



## **Developing a Profiling Methodology for Displaced People in Urban Areas**

Case Study: Polokwane, South Africa

African Center for Migration & Society, University of  
Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Feinstein International Center, Tufts University

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In 2010-11 the US State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration funded research by the Feinstein International Center to develop a profiling methodology for urban migrants and refugees. The purpose was to capture a range of livelihood, integration and vulnerability data in urban settings, so as to enable comparisons between refugees and other migrant and non-migrant groups living in the same districts. The research built on earlier studies by the principal investigator (Karen Jacobsen) and our partners, and sought to make the profiling approach easily utilizable by operational agencies.

As part of developing the methodology, we conducted case studies in three urban settings in key host countries. We collaborated with the following local partners:

- Aden, Yemen – INTERSOS
- Polokwane, South Africa – African Center for Migration & Society, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
- Mae Sot, Thailand – International Rescue Committee

The goals of the case studies were to test and adapt the profiling methodology, and to gather data that would contribute to urban livelihoods programming. Each case includes a contextual background on migration to the urban setting, our methods, findings, and recommendations.

The overview report of our study, which includes an introduction to profiling, our conceptual framework, and the main programming recommendations, can be found here <http://sites.tufts.edu/feinstein/2012/developing-a-profiling-methodology-for-displaced-people-in-urban-areas>. This link also gives access to each of our case studies and the full profiling methodology, including the survey, mapping and qualitative approaches, and toolkit (including the modules for a two-day training workshop).

## Acknowledgements

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- ACMS staff: Tesfalem Araia, Ingrid Palmary, Akanni Akimenyi
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The principal investigator for the overall study was Karen Jacobsen. She, together with Rebecca Furst-Nichols, the project manager, oversaw the data collection and report writing. Staff at the Feinstein International Center, Tufts University, provided administrative support.

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## Contents

Contents .....	4
Executive Summary .....	6
1. Introduction and Study Objectives .....	8
2. Context + Background: Settlement and migration in Polokwane.....	9
The legal and policy context in South Africa .....	9
The City of Polokwane.....	10
Administrative structure.....	10
Population size .....	12
Migration .....	13
Location and settlement patterns of migrants.....	14
The Urban Core.....	14
The Urban core of Polokwane.....	15
Townships .....	15
Informal settlements.....	16
RDP areas.....	17
Semi-rural and rural areas .....	18
3: Methods.....	19
Survey sampling design .....	19
<i>Sample units</i> .....	20
<i>Sampling Method</i> .....	22
Implementation .....	23
Adaptation of survey instrument, training, and piloting.....	24
Implementation of the survey .....	24
Limitations and challenges .....	25
Qualitative interviews.....	25
Delphi survey method.....	26
4. Migration Characteristics, Demographics and Household Composition .....	28
4.1 Migration to Polokwane .....	28
Categories of respondents.....	28
Place of birth and origin.....	29
When People came.....	29
Reasons for migrating .....	30

4.2 Demographics .....	31
Age and Gender .....	31
Education.....	32
Marriage.....	33
Languages spoken in the household .....	33
Ethnicity .....	34
4.3 Household size and composition .....	355
5. Dimensions of urban livelihood security.....	39
5.1 Housing security .....	39
Housing type .....	40
Number of rooms.....	40
Dwelling and land ownership.....	40
Home eviction and displacement.....	41
Protection and access to justice when displaced.....	42
5.2 Financial Security .....	42
Household Income .....	43
Household Assets .....	43
Abandoning assets prior to arrival .....	44
External income.....	45
Social networks and community support.....	46
5.3 Household employment security.....	48
Employment type.....	48
Working conditions.....	50
5.4 Physical safety and security.....	50
6 Conclusions and Policy Implications .....	52
References .....	54

## Executive Summary

This report presents the results of research into the vulnerability of migrants in the Polokwane municipality of South Africa. The research was conducted in May 2011. There were three main sources of data.

The first was in-depth interviews with purposively selected key informants in the municipality. These interviews helped to provide background and contextual information prior to the main data collection phases. This information was used for the following purposes:

- to classify areas of the municipality into high, medium and low density migrant areas as described in the body of the report;
- to validate the appropriateness of the questions and methodologies; and
- to gain an understanding of the functioning of the municipality, its demographics and its key challenges.

The second phase of data collection was a quantitative survey. The survey covered a range of issues including the demographic profile of respondents, household size and composition, migration patterns, economic vulnerability and so on. Following the first phase of purposive sampling (high, medium and low density migrant areas), the households were randomly selected. The respondents were classified as internal migrants (South Africans not born in Polokwane but born in South Africa), Polokwanes (those who were born in Polokwane) and international migrants (those born in other countries).

The final phase of the research consisted of qualitative interviews. These were used to follow up on key issues that emerged from the quantitative analysis to provide explanations for some of the findings. The results from the qualitative interviews were then analysed along with the quantitative data. The following key issues were probed in the qualitative study:

- Demographic details;
- Reasons for migration and migration history;
- Relationships within the community;
- Livelihoods; and
- Access to services.

The key findings of the research can be summarized as follows:

- The number of international migrants was far lower than expected. There are three possible explanations for this. Either the key informants are misinformed about the number of migrants in the area, or migrants use Polokwane as a transit area rather than an area of settlement, or the sampling failed to capture important areas of high migrant density.
- About half of both migrant categories (South Africans and international migrants) migrated for economic reasons. A significant number (15.3%) migrated for educational reasons.

- The reasons for migrating to Polokwane, rather than other parts of South Africa, were typically to do with family and other social networks in the area.
- There were few significant differences in the demographic profile of Polokwanes, internal South African migrants and international migrants. The demographic variables tested included gender, age, educational levels, ethnicity and marriage. Overall, international migrants were however younger with smaller family sizes.
- In addition, the household composition of the three groups was not significantly different.
- Two main categories of vulnerability indicators showed significant differences between Polokwanes and the two migrant groups. These are:
  - Housing security: Migrants were less likely to own property or land, were more likely to share their dwelling with another household, had fewer rooms for sleeping in and were more likely to have been evicted during their stay in Polokwane. Whilst this was true for both migrant categories, international migrants were significantly less likely than internal migrants to own land and were significantly more likely to have been evicted in the past. They were also significantly more likely to live in only one room and to live in a shack.
  - Financial security: Both migrant groups were more likely than Polokwanes to be unemployed, they earned significantly less than Polokwanes, they owned fewer assets and they had the additional burden of sending remittances to others living outside of Polokwane. Whilst both categories of migrants sent money to people outside Polokwane, international migrants were 3 times more likely to send food and 4 times more likely to send goods outside of Polokwane. However, international migrants were also more likely than the other groups to receive goods and food from people outside of Polokwane.
- Two factors seem, in this initial analysis, to help explain the relationship between migration and vulnerability. These are:
  - Time in Polokwane: The longer a respondent had lived in Polokwane the greater their financial security was. This suggests that being new to Polokwane - rather than being a migrant - explains lower financial security.
  - Gender: Women faced significantly greater financial vulnerability than men across all migrant categories.
- For the most part, there were no significant differences found in the physical vulnerability or the human and social capital of the three groups of respondents in this study. In other words, levels of trust in institutions, community cohesion and physical safety were similar across the groups. Some significant difference was found in the kinds of community groups that migrants belonged to with migrants less likely to belong to savings groups and political parties. International migrants were significantly more likely (3.6 times) to speak English at home than both of the South African groups which is an important source of human capital when dealing with state institutions.
- Based on these findings we suggest that programming focus on identifying those with financial and housing vulnerability as well as focussing on women and new arrivals rather than migrants *per se*. This approach would provide assistance to vulnerable migrants as well as locals and, based on this data, would ensure programming that targets the most vulnerable.

# 1. Introduction and Study Objectives

South Africa has historically experienced a complex set of political, social, and economic controls on mobility. Immigration control formed part of the broader discriminatory apartheid system and applied both to international migrants and the majority of South Africans. With the end of apartheid, restrictions on movement were abolished and South African cities and towns became primary destinations for South Africans and migrants from the African continent and the rest of the world. In South Africa, most migrant surveys have been conducted in major urban centres<sup>1</sup> with relatively few in smaller cities. Polokwane is a secondary city that has been directly affected by both international and internal migration. One of the aims of the study was therefore to understand the migration patterns in an under-researched part of South Africa and to generate empirical data about the experience of migrants.

As with other case studies in the Tufts project, the goals of the Polokwane research were to:

1. Develop and test a set of 'profiling' research tools (using mixed methodologies) that can:
  - a. Identify different types of displaced people and migrants, and provide population estimates of their numbers and proportions, and their distribution in a city;
  - b. Determine whether and in what ways their livelihoods and vulnerability differ from that of their non-displaced (*in situ*) neighbours.
2. Test and refine a training module and materials to enable use of the toolkit by field agencies.
3. Collect a range of data as a basis for developing explicit programming and practical recommendations for operational agencies.

The Polokwane study was conducted by the African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS) at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. The ACMS has conducted other studies that have measured vulnerability, including the African Cities survey, the RENEWAL survey and a previous vulnerability assessment undertaken with the South African Red Cross Society and UN OCCHA.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Centre for Social Development in Africa, 2008. "Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihoods Study", September, [http://www.ncr.org.za/pdfs/Research\\_Reports/Livelihoods%20study.pdf](http://www.ncr.org.za/pdfs/Research_Reports/Livelihoods%20study.pdf) [04 October 2011]

<sup>2</sup> Misago, J., Gindrey, V., Duponchel, M., Landua, L., and Polzer, T. 2010. "Vulnerability, Mobility and Place: Alexandra and Central Johannesburg Pilot Survey", October, <http://www.migration.org.za/report/duponchel-m-gindrey-v-landau-l-misago-jp-polzer-t-2010-vulnerability-mobility-and-place-alex> [02 October 2011]

## 2. Context + Background: Settlement and migration in Polokwane

### The legal and policy context in South Africa

Two pieces of legislation govern migration in South Africa: The Refugees Act (1998) which provides protection to those in need and the Immigration Act (2001) which covers all other forms of migration. As a signatory to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees, the Refugees Act was one of the earliest policy reforms in post-apartheid South Africa. It is recognized as a very progressive piece of legislation. For example, it is the only refugee legislation in the world to recognise gender based persecution as a ground for asylum as opposed to developing non-binding gender 'guidelines'. In spite of this, implementation of the Act has been relatively poor, with access to refugee reception offices difficult, very poor quality decision making by refugee status determination officers, extensive abuse of refugee rights - including unlawful detention, and very long backlogs in decision making<sup>345</sup>. Unlike the Refugees Act, the Immigration Act is a more restrictive piece of legislation focused on limiting economic migration (both skilled and unskilled) to South Africa<sup>6</sup>.

Unlike most African countries, South Africa has a self-settlement policy for refugees. Asylum seekers and refugees - like other migrants - settle predominantly in urban areas. Zimbabwean migrants, perhaps more than any other group, have tested South Africa's commitment to its progressive refugee policy. Until 2001, the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) refused to accept asylum applications from Zimbabweans. This was challenged in court and the court ordered DHA to accept applications from Zimbabweans, who then came to top the list of asylum seekers. In spite of this, the rejection rate for Zimbabweans is 98.6%<sup>7</sup>. In addition, backlogs in the asylum system (particularly the appeals process) described above means that in reality many Zimbabweans remain undocumented in South Africa. In 2009 DHA announced a special dispensation for Zimbabweans, which relaxed the normal requirements for work, study and business permits for successful applicants. Whilst a progressive move, this process faced many challenges<sup>8</sup> and we expect many Zimbabweans, particularly those outside of the urban centres, to remain undocumented or as asylum seekers. In 2011 the DHA closed two of the 7 refugee reception centres (Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg) further limiting access to the asylum system.

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<sup>3</sup> Amit, R., Vigneswaran D., Monson T., & Wachira G. M. (2009). National Survey of the Refugee Reception and Status Determination System in South Africa. [FMSP Research Report](#).

<sup>4</sup> Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa. (2010). Protecting Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Migrants in South Africa. CoRMSA Research Report.

<sup>5</sup> Amit, R. (2010). Protection and Pragmatism: Addressing Administrative Failures in South Africa's Refugee Status Determination Decisions. [FMSP Research Report](#).

<sup>6</sup> Handmaker, J. de la Hunt, L. and Klaaren, J. (2008). Advancing Refugee Protection in South Africa. New York: Berghahn Books.

<sup>7</sup> Department of Home Affairs. (2011). 2010/2011 Annual Report on Asylum Statistics.

<sup>8</sup> Amit, R. (2011). The Zimbabwean Documentation Process: Lessons Learned. [ACMS Research Report](#).

In Polokwane, most of the international migrants in this study were Zimbabwean asylum seekers. The ambiguous position of Zimbabweans in South Africa (as discussed above) and the failure to adequately administer and implement the Refugee Act means that in practice, asylum seekers and refugees have little in the way of a protective policy framework. Furthermore, it is possible that the context of widespread attacks on foreigners as well as harassment by police and other officials further impacts international migrants' ability to claim their entitlements.

## **The City of Polokwane**

Polokwane is the administrative and commercial capital of the Limpopo province in northern South Africa. The word "Polokwane" means "Place of Safety" in the local Sepedi language.<sup>9</sup> Although Polokwane is a major urban municipality in the northern region of the country, the province itself is one of the most rural and home to extensive commercial and subsistence farming activities. For this, and other reasons detailed below, Polokwane is one of the most diverse contexts in which to carry out research. Apartheid South Africa had a completely different political map to the current one with four major 'white' provinces, four 'black independent homelands', and another six non-independent homelands. Referred to as the TVBC states (Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei), the independent homelands were recognized as such only by the apartheid government which established them (through passing the Black Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970) as self governing states for the settlement of black South Africans. Outside of the independent homelands, the township areas close to urban centres were sites of forced relocation of black South Africans which provided a labour pool for the urban centres whilst preventing the permanent settlement of black South Africans in them. Within Polokwane, the key township areas are Westernburg, which is a former 'coloured' township; Seshego, a former black township outside the city; and Nirvana, the former Indian township. The key former white suburbs in the city include Bendor, Flora-Park, Fauna-Park, Penina Park, Hospital Park and Ster Park (see map 2 for the location of these areas). Whilst legally there are no longer restrictions on the movement and settlement of black South Africans, changes in settlement patterns still largely reflect apartheid planning. Inner city areas, and the former white suburbs, have increasingly become home to middle class and entrepreneurial black South Africans, but townships are still populated by black South Africans and increasing numbers of migrants from other parts of Africa.

### **Administrative structure**

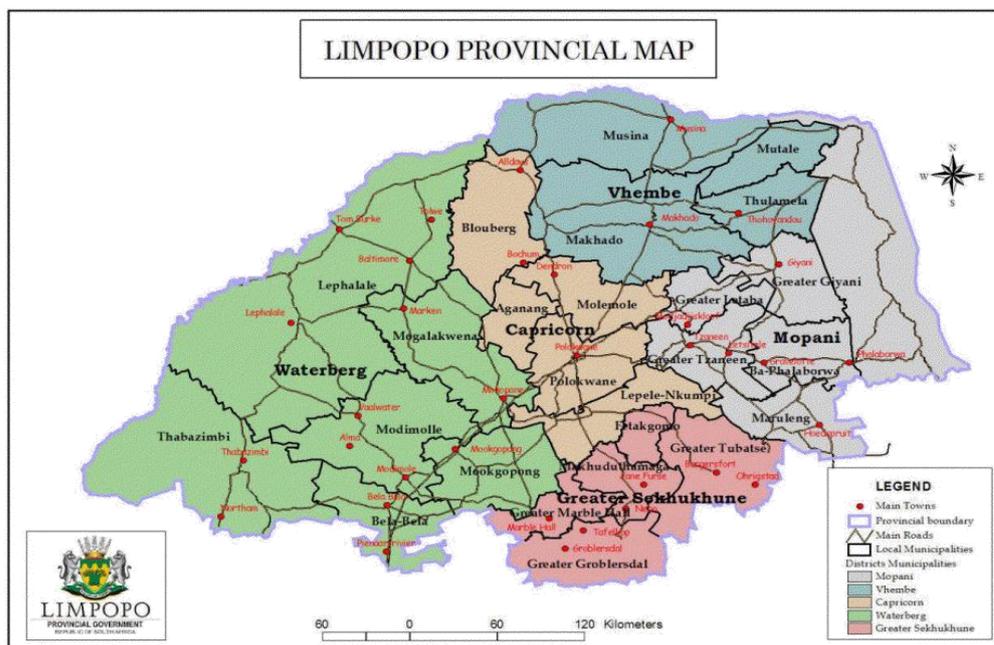
Since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, local government boundaries have been redrawn - sometimes on several occasions - as a result of the Local Government Transition Act of 1993 and later the Demarcation Act of 2000. The process of redrawing the boundaries is overseen by the demarcation board and is partly motivated by a desire to

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<sup>9</sup> Both the name of the city, and the name of the province, were changed in the post apartheid political dispensation from Pietersburg and Northern Transvaal (later Northern Province) respectively.

address the economic imbalances of apartheid planning. Thus Polokwane now incorporates the former Northern Transvaal town of Pietersburg as its business and economic hub. At a national level, the reconfiguration of local government resulted in the creation of new districts, municipalities, and metropolitan areas. For instance, Limpopo province is composed of five districts,<sup>10</sup> including Capricorn District, which has five municipalities including Polokwane<sup>11</sup>. Metropolitan (or category A) status is given to major urban centres such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Nelson Mandela (Port Elizabeth), Durban, Buffalo City and Pretoria. The Capricorn district municipality is a category C district municipality but within this district municipality, Polokwane is a category B local municipality. Map 1 shows the Capricorn district municipality boundaries.

**Map 1 Limpopo district boundaries**



Source: [http://www.polokwane.org.za/index.php?view\\_page+542](http://www.polokwane.org.za/index.php?view_page+542)

This process of redrawing boundaries has been heavily contested. Many rural villages and peri-urban areas have lobbied the government to either include or exclude their residential area based on their perception of which provincial government is the most effective at

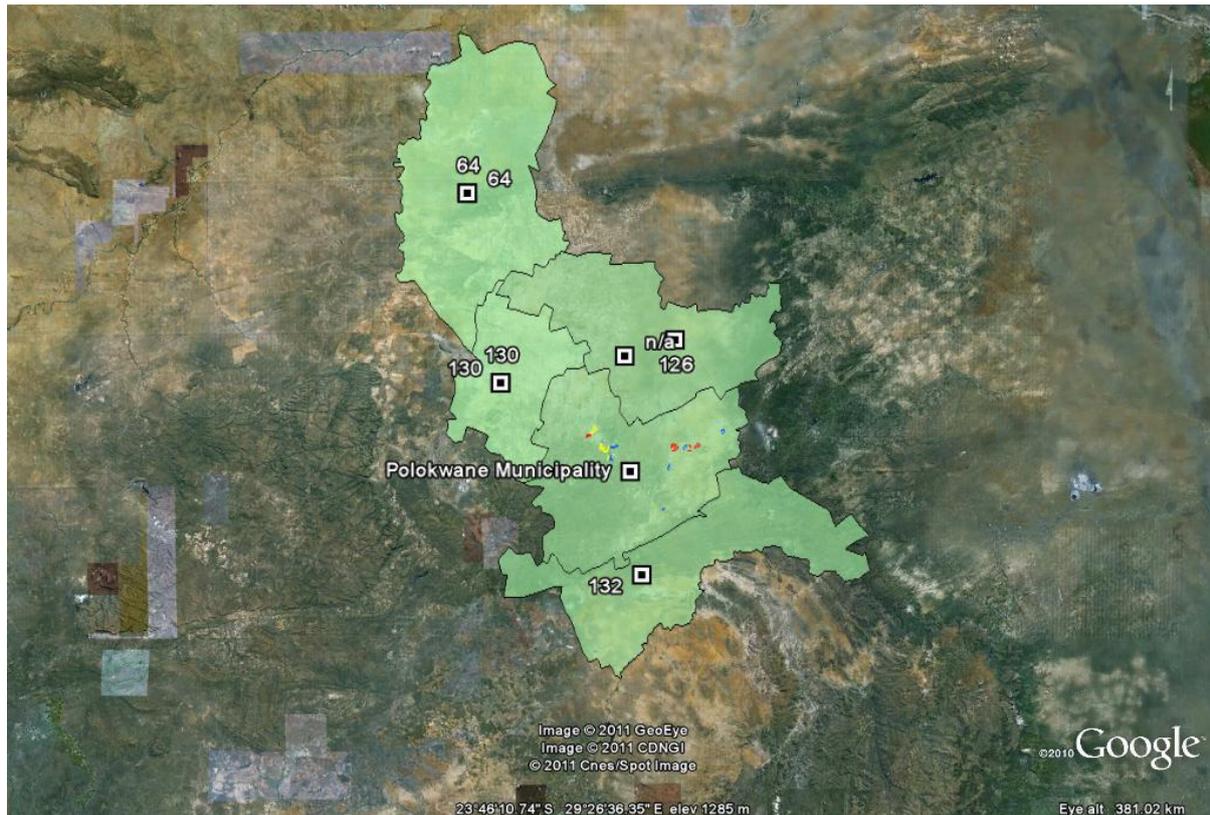
<sup>10</sup> Limpopo Provincial Government, 2011. "Districts and Local Government Municipalities", [http://www.limpopo.gov.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=76&Itemid=92](http://www.limpopo.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=76&Itemid=92) [27 May 2011]

<sup>11</sup> According to the Local Government Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000, a municipality in South Africa is defined as, "... an organ of state within a local sphere of government exercising legislative and executive authority within an area determined in terms of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act, 1998".

delivering basic services<sup>12</sup>. As a result, the Polokwane municipality now incorporates urban, peri-urban and rural areas, each of which have different developmental needs and require different forms of municipal planning and services. Polokwane is thus a city of diversity and inequality at many levels.

The map below shows the Capricorn municipal district with the Polokwane municipal boundary.

**Map 2 Capricorn district showing the Polokwane boundary**



### Population size

According to the 2001 South African national census, the population of the Polokwane municipality had slightly more than half a million (508,280) inhabitants of which 46.5% were males and 53.5% females. The population grew by 16.9% from 1996 to 2001 at an annual

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<sup>12</sup> Similarly, there has been a great deal of local contestation about the names of places in Polokwane as in the rest of the country. Polokwane was one of the first municipalities to change its name after the 1994 democratic elections. Conflict over the changing of names reflects tensions over the place of Afrikaner and English colonialism in South Africa with those for and against citing the need to respect the culture and symbolic meaning of places. See Moloto Moloko, *New name-change policy for Polokwane* October 28 2011

growth rate of about 3.3%<sup>13</sup>. The 2007 Community Survey estimated the total population at 561 770, with the number of households increasing from 124,980 in 2001 to 130,360 in 2007<sup>14</sup>. We expect more reliable and updated demographic data from the recently completed 2011 census. It is likely that the population of the municipality has increased owing both to natural growth and migration (internal and international).

## Migration

The city of Polokwane, 200km south of the Zimbabwe/South Africa border, is both a transit and destination city for many international migrants coming from/through Zimbabwe to South Africa. It is the only major urban centre in the northern part of the country and - most importantly - the national highway (N1) which connects Zimbabwe with Johannesburg, passes through the municipality, making it a strategic centre of migration and commerce.

South Africa has very high urbanization rates, and many South African migrants from the rest of (mostly rural) Limpopo either settle in Polokwane or transit through the city en route to other urban centres. One of the key motivations for selecting Polokwane – a critical secondary city - as a research site was to understand migration outside of South Africa's major cities where the bulk of research has been conducted to date. Population increases in some areas of South Africa is attributed to mainly internal migration; areas such as Polokwane central, Seshego, Blood River, and Mankweng have shown such population growth<sup>15</sup>.

Since 1996, Limpopo province showed a 9.2% overall increase in population compared to a national increase of 10.4% and an increase in Gauteng of 20.4%. Mobility within the province is also high. The full extent of annual international migration into the Polokwane municipality is not known, but it is not a new phenomenon. The 2001 census captured 886 international migrants coming from the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and the rest of Africa contributing 186 migrants. Another 256 and 236 came from Asia and Europe, respectively and 79 came from Latin America<sup>16</sup>. The 2001 census was conducted during the Zimbabwean crisis when Zimbabwean migration to South Africa was thought to be high, so the number of migrants captured in the census is unexpectedly small. There could be two possible explanations for this: either the census did not capture migrants despite their presence or their presence in the municipality (and even in the country) was exaggerated.

The 2001 census also shows a significant flow of people from other parts of South Africa towards Polokwane: 15% of the total population were internal migrants (defined as people who had moved from another province) who had moved to Polokwane since 1996 when the

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<sup>13</sup> City of Polokwane, *Integrated Development Plan, 2008-2011*, p.20, [http://www.polokwane.gov.za/userfiles/1/file/City%20Governance/IDP%20and%20Policy/IDP\\_Final0.pdf](http://www.polokwane.gov.za/userfiles/1/file/City%20Governance/IDP%20and%20Policy/IDP_Final0.pdf) [10 September 2011]

<sup>14</sup> Statistics South Africa, 2008. "Community Survey, 2007, Basic Results: Municipalities", 11 March, Pretoria, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/p03011/p030112007.pdf> [20 August 2011]

<sup>15</sup> City of Polokwane, "Integrated Development Plan 2008-2011", p.20

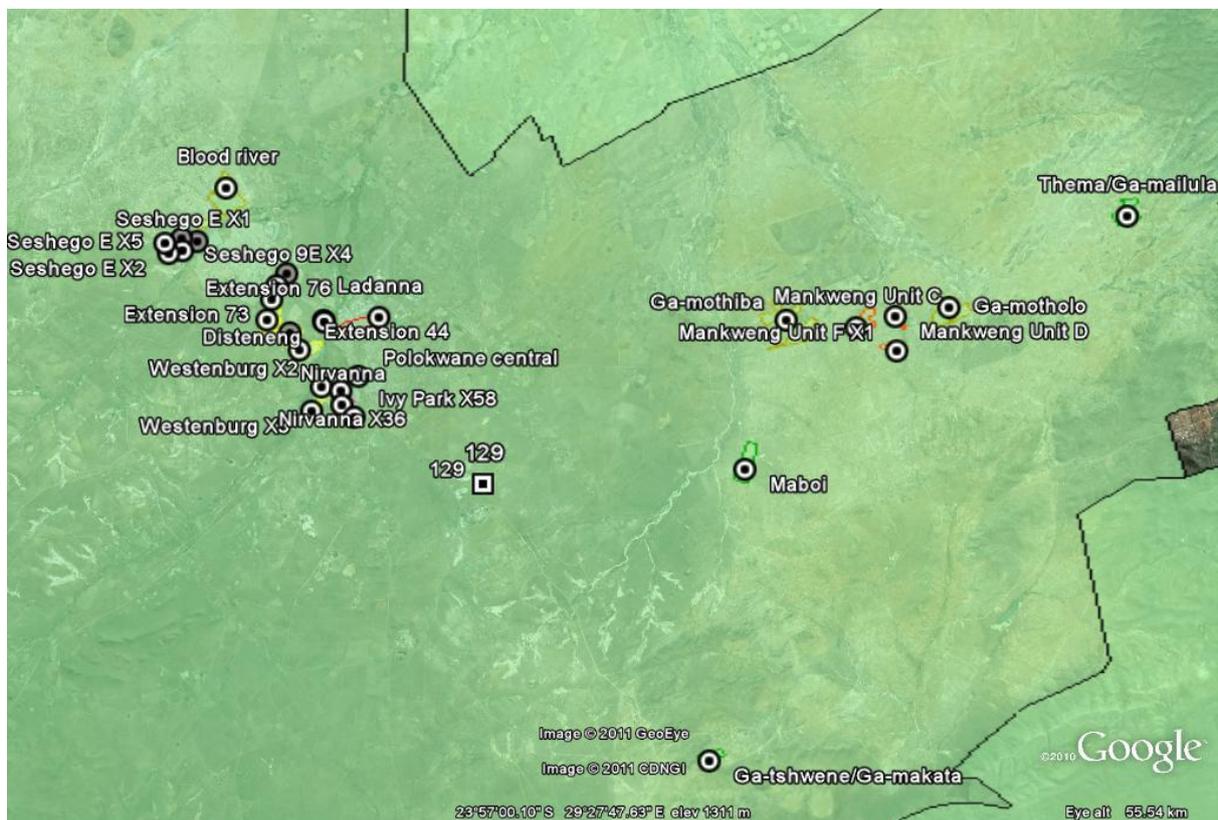
<sup>16</sup> Statistics South Africa, Census 2001.

previous census had been conducted<sup>17</sup>. At the same time it is likely that many Polokwane residents have moved to other parts of the country as urban-urban migration has become a major migratory trend in South Africa<sup>18</sup>.

### Location and settlement patterns of migrants

In Polokwane, there are persistent inequalities between the urban core, the peri-urban areas, the rural areas, the informal settlements and the RDP housing areas. Our survey sample was drawn from each of these areas, as set out in Table 1. Map 3 shows the location of some of the areas.

Map 3: Map of Polokwane showing the study areas



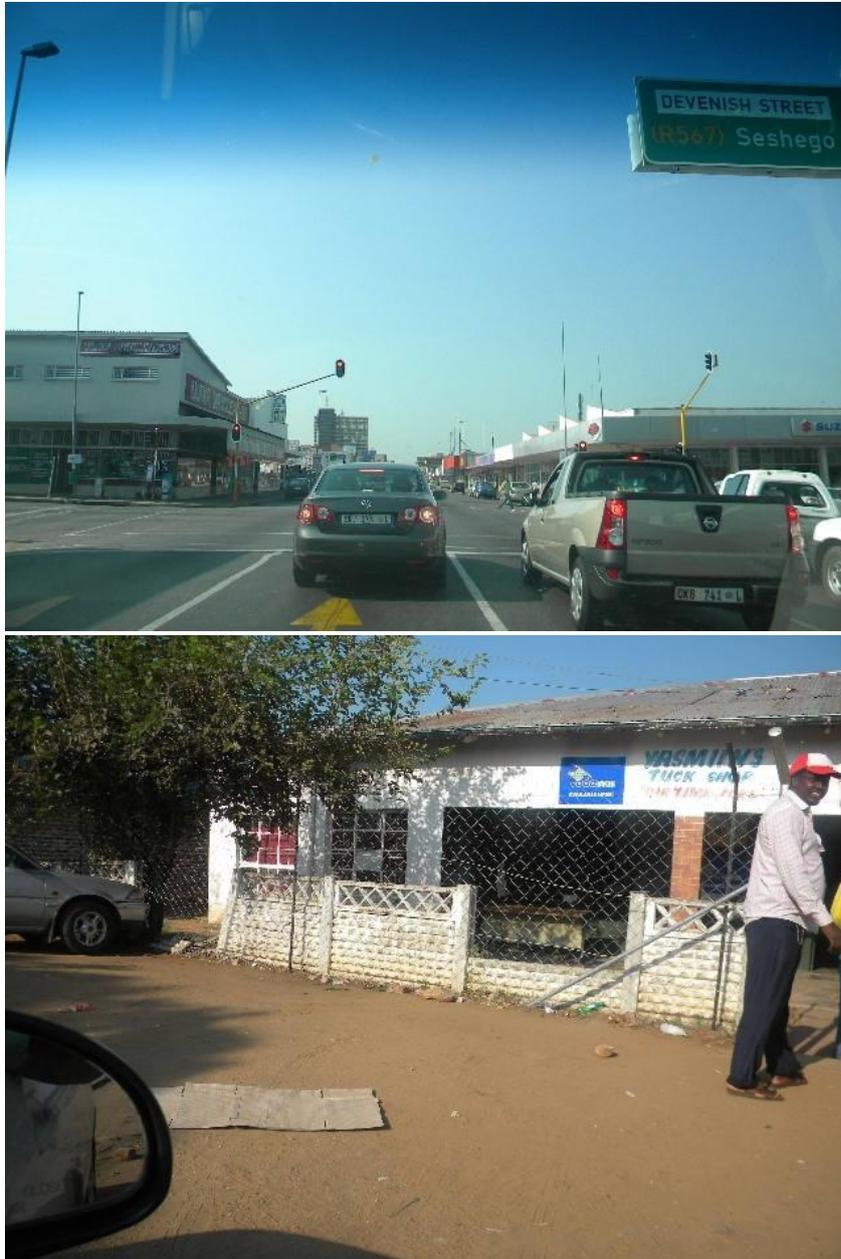
### The Urban Core

The “City of Polokwane” is the urban core of the municipality. It includes the Central Business District (CBD) and adjacent historically ‘white’ suburbs which are now more

<sup>17</sup> Statistics South Africa, Census 2001.

<sup>18</sup> Landau, L., Segatti, A., with Misago, J. 2011. “Governing Migration and Urbanisation in South African Municipalities: Developing Approaches to Counter Poverty and social Fragmentation”, January, pp 16-17.

diverse. Many workers commute daily to the CBD's provincial, district, and municipal offices and its commercial sector, and then return to the surrounding suburbs, townships and informal settlements where they live. The CBD of Polokwane has experienced urban decay and some parts of it are now considered unsafe in terms of crime. However, relatively low rents make it attractive for some to live there, including many Somalis and Ethiopians.



**The Urban core of Polokwane**

## **Townships**

As discussed above, townships were set up during the apartheid era to reflect the racial profiles specified by the Group Areas Act of 1950. Townships were established close enough to economic centres to provide a pool of labour but distant enough to enforce the

strategy of separate racial settlement. Black townships were more geographically and socially distant, while 'coloured' and Indian townships were set up closer to white areas. Today, the former Indian township of Nirvana, less than a kilometer from the CBD, is amongst the most affluent areas in Polokwane. It hosts its original settlers in addition to recent arrivals from South Asia, and some Somalis. Next to Nirvana, across a railway, is the Westernberg township, previously assigned to 'coloureds'. Significant parts of Westernberg are now redeveloped with better quality housing development. There is a substantial RDP housing extension in this area.

Black townships continue to be the largest both in size and population in Polokwane, and are located relatively far from the CBD. Seshego, the largest, is about 5kms from the CBD<sup>19</sup>. It is a diverse township incorporating areas of extreme poverty and of relative wealth. Another major township, Mankweng, is about 30kms east of the CBD near the main campus of the University of Limpopo. This township is set up among older rural villages that are gradually becoming part of the urban setting. Several unit areas (Mankweng Unit C, Mankweng Unit F X1, Mankweng Unit D, Ga-motholo, and Ga-mothiba) in this township form part of our medium and low migrant density survey strata.

## **Informal settlements**

Informal settlements are officially unplanned areas, often in peri-urban areas, that are incorporated into municipalities, and usually illegally occupied for residential purposes. Here our use of the term 'informal settlement' does not include informal housing such as backyard shacks on the property of formal houses<sup>20</sup>. In this report, we use 'informal settlement' interchangeably with 'slum' which is the term most commonly used internationally<sup>21 22</sup>.

In Polokwane the major informal settlement, Disteneng, is located halfway between the CBD and the Seshego township in an open field close to a riverbank. Disteneng (New Pietersburg/Polokwane) represents the typical informal settlement pattern with few basic services. Communities are vulnerable to environmental hazards, there is no sewage system,

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<sup>19</sup> This township was the capital city of the non-independent self-governing bantustan (homeland) called Lebowa. Clarsens, Aninka. 2001. "It is not easy to challenge a chief: Lessons from Rakgwadi", Report No. 9, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, <http://www.plaas.org.za/pubs/rr/RR%209%20Anika%20Claassens%20Web.pdf> [26 September 2011]

<sup>20</sup> Huchzermeyer, M. (2006). The new instrument for upgrading informal settlements in South Africa: contributions and constraints. In M. Huchzermeyer, & A. Karam (Eds.), *A Perpetual Challenge? Informal settlements at the local and policy level*. Cape Town: Juta and Company Limited.

<sup>21</sup> Huchzermeyer, M., & Karam, A. (2006). The continuing challenge of informal settlements: An introduction. In M. Huchzermeyer, & A. Karam (Eds.), *A Perpetual Challenge? Informal settlements at the local and policy level*. Cape Town: Juta and Company Limited.

<sup>22</sup> Gilbert, A. (2007). The return of the slum: Does language matter? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31(4), 697-713.

and waste is dumped close to living quarters, resulting in hygiene problems. Housing consists mainly of corrugated-iron shacks. Fire is a hazard, and poor roads and overcrowding make it difficult for emergency services to access the settlement. There is no access to electricity and dwellers use candles and paraffin lamps. Water is provided by the Municipality through a few communal taps. Crime levels are high relative to other areas in the Municipality, according to our key informants. In response, the police set up a makeshift station close to the main road at the edge of the settlement.

Desteneng is perceived by many locals as the home to international migrants, mainly Zimbabweans, but this perception was not supported by our survey findings. This is an indication of how migrants are widely associated with squalid conditions and failures of service delivery in popular discourse within South Africa. Our findings highlight that there is a lack of knowledge about migration patterns - even among key informants. Many people living in the RDP housing extensions used to stay in Desteneng, and many South Africans settle there in the belief that this will give them priority in the allocation of RDP housing.



**An informal settlement in Polokwane**

### **RDP areas**

In order to redress inequality, South Africa introduced the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994. The RDP was a socio-economic policy that covered issues such as access to housing, electricity, public works and land reform. So-called 'RDP housing' was created under this policy. It was designed to provide 'a range of income groups' with affordable housing close to their work places. RDP houses consist of two rooms of approximately 40sqm in total. Whilst some RDP housing developments have access to electricity and piped water this is not guaranteed. They are allocated to South Africans who earn less than R3500 per month (approx USD 434). RDP housing has been the source of much conflict with accusations that foreigners are acquiring houses and that the systems for obtaining houses are corrupt. In some cases this speculation has led to violence against foreigners, such as in Gauteng Province.

In order to qualify for RDP housing, the applicant must contribute ZAR 2500 or 'sweat equity' to the building of the house. Land for RDP housing is secured by the government. The largest RDP settlement in Polokwane is just outside Seshego (sections 76, 75 and 81), and has been earmarked for further RDP development. The Municipality Housing Association has also built apartment blocks which it rents (eg. R1225 for one bed room unit) to those within a specific income category (R3500-R7500)<sup>23</sup>. Among key informants interviewed for this study, there was a great deal of speculation about foreigners, particularly Zimbabweans, illegally obtaining or living in RDP housing. This was the primary reason given by residents for the outbreak of violence against foreigners in Polokwane in 2011 when houses were burned and one person stoned to death<sup>24</sup>.



**The Induna (traditional headman) outside his RDP house**

### **Semi-rural and rural areas**

Polokwane incorporates both semi-rural and rural areas within the municipality. 'Unit areas' such as Blood River, Ga-mothiba, and Ga-motholo represent rural areas that are becoming part of the urban setting. Some rural areas, such as Maboi, Ga-tshwene, and Thema, remain geographically isolated with villagers depending on subsistence farming and remittances from the urban areas. The South African constitution recognises the authority of traditional leaders, who have a role in allocating tribal trust land. Some of these leaders interviewed during this study stated that they refused to allow international migrants to settle in their areas.

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<sup>23</sup> Polokwane Housing Association, "Social Housing Projects- Ga Rena Rental Village", [http://www.polokwane.gov.za/index.php?view\\_page+683](http://www.polokwane.gov.za/index.php?view_page+683) [02 November 2011]

<sup>24</sup> Dube, M. (2011). Polokwane May Moves to Rejuvenate Desteneng, *The New Age*, November 02.

### **3: Methods**

Our study adopted a three-pronged approach. We began with key informant interviews to identify relevant data collection areas in Polokwane and work out our sampling design and stratification approach. In phase 2 we conducted the main survey (825 respondents), and in phase 3, we conducted 27 in-depth interviews to gain an understanding of the migrants' experiences and the context in which our survey took place.

#### **Survey sampling design**

The study area was the Polokwane municipal area, which incorporates rural, semi-rural and highly urbanised areas (see Map 3 above of study area)

##### *Stratification*

We began by stratifying the study area into high, medium and low densities of international migrants. Stratification allows us to capture as many migrants as possible in our sample, by sampling more heavily in high density areas. While it is important to include low-density areas to capture hidden or under-researched groups, in most cities, simple random sampling will not yield enough migrant respondents to enable comparison between groups. High density areas were defined as having a population estimated at two-thirds or more migrants. Medium density areas were mixed migrant and non-migrant communities, with one to two-thirds being migrants. Low density areas were estimated to have one-third or less migrants.

The stratification process took place during a visit to Polokwane one month before the survey started. Interviews were held with informants from non-governmental organisations (NGOs), local government agencies, refugee community organizations, international and internal migrants, and Polokwane residents. These informants were selected using convenience sampling and purposive sampling. We asked about areas where migrants were reported to have settled. Areas that were mentioned by all or most of our informants we defined as high density, areas that were mentioned occasionally were medium density, and those areas not mentioned we defined as low density.

We triangulated our stratification information in two ways. During the pilot stage our field workers checked our stratification decisions, and we checked our lists against the municipality's list of high and medium density areas. While local knowledge reflects general settlement patterns in particular areas, it cannot provide accurate numbers and is often arbitrary and inaccurate.

We allocated 500 of the total sample to high density stratum, 200 to medium density (it was difficult to decide which areas to classify as medium density), and 100 to low density areas. The selected survey areas, and their stratification, are shown in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1 Selected survey areas and stratification**

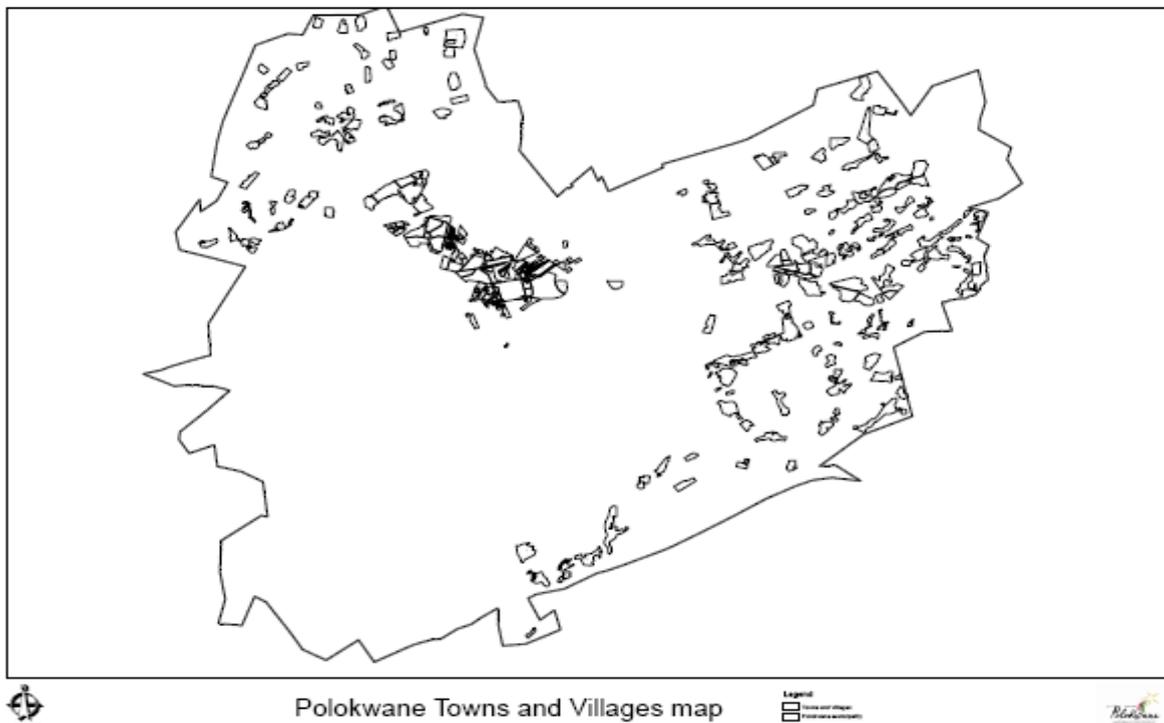
<b>Selected Unit Areas</b>	<b>Migrant Density Level</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Area Description</b>
Blood River	High	65	Semi-rural
Destining (New Polokwane)	High	67	Informal settlement
Extension 71	High	63	RDP
Extension 73	High	63	RDP
Extension 76	High	63	RDP
Extension 44 (Greenside)	High	69	RDP
Westenburg Ext 2	High	63	RDP/Township
Westenburg Ext 3	High	64	Township
Ga-mothiba	Medium	21	Semi-rural
Ga-motholo	Medium	21	Semi-rural
Mankweng Unit D	Medium	21	Township
Mankweng Unit Unit F Ext 1	Medium	21	Township
Polokwane Central	Medium	20	Urban
Seshego E Ext 1	Medium	20	Township
Seshego E Ext 2	Medium	21	Township
Seshego E Ext 4	Medium	18	Township
Seshego E Ext 5	Medium	19	Township
Seshego E Ext 6	Medium	22	Township
Ga-tshwene	Low	10	Rural
Mankweng Unit C	Low	10	Township
Maboi	Low	11	Rural
Thema	Low	11	Rural
Nirvana	Low	8	Township
Nirvana Ext 36	Low	11	Township
Ivy Park Ext 22	Low	11	Suburb
Seshego 9E Ext 4	Low	10	Township
Seshego 9F Ext 1	Low	10	Township
Ladanna	Low	11	Suburb

### *Sample units*

The next task was to develop a sampling unit by reducing the stratified areas into smaller units with clear boundaries. Most areas named by local residents are not clearly demarcated and we needed units with clear boundaries. Our initial intention was to use the Enumeration Area (EA) map developed by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) for the 2001 census, but the map was outdated and did not reflect current settlement patterns. For example, previously unsettled spaces are now developed separately or as an extension of existing residential areas. We obtained the list of EAs for the planned 2011 census from local StatsSA offices, but they could not provide the corresponding map due to the embargo placed on this

resource at the time. Even if this map was available, it would be difficult to overlay an EA map onto Google Earth since the resolution makes it problematic to create a polygon along the boundaries. We wanted to use Google Earth so the study could be replicated in other cities, including those that do not have accurate census data or high quality maps available.

**Map 4 Sub-place (unit areas) of Polokwane**



Source: Polokwane Municipality, GIS Unit

We needed a sampling unit smaller than the stratification areas but larger than an EA. The Polokwane municipality had sub-divided the municipality into smaller units called ‘sub-places’. The municipality had a total of 367 sub-places but when checked against the Google Earth base map, some (mostly in urban areas) were neither settled nor residential units, so we discarded 44 such empty sub-places from the list. With the help of the Municipality’s GIS Unit we developed a map corresponding to the list of 333 sub-places (SP). Most rural and semi-rural villages maintained their original unit identity in this classification. Not all of the SPs were equal in population size and or territory.

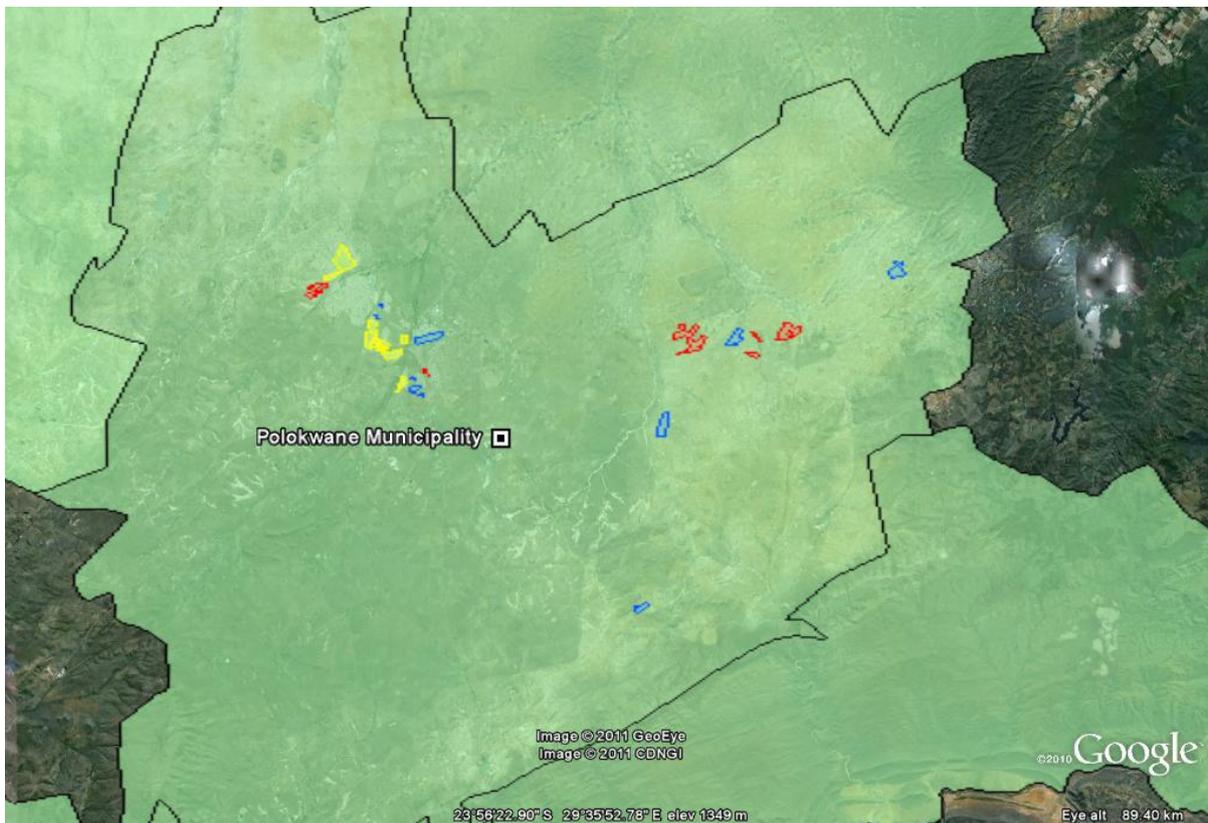
Table 3.2 below shows the sample distribution across the three strata, number of sampling unit areas (sub-places), and randomly generated GPS points. Table 3.2 Sample size chart

<b>Migrant population density level</b>	<b>Household sample size</b>	<b>Number of unit areas</b>
High	500	8
Medium	200	10
Low	100	10

### Sampling Method

Once the stratification process was completed, we adopted a two-stage cluster sampling method. In the first stage we either selected all sub-places (SPs) within a stratum or randomly selected fewer SPs. There were eight SPs in the high density stratum and we selected all of these. The number of SPs in the medium and low density strata was too large for our survey resources (time and personnel) to cover, so we randomly selected an appropriate number. Of the 28 SPs in the medium density, and 297 SPs in the low density stratum, we randomly selected 10 in each to reach our desired number of respondents<sup>25</sup>. Map 5 shows our high density areas in yellow, medium density in red and low density areas in blue.

**Map 5 Survey unit areas by density level**



In the second stage of the sampling process, we needed to randomly select the required number of households within a SP. The lack of up-to-date and disaggregated population data obliged us to seek other techniques. Using easily accessible online resources, we generated random GPS coordinates which would represent the required households in a single SP. We used our map of SPs, each identified by its serial ID number. Before we overlaid this map onto Google Earth, we downloaded a base map (kmz format) of

<sup>25</sup> We allocated each of the 28 SPs a simple serial number ID (1-28), and then selected 10 SPs using an online based “research randomizer” online based software, <http://www.randomizer.org/>

Polokwane Municipality. Using Google Earth applications, we overlaid a transparent SP map on the kmz map, allowing us to still see images of the Municipality and all the SPs. The combined map allowed us to draw a polygon<sup>26</sup> of selected SPs along their original boundaries (based on SP map). Through this process the boundary points for each of the selected unit places were generated.

The generated boundary points were then entered into software called EPOP<sup>27</sup>, which is capable of generating random GPS points within a designated area (in this case SPs). The generated coordinates were then exported to an Excel file where the coordinate units (latitude/longitude) were adjusted to reflect the geographical orientation (south) of Polokwane. As a control mechanism the coordinates were plotted onto Google Earth using free online software called gpsvisualizer<sup>28</sup>. The gpsvisualizer software allows the researcher to make sure the generated coordinates reflect the selected SPs. We generated double the necessary coordinate points for each SP to ensure that we had an adequate random sample even if refusal rates were high. This played a vital role in many cases where fieldworkers could not find anyone in selected households, despite attempts to return later in the day or the next day.

## Implementation

We used three GPS devices (one per team) to locate the coordinates during the survey implementation. The closest household (within 200m) to a coordinate was selected for an interview. In instances where it was difficult to identify the closest house, fieldworkers allocated ID numbers to those clearly eligible houses by writing on a piece of paper and asked someone else to draw one blindly from a pool. When points fell in locations that clearly had no houses, or when two or more points fell on the same spot, they were eliminated prior to going to the field and replaced as per our replacement protocol. Supervisors were then given a printed list of coordinates for a selected unit place and a GPS device to locate those points.

The first set of coordinate points was selected regardless of the points' sequential order. Once those were exhausted, the extra coordinates were considered in a sequential order to make up for those that were inaccessible (locked doors or refusals) without affecting the randomness of the sample. Coordinate points for each selected household were recorded on the respective questionnaire; however, instead of recording the originally generated coordinates we decided to take the actual (accurate) coordinates of a particular selected household. This was intended to enhance accuracy when/if going back to these households and to map the location of respondents in the final report.

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<sup>26</sup> A polygon refers to any geographical unit created on Google Earth using GPS points as boundary points.

<sup>27</sup> Developed in 2006 by World Health Organization and Epicentre for the purposes of epidemiological study.

<sup>28</sup> [www.gpsvisualizer.com](http://www.gpsvisualizer.com)

## **Adaptation of survey instrument, training, and piloting**

The generic survey questionnaire used for all the case studies was reconfigured to reflect the Polokwane context, and additional modules were added to reflect the research interests of the implementing institution (ACMS), including a household roster and children's grid.

We translated the survey instruments into Sepedi and Tsonga which are spoken by locals, and Shona which is spoken by Zimbabwean migrants<sup>29</sup>. Sepedi is the most commonly spoken language in the region. The translated versions were back-translated into English to check the quality of the original translation and to edit discrepancies.

We provided three days of training to the enumerator team using a draft of the questionnaire. On the first day, we explained the objectives of the survey and addressed research issues such as ethics (conventional and contextual), research techniques (including sampling strategy and GPS device applications), research quality control, logistical concerns, and resources. On the second day, we reviewed the English versions of the instruments, identified problems and made revisions. We then asked the enumerators to translate and edit the questionnaire using the revised version.

When the questionnaire was ready, we conducted a three-day pilot study. The teams went to the field in the morning followed by debriefing and discussion in the afternoon. The pilot allowed us to test the instruments in real time, helped the enumerator team familiarize themselves with the research strategy and tools and enabled the project coordinators to identify suitable supervisors for each of the three teams. After the three-day pilot the questionnaire was revised and printed.

## **Implementation of the survey**

Before launching the survey we sought authorization from local authorities. This proved to be a time-consuming process because the upcoming (often tense) local government elections meant that local officials were wary of our presence and the study. We met local political leaders in each of the selected areas and they informed their communities about the apolitical nature of our study. We obtained written authorization from municipality officials, who also made copies of our instruments in case community leaders requested them.

We divided our enumerators into three teams, each with a supervisor managing quality control. Supervisors negotiated access to the SPs and assigned enumerators to selected households. The three supervisors were provided with the list of coordinates for a particular SP and a GPS device to locate the selected households. The sampling technique proved to be accurate in locating the target houses. All teams worked at the same time both for administrative and safety reasons. In a few exceptional cases only one or two enumerators were needed due to the low number of interviews in that area. Households who did not have

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<sup>29</sup> We began with one Ndebele speaking fieldworker; however, he left upon completion of the training and it was too late to re-train someone else so Ndebele could not be used during our survey. But we learned that most Ndebele speakers in Polokwane understand Sepedi so we used the Sepedi version with them.

someone home were visited a second time - on the following day - before selecting a replacement household. Initially we worked during normal working hours (8:00am-4:30pm), but in order to capture working members of the households, we extended our hours to between 9:30am and 6:00pm in addition to weekends and official holidays. This yielded more workers but was complicated by the fact that migrants often use weekends and holidays to visit their places of origin or their families staying elsewhere. This group was therefore probably underrepresented as respondents.

Two people entered the data in separate databases in SPSS which were merged to form a single dataset. The data set was then converted to STATA, cleaned, and analyzed.

### **Limitations and challenges**

Our stratified sampling strategy yielded a low number of cross-border migrants. This confirms our initial suggestion that a quota sample is needed for this kind of study. Nevertheless it is not unrealistic to assume that this number reflects an accurate proportion of the Polokwane population as the best estimates are that migrants make up approximately 3% of the South African population<sup>30</sup>.

A second challenge was that the urban-rural distinction is blurred in the case of Polokwane and the urban area was difficult to define in the context of this study. While high density areas were close to the city centre, more distant low and medium density areas meant the team had to travel 35-50 kilometres to reach those areas. The dispersed settlement patterns of migrants, especially of international migrants, could be one reason why so few were captured by the survey.

Another limitation was that despite our attempts to adjust the survey times, we often faced the challenge of closed houses. While our decision to work after hours and on holidays yielded better results in terms of capturing important social groups such as workers, we could not extend the hours beyond 6pm for security reasons and this might be too early to capture many workers. As with all head of household surveys however, it is assumed that the head of the household can accurately capture the experience of all members of the household<sup>31</sup>.

### **Qualitative interviews**

The qualitative interviews supplemented and filled in some gaps left by the quantitative survey. Interviews were conducted with 27 respondents by two research assistants who had been involved in conducting the main survey. Two interview guide templates were adapted

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<sup>30</sup> Crush, J. (2001). Making up the numbers: Measuring illegal immigration to South Africa. Southern African Migration Project Report.

<sup>31</sup> Indra challenges this assumption (see Indra 2001) and it is for this reason that the household and child registers were used in this study as they allow more disaggregated and detailed information on groups often underrepresented by household survey methodologies.

to the study context. The research assistants took a two-day formal training on in-depth interviews, transcription, analysis, and qualitative research in general. A transcribed prototype interview done by other researchers was used in the training and this was provided to them as well. One of the fieldworkers was a Zimbabwean whose first language was Shona and could speak fluent English while the other was a Sepedi-speaking local South African.

The interviewees were selected to ensure that there were roughly equal numbers of foreigners and migrants and men and women. In addition interviewees were selected from Polokwane central including surrounding suburbs, informal settlements, RDP housing and townships. All those interviewed had to have lived in Polokwane for more than 2 years and be 18 years or older. The interviewees were selected from and interviewed in public places such as hair salons, markets, shops, and streets. This distribution of respondents is shown below:

**Table 3.3: sampling criteria for qualitative research**

South Africans (n=11)				Migrants (n=16)			
Polokwanas (n=5)		South African Migrants (n=6)		Zimbabweans (n=10)		Other foreign migrants (n=6)	
Male (n=3)	Female (n=2)	Male (n=3)	Female (n=3)	Male (n=5)	Female (n=5)	Male (n=3)	Female (n=3)

The interviews were recorded and transcribed by the same research assistants who conducted them, and were analyzed using a thematic content analysis. The interview data augmented the main survey findings and helped to contextualize the livelihoods and experiences of survey respondents in Polokwane.

### **Delphi survey method**

The Delphi method is an online-based self-administered survey designed to generate information from specific key informants (staff of international NGOs, local NGOs, community based organizations, local government authorities, national governments, departments and institutions). A list of potential participants was developed in advance of the survey and contact was established by setting up meetings with the individuals identified. The meetings were meant to help them understand the nature of the study and to seek their willingness to complete the short online survey. The informants were expected to have access to the internet in order to complete the survey, and unfortunately despite assurances by all those we met, we received a very low response rate (only four out of possible 25) through this process.



**The fieldwork team**

## 4. Migration Characteristics, Demographics and Household Composition

This section presents the findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data. The findings are presented in relation to the conceptual framework identifying aspects of urban vulnerability. The main findings were based on evidence from the quantitative analysis while other evidence from in-depth interviews was used to contextualize the survey findings.

Our final survey sample consisted of 814 respondents distributed across the 19 subplaces of Polokwane, as shown in Table 2.1 and maps (above).

*Refusal rate:* Overall we solicited 814 households, of which 54 refused to participate (6.8% of 814). The highest number of refusals occurred in Westernburg.

*Household definition:* We defined a household as those individuals sharing food or income on a daily basis.

### 4.1 Migration to Polokwane

Of our respondents, 517 (64%) had migrated to Polokwane as an adult (over 16), and are termed 'migrants' in our report. This group is made up of South African (internal) migrants ~~or~~ and international migrants.

#### Categories of respondents

We divided our respondents into three groups of interest as follows (Chart 4.1):

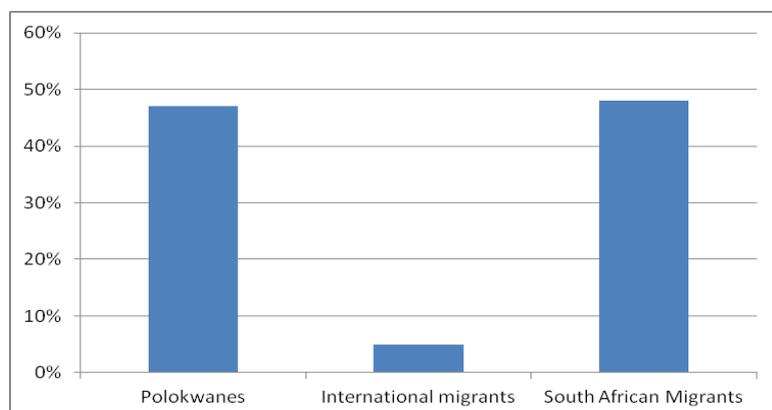
**International migrants** were those 42 respondents who were born outside South Africa, about 5% of the total sample. Of these, (27) were born in Zimbabwe whilst 38 came from Zimbabwe (even if they had not been born there). Almost half (47%) reported that they were asylum seekers (i.e. they reported that they possessed a South Africa asylum permit), 10% reported that they had refugee status, and 17% reported that they were in possession of a work permit, 2% each had study or spousal permit, 4.8% had permanent residence and 17% did not give any valid response to their status. Of those reporting to be asylum seekers or refugees, 22 were Zimbabweans.

Although our international migrants are too few in number to provide the statistical power for some kinds of analysis, they give some indication of differences and so we discuss them in the report below.

**South African Migrants** (internal migrants) were born in South Africa but outside Polokwane, and comprise 387 of our respondents or 48% of the total; and

**Locals (Polokwanes)** were South Africans born in Polokwane, and they comprise 385 or 47% of our sample.

**Chart 4.1: Proportions of migrant groups**



### Place of birth and origin

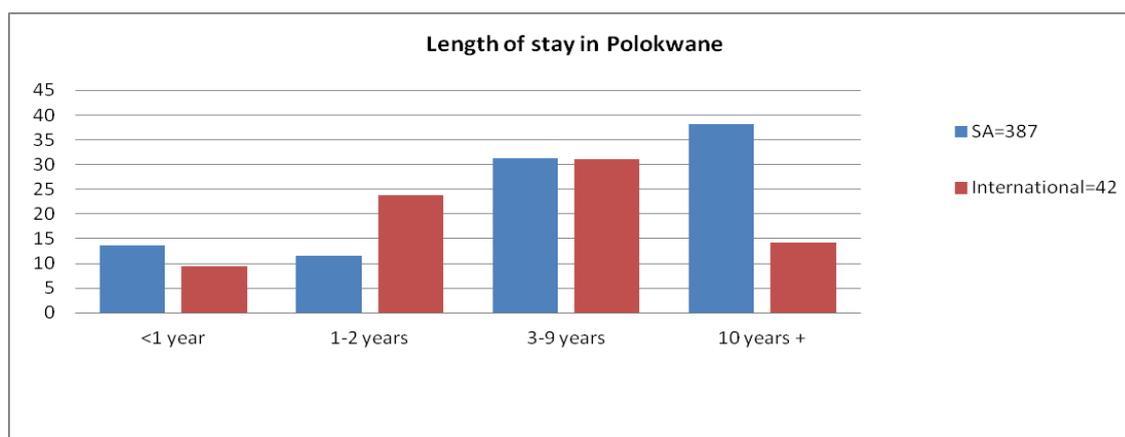
There were 429 migrants (387 migrants from other places in South Africa and 42 international migrants) in the sample. Most had migrated to Polokwane as an adult (aged over 16 years): 81% of international migrants and 74% of internal migrants. About two thirds (64%) of the internal migrants had lived in various areas of Limpopo province before coming to Polokwane, and 7.2% had lived in Gauteng province, while 2% previously lived in Mpumalanga (a rural province which shares borders with Limpopo and Mozambique).

Among the 42 international migrants, 38 (90%) were from Zimbabwe; whilst the remainder came from Mozambique, Botswana, Swaziland and Malawi. A large proportion (71%) of internal migrants had migrated from rural areas while more than half of international migrants (52%) migrated from either a township or urban areas close to Polokwane.

### When People came

About a third (38%) of South African migrants said they had lived in Polokwane for more than ten years, compared to 14% of international migrants. Another third (31%) of both South African and international migrants had lived in Polokwane for between 3 and 9 years. Just under a quarter (23%) of international migrants had moved to Polokwane 1-2 years prior to the survey compared to 12% of SA migrants. When asked about their migration plans for the next two years, most (64% of international migrants and 84% of internal migrants) said they planned to stay in Polokwane, while 29% of international migrants said they wanted to go back home.

**Chart 4.2: Length of time in Polokwane by migrant status**



### Reasons for migrating

Both South African and international migrants reported economic motivations for their migration to Polokwane. However, more than half (56%) of the international migrants cited conflict, land disputes or eviction as additional drivers of their migration.

We asked why migrants moved to Polokwane instead of other areas in South Africa, and 46% of South African migrants and 24% of international migrants cited economic reasons. The economic pull of Polokwane was supported in the qualitative interviews. As one respondent said:

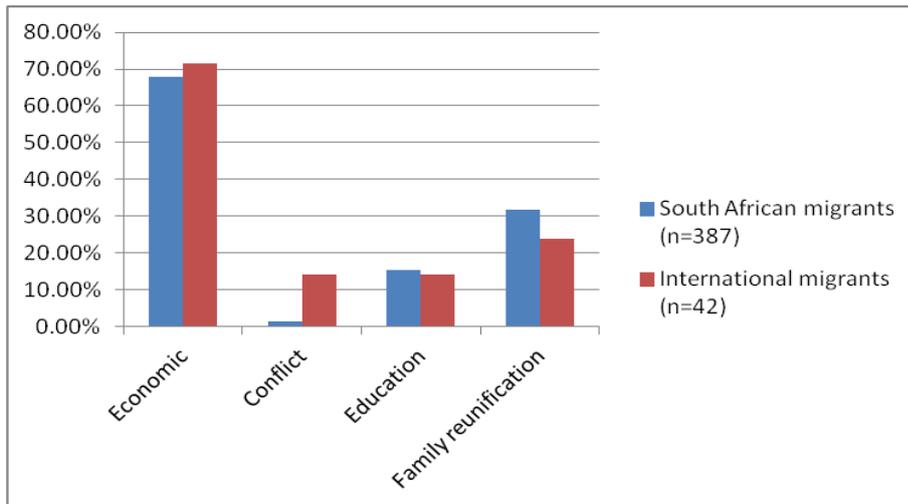
Polokwane is good, there are lot of job opportunities, even though I am not educated but I can do laundry for those who are working and they pay me, in that case I'm able to buy food for my children and pay electricity bills in the house. Now I'm busy cooking for children at this school in Seshego where they pay me R300.00 per month<sup>32</sup>.

Other reasons for choosing Polokwane as a destination included:

- About 15% said they came because they were already familiar with Polokwane;
- Some 15% of South African migrants and 17% of international migrants had family members in Polokwane;
- An additional 14% sought educational opportunities. As a provincial capital, Polokwane hosts the University of Limpopo (Turfloop Campus) and there are several colleges that might be an attraction to post-high school students.

<sup>32</sup> LPANM09, 47 years old female South African, 06 August 2011, Polokwane

**Chart 4.3: reasons for migrating to Polokwane by migrant status**



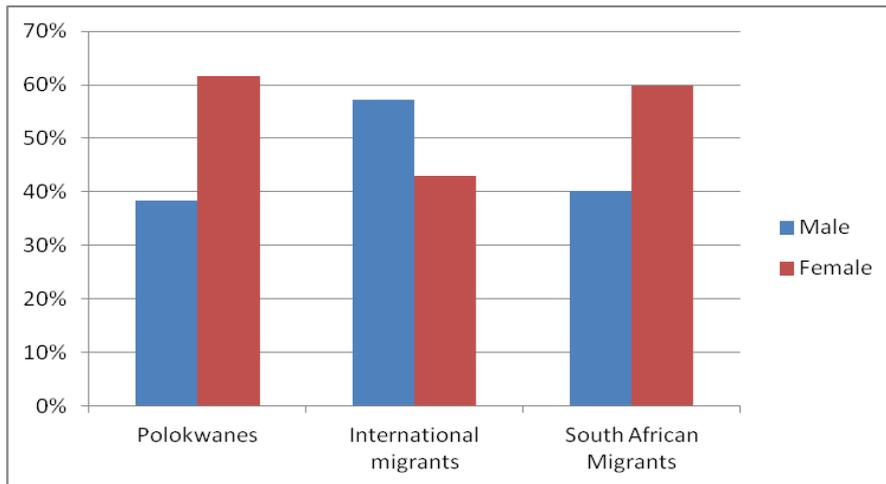
## 4.2 Demographics

This section compares the demographic characteristics of our entire sample, divided into our three groups of interest – South African and international migrants and Polokwanas.

### Age and Gender

Of our total sample, 59% were women. This was the case for both Polokwanas and internal migrants while for international migrants 57% were males and 43% females. This is however likely to reflect the fact that women were more likely to be at home during the day rather than a reflection of feminized migration patterns. That only 51% of respondents identified themselves as the head of the household supports this finding.

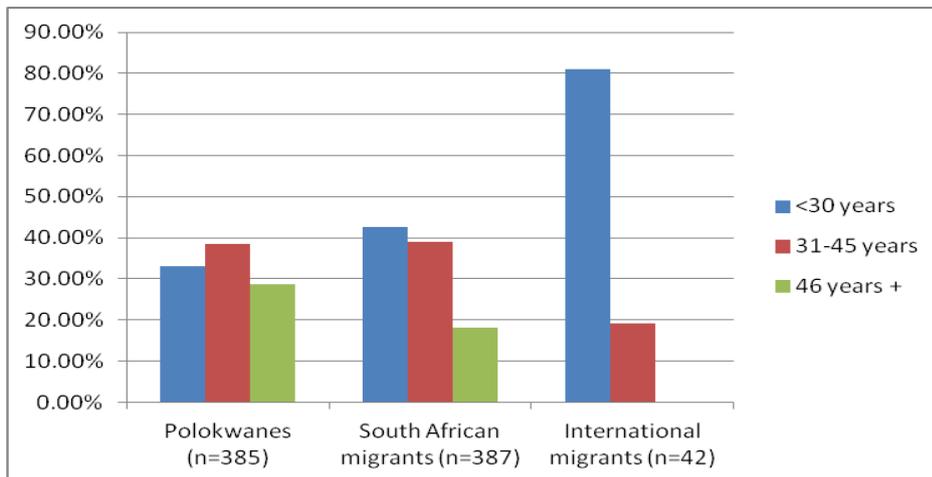
**Chart 4.4: gender by migrant status**



Overall, less than half of the total respondents were aged 30 years or below, and the mean age was 36 years (std. dev 14 years). About 38% of Polokwanans and internal migrants were aged 31-45 years with a mean age of 28.6 years (std 15 years) and 34.6 years (std of 12.3 years) respectively.

International migrants were younger, with most (81%) aged less than 30 years and a mean age of 27.7 years (std-5.5 years). In addition we saw that international migrants were 6 times more likely to be 30 years or less South African migrants ( $p=0.035$ ).

**Chart 4.5: Age by migrant status (differences are not statistically significant because of small number of international migrants)**

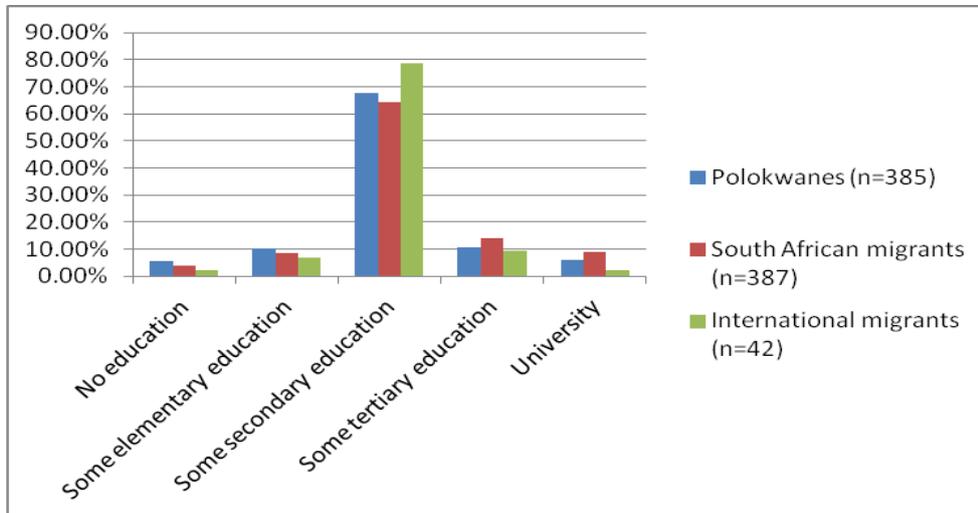


## Education

About 5.5% of Polokwanans and 4% of internal migrants had no education, compared with 2.4% of international migrants. Some two thirds of Polokwanans (67.5%) and internal migrants (64%) had some secondary education compared with 79% of international

migrants. However, a smaller percentage (2.4%) of international migrants had a university degree compared with 9% of internal migrants and 6% of Polokwanas, although the findings are not statistically significant.

**Chart 4.6: Education by migrant status**



## Marriage

Just over a third (36%) of all respondents were married at the time of the survey, with a higher proportion of international migrants - more than half (52%) compared with 37% of Polokwanes and 32% of internal migrants - married. About 25% of both Polokwanes and internal migrants were married and living with their spouse, compared with 34% of international migrants.

## Languages spoken in the household

Most of South Africa's 11 official languages<sup>33</sup> are spoken in Polokwane, but the main languages are Sepedi (northern Sotho), and English which is predominantly used in government offices and businesses. English has economic advantages although Sepedi is key to social integration. Sepedi was reported as the language used at home by 88% of Polokwanes, and 72% of internal migrants. Other major languages respondents used at home are Xitsonga, Tshivenda and Afrikaans.

More than a quarter (29%) of international migrants compared with 9.8% of internal migrants and 7.5% of Polokwanes reported that they communicate most often in English at home. In other words, international migrants were 4 times more likely to speak English at home than South African migrants. In South Africa, English is an important means of accessing employment, education, healthcare and other vital assets. However, Polokwanes and

<sup>33</sup> These are: Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu (Constitution, 1996).

internal migrants were more likely to be able to speak IsiZulu, the language used most commonly across South Africa and often the only common language across different ethnic groups in South Africa.

## Ethnicity

The ethnic composition of our sample reflected the languages respondents speak at home. The majority (76%) were Sepedi, with smaller numbers of TsiTsonga (5.7%), TshiVenda 4.4%, IsiZulu 3.9%, and Shona 3.5%. Other ethnic groups such as Afrikaners, SeTswana and Ndebele, were represented by 61 respondents. Among ethnic Sepedi, 54% were Polokwane residents, and 45% internal migrants. The international migrants were Shona (28) and Ndebele (6) Zimbabweans, and non-Zimbabweans identified themselves either with some South African ethnic groups or did not respond to the ethnicity question. This may indicate that this question was more sensitive than originally anticipated by the researchers.

**Table 4.3 Summary of demographic information by migration status**

	Polokwanes (n=385)	Internal migrants (n=387)	International Migrants (n=42)	Total (n=814)
<b>Sex of Respondents</b>				
Male	38.4	40.1	57.1	40.2
Female	61.6	59.9	42.9	59.8
<b>Age groups of Respondents</b>				
< 30 years	33.0	42.6	80.9	40.1
31-45 years	38.4	39.0	19.1	37.7
46 years +	28.6	18.2	--	22.2
<b>Marital variables</b>				
Married	37.1	32.2	52.4	35.6
Married living with spouse <sup>34</sup>	27.3 (73.4)	25.1 (77.6)	35.7 (68.2)	26.7 (74.8)
<b>Educational status of household head</b>				
None	20.5	15.5	14.3	17.8
Some primary	8.3	7.2	4.8	7.6
Some secondary	54.6	57.6	69.1	56.8
Post-secondary	8.8	10.3	7.1	9.5
University	7.8	9.3	4.8	8.4
<b>Proportion of household heads who speak English</b>				
Speak English	6.5	7.2	23.8	7.7

<sup>34</sup> Figures in parenthesis represent proportion among married with spouse living together.

### 4.3 Household size and composition

Household size and composition is an important indicator of economic vulnerability. Households with higher numbers of elderly, disabled people or children relative to household size are likely to have higher health and education expenses, and be less able to generate income.

In Polokwane, about half of our respondents – for all three migrant categories - were household heads and 20% were the spouse to the head of household. The mean number of household members across the migrant groups is shown in table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2: Mean household members across migrant status

<b>Migrants category</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
<b>Polokwanes</b>	3.80	383	2.08
<b>Internal migrants</b>	3.93	387	2.02
<b>International Migrants</b>	4.02	42	2.07
<b>Total</b>	3.87	812	2.06

Overall, the average number of household members was 3.87 (std 2.0). Among our three groups of interest, international migrants had the highest average number of households members (4.02 std. dev 2.07) compared with 3.9 (std. dev 2.02) for internal migrants and 3.8 (std-2.08) for Polokwanes although these differences are not statistically significant.

Household size ranged between 5-13 persons. The proportion of Polokwanes with large family sizes, which is between 5 and 13 members, was 40.5%, 32.3% among internal migrants, and 14.3% among international migrants. Whilst the small number of international migrants makes it difficult to reach clear conclusions, it would seem that international migrants have somewhat larger households than Polokwanes and South African migrants.

#### Sharing households

Of our total sample, 8.4% of households shared dwellings with other households. International migrants (14%) were more likely to share a dwelling, followed by internal migrants (11%) and Polokwanes (5%). Whilst the findings are not statistically significant, odds ratios indicate that international migrants are 2 times more likely than internal migrants to share a dwelling, indicating that the non-significant finding may be a consequence of small

sample sizes. Some respondents also share bills or food with other households. Overall, about 5.8% reported sharing such things with other households, but a larger proportion of international migrants did (14%) compared with internal migrants (8%) and Polokwanas (3%).

### Household income earner ratios

Whilst the size of the household is a useful indicator of vulnerability, the ratio of income earners to non income earners provides a more accurate picture of the employment and income vulnerability of a household. Households with a high number of earners relative to household size) are likely to be less vulnerable to the loss of an income earner.

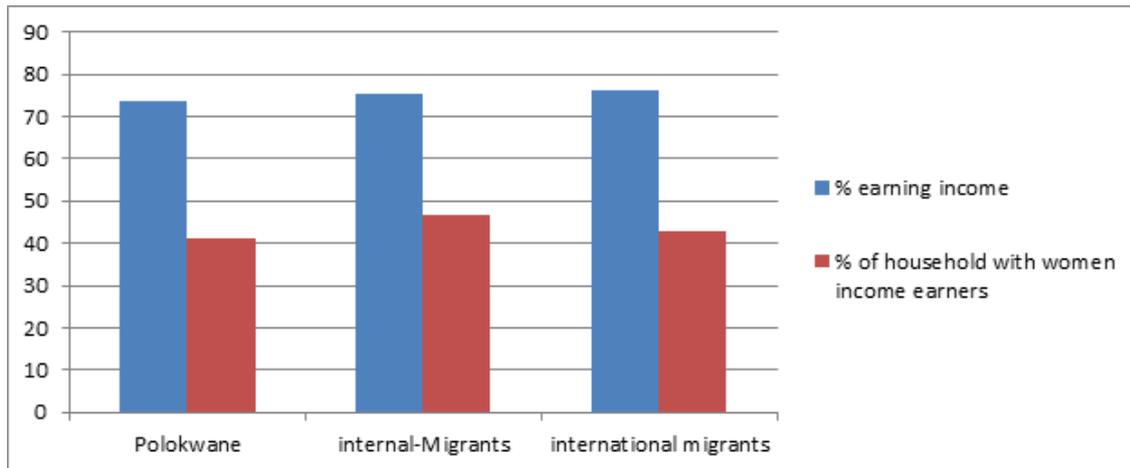
The table below shows the income earner dependency ratios calculated as the number of income earners divided by the total number of the household. What is striking is the similarity across the three categories with similar dependency ratios for all three.

**Table 4.3: Household income earner dependency ratio by migration status**

<b>Migrants category</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
<b>Polokwanas</b>	.3676	383	.3346
<b>Internal migrants</b>	.3555	387	.3064
<b>Internatl Migrants</b>	.3337	42	.2949
<b>Total</b>	.3601	812	.3192

As the chart below shows, a significantly higher proportion of Polokwanas were earning an income compared to the two migrant groups whilst there was no significant difference across migrant groups in the percentage of women income earners.

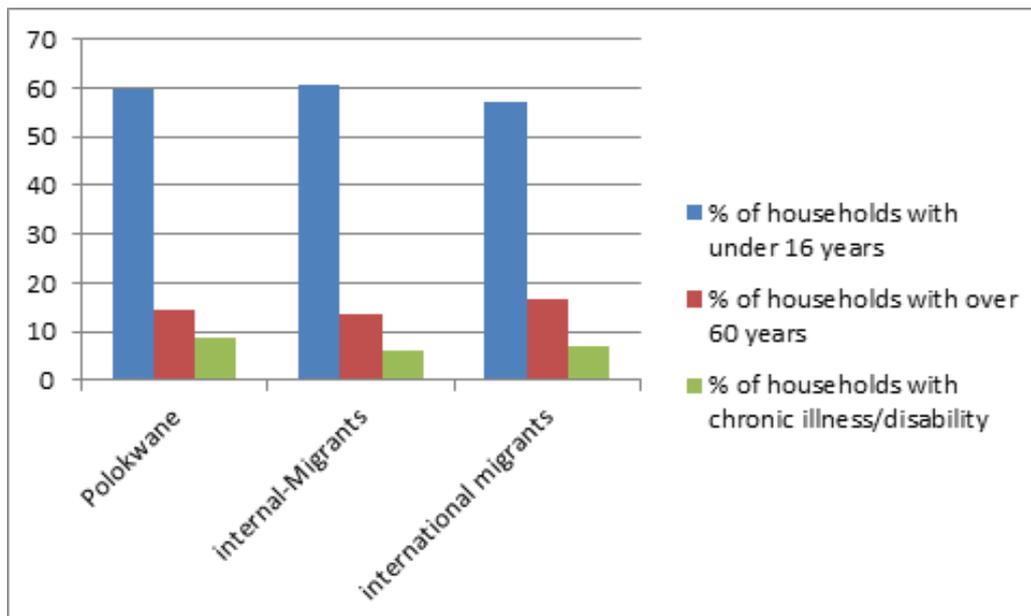
**Chart 4.7: % of the household earning and the % of women earners in the household**



### Household Dependents

We asked about dependents — children, disabled and elderly — living in the household, and compared the experience of our three groups. Figure 4.8 displays the average percentages of each group (under 16, over 60, and chronically ill or disabled) out of the total number of household members.

**Chart 4.8: proportion of dependents in the household by migration status**



*Elderly and Disabled*

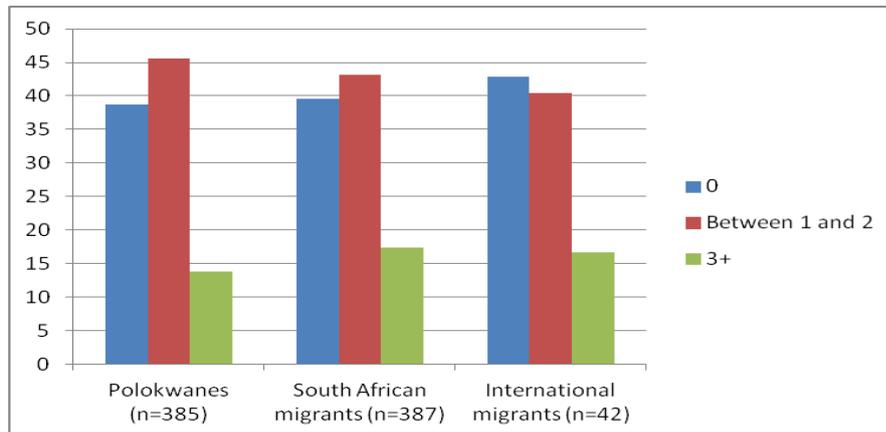
Overall, about 35% of households had at least one elderly member (aged 60 or above). More than half of international migrants (52.4%) did, as did a third of Polokwanes (34%) and internal migrants (32%).

About 12% of Polokwanes and internal migrant households had a member with a disability, compared with only 4% of international migrants. This may reflect a decision not to bring disabled family members with them when migrating from another country.

#### *Children under 16*

About 59% of all households had at least one child under 16 years of age. The breakdown of number of children by migrant category is shown in Chart 4.9. There were no significant differences across migrant categories.

**Chart 4.9: Number of children in the household by migration status**



## 5. Dimensions of urban livelihood security

Urban vulnerability is strongly determined by livelihood security, and in this study we identified four categories of livelihood security in urban settings. The importance of cash income is the conceptual basis of three dimensions of vulnerability (housing, assets/income, and employment). The other dimension - physical insecurity - relates to unsafe environments and infrastructure, high rates of crime, and lack of rights, particularly when it comes to matters related to labor and housing.

Our categories of urban vulnerability and the measures we used to operationalize them are as follows:

1. **Housing security**, measured by:
  - a. Housing type (construction)
  - b. Ownership of dwelling and land (tenure)
  - c. Experience of eviction
  
2. **Financial security**, measured by:
  - a. Household income and assets
  - b. External income (remittances + social grants)
  
3. **Employment security**, measured by:
  - a. Employment level and type
  
4. **Physical safety and security**, measured by:
  - a. Housing location
  - b. Experience of crime
  - c. Perceptions of neighborhood safety
  - d. Sharing the dwelling

Below we compare our three groups on each of these indicators. Unlike the Yemen study we have not controlled for district because doing so across the nine key sub places of Polokwane makes the sample size too small for meaningful analysis and, the bivariate analysis does not indicate that sub place is an important extraneous variable. However key extraneous variables can be controlled for in further multivariate analysis.

### 5.1 Housing security

Housing is a key element of urban livelihoods and protection. Poor quality and legally insecure housing places people at risk for eviction or physical harm. Housing is itself an economic asset, as it can be used to generate income through home-based production activities, rental of a room, or secure storage of goods for vending or trade. We explored three indicators of housing security: type/quality of housing, whether the dwelling is in a safe location, ownership of dwelling and land, and experience of eviction.

## Housing type

The main types of housing in Polokwane (and throughout South Africa) can be broadly grouped into:

- *Free standing house*: brick or stone built housing unit. This includes RDP houses (distributed by local governments to households that fall below a certain income threshold).
- *Flat in a block of flats*: existing and newly built apartment blocks. The housing association also provides low-cost housing to accommodate workers whose income is approximately between \$400 and \$500 a month.
- *Hostels*: were originally meant to house black mine workers. These hostels, despised by many, still continue to provide shelter to many particularly in townships such as Seshego.
- *Shacks*: are corrugated iron houses that are widely used among poor communities in informal settlements across the country. They are generally the most unsafe housing type.

Of our total respondents, 82% (665) lived in freestanding houses, 3% (15) in backyard house, 4.5% (36) in backyard shack, 8% (66) in shack within a shack settlement. Less than one percent lived in a flat, hostel or boarding house. International migrants (28%) were more likely than Polokwane residents (4%) or South African migrants (10%) to live in an informal settlement. Fewer international migrants (58%) than Polokwane residents (90%) or SA migrants (77%) lived in a freestanding house. Whilst the small sample size of international migrants makes it difficult to draw clear conclusions the results are highly significant ( $p=0.000$ ).

## Number of rooms

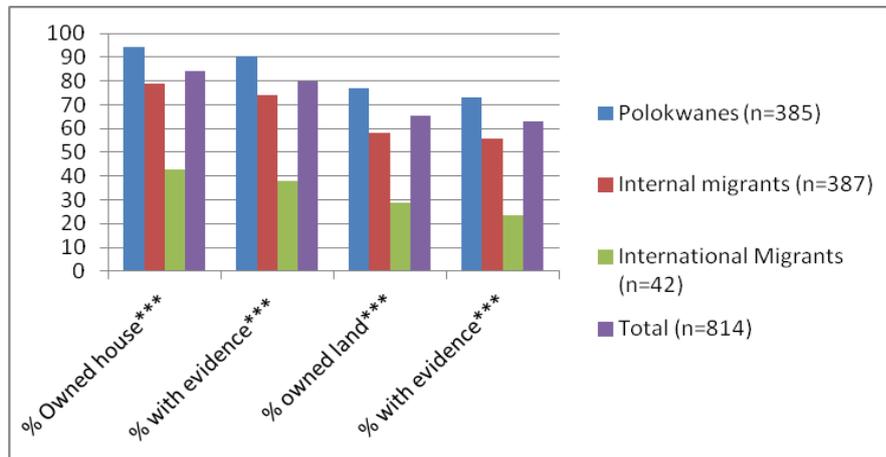
Access to rooms used by households for sleeping showed that about 13% of Polokwane residents compared with 27% of SA migrants and 57% of households from international migrants had only one room for the household to sleep in. This suggests that over-crowding in a single room is likely to be more prevalent among international migrants. More than 75% of Polokwane residents compared with 66% of SA migrants and about 40% of international migrant's households had 2-3 rooms for sleeping purposes.

## Dwelling and land ownership

Overall, about 84% of households owned a house, and 80% had evidence of ownership. About 65.5% overall reported they or their household owned land while 63% had proof of ownership. Across migrant status, Polokwanes were significantly more likely to own a house with more than nine out of every ten reporting home ownership compared with about seventy percent of internal migrants and well under half of international migrants (see chart 5.1

below). Comparing international migrants with South African migrants, international migrants were 72% less likely to own land than South African migrants ( $p=0.000$ ) making this a form of vulnerability that particularly affects foreign migrants.

**Chart 5.1: proportion of respondents who owned property by migration status**



\*\*\*statistically significant ( $p<0.05$ )

However, the qualitative study revealed that even those migrants without access to formal housing were able to find places to live with relative ease:

I just moved not knowing where to go and I went back to the shack in Sternin [Desteneng] where I had first arrived at. When I got there I told the people I had first met when I arrived that I was looking for a shack. And they told me there was someone selling a shack for R300 [\$38]. I asked if it would not give me problems and they told me to negotiate with the owners of the shack, I just spoke to them and they agreed for me to pay a deposit as I did not have all the money then. I paid R100 [\$12.7] and told them I would pay the rest later. I started staying in my shack and there were no more hustles for rent or where to stay<sup>35</sup>.

The availability of informal housing, whilst presenting a number of vulnerabilities, is nevertheless a form of housing available to migrants.

### Home eviction and displacement

Overall, a small percentage (4%) of our total respondents reported that they had ever been evicted or displaced from their homes in Polokwane. However, of these evictees, a much larger percentage (19%) were international migrants, and even when comparing South African migrants and international migrants the international migrants were 4 times more likely to have been evicted ( $p=0.003$ ). It is likely that these evictions included attacks by

<sup>35</sup> LPAIM01, 37 years old female Zimbabwean, interview, 04 July 2011, Polokwane

South Africans on migrants. This interpretation was supported by our qualitative data. As one respondent said in response to our questions about evictions:

...when the attacks started around here but not at our house we could hear it with the noise. So we would run away before they came to us, we spent some time not staying in our home, staying with others in areas which were not affected. I went and stayed where there are a lot of Zimbabweans in Sternin. Others actually had to hide in the bushes for some days until the situation calmed down<sup>36</sup>.

In addition to home evictions, 4.2% of total respondents had previously been displaced as a result of disasters such as floods, fire, a development project or violence. International migrants had the highest proportion of exposure to the risk of being displaced (19.1%) compared with internal migrants (4.7%) and Polokwanas (2.1%).

Of those who had been evicted or displaced, a larger proportion (25%) of Polokwane residents said they were accommodated in a government shelter, compared with 16% of SA migrants and 12.5% of international migrants. Another 37.5% of international migrants, 37% of Polokwane residents, and 17% of SA migrants stayed with friends while evicted or displaced. A small proportion had been unable to access any protection during the period after eviction of whom the highest proportion was international migrants (7.1%) followed by internal migrants (2.6%) and Polokwanas (0.5%). Thus international migrants appear to be more vulnerable to evictions and more vulnerable to the consequences of evictions.

### **Protection and access to justice when displaced**

Across all the groups, religious organizations and friends were the major source of help for the displaced. Overall, 28% of our respondents had no trust in police, with highest levels of distrust among international migrants (35.7%) and 27% each for internal migrants and Polokwanas. More than one third of all respondents did trust the government, courts or private security, with international migrants having highest levels of distrust.

## **5.2 Financial Security**

Just under half (47.5%) of our Polokwane respondents were employed, compared to 41% of internal migrants and 29% of international migrants. Overall, just over a third, 36%, of the total sample was unemployed, reflecting the very high unemployment rates in South Africa.

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<sup>36</sup> LPYIM016, Zimbabwean, Interview, 06 August 2011, Polokwane

## Household Income

Respondents were asked to estimate their monthly income for a good month and a bad month during the past year<sup>37</sup>. On average in a good month, respondents earn R2000<sup>38</sup> with a median of R4766 (std R7974.89). Internal migrants earn on average more (R2500) than both international migrants (R2000) and Polokwanes (R2000) in good month. On average, respondents earned about R1525 in a bad month with internal migrants earning more (R1800), Polokwanes slightly less (R1500) and international migrants even less (R1400) (table 5.1).

**Table 5.1: Mean household income in a good month**

	<b>Polokwanes (n=385)</b>	<b>Internal migrants (n=387)</b>	<b>International Migrants (n=42)</b>	<b>Total (n=814)</b>
<b>Household income in good month</b>				
Mean	R2000	R2500	R2000	R2000
Median	R4745.71	R4938.64	R3485.24	R4766.35
Std	R9318.49	R6846.51	R3635.49	R7974.89

One respondent described how difficult it is to survive on this income:

I'm not satisfied with my salary because I get R2500.00 per month and life here is a little bit expensive because I have to pay rent of R500.00, buy food and send some money at home. I can't even afford transport to work. I walk for a distance of about one and half hours every day, if I want to use a taxi I must have R12.00 everyday<sup>39</sup>.

Overall, there was at least one woman earning income in 14% of one-member households, 43% of two - four member households, and 53% of larger households.

## Household Assets

We asked respondents about ownership of or access to a range of household assets. We categorized assets into two types:

<sup>37</sup> Income and asset questions are sensitive, and the response rate for these questions is usually relatively lower than for other questions, but in Polokwane, people did not seem unwilling to answer questions about income. Overall we had a 5.4% non response rate for these questions.

<sup>38</sup> US\$1 is equivalent to 8 Rand.

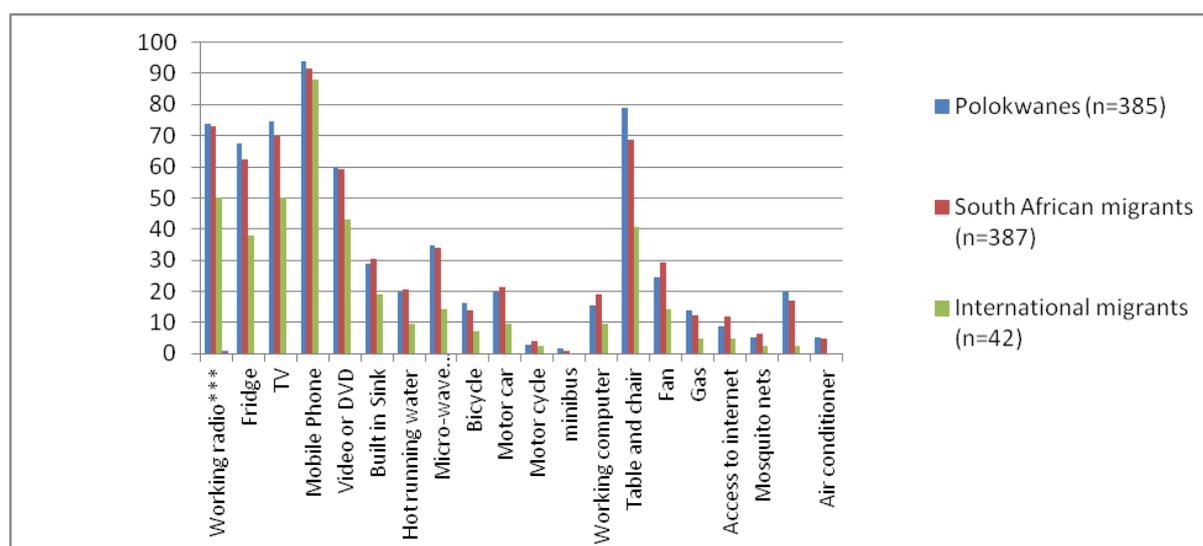
<sup>39</sup> LPYNM08, 27 years old South African male, 15 July 2011, Polokwane

*Productive assets* enable the household to better use their skills and knowledge, and improve their income-earning potential. Productive assets need not be owned: their value can be utilized if the household has access to them. In Polokwane we classified productive assets as: bicycle, cell phone, gas cylinder, electricity, computer, internet, car/motorcycle/minibus, and fridge.

*High-value or transportable assets* can be sold or redeemed for cash, and can only be utilized if the household owns them. The value of some assets is contextual depending on the city. In Polokwane we asked whether the household owned a radio, a working television, tables/chairs, a fan, a mosquito net, a washing machine, and an air conditioner.

The four most commonly reported assets were cellular telephones (93%), working radio (72%), table and chairs (72%) and working television (71%). Across migrant status, three of these items were among the four with the highest proportion (cellular telephone, television and radio) while video/dvd player was among the premium among international migrants instead of tables and chairs. The four items with the lowest proportion of reporting are minibus (1.1%), motor-cycle (3.3%), air-conditioner (4.7%), and mosquito nets (5.5%).

**Chart 5.1: Ownership of assets by migration status**



Migrants were significantly less likely to own a radio, refrigerator, television, microwave oven and washing machine than Polokwanans.

### Abandoning assets prior to arrival

Of the total 429 migrants (SA and international), 5.4% (19) had lost assets when they left their homes. Out of those, 8% of international migrants had lost assets when they left their homes, compared to 4.6% of South African migrants. Among the 16 SA migrants who reported loss, a house was the most commonly reported at 50% while 14% each lost land

and livestock, and 7% had lost their business. Among international migrants only 3 people reported loss, of whom two lost a house. The numbers in both migrant groups who had lost assets means few conclusions can be drawn from this data.

## External income

External income is what the household can access from sources outside the home, such as remittances and cash assistance from the government or aid agencies. This income can take the form of regular monthly income, or simply be occasional, supplemental income that serves as insurance against economic shocks such as job loss, disability, or eviction from the home.

Taken alone, the receipt of remittances or cash assistance does not mean a household is better off; such income must be interpreted in the context of overall household income, assets, and employment. While receiving households do have additional income, they might have needed it because they were more vulnerable in the first place. On the other hand, relatively better-off households might get remittances simply because they have relatives living elsewhere who are willing to send to them. Thus remittance or aid is not *a priori* an indicator of either vulnerability or security.

In Polokwane, our informants were connected across Africa by different forms of informal reciprocity and obligations. About 27% of households sent money to support other relations; 11% send food items while about five percent send goods. The proportion of households sending money, foods or goods was higher among international migrants than others sub-groups. About 41% of international migrants compared with 30% of internal migrants and 22% of Polokwanes send money to support other family members. Of international migrants, 29% sent foods and 17% sent goods to family members. Of note is that international migrants were also more likely than the other groups to receive goods and food from people living outside of Polokwane.

**Table 5.2 Percentage distribution of respondents by external support and obligations across migrant status**

	Polokwanes (n=385)	Internal migrants (n=387)	International Migrants (n=42)	Total (n=814)
<b>Proportion of household that send remittances in term of cash, goods and food</b>				
% sending money***	22.1	29.5	40.5	26.5
% sending foods***	8.8	10.3	28.6	10.6
% sending goods***	3.1	4.7	16.7	4.6
<b>Proportion of household that received support in term of cash, goods and food</b>				
% receiving money	12.7	12.9	11.9	12.8
% receiving foods	3.4	3.1	4.8	3.3
% receiving goods	1.8	1.6	4.8	1.8

## Social networks and community support

More than half of international migrants had family or relations in other places in South Africa. Overall, about 13% of households received some form of financial support from other family members (Table 5.3). There were no significant differences between the three groups in their sources of support.

We examined safety nets in the form of what respondents would do should they need to borrow money in an emergency. About 19% of all respondents reported they had no place to borrow R500 in an emergency, and 30% had no place to borrow R5000. A much larger proportion of international migrants had no source of emergency funds: 36% said they had no place to borrow R500 compared with 16% of internal migrants and 20% of Polokwanes. More than half (52%) of international migrants, compared with 28% of internal migrants and 30% of Polokwanes had nowhere to borrow R5000. For those who said they could borrow R500, most considered family and friends the most likely option, while those who could borrow R5000 said they would resort to Bank loans (not an option for international migrants).

The importance of family was a key theme in the qualitative interviews:

...when I came here and started working that's when I called my sister to come to South Africa. Since I had something to fall back on (start) I could afford to get her a place to stay and food so I told her to come. When the other one came she got a job in Pretoria as a stay-in house girl [domestic worker]. So she left for work. When the other one came I told her to start working too. She worked for a little while too and she said she preferred hooding goods and selling them. Then she started hooding and selling. So when I came I just joined her<sup>40</sup>.

**Table 5.3: Proportion with family members and financial support by migrant group**

	Polokwanes (n=385)	Internal migrants (n=387)	International Migrants (n=42)	Total (n=814)
<b>Social Networks in South Africa and those who receive or can get support in South Africa</b>				
% with family in SA	90.1	91.0	51.1	88.8
% receive money	12.7	12.9	11.9	12.8

### *Government assistance and social services*

The South African government provides a range of assistance to poorer households or communities. Free housing, health care, and education is provided to destitute households who cannot afford to have them on their own. At the same time, critically needed social welfare in the form of monthly financial grants is dispensed through the Department of Social Development based on eligibility rules. Old age, child care (below age 18), disability, and distress grants are amongst the common social assistance budgeted from the treasury to this end. While the government does not provide food, emergency relief is organized from time to time depending on the situation at hand. Other forms of assistance such as legal aid,

<sup>40</sup> LPYIM03, 25 years old female Zimbabwean, Interview, 09 July 2011, Polokwane

micro credit, apprenticeship, and counselling may also be provided by applicable government institutions. However, these services have been long suffering from inefficiency and weak delivery resulting in the current frustrations of communities that are yet to enjoy and share in the benefits to which they are entitled. Whilst many state grants (such as disability grants for example) should be available to refugees they are not available to asylum seekers and other migrants.

We asked if our respondent households received assistance such as food aid, housing, health services, legal aid, micro credit, psycho-social counselling, vocational training, child care, vouchers, and others. Overall, 56% (465) said they never received any such assistance. The majority (89%) of total respondents said they did not receive any social grant from the government and of the 10% (85) who did receive grants, 59% received old age grant, 16% disability, and 14% child support grant. None of the 42 international migrants in our survey or qualitative interviews received any form of social grants from the South African government.

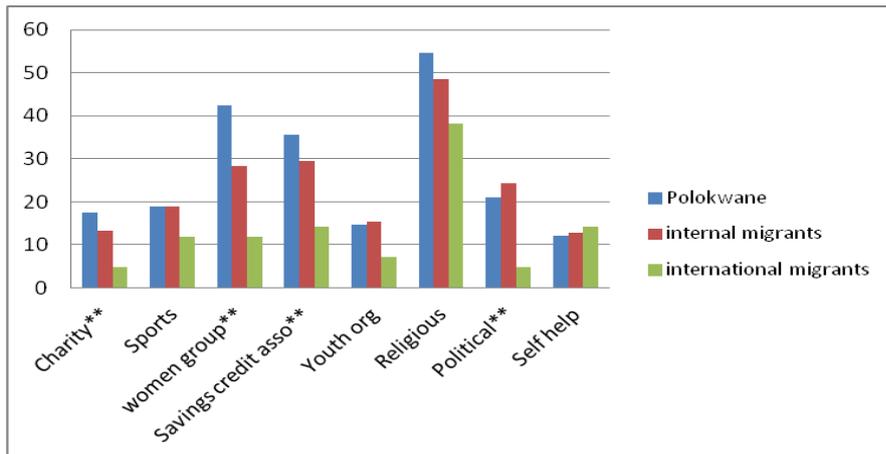
#### *Assistance from NGOs and community based organizations*

There are several NGOs and civil society organizations in Polokwane providing a range of specialized assistance that include legal aid, land claims, emergency relief, and other basic necessities. There are no international NGOs in Polokwane, they tend to be located in the border town of Musina. Their absence is felt by international migrants who need legal or other types of support.

Overall - and across migrants groups - informal organizations are the most commonly reported source of advice and help in case there is trouble with police. Less than 10% of our respondents had nowhere to turn for help in case of problems with police. Churches, migrant unions and political parties were the most reported sources of help on immigration matters.

In order to explore the extent to which people participated in their community - another form of access to social networks -- we asked about membership in various community organizations. As shown in Chart 5.2, across all three groups of respondents, religious organizations were most popular. Polokwanes and internal migrants had similar 'joining' profiles, compared to international migrants who were less likely to belong to community organization except religious ones.

**Chart 5.2: Participation in community organizations by migrant status**



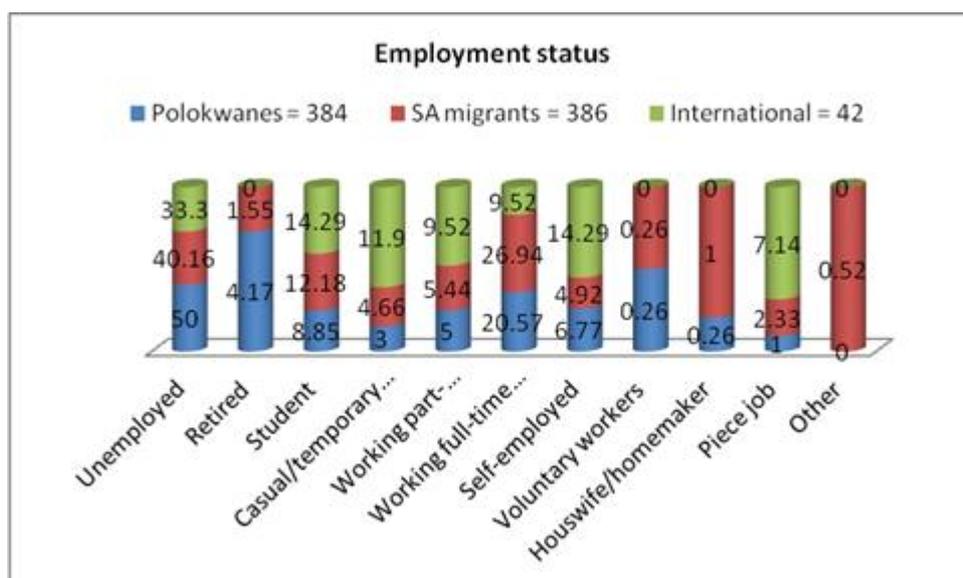
### 5.3 Household employment security

Employment insecurity/vulnerability manifests as a combination of lack of employment, under-employment, or high-risk employment. Vulnerable employment places people at risk of being underpaid, unpaid, or laid off at the whim of employers. It can place one at risk of physical, verbal, or sexual abuse - especially if individuals have to work in private homes or unmonitored places, or to travel to dangerous parts of the city, particularly at night. Such high-risk work includes that of domestic workers, street cleaners, and street vendors.

#### Employment type

As mentioned above, just under half (47.5%) of our Polokwane respondents were employed, compared to 41% of internal migrants and 29% of international migrants. Full time work was reported by 9.5% international migrants, 20.5% Polokwanes and 27% of South African migrants.

Chart 5.3: Employment status by migrant group



Of our international migrants, 28% were engaged in piece work, casual or part-time employment, compared with 12% of internal migrants and 9% of Polokwanes. Piece work comprises once off jobs that come with no future commitment of work but allow new arrivals in the city to survive. As one respondent stated:

We just went walking around in Bendor [in Polokwane city], and then we managed to get a job like garden work... We stayed there about a month, it happened miraculously. It was such a miracle<sup>41</sup>.

Many migrants rely on petty trade, often selling items on the street. The risks associated with this were described by one respondent:

The challenges are issue of City Council permits. We don't have those so every now and again the City Council just wakes up feeling like giving us problems (vanomuka vakadya imbwa) and they come harassing for permits (vanenge vachi vhuruvhaya). If you don't have a permit but have stock (items being sold) they take the stock, so we just look out for them, then if you hear anything we just pack and go<sup>42</sup>.

With where to work it's just the municipality (manispala) is refusing to give us Zimbabweans permits for working on the streets, for vending. Zimbabweans we are not allowed to sell on the streets so we have to work running away from the municipality every now and then<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> LPYIM07, 27 years old male Zimbabwean, 15 July 2011

<sup>42</sup> LPAIM09, Zimbabwean, Interview, 15 July 2011, Polokwane

<sup>43</sup> LPYIM010, Zimbabwean, Interview 23 July 2011, Polokwane

## **Working conditions**

Overall, 8% (67) of the total respondents reported that they had experienced labour related disputes with employers in Polokwane. Among the many causes for the disputes, wages appear most prominently. About 44% said poor wages were the source of the conflict while 24% said employers refused to pay them the original agreed-on amount or package. Another 12% reported their employers refused to pay them anything after they had done the work. Most of those reporting labour disputes were South African internal migrants followed by Polokwane residents and only three of the international migrants reported disputes. Whilst this result is surprising the low number of international migrants makes it difficult to investigate further.

Of those experiencing labour exploitation issues, 44% of respondents did not report to anyone, 19% reported their disputes to labour unions and 13% to the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation, and Arbitration (CCMA), respectively. When asked if the disputes were resolved to their satisfaction, 51% said they were not while 45% said they were.

## **5.4 Physical safety and security**

Crime and violence were key preoccupations for all of the participants in the study. In particular, our key informant interviews reflected the fear of xenophobic violence which has broken out across South Africa. More than one-fifth of the total respondents had experienced theft and 4% experienced assault or harassment. The proportion of those who had experienced theft was evenly distributed across migrant groups, but a higher proportion of international migrants had experienced assault and harassment.

Very few of those who had been assaulted reported the incident to anyone, and then it was most likely to a vigilante group or private security company rather than the police. This suggests that levels of trust in authorities are low across all residents of Polokwane, as described in more detail below. This is likely to be partly a result of police harassment and extortion, which was described at length during the qualitative interviews. As one respondent explained:

We are mobile ATM for the police, yes.....whenever they see a foreigner, we are a mobile bank. They ... will ask you I.D, .if your paper is asylum they will get something out of you, looking for a mistake, even if they don't get they tell you this is wrong. We don't have equal rights in front of police. ... he is bigger than you, he can take you and lock you [up]. If you go to the court they will see that he is the one who is wrong, but you yourself don't want to go that far, because you know at least you have to be locked [up], because you resist him. Because you tell him no this is my right,.. he will tell you he will lock you [up], and later they find the mistake is with him<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> LPAIM06, 46 years old male Ethiopian, Interview, 12 July 2011, Polokwane

The fear of xenophobic violence came up repeatedly in our interviews with international migrants. This respondent described the physical violence that had taken place against foreigners:

...when the attacks started like around here but not at our house we could hear it with the noise. So we would run away before they came to us, we spent some time not staying in our home, staying with others in areas which were not affected. I went and stayed where there are a lot of Zimbabweans in Sternin. Others actually had to hide in the bushes for some days until the situation calmed down<sup>45</sup>.

Qualitative interviews reveal a lack of community cohesion and trust. For Polokwane, this often took the form of anti-foreigner sentiments:

[That issue] gives me a big problem, because I once visited Lesotho I got arrested, again I went to Botswana I got arrested because I didn't have a passport. But the foreigners come to South Africa freely without passport and they never got arrested, but I don't blame them our government is the one that should be blamed, they are not doing their work. They say we shouldn't call them Makwerekwere [derogatory name used to call foreigners] but I call them Makwerekwere whether man or women they are all Makwerekwere. Ja, another thing that makes me angry is that they even fall in love with our children and impregnate them, when you ask your child she will tell you that the father is a Zimbabwean, we don't even know how to perform tradition rituals to that baby, because we don't even know the way to Zimbabwe...<sup>46</sup>

Although there appeared to be a lack of trust and community integration, the qualitative research highlighted the emphasis that respondents placed on Polokwane being an easier place to be an international migrant than the other, larger cities in South Africa. As one respondent said:

What can I want to tell you about Polokwane, maybe that from watching the news, reading the papers and listening to the radio, believe me I always say it, I always say it to my brothers and sisters that Polokwane is a calm place to stay in. if you want to raise a family think of Polokwane because I have been to Joburg and I know how hectic Joburg is. I have been to Cape Town and I know how Cape Town is, you get it but this place is a calm place. It's a welcoming place, you get it. You won't find a lot of the things that are happening in Joburg happening here, you get it. I love Polokwane so far, I love Polokwane and I pray to God that things may work out for me, let me have some real investment in Polokwane. Polokwane is a calm place, calm province<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> LPYIM016, 28 years old female Zimbabwean, Interview, 06 August 2011, Polokwane

<sup>46</sup> LPANM01, 54 years old male South African, Interview, 07 July 2011, Polokwane

<sup>47</sup> LPYIM014, 27 years old female Ghanaian, Interview, 02 July 2011, Polokwane

## 6 Conclusions and Policy Implications

The small number of international migrants in our survey prompted us to explore whether we had missed clusters or groups of migrants in Polokwane. Our qualitative interviews suggest this was not the case, and that the small number does reflect the proportion and distribution of international migrants in Polokwane. This is in itself an important finding as it suggests that the number and distribution of international migrants in smaller towns might be different from large urban centres like Johannesburg where migrants are more concentrated. The dispersed population pattern in Polokwane presents practical challenges for programmes targeting migrants as such programs will have to be spread over a large geographical area. The small number of international migrants points to misconceptions about the number and location of migrants both by policy makers and community members, and it limits our data analysis, so that we can draw only cautious conclusions. We recommend additional research, both in Polokwane and other peri-urban towns with a similar profile to Polokwane.

The group of international migrants in Polokwane largely comprises Zimbabweans who have migrated relatively recently from other urban areas. Their demographic profile did not differ significantly from other groups although they were somewhat younger than South Africans. Overall their economic activities were also similar. All migrants (internal and international) cited economic motivations for moving to Polokwane, together with other motivations such as education, escape from conflict (international migrants) and family ties. The qualitative interviews indicated that whilst there are many urban centres offering economic opportunities, the relative peacefulness of Polokwane as well as existing social ties were motivations for choosing Polokwane.

In spite of these similar profiles, migrants tended to be worse off in most of the vulnerability measures included in this study. For example, both migrant groups were more likely than Polokwanans to share a dwelling with another household, and less likely to own a house or land, more likely to be evicted, and more likely to be unemployed, and they owned fewer assets than Polokwanans. On the whole, this was the case for both international migrants and South African migrants and it is therefore possible that vulnerability stems from being new to an area rather than with legal status. Future analysis should therefore consider whether other variables might explain vulnerability such as length of time in Polokwane or sex. In spite of this there were a number of key ways in which international migrants were more vulnerable than South African migrants. In particular, international migrants were more vulnerable in terms of housing than both of the other categories of respondents. Also, whilst they were not significantly more likely to send money to people outside Polokwane, they were sending far more goods and food. They were much less likely to belong to political and other social organizations. This suggests that they may have greater demands on their incomes and fewer sources of protection than Polokwanans or South African migrants. These provide important areas for further analysis and research.

There were relatively few significant differences in experience of crime or reporting of crime to officials between all three groups. Levels of trust in state authorities were also equally low among the three groups of respondents. Given that other studies<sup>48</sup> have found significant differences between international migrants and South Africans (migrant and non-migrants South Africans) this might be a consequence of the small number of international migrants in this study.

### *Program Implications*

This survey provided a useful tool for assessing vulnerability in Polokwane. However, if it is to be used as a tool for measuring international migrant vulnerability specifically, a quota sampling approach would be needed to ensure an adequate sample of international migrants.

Two core areas where migrants (both internal and international) are more vulnerable than Polokwanans are:

Housing: Migrants were less likely to own property (land or a house). They were more likely to have been displaced, were more likely to share their dwelling with another household and had fewer sleeping rooms than Polokwanans. They were also more likely to live in an informal house.

Financial security: Migrants were more likely to be unemployed, earned significantly less than Polokwanans. Migrants owned fewer assets and had the additional burden of sending remittances to others.

We also found that women were more likely to face unemployment and low income than men across all three categories of respondents.

Our findings support an approach to programming that is based on criteria other than migrant status, including gender, time in the city, financial security and household security. Such an approach to programming would also reach vulnerable migrants.

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<sup>48</sup> Misago, J., Gindrey, V., Duponchel, M., Landau, L., and Polzer, T. 2010. "Vulnerability, Mobility and Place: Alexandra and Central Johannesburg Pilot Survey", October, <http://www.migration.org.za/report/duponchel-m-gindrey-v-landau-l-misago-jp-polzer-t-2010-vulnerability-mobility-and-place-alex> [02 October 2011]

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