

# Migration, Mobility and Urban Vulnerabilities

## Implications for Urban Governance in South Africa

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## Acronyms

ACMS	-	African Centre for Migration & Society
CoGTA	-	Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CoJ	-	City of Johannesburg
CSDH	-	Commission on the Social Determinants of Health
IDP	-	Integrated Development Plan
LGES	-	Local Government Equitable Share
NSP	-	National Strategic Plan
SALGA	-	South African Local Government Association
SDH	-	Social Determinants of Health
StatsSA	-	Statistics South Africa
WHO	-	World Health Organization

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## Executive Summary

This research report explores the challenges and opportunities associated with migration and mobility into and within South African cities and associated implications for urban governance. The research team consolidated existing research produced by the African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS), University of the Witwatersrand and a review of relevant literature.

While the primary factor for the increase of urban populations may be natural growth and mobility – both internal and cross-border migration also contribute. South Africa has experienced a faster rate of urbanisation compared to neighbouring countries, with almost 60% of the population estimated to live in urban areas (Kok and Collinson, 2006). As a result, cities in South Africa are growing at different rates with the fastest growth now associated with smaller urban centres. Urban growth and associated migration patterns present a range of developmental challenges to local government structures who - in the South African context - are responsible for the social, economic and physical well-being of their residents. These challenges contribute to a range of urban vulnerabilities, an urban (health) penalty, which is experienced by poor urban groups, including migrants (Freudenberg, Galea et al., 2005). This urban penalty results from challenges in accessing the benefits of city living.

Apart from the physical expansion of urban places, South African cities are home to new, emerging spaces that require appropriate governance responses, such as in the case of peripheral informal settlements where challenges such as lack of essential services and inequality manifest. To this end, understanding trends and patterns of mobility allows to understand the implications and outline appropriate responses.

## Report objectives

- To identify urban migration/mobility-related challenges/vulnerabilities and analyse their causes.
- To identify and analyse the links between these challenges/vulnerabilities and the current forms of urban instability.
- To identify and analyse the role of urban governance in creating and/or addressing these challenges/vulnerabilities and the impact of its action or inaction on urban instability.
- To provide recommendations to the South African Cities Network (SACN) for actions and strategies to address these urban challenges/vulnerabilities and related forms of instability.

## Key findings at a glance

There is evidence that in many of the country's cities, migration and mobility have resulted in different forms of socio-economic and political instability and urban vulnerabilities such as: ethnic tensions; violent political rivalries; violent service delivery protests; xenophobic violence; livelihood insecurity; poor health outcomes

and a lack of access to services and opportunities. These have led to an urban penalty for the urban poor. This presents challenges for urban governance and planning, requiring a revitalised response at a local government level.

Box 1 below highlights the key findings of the report.

#### Box 1

##### **At a glance: migration, mobility, and urban vulnerabilities in South African cities**

- Urban settings are assumed to be spaces of improved access to livelihood opportunities and basic services. Whilst often true at an aggregate level, intra-urban inequalities exist and lead to an urban penalty for the urban poor, who include many migrant groups.
- Healthy migration is good for development. However, when not managed properly, migration and mobility lead to numerous forms of social, economic, political and security vulnerabilities not only for migrants but for all residents of any given locality.
- These vulnerabilities often lead to social (ethnic, xenophobia, crime) and political (political rivalries, collective discontent) tensions.
- Governance mechanisms at a city level are key drivers of urban vulnerabilities. Through a lack of adequate proactive urban planning, deliberate discriminatory/exclusionary policies and practices, and a lack of conflict resolution mechanisms, city governance is found to:
  - Cause or contribute to urban vulnerabilities.
  - Exacerbate urban vulnerabilities and tensions; and
  - Fail to prevent tensions from escalating into open conflicts and violence amongst groups or against the state (***socio-political instabilities***).
- There is a need for a revitalised response at a local government level that involves multiple sectors and city actors, an understanding of migration and mobility and proactive urban planning.
- Recommendations to local government include driving governance responses that will ensure that urban vulnerabilities do not manifest as socio-political, urban instabilities and violence. This will be due to improved governance responses, which address the underlying drivers of urban vulnerability and mediate the processes determining whether urban vulnerability leads to manifestations of instability.

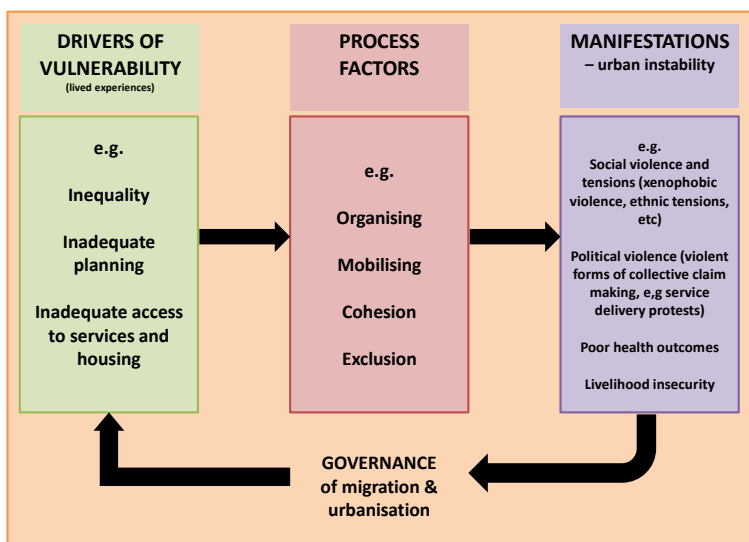
# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Conceptual framework

SACN set to explore the factors that contribute to socio-political instability in cities and the strategies required to increase stability. Based on extensive empirical research in exploring urban governance and responses to migration, urbanisation and urban vulnerabilities, the research team undertook slightly modified approach that avoids a prior need to define 'socio-political instability'. The research team believes that this is a multi-level concept that is influenced by various factors and processes, including urban vulnerability and urban mobility. The study examines its implications for urban spaces, which in turn pose challenges for urban governance through unpacking lived experiences, processes present at community and municipal level, and urban governance responses.

We view governance as meaning the responses and relationships between various actors, including the state, civil society, academia and the private sector. In addition, relationships between the citizen and the state are explored through examining issues relating to, *inter alia*, socio-economic and political participation, engagement and forward-looking planning that involves planning not only for populations that are here 'now' but also for those that are likely to 'come'. In this instance, the state should be understood in the 'plural' rather than the 'singular', in terms of its role and responsibilities at national, provincial and local levels. Figure 1 outlines a draft conceptual framework that the research team has applied in its exploration of the associations between drivers of mobility-related vulnerability, processes and manifestations.

**Figure 1:** Conceptual framework for exploring the links between migration, mobility, urban spaces and governance



The framework presented in Figure 1 has four key components:

1. Drivers of urban vulnerability.
2. Processes involved in determining how these vulnerabilities are managed.
3. Manifestations of these vulnerabilities (urban instabilities).
4. The role of governance in responding to and managing migration and urbanisation.

This report argues that it is through understanding these relationships and developing appropriate governance responses that urban vulnerabilities and urban instabilities in turn can be addressed. More importantly, recommendations are presented that allow for addressing the underlying determinants of urban vulnerabilities and managing the processes that determine whether urban vulnerabilities result in instabilities.

## 1.2 Vulnerability

There are high levels of mobility into South Africa's cities, both from within the country and from across its borders. Urbanisation creates demands on services and the potential for social conflict within the urban spaces to which people are moving. Given that it is impossible to deter people from moving to the country's urban centres, there is an acute need to regularly monitor and assess the potential for violent conflict and the vulnerabilities people face in relation to achieving liveable income levels, access to services and protection by the law. While a move to an urban area often means improved income opportunities and service access, urban residents also face both humanitarian and developmental challenges. Consequently, there is need to define vulnerability profiles of urban residents in ways that inform and assist in effectively targeting both immediate (i.e., 'humanitarian') and long-term (i.e. 'developmental') interventions. Internal or international, mobility may in some ways increase vulnerability, or it may act as a protective factor. The relationship between mobility and vulnerability cannot be assumed but must be established empirically.

The report approaches vulnerability as a multi-dimensional concept. Research conducted at the ACMS has identified four distinct types of vulnerability:

1. Vulnerability to general poverty due to poor levels of income and low capacity to work because of ill health or low educational levels.
2. Vulnerability to poor living conditions and other forms of physical insecurity due to problems accessing public services, adequate housing, and decent nutrition.
3. Vulnerability to violence, assault and harassment due to the actions of criminals or other residents;  
and
4. Vulnerability to insecurity due to the actions of state representatives.

### 1.3 Key findings: urban vulnerabilities

Drawing on extensive research conducted in several South African cities, it is clear that urban vulnerabilities manifest in multiple forms. Whilst much of the research relates to the City of Joburg (CoJ), data is also included from surveys conducted in Polokwane, Tshwane and Ekurhuleni. These can be explained as follows:

- **Place of residence:** Location in the city is one of the most powerful factors in differential vulnerability outcomes. Residents in peripheral informal settlements, as compared with residents of the inner city, no matter their migration history or personal attributes, were much more likely to be unemployed. Further, they have low quality living conditions in terms of housing, water and sanitation as well as low access to services. Moreover, vulnerability to violence or threats of violence is much higher for all residents residing informally and especially for people born outside South Africa. Living in peripheral areas, however, reduces vulnerability to insecurity in some cases due to actions by state representatives such as the police, which is higher in the inner city.
- **Gender:** In relation to security, females are less likely to experience threats or overt violence from neighbours and state actors due to ethnic or national discrimination. For the other types of vulnerability, women are more vulnerable than men to unemployment and to not accessing services.
- **Level of formal education:** A good level of education protects from vulnerability to unemployment and vulnerability to lack of access to basic services. It is the most important factor in predicting absence of paid activity and low capacity to work. It has no effect, however, on vulnerability to violence or targeting by state representatives, once the effect of place of residence has been factored out.
- **Length of stay in Johannesburg:** People who migrated to Johannesburg more recently are more likely to be unemployed or to have a low capacity to work but are less vulnerable concerning security issues than long-term residents.
- **Documentation:** Legal documents significantly protect migrants from being exposed to unemployment and insecurity from state representatives. Surprisingly, it does not seem to have an impact on access to services, or on vulnerability to violence.
- **Having spent most of their lives in an urban or rural environment,** being an internal or international migrant originally from a rural environment seems to be an asset when looking for a job in Johannesburg.

*Nationality has important effects on different forms of vulnerability:*

- If we judge vulnerability relative to liveable income levels, access to services, and protection by the law, the least vulnerable groups in our survey are those who were born in South Africa and have resided for an extended period in their current community of residence. At the other end of the spectrum, there are two significantly different forms of vulnerability. On the one hand, domestic

migrants are particularly vulnerable to economic insecurity, while on the other hand, international migrants are significantly more likely to face physical insecurity, violence and threats by state representatives.

- South Africans in both peripheral areas and the inner city are more likely to be unemployed than non-nationals. However, when education impacts and other factors are excluded through regression analysis, South Africans still have a greater likelihood than foreign nationals of earning more. South Africans are also much more likely to have better access to services and lower vulnerability to violence or threats by state representatives.

## 2. Migration, Urban Vulnerabilities and Governance

Compared to their rural counterparts, cities are assumed to be spaces of improved access to livelihood opportunities and basic services such as healthcare, better health outcomes and extended life expectancy. However, disaggregation of various vulnerability indicators and outcomes within cities uncovers the hidden intra-urban inequalities that clearly demonstrate that access to the urban benefit is unevenly distributed across city residents - often in unjust, inequitable ways. As urban spaces grow, there is an increasing acknowledgement of the need to better understand the linkages between migration and urban vulnerabilities.

In this report, we draw on an urban health lens to assist in unpacking the consequences of various urban vulnerabilities. With a renewed focus on the determinants of health globally and a growing recognition of the importance of addressing health inequities – and their associated urban vulnerabilities, exploration into the relationship between migration, vulnerabilities and inequality within urban areas is increasingly important. However, the process of migration results in many different ‘migrant’ groups being found in cities. This heterogeneity in the experiences of different migrant groups adds complexity to the relationship between migration and health outcomes (WHO, 2010; Hadley, 2011). Different migrant groups experience differential vulnerabilities to, and consequences of ill health, and poor health outcomes. Importantly, new arrivals in the city may experience multiple challenges in legal, social, economic and physical domains (Gushulak et al., 2010). Increasing evidence demonstrates that it is the material and social conditions experienced by migrant groups, that result in marginalisation and social exclusion, and lead to disparities in exposure to vulnerabilities and in health outcomes (Lynam and Cowley, 2007).

Critical to understanding the implications of urban growth and migration and city residents is that urbanisation ‘promotes inequities through the expansion of deprived settlements and the inability of municipal authorities to respond to the growing demands of an increasing population for basic social and environmental amenities’ (Konteh, 2009: 70). The result is an increasing population of ‘urban poor’ – individuals experiencing multiple, interlinked deprivations who are residing on the periphery of service and welfare provision in the city. New arrivals to the city are contributing to this growing urban poor population, experiencing the inequalities and vulnerabilities of urban living increasingly associated with cities of the global South. Mitlin and Satterthwaite’s

definition of urban poverty is important to this study: their description moves beyond income-related measures of urban poverty to highlight the multiple deprivations experienced by urban poor groups (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2004). As summarised in Box 2, this description highlights the lived social, economic and physical experiences of the urban poor, including migrant groups.

**Box 2: Eight interlinked deprivations that constitute urban poverty**

1. Inadequate and often unstable income.
2. Inadequate, unstable or risky asset base.
3. Poor-quality and often insecure, hazardous and overcrowded housing.
4. Inadequate provision of 'public' infrastructure (as this increases the health burden).
5. Inadequate provision of basic services, including health services.
6. Limited or no safety net, such as access to grants.\*
7. Inadequate protection of poorer groups' rights through the law; and
8. Poorer groups' voicelessness and powerlessness within political systems and bureaucratic structures.

Source: (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2004)

\*Note: It is important to recognise that the South African situation is different to many low-income country contexts. In South Africa, a social welfare system exists, which includes: disability grants, child support grants, child foster care grants, care dependency grants and old-age pensions. For further information on the South Africa welfare system, see Coovadia et al ,see (2009).

## 2.1 The social determinants of urban health

Since 2004, there has been a renewed interest in urban health, coupled with a recognition of the need to understand the impacts of urban living conditions, factors that move beyond the individual onto the health of urban populations (Freudenberg, et al. 2005; Galea, et al. 2005; Vlahov, et al. 2007; WHO, 2008). This report draws on this to assist in unpacking the consequences and outcomes of exposure to urban vulnerabilities. Of central importance to the more recent urban health work, has been the understanding that the health of urban residents is more than the risk factors of individuals, and more than their health care needs. The social and physical environment of cities, combined with health and social service systems form the primary determinants of the health of urban populations (Vlahov and Galea 2002; Vlahov, et al. 2005). These are what we label as urban vulnerabilities.

Recent years have seen a move from descriptive studies of health outcomes to explorations of the role that upstream social determinants of health (SDH) play in mediating health outcomes. This recognition of the impact of social and political conditions on health (Starfield 2006) led to renewed energy in attempts to address the underlying SDH. This includes the World Health Organization (WHO) Commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH), established in early 2005. The final report from the Commission clearly indicates that action to address health inequities involves addressing the social determinants of health (WHO 2008). The CSDH adopted a broad definition of the SDH, encompassing “the full set of social conditions in which people live and work” (Commission on the Social Determinants of Health 2007: 4). The associated WHO Knowledge Network on Urban Settings focussed on the SDH and urbanisation, namely:

...issues related to health development, with particular emphasis on health care delivery and urbanisation, delineating the place of health systems in society, and determining links between population, the economy, and the environment, and assessing health needs from a development perspective.<sup>1</sup>

Migration is acknowledged to be a determinant of health, mediating health outcomes in various ways (MacPherson and Gushulak 2001; Gushulak and MacPherson 2004; Anarfi 2005; MacPherson, Gushulak et al. 2007; WHO 2008; Gushulak 2010). Despite this, migration was not included in the recent Rio Declaration on the SDH (WHO, 2011). Health is mediated in several ways by migration; firstly through movement – the migratory journey itself (pre-movement, the journey, arrival), and, secondly via disparities in health risk (including the health system itself) that exist between points of origin and destination (Gushulak and MacPherson, 2004). This report shows that disparities within the urban context (i.e. at the point of destination) experienced by diverse migrant groups are responsible for the inequalities observed between internal and cross-border migrants. In other words, the unequal distribution in the underlying determinants of health determine the health of migrants (Gushulak et al., 2010). Importantly, the public health system (itself a determinant of health) experiences two main challenges in a space populated by multiple migrant groups:

- Understanding of the diversity and disparity of the population; and
- Ensuring that migrants have access to care (Gushulak et al., 2010).

The health vulnerabilities and poor health outcomes that can be associated with both internal and cross-border migration may develop only after arrival at the destination (Gushulak 2010). It is not only the process of leaving and moving that can influence health. A common observation is that of the ‘healthy migrant effect’ whereby the health of recent arrivals is initially better than that of the local population and often healthier than the population that they migrate from. But this positive health effect is seen to deteriorate over time (Lu 2008; Malmusi et al., 2010). This indicates two key considerations: firstly that healthy individuals are more likely to

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<sup>1</sup> Kjellstrom, Mercado et al. 2007: i2

migrate and secondly, that the social, physical and economic conditions in the destination, in this case, the city, will over time, negatively impact the health of the migrant.

However, it is important to note that most studies exploring the 'healthy migrant effect' focus on non-nationals (immigrants), comparing their health status to the native born population. There are few studies that have explored whether this effect is also observed for internal migrants. Lu (2008) suggests that the 'healthy migrant effect' is also observed amongst internal migrants, but indicates that cross-border migrants may be more strongly selected for their health status than internal migrants. Those crossing borders travel from far and are likely to have had to overcome a range of cultural and legal barriers. In the same study, Lu (2008) demonstrates that health status is a key consideration for would-be migrants, with those that migrate likely to have a better health status than others within their sending household.

Despite the multiple challenges faced by cross-border migrants - most notably the unwelcoming, xenophobic, anti-foreigner social context - they demonstrate more successful urban livelihood strategies than internal migrants in the city. Using the key livelihood outcome measure of food security, we see that cross-border migrants are significantly more likely to be food secure than internal migrants in the city. Cross-border migrants are more likely to benefit from the city, whilst internal migrants are more likely to experience an urban health penalty and remain trapped within the informal urban periphery. When exploring the experiences (and health outcomes) of residents of African cities, there is a need to move away from an assumption that being a citizen results in advantage; '...our focus should be on the diversity of migration experiences' (Madhavan and Landau 2011: 492).

Drawing on data collected in Johannesburg, it is clear that inequitable access to positive determinants of urban health i.e. urban vulnerabilities, result in inequities between internal and cross-border migrant groups. Their respective migration, and urbanisation trajectories are determined by their (lack of) prior urban experience and by whom they already know in the city. Cross-border migrants in Johannesburg have more successful urban livelihood systems than internal migrants, resulting from differential access to positive determinants of urban health. This results from inequitable exposure to social, physical and economic circumstances (determinants of health) in the city. Whilst cross-border migrants face a range of challenges relating to discrimination when attempting to access public healthcare, and in their interactions with the state, their networks into the city and their prior urban experience appear to provide them with an advantage in the urban context. They are more likely to enter Johannesburg through the central city and earn an income. Internal migrants, on the other hand, are more likely to have no prior urban experience and enter the city through its informal periphery, which is far from economic opportunities and from service provision including healthcare by the state.

Pro-poor policy responses to the migration and urbanisation experiences of poor urban residents are urgently required. In South Africa, this will need a multi-level response from different spheres of government (national,

provincial and local) that is guided by an in-depth analysis of the inequalities in access to positive determinants of urban health experienced by migrant groups in the city.

## 2.2 Migration and mobility

Research around issues of migration and mobility has focused largely on labour migration and problems associated with it. Very little has been done to analyse vulnerabilities associated with migration and the implications for urban governance. South Africa is a very diverse country and has not fully dealt with issues of creating social, spatial and economic integration and thus, migration, particularly external migration, poses further challenges for the country's policy planning and implementation. Since the formal end of Apartheid in 1994, South Africa has been experiencing a great wave of both internal and external migrations of citizens and non-citizens from different racial, ethnic, social and economic backgrounds in the country's history. For millions of these new migrants who settle in South Africa's urban settings, the urban context involves threats and increases their experiences of vulnerability and insecurity while also posing challenges for urban governance.

Broadly, there is neglect of the various aspects of migration (Maharaj, 2009) including the relationship between migration and the associated vulnerabilities suffered by other social groups, skilled labour migration and its potential to enhance the development of the host country, undocumented migration (Landau *et al.*, 2011) and its implications for data collection and management and the general implications patterns of migration on South Africa's local urban governance. Given that the country's social and democratic framework needs to consider migration, several researchers have also argued that migration policy must avoid naïve strategies (Wa Kwabe-Segati and Landau, 2008) in planning for migrants. There should, however, be an understanding that migration is inevitable and needs to be considered in policy planning.

### 2.2.1 Migration patterns, implications and challenges

Migration patterns in South Africa are complex and dynamic, ranging from processes of permanence to impermanence. This includes movements associated with the search for improved livelihoods such as education and temporary or seasonal labour-associated movement - as in the case of agricultural workers. As a result, different groups of migrants remain in their destination for different periods of time, with different motivations. For example, a student in the city may remain to take up employment, or move elsewhere. Research indicates that many urban migrants anticipate returning to their rural homes; thus, some urban residents are unwilling to invest socially and financially in their urban lives, preferring to invest in their rural homes. This has important implications for governance responses and for the development of appropriate interventions. Critically, local governments need to engage between rural 'sending' areas and urban destinations to develop complementary, connected responses.

In South Africa, the majority of people move internally. South African migrants are individuals who move between provincial boundaries from rural to urban areas, between urban areas and increasingly within urban areas. The most recent census data (2011) indicates that 44% of residents in the Gauteng province are South Africans born elsewhere. In comparison, between 3% and 4% of the country is a cross-border migrant; an individual who has moved from another country – predominantly from other southern African states. This cross-border population is not evenly distributed. As a result, the study observed differences in the prevalence of non-nationals in different provinces. The 2011 census indicates that 7.4% of the Gauteng province population are cross-border migrants compared to 3.3% in the Western Cape province. These figures indicate that different urban spaces have different migration profiles, requiring locally-appropriate responses.

Pre-1994, the country was characterised by temporary labour migration patterns due to strict policies that controlled black people's mobility in and out of cities. In contrast, post-1994, saw a dramatic shift in those movements and the duality of internal migration and external migration presented complexity and difficulty for the democratic government (Posel, 2003; 2006). This was mainly due to the new democratic government's election and the resultant removal of the regimes that governed people's movements in and out of cities. Johannesburg, famously known as the city of gold by people residing in rural areas, became the major host city for most migrants.

Although migration did not begin in the post-1994 era, a shift in migration patterns was observed due to the opening up of South Africa's borders and cities. Despite this shift, contemporary migration in South Africa continues to be influenced by similar factors to those prior to 1994. While some literature argues for changing patterns of migration within and into South Africa, Posel's (2003) work suggests otherwise. In her work on internal migration, she argues that people's migratory patterns are still very much dictated by the labour market and that 'there is no evidence to support the 'end' or decline of circular labour migration during the 1990s' (ibid, 6). The majority of both internal and external migrants continue to move to and/or in-between cities to look for employment opportunities. The spatial arrangement of the apartheid city also makes it difficult to plan for inclusive cities that are easily accessible and rather continues to dictate people's mobility to an extent. This has led to the continued movement of internal migrants between townships and cities where cities serve mainly as spaces of employment.

Balbo and Marconi (2006), however, argue that migration patterns in South African cities are no longer characterised by labourers only but also include qualified professionals, students and increasingly women. In congruent with the latter, Posel (2003; 2006) argues that 'temporary labour migration seems to be on the rise driven particularly by the rise in female labour migration' (ibid, 6). This "feminisation of migration" (Balbo and Marconi, 2006, 709) has led to different patterns of migrants' engagement with the city. According to Kihato (2009; 2013), migrant women of Johannesburg, both internal and external, engage with the city differently. In the city, women's lives are characterised by the engagement and disengagement with the city and the state at specific times as well as their unwillingness to settle in one place for long. Despite this shift, female migration continues to be excluded from policy planning. According to Kihato (2013), female migration challenges the

territorial urban development and planning especially given that these women's lives are not 'place-bound and where community participation makes little sense' for people who are constantly moving between spaces and places (ibid, 128).

### **2.2.2 Challenges for urban governance**

Current responses to migration in South Africa predominantly focus on controlling the movements of cross-border migrants, through an increasingly restrictive immigration policy of the Department of Home Affairs. Limited attention has, to date, been paid to the creation of inclusive and cohesive cities for migrants, including both internal and cross-border migrants, with the exception of the establishment of the Johannesburg Migrant Advisory Council, the Johannesburg Migrant Advisory Panel and the City of Johannesburg's Migration Unit. Established in response to a call from the Mayor for action, these initiatives, whilst sometimes limited, indicate a willingness to address the complexity of the urban context and its diverse residents. The perceived and prevalent notions of migrants, as only being non-nationals placing a burden on host countries, result in a lack of local-level responses. Both internal and cross-border migrants are a constituent part of the country's social, cultural, economic and spatial spheres, thus policy planning needs to acknowledge and consider their presence for effective policies.

### **2.2.3 Integration and social cohesion**

South African citizens are still segregated along racial, class and ethnic lines; hence creating policies that foster a sense of cohesion to include immigrants provides further challenges for the democratic government. Two decades into democracy, the country is still characterised by great socio-economic disparities, which have led to a precarious relationship between civil society and the state. Policies aimed at enforcing social-spatial integration have been less successful. This is partly due to historical relations that existed between the various racial groups. The legacy of apartheid and socio-economic anxieties arising from 'unfulfilled expectations' (Worby et al., 2008) of the democratic government, coupled with issues arising from the complexity of external (cross-border) migration, have led to immigrants becoming "scapegoats" for government's failure to provide services and employment to citizens (Gagnon and Khondour-Casteras, 2012). This fuels even more resentment from civil society, eventually leading to the exclusion of and attacks against migrants, riots and civil conflict (ibid).

Urbanisation and globalisation have led to an upward trend in migration especially for cities in the global south, which has presented various implications for urban governance. Local governments, whose responsibility includes provision of services to communities at the local level, are usually less prepared in planning for the integration of migrants culturally, socially and economically, especially given the diverse nature of migrant populations (Balbo and Marconi, 2006). Most migrants, depending on their socio-economic status, are perceived as exacerbating issues of low-income populations in host countries. Despite the pride of South Africa in having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world (Simeon, 1998 in Crush, 2002,

Landau et al., 2011), the country is still plagued by uncertainties towards immigrants and the violence that ensues, like the deportation of undocumented ('illegal') migrants, violent attacks by some members of host countries (2008 xenophobic attacks) and brutal acts by the police (Crush, 2002).

Emerging researching aiming to confront the challenging dynamics of social integration and cohesion has focused mainly on macro-institutional change (Durrheim and Dixon, 2005b) and particularly for South African nationals. Very little research has been done to look at the social integration and cohesion in relation to external migration despite that the country's cities especially, play host to many immigrants arriving from other African countries. Social integration is seen as an important aspect of an integrated and cohesive society. Nevertheless, there is considerable confusion as to what constitutes 'social integration' and definitions differ from individual to individual. Given these tensions regarding the definition or lack thereof of social integration, South Africa has opted for the creation of a socially cohesive society.

Social cohesion itself, however, does not have a universal definition. Cheong *et al.* (2007) define social cohesion as generally characterised by common values and purposes in society as well as a sense of belonging and solidarity for diverse people. South Africa's National Strategy for Social Cohesion (2012) defines it as the bond that holds society together, characterised by a coherent, united and functional society with an environment that promotes and allows for citizenship. Dr Kgamadi Kometsi of the Human Rights Commission describes social cohesion as an outcome of social integration and that without social integration; no society can ever be socially cohesive (Racial Integration Social Dialogue, 2013). Although he does not define what social integration or social cohesion is, it is clear that there is a relationship between the two where the latter cannot be achieved without the former. This research moves beyond the notion of social cohesion as based on 'commonness' to one based on the existence of difference and how conflicts that arise as a result are dealt with in a non-violent way. Importantly, the practice of non-violence is seen as the manifestation of social cohesion; see Figure 2 below.

**Figure 2: Components of social cohesion**



Source: ACMS, 2012

One of the limitations and misguided assumptions of urban governance regarding efforts to integrate immigrants into societies is that the excluded and marginalised live in a social and cultural void and therefore need to be assimilated into mainstream society. This approach leads to policies that promote uniformity in the form of a national identity or common values. The ACMS's concept of social cohesion allows for hybrid identities and differences and recognises the existence and inevitable nature of tensions. This is consistent with Amin's work on the multiplicity of different identities in urban spaces and how people can encounter, embrace and live in diversity as opposed to trying to forge a single identity (e.g. national identity). In planning for cities, urban governance needs to move beyond understanding cities as homogenous and static boundaries to those of hybridity and fluidity. Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) need to include plans for permanent and temporary migrants in cities as opposed to having separate plans for South African citizens and for immigrants.

### 2.2.4 Recognition of migrants

As officials continue to view migration as an ailment and migrants as a burden and an 'illegitimate drain on public resources, such perceptions place migrants outside of local government constituency' (Landau *et al.*, 2011, 8), leading to further exclusion, marginalisation and non-recognition of their rights as citizens. This is applicable to both cross-border and internal migrants.

In some instances, cross-border migrants struggle to obtain the required travel documents or get them on time. In other instances, they are unable to renew their visas due to situations beyond their control and this leads to individuals becoming irregular (undocumented, 'illegal'), which can result in violent confrontations and

attacks at the hands of repressive state apparatuses, such as the Johannesburg Metro Police Department. This however, does not mean that only 'illegal' migrants are treated in brutal ways. Kihato (2009; 2013) has shown that even when an immigrant has the right document and granted full citizenship, they are still ill-treated by state officials and civil society, just because they are not South African.

The 2008 xenophobic attacks revealed not only tensions with immigrants but also ethnic tensions that exist between South Africans as 'South Africans speaking the 'wrong languages' were also subjected to violent and fatal attacks' (Worby et al., 2008). The 2008 xenophobic attacks and other undocumented attacks also attest to the challenge of civil society and state officials in accepting immigrants as part of society. This rejection of immigrants is seen as a result of the perceived threats posed by immigrants to the host country's prosperity and social cohesion leading to the establishment of policies that are restrictive (Gagnon and Khondour-Casteras, 2012). Since 1990, South Africa has reduced the number of work permits issued to immigrants leading to a constant decline in legal migrants but a perceived significant increase in illegal or undocumented migrants (Balbo and Gidion, 2006). Despite this tightening of immigration controls in developing countries, people continue to move and risk their lives in search of employment and better lives. (Balbo and Marconi, 2006)

### **2.2.5 Irregular or undocumented migration**

Irregular (undocumented or illegal) migration is seen as the most problematic type of migration particularly given the impossibility of getting accurate data regarding numbers of undocumented immigrants. Despite South Africa's tightening of its porous borders to control the inflow of immigrants from other African countries, Tati (2008) argues that irregular migration in the country is likely to increase due to high levels of unemployment in sub-Saharan Africa and that it is this same migration that has fuelled anti-migrants attitudes among officials and civil society. This is particularly due to the fact that illegal immigrants are willing to do exploitative work under hostile conditions where their rights are constantly violated. This again leads to civil society perceiving them as threats to the already scarce jobs available to South African citizens, which fuels more resentment and exclusion. The continued criminalisation of immigrants by state representatives and the dirty connotations associated with being 'foreign' leads to exclusion of immigrants not only from mainstream society but also to services such as education, health care provision and employment to name a few. This exacerbates their vulnerable and insecure livelihoods. Consequently, the resentment and opposition from host societies can force immigrants to appropriate and/or create new spaces and communities of 'belonging' (Maharaj, 2009).

### 3. Complex Urban Contexts

South African urban contexts are complex, requiring responses that are able to engage at multiple levels and across multiple sectors.

The lack of acceptance of urbanisation has had the most severe impact on the urban poor. Too often poor urban residents, particularly the most recent waves of rural-urban migrants, are treated as a temporary presence on the urban landscape. There is a reluctance to regularise informal patterns of settlement, provide infrastructure and services, or provide alternatives to the ever-present threat of forced eviction (Garau, Sclar et al. 2005: 14).

#### 3.1 Weak rights to the city

Developing countries' urban contexts – including South African cities - can be characterised by large numbers of residents living with 'weak rights to the city' (Balbo and Marconi, 2005: 13). Many poor, urban non-migrant and migrant groups (both internal and cross-border) experience challenges in realising their rights to access basic services in the city, including public healthcare, social services, employment, housing, and secure tenure. Weak rights have been identified in various ways, including: challenges by cross-border migrants in accessing their right to basic healthcare and ART; challenges by residents of informal settlements in accessing to adequate housing, basic services (such as water, sanitation and refuse collection) and healthcare; the struggle by internal migrants, who reside in hostels and informal settlements in the inner-city, to claim their rights to secure livelihoods, basic services and adequate housing

#### 3.2 Fragile livelihoods

The livelihoods of the poor are determined by the context in which they are located, and the opportunities and constraints that this context provides. The context (economic, environmental, social, political) determines the assets that individuals are able to access, how they use them, and therefore their inability to obtain a secure livelihood (Meikle, 2002). Urban livelihoods are particularly distinct as a result of the specific complexities presented within a complex urban context (Meikle, 2002). High levels of unemployment aggravate the inequalities experienced within the city, and the number of those without access to a secure livelihood continues to grow (Beall et al., 2002). Although migrants may typically struggle to access a secure, formal urban livelihood, it is important to recognise that informal livelihood opportunities in urban areas exceed employment opportunities in rural areas in South Africa (Cornwell and Inder 2004).

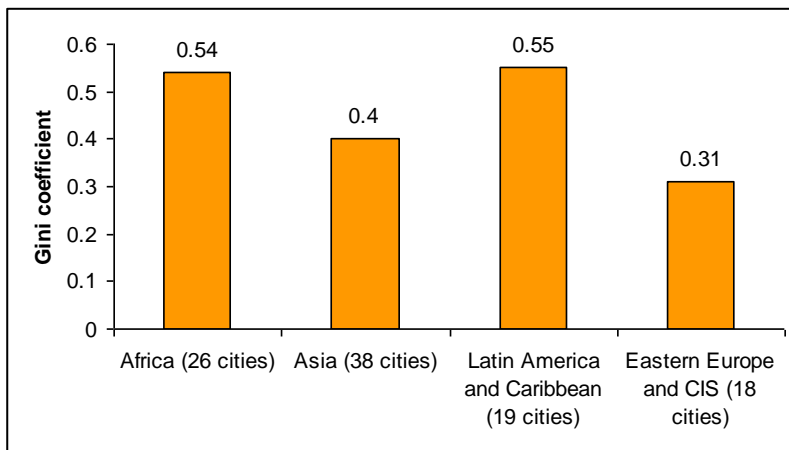
Individuals working within the informal economy in South African cities are considered among the most marginalised as they are dependent on 'survivalist' activities. Many are African, female and young, and therefore susceptible to HIV infection (Vass, 2003). Survivalist or fragile livelihood strategies are complex, leading to marginalisation and vulnerability. (de Swardt, Puoane et al. 2005). There is a need to explore the survivalist livelihood strategies of urban poor groups, in order to conceptualise how to support them. Further,

the health of urban poor groups requires consideration of the structural factors underlying poverty, particularly around the vulnerability of livelihoods (Du Toit 2005).

### 3.3 Urban inequalities and inequity in health

The Gini coefficient is used to measure equality; a Gini coefficient of zero indicates perfect equality, and a Gini coefficient of one indicates perfect inequality. African cities have very high inequalities, as displayed in Figure 3 below.

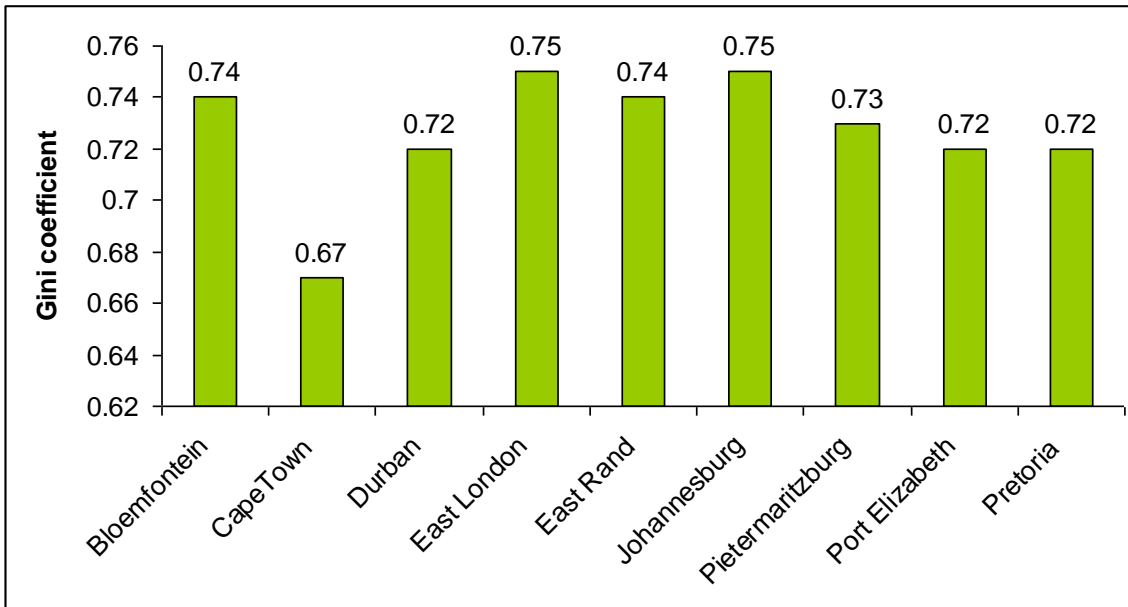
**Figure 3: Average Gini coefficient of selected cities by region**



(Figure adapted from UN-HABITAT 2008: 63)

South African cities are the most unequal in the world, with an average Gini coefficient of 0.73. Figure 3 displays the Gini coefficients of selected South African cities (UN-HABITAT 2008). Johannesburg (with East London) is shown to have the highest Gini coefficient, of 0.75 (UN-HABITAT 2008). This makes Johannesburg one of the most unequal cities globally.

Figure 4: Gini coefficient in selected South African cities



(Figure adapted from UN-HABITAT 2008: 72)

According to WHO (2008), inequalities in health in urban settings reflect, to a great extent, inequities in economic, social and living conditions that have been a hallmark of most societies since urbanisation began.”

Inequities (or disparities) in health are considered as differences in health that are unnecessary, avoidable, unfair and unjust (Whitehead 1992). Health inequities, for example, result in intra-urban differences in health status (for example, see Goldstein, Rossi-Espagnet et al. 1995; Tanner and Harpham 1995). Public health should strive to achieve equity in health, which can usefully be described as ‘the absence of disparities in health (and in its key social determinants) that are systematically associated with social advantage/disadvantage’ (Braveman and Gruskin 2003: 256). Pursuing health equity means pursuing the elimination of health disparities (Braveman, 2006). There are multiple societal influences that affect the distribution of health in populations (Starfield 2006). Health can be described as a product of many exposures that are superimposed on genetic predispositions; achieving equity in health is therefore a political process based on a commitment to social justice, not just survival of the fittest (Starfield 2006). Recognition of this requires an inter-sectoral approach that engages with range of policies, including those aimed at physical, social, economic and education (Acheson, 1998 in Starfield 2006).

According to Kjellstrom et al. (2007: i5) ‘Achieving health equity in the urban setting requires action toward fairness and equity within and between countries. Engaging the people themselves, urban communities, and multiple sectors in the urban development process is a must.’

Local government must find ways to address the underlying structural determinants that result in intra-urban differences in health outcomes. Such action will assist in achieving equity in the health of urban populations.

### 3.4 Six central development challenges

Through synthesising the challenges present in the urban context, six central developmental challenges have been identified (see Table 1). These six challenges help in understanding the components of vulnerability; the characteristics of urban vulnerable groups, their urban setting (location), and how urban inequalities lead to poor health outcomes. It is argued that any attempt to improve – and sustain – the health of urban populations, a key urban vulnerability, requires that local level policy makers and practitioners understand, engage with, and address these challenges.

**Table 1: South African urban contexts present six central developmental challenges**

<b>Challenge</b>	<b>Description</b>
1. Urban inequalities	These are differences between rich and poor groups/places, used as a predictor of poor population health. Urban inequalities are experienced in multiple ways, including inequitable health outcomes.
2. Migration	Internal and cross-border migration are features of urban growth and of the urban context. This includes those migrating in pursuit of improved livelihood opportunities as well as individuals fleeing persecution (asylum seekers and refugees). Many urban migrants remain connected to their household of origin through an interlinked livelihood system.
3. Informal settlements	Urban growth places pressure on limited appropriate and well-located housing and land tenure opportunities. This results in increases in the numbers of people residing informally in and on the edge of urban areas.
4. Residents with 'weak rights to the city'	Urban poor groups are increasingly consisting of migrant populations. They may experience challenges in claiming their rights within the city. This can include the right to access basic services, housing, health services, documentation and employment.
5. Urban HIV prevalence	Whilst not all developing country urban contexts experience high urban HIV prevalence, this is particularly true in sub-Saharan Africa. In South Africa, urban HIV prevalence is found to be double that in rural areas, and highest within urban informal settlements. HIV provides a contextual challenge which requires much more than a sectoral health response.

<p>6. Fragile urban livelihood systems</p>	<p>The livelihoods of urban poor groups are determined by the context in which they are located, and the opportunities and constraints that this context provides. Survivalist livelihood strategies refer to individuals working within the informal economy during a time of crisis. A period of survival is when individuals are unable to plan far into the future, and instead spend their energy surviving day to day.(Vearey 2008)</p>
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Source: (adapted from Vearey, et al. 2010); Vearey (2008); Balbo and Marconi (2005: 13).

## 4. Emerging Spaces

Most immigrants arriving in Johannesburg and other cities in the global south have access to various organisations and informal markets through networks located in the city that provide reference points for newcomers (Balbo and Marconi, 2006). Particular spaces have emerged that foster a sense of integration, identity and belonging for immigrants. These emerging spaces are broadly a result of the macro processes of society where, particularly due to the lack of support from local government, migrants are dependent on informal networks, NGOs and religious organisations for support. The refusal of municipalities to create spaces for immigrants in inner cities exacerbates their vulnerable positions in society (Maharaj, 2009). Work done in South African cities has shown that several organisations and networks provide support to migrants. For example, religious institutions can move beyond being spaces<sup>2</sup> of worship and mere spaces of safety during xenophobic attacks towards becoming spaces of ‘negotiating inclusion and belonging’ for immigrants (Landau, 2009, 197). Other spaces of significance in inner cities or host countries include NGOs and networks such as the informal networks including street traders that offer emerging spaces of urban voice and citizenship to immigrants (see Brown *et al.*, 2010).

Landau (2009; 2010) argues, however, that this engagement with particular spaces is a tactical one, what he calls ‘tactical cosmopolitanism’<sup>3</sup>. Migrants, seeking not assimilation or integration into host societies, adopt

<sup>2</sup> The conception of space or an emerging space moves beyond society’s general understanding of space. Spaces are contextual and the term space entails an “analytical category”...which needs to be analysed and to see how it “compares or contrasts to already existing concepts and what value they might add” (Rip and Joly, 2012, 3). Spaces are defined from a contextual framework with which one is trying to understand. For example...one might want to look at “emerging spaces” of integration be it economic, social or cultural” and that guides you in terms of what it is that you are looking and how that particular space- setting-can help in identifying crucial links to the broader study. Cities are not homogenous and are characterised by different social, political and economic spaces and it is through an analysis of these spaces that one can get a sense of the dynamics that are occurring within the urban area.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Immigrants adopt various membership forms which grant them claims to the city while positioning them in a condition where they are not part of localised socio-political responsibilities (Landau 2009, 2010).

tactical means that allow them ‘to be in but not part of the city’ (ibid, 197). Migrants that arrive in cities do not always, in most cases, settle in one particular space, they move within and between other spaces and cities. These forms of mobility are mainly due to economic and physical insecurities (Landau, 2009). Tactical cosmopolitanism is also reflected in Kihato’s (2013) work on migrant women’s engagement and non-engagement with not just the city but the state as well. The ways in which migrants engage with the city reflects broader processes of urban governance and the implications it has on people. Such expressions in most cases reflect the state’s incapacity to deal with migration.

#### **4.1 Challenge: relevant data**

Data collection is a great challenge for governing migration. South Africa’s urban governance requires a strong data collection and reliable database that is good enough to forecast future trends of migration and implications. This also requires that patterns of migrations be considered in conjunction with countries of departure for immigrants entering the country, and for internal migrants entering cities, to better understand the factors that determine people’s mobility.

Although some immigrants want to settle in South Africa permanently, research conducted by the Southern African Migration Project amongst others, suggests that majority of immigrants (including asylum seekers and refugees] do not have the intention to reside in South Africa permanently (McDonald et al., 1999; McDonald, 2000 cited in Peberdy et al., 2004). This correlates with Kihato’s work (2013) on the mobility of migrant women in Johannesburg<sup>4</sup>. Thus, instead of creating policies that are fixed and territorial, where society is homogenised into groups that share similar interests, policy makers need to analyse the ‘situated experiences’ of urban dwellers and their survival strategies to better understand issues of migration and develop appropriate and effective policy responses (ibid, 123). Given this temporariness of migrants’ settlement in Johannesburg and its ‘transit point’ (Kihato, 2013) status to some migrants, urban governance needs to consider the migrants’ mobility, engagement and experiences with the city in order to create spaces and services that cater for temporary migration and movements within and between different spaces.

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<sup>4</sup> “Women adopt tactical relationships with the city, but do not necessarily forge lasting relationships with it, their investments and futures seem to be elsewhere, either home or outside of the continent (Kihato, 2013: 128).

## 4.2 Citizenship and migration

South African cities, like many African cities, are going through transformation, with most of them struggling with challenges of post-authoritarian states and/or civil conflict (Dirsuweit, 2006). African cities now face increased levels of migration and violence and that these issues are intertwined and synergised, however, factors that influence them at the urban scale are both diverse and intriguing (Dirsuweit, 2006). Most of these cities have promoted and adopted policies based on the Washington Consensus of neo-liberal economics with effects that include the privatisation of services traditionally administered by the state. Concurrent with the rise in the privatisation of security, mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, was the concern with the issue of citizenship. The concept of the citizen has a strong spatial aspect to it, with traditional definitions endorsing the rights and practices of urban inhabitants and their relationship with the nation state (Baubock, 2003 in Dirsuweit, 2006). According to Painter and Philo (1995 in Dirsuweit, 2006) citizenship is both *de jure* and *de facto* where, in the context of African countries-especially South Africa, citizenship is defined in a list of constitutional rights. Despite having these rights on paper, the social and cultural relations often restrict the urban citizen's ability to actively engage with the state at the urban scale (Dirsuweit, 2006).

Existing literature and conceptions of 'citizenship' are problematic and granting immigrants citizenship status does not guarantee their safety and fulfilment of rights. Despite suggestions by authors to move from normative understandings of citizenship towards 'urban citizenship', other scholars have argued for a shift towards Harvey's conception of Lefebvre's work on 'the right to the city'<sup>5</sup>, which provides a better understanding of individuals' rights to the city, urban citizenship and the engagement with the city (Balbo and Tuts, 2005; Koenig, 2006; Maharaj, 2009). Others argue for the adoption of this approach only if specific rights are included (Plyushteva, 2005). South Africa's constitutional democracy is a rights-based one, however, most of these 'rights' are conceptualised as needs (e.g. rights to adequate housing, clean water, health, etc.). A few of them have to do with individual rights to actively participate in the city, to define and redefine the city and be defined by it.

A successful city requires its residents to identify with it, to imagine themselves as citizens with a moral attachment to it (Tomlinson *et al.* 2003) and a sense of ownership. South African institutions are in turmoil as cultural identities are emerging, with each identity experiencing the city differently from all the other groups. Given this multiplicity of identities and their associated experiences, Tomlinson *et al.* (2003) further argue that group identities as the basis of city governance can pose challenges. Amongst other problems, they raise the issue of institutions and their ability to enable citizens of the city to live 'together in difference' (Young, 2000 in Tomlinson *et al.*, 2003).

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<sup>5</sup> 'The right to the city is more than the individual liberty to access urban resources, it is the right change ourselves by changing the city...the freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves a neglected form of human rights' (Harvey, 2008, 23).

According to Ash Amin (2002, 2008), urban public spaces simultaneously present challenges of negotiating difference in close proximity and creating spaces where people can encounter and negotiate difference (race, class, gender and nationality). Amin argues that social interaction seldom breaks 'attitudes and practices towards the stranger' (2008, 10). His work focuses on the role of micro-public spaces of social contact and encounter including schools, parks, workspaces, as vital sites reconciling and overcoming difference. However, he argues that these sites need not be seen as sites that lead to the formation of a democratic public but be sites where an already democratic public can practice their democracy. Amin and Thrift (2002) further argue that urban citizens (internal or external migrants, permanent or temporary) living in cities deserve citizenship rights, separate from notions of nationality, ethnicity and race.

## 5. Urban Vulnerability in Gauteng Province<sup>6</sup>

In 2013, the ACMS undertook a survey in three metros of the Gauteng province: - Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane. This section presents some key findings. The detailed research report has not yet been published but further information can be obtained from the ACMS. The following findings were made from the report:

*Vulnerability to insecure and unstable livelihoods increases as a result of lower levels of education, a lack of documentation, residing informally, living in a larger household, being a long-term South African resident, and living in Johannesburg Metro.*

### Education

- Overall, cross-border migrants were found to have higher levels of education than South Africans.
- Respondents with more years of schooling tend to live in inner-city areas.
- Cross-border migrants residing in the inner-city were the group most likely to have a University degree.

### Income

- Cross-border migrants have the highest proportion of current income earning compared to South Africans. At the time of the interview, 48.5% of local South Africans, 48% of internal migrants and 30% of cross-border migrants indicated that they had no current income.

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<sup>6</sup> Summary of key findings from an unpublished report produced for the International Organisation for Migration and the Gauteng Department of Social Development

- Internal South African migrants residing in informal settlements are the group least likely to be earning an income (61%).
- Inner-city households have the highest monthly income: ZAR 11368 for local households; ZAR 10,609 for cross-border migrant households and ZAR 10,365 for internal migrant households.
- Informal settlement households have the lowest monthly income: ZAR 2,688 for local households; ZAR 2,892 for internal migrant households, and ZAR 2,840 for cross-border migrant households.
- The proportion of income-earners within a household is highest for cross-border migrants.

*Vulnerability to poor health and poor living conditions increases due to lower levels of education, lower levels of English, living informally, being Zimbabwean, a lack of documentation, living in a larger household, and living in Ekurhuleni Metro.*

### **Access to services**

- Cross-border migrants residing in informal settlements were most likely to have been denied access to services (public healthcare, justice, financial institution, children not in school or experiences transport difficulties).

### **Environmental health**

- In informal settlements, respondents reported uncollected waste, water pollution, leaking sewerage, mine dumps, household fuel smoke and roads are causing pollution to varied degree.
- In the inner-city and peripheral areas, vehicle emissions, dump and uncollected waste were reported to cause pollution.

### **Health**

- Cross-border migrants were the group least likely to report any health problems within the household compared to locals and internal migrants.
- Local South Africans residing in the periphery areas were most likely to have a household member with a chronic disease.
- Of the health problems reported, high-blood pressure and diabetes were most likely to be reported, and mostly reported amongst local migrants residing in the inner-city.
- Local South African households were more likely to report HIV in the household (6% informal settlement, 6% inner-city, 8% periphery) compared to internal migrants (3% informal settlement, 4% inner-city, 8% periphery) and cross-border migrants (4% informal settlement, 1% inner-city, 4% periphery).

### **Food security**

- Locals residing informally had the lowest dietary diversity score (DDS), which indicates that they are the group most vulnerable to food and nutrition insecurity.

### **Quality of housing**

- Within informal settlements, 91% of locals, 91% of internal migrants and 77% of cross-border migrants reside in shacks.
- Within peripheral areas, 23% of locals, 16% of internal migrants and 11% of cross-border migrants reported living in RDP houses.
- Backyard shacks are important for migrant groups; 4% of locals, 12% of internal migrants and 21% of cross-border migrants in peripheral areas reported residing in backyard shacks.
- Internal South African migrants and cross-border migrants were most likely to share their dwelling with other households.
- Internal migrants residing informally have the poorest quality of housing.
- Local South Africans residing informally have the most overcrowded housing.

### **Access to electricity**

- Informal settlements are most likely to experience challenges in accessing electricity; 31% of locals, 36% of internal migrants and 20% of cross-border migrants had neither formal nor informal electricity.

### **Access to water**

- In the periphery, cross-border migrants were the most likely to report having no running water within their household. This may be to do with the high number of cross-border migrants residing in backyard shacks.
- Water access is a problem in informal settlements with the majority accessing water from a communal tap (regardless of migration status).

### **Access to sanitation**

- Within the periphery, locals were most likely to have access to a flush toilet inside the dwelling (67%), compared to internal migrants (54%) and cross-border migrants (42%).
- In informal settlements, 54% of cross-border migrants, 62% of internal migrants and 57% of local South Africans used a household pit latrine.

### **Vulnerability to violence increases for those living informally and in Johannesburg Metro.**

- The majority of respondents had not experienced crime in the previous 12 months.
- For those who did experience crime, residents of the inner-city had the highest levels of crime. This was mostly associated with robbery.
- Of those experiencing physical assault, this was mostly reported by cross-border migrants residing informally, internal migrants in the inner-city and locals in the peripheral areas.
- Cross-border migrants residing in the inner-city were the group most likely to be stopped by the police (36%), followed by locals in the inner-city (26%), cross-border migrants in the periphery (35%) and cross-border migrants residing informally (23%).
- Respondents would slightly less likely report immediately if they experienced robbery.

## 5.1 Summary of Gauteng study

Despite its position as the economic centre of South Africa, the urban poor in Gauteng face a plethora of vulnerabilities. It is clear from this research that residents of urban informal settlements face more vulnerabilities than their counterparts residing in inner-city or peripheral (township) areas such as insecure and unstable incomes, poor health and poor living conditions and violence. Within these informal spaces, exposure to vulnerabilities differs depending on migration status.

In summary, the report concludes that:

- Long-term South African residents of urban informal settlements are most vulnerable to **insecure and unstable livelihoods**, whilst internal migrants residing in the inner-city are the least vulnerable.
- Cross-border migrants residing in urban informal settlements are the most vulnerable to **poor health and poor living conditions**, followed by long-term South African residents of informal settlements, and internal migrants residing informally. Long-term South African residents of the inner-city are the least vulnerable.

Cross-border migrants residing in urban informal settlements are the most vulnerable to **(the fear of) violence, assault and harassment**, followed by long-term South African residents residing informally, and internal migrants residing informally. Internal migrants residing in the inner-city appear to be the least vulnerable.

- **Box 1: Vulnerability in Gauteng**
- **Vulnerability to insecure and unstable livelihoods increases** as a result of: lower levels of education, a lack of documentation, residing informally, living in a larger household, being a long-term South African resident, and living in Johannesburg Metro.
- **Vulnerability to poor health and poor living conditions increases** as a result of: lower

levels of education, lower levels of English, living informally, being Zimbabwean, a lack of documentation, living in a larger household, and living in Ekurhuleni Metro.

- **Vulnerability to violence increases** as a result of: living informally and in Johannesburg Metro.

## 6. Governance

Governance is defined by the UNDP as

... the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs. It is the complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and mediate their differences (UNDP 1997: x).

Importantly, the study approached governance as a mechanism that involves multiple spheres of government and multiple actors – civil society, academia and the private sector. Effective governance in urban spaces will generate ways to ensure that collective decision-making and action is undertaken. Participatory governance is a form of:

... governance that actively seeks the inclusion of the people, especially the poor, in the processes and systems of government. It emphasises the need to introduce mechanisms to encourage the involvement of those who do not find it easy to participate in state structures and processes (Barten, et al. 2008: 2).

Whilst much of South African local government processes are designed to be participatory, there are large limitations to the effective implementation of this. Critically, there is an assumption that all residents wish to participate and engage in city life. For many, who view the city as a temporary or transitory space, this is not the case.

### 6.1 Developmental local government

Local government is constitutionally mandated to create inclusive cities for all residents. International and domestic migration realises important challenges in meeting this mandate. These obstacles are heightened by denial, the lack of policy tools, and a poor understanding of urban populations' composition, aspirations, and dynamics (Landau and Singh 2008: 170).

### 6.1.1 The role of developmental local government

Whilst urban growth is recognised as impacting negatively on urban poor groups (due to exacerbating economic, environmental and health challenges), cities should be able to respond effectively (Bocquier 2008). Local governments experience the impact and effects of migration and urban growth. According to Landau and Singh (2008: 177), it is local governments and service providers who must channel resources to those in need, and translate broad objectives into contextualised and socially embedded initiatives.

It is, therefore, essential that local government is able to respond to these challenges in an integrated way.

‘Although each sphere of government has jurisdiction over the specific powers and functions assigned to it by legislation, these must be performed in a cooperative, collaborative and coordinated manner. Local Governments are the point of integration and coordination, vertically and horizontally. IDPs are intended to be the planning instrument to promote this integration and coordination between the spheres and sectors of government.’ (dplg 2007: 21)

South African local government has a ‘developmental mandate’ which is a ‘local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives’. (The Republic of South Africa 1998: 23).

It is essential to understand that the centrepiece of developmental local government is the IDP (Pillay, Tomlinson et al. 2006: 15); ‘The IDP is prepared by local, district and metropolitan municipalities for a five-year period, which coincides with the term of the elected council. It is primarily a plan concerned with directing and coordinating the activities of an elected municipal authority’ (Harrison 2006: 186). The IDP is a participatory process that provides a “long-term vision for a municipality”<sup>7</sup> and is designed to assist local government in promoting economic and social development (Pillay, Tomlinson et al. 2006: 15). Through the IDP process, the developmental mandate requires local government to *inter alia* address the challenges of urban growth and migration, amongst others (dplg 2007; Landau 2007; MRC, INCA et al. 2007; Bocquier 2008; Landau and Singh 2008). Importantly, a ‘developmental mandate’ highlights the need to establish partnerships across local government departments; achieving this means:

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<sup>7</sup> “IDPs provide a long-term vision for a municipality; detail the priorities of an elected council; link and coordinate sectoral plans and strategies; align financial and human resources with implementation needs; strengthen the focus on environmental sustainability; and provide the basis for annual and medium-term budgeting” Pillay, U., R. Tomlinson, et al. (2006). Introduction. *Democracy and Delivery. Urban Policy in South Africa*. U. Pillay, R. Tomlinson and J. du Toit. Cape Town, HSRC Press.. For a useful critique of the IDP Process, see Harrison, 2006.

...thinking beyond the narrow confines of a set of delinked service sectors. The White Paper explicitly recognises that South African municipalities, like counterparts in other parts of the world, are responsible for managing space occupied by people: the challenge was no longer only how to provide a set of services, but how to transform and manage settlements that are amongst the most distorted, diverse, and dynamic in the world.’ (Landau and Singh 2008: 169)

However, major challenges in implementing the developmental mandate of local government have been reported, in part due to the complexity of the mandate and in part due to a lack of skills, capacity and funding within local government (Harrison 2006; Nel and John 2006; Landau and Singh 2008). A key challenge is that local government may lack the tools and information required to respond appropriately (Landau and Singh 2008). For example, when attempting to plan appropriate responses to migration and to create an ‘inclusive city’<sup>8</sup> local government requires guidance on what this means, and data on migration to plan appropriate responses (Tomlinson, Beauregard et al. 2003; Landau and Singh 2008).

In addition to a lack of information about population dynamics, local governments are impeded in developing effective responses by lack of coordination and competition among government entities and poor performance on the part of the Department of Home Affairs, the Department that issues visas and identity documents to foreigners and South Africans. The problems of information, co-ordination, and institutional capacity become most visible at the intersection between HIV/AIDS and human mobility. (Landau and Singh 2008: 183)

Despite local government having a ‘developmental mandate’ and both migration and informal settlements being included in the current National Strategic Plan (NSP), guidance for how to intervene in order to address the interlinked challenges of migration and informal settlements in areas with high HIV prevalence are lacking. Local government is only specifically mentioned in the NSP once; the importance of mainstreaming HIV within local IDPs is emphasised:

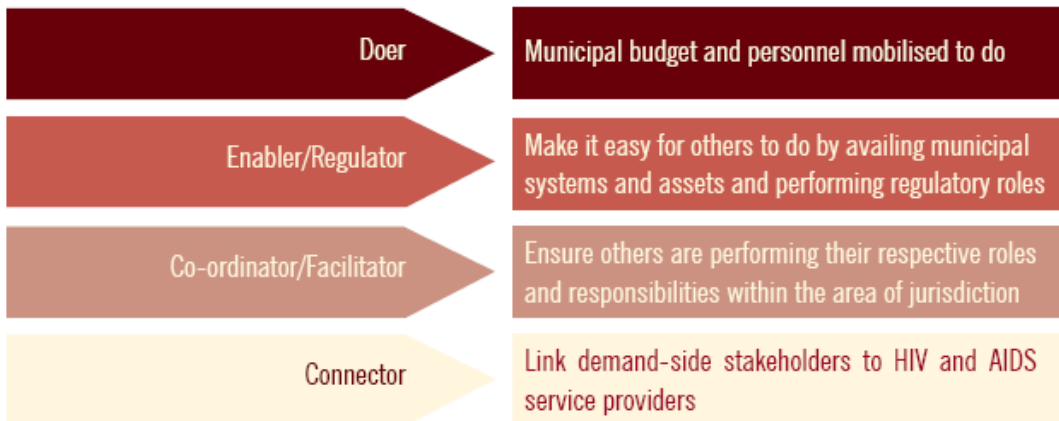
Local government structures should mainstream HIV and AIDS, TB and STI activities to harmonise with local Integrated Development Plans: issues such as access to transport and poverty alleviation as integral to HIV programmes. (NDOH 2007: 145)

Local government has been identified as having four key functions, as shown in Figure 2 below. These functions relate to local government carrying out its mandated duties (getting the basics right), as well as enabling, coordinating and connecting other spheres of government to act within their jurisdiction.

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<sup>8</sup> For discussion around the meaning and appropriateness of an ‘inclusive city’, see Paper II.

Figure 2: Local government has been identified as having four key functions



(MRC, INCA et al. 2007)

In order to achieve its developmental mandate, local government requires guidance in developing effective, developmental responses to interlinked urban challenges including those of migration, mobility, urban growth and the urban poor.

## 6.2 Challenge: The concept of ‘urban governance’

Migration poses challenges for urban governance particularly given their dynamic and complex nature. State-centred governance continues to see the concept governance in opposition to civil society i.e. governed vs. governed and ruler vs. ruled. This dichotomous view of governance entails that ‘good governance’ will solve all urban crisis, however, the way migrants engage with cities has shown that the state itself is capable of operating within government yet outside the law leading to the production of informality (Kihato, 2013: 27). Instead of shifting the responsibility of migration to state-centred local governance, urban governance needs to take a nodal<sup>9</sup> and adaptive<sup>10</sup> approach i.e. governance which adapts to changes through the incorporation of multiple stakeholders including organisations, individuals, agencies and institutions in order to develop shared policies (Folke *et al.*, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> Emanates from “contemporary network theory to explain how” multiple actors operating within social systems interact along networks to govern the systems they inhabit” (Burriss *et al.*, 2005, 33)

<sup>10</sup> “Adaptive governance connects dynamic (and potential) formal and informal institutions (emerging socio-political configurations etc.) and arrangements in order to address failures that may hinder the development and implementation of effective policy measures (Hatfield-Dodds *et al.*, 2007).

Nodal and adaptive governance allow for an inter-departmental approach and participatory engagement and planning towards policy-making and implantation. State-centred urban governance assumes a form of sovereignty from the state, which in reality is a fallacy. Given the bureaucratic nature of the state, it also led to lack of accountability due to the absence of proper allocation of tasks and responsibilities. The nodal governance on the other hand, despite its own flaws, combines various stakeholders, each with assigned tasks. Research that looks at spaces and places also needs to take into consideration the contextual characters of different spaces. Although elements of various cities overlap, the micro details are in most cases different and to avoid generalisations, governance needs to invest in rigorous empirical research in different cities to determine their organisations.

As indicated, developmental local government is enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 and the White Paper on Local Government, which empower municipalities to be a leading force for development. Municipal authorities have nevertheless been wary of addressing population movements and acknowledging human mobility as a fundamental driver of response to development. Rather than take a proactive approach that plans for mobility in all of its forms, South African local authorities have typically been unable to address challenges related to migration, including inter-group conflict, economic marginalisation and the inability to access suitable services. However, failing to meet the very real challenges of domestic and international migration creates the risk of increasing conflict, violence, poverty and social exclusion in ways that negatively affect all urban residents.

While local authorities and the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) have begun to recognise the importance of mobility for the rights and welfare of all residents, municipalities still face numerous obstacles in creating inclusive and equitable communities. Building on almost a year of original research across South Africa, the following pages outline some of the major issues preventing local government from promoting the wellbeing of all residents and migrants, regardless of nationality or legal status, in South African municipalities.

### **6.3 The Scope and Limitations of Municipal Responsibility**

Municipalities in South Africa are constitutionally assigned a primary role of providing basic services to communities, regardless of race, gender and origin. National or provincial governments are responsible for the primary needs of migrants, such as access to shelter, health care, education, and economic opportunities; safety and security – including proper treatment in detention; and administrative justice. Despite this, under Section 153(a) of the Constitution, municipalities have a responsibility to ‘structure and manage its administration, budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of their communities and to promote the social and economic development of the community.’ In this regard, the integrated development planning process must be used as a tool to plan future development in a way that integrates the efforts of all spheres of government as well as other non-state stakeholders.

The success of municipalities depends on authorities' ability to develop and respond to a nuanced and dynamic understanding of their constituencies. Due to a range of factors, including poor data collection and analysis, few municipalities are able to do so. Indeed, **one of the most fundamental challenges to local government in protecting the rights and welfare of migrants and other residents is how little municipalities know about the people living in their areas of jurisdiction.** There is lack of information about the urban poor generally and even less about geographically mobile people. To some extent, larger municipalities have been able to develop their own research departments and monitoring systems. Smaller municipalities continue to struggle to make sense of their communities' population dynamics.

Although high quality data is often absent, there is widespread recognition of the value that improved data collection, research and analysis could offer to municipal planners and managers. However, one of the major obstacles to improving data collection and management emerges from a degree of confusion over who collects and manages data. As such, municipal planning departments typically act as a mere interface with Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), but often cannot draw conclusions from it and have no capacity to conduct research themselves if there is a need for updated or more localised data. In addition, the current capacities and data processes in municipalities limit the ability of municipal practitioners and leaders to use the data in planning and decision-making. Without a proactive perspective on what can be done to address human mobility, the common refrain – **'We can't cope with this influx of people!'** – threatens to become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

### 6.3.1 Perceptions and capacity

Across South Africa, officials continue to react to foreign and domestic migrants by implicitly denying their presence, excluding them from developmental plans, or tacitly condoning discrimination throughout the government bureaucracy and police. Migrants are members of the community entitled to government resources, and are potential resources for communities. However, in many cases, government officials view them as an illegitimate drain on public resources. In some municipalities, there is a distinct sense that current residents or 'ratepayers' deserve to be privileged over new arrivals or temporary residents. In others, officials hold fast to the idea that migration worsens violent crime, disease and unemployment. Still others insist that matters related to migration and human mobility are exclusively the responsibility of national government. These perceptions place migrants outside of the local government constituency, preventing officials from adopting pragmatic policies to address their developmental impact and provide for their needs.

Staffing, transitions and coordination within municipalities have also limited local authorities' ability to develop appropriate frameworks. In some municipalities, leadership and staff turnovers have resulted in the redeployment of staff into positions where they do not have adequate technical background or knowledge to manage migration and urbanisation. The rapid turnover within some municipalities has also resulted in the loss of institutional knowledge that could provide important insights into municipal population dynamics. Perhaps most critically, different departments or divisions within local government often disagree over the

validity of data or ongoing population dynamics. Often these disagreements are tied to broader concerns about performance targets and evaluation. Consequently, even where relatively accurate data exist, they may be selectively ignored by officials.

### 6.3.2 Consultation, planning and budgeting processes

Participatory planning emerged in the post-apartheid dispensation as a way of realising democratic transformation at the local level. It currently constitutes the basis for the preparation of IDPs, five-year plans, which flag the main directions for municipalities to attain the development goals they have set for themselves. While laudable on many grounds, the emphasis on participatory planning has created incentives for excluding the interests of migrants and discouraging officials from considering them in forward planning. In some instances, these processes have created ‘backward-looking programming,’ a situation where planning represents the prior needs of the specific section of the current poor population that has accessed consultation forums. Communities rarely push for plans that consider demographic trends but instead ask that existing needs be met. Few communities ask that municipalities dedicate resources to future, potential residents over their own acute sense of need. Given negative public attitudes towards migrants – both internal and cross-border - officials are unlikely to insist that resources be dedicated to unwanted future residents, especially when they are equipped with only a limited knowledge of migration dynamics.

This bias against planning for migration issues is cemented by the *de facto* exclusion of migrants - both domestic and international - from public planning consultations. In the areas visited for this study, outsiders were generally not invited to participate in Community Policing Forums, Stakeholders’ Forums, Residents’ Associations, or meetings held by local ward councillors. While participation was not necessarily prohibited – as anecdotal reports have claimed in some municipalities – the vast majority of government and community respondents reported a glaring absence of foreigners and recent domestic migrants in such fora. That said some positive steps have been taken to promote migrant participation. The CoJ, for instance, has launched a number of initiatives to foster and encourage migrants’ participation in dialogue platforms and other activities at the ward level. These include the Migrant Help Desk, created in April 2007, and the Johannesburg Migrants’ Advisory Committee, created in 2010. However, it is yet unclear how these initiatives will incorporate migrants into local-level planning given the prevalence of community-level exclusion mechanisms.

The pitfalls in planning that result from exclusion are perpetuated at the level of budgeting. While both sending and receiving communities are influenced by the costs and benefits associated with migration, population dynamics are rarely factored into the distribution of national resources by the National Treasury. Budgeting processes perpetuate the shortfalls of planning in the following ways:

- Backward-looking planning for the needs of permanent residents leads financial planners to generally overlook population and migration trends, despite the fact that future residents will ultimately demand resources and interventions.

- If significant efforts were made to ‘forward plan’, they would be largely unsupported by the current system of resource allocation to local government (Local Government Equitable Share – LGES).
- The planning and budgeting modalities generally reflect a limited capacity to cater for the poor in general and in particular, the most indigent sections of the population.

### **6.3.3 Intergovernmental coordination on planning and service delivery**

Municipal authorities are often frustrated by the relationships between municipalities and other spheres of government. At the heart of this discontent the study uncovered the issue of mandates and the purported monopolistic tendencies of other spheres of government. Recent research by the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA) confirms that municipalities often feel, in many cases justifiably so, that failures in national and provincial government policies and processes undermine their credibility and effectiveness. It also finds that the system of intergovernmental relations is not effective in coordinating planning across the three spheres of government or in strengthening accountability towards achieving critical and targeted development outcomes.

These findings support two challenges that CoGTA has already identified. Firstly, they highlight the problem of ‘intergovernmental conflict and competition over powers and functions between provinces and their local governments.’ Secondly, they confirm that ‘national targets for service delivery that apply uniformly irrespective of the economic and institutional differences between municipalities simply set municipalities up to fail.’ This report points in addition to a series of more specific frustrations and tensions regarding:

- The absence of consultation of local government structures in national migration policy-making.
- The lack of clarity on roles of the different levels of government (provincial and local in particular) across various sectors.
- A perception of exclusion from planning and budgeting processes.
- Frustration with shifting priorities and goalposts (in terms of service provision to the poor in particular).
- In the changing of policies and practices regarding immigrants and asylum seekers (including relocating offices, lifting work prohibitions, and formally enabling access to services) without consultation with or forewarning to local authorities.

Although municipal authorities are often frustrated at not being consulted on issues related to the populations they are responsible for, this study finds that municipalities were rarely proactive advocates for their populations. Many blamed the hegemony of party structures for closing avenues for ‘upward’ communication. Regardless of the reason, there appear to be few leadership initiatives in terms of lobbying for either an individual or a collective rethink of the LGES or other policy issues directly affecting municipalities’ ability to address population dynamics.

## 7. Recommendations

A review of existing data - particularly on the role of local government in driving governance responses to migration, mobility and urban vulnerabilities – the research team generated a set of recommendations targeted at local government. It is recommended that SACN work to support local governments to this end.

The findings of this study indicates that the effective implementation of these recommendations will ensure that urban vulnerabilities do not manifest as socio-political, urban instabilities and violence. This will be due to improved governance responses which, address the underlying drivers of urban vulnerabilities and mediate the processes determining whether vulnerability leads to socio-political instability.

### 7.1 Collect and manage data

There is a need to rethink the data collection system and interface between municipalities, StatsSA and other data collection agencies, to ensure that:

- The National Statistical Agency collects data, which is disaggregated better at the local level. This should include better coordination with municipalities and other data collection agencies.
- Data collection methods at municipal level are agreed upon, familiar and considered to be legitimate, useful and reliable by all stakeholders. A degree of standardisation at national and municipal level may be required to allow comparability.
- Data builds up into longitudinal databases informing municipalities' on trends over time to better predict population changes, dependency ratios, and areas for social and infrastructure investment. This data is then aggregated at multiple levels and incorporated into municipal, district, provincial and national planning strategies.
- Those assigned to engage with migrants or plan in areas affected by population mobility should have training on data management, use of the data, and various migration related issues.

### 7.2 Use data in policy, planning and budgeting

- Mainstream population (including migration) dynamics into IDPs (social cohesion, economic growth, safety and security), and cater for highly mobile populations wherever necessary.
- Include spatial planning tools to facilitate the use of population data for policy and planning.

- Review budgeting processes including the LGES allocation to include forward looking population dynamics. Ensure that LGES allows for more regular population re-assessments (including indigent population) and correct effects on revenue allocation.

### **7.3 Improve coordination and urban governance responses**

- Improve co-ordination of all relevant partners at national, provincial and local levels towards a more effective management of migration. These include all spheres of government, civil society, private sector, research agencies and academic institutions.
- Facilitate the institutionalisation of the local government response to migration in order to improve communication and coordination between municipalities and migrant communities. This would need to include the establishment of dedicated capacity to deal with migration, such as a migrant desk in each municipality.
- Establish closer relations with researchers and data analysts to assist in the rethinking of decision-making and implementation mandates with regard to mobile populations. Such collaboration may take the form of a migration 'think tank'.

### **7.4 Undertake continuous research and development**

Support ongoing research to enhance the understanding and management of migration. The following additional areas of research have been proposed:

- Migration and access to services in order to better understand how (if at all) long-term vulnerable groups move out of poverty.
- Qualitative research to determine the relationships between mobility within or between cities and access to employment, labour and services.
- Qualitative studies on the role played by corporate social responsibility programmes carried out by companies relying on migrant labour.

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