Migration & Multilocality

Implications for Local Government from Southern Africa

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The new frontier of governance is local

Mobility and translocality raises opportunities and acute challenges for local authorities

Addressing mobility requires technical fixes and conceptual reconsideration

Obstacles will be both administrative and political
My approach:

• Not about migration or mobility, *per se*

• About understanding the perspectives, challenges and political incentives from within local government

• Bringing together research on mobility patterns and institutional interactions with 3 years of research with local officials in eight municipalities
Structure of the Presentation

1. What we know: South African dynamics

2. Foregrounding the Forgotten: Local Government

3. Policy and research directions
Southern African Research Sites
Presentation Outline

1. What we know: South African dynamics
2. Foregrounding the Forgotten: Local Government
3. Policy and research directions
Presentation Outline

1. What we know: South African dynamics
2. Foregrounding the Forgotten: Local Government
3. Policy and research directions
Migration Dynamics: Who, What and Where

- Migration data poor quality:
- International migration slowly increasing and diversifying: About 3% in 2001, about 4% in 2011 (most regional)
- Domestic migration and urbanisation critical livelihood option. Is on-going and increasingly diverse
- Highly spatialised and dynamic: secondary and poorer towns growing the fastest

Zimbabwean asylum seekers

Johannesburg City Centre
The Three “P’s”: Causes & expectations

**Profit**
- Economically-driven
- Family / individual decision
- Also symbolic / non financial capital (status, education, etc.)

**Passage**
- Stage & oscillating migration
- Ongoing movement

**Protection**
- Physical integrity
- Human rights & human security
- Freedom from persecution
“Estuarial ecosystems have distinct characteristics that represent something more than the shift from land to ocean. They bring together elements of fresh water with the cycles and tides of the open ocean.”

- Rapid mixing and churning:
  - Long term residents
  - Newly if poorly ‘urbanised’
  - The ‘suburbanised’
- Varied socio-economic objectives and trans-local configurations
- Dynamic mix of regulatory systems and authority structures
Why estuaries matter

In the future it is the margins that will define the centre

- D. Ancien (2011)

- The urban historically the site of political generation and control
- ‘Estuarial’ politics challenge:
  - The basis of political authority and legitimacy
  - The meaning of law and regulation
  - The foundation for political community and solidarity

Hillbrow, Johannesburg

Buses to Zimbabwe
Integration and the meaning of community

- Estuaries often have no hegemonic ethno-linguistic group or identifiable ‘hosts’
- Cities seen as stations not destinations - emergence of ‘nomadic power’
- Highly levels of intra-urban mobility and the quest for ‘usufruct’ rights
- Low levels of intra and intergroup trust
- State institutions fragmented, nominal and often disinterested
- Diverse, emerging ‘communities of convenience’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of citizens living in site &gt;10 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Hospitality requires some notion of an ‘at home’ for its performance*

- D. Bulley 2006
## Transience: Expectation of Residence in 2 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Joburg</th>
<th>Maputo</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen long-term resident</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>75.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Citizen Long-term</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>44.4</td>
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<td>Citizen Migrant</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>69.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Citizen Migrant</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>755</td>
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</table>
### Trust

**Have Trust in Native Born**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Joburg</th>
<th>Maputo</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen Long-term</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Cit Long-term</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>25.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Citizen Migrant</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>65.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Cit Migrant</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>26.3</td>
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</table>

**Have Trust in Foreigners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Joburg</th>
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<th>Nairobi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen Long-term</td>
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<td>29.8</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Cit Long-term</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen Migrant</td>
<td>37.4</td>
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<td>22.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Cit Migrant</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>41.1</td>
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</table>

**Have Trust in Co-Nationals** *(Foreign Born Only)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Joburg</th>
<th>Maputo</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>49.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>48.6</td>
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### Fragmented and translocal membership (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Belongs to ‘Local’ Cultural Org.</th>
<th>Joburg</th>
<th>Maputo</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen Local</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>24.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreign Local</td>
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<td>17.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Citizen Migrant</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Migrant</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Here I am nobody. I hide from the police, I hide from the South African government, I hide from my government at home. Sometimes I even hide from my own country men ...”

Maria, Congolese migrant
Johannesburg
## Fragmented and translocal membership (2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translocal money transfers</th>
<th>Joburg</th>
<th>Maputo</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizens Local</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Local</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>33.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Citizen Migrant</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Migrant</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What will happen if I do not send money? They will forget me.

-Pierre-Jacques, Congolese migrant, Johannesburg
### Fragmented and translocal membership (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Membership in religious organization</th>
<th>Joburg</th>
<th>Maputo</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizens Local</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>92.0</td>
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<td>Foreign Local</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen Migrant</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>92.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Migrant</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I wouldn’t go to church, but if they hear I’m not going, then it’s bad for my family and bad for me if I want to go home’

Serge, Rwandan migrant, Nairobi
Governing Nomads and Communities of Convenience?

- Migrants exercise ‘nomadic power’, but to what end?
- Contingent, strategic and tactical forms of recognition and solidarity
- Spatialised and multilocal
- Double-helix of belonging & exclusion
- Syncretic, social and slippery

Yunis, the Tanzanian, in Nairobi

Zimbabweans, Johannesburg
Structure of the Presentation

1. What we know: South African dynamics

2. Foregrounding the Forgotten: Local Government

3. Policy and research directions
Bringing in the Local: General Findings

At municipal level, migration is considered a national issue and is not regularly discussed...

-Office of the Chief Whip, Tshwane

Municipalities generally ill-equipped

- Poor understanding of their population and its dynamics
- Limited acceptance that migration is a local government concern
- Unsupported financially and administratively
- Political incentives work against forward planning
Findings: Budgeting

a) Budgeting and planning tends to be backward looking

b) Resource allocations discourage planning for population dynamics
   • Local Government Equitable Share System (LGES) major culprit
   • Data do not support regular reallocations

c) Poor budgeting for migration reflects broader fantasy-planning modalities

We show we have the highest population in the district...but others are given more money than us....Allocation for housing is not related to population.

- Director of town Planning, Mossel Bay

Bringing home the bacon, Nairobi
Findings: Data and Planning

What we are trying to do is discourage people from coming. . .You can only try to discourage people as much as possible.

- Strategy Support Executive, Mossel Bay

a) Uneven and irregular relationship with data – incomplete, ignored, or misused while knowledge often lost in political transitions

b) Performance and delivery criteria discourage evidence-driven planning

c) Centralised party structures discourage dissent and local adaptation, little effort to shift national policy

d) Desire for ‘stable’ population is cognitive block

e) Popular participation generates backward looking interventions
There is a need to improve, the availability of demographic information to municipalities; improving inter-departmental data gathering and policy cohesion tools; conducting research on migration dynamics...’ (Roux 2009:7).

- Data availability a problem, but by no means the only one
  - Lack of capacity to collect
  - Narrow and limited consistency in collection and measurement
  - Lack of capacity to use
Findings: Multilocality and citizenship

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Primary reasons for misuse are bureaucratic and political

- No belief in the need for data
- Anti-migration and mobility bias and naiveté
- No budgetary support for additional needs
- Fear of exposing or heightening shortcomings
- Public participation
1. What we know: South African dynamics
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Where to from here?

- Question ethics of belonging
- Revisit ‘building blocks’ of urban development
- Reconsider the basis of political authority and the place of the urban
- Shift the unit of analysis:
  - Political community and regulation beyond the state
  - Considers in ways that are spatialised on multiple scales
- What will the city generate next?
Towards evaluating local govt preparedness

Profile of Bushbuckridge, Mpumalanga
Conclusions

• Heightened understanding of political and technical obstacles
• Recognise challenges of ‘upward accountability’
• Address inter-governmental coordination and financing challenges
• Develop strategies for multi-site service delivery
• Reconsider forms of political participation and representation
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