing circumstances within South African context, it is believed that the model provides a useful framework for understanding adaptive migratory responses to changes taking place within society. In the case of the Blacks the migration into the White area has been a spontaneous evolutionary adaptation to the presence of strong push factors in the homelands (i.e. the now-called TBVC-states and self-governing territories) and pull factors in the White area. Right from the beginning of Union

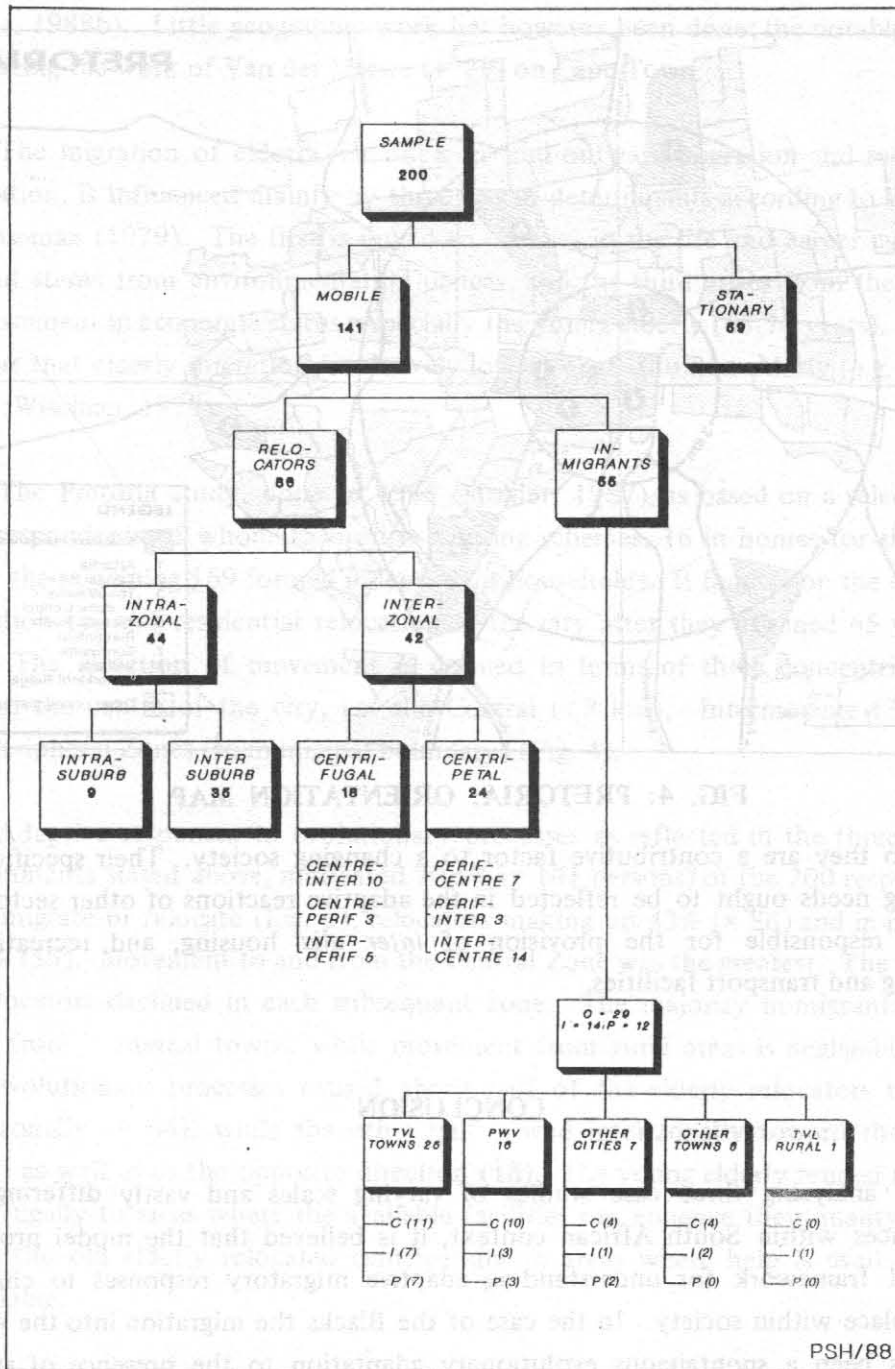


FIG. 5: WHITE ELDERLY IN PRETORIA: IN-MIGRANTS AND RELOCATORS, 1985

in 1910 (and prior to that as well) governments have reacted by trying to restrict the influx of Blacks by formulating and implementing normative policies of intervention, and since the 1960's, by actively promoting urban development in the homelands. Despite these measures the numbers of Blacks in the White area have swelled to such an extent that the government has reacted in an adaptive fashion by increasing the rights of Blacks, especially of those residing in the urban areas. Also at the micro scale, i.e. in the cities that have become structured on racial grounds in terms of normative policies, Blacks together with Asians and Coloureds have filtered into exclusively White suburbs ignoring the *Group Areas Act*. Currently government is reacting adaptively by proposing to create free settlement areas, but also normatively by placing more emphasis on areas reserved for specific racial groups.

The second example shows how normative policy has kept Indians very successfully out of the Orange Free State. Changes at the national scale have, however, demanded adaptive governmental response. Today the OFS is "open", but the *Group Areas Act* has a marked effect on the migration of Indians to this province as they have difficulty in finding a place to reside.

The third case, viz. that of elderly Whites in Pretoria, reflects the migratory behaviour of this group in response to the natural process of ageing. Here there are no normative policies, but it is to be expected that adaptive policies of authorities will be formulated as the White South African population is ageing rapidly.

Both normative and adaptive government policies, as well as those of other authorities, depending on the perception of problems, flow from evolutionary processes. If, as in the case of adaptive migration of the non-White population groups in South Africa, the policies become outdated or ineffective, new policies will be formulated, either to once again curb the trends or ameliorate the effects of past normative policies aimed against adaptive migration. The greatest stumbling block to adaptive migration to White area — which numerically-speaking is a misnomer — in general or within urban areas, is the *Group Areas Act*. Pressure against it will not come from the political arena alone, but also from further adaptive migration taking place contrary to its restrictive nature. South African society is changing and adaptive migration is playing a significant role in effecting change.

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A MODEL OF ADAPTIVE POPULATION MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

(ABSTRACT)

The distribution pattern of South Africa's heterogeneous population has historically been shaped not only by socio-economic forces but very markedly by political ones. Where members of the different population groups live – mainly Asians, Blacks, Coloureds and Whites – has, for many years to a greater or lesser extent been determined by laws promulgated by consecutive White governments. Despite the effect of these restrictive measures on macro- and micro-spatial patterns, economic and political realities have recently brought adaptive changes in government policy with concomitant migration responses. Though these changes attract greater attention, significant evolutionary migratory movements are simultaneously taking place. In this paper a largely descriptive model of adaptive migration in South African society is presented. In explaining the model and to draw tentative conclusions the paper addresses three recent movements, the first two stemming from policy changes and the other evolutionary in nature.

The first movement, containing macro- and micro-elements pertains to Blacks. It follows in the wake of the acknowledgement that restrictive policies have failed to curb Black urbanization in "White" areas despite the establishment since 1960 of some 100 new towns in the homelands. As Blacks are still the least urbanized group in South Africa, have numerical superiority, as well as the highest rate of population growth of the four groups, their potential for urbanization is the greatest. These realities have caused the government to abolish influx control. Free movement is now possible but the already overpopulated Black townships adjacent to "White" cities cannot accommodate large numbers of in-coming people. Furthermore the Group Areas Act, which determines the place where population groups may reside is still in force, effectively closing "White" urban centres to Blacks – however the first signs of a breakdown of this act are noticeable. Normative policies facilitating societal change are obviously required.

The second movement, also of a macro-nature and relating to Indians, is very

recent. Until the beginning of 1987 Indians, the major Asian group, were barred from residing in the Orange Free State. Since the scrapping of these restrictive measures they have been quick to respond and, though numbers are still small, Indians have moved into this province necessitating land allocation to them albeit subject to the Group Areas Act.

The third movement pertains to elderly Whites in Pretoria. It is illustrative of evolutionary micro-migration in urban areas and as such reflects changes in life-cycle in relation to socio-economic status. It is used as an indicator of possible intra-urban movements in a normalised future South African society.