Programme FSP International Migration, Territorial Recomposition and Development in Africa

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Project n°5: Immigration, Transit and Urban Transformation: A Comparative Study of Post-Apartheid Migration and Urbanisation in Lubumbashi, Maputo and Johannesburg

Project leaders: Loren B. Landau, University of the Witwatersrand

Aurelia Wa Kabwe-Segatti, French Institute of South Africa

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1. Review of overall objectives

- Expanding the knowledge of post-apartheid migration systems towards Southern Africa
- Understanding how State policies and practices are influencing, and being transformed by, human migration into and through Southern Africa's urban centres

 Documenting the demographic and sociological implications of these "new" migration trends and their relation to urbanisation

2. Team and projects

A multi-disciplinary (Political sc., Sociology, History, Demog., Stats), diverse team (North/South, Senior/Junior, 5 female / 6 male researchers).

- Loren B. Landau, Director, Forced Migration Studies Programme, Univ. of the Witwatersrand, PhD Political Science / Development Studies
- Aurelia Wa Kabwe Segatti, French Institute of South Africa, PhD Political Science / African Studies
- Dominique Vidal, University of Lille 3, PhD Sociology
- Elise Palomares, University of Rouen/Laboratoire URMIS-CNRS, PhD Sociology
- Donatien Dibwe dia Mwembu, University of Lubumbashi, Observatoire du Changement Urbain, PhD History
- Joseph Kanku Mukengeshayi, University of Lubumbashi, Institut Supérieur de Statistiques, PhD Demographics
- Ines Raimundo, University Eduardo Mondlane, PhD Demographic History
- Caroline Kihato, University of South Africa (UNISA), PhD candidate Sociology
- Peter Kankonde, University of the Witwatersrand, MA student, Forced Migration
- Brian Ngandu & Véronique Gindrey, Statistics resource persons

Research projects development:

The project initial outline was divided into 2 phases:

A quantitative (n=2500) survey of international and domestic migrants and 'host' populations in 'gateway neighbourhoods' in Maputo, Lubumbashi, Johannesburg and Nairobi; Page | 3

This survey would then serve as the baseline for a series of qualitative enquiry and longitudinal comparison.

A multi-site perspective was adopted from the inception of the project to capture the transnational nature of the networks observed.

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Conceptual and methodological progress

- Discussions and workshops have helped the team problematise notions such as transit migration and "new" forms of mobility (and situating those in relation with other paradigms such as transnationalism, « circulations migratoires »): this has been achieved in the framework of joint workshops with another research programme, ANR MITRANS (CNRS Research Unit, J Streiff-Fénart). As a result of these meetings, the team is now considering transit and transformation from three perspectives: legal categories & policies; relation to spatial and territorial movements; and transit as a mindset and set of practices leading to a permanent state of liminality;
- The team has also begin situating our African-based research within a historical and comparative literature on cities and migration (e.g., School of Chicago / Simmel / Tarrius / Mbembe & Nuttall / Simone) and a small but growing literature on urbanisation in Africa (Freund, Fourchard);
- Methodologically, our interactions have led to envisaging ways of combining usefully quantitative and qualitative data sets, using their specificities to complement each other. The added-value of multi-site analysis (Marcus, Bourdieu, Tarrius) has been explored more specifically as well as the ethics of working on vulnerable populations (Landau & Jacobsen, Vigneswaran), the complexities of designing and delimitating representative sampling methods in informal / limited archival/census contexts.

Summary of research sub-projects:

- Quantitative surveys in Johannesburg, Lubumbashi, Maputo (and Nairobi): Research conducted by FMSP-IFAS in Johannesburg and with Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, the Institute for Development Studies in Nairobi, and the University of Lubumbashi in the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- 2. Changing family structures among Congolese migrants and the role of the families in facilitating migration (D Dibwe & J Kanku in Lubumbashi, Johannesburg & Maputo)
- 3. Gender, migration and violence in transit and residential communities (C Kihato, Johannesburg)
- 4. Policy frameworks at national and local level (A Wa Kabwe Segatti & L Landau on South Africa; I Raimundo in Mozambique)

- 5. New forms of mobility, belonging & liminality (D Vidal on Mozambican migrants between Johannesburg & Maputo; L Landau & I Haupt on Migrants' Cosmopolitanism in Johannesburg)
- 6. Mobility, urban transformation and capital accumulation:
 - a. 'African traders and the city' project: E Palomares, C Quiminal & A Wa Kabwe Page | 5 Segatti (Johannesburg and SA cities)
 - b. Peter Kankonde: Effects of remittances on livelihoods and mobility among Congolese migrants between Johannesburg, Lubumbashi & Maputo.

3. Research methods

Quantitative surveys

As noted in our initial proposal, this project has developed and used an innovative mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to understand the demographic and social recomposition of African cities in an era of migration. This initiative began with the quantitative component. To that end:

- The questionnaires were initially developed in Johannesburg as pilots in 2003 as collaboration between Tufts University, Boston and the FMSP. It used Census (2001) data, private surveys (Legget, Kagiso Urban Management), qualitative work, aerial photographs, random sampling within cells. This work was refined within the Ceped project in 2006. The selected areas in Johannesburg were done on the basis of a presumed larger presence of targeted groups of foreigners (Mozambicans, Congolese, and Somalis): Berea, Yeoville, Bertrams, Rosettenville, Bezuidenhout Valley, and Fordsburg.
- Groups surveyed: Congolese, Somalis, Mozambicans, South Africans (847 for 2006 survey)
- The questionnaire was translated in 4 languages (French, Portuguese, Somali, and Swahili. All were then translated back into English).
- Adaptations to local contexts were done in 2006 and the partners in Maputo and Lubumbashi conducted pilots. After a series of amendments and adaptations, we developed the final questionnaires for the two cities.
- Several specific training sessions for interviewers (all recruited at a minimum of BA level in the partner universities) were organised in Johannesburg, Maputo and Lubumbashi.



Group picture from 1 week-training workshop run in Lubumbashi (University of Lubumbashi, Observatoire du changement urbain & Institut supérieur de démographie) in August 2006

Difficulties encountered with the quantitative surveys:

- Necessary adaptation to the local contexts: While the survey objective was to ensure maximum comparability, the differences among the cities demanded considerable adaptation. These included recognising that the immigrants found in Lubumbashi were Zambians and Angolans with some of them sometimes born there but with no possibilities of acquiring Congolese citizenship; Lubumbashi was also specific given its once large population of Internally Displaced Persons; We also discovered that there were far fewer Somalis in Maputo than we expected -- we subsequently replaced that group with Rwandans and Burundians. All these differences between cities called for adaptations and raised the issue of comparability of data; which groups to capture and which to leave out. This has compromised the full comparability of the survey, but allows great insights into the individual cities and strong comparison of the migrant experience generally and the Congolese specifically (who appear in all of the surveys).
- Temporality: In addition to different groups, the migrant experience differs substantially in the rate and type of migration and urbanisation that has taken place. For instance, there were very few newly arrived migrants in Lubumbashi although there might have been a specific group of "foreign natives." In order to capture this, we had to distinguish between two categories: those who arrived more than 15 years ago

and those arrived within the past 15 years. This raised the issue of how to situate such surveys historically, in the chronology of urban settlement and in life trajectories.

Sampling issues: In Maputo, Lubumbashi and Johannesburg use different administrative systems for dividing the city. While these are well documented in Maputo and Johannesburg, it was almost impossible to secure a current administrative map of Lubumbashi or any recent census data with which to develop a sampling frame. Consequently, our survey in more speculative in Lubumbashi than it is elsewhere.

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- Administration of questionnaires: Conducting survey work in African cities means overcoming the cities' social heterogeneity, people's general suspicion to 'officials', and acute security issues. In Johannesburg and Lubumbashi our field workers were able to speak to all respondents in one of their first languages. However, field work in Maputo was conducted almost entirely in Portuguese, potentially compromising the survey results. In Johannesburg, our greatest challenges were security related. This resulted in our inability to work in the evening and the difficulty of accessing buildings and people. In Lubumbashi, the survey occurred in the electoral context of presidential elections which did not facilitate things but people's suspicion could, on the whole, be overcome.
- Processing of data: In order to facilitate the process of data entry and cleaning, we subcontracted a reputable Johannesburg-based survey (non-profit) organisation.
 Unfortunately, the organisation was in the midst of a leadership crisis and we faced a one-year delay due to mismanagement of processing.

Methods briefs (quant. surveys)

- Darshan Vigneswaran, FMSP, Lost in Space: Residential Sampling and Johannesburg Forced Migrants
- Joseph Kanku, Observatoire du Changement Urbain, Lubumbashi, Summary report on the Quantitative Survey in the City of Lubumbashi
- <u>http://migration.org.za</u>

Qualitative projects:

Project	Location	Methods	Progress	Use of quant. surveys	
Family structures and Congolese migration (Kanku, Dibwe)	Lubumbashi, Johannesburg, Maputo	Mutli-site, interviews, participant observation	All fieldwork completed, one additional fieldwork in Lubumbashi; writing phase	Yes, esp. on decision to leave, journey, resources, contact with DRC	
2. Gender & transit (Kihato)	Johannesburg	Photographic workshop, focus group disc., interviews	Fieldwork in progress	Yes, on gender issues (decision to leave, income)	
3. Local & national Policy frameworks (Landau, Wa Kabwe)	All sites	Qualit., documentary research and interviews	Completed at nat. level, in progress at local level	Yes, to compare with migrants' perceptions of categ. & interact. with authorities	
4. Mobility, belonging & liminality (Vidal; Landau & Monson & Haupt)	Joburg & Maputo for Vidal; Johannesburg only for L & M & H	Multi-site, qualit., interviews, participant observation, travelling	Vidal: completed, writing phase; fieldwork in progress for Haupt (writing phase)	Yes, on Mozambicans for D Vidal; on perceptions / belonging for Landau et al.	
5. African traders and the City (Quiminal, Palomares, Wa Kabwe)	Joburg & rest of South Africa	Qualit. Interviews, participant observation, travelling (multi-site)	Fieldwork almost completed; writing phase.	Yes, on eco activity, residential mobility, income and remittances	
6. Remittances & livelihoods of Congolese	Johannesburg, Maputo, Lubumbashi	Qualit. Interviews, participant obs., travelling	Fieldwork just begun	Yes, on remittances	

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4. Available data and outputs

Quant. surveys:

 ✓ All 4 cities processed; SPSS files & descriptive statistics tables available online for project participants (since February 2008)

✓ Work with stats person recruited V Gindrey (MITRANS funding)

Example of descriptive table:

106. Highes	t Level of Edu	ucation Comp	leted * Count	ry of Birth					
			Country of Birth						
			DRC	Mozambique	Somalia	Other Non- South African	South Africans	Non-South African Total	Total
	DK/RA	Percent		2.00%				0.60%	0.50%
Highest Level of Education Completed	No formal schooling/ some primary education	Percent	0.80%	2.00%	21.50%	6.70%	6.80%	7.10%	7.10%
	Finished Primary Education	Percent	5.10%	37.10%	24.70%		18.80%	20.70%	20.10%
	Finished Secondary Education	Percent	50.20%	49.00%	40.30%	73.30%	59.70%	47.10%	50.30%
	Finished Tertiary Education (BA, BS, Diploma, etc.)	Percent	37.50%	8.40%	13.40%	20.00%	13.60%	21.60%	19.60%
	Post-grad degree (Masters, doctorate, post- graduate diploma)	Percent	6.30%	1.50%			1.00%	2.90%	2.50%
Total=N	• •	Count	253	202	186	15	191	648	847

Reports:

C. Quiminal et E. Palomares (2007); Ceped meeting, 17-18 August 2007, Johannesburg; Progress report A Kabwe – Segatti, Oct 2007, Johannesburg; C Kihato, nov2007-Feb 2008, Johannesburg; J Kanku & D Dibwe (2006 et 2007 à Johannesburg & Maputo); D Vidal (2005, 2006 & 2007).

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Papers submitted or published:

- Wa Kabwe Segatti, Aurelia, Communication 'We offer the whole of Africa here!: African Curio Traders and the Marketing of a Global African Image in Post-Apartheid South African Cities', Forced Migration Studies Programme Seminar Series, University of the Witwatersrand, 12 février 2008. Papier soumis aux Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, numéro spécial Tourisme et culture.
- Aurelia Wa Kabwe-Segatti and Loren B. Landau. 'Displacement and Difference in Lubumbashi.' 2007. Forced Migration Review. Vol. 27: 71-72.
- Kihato, C. W. (2007) Invisible lives, inaudible voices? The social conditions of migrant women in Johannesburg. *African Identities* 5(1)
- Kihato, C. W. (2007) 'Governing the city? Johannesburg's struggle to deal with migrants after apartheid. *African Identities* 5(2).
- Loren B. Landau and Tamlyn Monson. 'Displacement, Estrangement, and Sovereignty: Reconfiguring State Power in Urban South Africa.' 2008. *Government and Opposition*. Vol. 43(2): 315-336.

 Loren B. Landau and Darshan Vigneswaran. 'Shifting the Focus of Migration Back Home: Perspectives from Southern Africa'. Development. December 2007. Vol. 50(4): 82-87.

- Loren B. Landau. 'Discrimination and Development?: Immigration, Urbanization, and Sustainable Livelihoods in Johannesburg.' March 2007. Development Southern Africa. Vol. 24(1): 61-76
- Loren B. Landau and Iriann Haupt. 'Tactical Cosmopolitanism and Idioms of Belonging: Insertion and Self-Exclusion in Johannesburg.' Forthcoming 2009. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

International Colloquium: The State of International Migration Studies in Southern Africa; 17 – 19 MARCH 2008, Wits, Johannesburg. (Proceedings to be published).

Joint special issue & book to be published, whenever possible in 3 languages.

5. Future directions

Completion of fieldwork: June 2008 (except for P Kankonde)

- Writing phase (March 2008 December 2008)
- Work on quant. surveys with stats engineer March 2008 October 2008
- Editing of Conference Papers: L Landau & A Wa Kabwe Segatti (March 2008 September 2008 / Publication in 2009)
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- Joint workshop on urban territorial recomposition with Mahmadou Zongo's team in Johannesburg (October 2008)
- Publication workshop in Maputo at the end of 2008

6. Appendices

- a. Questionnaire PDF Etrangers à Lubumbashi
- b. Descriptive statistics tables for Johannesburg, Lubumbashi, Maputo
- c. The State of International Migration Studies in Southern Africa (March 2008): PDF programme and draft papers.