



SPATIAL TEMPORAL EVIDENCE FOR PLANNING **SOUTH AFRICA**

STEPSA.ORG

CONNECTING SOUTH AFRICA'S RURAL/URBAN SPACE ECONOMY: LIMPOPO- GAUTENG CASE STUDY

HSRC PRESENTATION TO STEPSA/SAPI SEMINAR
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*Friends should please one another, giving [gifts] and clothing
Experience makes that clear
In giving and taking friendship endures
If it succeeds in turning out well*

*The fir-tree standing alone on the heath withers
Neither bark nor leaf can sustain it
So it is with the man no one loves
Why should he go on living?*

*Know this: if you have a friend you trust freely
And want some benefit from him
Open your heart to him, exchange gifts
Go to see him often.*

- From *Havamal*, anonymous Icelandic poetic collection from the Viking age, circa 800-1100 AD

What I can tell you is this: the only way out in times of need is to get help from brothers and sisters. And from reliable friends.

- Sello P, supporting household at Kwaggafontein, Limpopo, 2014

To obtain any job these days, we mostly have to rely on referrals from our contacts.

- Vusi T, Diepsloot job seeker, 2012

THE RURAL/URBAN BALANCE?

I U D F policy framework states that **urban and rural are not separate** –

- The whole space economy is *one field of development interaction*

Respondents told us **if you face an emergency or need work, what is needed is to have reliable network members**

- **How does connectivity come together** in the urban/rural context?
- What are **key rural/urban questions relative to spatial planning?**

SACN has launched an important inquiry into **how the urban/rural relation works** –

- The inquiry considers value chains – present study is social value chains
- DST's StepSA project is looking at **spatial planning aspects** to assist policy and decision-making toward more **effective government spending**

✓ *We are indebted to SACN for permission use unpublished sponsored research*

OUTLINE

1. INTRODUCTION
2. STUDY
3. SPATIAL FUNCTIONALITY
4. HOW IT WORKS: SOCIAL VALUE CHAINS
5. WHERE IT'S GOING – WHAT IS THE RURAL/URBAN RELATION NOW & IN FUTURE?
6. INTERVENE? RECOMMENDATIONS

RURAL/URBAN SOCIAL VALUE CHAINS?

Social value chains seem to represent the vital mechanism for **how the rural/urban space economy forms at household level –**

- Made up of **webs of relationships among individuals and households**
- Help each other on a reciprocal basis
- And **define access to work, land, housing and information within the space economy**

These network webs transfer information as well as social, financial and other forms of value

- Determine **where and how households at local level are able tap the resources of the space economy** for the income streams as their means of survival

These chains of ground-upward interconnectivity represent the key to accessing the economy – not to have them is a danger zone for the household

CONNECTIVITY AND EXCLUSION

Dolores H is a single mother aged 27, living with her child and her sister in a house she inherited from her mother at Jane Furse, Limpopo. She has no outside contacts, worries about food, and struggles with household finances:

‘I have never worked in my life, and I’m still looking for a job. I walk around our area and submit my CV at supermarkets, but **I have never found anything**. No, I **can’t afford to go to Johannesburg and search in the city centre**. Transport is easy to get here, but very expensive. I’ve only gone as far as Marble Hall to look for work – I have never stayed in the big city in my whole life.

She adds,

‘**We are alone**, we have no relatives here. I have four friends that I am close to, that would help me a little if I needed help, but that’s all. **No one is sending us money** from outside this household, the only contribution we receive is a bag of vegetables every now and then, and I am not saving any money from our grant.

‘We are not planning to move, we have no way to do that. But **what I wish is that I could move to Pretoria** – I know if I can get there, it can be easy to get a job referral and employment, or at least to start my own business.’



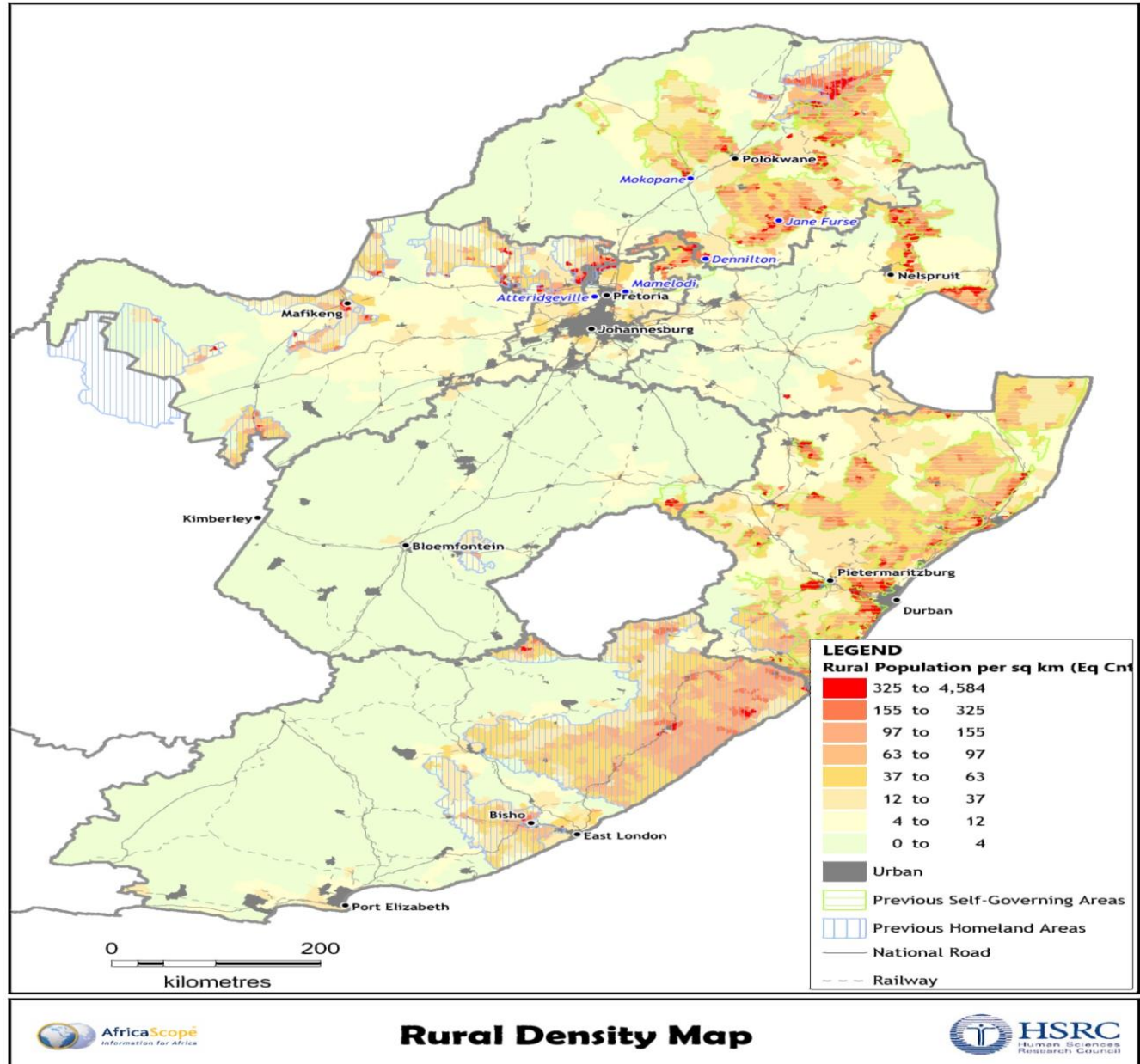
S A C N SOCIAL/ SPATIAL VALUE CHAINS STUDY 2014

THE S A C N STUDY

For the field study –

- Seven areas along the northeastern migration corridor into Tshwane metro were selected at **spatial points of active rural densification**
 - Selected nodal points were located at **differing distances from the metro spatial pole**
 - Along the corridor from Jane Furse in the outer northern sector into Tshwane
- 30 case interviews were collected from **old-style traditional settlements, shack areas and urban backyards units** at the population nodes selected along the migration corridor
 - ✓ *Jane Furse, Dennilton, Kwagga A, Mamelodi backyards, Mamelodi shack area*
- The **data is qualitative with very small sub-samples**, but interpreted against the extensive StepSA base data

AREA OF STUDY



THE S A C N STUDY, 2

This small qualitative sample has been chosen to present the **spatial areas of highest activity** on the northeastern migration corridor

- ***Seen in dense settlement*** extending from the Gauteng City Region north to former Venda and the South African border area
- **Points of densification** tend also to be ***points of economic activity*** – nodes of population attraction
- > **4 migration corridors into Gauteng, NE, E, W, SW, + long coastal corridor ends in Cape Town**
 - Case areas include two rural areas, in the **deep rural sector** and in the **mobilized rural periphery**
 - And **two urban settlements in close interaction with the rural population source areas**

STARTING POINTS?

The social dimension which is the focus of this study intermediates in how households assemble their livelihoods

- Demographic and spatial processes show **how people move to maximize their chances** in economy and society
- And reflect the force of the **urban developed economy interacting with the rural household economy**

Migration outcomes therefore to a large extent **actualize social value chains**, which provide the *information that enables migration to take place*

- **The search for jobs and earning is what moves population**
- *Search for income streams creates settlements and settlement densification*
- And commonly determines household outcomes

GOALS & RESULTS

In this context of a differentiating rural space economy developing closer integration with the metro urban sector –

Study goal is to grasp ***economic, social and strategic factors*** that poor rural households use their social value chains to address - *plus spatial/ economic outcomes*

- The approach taken emphasises the **active agency of poor households**, whose collective decisions structure the rural space economy – feet vote factor
- Based on **lived experience** around migration, population movement, the labour market and livelihoods

Mamelodi emerges as the urban gate point which filters and connects demographic flows into and out of the Pretoria metro

- ✓ This northeastern space economy pivots on ***Mamelodi as the urban/rural interchange zone***

FRAMING QUESTIONS?

These trends suggest some base questions, including

- **Do people have to move to the urban sector** in order to build a reliable support configuration and spread risk? That is, is **migration the only effective form of rural/urban integration?**
- What distinguishes successful and unsuccessful rural households, in terms of their **relation to the urban sector?**

And under that:

- **How do rural & urban connect and interact now**, at household level?
- How does **migration work to integrate rural and urban?**
- What can be done to promote **more effective rural/urban integration?**
- What kind of integration **intervention will most assist the rural sector** to develop and to connect?

SPATIAL FUNCTIONALITY?

NEW RURAL ECONOMY?

The overall picture is one in which the northern parts of South Africa appear as **generating a new demographic/ economic dynamism**

- Complex human flows not limited to north/south movement that historically dominated the area from Gauteng to the northern border

Migration flows are also moving across to east and west

Going to Lephalale and other centres of new economic activity

- Creating new linkages and **changing the economic imperatives for poor households** in the north

*The dynamic of densification is creating a new rural economy that **provides employment outside the agricultural sector** –*

- Seeing small trading, hospitality, transport, haulage, other activities

Leads to tension in the migration decision:

- (1) **try the metro urban sector/national economy, or**
- (2) **try for commutation jobs in the local economy**

MIGRATION FLOWLINES & URBAN CENTRES

It can be seen that the human flows into the metro city arrive most densely from the north

- **Migration into Tshwane comes particularly from the former homelands territories of southern Limpopo**
- ***Jane Furse*** is an outlying district that's building up population rapidly, with density building up opportunities for new small business, with *high value housing*
- ***Dennilton*** is a *high-density area of displaced urbanization*, a remote suburb of Tshwane with few jobs and local youth out-migration
- ***Kwaggafontein*** is a new concentration aggregating around a major urban gate point, becoming a *transport hub, with urban pathologies*
- ***Mokopane*** is a former farming town, now developing as a strong urban centre with a *new economic base in tourism, as a business gateway*

Migration flowlines are the routes between, that integrate the rural zone

- ✓ ***Articulation into the urban sector looks like it increases with densification***

LINKING RURAL AND URBAN IN TSHWANE?

Mamelodi in Tshwane represents the urban terminal point of the northeastern migration corridor

- It serves as the **main entry point for new migrants arriving from northern former homelands** –
- **Mamelodi is a crucial staging area** –
 - Spatial interchange nexus for **rural job migration into the metro sector**
 - Articulates the African city and the white city

The rural sector opens to the city through gate points that connect rural and urban—

- ✓ *The metro backyards and shack areas are the mechanism for the **rural-born migrant population to come inside the national economy***

HOW IT WORKS: SOCIAL VALUE CHAINS

SUPPORTING RURAL HOUSEHOLDS?

*The intermediate conclusion is that **rural and urban still connect through migration –***

- Both population migration and labour migration
 - *The **other option for household support** is local, rural business activity and **self-employment –***
 - *Local employment and small business are rising in importance in the northeast corridor*
 - But informal business is often still a **stopgap activity, with lower earnings and not enough customers**

*So **access to wage work** remains the single most critical factor in the overall rural/ urban field of interaction*

THE LINKAGE FOR WORK?

*Rankin 2014 and Posel et al 2013 have recently shown that cold search, **door to door, doesn't work for job seekers** –*

- NIDS data shows very low success rates
- **Only personal job referrals succeed** in the great majority of cases

To find work, there have to be contacts – ie, networks
Social value chains provide the information that determines how people choose:

- **urban migration, vs**
- **rural – usually local – job search**

How do we understand how households move in relation to finding work?

HOW VALUE CHAINS LINK TO URBAN ?

Different kinds of settlement operate different kinds of network value chain, with different spatial coverage

- **In the deep rural sector**, Jane Furse concentrated networks within Limpopo at 77%
 - 27% were in Tshwane metro
- **In the outer mobilized periphery**, 40% of Dennilton contacts were in Limpopo – with 19% in Mpumalanga
 - 30% were in Tshwane, but 7% appeared in northern Johannesburg
 - *Dennilton respondents are well connected but still located most of their contacts in the rural areas nearest home*

Kwagga's pattern spread more in rural, with 42% in Limpopo and 27% in Mpumalanga, 23% in Pretoria and 4% in Johannesburg

- ✓ *Kwagga is reported to be the rural sample ward most integrated with the metro*
- ✓ *And Kwagga draws in people from whole corridor*

VALUE CHAINS AS URBAN CONNECTIVITY

PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF NETWORK REPRESENTATION BY TYPE OF NODE

<i>PROVINCE / CITY</i>			Rural T A DNNL	Rural T A J F	Rural T A KW	Town bkyd MKPN1	Town shacks MKPN2	Metro bkyd MMLD	Metro shacks PHU
LIMPOPO			28	14	11	12	24	10	10
	% of total for area		40%	77%	42%	44%	73%	29%	32%
MPUMALANGA			13	0	7	0	1	2	7
	% of total for area		19%	0%	27%	0%	3%	6%	23%
NORTH WEST			2	0	1	2	1	4	0
	% of total for area		3%	0%	4%	7%	3%	12%	0%
FREE STATE			0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	% of total for area		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%
PRETORIA METRO			21	4	6	10	5	15	12
	% of total for area		30%	22%	23%	37%	15%	44%	38%
JOHANNESBURG METRO			5	0	1	0	0	1	1
	% of total for area		7%	0%	4%	0%	0%	3%	3%
EKURHULENI METRO			1	0	0	3	2	1	1
	% of total for area		1%	0%	0%	11%	6%	3%	3%
TOTAL N CONTACTS			70	18	26	27	33	34	31
TOTAL N CASES			8	4	3	3	4	4	4
AVERAGE N CONTACTS			9.7	3.8	9	9.3	7.8	9.3	8
			Rural T A DNNL	Rural T A J F	Rural T A KW	Town bkyd MKPN1	Town shacks MKPN2	Metro bkyd MMLD	Metro shacks PHU

SEEING THE RURAL/ URBAN CHOICE?

*Nearly all the rural respondents **wanted to stay rural** –
Most of the rural-born urban respondents **wanted a house in the city***

- **Wage jobs were almost all unregistered if not civil service**
 - *82% of rural wage jobs were temporary and unregistered*
 - *Against 64% of the urban jobs –*
 - *The urban backyards sample included more civil service*

→ *Lack of local solid jobs points to need for more rural economic activity*

- Lines up with government policy direction – not that simple?
- Also, *agriculture is now the hard way* – promoting **broader-based rural economy is probably better route** –
- Can use spatially-driven planning options on scale – ?
- ✓ ***Maybe requires working with densification instead of focus on land ownership and farms?***

WHERE IS THE RURAL/URBAN RELATION GOING?

TOWARD CONCLUDING?

Most of all jobs for rural-born poor are through network contacts

✓ Rankin 2013 and Posel et al 2013 are very right

Below a threshold level related to social class, most of these jobs seem to represent ***temporary work – unstable and insecure, low-paid***

○ *Facing a negative labour market, the rural sector opens out from the access gate points –*

Migration moves along flowlines toward gate points and densifies at those points, **creating a new set of economic opportunities**

○ *The more existing networks concentrate around gate points, the more densification results → the more economic change*

✓ **In practice development follows flowlines – plan so as to get behind it and use spatial principle to maximize results ?**

THE URBAN CONNECTION?

Against this background, rural and urban are in effect **competing for migration and economic activity** –
But *rural economic activity depends on connectivity to the urban sector*

- **Which contains the final demand for rural labour and production**
 - The northeast corridor flows out of as well as into metro Tshwane
 - Key centres have movement into and out of the metro sector like the **spokes of a wheel** –
 - With simultaneous horizontal tracks across the rural sector, with people **moving to new nodes of economic activity**

At the household level, the rural/urban articulation question leads back to **how much metro urban content personal networks have** at different points in the space economy

On the Gauteng side, participation in the end-zone labour market looks like it is filtered through networks of **spatial points where job contacts are clustered**

SUMMARISING: THE MIGRATION PROCESS?

People in total are moving inward, to **metro core** and to **economic gatepoints that give access to core economy**, not outward –

- *Economic activity attracts social connectivity*
- **Social connections determine destinations** and *enable migration to happen*

Networks = means by which population is **nucleated + integrated with the developed economy**

- *Networks concentrate around metro end, Mamelodi –*
- *Other end in rural spreads out thinner*

Aggregate networks capacity in source population then determines migration volume and demographic/economic structure of migration flows – *who goes*

- Also, flow structure depends a lot on ***where flow is going***

SUMMARISING: THE ENTRY PROCESS?

*Successful urban entry depends on **networks capacity + quality**, to enable entry and hookup to local urban economic activity –*

- People migrate to where networks give **best personal chance to get inside the national economy**
- And then secure an income stream

But the **terms of individual migrant entry** depend on how good the migrant's network is –

- **Number and quality of potential job connections**

This is co-determined *by social class and by spatial location* + residual else –

- ✓ *Case data seems to suggest chances may be better from well-connected gatepoints?*

TO ASSESS INTERVENTION: *PLANNING?*

For planning side – Critical element is to establish/promote trans-spatial circuit connections –

- ✓ Circuit flows *connecting rural economy with city/national economy* –
- ✓ ***Current (money + people) has to flow across space or nothing happens:***
 - Rural households can only try to stay self-reliant on whatever national grant income they have, + anything they can get locally

This represents stagnation & entrenched poverty, the absence of dynamism in the economy

- ✓ ***Weak connectivity needs to be seen as a critical challenge to the rural/ urban balance in S A***

TO ASSESS INTERVENTION: *HOUSEHOLD?*

For household side – No migration without networks – and migration is how people roll their dice to *improve chances by shifting all constraints*

- **Urban migration is risky** – it's an impersonal situation, low network insurance capability
- Low network capacity lasts for years if a new migrant is coming in alone –
- Urban networks are same size as rural but less kin-driven – in city, need friends, plus contacts
- ✓ *Entire sample's networks were short of job referral contacts*
 - ✓ And it looks like not enough jobs, total –
 - ✓ ***Need to increase rural/urban economic activity and exchanges to enlarge the pie***

TO INTERVENE? RECOMMENDATIONS

Look for spatial/ economic points where intervention will make difference to real situation

Not address just what is assumed to be reality – NDP makes some rocky assumptions about rural reality

- ✓ Go through **increasing rural connectivity**
 - ✓ Promote development for **rural transport hub gatepoints**
 - ✓ And develop the nodal points on the **flowlines for population movement**
 - ✓ Look at **hinge zones where people enter the metro cities**
 - ✓ Increase rural spatial **connectivity with transport linkups**

There may also be negative consequences (yes, likely)

But, is it possible today to generate rural economic activity without connections to the metro urban sector and the national economy ?

& CONNECTING TO THE CITY

Urban planning needs to site facilities where they increase rural/urban de facto integration –

- Not just at the uncontested least-cost points?
- *This factor bears on **BRT planning** as South Africa's flagship urban integration model*

Cities have two hot development zones – in the core and on the periphery

*For urban planning interventions **look at de facto centre/periphery balance from the standpoint of rural integration***

- Relative role of central city zone still important – *ascertain what share of jobs for rural-born poor as critical population fraction* –
- StepSA results suggest it may not be that high, but clarity is needed

*Then check out **periphery options & how to facilitate access***

TO ASSESS INTERVENTION: IMPACTS?

For intervention, will what is done help Dolores?

Development breaks eggs, and poorest are most fragile – but she has not much further to fall, the house is all she has

- This household configuration is ideal for labour market participation: two young adults with one child
- *But they don't have labour market access –*
- **No contacts = no way inside the developed economy**
 - *No money to travel – she says if she could borrow, she couldn't pay it back*

Social safety net has got to cope? Possible?

- South Africa has very extensive and maybe unaffordable safety net already – covers the child, not the adults

If not to push desperate women toward sex work, need to

- ✓ ***increase connectivity***
- ✓ ***increase total rural economic activity and N jobs***



THANK YOU!

stepSA joint science councils initiative

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