

Detailed Case Study Report

Governing Migration and Urbanisation: Developing Approaches to Counter Poverty and Social Fragmentation

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ANC:	African National Congress
BAC:	Business Against Crime
CBD:	Central Business District
CDO:	Community Development Officer
CDW:	Community Development Worker
CoGTA:	Ministry of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COSATU:	Congress of South African Trade Unions
COO:	Chief Operating Officer
CoT:	City of Tshwane
CPF:	Community Policing Forum
DA:	Democratic Alliance
DHA:	Department of Home Affairs
ED:	Executive Director
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
HSRC:	Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria
IDP:	Integrated Development Planning
IEC:	Independent Electoral Commission
ISS:	Institute for Security Studies
LED:	Local Economic Development
MD:	Managing Director
MIG:	Municipal Infrastructure Grant
MEC:	Member of the Executive Committee
MM:	Municipal Manager
MMC:	Member of the Mayoral Committee
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NMBM:	Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality
NYDA:	National Youth Development Agency
PERCCI:	Port Elizabeth Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry
PSIRA:	Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority
SA:	South Africa
SACP:	South African Communist Party
SALGA:	South African Local Government Association
SAPS:	South African Police Services
SMME:	Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise
Unisa:	University of South Africa

The study draws its empirical findings from four case studies or municipalities including the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality, Mossel Bay Local Municipality and the Merafong City Local Municipality. At each site, the research team conducted individual and focus group interviews with municipal officials, law enforcement officials, community leaders, representatives of political parties and labour unions as well as the representatives of the business sector, NGOs and community organisations. In total, 109 interviews were conducted. See list of interviews in Annex I. See also the discussion on mythological choices (case study selection, research themes and questions, etc.) in the summary version of this study's report.

Detailed individual case study accounts below provide a discussion on a number of aspects and conditions, some common and others specifically relevant to particular sites. In general, however case study reports are divided into five main sections. Section I provides a quick overview of the main indicators of the socio-economic and political life of the municipality. Section II (information, planning and policy) discusses the ways in which municipalities obtain the information on population dynamics and mobility and how they use that information for planning and policy formation. Section III (migration, safety and social cohesion) examines the ways in which migration/population mobility is understood to affect safety, security and social cohesion in municipalities. Section IV (livelihoods and access to services) explores the ways in which migrants living in those municipalities acquire their livelihoods and access services and opportunities. Section V (main findings) provides a brief summary of the case study's main findings.

This case study report ends with a summary and discussion or analysis of the main findings across municipalities. It is important to note that the analysis is based on views and opinions expressed by representatives of different institutions (as seen above), which were not often cross-checked with opinions from the main population group concerned i.e. migrants. Officials' opinions and perceptions are critical as they often (particularly in the absence of objective information) inform and shape their decisions in terms of intervention policies and practices.

Case Study I: The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (the CoT)

Section I: Background Information

The CoT is a Category A Municipality¹ that was established on the 5th of December 2005 when local authorities that previously served the Greater Pretoria and surrounding areas were integrated. It is the Capital City of the country, constitutes the second largest municipality in the Gauteng Province (after Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality) and is one of the nine metropolitan municipalities in South Africa. It includes a number of towns and townships including Pretoria, Centurion, Akasia, Soshanguve, Mabopane, Atteridgeville, Ga-Rankuwa, Winterveld, Hammanskraal, Temba, Pienaarsrivier, Crocodile River and Mamelodi.

In 2008, the CoT population was estimated at 2 345 108 (Black/ Africans: 73 %; Whites: 23%; Coloured: 2% Indians: 2%). The population is characterised by rapid growth particularly due to domestic rural-urban migration. The population is estimated to have grown by 22.5% from 2001 to 2008. The number of households was estimated at 713 404 with the average household size of 3.4².

With regard to socio-economic development, the legacy of apartheid's spatial segregation has meant that the CoT is a complex mixture of affluence alongside poverty and marginalisation. The municipality is characterised by profound economic and developmental disparities. There is a glaring difference between the municipality's southern part, predominantly white with relative affluence and the northern part (where the majority is black) characterised by extreme levels of poverty, unemployment, deprivation and crime.³ For instance, the average unemployment rate in the CoT is estimated at 19.8% but "there are extreme variations across regions, the North Western unemployment rate is 43.5% and the North Eastern region has an unemployment rate of 31.4% whilst the Eastern and Southern regions have very low unemployment rates."⁴ An estimated 15.1 % of the total population currently receives some form of social grant (particularly child support, old

¹ South Africa's Constitution provides for three categories of municipalities. Category A: Metropolitan municipalities, Category B: Local municipalities and Category C: District municipalities. See <http://www.info.gov.za/aboutgovt/locgovt/categories.htm>

² Report for the City of Tshwane Municipality: Tshwane Household Survey, 20 July 2008

³ Cameron, J. W. M. and Krynauw, M. N. (2001) City of Tshwane: Development Challenges. Paper presented at the Conference: 'Meeting the Transport Challenges in Southern Africa'. South Africa, 16-20 July 2001

⁴ Tshwane Metropolitan Profile. A compendium of Planning Information. Profile 2009 (page 30)

age pension and disability grants).⁵ In 2007, an estimated 26.8% of the total number of households resided in informal housing (Stats SA, 2007).

The CoT's drivers of economy are diversified but the current main contributors include: government services, manufacturing, trade, mining, finance and business services as well as construction, transport and communications industries. Although it recorded a marginal slowdown in 2007, the CoT has been growing faster than both the provincial and national economic growth. In 2007, the real GDP growth for the CoT was 6.0% compared to 5.7% and 5.1% for provincial and national real GDP growth respectively⁶. Being the capital City, the CoT has a large working population in the formal (particularly government) sector (80% and 13% of the city's total working population are employed in the formal and informal sector respectively⁷). It also hosts a large foreign contingency with embassies and high commissions particularly in the central and eastern regions of the municipality.

The CoT is governed by an ANC led Council consisting of the Executive Mayor, 10 Members of the Mayoral Committee (MMCs) who are also the political heads of different departments and services, and elected Councillors from the City's 76 Wards.⁸

Section II: Information, Planning and Policy

COLLECTION AND USE OF POPULATION DATA

Collection of population data

All municipal officials interviewed indicated that their departments need accurate and up-to-date population data for effective programming and planning. The MMC for Sports and Recreation for instance stated:

Population information is important for my department because we need to build facilities such as stadia, recreational facilities, schools, etc. Population information gives an indication about how many facilities are needed and where.⁹

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

⁸ For details on the CoT governance structures, see

<http://www.tshwane.gov.za/documents/MayoralCommitteeMembers2009.pdf>

Accurate and up-to-date data is however not always available mainly because the CoT does not have a department or unit dedicated to population planning. To the question of how, in the absence of such a unit, the municipality knows or estimates its population (numbers and demographics), most officials responded that the municipality relies on information and statistics provided by Stats SA (Censuses, community surveys, etc.), the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and research institutions such as HSRC, Unisa, and University of Pretoria with which the Executive Mayor has signed a memorandum of understanding in this regard. They further indicated that there is no person in charge of collecting and consolidating population information/data from those institutions and other sources for use by different departments. When there is need, different municipal departments request (from those institutions) data relevant to the work they might be planning to do. And, depending on availability of funds, departments can commission studies if the data they need is not available. The Executive Head in the Office of the Chief Whip was the only one to indicate that the Department of City Planning was responsible for measuring the city population and that the Governance and Secretarial Unit coordinated the gathering of relevant population information. However, the Head of the Governance and Secretarial Unit denied the assertion and stated that his unit 'has nothing to do with population information'.¹⁰

The Research Unit in the Department of City Planning, Development and Regional Services

Officials in the Research Unit acknowledged that it is now difficult or impossible for the municipality to know the exact number and demographics of its inhabitants. Municipalities still rely on Census data provided by Stats SA which, according to these officials, is unhelpful and can at times be misleading. The data is not only outdated but is also characterised by 'major inaccuracies'. In addition, the units of analysis Stats SA uses are neither relevant nor helpful for municipal use. The 2007 community survey for instance is said to represent a strategic challenge for all municipalities because "the reporting domain is conducted at local municipality level as a whole rather than their subdivisions".¹¹

According to these officials, the department used to have a very active and functional research unit that produced regular and reliable population stats and information that were used for planning by different municipal departments. Currently, population research does not seem to be among the city's priorities as the following statements indicate:

⁹ Interview with MMC for Sports and Recreation. Tshwane, 1 April 2010.

¹⁰ Telephone conversation with the Head of the Governance and Secretarial Unit on 18 August 2010

¹¹ Tshwane Household Survey. 20 July 2008 (page 5)

... research has been neglected; it is no longer considered a priority. The Unit is understaffed. We used to have more than 20 people in the unit but we are only 2 now. We do not produce regular reports anymore. We occasionally produce city profiles. Research is currently done by consultants commissioned by different departments on an ad hoc basis. The quality of information produced by these consultants is not good and the data is not shared and used by other departments (Demographer, Department of City Planning).¹²

The decision was made to discontinue most of the research unit programmes which resulted in years of good work lost. It is difficult to make people on the top understand how critical research is. The rare reports we compile such as city profiles get submitted to and approved by the Council but we have no idea how they are used for decision making and planning (Researcher, Department of City Planning).¹³

The Deputy Director for Metropolitan Planning in the City Planning, Development and Regional Services Department confirmed that the research capacity has drastically declined as the research unit that used to have 41 researchers now has only one demographer and one researcher. She believes that the decline is due to the fact that high ranking municipal authorities "...do not understand the value of research."

The 2008 Household Survey

In July 2008, the City Planning Department commissioned a Household Survey in an effort "to collect up-to-date information with respect to the demographic profile, socio-economic profile and quality of life status of its population."¹⁴ The survey provides detailed information on population distribution and composition, migration patterns, education profiles, disability and social grants, household income, status of employment and access to services. The survey report indicates that the CoT population was, in March 2008, estimated at 2 428 185 and had grown by 22.5% since 2001 (the year of the last national census). The number of households was estimated at 713 407 with an average household size of 3.4. These figures do not appear hugely different from those provided by the Stats SA Community Survey (of February 2007) which estimated the CoT population at 2 345 908 and the number of households at 686 640 with a similar average household size of 3.4¹⁵. Asked why the CoT had to commission a demographic study just one year after Stats SA completed a

¹² Interview with a demographer, Department of City Planning. Tshwane, 7 April 2010

¹³ Interview with a researcher, Department of City Planning. Tshwane, 7 April 2010

¹⁴ Tshwane Household Survey. 20 July 2008 (page 5)

¹⁵ For more details on these stats, see "City of Tshwane Municipality Household Survey, 2008" by the Metropolitan Planning Section, City Planning, Development and Regional Services Department. Available online at http://www.tshwane.gov.za/documents/cityplanning/CoT_HouseholdSurvey2008.pdf

nationwide community survey, the Deputy Director for Metropolitan Planning responded that besides the fact that there are always doubts about the accuracy of Stats SA data, the community survey data was not detailed enough to be useful for the municipality. Its lowest level of analysis is the municipalities while municipalities need details on ward and locality levels for their planning.

While the household survey report was approved by the Council and the survey data is contained in the 2009 Tshwane Metropolitan Profile (yet to be approved by the Council), it is probably not that surprising that many departmental political heads and officials are not aware of its (survey data) existence. Most departments were not consulted before the survey was conducted and probably information relevant to their services was not collected. Indeed the survey report indicates that only a few departments were consulted:

A questionnaire was developed by Plus 94 Research in consultation with different stakeholders based on departmental needs within the municipality. The departments consulted were the Housing, City Planning and the Environmental Management departments of the Tshwane Municipality.¹⁶

This is probably one of the surveys many officials referred to as ad hoc departmental initiatives that do not involve or benefit all departments.

Information on migration and population mobility

Available information on migration patterns

The Household Survey provides detailed information on migration patterns in the city. These patterns were assessed using different variables such as place of birth, movement in last 3 or 5 years, place of previous residence and place of usual residence. The survey report indicates that “the net contribution of migration into Tshwane in the last five years was 5.5%, mostly towards the Central and Southern regions.”¹⁷ The survey estimates that the total number of migrants (both domestic and foreign) in the CoT was estimated at 134 079 in March 2008. The majority of migrants into the CoT are respectively from other parts of the Gauteng Province (49 267 = 36.7%), followed by Limpopo (16 046 = 12.0%), North West (15 406 = 11.5%), outside RSA i.e. foreign migrants (14 446 = 10.8%), Mpumalanga (13 023 = 9.7%), KwaZulu Natal (10 071 = 7.5%) and Eastern Cape (8 568 =

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ City of Tshwane Municipality Household Survey, 2008, p.25

6.4%). While foreign migrants represent 10.8% of the total migrant stock, residents born outside RSA are estimated at 2.4% of the total population of the CoT. The survey also reveals that there is a significant within-the-city mobility as "in the last three years [from the time the survey was conducted], 6.2% of Tshwane residents moved between different suburbs."¹⁸ It further indicates that "...there has been a marked trend towards the Central and Western regions, largely because of the concentration of economic activities in the CBD area."¹⁹

It is important to note here that other sources indicate a more significant net contribution of migration to the CoT population. The Stats SA's 2007 Community Survey for instance reveals that the percentage of people who moved into the city (from other provinces or countries) in the previous five years was estimated at 9%.²⁰

The CoT Household Survey provides a brief discussion of some characteristics of the migrant population in the city. It reveals for instance that 84% of migrant residents are adults aged between 15 and 65, 12 % are children, 4% the elderly i.e. 65 years and above and that males and females are evenly distributed in all regions. Only 1% of migrants have no formal education, 25% have achieved matric and 27% have some form of tertiary education. Of those without matric, 17% had some primary education and 30% had some secondary education.²¹

Municipal officials' perceptions

The CoT officials interviewed acknowledge that, in the post-apartheid era, the city has attracted a significant number of domestic and international migrants in search for better socio-economic opportunities including employment, businesses, schools and universities. There is also a recognition that poor migrants both domestic and foreign target informal settlements, which creates a challenge for service delivery. The MMC for Housing for instance stated:

Big numbers of people have been moving into the city after democracy. People come here looking for employment and opportunities the city can offer. This has resulted in major challenges of land invasions and providing housing for people, particularly those who have been on waiting lists for a long time.

¹⁸ Ibid, p.26

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Landau, L. and Wa Kabwe Segatti, A. with Misago, J.P and Gindrey, G. (2010). Migration Patterns and Their Impact on Municipalities' Development in South Africa. Draft Initial Report for the South African Local Government Association, 31 March 2010

²¹ See details in City of Tshwane Municipality Household Survey, 2008

Despite the existence of official figures in the 2001 Census, the 2007 Community Survey and the 2008 Household Survey, most officials indicated that the city has little knowledge of the demographics, needs, costs and contributions of the city's migrant population. Asked if the city had an idea about how many migrants live in the city, the MMC for Sports and Recreation responded: "No idea because no recent research." Similarly, to the question of how the municipality gets information on migration to or from the city, an official from the Research Unit (City Planning department) responded:

There are no mechanisms to know migration in the city. And this is worrying because the natural national population growth is decreasing. It is currently estimated at 1% in cities. So in cities, without migration there is practically no population growth; but still cities do not have accurate information on population movements.²²

The CoT officials indicated that it is particularly difficult for the city to know and plan for poor migrants who mainly target informal settlements and are not registered with the city as ratepayers. These poor migrants like other indigent people who are not (in any way) registered with the city face difficulties or have to go through lengthy processes to be able to access services the city provides. The process involves among other things getting proof of residence from local leaders or affidavits from the police.

Migration related challenges (real or perceived)

With regard to domestic migration, most city officials interviewed perceive that migration or population mobility is negatively affecting the city's quality of service delivery. "Migration affects the quality of service delivery as the municipality is always caught unaware by population movements. This creates permanent service delivery backlogs"²³, states the Deputy Director of International Intergovernmental Relations; Operational Support Management. Similarly the MMC for Health and Social Development indicates: "Migration causes many challenges. It causes pressure on clinics, hospitals, nutrition, ambulances and schools."²⁴

²² Interview with demographer, Department of City Planning. Tshwane, 7 April 2010

²³ Interview with Deputy Director: International Intergovernmental Relations; Operational Support Management. Tshwane, 26 March 2010

²⁴ Interview with MMC for Health and Social Development. Tshwane, 6 April 2010

Municipal officials associate foreign migration into the city with illegality, criminality and social tensions caused by competition for scarce resources, jobs and business opportunities (see the following section on migration, safety and social cohesion).

Proposed solutions

Most officials responded that migration is a national issue and the city has no plans in place to deal with, manage or at least minimise its perceived negative consequences. Some officials seem to have given in and their statements indicate that no solution is possible. “We can’t cope with the influx of people”, said the MMC for Housing and Social Development. “For instance Atteridgeville has grown so fast. The municipality is finding it difficult to accommodate this ever growing population. How do we accommodate this ever growing population?” asked the MMC for Sports and Recreation.

Housing is one department that has a plan to manage the negative effect of population mobility. It now has a strategy to prevent or discourage the mushrooming of informal settlements. An official of the Housing department stated:

The CoT has now a strategy to manage the spread of informal settlements. We have hired private security companies to manage [effect evictions of new dwellers] the mushrooming of informal settlements by land invasions, etc.²⁵

According to officials interviewed, migration is generally considered as a national issue and is rarely discussed at municipal meetings or fora. An official from the Office of the Chief Whip stated:

At municipal level, migration is considered a national issue and is not regularly discussed. One or two departments that feel the impact would raise the issue in meetings or address their concerns to their respective departments at provincial and national levels.

In a similar vein, the MMC for Sports and Recreation responded when asked whether migration is ever discussed at Council meetings: “Not the issue of migration per se but the challenges it causes for service delivery. The Department of Home Affairs is the custodian of the issue of migration.”

Use of population information for planning

²⁵Interview with Director: Housing Policy, Strategy and Systems Management. Tshwane, 1 April 2010

To the question of where they get information they use for programming and planning, municipal officials responded that their departments are mainly guided by the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). The CoT, like other municipalities in the country, use IDP as a planning tool that “provides a five year strategic programme of action aimed at setting short, medium and long term strategic and budget priorities.”²⁶

While the municipality recognises that “the city is characterized by a rapidly growing population [and] the situation is exacerbated by immigration, resulting in an increase of informal settlements and an estimated 26.8% of all households residing in informal housing”²⁷, there is no clear indication that population data (current estimates and projections of population numbers and socio-economic characteristics) are taken into account during the planning process. Indeed, while the current IDP 2010/2011 indicates current population estimates²⁸, it does not contain provisions for future population changes (numbers and characteristics) that would be due to either natural growth migration.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Migration policy formation and implementation

Municipal officials interviewed indicated that, like for other matters, migration related policies/decisions are adopted/made at national level and municipalities have little influence. The Executive Head in the Office of the Chief Whip states:

The municipality has no say or influence; it is not even consulted for information. It is a top-down approach where the national level makes policies and hands them down to the municipality for implementation.²⁹

Similarly, the MMC for Health and Social Development finds that despite producing regular reports and sitting on different provincial and national committees, information municipalities provide is often not taken into consideration or reflected in national policies. She states:

²⁶ City Of Tshwane Integrated Development Plan for 2010/2011. Fourth Revision, May 2010. Available online at http://www.tshwane.gov.za/documents/IDP2010_11/councilapprovedidp.pdf

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Ibid (from page 44). Estimates from Stats SA's Community Survey and not own study

²⁹ Interview with the Executive Head, Office of the Chief Whip of the Council. Tshwane. 29 March 2010

[...] we produce reports to provincial and national departments. We also sit on provincial and national committees. We try to sensitize these high level policy makers for amendments of relevant acts. It does not work really because the information we provide is not used. The policies do not reflect the information we provide or the realities on the ground. We wonder what informs their decisions. That's why sometimes we come up with our own bylaws.³⁰

The MMC for Housing cited the special dispensation for Zimbabwean migrants as an example illustrating the fact that municipalities are not consulted on migration decisions and policies. He stated:

Municipalities are not consulted on migration decisions and policies. For instance the special dispensation for Zimbabweans has created an influx of migrants with no plans to accommodate them. This lack of coordination even within national government departments creates problems.³¹

While there is not empirical evidence to support his opinion (about the special dispensation resulting in influx), the point is made that the national government makes decisions without consulting municipalities i.e. institutions that are going to deal with the consequences of those decisions.

To the question of where the national 'level' gets the information that informs its policy formation, the Executive Head in the Office of the Chief Whip responded:

From its political structures at different levels but not from the municipality as a governance institution. It uses political party channels. The provincial department in charge of local government then sits with the municipalities to discuss the implementation of those policies according to the provincial and municipal contexts.

Officials from other departments confirmed that in most cases, the municipality follows national 'generic' policies often drafted by consultants: "We are then called to discuss implementing plans or guidelines"³², stated the Director for Housing Policy, Strategy and Systems Management.

The MMC for Housing expressed a concern that with regard to policy formation, the provincial government is the stumbling block that prevents local governments or municipalities' issues and views from being channelled up to national policy and decision making bodies. "The three layers of government are working against the municipality", he stated. He indicated for instance that the

³⁰ Interview with the MMC for Health and Social Development. Tshwane, 6 April 2010

³¹ Interview with the MMC for Housing. Tshwane, 6 April 2010

³² Interview with, Director: Housing Policy, Strategy and Systems Management. Tshwane, 1 April, 2010

decision to move housing services to the provincial government in 2003 was informed by personal financial interests of some provincial government officials rather than by the motivation to improve services for the general interest of municipality residents. In his own words,

Provincial officials wanted to be the ones handling the big monies, budgets involved in housing projects and use external consultants and private companies. There are currently only 6 such companies in the country. Their work is unsatisfactory, because it is rushed; they leave behind incomplete houses and move to the next project because they cannot be held accountable. The municipality has built more houses than the province. The use of external consultants/contractors is a disadvantage to the government as a whole. We are now in the process of accreditation with the treasury, to bring housing services back to municipalities. The current situation cannot continue.³³

Cooperation and planning with neighbouring municipalities

The CoT provides bulk services such as water and electricity to some of its neighbouring local municipalities. These are expected to pay but they rarely do. With regard to health services, the CoT serves everyone, even those who live in other municipalities as the MMC for Health and Social Development states:

We have soft boundaries for health services. We serve all those who come, even those who do not necessarily live in the municipality. [...] We also have plans to collapse boundaries with Rustenburg for the 2010 World Cup.³⁴

This sounds more like 'playing a Big Brother role to' than 'planning with' those poor neighbouring municipalities.

Section III: Migration, Safety and Social Cohesion

BACKGROUND: SAFETY AND SECURITY IN THE CoT

The CoT lies in a province that has some of the highest crime rates in the country. Johannesburg and Pretoria are noted as areas in Gauteng with high incidences of crime and security risks. Despite a

³³ Interview with MMC for Housing. Tshwane, 6 April 2010

³⁴ Interview with the MMC for Health and Social Development. Tshwane, 6 April 2010.

recently reported decrease in many crime categories, the province still has a high number of violent crime cases including murder and attempted murder, sexual crimes, assaults, robberies, housebreakings, carjacking, public violence, etc.³⁵

Respondents identified informal settlements as places of greatest insecurity. CPF and SAPS respondents identified the following factors or sources of insecurity in informal settlements and under-developed areas: i) inadequate and sometimes complete lack of street lighting; ii) the existence of bushy areas, allowing for robberies, rapes and murders; iii) lack of proper roads, which make access by police and emergency vehicles difficult; iv) lack of proper numbering on homes (shacks and houses alike); (v) inadequate policing by SAPS, resulting in long response times to crime;³⁶ vi) drug (“nyaube”) and alcohol abuse leading to petty crime and housebreakings; and vii) service delivery disputes that often lead to violent protest marches.

MIGRATION, SECURITY AND SOCIAL COHESION/TENSIONS

Informal settlements (viewed as areas of greatest insecurity as seen above), are magnets for new arrivals both South African and foreign. According to respondents, many undocumented migrants, both foreign and local, move into informal settlements as “no documents are required there.” Respondents further suggest that informal settlements are ideal hideouts for many criminals who do not wish “to be traced.” It can therefore be deduced that low-income new arrivals often find accommodation in informal or semi-formal settlements, which are generally perceived to be unsafe. These areas and therefore their residents tend to be associated with crime, and the immigration of low-income individuals into the CoT is seen in a negative light.

Migration and Crime

Municipal and SAPS officials interviewed expressed a less nuanced view with regard to the relationship between migration and crime than those in other municipalities such as Nelson Mandela Bay. These officials often drew on stereotypes, and did not adequately substantiate their views. For example, when the Loate Crime Prevention Manager (SAPS), who is also the Cluster Commander for Visible Policing, complained that South African borders are not secure, he offered as his proof the fact that people were shown on TV crossing over. Similarly, when discussing the

³⁵ See the province’s official 2009/2010 crime statistics at <http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2010/provinces/gauteng/pdf/gauteng.pdf>

³⁶ SAPS officials also identified inadequate policing as a cause of insecurity, though they noted that it was due to inadequate manpower and a severe shortage of vehicles.

relationship between migration and crime, the SAPS official said that Nigerians were: "... the main one with drug dealers and prostitutions. They take our kids, give them drugs and then they sell their bodies." The MMC for Community Safety equally associates foreign migration into the city with illegality, criminality and social tensions caused by competition for scarce resources, jobs and business opportunities. She states:

Foreign migrants are a huge problem. Most come into the country without documents and are difficult to control. We do not know who, where; we cannot trace them. They are prone to crime as perpetrators or targets and victims. They are also often used to commit crime. Zimbabweans are not a problem. Nigerians are involved in drug dealings behind hair saloons used as fronting businesses.

Like municipal officials, communities and their local leaders in some areas also associate foreign migrants directly with crime. In Soshanguve, CPF and (former) ward committee respondents claimed that "Zimbabweans" sell drugs, commit crime in general, and sell cellphones and drugs disguised as sweets while pretending to be bona fide street vendors. This claim was expressed in the same breath as the notion that foreigners are "getting houses – but our children they don't get the house," indicating that foreigners are associated with many of the social ills communities face. It should be noted however, that in some areas such as Mamelodi, drugs and unemployment among school drop-outs were seen as the two main contributors to crime, rather than migration, according to Mamelodi-East SAPS Sector Managers, CPF, and (former) ward committee members interviewed.

Migration and Mob Justice

As seen in other municipalities such as Mossel Bay (KwaNonqaba) and Nelson Mandela Bay (Walmer), when certain crimes are believed to have been committed by foreigners, there is massive retribution among residents of an area. In Soshanguve, following a case where a woman was allegedly raped by a foreigner, the community attacked and chased away all foreigners as the Soshanguve CPF Chairperson states "... all the houses of the foreigners were attacked and they chased them away and they were sleeping at the police station."

New Arrivals and Vulnerability

New arrivals are not necessarily seen by state structures (municipal and SAPS respondents) as being a particularly vulnerable group. Where sources of vulnerability are recognised, their nature and

causes are sometimes misconstrued. For instance, according to the Tshwane representative of the South African Somali Association (SASA), Somali migrants do not always have access to banking and therefore sometimes carry large sums of money with them, which is known by criminals and makes them a target for theft. Yet, while a Mamelodi-East Sector Crime Forum representative recognised that some foreigners do not have bank accounts and keep their money at their homes, he framed the issue as migrants bringing about the break-ins and somehow being responsible for crime by being victims.

Mass Protests and Governance

Since, in some areas of the CoT, service delivery protests are often followed by the looting of foreign-owned shops and businesses, it is important to consider mass protests in discussions on migration and security. CPF and SAPS respondents interviewed believe that service delivery protests occur because of failings on the part of local government. The Soshanguve and Mamelodi-East CPF and SAPS representatives added that when foreigners are attacked during service delivery protests, attacks are carried out by opportunists taking advantage of the havoc to steal. However, respondents did not engage with why foreign shop-owners are easy targets and why it appears that perpetrators are often not held accountable.

Migration and Social Cohesion/Tensions

Tensions around Housing and Migration

Housing and illegal occupation of municipal land appear to be the main issues that bring about tensions between migrants and local communities. Many municipal officials interviewed indicated that communities blame foreign nationals for “taking houses” but that these sentiments were misplaced in that foreigners are not eligible for RDP housing, and can only access it when it is sold or rented to them by South Africans. The general view is however that corrupt officials grant foreigners access to RDP housing upon receiving bribes.

In elaborating on the effects of housing contentions on social calm, respondents spoke of land invasions. They indicated that many of the residents of illegally occupied land are recent migrants – both foreigners and locals, since there is no bureaucracy involved and there are no requirements for occupation other than money paid to local ‘strong men’ (informal local leaders). An example was

made of Mamelodi East where a 'strong man' called "Stoefel" sells (for 2500 each) pieces of the land earmarked for RDP housing. The land has now become an informal settlement with terms like "Mushade waBurundi" (meaning "Burundian Palace," in SePedi). Where foreigners are among those who buy illegally possessed land, they are seen as competing with locals for space and are resented for occupying land which residents know to have been set aside for RDP housing.

The municipality is seen as unwilling and/or unable to respond to housing concerns unless there is a massive protest march. However, municipal officials interviewed in all four case studies underlined that often local government is blamed for housing-related issues, yet the construction of houses is not a municipal function except in special circumstances. It is however important to note that some issues associated with housing, such as the invasion of municipal land, appear to fall within the purview of the municipality.

Xenophobic Violence and the CoT Response

The CoT is among the municipalities that experienced a high number of xenophobic violence incidents before, during and after May 2008.³⁷ However, despite repeated occurrences of mass attacks on foreign nationals in many of its townships, the municipality does not appear to have any long-term, sustained interventions or initiatives: i) to work towards social cohesion, even in neighbourhoods where xenophobic attacks have been reported and where anti-outsider sentiments are rife; or ii) to respond to and/or prevent future outbreaks. This is largely because xenophobia is a non-issue for the municipality and the matter is seen as having been so adequately dealt with in 2008 that there is no need for continued intervention.

Municipal officials such as the MMC for Safety are particularly pleased with the way the state responded to the xenophobic violence in May 2008 and hails their intervention as a "success," so much so that it appears that as far as her office is concerned, the matter is over. While the (proposed) establishment of an Early Warning System for xenophobic violence involves or intends on involving SAPS, the MMC for Safety's failure to mention her knowledge of one such intervention, let alone the Metropole's involvement or buy-in, is indicative of the municipal government's lack of continued engagement with xenophobia. Like in other municipalities, officials in the CoT (including

³⁷ See Misago J.P., Landau, L. and Monson, T. 2009. *Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity: Addressing Violence Against Foreign Nationals in South Africa*. Available online at <http://www.migration.org.za/report/towards-tolerance-law-and-dignity-addressing-violence-against-foreign-nationals-south-africa>

the MMC for Safety, SAPS officials, ward committee members), expressed a belief in the criminal and opportunistic nature of violence against foreign nationals in the city.

MIGRATION AND POLICING

Policing Migration

Neither CPFs nor Metropolice are mandated with policing immigration. However the MMC for Safety expressed the need to police migration and stressed that undocumented foreign migrants pose a problem to law enforcement. As seen above, the MMC strongly associates foreign migrants with illegality and criminality. However, SAPS officials interviewed generally indicated acceptance of foreigners on their part, except for the Loate SAPS in Winterveld, where there was a barrage against foreign nationals by interviewed respondents.

Community Policing and Migrants' Participation

According to CPF leaders, foreign migrants generally do not participate in broad community policing initiatives like the CPF, nor do they take part in community meetings organised at the ward level. When community leaders in Mamelodi were asked about the idea of forums for foreigners, since existing forums did not have foreign representation or participation, respondents indicated that the formation of foreign migrant safety structures in townships would likely lead to xenophobic violence.

However, the study found two migrant groups that provide assistance with security at a local level in the CoT: Lungisa in Winterveld, and an association of Somali shop-owners who are part of the Somali Association of South Africa (SASA). In Winterveld, neither the CPF, nor SAPS, nor the migrant organisation see the existence of Lungisa as a source of conflict. Rather, they speak positively of it and there is evidence of some low-scale cooperation. According to Lungisa representatives, their association is not targeted by anti-foreigner sentiments, and never has been, for the following reasons: i) many of their members have been part of the Winterveld community for many years; ii) they attend community meetings, engage local structures, both political (like ward council meetings) and social (funerals); and iii) participate in service delivery protests. Note that the non-attendance of Somalis at South African funerals was also brought up by the CPF in Soshanguve as an example of Somali self-exclusion.

Self-exclusion versus Rejection

To the issue of foreigners' self-exclusion from local community life, CPF leaders in Mamelodi indicated that there was the perception that foreigners were not invested in the local community but came to extract resources by making money through spaza shops or having jobs, and sending the profits elsewhere to develop their countries of origin and not the local community. In Winterveld, the Loate CPF representative underscored that foreigners' non-participation in community events (like community meetings and funerals) is "...causing serious divisions among us because we can't click. That's why xenophobia is easy to resume..." According to SASA though, many Somalis resident in the CoT (spaza shop owners especially) make efforts to integrate. Many understand SeSotho. SASA brought up the issue of integration, noting that Somalis continue to be seen as not being part of the society regardless of having lived in the communities for decades, and they do not know why this is. They recognise the rejection by the society as a source of insecurity.

STRUCTURES WORKING TO PROMOTE SAFETY

There are many structures in place to work towards promoting safety, though SAPS is the key role-player. In low-income residential areas, where private security companies do not operate, community policing is formalised and has great potential to reduce crime. As seen above however, some community groups do not participate in and are not protected by these structures, such as residents of illegally occupied informal settlements and foreign nationals. The success of CPFs and other safety initiatives depends somewhat on the existence of personalities who are willing to take issues up.

Many respondents expressed dissatisfaction over the municipality's lack of cooperation and inadequate response to security and safety related matters. CPF representatives for instance indicated that the inconsistency and selective nature of current support for patrollers is leading to dissent and may already be threatening the CPF structure. They indicated that in the CoT, there is a patroller programme that operates under CPFs, where volunteer patrollers are i) trained by SAPS and ii) given uniforms, R300 food vouchers every three months, and torches by the municipality, and iii) insured against death during the line of duty by the municipality. Such support is not provided to ordinary CPF members who use their own resources to perform their duties and whose lives are equally at risk due to their visible collaboration with the police.

Section IV: Migrants' Livelihoods and Access to Services

MIGRANTS' LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES

Like other municipalities in this study, the CoT does not have systematically collected information on lives and livelihoods of its migrant population. Speaking in general terms, municipal officials and other respondents reported that migrants' main livelihood activities include farm work, casual or piece jobs and petty trade particularly for foreign migrants. Farm workers are reportedly highly exploited as they are paid less than the minimum wages and work in unfavourable and unsafe conditions. Others (those who have required documents) get casual jobs with, for instance, the Metro's Expanded Public Works Programme dealing with refuse collection, cleaning of streets, and maintenance of roads, parks and public open spaces. Unemployed and poor domestic migrants derive their livelihoods from free basic services and indigent grants like other poor residents. Foreign migrants' main livelihood activity appears to be petty trade or small businesses in townships and informal settlements. According to respondents, migrants, particularly Somalis and Pakistanis, come into the city not looking for employment, but a space to open a business.

Competition for jobs and business opportunities often engenders negative attitudes toward foreign migrants that have often resulted in xenophobic violence in many areas of the municipality. Ward Committee Members in Soshanguve for instance reported that the deteriorating unemployment situation and prevailing difficult economic conditions exacerbate negative attitudes towards foreign nationals perceived to be illegally taking jobs and opportunities that belong to South Africans. There is a general fear of the influx of foreigners from neighbouring countries.

MIGRANTS' ACCESS TO SERVICES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Like with livelihood activities, the CoT has no information on how migrants, particularly new arrivals, access services and opportunities the city offers. Municipal officials assume that legal migrants have access to services they are entitled to like any other residents. They indicated that services such as education, health care, housing, sport and recreation facilities, social grants, etc. are accessible to everyone who qualifies (i.e. who can provide required documents which implies that undocumented migrants would have difficulties in accessing them).

There is however evidence that poor migrants, like other indigent people who are not ratepayers or are not (in any way) registered with the city, face difficulties or have to go through a lengthy process to be able to access services the city provides. The process involves among other things getting proof of residence from local leaders or affidavits from the police. With regard to housing for instance, the city, according to the MMC for Housing, offers different types of rental houses (city-owned or private) but these are only available for those who are able to afford them. Poor or newly arrived migrants (both foreign and domestic) with no stable source of income have no easy access. Poor migrants rather target informal settlements and poor townships where according to some respondents acquire (buy) stands, shacks and RDP houses sometimes illegally through corrupt officials and formal and informal community leaders.

Foreign migrants' challenges in accessing services and livelihoods

Despite the assumption above that migrants have equal and easy access to services and opportunities, the study identifies a number of obstacles foreign migrants face in this regard. They include:

- Lack of documents: Migrants experience problems in acquiring relevant documents required to access services and opportunities. It gets particularly more difficult for foreign migrants who get those documents from the Home Affairs Department. It takes a long time and foreign migrants often opt to pay bribes to access services.
- Officials' negative attitudes: government officials, for instance from the Department of Social Welfare, often reject documents issued by the DHA with no apparent reason.
- Looting and paying of protection fees: Foreign migrants, particularly Somalis and Pakistanis who operate businesses in informal settlements, are faced with i) regular looting of their businesses and ii) paying protection fees to police officers or local leaders. The coordinator of the Somali Association of South Africa (SASA) indicated that during community service protest marches, their shops are looted and broken into by the local residents. He states: "Though we are making business in South Africa, but we are sometimes confronted with difficulties. We are targeted by thugs who rob us of our belongings. This is because everybody knows that we do not bank our monies. They loot our shops and sometimes police officers demands bribes in the form of protection fees. Our business is seriously challenging."

Section V: Main Findings (The CoT)

This section highlights the following main points and findings for the CoT:

Information, planning and policy

- The CoT does not have a department or unit dedicated to population data collection and management. To get relevant data for their programming, municipal departments independently consult different institutions such as Stats SA or commission ad hoc studies when the data needed is not available. This is mainly because the municipality does not have a person or unit in charge of gathering, consolidating and making available population data for the usage of all departments.
- While the CoT commissioned its own Household Survey in 2008, it is not clear how available population data is used for programming and planning. Many departments reported being guided mainly by the IDP which does not make provisions for future population changes that would be due to either natural growth migration.
- Like with the general population, the CoT does not seem to have mechanisms to have accurate information on migration and population mobility into or from the city. The municipality has little knowledge of the demographics, needs, costs and contributions of its migrant population.
- Migration/population mobility is considered a serious challenge for service delivery, security and social cohesion. Domestic migration is perceived to have a negative impact on service delivery (it is seen by many municipal officials as the main cause for service delivery backlogs). Foreign migration is often associated with crime, illegality and is perceived to be one of the sources of social tensions.
- The municipality administration considers migration and population mobility as a national issue and does not have any concrete plans to manage or mitigate its perceived negative impact.
- Concerns were expressed over:

- Inaccuracies of the Stats SA data and its irrelevant units of analysis (irrelevant or not helpful for municipal use);
- Declining research capacity;
- Inadequate intergovernmental relations illustrated by the limited municipality's involvement in national/provincial decision making and policy formation particularly with regard to migration;
- Lack of professionalisation of services due to a high turnover of technical and administrative staff often resulting from political interference. We were informed that changes in departmental political heads (MMCs) often result in reshuffling of technical and administrative staff. At the time of our fieldwork, many services (relevant to our study) were run by newly appointed Acting (and sometimes Acting of the Acting) officials (managers and secretaries). And some of these officials demonstrated limited technical knowledge in their field of service. High staff turnover seems to have resulted in lack of continuity and years of work and expertise lost in perpetual transitions.
- As for the way forward, the CoT officials expressed the need to have at their disposal accurate and up-to-date population data that would inform their programming and planning. In this regard, a research unity official suggested that:

The CoT should have a functional research unit that would conduct regular surveys and consolidate information from different sources to have accurate population estimates and not just rely on census data. We have many sources that can be used. What is missing is an organisational structure to consolidate them. The research unit should be interdepartmental; it should work for and be used by all municipal departments and not just the Department of City Planning.

Migration, security and social cohesion

- The main sources of insecurity and crime in the CoT include poor infrastructures (roads, public lighting, lack of house numbering, etc.) particularly in informal settlements and poor townships; drug and alcohol abuse; disputes over service delivery and unemployment and high school drop-out rates.

- There are a number of structures working to promote safety and security in the CoT but the lack of cooperation and support particularly from the municipality hinders the effectiveness of their operations.
- Migrants are generally excluded from community policing structures and have limited participation and involvement in local community events and struggles. Local residents attribute this lack of participation to migrants' self-exclusion while for migrants it results from rejection by local communities.
- Migration was not listed among the main sources of crime and insecurity but many municipal officials associate foreign migration with illegality, criminality and social tensions caused by competition for scarce resources, illegal occupation of RPD houses and land invasions.
- Many anti-migrant and anti-foreigner sentiments are steeped in stereotypes, including responses by a few state officials. A better understanding of actual migration dynamics may help dispel these, as well as promoting a culture of fact-finding over speculation.
- There are no long-term interventions to fight xenophobia and related violence and promote social cohesion or to encourage residents to respond better to what is new and different:
 - Xenophobia is not dealt with as a current, serious problem. In 2008, there were community discussions held and task teams were set up to discuss the issue, but all the interventions were short-lived and the issue has long since fallen off the agenda. It is believed that xenophobia was adequately dealt with in 2008.
 - For many state officials, what happened in May 2008 could never happen again. Yet, this sentiment is not based on anything, in that there are no measures on the ground to prevent it. In Winterveld for instance, respondents suggest attacks could happen again, as communities were not integrated. There is evidence of continued targeting of foreigners by criminals, as well as of continued "othering" of some migrant groups.

Migrants' livelihoods and access to services

- The CoT does not have specific information on migrants' lives and livelihood activities. Generally speaking, municipal officials believe that the main migrant livelihood activities include farm work, casual labour and petty trade, particularly for foreign migrants.
- Competition for livelihood opportunities (jobs, public services, businesses) between local residents and foreign nationals often leads to negative attitudes and resentment towards foreign migrants and these attitudes have on more than one occasion resulted in xenophobic violence in many parts of the municipality.
- There is a widespread assumption among municipal officials that migrants (both domestic and foreign) have an equal and easy access to public services and other resources as locals or long-term residents. The discussion above however shows that:
 - poor and undocumented migrants who are not ratepayers and are not registered with the municipality face difficulties in accessing services and resources,
 - foreign migrants face additional challenges including the lack of proper documentation, government officials' negative attitudes and insecurity (regular attacks and looting of their businesses) that impact negatively on their livelihood activities.

Section I: Background Information

Like the CoT, the NMBM is a category A municipality located in the Eastern Cape Province. Founded in 2000, it comprises of the city of Port Elizabeth, the towns of Uitenhage and Despatch as well as other peri-urban and rural areas. Its population is currently estimated at 1.1 million with Blacks forming the majority (56.7%) followed by Coloureds (23.5%) and Whites (18.8%).³⁸

The NMBM is said to be the largest economy in the province. Its economy is largely centred on manufacturing, automotive industry (hosting two of the main vehicle assemblers in the country i.e. General Motors and Volkswagen) and tourism, particularly in the city of Port Elizabeth renowned for its beaches. Despite these positives, however the municipality faces major challenges of poverty, overcrowding in townships and informal settlements, unemployment, racial inequalities, poor infrastructure and service provision backlogs. Indeed the current IDP (IDP 2010/11 – 9th Edition) indicates that the current unemployment rate is estimated at 35%; 112 306 of the 189 000 formal households are classified as indigent; 44% of households access at least one social grant; the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is estimated at 30%; 20% of residents have limited or no schooling; and there is total housing backlog of 84 781.³⁹

NMBM is led by an ANC dominated Council comprising of 120 Councillors (60 Proportional Representation and 60 Ward Councillors) and an Executive Mayor who governs together with the Deputy Executive Mayor and a team of nine Chairpersons of Portfolio Committees within an Executive Mayoral Committee system. The DA represents the main opposition party with 30 Councillors (compared to ANC's 80).⁴⁰

³⁸ See NMBM 2006 Demographic study: Demographic Update for Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan

³⁹ See details in IDP 2010/11 – 9th Edition available at <http://www.nelsonmandelabay.gov.za/Content.aspx?objID=357>

⁴⁰ Ibid

Section II: Information, Planning and Policy

COLLECTION AND USE OF POPULATION DATA

Collection of population data

In 2006, the Metro, through its Land Planning and Management Directorate, commissioned a demographic study that provides a detailed account of demographic trends and socioeconomic indices and projections on the Metro's population (see the study brief overview below). Despite the study however, many of the officials interviewed stated that they obtained population data they need for their programming from Stats SA and other multiple sources, the Metro's demographic study being one of them. For instance, the Executive Director for Special Programmes states:

We use Stats SA, Eastern Cape Urban Dynamics Stats of 2001, Stats from Land and Housing, stats from IDP office, stats from development partners and a demographic survey done by our municipality and adopted by Council.

Officials further indicated that the Metro has no central population planning unity. Directorates and departments independently gather the information they need from various available sources. The Executive Director for Public Health states:

The sources of data are different and there is no one hub where data is being collected and gathered so that it can be a source for each and everyone. Primary Health go out and do their own thing. Land do their own thing. I do not want to go out and do a duplicate but I can compare what Primary Health and Land have got and then say 'ok this looks better to me' and then I take it and go and talk rubbish to people about the data that I have adopted. That's one of the problems. [...] Primary Health sometimes does physical counting and gets figures for specific areas and population groups. But there are always disagreements with other departments each saying 'mine is more accurate'. That's why we need a single set of figures we can all use. [...] Our turnaround strategy I am sure talks to those particular issues.

The Executive Director for Special Programmes agrees:

We need somebody to come up and work through these stats and tell us what we should believe. Otherwise each department uses whatever they think makes better sense to them. But Stats SA is one source not trusted by any department.

The IDP office

After a number of officials mentioned that they get population data from the IDP office, we asked the IDP Director whether the IDP office was in charge of gathering population information and putting it together for use by all other departments. In his response, the Director indicated that it was supposed to be the case but the lack of resources does not allow the office to do it. In his own words:

It is supposed to be like that but in the absence of resources, how do I do that? That is the problem. I would be glad if I could get resources and support to do that one. It is something that I articulated five years ago to say that this office must be given the necessary support. Because the planning and the future of this municipality is in this office. If you do not provide resources and support to this office and you expect this office to produce that, I do not know what you are talking about.

Population data from Stats SA

Metro officials consider population information from Stats SA as unreliable not only because the data is outdated but also because it is inaccurate. They use the information for lack of better sources as the following statements indicate: "The metro uses statistical information from Stats SA. However accuracy remains a challenge. Census data is old and disputed because it is not accurate", states the Chief Operations Officer. Similarly the Executive Director for Special Programmes states:

We get population data from Stats SA but we do not believe in it. Why? Stats SA has a crisis of reality. For instance they tell us El..[name of the area unintelligible on the tape] has a population of 15 000 but our own study shows 30 000. [If I used their information] I would be 100% out in my planning. We use Stats SA when forced to, otherwise we use our own consultants and we ask them to use the same methods Stats SA uses and not give us desktop information. There have been meetings between Stats SA and the COO has been asking what is going on.

Stats SA was also criticised for not providing a data analysis that is useful at the local level. The Executive Director for Economic Development expresses his frustration:

It is frustrating. Stats SA collects data at ward level but presents at provincial level, which makes its usage for planning difficult. We would need to spend a lot of money to get consultants to do additional analyses, to break it down to metro level.

The statement above suggests that the Metro has no capacity to perform additional analyses that would make Stats SA data useful at municipality level.

The 2006 Demographic Study

The study was commissioned by the municipality in 2006 and conducted by 'Development Partners'. According to the study report, "the need for the study derives from uncertainty about the actual demographics of Nelson Mandela Bay and the need for updated statistics for planning and decision-making by all Directorates of the Municipality."⁴¹

The study suggests that the population of the Metropolitan area is smaller than is generally believed. "A figure of slightly more than 1.1 million is closer to the truth than the often assumed 1.3 million to 1.5 million", the report says. It provides the following population projections (figures based on the calculations of Charles Simkins): 2006: 1 160 740; 2010: 1 193 430; 2015: 1 224 630; 2020: 1 243 930. It predicts that fertility rates will drop consistently: negative for the Black population after 2009; negative for the White population after 2013; negative for the Asian population after 2018, and just above zero for Coloureds in 2020. According to Charles Simkins (quoted in study report), "the relatively low population and declining fertility may be ascribed to the phenomenon of 'modernization', that is, relative increased education, adoption of modern values, women taking on modern roles and the increasing use of contraceptives."⁴²

The study finally suggests that the appearance of rapid growth on the urban edge is less a result of urbanisation (rural-urban migration) as is often assumed but more of the movement of people within the Metropolitan area (see study report for details).

⁴¹ See NMBM 2006 Demographic study: Demographic Update for Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan

⁴² Ibid

In sum, the study suggests that the population of the NMBM is unlikely to change significantly in the next 10 years. Population growth is therefore not a major concern for the municipality; at least as far as the research unit is concerned.

The Director for Land Planning and Management (the home of the study) believes that the information the data provides is fairly accurate, at least more accurate than data from other sources available. "We are now comfortable with the new figures", she says. However, other directorates and departments are not that comfortable. They do not believe the study's estimates are accurate. They believe the municipality's population is growing rapidly particularly due to migration from rural Eastern Cape. The IDP Director for instance states:

[...] But we are now using the information from our own directorate; we are not convinced that this is accurate and reliable information that can give an edge in terms of planning. But in the absence of anything else we use that information. But we also use the baseline information from Census 2001 and make some projections.

The Director for Land Planning and Management also indicates that all directorates were consulted before the study was conducted to make sure the information they needed was collected. She also believes that the data produced is used by all municipal departments for planning and programming. She states:

We liaised with all directorates to include all the questions they needed the study to cover [...] The information produced is used for planning by all directorates. We have established a multidisciplinary technical task team which meets regularly to share all relevant information and discuss ways for using it for planning and programming.

That different directorates still get population information from multiple sources (as mentioned earlier) is perhaps an indication that they do not consider the [municipality's own] study's data accurate or useful for their planning and programming.

Population projections

Despite the fact the 2006 demographic study provides projected population figures up to 2020, a number of key officials (IDP Director and Chief Financial Officer) indicated that the Metro does not have and does not do population projections. The IDP Director for instance states:

We are not a research institute; maybe we should get assistance from institutions of higher learning, researchers and so on [...] I can't sit here in the office and pretend as if we make projections for the population in the next 4 to five years. That has not been done, so that is the gap and it is a challenge. If you look at the previous edition of the IDP, one would wonder why we have the population of the metro being constant, there are no changes at all. It is because we do not have information.

The Chief Financial Officer confirms: "No, people who provide stats do not do that [projections] and that's unacceptable."

These two officials either are not aware of or simply ignore the projections made by the demographic study. Whatever the reason, the obvious consequence is that population projections are not considered in planning (IDP) and budgeting.

Population information at ward level

To the question of how ward officials know the number and demographics of their inhabitants, councillors responded that they make use of community profiles regularly compiled by community development workers (CDWs) and information provided by other municipal employees at ward level. The Ward 59 Councillor states:

We have CDOs employed by the municipality and CDWs employed by the province. Part of their work is to come up with community profiles. So we do have such profiles that give us an indication as to who resides in terms of numbers and demographics in a particular ward. The figures are more or less the same with the ones by the metro study. [...] But there might be some inconsistencies with national level data because of relocations. These changes are not captured in spaced national surveys and censuses or other once off studies.

Process of population data collection over time

Prior to the 2006 study, the most recent demographic study compiled for the (then) City of Port Elizabeth was of the entire Metropolitan Area, done by Dr Rob Shell of the Population Research Unit of Rhodes University. It was completed in 1998. Titled 'The Philanthropic City State: Some Projections and a Demographic Forecast for the Greater Port Elizabeth Region, 1996-2011, 2021', the study estimated the population of the greater Port Elizabeth (including Uitenhage and Despatch) at 1

030 600 for 1996 and predicted that it would grow to just under 1 525 000 by 2011, to 1 904 000 by the year 2021 and to 2 803 000 by 2041⁴³. Note that this study's projected population for 2011 (1 525 000) is much higher than 1 243 930 projected for 2020 by the 2006 demographic study.

In subsequent years, municipal departments such as the Health Section used to collect population information that current officials believe was useful for the entire municipality. The following narrative by an official of the Primary Health Directorate describes the process and how it has changed overtime:

In 2000 we were declared a Metro. In the first 5 years the health section was able to calculate annually the growth in population by the number of deaths and the number of births and we provided that to the municipality and it was fed into the IDP because it was a scientific calculation based on demographics. We were able to break it down by race and so on. However this was only able to reflect organic [natural] growth. What we were not able to do was to calculate urban immigration and all factors related to it. We know that subsidies and grants are dependent on population size and many related indices. A census every 5 years was relatively reasonable. The concern now is that there is a 10 year gap between censuses, the next is supposed to happen in 2011 which means that all the 10 year period on the book we literally had no population growth. And we start asking the question why municipalities are not able to service their people?

The first five years we were able to do that. In the last 5 years we did not have the capacity to continue that process for two reasons: one, our source of information was DHA for all deaths. They are now refusing to give it to us because they say they provide it to Stats SA. You must get it from there [...] Stats SA uses mortality information for its own purposes. They do not do that for your district or municipality so that you can calculate your population increase. Two, we have now been amalgamated, we restructured and the capacity that was there is now slightly diluted to perform the same function. But we would like to go back to be able to do that. Every 5th year we used the census as our baseline and then we started calculating again the natural growth until the fourth year and on the fifth year we jumped to the census again. (Director, Primary Health)

The Director for Land Planning and Management (in charge of 2006 study) indicated that the research unit, that currently counts two people, functions better now than before the restructuring although, as she states:

⁴³ See details in NMBM 2006 Demographic study: Demographic Update for Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan

[...] the current organogram [that situates the unity in Land Planning] does not make it as effective and useful for all directorates as it should be. It would be better if the research unit was in the COO's office. The COO needs to coordinate a multisectoral information base that holds good for the next 20-30 year. [...] What is lacking is long term planning: a 30-50 year strategic plan that goes beyond political terms of offices, based on a multisectoral vision and on empirical facts rather than political promises or aspirations.

Information on migration and population mobility

Domestic migration

According to the demographic study mentioned above, population growth due to migration is less than expected because the municipality is not perceived as a highly attractive option for potential migrants from the rural areas and elsewhere. Confirming the study's findings, the Director for Land Planning Management states: "Patterns of migration are not expected to be of great significance until at least by 2020. The Metro does not expect massive migration". The study concludes that the perceived rapid urban growth is due to population mobility within the Metro rather than to rural-urban migration.

As mentioned earlier, however most municipal officials interviewed do not believe this is accurate. They believe the municipality's population is growing rapidly particularly due to migration from rural Eastern Cape. The Chief Financial Officer for instance argues:

Current figures are said to be stagnant but I disagree. People are moving into the city in numbers judging from growing needs and growing consumptions of services. There is a lot of urbanisation taking place; so people are coming to us and not moving away from us. The majority of them are rural if you look at the stats. Unfortunately they do not migrate into affluent areas, they go into poor areas and that has a huge impact on my operating budget because we have a policy called Assistance to the Poor (ATTP) for all poor people and households. Households with a monthly income of no more that R2030 qualify for ATTP.

Ward councillors interviewed also believe that huge numbers of migrants are coming into the municipality. The majority are poor Black people from rural areas. They prefer settling in informal settlements and townships like Motherwell where there is still land or space to build shacks or backyard dwellings. The Ward 59 Councillor explains:

The main challenge is people coming from rural areas who come to increase our population figures. We are not able to know how many people come into the municipality but we believe those numbers are huge because when you look at the area of Motherwell for example, there is a high rate of growth in that area and high rate of demands of housing and other services. That gives us an indication in terms of the region and the metro itself because remember, many people who are coming are the so-called Black people from rural areas. So the only area they will go to is Motherwell because of the availability of land.

Asked how he knows that Motherwell population is increasing because of people coming from other places and not because of mobility within the municipality or natural growth, the Councillor responded:

It is easy. I am the councillor coming from Motherwell. Motherwell is made up of formal bond houses, IDP houses and shack dwelling areas. So you will be able to measure those who are moving from within as they tend to buy bond houses in the area. Those coming from outside tend to build shacks and backyard dwellings.

Officials indicated that poor migrants come to the NMBM in search of better economic conditions and job opportunities. They mentioned the construction industry as one of the main businesses attracting low skilled migrants into the metro. The Executive Director for Economic Development and Recreational Services believes that, in addition to the Metro's pull factors, people are leaving rural areas particularly because of the declining agriculture in the province.

Student migration was mentioned as another category of domestic migration. Some municipal officials indicated that students from rural areas do not want to go back after graduation. "Graduates from rural areas also do not go back to rural areas", says the Executive Director for 2010. The executive Director in the Office of the speaker shares the same view:

Students after graduation never go back home; they look for employment opportunities and one thing leads to the other. So we have student migrants, foreign migrants and rural migrants. There are no special programmes designed for them by the Metro, opportunities are given to all equally.

While some officials are worried about student immigration, others are concerned that the municipality is losing skilled labour due to graduates' out-migration. "We lose out skilled people. We

have now identified key industries to absorb youngsters finishing schools to keep them in the municipality," says the Executive Director for Economic Development and Recreational services.

International migration

The 2006 demographic study estimates the number of international migrants residing in the NMBM to be between 10200 and 13300. Somalis and West Africans (Ghanaians and Nigerians) make up the majority (70%); Zimbabweans are about 15% and other migrants from Asian and other African countries make up the remaining 15%. The study recommends that the municipality explores institutional arrangements for appropriately integrating immigrants into the Metropolitan area. It suggests that:

Such arrangements could serve to 'demystify' immigrants, thus enabling better understanding of who they are, where they come from, why they are here, what they do for a living and what they have to offer. It is recommended that, in view of the recent xenophobic events involving immigrants an extended follow-up study be conducted with the aim of assessing the nature, extent and implications of recent events for planning and development in the Metro.

Whether implemented or not, these recommendations are a recognition that the municipality should be involved in managing international migration. This is a move away from the belief (held for instance by the City of Tshwane officials) that migration is a national issue and should therefore be managed by national departments. Another remarkable difference between the CoT and the NMBM is the fact that unlike in Tshwane, international migration in the NMBM is not perceived to be a concern. Most officials in the NMBM perceive International migrants as successful, entrepreneurial and most importantly not costly to the municipality (see details in the section on migrants' livelihoods and access to services).

Use of population information for planning

Municipal officials indicate that their departments or directorates rely mostly on Stats SA census data and the IDP for planning. The current IDP version cites the demographic information provided by the municipality's own study but does not indicate clearly how the information was used for planning. Nor does it make provisions for population changes.

According to these officials, departments use what they know is unreliable census data in their planning (particularly for services to the poor) mainly because population data collected independently by the municipalities does not influence the allocation of funds by the national treasury that uses the equitable share system and bases its decisions on the census data. The Chief Financial Officer explains:

I was recently faced with a question of why we can't put in a proposal to the national treasury to increase our equitable share to support our poor because things have changed from when we used the baseline data of 2001. Now the issue is I can't put a submission like that because the census at that particular time was used to calculate the equitable share. Remember the equitable share is so much. So every municipality has been using the same information. So you can't go as an independent municipality and say I want my review. You must do all the municipalities at the same time. The people who are making decisions for that split are not using the most up-to-date information, which is the national treasury, which is a huge crisis for us. That means the allocation that is coming for the equitable share is not responding to the accurate population environment that we are experiencing. The gap between censuses is absolutely unacceptable because we need to be able to account for population needs on an annual basis. Metro stats won't help me because I would need stats for all municipalities to influence the allocation of the equitable share. Information gathered here is only for internal use and cannot influence the national treasury. Unless you have information for the entire country, for all municipalities.

Asked why the IDP does not provide for population changes, he responded that all plans are linked to population changes even if indirectly. He however said there is no pressing need to plan for population changes because it won't change the amount the municipality will get for equitable share. He states:

[...] we have no control over population growth and we do not specifically plan for that. Where are we gonna get the money from? Because remember there is a pot. The pot is cut. Now I come and say our population has increased by 200 000. What are you gonna do about it? They can't help me. Who are they gonna take the money from? Because someone will have to give up their money. Because if you do not have accurate population stats for everyone at that particular time, how are you going to make that decision?

What then is the use of the recent study in terms of planning and budgeting? From the budgeting point of view, it can be used when particular information is not available in the census data. The Chief Financial Officer states:

For budget submissions from directorates, I will consider any information but primarily they must have found its base in the census. This study you are talking about obviously could be added on as further motivation. If for instance the census is not talking to a particular issue that needs to be explored in the municipality; that would bring this particular study forward.

Contrary to the information provided by officials in Tshwane, the NMBM does not spend and submit invoices to the national treasury for reimbursement. "No we do not submit invoices to be reimbursed", says the Chief Financial Officer who continued:

The unconditional money, equitable share comes in 3 tranches a year. Whether you like or not it arrives in your account. For municipal infrastructure grant you get a cap of initial money and you spend against it on projects linked to that money. Then you submit progress reports and a request for the next tranche. Not invoices but progress reports. We spend money that we have.

Planning only for ratepayers? The Chief Financial Officer indicated that the NMBM focuses primarily on people who are registered as consumers of its services. All things are based on registration. No discrimination for registration but of course you need to produce valid identification.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Municipality involvement in decision making and policy formation

With 'frustrating'⁴⁴ intergovernmental relations, it is not surprising that municipal officials feel that municipalities have no appropriate platforms to influence policy formation and decision making at provincial and national level. With no official platform, it is up to the Executive Mayor and individual directorates to open up communication channels with respective provincial and national departments. Forming individual linkages often takes time and delays municipal services. Officials

⁴⁴ See cooperation between spheres of government with regard to service delivery in the following section on migrants' livelihoods and access to services

further complained that provincial and national departments often make decisions that affect municipalities without consulting them. To the question of where provincial and national decision makers get the information they use for decision making and policy formation since they do not often consult municipalities, the Executive Director for Special Programmes responded:

[...] high politicians now have their technical people. Ministers have DGs but now even them [DGs] think like their politicians. They get information from parliament and media and they think they know what the problem is and propose solutions for us to implement. Municipalities have no platform to influence policy formation; they give us instructions to implement and when there are problem we fix the bus as it goes.

It appears that the NMBM and municipalities in general have little influence in decision making and policy formation at provincial and national levels even when issues to be decided on directly affect – and policies to be adopted are to be implemented by – municipalities.

Planning with neighbouring municipalities

The Metro has signed agreements (copies available) with two neighbouring local municipalities (Cacadu and Nxuba) to enhance cooperation for development. It is not clear how these agreements are implemented in practice.

OTHER MATTERS: Professionalisation of services and staff turnover

Although we did not specifically ask for qualifications and professional experience, it looks like the NMBM employs highly qualified, competent and comfortable professionals. We identified, among our interviewees, at least 2 PhDs (COO and IDP Director); an engineer (Special Programmes) and medical doctor (in Health). There are however concerns about high staff turnover particularly among executive directors as the Executive Director for Special Programmes indicates:

There is high staff mobility. For instance EDs have a five year contract and there are no provisions for extension. No guarantees for long term employment. When contracts are about to end, concerned EDs start looking for jobs somewhere else, particularly the private sector. At some stage we had 6 or 7 acting EDs and there is no proper handing over of information.

Unlike in Tshwane however, political appointments have no direct impact on the stability of technical and administrative staff. The Director continues:

Directorates have political heads but changes in political heads do not necessarily result in change of technical staff. It is still orderly here. Political heads may have a say on who gets appointed but do not fire and hire bureaucrats. This is the competence of the COO who also follows required procedures.

Section III: Migration, Safety and Social Cohesion

BACKGROUND: SAFETY AND SECURITY IN NMBM

According to a survey by the Institute of Security Studies (ISS)⁴⁵, the most important crimes in the municipality include robberies, housebreakings, rapes and assaults. The streets, according to public perception, are not safe, as is the case with areas near shops and shebeens. Young people are the population group most involved in crime as both victims and perpetrators. School children are involved in drug related activities such as drug abuse as well as peddling of drugs at schools. Violent crime is a major concern and is particularly prevalent in the poor and crowded areas of the Metro.

SAPS officers, CPFs, and municipal officials interviewed identified the following issues as being the main sources of insecurity : i) unregulated taverns in low-income areas which are a magnet for crime; ii) drug and alcohol abuse with respondents stating that the use and sale of drugs was greatly increasing, and iii) conditions in informal settlements where the absence of public lighting, adequate roads, and house numbering poses challenges to policing both to prevent crime through visible policing and regular patrols, and to respond when crime occurs or when safety is threatened in any other way, for example by house/shack fires. This was also raised as a major issue in Tshwane.

Other challenges to policing and maintenance of safety and security in the NMBM include i) the lack of local and provincial governments' support for CPFs (which have to rely on the resources availed

⁴⁵ For details on the survey, see: Masuku, Sibusiso and Traggy Maepa. 2004. City Safety: Nelson Mandela Metro Municipality's Crime Reduction Strategy. Institute for Security Studies. <http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/Monographs/No103/Mono103.pdf>

to them by local police stations non-state actors such as Business Against Crime); ii) the failings of – and the ensuing lack of confidence and trust in – the justice system which encourages mob justice; and the lack of victim support centres and patroller programmes, the provision of which is understood to be the competence of the provincial government.

MIGRATION, SECURITY AND SOCIAL COHESION

Migration and crime

Compared to Tshwane, municipal officials interviewed in the NMBM expressed a more nuanced view with regard to the relationship between migration and crime. When asked about crime, respondents did not mention migration or new arrivals as a factor, except for one ward Councillor who said that the presence of an international airport and a road network in PE meant that drugs could be transported into the municipality, though he did not map the problem onto migrants but onto the openness of the municipality. The Acting ED of Energy and Electrification for instance indicated that in his opinion, foreigners were integrated into the NMBM community and that “it would be unfair to say there’s a strong pattern of people from a specific country” committing crime.

Migration and social cohesion

In keeping with migration not being seen as a major phenomenon, municipal officials did not identify recent and ongoing migration as a significant cause of social tension or as a threat to cohesion in the NMBM. Where population changes and movement within the municipality were seen by municipal officials as posing challenges in this regard, it was around race relations and competition for resources mostly among those already resident in the municipality rather than residents versus new arrivals. Municipal officials’ great concern is around contestations that arise as a result of governing an area with considerable disparities in wealth and resources, which is agitated by the spatial location of residential areas (townships next to suburbs e.g. Walmer). Note though, that Municipal officials framed the issue more in terms of wealth and economic status than in terms of race.

Xenophobia and related violence

Contrary to municipal officials’ views, migration appears to lead to some social tensions as illustrated by the prevalence of xenophobic sentiments and violence in some parts of the municipality.

Motherwell for instance has a history of sporadic attacks on foreign business owners since 2000 although the main wave of violence against foreign nationals in the area occurred in February 2007 when all Somali-owned shops (over 100 shops according to some respondents) were systematically looted and destroyed following the death of a local young man allegedly shot by a Somali business owner.⁴⁶ Incidents of xenophobic violence were recorded in 2008 in some parts of Port Elizabeth.⁴⁷

Currently, however SAPS and Municipality officials do not consider xenophobia as a major issue although the municipality has a Task Team on Xenophobia, which, according to the Director in the Office of the Speaker, was set up as one of many ad hoc task-teams established from the Mayor's Office. When asked whether there was any room in the budget for responding to major catastrophes like a wave of xenophobic attacks, the Chief Financial Officer responded that the Mayor has a discretionary allowance of R3 – 4 000 000 a year. The Director on the Office of the Speaker insisted that xenophobia is "continuously being addressed in various arenas." However, short of the existence of a Task Team on Xenophobia, there did not appear to be any other forms of engagement of xenophobia, on the part of the municipality. Similarly, state officials (SAPS and municipal officials) interviewed were not able to identify any long-term interventions to promote social cohesion.

While municipal officials are aware of the attacks that happened in 2008, they see xenophobia as an event that occurred in 2008 and that was dealt with, rather than as a recurrent issue that needs continued engagement. Even though municipal officials admit that attacks could occur again, they believe it is unlikely. On the other hand, SAPS respondents and CPFs said that it was quite possible that mass attacks could recur. However, neither the municipality nor SAPS has a plan in place to deal with such attacks should they recur.

For municipal officials, SAPS, and CPFs interviewed, the state's interventions to address xenophobia in 2008 were adequate. The reason they give for this claim, is that foreigners were "integrated" back into the communities they lived in before and that foreigners continue to live and trade in the places where attacks happened. They cast attacks on foreign nationals as criminal incidents not distinct from other forms of general crime in the municipality, particularly where such attacks involved theft. According to the Acting ED for Safety and Security, for instance, attacks in 2008 were perpetrated by people who wished to loot and it was "never necessarily a xenophobia thing." He reiterated that it

⁴⁶ See details in Misago, J.-P., T. Monson, T. Polzer, and L.B. Landau (2010). May 2008 Violence against Foreign Nationals in South Africa: Understanding Causes and Evaluating Responses. Johannesburg, CoRMSA.

⁴⁷ For a detailed chronology of xenophobic incidents see Hill and Lefko-Everett, 2008, Xenophobia Timeline. This is available on <http://www.benkhumalo-seegelken.de/dokumente/XENOPHOBIA-TIMELINE.pdf>; accessed on 13/08/10)

was only a perception that the attacks were xenophobic. The reason he gives for this claim is that when the police investigated the issues, they found that attacks had been about looting. However, it is not all officials who distance the May 2008 attacks from xenophobia. An ANC councillor in Motherwell said that as leaders in government and in politics, they wanted to know what had caused the attacks: "... You find that our local business people have had a hand; whether they were orchestrating it or while it was happening, they enjoyed it..."

Community initiatives to resolve migration-related conflict: A case of the Gqebera Trust

The Gqebera Development Trust oversees or manages the Ekunyamazeleni Resource Centre in Walmer Township. According to the community leader interviewed at the Centre, around the time xenophobic violence was starting to emerge as an issue around South Africa, Gqebera Trust members noted that people in Walmer were reporting cases of robbery and saying that the culprits were Zimbabweans. The Trust "wanted a way to address this without it seeming like xenophobia." To this end, the Trust is said to have called a meeting for foreign nationals, though most of those who attended the first meeting were Zimbabweans. When asked why this was the case, the respondent indicated that it was because Zimbabweans in Walmer had "a representative" who was able to mobilise them and encourage participation. Subsequent interviews revealed that the leader/representative in question has become a go-to person for SAPS officials in Walmer, as well as non-state initiatives working on conflict resolution in the broader NMBM.

Through the auspices of the Gqebera Trust, the representative was able to act as a liaison between the local community and the Zimbabwean migrant community⁴⁸. According to the Gqebera Trust representative, the mediation that happened between the South African local community and the foreigners helped the leaders prevent xenophobia related violence. The Trust is reportedly no longer very active in community meetings, and is not playing as great a role in addressing social issues as it used to.

⁴⁸ A point of commonality/recurring theme is that the presence of a known leader-type person helps to increase safety and mitigate tensions between migrants and locals. In Walmer (NMB), Roderick (MDC) serves as this person mostly for Zimbabweans, but for foreign migrants in general. To some extent, Lungisa does the same in Winterveld (Tshwane). In Attridgeville (Tshwane) however, SASA's presence seems to work as an asset when responding to attacks, though not as a presence preventing attacks through mediation. This may be because of the different nature of engagement. SASA has strong links to UNHCR and SAPS to a lesser extent, but not to South African local community leaders, whereas Roderick and Lungisa while working with officials also participate in local structures. If this continues to be a recurring theme, it may go some way towards understanding how to prevent conflict. Perhaps the Municipality's role in this would be to identify key players or leaders and support their work through fostering engagement with local structures.

Sustained engagement between foreigners and local police (Walmer SAPS) is also said to have prompted the Walmer SAPS to intervene to stop the harassment foreign migrants were suffering at the hands of police officers from the Port of Entry SAPS.

POLICING MIGRATION

In NMBM, SAPS do not see the policing of immigration as a key responsibility of theirs (perhaps with the exception of Port of Entry SAPS). Rather, when SAPS officials speak of policing immigration, they almost invariably refer to it in relation to DHA, indicating that it is DHA's mandate and not SAPS's.

However, according to the Executive Director of 2010, SAPS is conducting migration-sweeps in the CBD, in what could be seen as a cleanup campaign before the FIFA 2010 World Cup (Port Elizabeth was one of the nine host cities). He says:

... What the police are doing now, SAPS, is looking at the current population of migrants, especially those who are involved in criminal activities, especially in this part of the city, central, from here upwards, and, obviously as far as tourism is concerned, we are going to be using a lot of these areas as part of the World Cup; and I've seen a dramatic increase of police raids in these areas in terms of – it's like a clean-up campaign almost... the guy who works for me... would tell me they were woken up at 3 o'clock in the morning by the cops; and everybody must come out and the police would check whether they have documentation or not; and those who don't have would be arrested...[emphasis added].

Migrant participation in community structures

It appears that new arrivals, whether local or foreign, tend not to be part of the leadership of community structures nor do they actively participate in such organisations. Leaders in community structures that are not formed by foreigners are often South Africans who have been resident in their communities for a long time. Even the above-mentioned migrant participation in Walmer was facilitated by i) his/her prolonged engagement with community structures and ii) his/her sustained residence in the area. In general, there are low levels of migrant participation in community structures, be they for policing or anything else. One ANC ward councillor in Motherwell believes that migrants are slowly becoming part of the community but they are still not really free to participate in community leadership structures and public meetings. He states:

...sometimes they attend meetings but they do not have yet courage to speak in the meetings but you find that they speak in the communities around them because they attend even the traditional functions that are happening within the community; they are there; so they are becoming part of the community...

Structures Working Towards Promoting Safety

The NMBM has a range of organisations working on safety. Non-state structures include private security companies, which are required to register with the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA); as well as non-governmental organisations including Business against Crime (BAC), and the Project for Conflict Resolution and Development in Port Elizabeth. Major state actors are SAPS, the Municipality's Security Officers and Traffic Officials; and related agencies like DHA, Correctional Services, and the Department of Justice. Community policing forums (CPFs) and neighbourhood watches also operate in NMBM, though there is no patroller programme.

Cooperation and Coordination between Role-Players

Private and Public Structures

Cooperation between SAPS and community policing structures is perhaps the most prevalent form of interactive policing in NMBM, with CPFs and neighbourhood watches partnering with SAPS and policing despite the absence of a patroller programme. The lack of support from provincial government has seen CPFs and SAPS partnering with non-state actors for resources. According to its Managing Director, BAC recently helped SAPS in Port Alfred to establish a victim support centre in a stand-alone wendy-house. Similarly, General Motors has donated 8 vehicles to be used in community policing.

One area where cooperation is a challenge is between private security companies. According to the BAC MD:

We've got 10 000 armed private security guards in the city... and they don't talk to each other. Getting them into the same room is an accomplishment in itself. The municipality tried that three years ago, and it was a dismal failure. By 10 o'clock in the morning, two thirds of all the private security MDs had left the room. They simply are not interested in divulging anything, information-wise, with each other. Because they see it as competition..."

In order to improve security, however BAC is attempting to bring private security companies back to the partnership-table, though there is potentially room for it to be the municipality that takes a leading role in promoting cooperation, through the Department of Community Safety.

Inter-governmental Cooperation: Municipal and non-Municipal Agents

According to the Ward 59 ANC Councillor, the ward committee structures and the community policing forums in his area (Motherwell) work well together, and he holds imbizo with CPFs and Sector Police, where SAPS gives them statistics of criminal activities in their area and informs them of the hot-spots. He noted however, that even though there were good inter-governmental relations between local SAPS and municipal structures, there is a disjuncture between local government and SAPS at the provincial and national level. He illustrated this by saying that when SAPS decides where to put up a new police station, it does not adequately engage with local leadership structures and local people.

The municipality is not seen in a positive light by some of the major non-state actors in the area, actors it could potentially be partnering with on safety issues. The Executive Director of the Project for Conflict Resolution and Development in Port Elizabeth noted that while their organisation worked with local government on issues around conflict resolution, and while their work involves promoting safety for migrants,⁴⁹ for the most part, they are working outside of the municipality, because “the Metro is a nightmare.” He blamed this partly on the municipality being “affected by politics” and plagued with paranoia particularly around the issue of housing and politics. Similarly, the Managing Director of Business Against Crime feels that the Municipality is “non-participatory,” and that there is no real engagement with regard to safety initiatives. He states:

[...] if [Provincial Government] pitch up to... an event of any kind, they are invariably late... The municipality is no different. It seems as though they occupy an office and that’s where it ends. There’s no real engagement [...]it would seem that government is , what’s the word, it’s just not there – it’s just non-participatory...”

⁴⁹ In their own words, they: “[are] a development organisation... that researches, designs, trains and facilitates processes that enable disadvantaged and/or at- risk communities and organisations to positively deal with conflict and transformation...” e.g. by “building the capacity of Civil Society Organisations; establishing Conflict Management Systems and research and skills development for Municipal Ward Committees, Officials and Councillors, develop[ing] and implement[ing] a comprehensive Safe School Programme for schools” etc.

Municipal officials believe that the introduction of a Metro police⁵⁰ will go a long way in improving its policing and by-law enforcement capabilities.

Section IV: Migrants' Livelihoods and Access to Services

MIGRANTS' LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES

The NMBM does not have systematically collected information on lives and livelihoods of migrants living within its borders. Generally speaking, municipal officials and other respondents reported that the majority of migrants both domestic and foreign survive on their own income generating activities i.e. small businesses they run particularly in townships and informal settlements across the municipality. According to the Coordinator of Ggebera Community Resource Centre (near Walmer), migrants, particularly foreign migrants, open spaza shops, hair salons, shoe, dress and home craft making stands. The Regional Secretary of the Nelson Mandela Civic Association added that migrants do a lot of things that range from selling vegetables, clothes, clay pots, wooden spoons and mats to offering gardening services, security services, brick making and working as farm labourers, indicating that those who are not involved in petty trade survive on piece jobs or unskilled labour. The Executive Director for Economic Development and Recreation Services indicated that foreign migrants are able to survive through spaza shops. They sell their merchandise cheaper than South Africans whose businesses in the townships are often called 'Azikho' which means 'there is no stock or supply'. Therefore most people prefer going to foreign owned spaza shops as they are perceived to always have stock.

Generally speaking, foreign migrants in the municipality are not perceived to be a concern in terms of livelihoods. Most municipal officials perceive them as successful, entrepreneurial and most importantly not costly to the municipality. The Executive Director for 2010 for instance states:

Foreign migrants are a bit more entrepreneurial than our people. [...] Our people are less entrepreneurial in nature. Our people are more job-orientated. Their main concern is to find

⁵⁰ Currently the Municipality has no metro Police but has filed an application with the National Police Commissioner (SAPS) for one to be established.

a job, a good job, a secure job while international migrants come here to exploit economic opportunities.

Like in other municipalities, however some officials believe that some international migrants are involved in criminal activities (as livelihood activities) and their apparent success is cause for social tensions as the Executive Director for Public Health indicates:

International migrants are very successful; they come here and generate income, which creates problems because it separates them from the rest. International migrants come here, do business and send their money home. They are not interested in developing this area and this will always create tensions.

MIGRANTS' ACCESS TO SERVICES AND OPPORTUNITIES

As discussed earlier, the majority of domestic migrants are poor people from rural areas and who target poor townships, informal settlements and squatter camps for settlement. In these places, migrants (at least new arrivals) face the same challenges as their long-term resident counterparts with regard to accessing services. Respondents, such as the COSATU Regional Secretary, described these areas as poorly serviced with communities living in extreme poverty. Municipal officials indicated that apart from these common challenges, domestic migrants have equal access to available relevant public services including indigent grants for those who qualify.

Access to housing

For those who can afford it, the NMBM has a number of housing options including:

- Rental housing: houses are privately owned and prices are determined by the developer and the area of settlement;
- State owned rental housing: Local Government houses mainly for non-local municipality employees;
- Hostels: housing mainly for migrant labourers who are working far from their homes. The municipality is still in the process of converting them into family units. It has already transformed two hostels in New-Brighton into community flats. The hostel in Kwa-Zakhele was being transformed at the time of fieldwork and municipal officials indicated that there will be no more hostels by the end of this year;

- Transit housing: these are rooms for new arrivals who occupy rooms for short term rental. These people are in transit, looking for a permanent residential area. The assumption is that these people have formal employment

Accessing these housing types obviously requires having relevant documentation.

The Executive Director for Special Programmes reported that the municipality is piloting an integrated housing approach whereby low cost houses are built in the same vicinity with the high cost houses. The idea is to close the gap between the rich and the poor. This kind of approach to housing was proposed but rejected in the CoT as it is perceived as impractical. The concern is that the presence of low cost housing would lower the standard of the high cost houses. The NMBM views this approach as possible and ideal.

Access to business opportunities

There is a number of public and private entities in the NMBM that have programmes and initiatives aimed at promoting business initiatives and entrepreneurship in the municipality not only by providing funding or financial support but also information, mentorship, training and opportunities for networking. These include, amongst others, Port Elizabeth Regional Chamber of Commerce & Industry (PERCCI), National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) and the Port Elizabeth NED Bank.

Representatives of these institutions reported that they do not have any specific policies and programmes for foreign migrants but believe that legal migrants benefit from (or are at least eligible to access) their programmes like everyone else. The coordinator of PERCCI for instance has no doubt that of the 800 companies registered with them, some belong to foreign migrants who are registered as South Africans⁵¹ and that these companies benefit from their initiatives since they cater for community projects across the board. She however conceded that the study was an eye opener for the Chamber since migration is never an important issue for consideration. Similarly, the NYDA Career Guidance Project Manager reported that a number of foreign migrant organizations are fully registered with them.

Plans to improve service delivery and alleviate poverty

⁵¹ The fact that foreign migrants have to register their companies as South Africans suggests that there may be some restrictive policies.

Through the IDP process and programmes such the Expanded Public Works' Programme and the Urban Renewal Project, municipal officials indicated the municipality is making good progress in improving service delivery and creating jobs for all its residents.

With regard to the IDP and service delivery planning process, municipal officials indicated that the NMBM uses the Ward Based Planning Approach that is informed by local needs. Local needs are gathered through the public participation process in which all stakeholders including the ordinary members of the public are consulted. Local needs are then compiled in the IDP document that informs the planning of all municipal directorates. According to the IDP Director, there are 7 stakeholders that the Metro must consult in the process. He states:

If we consult those 7 stakeholders, we would comfortably say we consulted 80% of the population of the metro. We talk about councillors, business, trade unions, civil society, state owned enterprises, ward committees. Those are the key stakeholders that must be consulted because they represent the broader society. Then we have IDP public hearings to present to the community the draft IDP and the budget.... So that is the process so that people are involved, they own the process and also are able to control their development. Over and above that we also got the IDP representative forum; we have all those involved represented there to conquer whether the IDP draft and budget are aligned with their needs.

Municipal officials are convinced the approach improves services delivery and expressed satisfaction with process. The Chief Whip states:

We are well organised at the community level. Councillors convene ward committee meetings where communities are able to raise their frustrations and challenges they face regarding service delivery. When developing IDPs, they are invited and we give them guidelines on how to participate. Thereafter we put their inputs according to the provincial and national priorities. I can assure you that our communities are happy with the process.

There are however some who feel that the public participation process only looks good on paper but is not real in practice. The SACP Regional Secretary for instance says:

Communities are not consulted. When you want to build a zoo, you do not need to consult the animals, its future inhabitants. Officials come to IDP meetings just to inform people about projects to be implemented. That's not consultation because views for communities

are never considered. And sometimes real priorities are not the ones considered. Some of the issues do not come from communities, but just are the Metro priorities.

He added that the growing number of informal settlements within the municipality may attest to a significant disjuncture between people's needs and the municipality's' outputs.

Impact of migration and population mobility on service delivery

Despite the municipality's demographic study suggesting that there is not significant population growth as a result of migration, most officials indicate that migration from rural areas is a massive problem for the Metro as it affects negatively its service delivery efforts. The Ward 59 councillor states:

Migration is a key factor in creating service delivery backlogs because they increase population numbers. Particularly poor migrants come and have nowhere to stay and erect shacks, which affect housing delivery.

Officials also indicated service delivery not only attracts migrants from outside but also results in mobility within the municipality as people tend to move to better serviced areas. The Executive Director for Special Programmes for instance states:

[...] we have just made a choking finding that when you improve one place, more people go there. We recently started a livestock project in Motherwell and now we have double the number of cows in the area. People from other areas in the municipality came with their cows to benefit from the project. This migration within the Metro poses a challenge.

Similarly the Ward 59 Councillor indicates:

[...] Mobility is a challenge. People for instance register on housing waiting lists. When the house is complete the beneficiary is nowhere to be found; he or she has moved. Now we have vacant houses and we can't make revenues out of them. To reallocate them, we have to go through a lengthy process of deregistration. We cannot plan for this alone as a municipality because service delivery to our people attracts other people. We hope the rural development will help them stay there, work and stay there. But at the same time, we need to attract people with skills.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Municipal officials interviewed indicated that there is a lack of good cooperation between the municipality and provincial and national governments with regard to planning and implementing service delivery or other socio-economic projects. Particularly the relationship with the provincial government has been described as frustrating at best. The following statements are telling in this regard:

That's why we created spheres. Do not interfere, I have my mandate, don't interfere with me. That is one way of summarising it, you understand? There has to be a political change, not an administrative change, a political change. For instance Water Affairs is a national department but has offices in provinces but it is so difficult to interact with them because they have a certain mentality of doing things. In order to change that mentality you have to change right at the top in Pretoria in order to make these changes (Executive Director for Primary Health).

There have been no good interactions to plan appropriately which is what IDP was supposed to do. Planning is rather vertical than integrated and as such development is retarded because you are pulling in different ways. I do what is correct in my sphere. Yes we heard the minister's speech and I interpret in my own way what I will do and the province will do something else (Director of Primary Health).

Take Housing for example. The provincial government often returns unspent money to the national fiscus while waiting lists are growing. Then you get unscrupulous contractors who build house that collapse in one year and people go back into shacks. The province really does not have any functions. We have been calling for a white paper on the provincial government for a long time. Why should our money be channelled through provinces. How we deal with this? For Primary Health care we have revolving funds, we get our money directly from the national. Housing is still at the province but we have applied for accreditation to get our money directly. It is really a waste of energy. But again we are a better performing municipality; there are bad performing municipalities. Are they gonna use the money to pay their salaries or in corrupt deals? (Chief Financial Officer).

There are no strong relationships between municipalities and national government because of the provincial government bureaucracy that delays processes. For example, municipal

IDPs are not aligned with the provincial programmes and the national financial year which means that funds for IDP projects come too late and this makes the implementation of projects difficult as most of the time funds are not made available on time. The process is not working for us (Ward 59 Councillor).

On the issue of IDP alignment with provincial and national priorities, the IDP Director disagrees with the Councillor. He has not yet faced a situation in which priorities from the ground (in IDP) conflict with provincial and national priorities. In his own words:

There are five national priorities and 14 provincial priorities from the GDP. These are also captured in IDP. The IDP is responding already to those priorities. So I see that there is an alignment because we start with the national perspective, then come down to provincial perspective and finally to the local perspective.

Despite this disagreement, it is clear from the statements above that many municipal officials are, at varying degrees, not satisfied with the current nature of cooperation between the three spheres of government.

Section V: Main Findings (NMBM)

This section highlights the following main points and findings for the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality:

Information, planning and policy

- Like the CoT, the NMBM does not have a central department or unit dedicated to population planning. Different directorates independently use different sources to get the population information they need for their programmes.
- The metro commissioned a demographic study in 2006 through the research unit located in the Land Planning and Management but findings are contested by other directorates. The study indicates that the population is unlikely to change significantly in the next 10 years. Most departments do not believe this is accurate. They believe the metro population is growing rapidly particularly due to migration from rural Eastern Cape.

- Departments use mostly the information contained in the IDP document for planning. The current version of the IDP does not however make provisions for population changes.
- Budgeting and relationship with the national treasury: population data collected by municipalities does not help the allocation of funds by the national treasury that uses the equitable share system and bases its decisions on the census data.
- Municipal officials describe interactions and relationships with other spheres of government, particularly the provincial government as frustrating. Both in terms of planning and decision making or policy formation.
- With regard to migration and population mobility, there is no clear common understanding/analysis of migration/mobility patterns among top officials:
 - For some, migration is not a concern because no significant population is growth expected. For others there is an influx of migrants from rural areas and it negatively affects service delivery. Belief that rural development would help stop the influx.
 - Exodus of native skilled school leavers vs. 'students'' migration (students from other areas/regions do not return after finishing school).
- Other main issues with regard to migration and population mobility include:
 - Service delivery attracts migrants into the metro and encourages mobility within the metro: people moving to better serviced areas.
 - International migrants are generally not perceived as a problem for the municipality. They come to exploit available business opportunities and are not costly to the municipality.
 - Like in the CoT, concerns were expressed over inaccuracies in the Stats SA data, the declining research capacity and the high staff turnover (with acting bureaucrats) although no political interference was mentioned in the NMBM.

Way forward: suggestions by municipal officials

- The municipality needs to create a 'One Stop Centre' to gather and consolidate population information to be used by all departments. There would also be a need for a private consultant to verify data consolidated by the 'One Stop Centre' to make sure it makes sense (Executive Director for Special Programmes).
- Research and collection of population information should be located in the COO office for a better use by all directorates. The COO needs to coordinate a multisectoral information and knowledge base (Director for Land Planning and Management).
- Accelerate rural development to halt rural exodus (Ward Councillors).
- Salga should help municipalities find better ways of managing migration and population mobility (Chief Operating Officer).

Migration, safety and social cohesion

- The main sources of insecurity in the NMBM include alcohol and drug abuse; unregulated taverns which serve as a magnet for crime; and lack of infrastructure in informal settlements that prevent both visible (preventative) policing, and prompt emergency response when crime or fires occur.
- Migration is generally not seen as a major cause of crime or of social tensions although some areas of the municipality have experienced repeated incidents of xenophobic violence, which according to the local SAPS are likely to recur if no concrete preventive measures are put in place.
- Policing migration does not appear to be a major preoccupation of policing and law enforcement institutions in the NMBM. There was however an increase in police raids on migrants resident in the CBD during the period leading to the 2010 FIFA World Cup.
- Migrants (both local and foreign) do not tend to participate in community leadership and policing structures but where they do and have a sustained engagement with the police,

their participation appears to play a positive role in promoting the safety and rights of migrants living in the municipality.

- There appears to be good collaboration and cooperation among structures and actors working to promote safety in the municipality. However, the municipality and the provincial government are perceived to be less committed and less supportive of safety and security-related initiatives.
- The NMBM hopes that the introduction of a Metro police (which will provide an improved ability to enforce bylaws) will improve the municipality's role in promoting safety.

Migrants' livelihoods and access to services

- Most migrants in the NMBM survive on part-time unskilled labour and petty trade. Foreign migrants are reportedly more business-minded and more entrepreneurial than their South African counterparts who are said to be more job-oriented.
- Migrants face the same challenges as 'locals' with regard to accessing services and opportunities in poor and underserved areas where they live.
- Migration and population mobility are perceived to impact negatively on service delivery. It increases service delivery backlogs and stretches municipality resources.
- Respondents expressed concerns over the public participation in planning for service delivery and economic development. For some, participation looks good on paper but not real in practice because views from communities are rarely taken into consideration.
- Municipal officials describe the relationship between the municipality and other spheres of government (with regard to planning and planning service delivery and socio-economic projects) as frustrating. The issue of mandates is of grave concern. Communities interact directly with the municipality and not with the province. All service delivery protests are aimed at the municipality as the immediate local government expected to respond to community needs.

Section I: Background Information

Mossel Bay is one of the local (Category B) municipalities in the Eden District Municipality⁵² in the Western Cape Province. It became a municipality in 1852 but took the current form in 2000 when it was merged with other smaller authorities of Friemersheim, Great Brak River and Herbertsdale. The municipal area includes the towns and settlements of Mossel Bay, Boggoms Bay, Brandwag, Buisplaas, D'Almeida, Dana Bay, Glentana, Fraaiuitsig, Friemersheim, Great Brak River, Hartenbos, Herbertsdale, Hersham, KwaNongqaba, Little Brak River, Outeniqua Beach, Reebok, Ruiterbos, Southern Cross, Tergniet and Vleesbaai.

In 2007, the total population of Mossel Bay was estimated at 117 840. It grew sharply between 2001 and 2007 with an average annual growth rate of 8.7%. The main contributing factor is reportedly rural-urban migration. Blacks (49 008), Coloureds (44 708) and Whites (22 662) constitute the main racial groups, respectively.⁵³

Mossel Bay is one of the fastest growing municipalities in South Africa recording an annual economic growth rate of 6.9% between 2001 and 2007. The Eden District Municipality's rate was 4.4% for the same period. The main economic activities are agriculture (aloes, cattle, citrus, dairy, ostriches, sheep, timber, vegetables and wine), fishing, light industry, petrochemicals and tourism. Mossel Bay is further ranked among the best performing municipalities in terms of service delivery. According to a national service delivery index published in October 2009, Mossel Bay "is the top local municipality in the Western Cape and sixth country wide out of 231 local municipalities in terms of basic service delivery."⁵⁴ It is also said to be a safe place with low crime rates as well as an attractive holiday and retirement destination. The municipality however faces major problems of poverty and unemployment, particularly among the Black and Coloured groups. Indeed 14.4% of the total population received some form of social grant in 2007 (Blacks and Coloureds were the leading

⁵² Other local municipalities in Eden District include: Kannaland, Langeberg, George, Oudtshoorn, Plettenberg Bay and Knysna.

⁵³ See Mossel Bay Municipality. Integrated Development Plan 2010/11 (Draft). Available at <http://www.mosselbaymun.co.za>

⁵⁴ http://www.mosselbaymun.co.za/about_us

recipients at 46% and 40% respectively). In 2007, the unemployment rate was estimated at 20.9%, decreasing from 24.6% in 2001⁵⁵.

Mossel Bay is led by a DA dominated Council and uses an executive mayoral system consisting of an Executive Mayor, Executive Deputy Mayor and Chairpersons heading four standing committees. The ANC is the main opposition party in the municipality.

Section II: Information, Planning and Policy

COLLECTION AND USE OF POPULATION DATA

Collection of population data

Unlike Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay, Mossel Bay is yet to conduct a comprehensive demographic study of its own. Municipal officials interviewed indicated that the municipality gets population data from Stats SA and other sources including rate payers' accounts, applications for services (e.g. water and electricity by developers), ward profiles compiled by CDWs and internet. The Director of Community Services states:

We relied up to two years ago on 2001 census which was obviously outdated and then in 2007 another mini census was undertaken; we got new data from there. The number of population is growing on a daily basis. As a municipality we haven't gone out to get a comprehensive database here. You know it costs money. We normally depend on other sources like national government to give us money to do that. They are not very keen to that because they say the Department of Statistics goes out on surveys which they call census and they are not very prone on assisting us in that.

The Director of Local Economic Development (LED) confirms: "We take most of the stats from Stats SA and then we also surf around on internet for other stats [...] we also have ward profiles by CDWs."

⁵⁵ See Mossel Bay Municipality. Integrated Development Plan 2010/11 (Draft). Available at <http://www.mosselbaymun.co.za>

Asked whether there is a unit in charge of collecting and consolidating population information for all departments to use, officials mentioned different departments and units including Housing, Town Planning, the IDP office and Corporate Services. "Corporate services gives is to us. They have the socio-economic development department" stated the ED of Community Services. "The Planning department is in charge of that," said the Executive Mayor. The Town Planning department however denied the fact as the Executive Director indicates:

[...] That is a lie. We use the IDP that gets information from Stats SA. We have done a couple of surveys in certain areas where we took aerial photographs to see how the area was growing. But not a comprehensive demographic study. We do not have somebody who consolidates and makes sense of population data for all to use. That does not happen. We haven't done that but that is a good question and now I can see this is probably why your study is being done.

This could be an indication of poor or absent interdepartmental coordination and planning.

Stats SA data in the IDP

The 2010/2011 IDP document indicates that the population of Mossel Bay grew sharply between 2001 and 2007 from 71 499 in 2001 to 117 840 in 2007. An annual average growth rate of 8.7%. The largest contribution to the growth stems from the Black racial group growing from 16 301 in 2001 to 49 008 in 2007 (average annual growth rate of 20.1%) followed the coloured racial group increasing from 34 570 in 2001 to 44 708 in 2007 (average annual growth rate of 4.38). The white population group has the lowest growth rate at 1.8% over this period, increasing from 20 366 in 2001 to 22 662 in 2007. Growing from a small base, the Indian/Asian group grew at an average of 33.2% between 2001 and 2007 increasing from 262 to 1462.⁵⁶ Officials indicate that this rapid population growth is due to rural-urban domestic migration (see the discussion under migration section for details).

Like in other municipalities visited (Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay), officials in Mossel Bay do not believe that the Stats SA data, while not expected to be 100% accurate, provides reliable estimates of the municipality population. Indeed some officials indicate that the data presents worrying inaccuracies and confusing contradictions, which at times leads them to rather consider alternative if unofficial sources. The LED Director for instance states:

⁵⁶ For details, see the Mossel Bay Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2010/2011 (Draft)

We rely on Stats SA although their data is not a true reflection of what is happening on the ground. We remember in one year, Stats SA gave us figures, in the following year they did updates; they zoomed into one area and they gave double the number of the population of that area in one year. We have been asking how that can be possible. Where did people come from? But with other sources you could see, ok there is an increase of 2% but not double in one year. Stats SA however keeps saying their stuff is true. There is a problem with these population figures because another organisation [he could not remember the name] gave us figures and when we compared the two sets, it wasn't really a true reflection of the situation in Mossel Bay. So we were not sure what source to trust. What we do, we take Stats SA information and the information from that organisation and then we compare and then we see who has the closest reflection of what we think is happening.

The Director for Planning shares the same opinion: "Census figures are not really correct. We think it should be a certain percentage higher than that because of immigration into our town from somewhere else."

Stats SA data analysis

Officials indicated that the municipality relies on analyses done by Stats SA mainly because it does not have the capacity to perform further analyses that could respond to local/municipal needs. Asked whether the municipality has the capacity (in terms personnel e.g. statisticians, demographers) to analyse national census data to respond to local information needs, the Executive Director for Town Planning responded: "I have to be honest with you, I do not think we have the capacity in the municipality; definitely not."

Population data updates and projections

While there is no specific unit or person dedicated to collecting and consolidating population data, the LED director indicated that the IDP office that updates the IDP report every year also updates population stats and information "...and other departments tap from there for the latest information and other stats needed," he stated. To update population figures, they use the latest census data and add the national annual growth of 2%. The Strategy Support Executive in the City Manager's office (who indicated that he is the one who does the updates) explains:

[...] we work on official numbers. The last census was in 2001 which means it was actually conducted a year or two before that. The population was estimated at 71 494. The 2007 Community Survey by Stats SA estimates our population at 117 830. It is very difficult to

know what your population growth is because you are talking about national averages. We think our population now is in order of 124 000, 125 000 but of course that is an estimate. You add a percentage of growth of the population and you have to work on that. The national population growth is something around 2%. We take that percentage and just add on to update our population figures. But this is an unofficial estimate, a guess estimate. When asked about our official population figures we give then ones from the 2007 community survey.⁵⁷

While the Town Planning department indicated that the Spatial Development Framework provides population projections for the next 5 years, all other officials interviewed stated that the municipality does not do projections of population growth or change in terms of numbers and demographics.

Community profiles by CDWs

Some officials mentioned that the community profiles produced by CDWs at ward level were one of the sources of population information not only for the ward but also for the municipality as a whole. Indeed, CDWs confirmed that they produce regular ward community profiles but they are not convinced that the municipality uses these profiles in any way. One of them comments:

We do door to door visits and produce ward profiles that contain almost every information on households and even for those people who are not registered with the municipality. We are not sure those profiles are used by the municipality, only the mentor⁵⁸ asks for them from time to time.

The profiles are not used probably because not all wards have CDWs to produce them. According to CDWs interviewed, there are only 5 CDWs in the municipality. There was an agreement between the province and the municipality to appoint 50% of CDWs each. The municipality has not appointed its 50% yet. It is not clear whether the reported bad blood between ward councillors and CDWs could be another reason why their profiles are not considered.

Information on migration and population mobility

⁵⁷ Note that they use the national annual average growth rate of 2% instead of the municipality growth rate estimated at 8.6%.

⁵⁸ CDWs have a mentor or coordinator in the municipality.

While migration and population mobility appear to be a major preoccupation (see discussion below), municipal officials indicated that no attempt has been made to establish the exact numbers, profiles and origins of migrants (domestic and foreign) living in the municipality. None of the officials seemed to be aware or at least mentioned the migration information provided by 2007 Stats SA's Community Survey: 13% of the population moved into the municipality in the last five years.⁵⁹

Domestic migration

Although they do not provide figures or statistics to back their views, municipality officials interviewed attribute the rapid population growth to domestic migration mainly from the rural Eastern Cape Province. The main pull factors have been the establishment of PetroSA and a massive property boom in the 90s. The Strategy Support Executive in the City Manager's office states:

The population of Mossel Bay has grown dramatically over the last number of years. At the beginning of approximately 1990-91 when PetroSA was established there was a massive influx of both temporary and permanent workers. PetroSA is the biggest employer in Mossel Bay. At some stage there were 12 000 people working on the site many of whom were construction workers many of whom did not leave after the construction phase. At the same time, in late 90s early 2000, Mossel Bay had a massive property boom, far bigger than any of our neighbouring towns.

Municipal officials also indicated that, although in the last 2 years things started slowing down because of the global economic downturn, people still come to Mossel Bay hoping to get jobs in PetroSA, which is not always the case as the Chairperson of Corporate Services indicates:

People come in here in hundreds mainly from Eastern Cape. We can't accommodate them. PetroSA gives impression of job opportunities and attracts unskilled people who end up without jobs and become a problem form the municipality which now has to provide for them. Since PetroSA came to Mossel Bay we started seeing informal settlements and squatter camps.

⁵⁹ See Landau, L. and Wa Kabwe Segatti, A. with Misago, J.P and Gindrey, G. (2010). Migration Patterns and Their Impact on Municipalities' Development in South Africa. Draft Initial Report for the South African Local Government Association, 31 March 2010

Mobility within the municipality

Unlike in Nelson Mandela Bay where service provision, reportedly, caused a lot of within-the-municipality mobility, officials in Mossel Bay indicated that mobility within the municipality was not a concern. They however indicated that better service delivery attracts poor migrants from other provinces. "Poor migrants from Eastern Cape move into areas where there are development projects; they represent a social burden", said the LED Director. The Director of Town Planning concurs:

There is no significant population mobility within the municipality. But services delivery attracts people from elsewhere. When we start a new housing project we will have a lot people coming from rural Eastern Cape, Transkei moving into that specific area because we started building houses there. It is sugar attracting the bees and that's a big problem we have in Mossel Bay when we start a new project. Informal settlements are growing because of immigration. That I can tell you.

International migration

According to officials, Mossel Bay attracts a considerable (but not necessarily huge) number of foreign migrants. Not only poor migrants from other African countries looking for jobs and small business opportunities but also wealthy migrants from overseas who choose the municipality as their holiday and retirement destination. The Executive Director of Corporate Services states:

Mossel Bay is growing fast annually because of migration. Beautiful weather and beautiful place; well run municipality with good financial skills. This is a good retirement area. More and more international migrants are coming from England, Germany to retire. But we also have Zimbabweans, Nigerians and Somalis.

Migration/mobility related challenges (real or perceived)

Domestic migration

Generally, all officials interviewed perceive domestic migrants to be a socio-economic burden with a negative impact on their service delivery efforts. 'Migration is a major problem. We can't cope with the influx; it is a strain on our services, roads, infrastructure", says the ED of Corporate Services. His political head (Chairperson of Corporate Services) shares the same view. She states: "We can't provide adequate services. The numbers are increasing every day." In the same vein, The Strategy

Support Executive indicates that the migrants come into the municipality, start new informal settlements and expect services the municipality did not plan for. In his own words:

We have a high unemployment rate here and the influx of people has had an impact on housing in this area. People come here and set up informal settlements and then expect the municipality to provide services such as electricity, water, sanitation, etc. So obviously that has an impact on how we plan because you do not know when people will come. From that point of view, population mobility is a big problem for us.

International migration

In addition to benefiting from affluent international migrants who come to retire in the city, the municipality does not consider international migrants to be a major problem mainly because they do not cost the municipality much in terms of free services. ED community services states:

I do not think Mossel Bay has a problem with international migrants at this stage. We do not have too many of them in Mossel Bay. They are business people, they are people who come here to work and make a living for themselves. In 1990s, we had a lot of hawkers on our streets. So we went out on a process and we removed all the hawkers without fighting them. Some of them were international migrants. As of today I can't say Mossel Bay has a major problem with international migrants.

Some officials however perceive less affluent foreign migrants to be causing social tensions because of i) competition with locals for business and job opportunities, ii) their involvement in illegal activities such drug dealing, iii) their unwillingness to share skills with their local employees and neighbours, and iv) the fact that they bring the standard of the city down. Officials explain in statements below:

Foreigners are running businesses and it is a threat to us because on one street there are more foreign business people than local people. Local people put up their products just to realise they are under pressure with pricing of products by foreigners. Then they ask the municipality to intervene. So while on one hand we say yes we are in a free market system, on other hand we have to protect our people [...] Somalis and Japanese are flooding the business sector. Their positive impact is that they bring skills but the problem is that they are not sharing those skills with local people instead they bring other migrants in. They are able to identify business gaps and opportunities. They employ locals but do not share their business skills with them and now local people are scared because they can't do business.

We are encouraging the creation of SMMEs by local people to turn around that fear into opportunity (Director of Local Economic Development).

[...] and with international migrants, the standard of our town is decreasing; they invade empty buildings of people who are moving, hanging washing on windows. But you can't just chase them away. Owners are not aware, it is an invasion. Nigerians also involved in drug dealing (Chairperson of Corporate Services).

Municipal officials also expressed concern over the increasing number of holiday houses on which the municipality loses revenues because its provided services are not used throughout the year, as The Executive Director of Corporate Services indicates: "People also come here to build holiday houses but it is a burden. The municipality provides services that are not used throughout the year; just for a few months when owners come on holidays." The current water shortages in the municipality make the development of holiday houses even a greater concern.

In sum, there is a general feeling among municipal officials that migration or the influx of people is putting a strain on already limited resources (water, land and other basic services) regardless of the economic bracket of those moving in.

Solutions to address the challenges: policies, practices and plans

According to officials interviewed, the municipality 'does not know' how to deal with the situation. It is not able to plan for migration and is always reactive in terms of providing services to new arrivals. The Head of Fire and Rescue Services states:

We become reactive and not proactive. Yes, that is what it becomes because you do not plan, you can't plan for people who are coming into your area. You have to react. Currently we are reacting to what we are seeing happening out there.

Officials also believe that migration or population mobility, while affecting municipalities directly, is a national issue and therefore the national government should take the lead in proposing solutions and strategies to deal with it. The following statement by the Director of Community Safety makes that suggestion:

No strategy can work bottom up. It must go from top-down. So if there is a migration strategy at national level... the municipality's role should be to follow the guidelines. Because if you look at two municipalities developing their guidelines, there is gonna be a clash somewhere. However municipalities should have input into what goes into the

national policy [...] We can't have a migration policy coming from a single municipality. It is gonna have to go to national level which says ok we adopt this for others because the dynamics of this municipality are totally different from other municipalities.

Squatter camp control

One of the concrete measures the municipality has adopted and implements is to discourage people from coming by regularly removing newly erected informal dwellings. The municipality used a private security company (Red Ants) until last year and now uses its own law enforcement unit under the department of community safety. The Director of Town Planning explains:

We did an investigation last year and another one a couple of months ago because we adopted a policy of how we are going to deal with illegal occupation of municipal land. We have a law enforcement unit in Community Safety Department. They remove new squatter camps.

The Executive Director for Corporate Services further confirms: "We have a company working for us to check the influx of people. We used Red Ants till the end of last year. Now we use our own department." The Strategy Support Executive concedes that there is nothing else the municipality can do:

What we are trying to do is to discourage people from coming. As far as squatting is concerned, we have people who remove those structures. Other than that there is nothing else you can do because you do not have funds, you do not have land available. You can only try to discourage people as much as possible.

The Politics of Shacks

The issue of shacks has political implications. Firstly, politics makes it difficult to remove them, even when all political parties agree that allowing more shacks threatens housing projects. According to the Head of Public Safety, before Council appointed the Red Ants as neutral actors to demolish shacks, "...people were actually squatting under the noses of the councillors. It started to become a political issue. People don't want to report it because it might be a vote for him or her."

Further, ANC councillors interviewed feel that the DA-led Municipality is not committed to addressing the issue of shacks as one of them states "... they [Council and the DA-led Municipality] are not worried about our people... it's just a typical little white one-off town."

Managing migration versus influx control

Some officials seemed to understand that managing migration and mobility is synonymous to influx control and now that influx control laws are no longer in place, there is no way migration can be managed. For instance, the Director for Community Safety states when asked if there is a way migration can be effectively managed:

There is no way. You can't do influx control because the national policy does not restrict people from moving. We follow the constitution, freedom of movement. So there are no laws in place to prevent somebody from coming here and stay around here with friends and family and in the end build a shack. According to the country's constitution, we are not in those days anymore, apartheid years when government said you are Black, you are Coloured you stay here. We are past those years, it is very difficult. Once you have them, you must address the problems that go with them. A lot of social problems.

The ED for Corporate Services states in a similar vein: "We can't have policy for influx control. People are allowed to move or migrate wherever they want. The more houses you build, the more influx."

Holiday versus retirement housing

Regarding the concern about increasing holiday houses on which the municipality loses revenues because it's provided services are not used throughout the year, the municipality has proposed a plan to make Mossel Bay a retirement rather than a holiday town. The plan entails providing incentives to developers of retirement villages. The ED of Town Planning explains the plan:

We are making efforts to make Mossel Bay a retirement and not a holiday town. 30% of property is owned by people who do not stay in Mossel Bay. And will be locked up the majority of the year and we lose revenues. We have a plan to make Mossel Bay a retirement town because we have a view that it is good money. It is rich people; they pay for their services; they are stable. We are trying to have a stable population and a stable economy. Our strategy is to bring retirement people and decrease the percentage of those who come just for a couple of weeks a year. The strategy is the promotion of retirement villages to bring people in Mossel Bay permanently instead of making a holiday town. In practical terms we make it easier for them. If a developer wants to develop a retirement village; we allow him to increase the number of units per ha. For instance holiday villages only have 25

units/ha but for retirement villages we allow them to build 30 to 40 units/ha. They can build more units in that place and therefore make more money and more keen to come. This is the way we are hoping to push the number of people living in Mossel Bay to make it a residential and not a holiday town. In 2 to 3 years we will be able to know whether the strategy has worked or not.

Use of population information for planning

While some information on population mobility appears to have been used for instance in adopting a policy to prevent the establishment of new informal settlements and planning to make Mossel Bay a retirement rather than a holiday city, officials interviewed indicated that population information is not necessarily useful with regard to planning and programming mainly because it cannot be used to generate or request appropriate financial support. The availability of funds or the budget is the main driver as statements below indicate:

For my directorate, I do not ask for that information on an annual basis. Population figures are not the main driver for planning. The main driver is finances; the availability of funds is the main issue. For example, it does not matter to keep a database on a monthly basis or daily basis of the housing waiting list. Now it is 12 000, next year it will be 13 000, 14 000; so what? I can take note of that but to me and the Council it is useless to know I have a waiting list of 14 000 when I can only use the money that I receive. Remember housing is a provincial competence. If I receive money to build only 400 units a year but I have a waiting list of 12 thousand this year; 13 next year; 14 the year after. So what? [...] It is useless information because I do not receive enough money to build more units. The government says in 2014 everyone will have a house, water and sanitation. It is not true. It is not going to happen; we know; we have the figures. At the current rate of 400 units per year it would take 40 years to finish the waiting list of 12 000. Population figures are not the driver. The availability of money, the budget is the driver (Director of Town Planning).

Yes we use the figures for planning but when it comes to implementation, the whole thing is controlled by the budget. We would have wanted to increase the operational budget by the margin of predicted expansions and population growth (Head of Public Safety).

Officials further indicated that their efforts to use information on population to request more funds have not been successful as the Director of Town Planning states:

We show we have the highest population in the district, bigger than George, bigger than Bisho; but they are given more money than us. We use that information. Everyone is aware that Mossel Bay is the largest town in Eden District Municipality. Allocation for housing and MIG money is not related to population figures.

The Director of Financial Services also indicated that, while it increases every year, the equitable share from the national treasury does not use up-to-date figures. In his words: "Equitable share is not using accurate figures. It changes through the years but government bases its decisions on old population data." The Director of Community Services agrees:

For instance the equitable share, the money that the government gives for the poor. They use the census data irrespective of what we say. In 2001 for instance, the census showed that Mossel Bay had a population of 117 000; 2002, 2003, etc. they used the same figure until 2007. We have spoken out as far as equitable share is concerned because for equitable share they do not go and look for indigent people; they use census data [...] it [the equitable share] is increased on annual basis but not according to the number of people. They increase it let's say by 6% or whatever Trevor Manuel decided for everyone [...]

The Director of Financial Services further indicated that budgeting in the municipality is determined by the IDP in terms of needs and priorities and not in terms of population figures. "No, we do our budget according to needs and not to figures," he said when asked whether population information was used in the budgeting process.

Population information demands and use by non-municipality officials

We asked officials whether the municipality ever gets demands from private entities for population information. They reported that they get questions on some issues but are not able to answer them because they do not have the information. The Director for Town Planning states: "We get questions on some of the issues but to answer you there is no concerted effort by the municipality to have that kind of database developed and updated on a regular basis." An official from the Director of Spatial Planning agrees:

In terms of business activities we cannot tell there are so many butcheries, so many hair saloons so that the new business can come to town and know what share of the market he/she can get out of the business he/she wants. I'm sure in no local municipality there is an arm that can deal with this kind of information.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS (RE: SUPPORT IN MANAGING POPULATION DYNAMICS AND MOBILITY)

Support from and cooperation with other spheres of government

Officials indicated that the municipality needs support from other spheres of government to better understand and manage population dynamics and mobility. "I do not think without the intervention of provincial and national governments, the local government alone can win this war," said the ED of Community Services. That support however is not always available, not only in terms of population issues but also with regard to service delivery planning and implementation. Officials particularly believe that the Eden District Municipality should play a more active role in helping local municipalities with regard to population issues. It should be the one to set up a population planning unit able to analyse and complement Stats SA data for local municipalities to use. "The District Council should set up this unit, a population unit in charge of stats database, for the region," says the Director of Local Economic Development. Officials indicated the District does not do so probably because of lack of capacity or leadership as statements below indicate:

District municipalities are trying to create something they call 'shared services'. They see themselves as organisations that should create something which all municipalities in the district should benefit from but unfortunately it is happening very slowly at this stage (ED of Community Services).

I think they lack in capacity. Whether they still have a role to play I am not sure but I think they lack in capacity. Either they lack in finances or in leadership. In terms of planning we meet as planners, we talk to each other and we know what is happening in local authorities but we do it on our own (Director of Town Planning).

Officials reported a good working relationship with the provincial government although sometimes it takes too long to get decisions on applications and demands they make.

Planning with other municipalities

Asked whether there are forums in which neighbouring municipalities discuss and plan for mobility together, officials indicated that there were no formalised mechanisms. There are different

directors' forums but there is no coordination at the political level. Some feel that the district municipality should play a coordinating role in this regard. The Director of Town Planning states:

My view is that there should be an oversight role played by Eden District Municipality but I think they are lacking in that respect. The District Municipality should be able to identify where we are overlapping and should coordinate such issues but I think they are lacking from the planning perspective.

It appears however that this lack of coordinated planning does not have an impact on the municipality because it only shares boundaries with other municipalities in rural areas. The Director of Town Planning explains:

We have a very long boundary with other local authorities; but where we have urban areas we do not overlap with other municipalities. We overlap with other local authorities in rural areas, so if you make a mistake, it is not a big mistake.

Section III: Migration, Safety and Social Cohesion

BACKGROUND: SAFETY, SECURITY IN MOSSEL BAY

Respondents from both SAPS and the Municipality described Mossel Bay as a particularly safe place and indicated that this is one of the factors attracting people to live in Mossel Bay. Indeed SAPS crime statistics (2003/2004-2008/2009) show a steady decrease in crimes such as murder and attempted murder, sexual crimes, assaults, robberies, burglaries, and crimen injuria. The statistics however show that the number of drug related crimes has increased from 124 to 137 from 2007/2008 to 2008/2009.⁶⁰

Respondents indicated different locations experience specific kinds of crime. In KwaNonqaba, SAPS identified the sale of drugs, housebreaking, and assault as the main crimes they experience. In Da Gamaskop, an SAPS Captain reported that the crimes are mostly domestic-oriented, like domestic violence and assaults. The Captain said that they do not experience serious violent crimes, and that Hartenbos area, which is predominantly white with a few coloureds, has more "economic crimes"

⁶⁰ For details see SAPS statistics for Mossel Bay at http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2009/provinces/w_cape/pdf/mosselbay.pdf

like housebreakings. Mossel Bay also experienced xenophobic violence in 2008 when foreign migrants living in some locations of the municipality were attacked, displaced and their businesses looted and vandalised.

With regard to sources of insecurity, SAPS respondents indicated that poverty and unemployment were two major factors promoting crime. In their view, these lead to alcohol and drugs abuse which also lead to crime. Living conditions in informal settlements constitute another source of insecurity in Mossel Bay according to respondents. Informal settlements pose security challenges in terms of fire, health hazards, and crime. For some places, informal dwellings are established far from roads and are often inaccessible (by fire-fighters and crime response units) due to congestion and the nature of the terrain. Fires are often caused by illegal electricity connections. Where crime and policing are concerned, SAPS officials emphasised that the absence of proper roads, lighting, street names and house numbers in informal settlements make policing both difficult and dangerous. Residents of informal settlements are more vulnerable to rape, assault and robbery, more so in areas where people need to walk (at night) 50 to 100m to the nearest toilet. The ED of Community Services spoke of shacks being built in areas where toilets could not be put up because of the topography, compelling the municipality to place toilets a little further from where residences are. Migration was also identified as one of the sources of crime as migrants are often associated with drug dealing and the selling of stolen goods (see details in the following section).

MIGRATION, SECURITY AND SOCIAL COHESION/TENSIONS

Migration and crime

While SAPS interviewees were diplomatic and gave measured responses with regards to the relationship between migration and crime, most other respondents associated migrants with crime, particularly the selling of drugs. A reservist at Da Gamaskop Police Station for instance reported that Nigerians were selling drugs: tik, mandrax, and dagga. Her view was echoed by some municipal officials who spoke in what seemed to be stereotypes, not offering any kind of evidence to substantiate their claims. The Chairperson of Technical Services stated:

I think its people from outside the country. They come, it's a known fact, they come and they buy a house for R700 and those people go and stay under plastic bags again and they sold their house and it's a drug retailer. Unfortunately that's a fact.

When asked what the proportion of the people arrested for drugs were foreigners, a Da Gamaskop SAPS Captain responded that it was important to differentiate between those arrested for dealing

versus for using drugs. For those caught using drugs, he said it was mostly locals. For those caught selling drugs, they said it was fifty-fifty. KwaNonqaba SAPS, through the station's Communications Officer, also confirmed that they sometimes arrest foreigners but that they arrest significantly fewer foreigners than South Africans for drugs – as few as one a month – and that drugs were the one crime they arrested foreigners for in KwaNonqaba. The officer indicated that they arrest South Africans daily for drugs but that when crime is committed by one foreigner, it affects the perception of foreigners in general. The Communications Officer further indicated that they did not have cases of newcomers being targeted for crime. It is important to note here that those who actually do policing and have access to facts and statistics and (i.e. SAPS) are less inclined to associate foreign migrants with crime than those who draw their conclusions on perceptions (i.e. municipal officials).

Migration and Social Tensions

SAPS and municipal officials did not identify migration (particularly foreign migrants) as a threat to social cohesion because i) there is only a few foreigners in Mossel Bay and ii) foreigners are seen as industrious. However, as the following sub-section shows, competition for job and business opportunities between local residents and foreign migrants seems to have led to resentment that resulted in xenophobic violence in 2008. Similarly, respondents indicated that domestic migration (particularly migrant workers) sometimes engenders social tensions with locals unhappy about the resulting competition for jobs. In a focus group interview, members of the D'Almeida Civic Association reported that there was some tension in 2009, before PetroSA's "shutdown," during which it employs a lot of contract workers to service the plant. They explained that residents of Mossel Bay were "fed up" with people being brought in from the Eastern Cape and other surrounding areas to work at PetroSA.

SAPS and municipal officials interviewed, including ANC councillors, indicated that migration-related tensions are minor and less frequent than tensions revolving around political issues. According to Communications Officer at the KwaNonqaba SAPS Station, social tension in their area arises from local leadership politics with respondents saying that some "service delivery" protests are tied up with local leadership contestations. Respondents indicated that discontent arising from these tensions is usually directed to major institutions such as the municipality and PetroSA.

Xenophobic Violence

Experience of May 2008 Attacks

Like many other municipalities across the country, Mossel Bay experienced xenophobic violence in 2008. Many respondents indicated that violence in Mossel Bay was less severe than it was elsewhere in larger surrounding cities such as George and Cape Town. There are some discrepancies between respondents about the extent and nature of attacks in Mossel Bay. According to the KwaNonqaba SAPS Communications Officer, the violence was not very bad and that no one was killed. However, she said that all police officers were called to work, with officers' leave being cancelled, and that reinforcements were sent to KwaNonqaba from George. This may imply that the violence was worse than she remembered it to have been. Representatives of the D'Almeida Civic Association claim that there were incidents of violence, and that a man was shot and burnt to death in KwaNonqaba. The ED of Community Services reported that about 120 people were temporarily displaced and housed at a municipality-provided shelter (a community hall).

Understanding the Violence

State officials understand xenophobia as an event rather than an ongoing process. SAPS and municipal respondents also do not believe that what occurred in Mossel Bay was "really xenophobia." Rather, they see it as criminal activity committed by opportunists who wished to loot shops. Similarly, they feel that those in Mossel Bay who expressed discontent with the presence of foreigners did so because they were simply "caught up" in the national events, "copying what they saw on TV." A SAPS Captain at Da Gamaskop Police Station states:

[...] in our area it was actually, it was more people that saw opportunity to do housebreakings and especially at the businesses of foreigners and do it under cover of xenophobia; so we actually, although it was called xenophobia, it wasn't actually xenophobia in our area. We believe it was more criminal activities and not xenophobia as such. So we didn't have actually, although we had cases where shops were broken into and stuff was stolen, we had minimum cases of violence against foreigners and so on. It's actually a political thing in that it came from bigger cities.

According to SAPS respondents, the places most affected by xenophobic violence were low-income, high density, residential areas, which is in keeping with the distribution of attacks elsewhere in South Africa. In Mossel Bay those areas were KwaNonqaba and Joe Slovo.

Respondents cited three main issues among the causes of xenophobic violence in Mossel Bay: i) business competition with cheap prices by foreign traders causing citizens' shops to close down, ii) discontent among local residents over the government's failure to deliver services, and iii) mob

mentality or “copy-cat syndrome” with local residents emulating what was happening elsewhere across the country.

Responses to Attacks

The attacks were dealt with as a criminal matter. According to SAPS Communication Officers at Da Gamaskop and KwaNonqaba stations, the police identified and arrested the people who broke into the shops, and they were prosecuted. They were charged with housebreaking, malicious damage to property, and assault, where there were such incidents. It should be noted that a person cannot be charged with “xenophobia” per se, as it is not a legislated criminal offence. The Communication Officer at Da Gamaskop station added that the CPF played a part in addressing violence by visiting affected communities (D’Almeida, Joe Slovo and KwaNonqaba) and having meetings with them.

With regard to humanitarian response, the Fire Department and SAPS conducted the initial emergency response, moving migrants to a shelter provided by the municipality. Provincial Government and the municipality, with help from a local Casino (funding) and local residents (food donations), provided material assistance for the displaced. All role players reported satisfaction with the role they played in dealing with the situation.

Regarding long-term solutions and preventative measures, officials indicated that a xenophobia task team was formed in 2008 and could be reactivated any time when there is need. Mossel Bay also has a Conflict Resolution Forum on which a municipal councillor sits. However, there do not seem to be any long term strategies to prevent or respond to xenophobic violence should it recur. This is probably because xenophobic violence is not seen as a major issue in Mossel Bay. The ED of Community Services states:

We don’t have problems like that that you need a body in place all the time like an SAPS who expect crime to happen... we don’t expect – even though it’s likely that it might happen, we don’t expect it to happen.

Some respondents however admitted that reassembling the task team might not be as easy as many officials tend to think. The Head of Public Safety for instance admitted that the “representatives” of migrant groups, along with other participants of the task team may no longer be in Mossel Bay.

Likelihood of recurrence

Most officials interviewed believe that violence against foreign nationals could recur. Asked what the likelihood was that foreign migrants could get attacked again, given that they have returned to the

very same places where xenophobic violence happened, the Head of Public Safety said: “100%, it’s just a matter of time.” The reason he gave was that i) the perception of foreigners as drug smugglers was still there and ii) foreign shop owners still had lower prices. In his opinion, even as tensions are below the surface, it only takes one event to ignite conflict. Ward councillors from the ANC, including the Chief Whip, also said that violence could recur. In fact, their provincial leadership had encouraged them to engage with migrants as a preventative measure.

POLICING MIGRATION

Like elsewhere in the country, policing migration in Mossel Bay often amounts to harassment of foreign migrants living in the municipality with constant and ‘embarrassing’ ID checks and raids to foreign owned businesses and residences. The Communication Officer reported that the KwaNonqaba SAPS occasionally do documentation checks on foreign migrants but acknowledged that the practice is not good.⁶¹ The officer reported that police officers are careful about ID checks and conduct searches professionally. The view that migrants are or ought to be treated professionally is however not shared by foreign migrants. Those interviewed spoke of harassment by SAPS officials rather than professionalism. A foreign migrant, a small business owner, in KwaNonqaba complained that he was sometimes stopped more than once in the same week and asked to show his papers. He explained that he is stopped by the very same officers to whom he would have shown his permit previously, and he was convinced the police remembered him and knew that his permit could not have expired within two days.

The Head of Public Safety noted that when complainants about drugs “and stuff” come forward, they respond by conducting raids. On the one hand, this may be beneficial if it decreases the public’s perception that the police are not doing anything, and that communities ought to take the law into their own hands. Yet, on the other hand, when the police are seen to be regularly raiding foreign-owned businesses, this may be taken as proof of the suspicion that foreigners are indeed criminals. A Burkina Faso national running a licensed shop in D’Almeida reported that his shop had been ransacked by the police and SARS the day before the interview. While he had receipts for his tax payments, he complained that the police took some of his stock claiming they were “fong kong” (fake) products. He further complained that the search made him out to look like a criminal. He said that people stopped to watch as this small container-shop was descended upon by more than 10 uniformed, armed officers.

⁶¹ In general, judging by the way she spoke, the respondent appeared sympathetic towards foreigners.

Community policing and migrants' participation

While CPFs have been operating in Mossel Bay for a few years now, they are still evolving, albeit at a slower rate than those in Gauteng (Tshwane and Merafong). According to some SAPS and municipal respondents, CPFs were a resource able to alert the police of impending violence, such as attacks against new arrivals. Describing the centrality of community policing and informants, a KwaNonqaba SAPS Sergeant said, "we wouldn't be able to combat crime without information... without them [the community] we are really nothing..."

Unfortunately, however low-income new arrivals (both domestic and foreign migrants) do not actively participate in community leadership structures and local meetings and events. This is the case for CPFs, IDP and ward meetings. According to Da Gamaskop SAPS, it is mostly people who have been living in Mossel Bay for a relatively long time who participate in the CPF. The Da Gamaskop Captain believed that foreigners' participation is "mostly through SANCO." He said that the leaders then convey messages "to their communities." If this is true, then it means that foreign migrants do not have direct engagement. It could also indicate that migrant communities are not seen as part of the group that structures exist to cater for. When asked why foreigners do not participate in community structures, the SAPS official said that perhaps they do not feel like they are part of the community. It is possible that the same is true of new arrivals more generally.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

SAPS and spheres of government

SAPS officials reported a generally good working relationship with the municipality's Department of Public Safety, which enforces local bylaws. SAPS noted that while they have problems over jurisdiction sometimes, this was to be expected, and such issues were helped by their "weekly grate" – a meeting where they discuss their operational plans for the week. They also reported good relations with ward committees, especially councillors, who have a mandate to work with police. Each CPF is assigned a councillor who is required to attend the forum's meetings. This was echoed by municipal officials working on security. Private security companies said that they also work well with SAPS, even partnering in some initiatives.

Further, SAPS respondents said they work well with DHA. They call DHA when they arrest foreigners, and DHA informs SAPS when they release the foreigners. Da Gamaskop SAPS Communications

Officer however complained about the release of foreigners whom SAPS has handed over to Home Affairs. They reported getting frustrated when foreigners arrested for committing crime are not deported by the DHA. It is not clear whether or not the issue is a limited understanding of the conditions under which deportation takes place.

Municipality versus provincial government

Municipal officials indicated that they sometimes experience some problems with follow-through on the part of provincial government. For instance, on the issue of illegal selling, renting and use of RDP as shops, officials indicated that they had reported the matter to provincial government, which is mandated to address such issues, but they had not seen any change. Similarly, the Department of Social Development was unable to sufficiently provide the “day to day caretaking” of those displaced by xenophobia in 2008, yet it was their portfolio.

Section IV: Migrants’ Livelihoods and Access to Services

MIGRANTS’ LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES IN MOSSEL BAY

Domestic migrants

As indicated earlier, perceived job opportunities in PetroSA and other industries and businesses regularly attract huge numbers of unskilled domestic migrants. Many of those who do not get expected jobs and many of those who get jobs but get retrenched at the end of their contracts or when businesses close or scale down their activities do not go back to their places of origin. With their limited resources, most of these poor migrants prefer settling in informal settlements where they get free or at least cheap housing (shacks) and free services from the municipality while they continue looking for jobs.

While the municipality does not have accurate records or specific information on migrants’ livelihood activities, officials believe that most domestic migrants, particularly new arrivals, survive on low-skilled temporary jobs in construction (bricklaying, tiling, plastering, painting, welding, fencing, plumbing), hospitality and fishing industries. Most of these skills are self-taught or are learned on the job with support from employing companies such as PetroSA that provides its employees with training in skills needed in their current jobs or skills that can be used to acquire jobs somewhere else (see the discussion below on municipality partnership with businesses). Other

domestic migrants are involved in businesses such as the taxi industry which, according to the local taxi association, is dominated by migrants from Eastern Cape.

Municipal partnership with the business sector

The Director for Local Economic Development indicated that the municipality enjoys a good partnership with most businesses operating in the area. As part of their social responsibility, businesses provide a good contribution to different aspects of community development. A local Casino (Garden Route Casino) for instance has sponsored a number of projects in the municipality including furnishing school libraries and building some of the wards at the local hospital.

In addition to the usual social responsibility, some businesses such as PetroSA acknowledge their role in attracting migrants into the municipality and recognise they have to share the responsibility of dealing with the challenges associated by such mobility. Indeed, according to the PetroSA Community Development Consultant, PetroSA supports a number of skills training programmes not only for its employees but also for the broader community to enhance community members' chances of acquiring skilled jobs in the industry itself and elsewhere. Through the Corporate Social Investment initiative, PetroSA has established a computer and science laboratory at various schools in especially disadvantaged areas such as Indwe High, Imekhaya, Isalathiso, and TM Ndanda primary schools. It has also funded the purchase and installation of computers, research material and books for Milkwood Primary School's newly built media centre. PetroSA is also backing a project in which a number of qualifying 'Matrics' are trained by the Centre of Excellence to be specialised artisans. Trained artisans add to the country's pool of skilled people who enjoy enhanced employability. Regarding unemployed youth, PetroSA has supported the training of 150 unemployed youth as Safety Watchers. Sixteen of those trainees have gone on to acquire a safety watcher's accreditation from the Centre of Excellence, and are already doing duty at a refinery in Durban.

International migrants

Officials reported that less affluent international migrants living in the municipality survive on small businesses that they set up in townships and informal settlements across the municipality. The businesses include spaza shops, hair salons, tailoring, shoe repairing, etc. Somalis are particularly said to be 'flooding' the small business sector. International migrants are generally perceived as "business people" but their entrepreneurship is also perceived as a potential source of social tensions in that they are said to be pushing locals out of businesses and they are running their businesses in illegally rented RDP houses whose owners go back to stay in shacks (see details in

section on security and social cohesion). Hawking, one of the main income generating activities for foreign migrants in many municipalities across the country is not permitted anywhere in Mossel Bay.

Some officials indicated that some foreign migrants, particularly Nigerians, derive their livelihoods from illegal activities such as drug dealing, illegal electricity connections and the selling of stolen goods. One CDW reports:

Migrants do all sorts of things. Most of them are involved illegal trading, illegal electricity connections, illegal occupation of land, etc. They sell drugs to our children and get involved with local women. This causes conflict in our society and people start evicting them. They also sell stolen goods.

Migrants from countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique are mainly farm workers and prefer living in informal settlements such as Joe Slovo and KwaNonqaba.

ACCESS TO SERVICES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Officials interviewed indicated that the municipality does not have any specific programmes to provide migrants (or new arrivals) with, or to facilitate their access to existing, services. The municipality provides services to everyone without discrimination. As the Executive Mayor indicates, “domestic and all other legal migrants benefit from municipality projects without necessarily treating migrants in isolation.”

Further, CDWs, whose mandate includes ensuring that community members have easy access to basic services and all government programmes, reported that they do not regard domestic migrants as migrants, but as the same as local people. “We have a lot of people from the Eastern Cape but they use their social networks to reside in the municipality. They produce local addresses when they need services from the municipality,” one of them stated.

From municipal officials and CDWs’ views, it appears that domestic migrants are treated as local long-term residents and are eligible, like everyone else, for services such as social grants, basic services, etc. depending on their socio-economic status. According to officials, poor domestic migrants have for instance no problem getting on the indigents’ list which gives them access to free basic services such as water and electricity provided by the municipality. It is also relatively easy to get on the housing waiting list with some officials saying it may take a new arrival two to three weeks depending on his/her level and nature of interactions with the local community or leadership.

Similarly, health care officials indicated that their services are for everyone. The policy is to give everyone a service without checking whether one is a foreigner or a South African.

The fact that migrants, particularly domestic migrants, are said not to be discriminated against does not mean that access to services is easy. They live in poor townships and informal settlements where they face the same challenges as their local (long term residents) neighbours. These challenges include lack of adequate housing, decent sanitation, and insufficient number of schools, clinics and recreational facilities. According to the coordinator of Mossel Bay Poverty Alleviation Project, the old apartheid locations where the majority of people, especially migrants are residing still resemble the ghettos they used to be. Most townships and informal settlements in the municipality are characterised by the poor living conditions and are located far from any meaningful socio-economic activities. CDWs reported that public clinics and schools in townships are overcrowded and there are no plans for building additional ones to cater for the growing population's needs.

Some respondents blamed the current DA leadership for this slow socio-economic development in previously disadvantaged areas. According to a member of the D'Almeida Civic Association, the municipality has failed to manage the growth of townships and the formalisation of informal settlements because

development within the municipality is geared towards the historically white areas with no efforts to improve townships. The ruling party in the municipality does not care about townships since most of their people are given tenders and job opportunities which enable them to live in urban areas.⁶²

Some municipal officials interviewed acknowledge the imbalances of the past and indicated that the municipality is planning to embark on programmes and initiatives geared towards alleviating poverty and uplifting the living standards of the previously disadvantaged areas in the municipality.

Specific challenges faced by foreign migrants

In addition to challenges faced by everyone in poor and under-serviced townships and informal settlements where they live, foreign migrants face specific problems with regard to access to services and/or to income generating activities. These include exploitation by employers, discrimination with regard to business opportunities, lack of adequate documentation and harassment by law enforcement agents.

⁶² Focus group interview with members of D'Almeida Civic Association. Mossel Bay, 5 May 2010.

Exploitation

The chairperson of the Mossel Bay Poverty Alleviation Project indicated that migrants (particularly those that are unskilled) are exploited, in that they are underpaid for already low paying jobs including household work and caring for children, the sick and the elderly in townships. These migrants are reportedly paid less than R1 000 a month with no bonuses, maternity or annual leave. Employers often take advantage of foreign undocumented migrants. According to the chairperson, the situation is prevalent in Joe Slovo, D'Almeida and KwaNonqaba.

Lack of proper documentation

According to the coordinator of CDWs in the office of the Director of Local Economic Development, many foreign migrants do not have relevant documents that allow them to easily benefit from provided services. He indicated that the municipality does not have the power to facilitate the process of acquiring documents since it is not their competence as the municipality. It is the competence of the Department of Home Affairs. Another related problem is that CDWs were not trained in migration issues to understand different permits and documents foreign migrants may be holding and the kind of rights these (documents) guarantee. In a focus group interview, CDWs admitted that they have little understanding of these documents and would not be able to handle foreign migrants' queries relating to access to services.

Discrimination re business opportunities

Municipal officials indicated that the municipality itself is not keen on providing business opportunities to foreign migrants due to suspicion of illegality and the resolve to give priority to local ('own') people first. The Strategic Support Executive in the City Manager's office states:

[...] many local people survive on small businesses but now foreigners have moved into those small businesses and that creates a lot of problems as far as we are concerned. They are pushing locals out of business. Just to give you an example. Not so long ago, I am mentioning Joe Slovo specifically; the municipality wanted to put pay points [social grants pay points] there. We sent people in there to identify businesses that would be prepared to do these pay points. We discovered that that the majority of people who wanted to do this are foreigners from Burundi, Tanzania, etc. We do not want to do business with them

because we are not sure whether they are legal or not; we do not know these people; and as far as we are concerned, we want to support our people first.

Harassment by law enforcement agents

A few foreign migrants interviewed indicated that they face regular harassment from the police, SARS and municipal officials particularly in D'Almeida and Da Gamaskop townships. The Head of Public Safety in the municipality admitted that they conduct regular raids on foreign-owned businesses as a response to community complains about foreigners' involvement in illegal business activities. One of the foreign business owners complained that despite having a business licence and proof of tax payment, his shop was recently ransacked by the police and SARS and his stock taken (see details in migration, security and social cohesion section).

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Officials indicated that with regard to service delivery, the municipality relationship with other spheres of governments is lacking in a number of aspects. The executive Mayor for instance believes that the Eden District Municipality does not treat Mossel Bay fairly due to its political affiliation. In her words:

We do not get equitable share from the District office. We are always sidelined due to our political affiliation. Other neighbouring municipalities are fairly treated by the District. Whatever we feel we need, we request from the province. Our relationship with the province is much better as compared to the District.

The ED for Community Services also indicated that the province is not providing enough support in solving housing (which is a province competence) related matters such as the illegal selling and renting of RDP houses to foreigners for business purposes. He states: "What they [foreigners] do, they are the ones going to Joe Slovo and paying people to use their houses for business and that's worrying. Those are the things we reported to MCs but nothing is being done."

He further deplored the lack of a well maintained and regularly updated housing beneficiary database, which allows people to move from municipality to municipality or from province to province applying for houses. He complained that people move around applying for houses and cannot be picked up on the database because officials in some provinces do not do their job effectively. He says:

People come here hoping to get houses. When you apply for a house they ask for your name and ID number and put them in the database in Cape Town and somehow the database will pick you up if you have already benefited. But in some provinces officials do not do their jobs properly. Names are not picked up even when the person already has a government subsidised house. That person might have sold the house for R5 000 to I do not know who. He comes and deprives somebody else who does qualify for a house. In Western Cape we have a clear coordination. Any person residing here who had a house even 15 years ago will be picked up once we get his ID [...] It is a central database and all provinces should be there. But not all the provinces are doing their job properly. If I am staying here and I get a house from subsidy, somebody must put my name in the database. If in 10 years I go to Mpumalanga and I want to apply there, the clerk in Mpumalanga when he puts my ID in the database, it should pop up there but it does not happen always which is an indication that some officials did not do their job properly in the past.

Regarding the national government, officials indicated they do not get enough financial support to cater for the growing number of indigents because the national treasury does not use accurate or up-to-date information in the distribution of the equitable share (see details in section on use of population information for planning).

Section V: Main Findings (Mossel Bay)

This section highlights the following main points and findings for Mossel Bay:

Information, planning and policy

- Unlike other municipalities visited, Mossel Bay is yet to conduct its own comprehensive demographic study. It relies mainly on Stats SA data for information on its population but also uses other sources such as rate payers' accounts, applications for services, ward profiles compiled by CDWs and the internet. The municipality updates its population figures by regularly adding the national average growth rate to the stats SA provided numbers.
- Like in other municipalities, Stats SA data is considered inaccurate and at times misleading and the municipality does not have the capacity to perform additional analyses (of Stats SA data) to respond to local/municipal information needs.

- No accurate information on migration and mobility, but domestic migration mainly from the rural Eastern Cape Province is perceived to be contributing to the rapid population growth and presents a serious socio-economic burden. The main pull factors have been the establishment of PetroSA and a massive property boom in the 90s.
- International migration is not a main concern although less affluent foreign migrants are perceived to cause social tensions due to their competition for small business and job opportunities with locals. The municipality benefits from affluent foreign migrants who are increasingly choosing the area for retirement.
- The municipality does not have concrete plans to deal with the perceived negative impact associated with migration and population mobility. There is a general understanding that migration is a national issue and the national government should take the lead in proposing solutions to deal with it.
- Local solutions adopted include:
 - discouraging immigration by preventing the establishment of new informal settlements by regularly demolishing newly built informal dwellings;
 - plans to make Mossel Bay a retirement rather than a holiday town by promoting the development of retirement rather than holiday villages.
- In terms of planning, officials do not consider population information particularly useful because it cannot be used to generate appropriate financial support particularly from the national treasury that still uses the 2001 census data to distribute the equitable share.
- The municipality does not get adequate support from other spheres of government, particularly the District Municipality with regard to better understanding and managing mobility.
- With regard to professionalisation of services and staff turnover, Mossel Bay appears to have qualified and experienced staff. Some have been working there for more than 20 years and new arrivals indicated that they would like to build their career in the municipality. Some political heads did not seem to have relevant technical knowledge in domains they chair or preside over. However political matters do not seem to interfere with technical and administrative work as many officials interviewed have worked more than once under the ANC and DA Councils.

- As for the way forward, the following suggestions were made:
 - The District Council to set up a population planning unit for the region;
 - National government to design appropriate strategies to deal with migration and population mobility;
 - Provinces to regularly and effectively update housing beneficiary database to prevent multiple housing applications.

Migration, safety and social cohesion

- Mossel Bay is characterised as a peaceful and safe place with low crime rates although drug related crimes are a concern for municipal officials and SAPS officers.
- Migration is generally not seen as a threat to social cohesion but competition between locals and migrants (both domestic and foreign) over jobs and business opportunities at times results in tensions such the xenophobic violence of 2008.
- Xenophobic violence is seen as a thing of the past and there are no long term strategies to promote social cohesion, prevent or respond to violence should it recur.
- Municipal officials' perceptions of foreign migrants with respect to crime appear to be based on perceptions (rather than facts), and do not correspond with the police's more tempered views of migrants (which make reference to statistics).
- Policing migration often amounts to harassment of foreign migrants who do not have any room for meaningful engagement with community policing and other local governance institutions.
- The municipality seems to have a good working relationship with the local SAPS and other relevant institutions with regard to safeguarding safety and security in the area.

Migrants' livelihoods and access to services

- The municipality does not have accurate/specific information/data on livelihood activities of different types of migrants' living in the municipality. Generally speaking, officials indicated that domestic migrants survive on low paid, unskilled temporary jobs in businesses and industries operating in the municipality. Informal trading and small business are foreign migrants' main livelihood activities.
- Regarding access to services, officials indicate that domestic migrants are considered as locals or long-term residents. They all benefit equally from municipality services. No specific programmes or projects for migrants or new comers. Domestic migrants face the same challenges as their 'local' neighbours whom they live with in poor and under-serviced townships and informal settlements.
- In addition to general problems in poor areas, foreign migrants face specific problems with regard to accessing services and opportunities. These include exploitation, lack of documentation, discrimination with regard to business opportunities and harassment by law enforcements agents.
- According to officials interviewed, the municipality does not get enough support from other spheres of government (District municipality, provincial and national governments) with regard to service delivery.

Section I: Background Information

Merafong is one of the local municipalities constituting the West Rand District Municipality in the Gauteng Province. It consists of the towns and townships of Carletonville, Fochville, Wedela Khutsong, Kokosi, Greenspark, Welverdiend, and Blybank. Formerly a cross-border municipality, the entire municipality was transferred to the North West Province following the abolition of cross-border municipalities by an amendment to the South African Constitution in 2005. The municipality was part of the North West Province from 2005 to 2009, when it was reincorporated into the Gauteng Province following violent protests in the township of Khutsong. Merafong's historical development is closely knit with the discovery of rich gold deposits in the early 1930s. Mining is the main contributor to the municipality's economy.

The population of Merafong is currently estimated at 282 742 and is largely composed of domestic and foreign migrant mine workers. The number of households is estimated at 88 156 with an average household size of 2.4.⁶³

Merafong's economic growth rate is generally lower than that of Gauteng and South Africa. The municipality's economy is heavily dependent on gold mining and is thus susceptible to fluctuations in international gold prices. Over the past decade this has been evident as shown by a decline in mining's contribution to the economy. The mining's production and contribution to the Geographic Gross Product (GGP) has been on the decline over the past decade. In 2008, mining's contribution to the GGP was 35%. Other main contributors included: trade (15%), finance and business services (12%), government services (11.4%), and construction (3%)⁶⁴.

Merafong faces a number of major challenges, namely poverty, unemployment and service delivery. The 2007 Stats SA Community Survey for instance reveals that 58.6% of the total number of

⁶³ Integrated Development Plan 2010/2011. 4 Review, May 2010

⁶⁴ Ibid

households (88 158) lived in informal dwellings, 21% did not have access to proper sanitation and 29.4% had no access to refuse removal service. The unemployment rate was estimated at 29.9%.⁶⁵

The municipality is currently under ANC leadership which has a majority of representatives in council. The Executive Mayor, the Speaker and Chief Whip are all ANC representatives. The DA is the main opposition party.

Section II: Information, Planning and Policy

COLLECTION AND USE OF POPULATION DATA

Collection of population data

According to officials interviewed, the municipality gets its population information and data from various sources including Stats SA's 2001 census and 2007 community survey, the 2007 municipality's own demographic study (commissioned to Quantec Research and Urban Econ), and regular updates the municipality performs using aerial photographs in developing areas, different service accounts and calculations based on the changing household average size. The following statements explain:

[...] the municipality did its own study through town planning and we also get some information from Stats SA. The study was conducted in 2007 and was about establishing the total number of people, the total number of households, employed, and unemployed, informal, formal and structures, etc. It covered the entire municipality (Acting IDP Manager).

What we do for IDP compilation every year, we go to Stats SA for census data; we use population figures that they give us and we also have our own statistics, our own population figures as well. So what these guys [Town Planning] are doing, they are taking regular aerial photographs and are doing a scientific thing to estimate our population (Acting ED of Shared Services).

We get most of population information from Stats SA and from other sources within the municipality such as Housing Department and also from service accounts. The municipality

⁶⁵ Ibid

commissioned a study but that was a few years ago and couldn't be relevant anymore (Town Planner from Town Planning Department).

The current IDP document indicates that the population of Merafong is estimated at 282 742. Asked where that figure was obtained from as it differs from the figures provided by the 2007 Stats SA Community Survey (215 865) and the 2007 Urban Econ Study (287 607), the Town Planner responded that those are the municipality's own estimates calculated using the total number of households multiplied by the current average household size. He explains:

These are our own estimates. The way we calculate it, we know the number of households and then we try to estimate the population by the size of average household. It is not very accurate but it is accurate enough for us to use. It is not like the census that counts every one. At the moment that is the best we can do. We are awaiting the new census next year. We do not see the need to spend a lot of money on it if the national government is going to do that next year.

The Chief Operations Officer also former LED Manager states in a similar vein:

IDP figures are based on our own calculations. The zooming in growing areas, aerial photographs and based on that we do calculations based on number of people per household and we do estimates based on that. Where there is growth, we zoom in on that area and do the calculations to update our figures. I think that we are using 2.4 and we just multiply that by the number of structures. In 2001 census it was 3.7; in 2007 it was 2.4; it went down. The calculations are done by Town Planning and we do it per area. It is not a head count. It is the number of households multiplied by the average household size. [...] the average household size is 2.4 and not 3.7. Then let's see the number of structures by aerial photographs and we calculate the figures. But obviously it can never be accurate, it is just estimates. That coincides with the trends in the mining sector. The mines have also conducted a survey in certain areas on their property that also shows a decline in household size.

While the municipality does not have a specific population planning unit, officials indicated that the Town Planning Department was in charge of collecting and updating population data. The IDP office ensures that new updates are reflected in the annually revised IDP document.

Stats SA data

Like other municipalities covered in this study, officials in Merafong do not believe Stats SA data is accurate and that is the main reason the municipality commissioned its own study in 2007 and does its own regular updates. Asked why the municipality commissioned a demographic study when Stats SA was conducting a nationwide community survey, the Acting IDP Manager responded that it was because they did not trust that the Stats SA survey would provide accurate information. In her own words:

It is because we know our area more than people outside there as we are delivering services to our communities. I think we got more information than Stats SA. We also not trust Stats SA because according to them, the population of Merafong was 215 865 and then our study shows that the population is 282 742 you can see there is a huge difference. We believe our study is more accurate.

The Town planner confirmed and added that Stats SA admitted to underestimating the municipality's population. He says:

Information from previous census was not very good. Stats SA actually admitted they underestimated our population by ... I do not know how many thousands. That really creates problems as we are not sure what exactly our figures are. The study by Urban Econ is probably more accurate.

While he agrees that Stats SA data is inaccurate at the moment, the Acting ED of Shared Services believes that it is getting better every year and soon municipalities will not need to conduct their own studies. He states:

There is a different between what Stats SA gives us and our own figures. So when you are planning you can't say Stats SA says you have a housing backlog list of 17 000 when you know in your area you have a backlog of 25 000. I will use that 25 000 for my planning purposes. Stats SA data is getting better every year; we will get to the situation where we won't have to rely on our own studies. But for the time being for planning purposes, we are still using our own data otherwise the planning won't be adequate.

Population data collection at Ward Level

According to Councillors and municipal officials interviewed, wards obtain information on their population through i) the IEC, ii) ward profiles by CDWs and iii) ward committee members. The Chief Whip and Councillor of Ward 20 states: "The ward knows its population through the IEC, local elections. New wards are determined by IEC." Asked how councillors know their population at ward level, the Acting Manager in the Speaker's office indicated that they normally use ward profiles compiled by CDWs but the process is not without problems because i) not all wards have CDWs and ii) CDWs (appointed by the Province) do not always have a good relationship with councillors and the municipality in general. He states:

They use ward profiles compiled by CDWs. But CDWs are not in all wards and where they exist, they do to report to us. They give us courtesy reports. We have a fair relationship but there is room for improvement. In wards where there are no CDWs, we rely on ward committees but these are not well trained and their work is not as good as CDWs'.

The Chief Whip was similarly not happy about the municipality's relationship with CDWs:

Our relationship with CDWs is mild because they do not report to the municipality. We do not appreciate that fact and we have put a proposal to Salga. We do not know what they are doing in the community; we do not see what they are doing.

CDWs confirmed that their relationship with some local leaders (councillors and ward committee members) is not good and that should probably not come as a surprise because when they were deployed, the province did not introduce them properly and clarify their roles to the communities and local authorities. In CDWs focus group interview, one CDW stated:

We are supposed to be partners but the relationship with councillors is not good because they feel threatened that CDWs may take their positions [...] the Province made a mistake. The provincial government did not introduce us to communities and local authorities. This introduction should be done every 5 years after local elections, when new local authorities are in place.

For some CDWs, it is not surprising that their relationship with the local authority is not good because they were deployed to 'spy' on local leaders and report their wrongdoings to the province as one CDW states: "we are here to report corruption and wrong[doings] to the Province."

Information on migration and population mobility

Officials described Merafong as a highly mobile society because of the mines. "This area is mobile; there are only a few indigenous people here. All people came to work in mines," says the Chief Whip. The mining industry has and continues to attract significant numbers of foreign and domestic migrants looking for job opportunities in the mines. The Acting Manager Speaker's Office states:

[...]People come here to work in mines but when the mining business goes down some workers get retrenched. Some retrenched people go back home but many stay and go to informal settlements. When mines recover, there is again massive recruitment. Currently there is no huge influx. We have influx only when mines are reemploying and a big number of people come in here. Apart from the mines, nothing else attracts people to the municipality.

Even without specific figures, municipal officials believe that immigration is the main factor contributing to population growth in the municipality.

Despite the general knowledge about the high population mobility, the municipality has never undertaken a comprehensive study to accurately document migration patterns and identify ways for adequately planning for mobility. The need was expressed in the current IDP version but no concrete action has been taken to date as the Acting IDP Manager indicates: "... it was suggested that the municipality should do a survey to trace the migration trends. We were supposed to do the survey but it hasn't been done yet. It is still in plans."

Although without a comprehensive study, the Town Planning Department reports to have picked up three main migration patterns in the municipality i.e. migration of mine workers, the traditional rural-urban migration caused by the declining agricultural activities in rural areas, and immigration of White affluent people looking for small town atmosphere. The Town Planner explains:

With regard to migration it [the study] is not specifically quantitative. There are a couple of trends we picked up. The most obvious is migration of mine workers from rural areas within South Africa or outside such as from Lesotho and other countries. They come, work and send money back home. They do not have a very good job security here; they often get retrenched when the mine production slows down. Then we have the typical rural-urban migration where people come here from deep rural areas. People are moving into towns because agriculture is declining and now people are coming into cities with no skills. We are specifically working on that. We are surveying in rural areas to find out how we can help.

And then we also picked up a situation where mostly White affluent people are moving into smaller towns looking for small town atmosphere to escape big cities. But it is not a lot of people; we are expecting that flow to increase within the coming decade or so.

Migration/mobility related challenges (real or perceived)

Officials interviewed perceive migration and population mobility to impact negatively on municipality's service delivery efforts. Newcomers as well as ex-mine employees are now 'flooding' informal settlements and demand services the municipality did not plan for and does not get revenues from. In informal settlements, they cause not only overcrowding but also social tensions particularly because of illegal buying of RDP houses. The following statements explain the situation:

Due to declining mining industry, people get retrenched and those from other countries do not want to go back home; they are now coming to our areas and cause a lot of problems for example buying RDP houses. They pay cash for houses, which is causing social tensions because foreigners are buying RDP houses but buying these houses is not legal. They are being robbed because they buy with no documents signed just like buying bread in a shop. Later people come and reclaim their houses after selling them. That R 30 000 is gone and there is nowhere they can go for help [...] There is now an influx of foreigners moving from mine hostels. This is causing a lot of overcrowding in houses. You could find 15 families in a house including backyard shacks (Chief Whip).

Immigration of people who settle in informal settlements has an impact for the fact that we have to provide basic services; the housing list is ever increasing. They do not go into established townships and we can't levy them, we can't get any income from them. They are not covered in government policies such as indigent policies, indigent subsidies because they do not exist. And also they cause social problems, even if I have no evidence, it is just logic, it increases crime rates (Chief Operating Officer).

The major problem is with ex-mine employees. When retrenched, they come to live in informal settlements and increase indigent population in the middle of the budget and you have to increase services. Such expenditure is not planned for and we do not get revenues from it. Periodical reemployment attracts many people into the municipality who end up not being unemployed and stay with relatives hoping to get a job during the next phase (Acting Manager in the Speaker's office)

Proposed solutions to address the challenges: policies, practices and plans

Municipal officials indicated that the municipality has not adopted any measures to deal with these challenges. Even the current practice (in some municipalities) of regularly destroying new informal structures to discourage immigration and the mushrooming of squatter camps has not been adopted in Merafong as the Acting ED of Shared Services indicates:

We haven't got any bylaws about migration or mobility. We are using the common law but it is making very difficult for use because you cannot move people without providing alternative accommodation. We don't like doing that. I know some municipalities are doing that from time to time but Merafong hasn't had a situation where we are evicting people. We do not evict if we do not have alternative accommodation.

The Town Planner also conceded that there is not much the municipality can do apart from educating people and encouraging them to stay in economically active areas so that they can benefit from various development projects. He says in a statement:

With regard to rural-urban migration, there is actually not a lot we can do. These people come here unskilled so you have to educate them and get them jobs and that kind of thing. We do not see any other way of dealing with it. These people tend to stay in locations that are actually marginalised because they do not have money to pay for good locations in the cities. They tend to settle in areas we do not focus on for economic development. As you are probably aware, in the Spatial Development Framework, the idea is to throw money where economic development is feasible and where it is not possible to just supply or meet the basic human needs. We encourage these people to move into economically active areas. For now the idea is to provide these people with education and information so that they can make their own decisions to move to areas where they can find better opportunities be that within the municipality or in Johannesburg or anywhere else.

He further indicated the municipality is yet to find ways of dealing with foreign migrant workers who illegally occupy informal areas where nationals get relocated from (see Migrants' access to services section for details).

USE OF POPULATION INFORMATION FOR PLANNING

Municipal officials indicated population information is one of the main drivers that inform their planning and programming. For instance, the Chief Operating Officer indicates that the information is used in planning for bulk expenditure well in advance. He says: “we use it for instance to plan expenditure for bulk services. We establish what will be the expenditure in year 1, year 2, year 3 and so on.” For the Acting IDFP manager, population information helps when the municipality plans develop an area or to relocate people. She states:

This information helps a lot when planning for the development of the municipality. For instance if they want to develop a particular area, it is easier for them because they know the population. If they want to move people from one area to another, it is easier to check if there is land available to accommodate such a number of people. It assists us a lot.

Officials however indicated that when planning and programming, they focus mainly on permanent or long-term residents as they find it difficult to plan for highly mobile people for which the municipality does not even get subsidies. The Town Planner explains the motivation behind the municipality decision to focus primarily on permanent residents:

The reason is not to exclude those people, it is focusing on permanent residents first. It is difficult to cater for people who are highly mobile. Most of our residents stay here because they want to be here. So we try to provide housing, services and economic opportunities for them and we still haven't appropriately accomplished this. So it is almost impossible to cater for those people; at the same time we are still dealing with our permanent residents because they often do not require the same strategies.

Asked whether not planning for mobility does not affect services to and plans for permanent residents because whether you plan for them or not, they will come and use services planed for permanent residents, the Town Planner responded that they are not trying to specifically exclude migrants. They have to prioritise given the limited resources they have at their disposal and also considering that many of these people might not be intending to stay in the municipality for a long time. He says:

... it is not as if we are specifically trying to separate them it is just that we are aware of that. If we could, we would help everybody but it is difficult because you cannot get information

on these people because they do not have jobs and do not necessarily intend to stay here. You can't provide them with housing. Before they can see the house they are gone again.

Other officials indicated it is difficult to use population information for planning because they cannot use newly updated figures to request more funds from the national treasury. They indicated such information cannot be used to request for instance the increase of the equitable share. The national treasury uses census data to calculate the equitable share and subsequent adjustments. The Chief Operating Officer states:

The equitable share does not cater for all indigent and poor households because they use census data and not on the ground figures and that is a problem. Although equitable share has been increasing every year, it has not been keeping track of the situation on the ground. So this means the local government must address poverty problems of the country. That is not the mandate of local government which is to deliver services to the people.

The Town Planner considers this as a serious problem because more and more indigent people in the municipality are not getting help. He says:

That is actually a problem. Our population has been underestimated. We have some of the worst socio-economic conditions in the province. We are one of the worst municipalities in the province and we have a large number of indigent people and we are actually not getting enough funding for the indigents.

Officials also indicated that even other spheres of government do not use population information to plan their services and programmes in their competence. Services such as clinics, hospitals, schools did not keep track of population growth in the municipality. "Every year new informal settlements are established but the government infrastructure remains the same. You find that the amount of clinics we had in 2000 is still the same," says the Chief Operating Officer. Asked whether other spheres of government get regularly notified about new population estimates, the Chief Operating Officer indicated that they do because those figures are contained in the IDP document that gets sent to the District municipality, provincial and national governments. In his own words:

Every year, 10 days after the approval of IDP, it gets sent to COGTA and other departments. So the whole idea is that they do an assessment of the IDP needs that we have identified.

The IDP is assessed and we get comments from MEC every year to say 'guys focus on this or that'.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS (RE: SUPPORT IN MANAGING POPULATION DYNAMICS AND MOBILITY)

Municipal officials indicated that apart from Stats SA statistics (that are also not reliable), the municipality does not get support from any other sphere of government in terms of better understanding and management of migration and population mobility. And as discussed above, even the information generated by the municipality is not put to good use by other spheres of government in terms of planning and programming. The Town Planner for instance indicates that the municipality is not getting any help from the District. He says:

We are not getting much help from the district. In my own personal opinion, the district barely functions; they are understaffed, under-resourced and I am not sure the people have skills. I can't say but they are definitely understaffed and under-resourced. And that is a problem because we were supposed to get guidance from them and we are currently not getting it.

With regard to helping local municipalities plan and work together, the District has plans to introduce a 'Shared Services' department all local municipalities could be tapping from for specific functions. The district is also assisting the municipality in strategic planning; "with the vision of Unicity in 2020," says the Chief Whip.

With regard to the province, although no direct support with regard to migration and mobility, officials indicated the Gauteng Province provides better support in general terms than North West. The following statement by the Town Planner expresses the feelings of many officials interviewed: "... although sometimes marginalised because the biggest cities get more attention and more funding, we are better. We are being pulled along. We have better information and better systems to work with."

OTHER MATTERS: PROFESSIONALISATION OF SERVICES AND STAFF TURNOVER

While the Industrial Relations Manager indicated that the municipality has qualified and competent professionals and that there are no political interferences, the number of acting directors tells a

different story. Some officials, like the Acting ED for Shared Development who have been acting for more than 4 years do not understand the situation and hope things will change soon with a newly drafted legislation. He says:

I am now acting for 4 years in the current position. There is a new drafted legislation that came out now specifically providing that people who have been acting for a long time like me and the MM should be appointed now. This acting situation you know... this other MEC Vilakazi, remember the MEC for North West, he said he is dealing with Hollywood thing because everybody is acting! I think that says it all.

Section III: Migration, Safety and Social Cohesion

BACKGROUND: SAFETY, SECURITY IN MERAUFONG

In Meraufong, as in all the other three case studies, SAPS and CPF respondents cited as main challenges to security and safety in the area: i) alcohol abuse caused mainly by the presence of loosely regulated taverns, ii) drug abuse perceived to be influencing other crimes such as thefts and assaults, iii) poor services delivery illustrated by the lack of proper roads with proper law enforcement mechanisms, lack of electricity in informal settlements and the presence of tall grass, bushes and open unpopulated spaces, iv) unemployment that leads to petty theft, and v) the presence of sinkholes (the area being dolomitic particularly in the Khutsong) with relocation-related instability.

According to respondents, these factors not only make the areas concerned prone to crime but also make policing more difficult. The Khutsong Station Commander for instance noted that the roads are not navigable, especially in the informal settlement, resulting in it taking the police and emergency vehicles a long time to reach parts of the area. Crime rates are high in those unreachable informal areas, for example because public transport vehicles cannot get commuters close to their homes, which means they have to walk longer distances even at night. He further indicated that the lack of electricity often leads residents of the informal settlement to make illegal connections. This means that they steal cables and connect themselves through other people's systems, effectively "stealing electricity," which overloads the systems and blows up metres. This leads to power outages in concerned areas, which facilitates other crimes.

The nature of crime in Merafong was said to differ slightly depending on the area. In townships, contact crime is a major issue, followed by property crime like housebreaking and theft (with assaults and stabbings being done during robberies). In town, the reverse is true. Respondents also spoke of the sale of drugs in Fochville, Khutsong, and Carletonville.

MIGRATION, SECURITY AND SOCIAL COHESION/TENSIONS

Migration and crime

Many respondents from SAPS, CPFs, and the municipality believe that migration or population mobility is linked to crime in at least three different ways: i) people residing outside of Merafong travel to the area to commit major crimes, ii) migration contributes to population growth, which leads to an increase in crime and iii) migrant residents of Merafong are often victims and perceived authors of crime.

According to SAPS officers and CPI Manager (one of the main private security companies in Carletonville), the major criminal activities (such as chain housebreakings, heists) in Merafong are committed by people from other municipalities and areas such as Soweto and Johannesburg who come into Merafong just to commit crime. The Fochville CPF Chairperson is for instance convinced that syndicated property crime is committed by people from outside the area, for example, from Frekenegen and Johannesburg. For the Chief Whip, there is a connection between migration and crime in so far as migration leads to population growth, and an increase in population leads to an increase in crime. He says: "when a township is growing, there'll be crime infestation from people coming in."

Migrants, victims of crime

According to the Chief Whip, mine workers who live in hostels are often targeted for crime when they go to townships to drink on weekends or when they get paid. The Wedela SAPS Station Commander reported this as one of the main causes of crime in his area. Migrants who go to drink in Wedela get robbed and stabbed. Similarly, as a significant number of residents of Wedela are migrants and leave the area over Christmas holidays, their houses get broken into when they are away. Further, a Khutsong Colonel noted that the presence of many foreign-owned tuck shops in Khutsong leads to there being many robberies as foreigners' shops are regularly broken into. He

believes that this problem is compounded by the fact that many of these shopkeepers live in their shops.

Resident migrants, (perceived) authors of crime

While views vary from one place to another, there appears to be a strong association between migrants and crime. In Khutsong for instance, where more recent immigration has taken place, SAPS underscored that people in Khutsong associate foreigners with crime, specifically people they refer to as “Nigerians,” whom they accuse mainly of attempting to abduct children, prostitution and selling drugs. According to the SAPS however, the community’s perceptions are not substantiated by arrest records. In Wedela, another low-income mining community, the Station Commander and the local CPF Chairperson reported that foreigners are not necessarily perceived as committing crime but Mozambicans often get arrested for the possession of stolen goods brought to them by the local youth after committing breakings or robberies.

Some municipal officials strongly associate foreign migrants with crime. Officials from the department municipal public safety unit made strong, sweeping statements strongly associating foreign migrants with crime. They claimed that housebreakings and other thefts from houses are either committed or facilitated by foreigners, whom they say work as gardeners and then supply information to thieves about the houses they work at. They also emphasised that “Nigerians” sell drugs, saying: “they come with drugs and then they give it to our children....” They believe that “Nigerians” supply young South Africans with drugs to sell, which for them explains why Nigerians are not predominantly arrested for selling drugs. They associate “Nigerians” with trafficking and prostitution. In a focus group interview, municipal traffic and security officials made reference to two raids that SAPS made where they found a stash of drugs in two houses, of which the respondent said the people responsible were “Nigerians.” When asked whether they arrest many such “Nigerians,” one of the officials said:

We tried. Someone will tell you ‘that car there, they are selling one two three.’ We stop the car; we search it; you won’t get anything... so I think these guys are very clever. What they are doing; they cover their tracks....

With regards to arresting people for the alleged child trafficking specifically, the official said: “It’s very hard to catch these people. That’s why I’m saying either they’ve got something that makes it – really you cannot catch them.... They are like Mafia.” On the question of arresting people for drugs,

when it was pointed out to the respondents that SAPS officials had presented a different view (that the cops don't generally arrest foreigners for drugs), the official said:

They are very clever. These kids, even [if] you find them with drugs, they will never tell you. At the end of the day, who's in possession? You know what they do? They come with drugs. They give it to our children. Who is going to be arrested? ... That's why they've never been caught. Every time you're coming to me, I don't have.

Another supervising municipal Public Safety official interjected to add:

You know what they do, ne? You know what they do? They come with drugs. They give it to our children to go and sell. Obviously, who's going to be arrested? ... but the drugs it's from the Nigerians. Like, they are working for them. They are selling for them – the Nigerian people.”⁶⁶

Migration and Social Tensions

Tensions around Housing and Migration

The lack of low-income housing in Merafong contributes to some tensions over migrants' access to housing. These tensions are particularly caused by the 'illegal' buying and renting of RDP houses for accommodation and business (see discussion on migration related challenges).

Xenophobic violence

Respondents reported that, in 2008, Merafong experienced 'low-scale' xenophobic violence in areas such as Khutsong, Carletonville, Wedela and Kokosi. However, according to the Chief Whip, xenophobic incidents in Khutsong date as far back at least as 2000, when “Shangaan speakers” were chased out of Khutsong. He also noted that Somali spaza shop owners have been chased out of the area even before 2008. In 2008, the decision to call meetings to prevent xenophobic attacks in

⁶⁶ The Superintendent also said: “So they're using the young kids. Our kids. It's the Nigerians. So now, the thing is, I don't know, it seems as if these Nigerians, they are – everyone is scared of them. I don't know why. Because even the police – they are reluctant to – I don't know if they are very clever. Even ourselves (Public Safety Officials). I think they are very clever because these kids, even [if] you find them with drugs, they will never tell you. They will – Nigerians?! – but it's like there's some kind of intimidation... So unless it will be something that maybe needs a special police that will come somewhere and just deal specific with that place only ...”

Khutsong was made in response to an attack that had been done on a foreign-owned spaza shop in Khutsong. The Khutsong Station Commander attested to there having been incidents in Khutsong as well as in Carletonville: "It was reported... Few of those, they were reported." He said that the people targeted in Carletonville were mostly Mozambicans and Zimbabweans, and a few Somalis. The Khutsong Station Commander does not perceive attacks on foreign business owners as xenophobic but rather as a criminal activity operating under the cover of xenophobia. "They are using xenophobia as a way of robbing you or stealing from you", he stated. The attacks on African migrants who do not run shops (Mozambicans, Zimbabweans, etc) are what he sees as xenophobic.

Anti-foreigner sentiments persist to date in parts of Merafong, particularly in Khutsong where business people are believed to be involved in the fuelling of the sentiments. In March 2010, residents of Khutsong attempted to mobilise to expel foreigners from their area, claiming that Nigerians were trying to steal children. When that specific reason ceased to exist, people identified a new reason to get rid of foreigners, this time the culprits were said to be Pakistanis running spaza shops. The Khutsong SAPS Station Commander states:

It caused a very big problem because they stand up and say no, these people then they must go out of Khutsong because they want to steal our children, and all those things. Then we have to run around the whole month, trying to do this, trying to do this. Then after that, then they changed. They said no, these foreign nationals – that's when the business comes in. This thing of the businesses is still not yet over... because they say no these people must go because they are taking our businesses; they are taking our customers.

In order to address the concerns and prevent attacks on foreigners, Khutsong SAPS organised community meetings particularly for business people. The Station Commander reported that the police do not chair the meetings (they are chaired by local business people themselves), but attend in order to advise people and to ensure that the resolutions taken at the meetings do not involve expelling foreigners.

Likelihood of recurrence

Respondents from SAPS and the municipality do not believe that xenophobic violence will recur in Merafong despite evidence of persistent negative sentiments toward foreign nationals and despite the fact that local business owners in Khutsong were still organising meetings to discuss the removal of foreign nationals in the area. A Carletonville SAPS Colonel reported that they were aware of a meeting which was held about a week before the fieldwork period, where meeting attendants

discussed forcefully “removing” foreigners from Khutsong. Among the reasons why state officials do not believe xenophobia will recur in Merafong are i) the fact they consider what happened in 2008 as mainly criminality and not something generating from generalised hatred of foreign nationals, ii) the fact that their 2008 experience was ‘not as bad’ as it was in other areas such as Johannesburg, and iii) they are ready to respond should the need arise.

Even as the municipality considers responses to prevent xenophobic violence in the short-term, it is necessary to examine ways in which social cohesion can be promoted on a daily basis through municipal initiatives, in conjunction with other stakeholders operating in Merafong. Sustained, long-term interventions are needed in order to address the root causes of anti-migrant sentiments, rather than simply focusing on responding to the displays of xenophobic violence when they occur. This is a common need across the four municipalities.

POLICING MIGRATION

In Merafong, policing migration involves random document-checks and occasional raids on foreign owned businesses to check for those who live in their places of businesses. The Khutsong SAPS Station Commander noted that they only check migrants’ documents randomly, if they have reason to suspect that a person does not have documentation. He noted that they arrest a maximum of five people per week for documents (most of whom are from Zimbabwe) though some weeks they do not arrest anyone for documentation. The Wedela SAPS Station Commissioner reported that they do not conduct “operations” to check for documentation often, as they do not wish to be seen “as if we are against our other nations within our community. We do it but not often.” He noted that they do not simply stop people because they suspect them as illegal immigrants and they do not only stop foreigners (whom they actually know to be foreigners) but stop everyone and police immigration as a secondary, ad-hoc matter. The Wedela SAPS Station Commissioner further noted that they sometimes conduct raids with the Department of Health to check for those who live in their places of business, as this is not allowed. Those who are affected tend to be foreigners running spaza shops.

Officially, only SAPS and DHA are authorised to police migration directly, though municipalities’ Public Safety officials, like traffic officials, are permitted to check for documentation when it is necessary in the performance of their other duties. They however do not have investigative powers and must therefore refer people to SAPS if there are any irregularities. CPFs do not have a mandate to police migration and SAPS officials interviewed stressed that CPFs are not supposed to ask about immigration documentation

Community Policing and Migrants' Participation

Like in other municipalities under the study, respondents in Merafong indicated that in general, foreign nationals living in the municipality do not participate in different existing forums including CPFs, patrollers and street committees, which the three main places where community policing occurs. While municipal officials blame the non-participation on migrants themselves, they at same time acknowledge that the reason may be that migrants do not feel welcome and are afraid they would be castigated for speaking where they were 'not wanted.'

SAPS officials identified language as their main challenge in policing migration. They indicated that the police sometimes struggle when attempting to assist foreign migrants who do not speak English, as there are no SAPS officers at their stations to call on for translation, for example of Swahili. This point was also raised in NMBM.

Section IV: Migrants' Livelihoods and Access to Services

MIGRANTS' LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES IN MERAUFONG

As discussed earlier, Merafong is predominantly a mining area and domestic and foreign migrants have long been and continue to be attracted by job opportunities in the mines. Respondents reported that the mines have attracted people from as far as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi and Angola and these migrant workers have shown willingness and skills of digging gold underground. According to the Treasurer of the SACP in Merafong, most of these migrant workers are braver than most South Africans who are scared to work underground. Mining or jobs in the mines is therefore the primary livelihood activity for most migrants (both domestic and foreign) in Merafong.

Respondents indicated however that new migrants, particularly foreign migrants are business-minded and survive on petty trade or small businesses in townships and informal settlements. They are seen by many as having good business skills and are commended for having transferred those skills to local residents who have now started their own small businesses. The COSATU Secretary in Merafong, for instance, applauded foreign migrants for having generously transferred survival skills to local people. At present, he said, there are mushrooming small businesses in the townships as an attempt to resolve the unemployment issue. In his own words:

[...] for instance, most South Africans did not think of making businesses by cutting people's hair, mending shoes, selling cooked food and old clothes in the streets. Some did not want to expose themselves that they are poor – they always wanted to be seen as people who are doing well in the country, while they do not have anything to feed their children. These days everyone is trying his/her best to survive without any fear that he/she will be laughed at by other people. We see a number of South Africans opening small businesses for survival, something that did not happen in the past. I commend foreign migrants for the skill and education they have imparted to us.

Some respondents however disputed the idea that foreign migrants bring business skills to the townships and informal settlements. In a focus group interview, one CDW stated:

What skills? These people are taking chances. They will open a saloon and start burning other people's hair up until they polish their skills. They start business not because they have a skill, but because they do not have options. They will start with mistakes up until they become perfect. The only thing that they have is that they are brave to start things. We live with them in the townships and we know their backgrounds.

Other respondents are convinced that some foreign nationals derive their livelihoods from illegal activities such as selling drugs and trading illegal electricity connections. Another CDW states:

... most of the foreign migrants are skilled in doing these connections and are selling electric unit at a flat rate of R200 per household irrespective of how much electricity one consumes. This poses a challenge to the municipality regarding the management and monitoring of such resources.

ACCESS TO SERVICES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Like in other municipalities, Merafong does not have any specific programmes to facilitate migrants or at least new arrivals access to existing services. Municipal officials indicated migrants benefit from all public services in the same way their local neighbours do. They equally share many challenges long-term residents face in poor and under-served townships and informal settlements where they (migrants) tend to settle. The municipality provides poor households with free basic services such as 6 kilolitres of water and 50 kilowatts of electricity per month. In addition, the indigent registration process benefits a number of people including pensioners, people with disability and the

unemployed. These indigent persons also benefit from exit programmes to promote self-reliance. The Executive Mayor indicated that these people are not expected to be in this category for ever. Once one gets employment or opens business that is flourishing; he/she is out of this indigent group. People are encouraged to open their own income generating projects for survival and self-reliance. It is however not clear how or what is required for migrants (particularly new arrivals) to get access to these and other services dedicated to helping the poor and the indigent.

Access to Housing

The lack of affordable housing leaves migrants (new arrivals and ex-mine workers leaving mine hostels) with no options but going to informal settlements to buy or rent shacks or become backyard dwellers. Municipal officials indicated that foreign migrants often move into dangerous dolomitic (sinkholes) areas where other residents have been relocated from and wouldn't be considered for formal housing like others because they are not citizens. The Town Planner explains:

A big problem occurs when we clear up informal settlements and we resettle people to formal houses. What happens is that place gets filled again by illegal migrants; you know destitute people from outside from Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and anywhere imaginable in Africa. People who do not really have a lot of rights, for instance right of access to housing in South Africa because they are not citizens. You understand the problem. Once we have moved our citizens and given them housing, we are still with other people and we are not exactly sure how to deal with them.

This also implies that not only foreign nationals move into these areas when citizens have been relocated but also that even those who have been living in those areas for a long time may be left behind during the relocation process.

The need for affordable housing has been noted by the municipality and along with its plan to eradicate informal settlements by 2014, it plans to promote the development of affordable rental housing. The Acting Manager in the office of the Speaker stated there are plans to develop affordable rental accommodation through the conversion of existing hostels, the formalisation of backyard shacks and institutional housing projects such as RDP, affordable rental and bond houses.

According to some respondents, the plans to eradicate informal settlements in Merafong and in the country in general are often hampered by the fact that some people rent out or sell their RDP

houses and go back to stay in shacks or by those who make multiple housing applications in different municipalities and provinces and make money out of it. The Chief Whip states:

You will find that someone owns an RDP house while he has a family in the Eastern Cape. He will sell his RDP house and goes to his original home after he got pension at the mines. After sometime one of his children will come to Merafong and claim the same house. He will be having legal documents as the son of the owner of the RDP house. You must understand that they sell these houses illegally to foreigners knowing very well that they do not have necessary documents for ownership. It happens in many occasions.

Access to business opportunities

Despite the acknowledgement that migrants have good business and entrepreneurship skills, they seem to be marginalised and discriminated against with regard to business opportunities at least as far as municipality-led small business initiatives are concerned. Like in Mossel Bay, this marginalisation stems from suspicions of illegality and insistence on promoting the interests of 'own' people first. The Director of Local Economic Development states:

With regard to registration for small businesses, foreigners do not register probably because they are not documented. We are not sure all these people that are here from Lesotho, Mozambique, Nigeria and other countries are legal [...] Our people are mobile. So when we plan for local economic development we consider people we know are residents. We prefer people who are local. That is what LED is about. Helping people who come from Limpopo, that is not LED. When we have finished servicing locals then we can help others.⁶⁷

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Municipality versus other spheres of government

Interviewed municipal officials raised concerns over the municipality's relationship with other spheres of government particularly with regard to different competencies that are not clearly defined. They indicated that this lack of clarity with regard to roles and mandates makes even more

⁶⁷ See more details in earlier section on using population information in planning.

difficult the municipality's service delivery efforts. They raised the following issues as impacting negatively on service delivery:

- Two spheres of government at the District level: they stated that there are unnecessary duplications of positions, roles and functions between the district and the local municipalities. They believe that resources used for district services should be channelled directly into service delivery programmes. The local municipality is able to assume all the required functions.
- It is confusing for many to have housing, education and health services as provincial government competencies. People forward their complaints to the municipality as the government institution that is closer to them, and not to the province. For many municipal officials, it makes better sense for these services to be managed at the municipal level.
- IDP and different priorities: municipal officials indicated that it is sometimes difficult to align community needs (outlined in IDP) with the provincial and national priorities, which in the end makes the implementation of an integrated service delivery plan difficult if not impossible.

Cooperation with the private sector

Municipal officials indicated that the municipality enjoys a cooperative relationship with the mining companies operating in the area. The mining companies have and continue to fund socio-economic projects including schools, clinics and hospitals. Their socio-economic projects have now been included in the municipality's IDP as part of an integrated service delivery and socio-economic development plan. Unlike in Mossel Bay (with PetroSA), mining companies in Merafong do not seem to have specific programmes dedicated at addressing migration related challenges, which they play a role in creating as their industry is the main migrants' pull factor.

Section V: Main Findings (Merafong)

Information, planning and policy

- Like the CoT, NMBM, Merafong commissioned its own demographic study in 2007 and presents its own estimates as its official population figures.
- Merafong does not have a specific population planning unit but the Town Planning Department is in charge of collecting and updating population data. The IDP office ensures that new updates are reflected in the annually revised IDP document.
- Unlike Mossel Bay that updates its population figures using the average national annual population growth, Merafong updates its figures using its own calculated average household size.
- Despite the general knowledge that Merafong is a highly populated society, the municipality has never undertaken a comprehensive study to accurately document migration patterns and identify ways for adequately planning for mobility. The need was expressed in the current IDP version but no concrete action has been taken to date.
- Migration and mobility are perceived to have a negative impact on service delivery. However the main concern is not about newcomers but rather ex-mine employees who, when retrenched and have to leave mine hostels, 'flood' informal settlements and demand services the municipality did not plan for and does not get revenues from. Migrants' perceived illegal buying and renting of RDP houses often results in social tensions.
- No concrete solutions to deal with identified migration and mobility related challenges.
- The municipality uses population information for some aspects of planning but officials admitted that it is difficult to plan for highly mobile people and indicated the municipality has decided to focus its planning and programming efforts on its local permanent residents.
- The municipality finds it difficult to use population information for planning because they cannot use newly updated figures to request more funds from the national treasury. Such figures cannot be used to request for instance the increase of the equitable share as the national treasury uses census data to calculate the equitable share and subsequent

adjustments. For the municipality, this means that more and more indigent people in the municipality are not getting help.

- Other spheres of government similarly do not use population information to plan their services and programmes in their competence. Services such as clinics, hospitals, schools did not keep track of population growth in the municipality. The information generated by the municipality is not put to good use by other spheres of government in terms of planning and programming.
- Concerns were also expressed over:
 - Inaccuracies of Stats SA data.
 - Lack of meaningful support from other spheres of government with regard to better understanding and managing migration and population mobility.
 - Acting bureaucrats.

Migration, safety and social cohesion

- The main sources of insecurity and challenges to safety in Merafong include: alcohol and drug abuse, poor services delivery, poverty and unemployment and the presence of sinkholes. The main criminal activities in the municipality include: housebreakings, robberies, assaults and the selling of drugs.
- Migration or population mobility is perceived to be linked to crime in three different ways: i) people resident outside Merafong travel to the area to commit major crimes, ii) migration contributes to population growth, which leads to an increase in crime and iii) migrant residents of Merafong are often victims and perceived authors of crime.
- Migration is also perceived to be a source of social tensions particularly around the issues of the 'illegal' buying and renting of RDP houses as well as business competition.
- Merafong has a relatively long history of xenophobic violence. Some parts of the municipality experienced the violence as far back as 2000. Xenophobic violence also occurred in 2008 and is likely to recur if no concrete preventive measures are put in place.

- In Merafong, policing migration involves random documents-checks and occasional raids on foreign owned businesses to check for those who live in their places of businesses. Language was cited as the main challenge to this kind of policing because relevant policing officials are often not able to communicate with foreign nationals.
- Foreign nationals living in the municipality do not generally participate in different existing community policing structures including CPFs, patrollers and street committees, which the three main places where community policing occurs. While some respondents blame the non-participation on migrants themselves, they at same time acknowledge that the reason may be that migrants do not feel welcome and are afraid they would be castigated for speaking where they were not wanted.

Migrants' livelihood and access to services

- The main livelihood activity of the majority of migrants (both domestic and foreign) is working in the mines. Recent foreign migrants however survive on small businesses they operate in townships and informal settlements.
- There are no specific programmes to facilitate migrants' access to livelihood and services. There are widespread assumptions that migrants have equal access to services and opportunities as their permanent or long-term resident neighbours. It is believed that public services including free basic services are available for everyone who qualifies.
- Migrants however face more difficulties accessing services such as housing and business opportunities due to lack of proper documentation or due to the fact that municipal officials tend to give priority to local permanent or long-term residents in their planning for the local economic development.
- Migration is perceived to impact negatively on service delivery. New migrants and ex-mine workers 'flood' informal settlements and demand services the municipality has not planned for and does not get revenues from.
- The municipality enjoys a cooperative relationship with mining companies operating in the area but the mining sector does not seem to have specific programmes to help the municipality deal with migration related challenges.

This section summarises and discusses the main findings of the study, drawing on the four case studies above. It does so in three brief subsections corresponding with the three main sections detailed in the case study accounts i.e. i) information, planning and policy, ii) safety, security and social cohesion, and iii) migrants' livelihood and access to services.

Information, Planning and Policy

Sources of population data and information

Municipalities covered by the study draw population information and data from a wide range of different sources including Stats SA's 2001 Census and 2007 Community Survey, their own demographic studies commissioned to consultants, research institutions, the internet and service accounts and ward profiles compiled by CDWs where they exist. They however do not have a unit or a person dedicated to population data collection and management i.e. a unit or a person in charge of gathering (from the various sources), consolidating and making available population data for the use of all municipal departments and other interested stakeholders such as potential business investors. Different directorates or departments independently use those different sources to get the population information they need for their programming and planning.

Stats SA is the source commonly used by all municipalities mainly because it is the source used by decision-makers in other spheres of government particularly when deciding on financial support to be allocated to municipalities. Municipalities however use Stats SA data knowing very well that it is not only outdated but also inaccurate and misleading. This is one of the reasons why municipalities often commission their own demographic studies. Three municipalities commissioned demographic studies around (Merafong and Nelson Mandela in 2006) or in the same year (Tshwane in 2007) Stats SA was conducting a nationwide Community Survey.

Data produced internally (through commissioned demographic studies)⁶⁸ is however not equally trusted by or considered useful to all municipal departments or directorates. Perhaps due to the lack of a central population planning unit, many departments and directorates in Tshwane and Nelson

⁶⁸ Mossel Bay is the only municipality that is yet to conduct its own demographic study

Mandela Bay for instance are either not aware of the demographic studies commissioned by the municipalities or do not consider the information accurate and useful for their planning and programming.

Population information at ward level

Where there is a good working relationship between the ward leadership and CDWs (e.g. some wards in Nelson Mandela Bay and Merafong), wards obtain population information from ward profiles regularly compiled by CDWs. Ward profiles are however not obtainable in all wards because i) not all wards have CDWs and ii) in some cases CDWs (deployed and reporting to the provincial government) are not willing to share their reports with their respective ward leaderships. This unwillingness mainly stems from the lack of cooperation and tense relationships between the local leadership and CDWs whose mandate reportedly includes spying on local leadership and reporting corruption and wrongdoings to the provincial government.

Population data projections and updates

With the exception of Nelson Mandela Bay, municipalities do not do their own data projections⁶⁹ and those that do not rely on updates provided by Stats SA use different methods to update their population statistics. For instance while Mossel Bay updates its population figures using the average national annual population growth (by regularly adding the national growth rate to figures provided by Stats SA), Merafong updates its figures using its own calculated average household size.

Information on migration trends

While there is a general recognition that the concerned municipalities attract significant numbers of migrants, both domestic and foreign, municipalities do not seem to have mechanisms to get accurate information on migration and population mobility patterns. Municipalities do not seem to keep records on migration patterns into or from their boundaries. They have little knowledge not only about migrants' demographics but also their needs, costs and contributions.

⁶⁹ Please also note that the Nelson Mandela Bay projections are highly contested even internally by municipal departments.

In general terms, migration is perceived to impact negatively on municipality's service delivery and social cohesion efforts as often leads to social tensions due to perceived illegality and increased crime rates as well as to competition for public services, jobs and business opportunities.

Municipalities have however no concrete plans to deal with or at least minimise this perceived negative impact associated with migration and population mobility. This is probably due the fact that, in some municipalities (particularly in Tshwane and Mossel Bay) migration is considered as a 'national' (and not a local government) matter that must be dealt with by relevant national departments. And while Nelson Mandela Bay and Merapong recognise that local government should be equally involved in better understanding and managing migration and population mobility, this recognition is yet to translate into a concrete plan of action.

Limited and declining research capacity

In Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay there appears to be a decline in research capacity particularly with regard to the collection and analysis of population data or information. In all four municipalities, there is lack of personnel able to make sense of the available data and perform additional analyses that would make data from different sources more useful to municipal departments. The complaints (made in Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay) that Stats SA data is not useful to municipalities because they use units of analyses that do not respond to local/municipal information needs probably stem from this lack of capacity.

In sum, while all four municipalities expressed the need for accurate and up-to-date population data/information, this information is not always available due to a variety of reasons as discussed above.

Use of Population Information for Planning

Municipal departments use mostly the information contained in IDP documents for programming and planning. Most IDPs however do not make provisions for population changes occasioned either by natural growth or migration probably due to lack of reliable population data and projections. There is therefore little mainstreaming of population dynamics into planning processes and this

creates backward looking programming which (as discussed below) has the potential of excluding migrants and migrant issues from service delivery and socio-economic development plans.

The lack of reliable information is not the only reason. Municipal officials do not consider population information (even when or if available) particularly useful in terms of planning because locally generated and updated data cannot be used to generate appropriate financial support particularly from the national treasury that still uses the 2001 census data to distribute the equitable share. From this point of view, municipalities have little incentive to mainstream population data and dynamics into the planning process.

With regard to planning for migration, while there is a recognition that population mobility affects their planning for service delivery, municipalities do not consider planning for migration a worthwhile effort because i) they do not have accurate and reliable information on migration patterns and ii) they have decided to focus their planning and programming efforts on their 'own' local permanent/long-term residents (Mossel Bay and Merafong) or ratepayers (Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay).

Municipalities and migration/mobility policy formation

Like for many other matters, migration related policies/decisions are adopted/made at national level and municipalities seem to have little influence. Municipal officials, particularly from Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay for instance, indicated that while they sit on different national and provincial fora and submit reports to their respective national and provincial departments, policies and decisions made at national and provincial level do not take into consideration views and realities from the ground. They deplore the top-down approach where municipalities are only handed policies and decisions to implement. In addition to the lack of influence on policies and decisions, municipalities reported not to get adequate support from other spheres of government (district municipalities and provincial and national governments) with regard to better understanding and managing migration and population mobility.

Migration, Security and Social Cohesion

Migration as a source of crime and social tensions

While migration is not directly cited as a main source of crime and insecurity, many municipal officials associate foreign migration with illegality, criminality and social tensions caused by

competition for scarce resources, jobs and business opportunities. Their views however appear to be steeped in stereotypes rather informed by empirical evidence such as police crime statistics.

Illegal dealings in RDP houses and competition between locals and migrants (both domestic and foreign) for scarce resources, jobs and business opportunities at times results in social tensions and conflicts such as the xenophobic violence. All municipalities have experienced incidents of xenophobic violence and they are likely to recur if no concrete preventive measures are put in place.

Municipalities appear to be aware of what emergency responses may be required in the event of a recurrence of xenophobic attacks. However, they do not have readiness plans in place. Xenophobia task teams established in 2008 appear to have been emergency ad hoc committees that became inactive as soon as local government felt xenophobia had been “adequately dealt with” and have therefore been non-existent or inactive for two years. It appears that municipalities wait to react to the outbreak of the violence instead of putting in place sustained preventative measures. There are no long-term interventions to fight xenophobia and related violence and promote social cohesion or to encourage residents to respond better to what is new and different.

It is necessary to examine ways in which social cohesion can be promoted on a daily basis through municipal initiatives, in conjunction with other stakeholders. Sustained, long-term interventions are needed in order to address the root causes of anti-migrant sentiments, rather than simply focusing on responding to the displays of xenophobic violence when they occur.

Policing migration and migrants’ participation in community policing and leadership structures

Policing migration does not appear to be a major preoccupation of policing and law enforcement institutions particularly the SAPS. There are however instances where (e.g. Mossel Bay) SAPS’ ID checks and raids on foreign-owned businesses amount to harassment of foreign migrants who often do not have any room for meaningful engagement with community policing structures and other local governance institutions.

Migrants are generally excluded from community policing structures and have limited participation and involvement in local community leadership and events. Local residents attribute this lack of participation to migrants’ self-exclusion while for migrants it results from rejection by local communities.

Where migrants do participate and have a sustained engagement with the police, their participation appears to play a positive role in promoting the safety and rights of migrants living in municipalities as Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay.

Livelihood and Access to Services

Livelihood activities

Municipalities do not have specific information/data on livelihood activities of different types of migrants living within their boundaries. Generally speaking, officials indicated that domestic migrants survive on low paid, unskilled labour in mines, farms, businesses and industries operating in the municipality. Unemployed and poor domestic migrants derive their livelihoods from free basic services and indigent grants like other poor residents.

Informal trading and small businesses in townships and informal settlements are foreign migrants' main livelihood activities. Foreign migrants are reportedly more business-minded and more entrepreneurial than their South African counterparts who are said to be more job-oriented. According to respondents, migrants, particularly Somalis and Pakistanis, come into municipalities not looking for employment, but spaces to open businesses.

Access to services

Regarding access to services, domestic migrants are mainly considered as locals or long-term residents. There are no specific programmes to facilitate migrants' access to livelihoods and services. Public services are available for everyone including free basic services for everyone who qualifies or is covered by the indigent policy. Poor migrants face the same challenges as 'locals' with regard to accessing services and opportunities in poor and under-served areas where they live.

In addition to general problems faced by all residents in poor areas, foreign migrants face specific problems with regard to accessing services and opportunities. These include i) exploitation by employers, ii) lack of documentation, iii) discrimination with regard to business opportunities, iii) harassment by law enforcements agents, iv) government officials' negative attitudes toward migrants' documents, regular looting of their businesses and the payment of protection fees in some areas of the CoT.

Migration impact on service delivery

All municipalities perceive migration to have a negative impact on their service delivery efforts as it increases service delivery backlogs and stretches municipality resources. Poor migrants 'flood' existing informal settlements or start new informal settlements and then demand services the municipality has not planned for and does not get revenues from.

Despite this recognition however, municipalities have no concrete plans to deal with or at least minimise this perceived negative impact. The exception is with Tshwane and Mossel Bay who attempt to discourage immigration by regularly removing newly established informal dwellings. For some officials, managing migration is synonymous with influx control and now that influx control laws have been abolished, 'there is nothing municipalities can do'.

Partnership with the private sector

Municipalities seem to have a good relationship with the private sector with regard to the socio-economic development planning. In Merafong, the mining sector's socio-economic projects are included in the IDP to ensure an integrated development plan. In Mossel Bay, PetroSA has reportedly gone beyond the normal corporate social responsibilities by recognising the role the company plays in attracting migrants into the municipality and that therefore the company should also play a role in helping the municipality deal with migration related challenges. PetroSA reportedly supports a number of skills training programmes, not only for its employees but also for the broader community to enhance community members' chances of acquiring skilled jobs in the industry itself and elsewhere.

Intergovernmental relations

Relationships between municipalities and other spheres of government (with regard to planning and planning service delivery and socio-economic projects) have been often described as frustrating. The issue of mandates is of grave concern. Communities interact directly with municipalities and not with the province. All service delivery protests are aimed at the municipality as the immediate local government expected to respond to community needs. The study confirms concerns raised by the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs⁷⁰ that i) municipalities are often undermined by national and provincial government policies and processes (e.g. taking the blame for housing policy failures), ii) intergovernmental relation system is not effective in its objectives to coordinate planning across the three spheres of government and to strengthen accountability

⁷⁰ See report by Department of Cooperative Governance & Traditional Affairs (CoGTA), 2009. State of Local Government in South Africa. Overview Report. CoGTA November 2009 from page 5 to 11)

towards achieving critical and targeted development outcomes, and iii) policy failures undermine local government effectiveness. “[...] There is uncertainty about provincial government’s role in service delivery, and intergovernmental conflict and competition over powers and functions between provinces and their local governments are a frequent occurrence. [...] National targets for service delivery that apply uniformly irrespective of the economic and institutional differences between municipalities simply set municipalities up to fail.”⁷¹

⁷¹ Ibid, p11

Annex I: List of Interviews

MUNICIPALITY	INTERVIEWEE (S)	INTERVIEWER(S)	DATE
City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality	1. Deputy Director: Crime Prevention, Gauteng Department of Community Safety	K. Takabvirwa	16 March 2010
	2. SAPS Captain: CBD Akasia Police Station	K. Takabvirwa	22 March 2010
	3. NPA Advocate stationed at Mamelodi-East Police Station (NPA Community Prosecution Project)	K. Takabvirwa and M. Kanyane	25 March 2010
	4. Mamelodi CPF Members: Sector Forum 1&5 (focus group interview)	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	25 March 2010
	5. Mamelodi ANC Regional Secretary	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	25 March 2010
	6. Soshanguve CPF Members: Sector A, C & D (focus group interview)	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	26 March 2010
	7. Soshanguve SANCO Regional Secretary	M. Kanyane	26 March 2010
	8. SAPS Sector Manager, Sector 1, Soshanguve	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	26 March 2010
	9. SAPS Sector Manager, Sector 4, Soshanguve	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	26 March 2010
	10. Soshanguve CPF Coordinator of Patrollers	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	26 March 2010
	11. Soshanguve CPF Commander of Patrollers	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	26 March 2010
	12. Deputy Director: Intergovernmental Relations and Operational Support Management	JP. Misago	26 March 2010
	13. Commander: Loate Crime Prevention	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	29 March 2010
	14. Winterveld CPF members (focus group interview)	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	29 March 2010

15. Executive Head: Office of the Chief Whip of the Council	JP. Misago, N. Ngwenya	29 March 2010
16. CPF Chairperson, Loate Police Station	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	29 March 2010
17. CPF Deputy Chairperson, Loate Police Station	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	29 March 2010
18. SAPS Loate Crime Prevention Manager, and Cluster Commander for Visible Policing	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	29 March 2010
19. Executive Director: Integrated Community Development	JP. Misago	31 March 2010
20. Director: Housing Policy, Strategy and Systems Management	JP. Misago, M. Kanyane	1 April 2010
21. MMC: Sports and Recreation	JP. Misago, M. Kanyane	1 April 2010
22. Inspector: Attridgeville Social Crime Prevention Unit	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	01 April 2010
23. Head of Social Crime Prevention Unit: SAPS Attridgeville Police Station	K. Takabvirwa, M. Kanyane	1 April 2010
24. MMC: Community Safety	JP. Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	6 April 2010
25. MMC: Health and Social Development	JP. Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	6 April 2010
26. MMC: Housing and his Political Assistant	JP. Misago, M. Kanyane	6 April 2010
27. Demographer: City Planning, Development and Regional Services Department	JP. Misago	7 April 2010
28. Researcher: City Planning, Development and Regional Services Department	JP. Misago	7 April 2010
29. Representative: Somali Association of South Africa (SASA)	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	7 April 2010
30. Members: Lungisa Security (focus group interview)	M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	7 April 2010
31. Chairman and Executive Committee of Lungisa, Winterveld	K. Takabvirwa, M. Kanyane	7 April 2010

	32. UNHCR Senior Regional Community Services Officer	T. Polzer and K. Takabvirwa	7 April 2010
	33. Deputy Director: Metropolitan Planning. City Planning, Development and Regional Services Department	JP. Misago	25 August 2010
Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality	1. Managing Director, Private Security Companies' Regulatory Authority	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	12 April 2010
	2. Executive Director and Funding Director: Project for Conflict Resolution and Development in PE	K. Takabvirwa	13 April 2010
	3. Executive Director of 2010	JP. Misago, N. Ngwenya	14 April 2010
	4. Coordinator : Ekunyamazeleni Resource Centre	M. Kanyane	14 April 2010
	5. Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson: Walmer CPF	K. Takabvirwa, M. Kanyane	15 April 2010
	6. Career Guidance Project Manager. National Youth Development Agency	M. Kanyane	15 April 2010
	7. Counsellor: Obuhle Victim Support Centre at Walmer SAPS' Gqebera Satellite Station	K. Takabvirwa, M. Kanyane	15 April 2010
	8. SAPS Captain: Walmer Police Station's Gqebera Satellite Station	K. Takabvirwa, M. Kanyane	15 April 2010
	9. Director in the Office of the Speaker	K. Takabvirwa, N. Ngwenya	16 April 2010
	10. Acting Executive Director: Public Health; Head: Parks and Cemeteries; Acting Director: Waste Management; Acting Director: Environmental Health; Director: Primary Health	K. Takabvirwa, N. Ngwenya, M. Kanyane	16 April 2010
	11. Executive Director: Economic Development and Recreation Services	JP. Misago, M. Kanyane	16 April 2010
	12. Director: Land Planning and Management	JP. Misago, M. Kanyane	16 April 2010
	13. Acting Executive Director: Electricity and Energy	JP. Misago, M. Kanyane, K.	19 April 2010

		Takabvirwa	
	14. Coordinator (SMEs). Port Elizabeth Regional Chamber of commerce & Industry	M. Kanyane	19 April 2010
	15. Acting Executive Director: Safety and Security	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	20 April 2010
	16. Managing Director: Business Against Crime	K. Takabvirwa	20 April 2010
	17. Executive Director: Special Programmes	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	21 April 2010
	18. Chief Financial Officer	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	21 April 2010
	19. Representative: Eastern Cape Refugee Forum	K. Takabvirwa, M. Kanyane	22 April 2010
	20. SACP Regional Secretary, SANCO Regional Secretary	JP. Misago, M. Kanyane	22 April 2010
	21. NED Bank Project Manager: SMEs	M. Kanyane	22 April 2010
	22. Acting Chief Whip (also a ward 37 Councillor), Ward Councillor Ward 59; Head of Research Unit in the Chief Whip's Office; Ward 60 Councillor	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	23 April 2010
	23. Director for Integrated Development Plan (IDP)	JP. Misago	23 April 2010
	24. Coordinator: Special Programmes Unit, Constituency Office	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	23 April 2010
	25. COSATU Regional Secretary, ANC Regional Secretary	M. Kanyane (Phone interview)	28 April 2010
Mossel Bay Municipality	1. Chairperson: Technical Services	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	3 May 2010
	2. Director: Corporate Services	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	4 May 2010

3.	Chairperson and Treasurer: D'Almeida Civic Association	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	5 May 2010
4.	Chairperson: Corporate Services	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	6 May 2010
5.	Chairperson: Financial Services	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	6 May 2010
6.	Members UNCEDO Mossel Bay Taxi Association, KwaNonqaba (Focus group interview)	N. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	7 May 2010
7.	Coordinator: Piet Julius AIDS & TB Project	N. Kanyane	7 May 2010
8.	Executive Mayor	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	10 May 2010
9.	Director: Community Services	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, N. Ngwenya	11 May 2010
10.	Director: Pollution and Waste Management; Director: Community Safety and Director: Fire and Rescue Services	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, N. Ngwenya	11 May 2010
11.	Director: Financial Services	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	11 May 2010
12.	ANC Councillors (focus group interview)	K. Takabvirwa, N. Ngwenya	11 May 2010
13.	Human Resources Manager: M Sec Security	K. Takabvirwa, N. Ngwenya	11 May 2010
14.	Director: Town Planning and Building Control and Director: Spatial Planning	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	12 May 2010
15.	Strategic Support Executive in City Manager's Office	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane	12 May 2010
16.	Community Development Consultant: Petro SA	N. Kanyane	12 May 2010

	17. Deputy Executive Mayor	JP. Misago	12 May 2010
	18. Captain Fourie, SAPS Da Gamaskop	K. Takabvirwa	12 May 2010
	19. Pastor N. Magumbe: Faith Ministries, KwaNonqaba	K. Takabvirwa	12 May 2010
	20. Coordinator: N2 South Cape Rural Development Forum	N. Kanyane	13 May 2010
	21. Social Worker: Mossel Bay Municipality	N. Kanyane	13 May 2010
	22. Chief Executive Officer : Mossel Bay Tourism	N. Kanyane	13 May 2010
	23. Sergeant Jika: SAPS, KwaNonqaba Police Station	K. Takabvirwa	13 may 2010
	24. Local Economic Development and Head of SED and Public Participation	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, N. Ngwenya	14 May 2010
	25. Community Development Workers (DWs) (focus group interview)	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, N. Ngwenya	14 May 2010
	26. Congolese male migrant (small-business owner), KwaNonqaba	K. Takabvirwa	14 May 2010
	27. Burkina Faso male migrant (small-business owner), Da Gamaskop	K. Takabvirwa	14 May 2010
	28. South African male migrant (assistant to Chinese shop-keeper), KwaNonqaba	K. Takabvirwa	14 May 2010
Merafong City Local Municipality	1. Acting Executive Director, Shared Services	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	25 May 2010
	2. Fochville CPF Chairperson (Also ANC Branch Chairperson)	K. Takabvirwa	25 May 2010
	3. Chief Whip	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	26 May 2010
	4. Acting Manager in the Speaker's Office	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	26 May 2010

5.	SACP, ANC & SANCO Representatives (Khutsong)	M. Kanyane	27 May 2010
6.	Station Commander: Khutsong SAPS	K. Takabvirwa	27 may 2010
7.	Executive Mayor	JP. Misago	28 May 2010
8.	Manager: Industrial Relations	JP. Misago	31 May 2010
9.	CPF Treasurer and Reservist Commander and Captain Visser of Carletonville SAPS	K. Takabvirwa	31 may 2010
10.	Chief Operating Officer: Carletonville Hospital	M. Kanyane	1 June 2010
11.	Operation Manager: Khutsong Southern Clinic	M. Kanyane	1 June 2010
12.	Station Commander: Wedela SAPS	K. Takabvirwa	1 June 2010
13.	Manager: CPI Private Security Company	K. Takabvirwa	1 June 2010
14.	Chief Operating Officer	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	2 June 2010
15.	Community Development Workers (focus group interview)	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane	2 June 2010
16.	Station Commander: Fochville SAPS	K. Takabvirwa	2 June 2010
17.	CPF Chairperson: Wedela	K. Takabvirwa	2 June 2010
18.	Director: Local Economic Development	JP .Misago, M. Kanyane, K. Takabvirwa	3 June 2010
19.	Acting IDP Manager	JP. Misago	3 June 2010
20.	Chief Financial Officer	JP. Misago	3 June 2010
21.	Town Planner: Planning Department	JP. Misago	3 June 2010
22.	Colonel Melina Theunissen; Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Theunissen and Lieutenant Colonel Moteun: Carletonville SAPS.	K. Takabvirwa	3 June 2010
23.	Traffic Superintendent; Security	K. Takabvirwa	4 June 2010

	Superintendent; Licensing Department Supervisor and Licensing Department Registration Supervisor		
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