

Vulnerability, Mobility and Place

Alexandra and Central Johannesburg Pilot Survey

Jean Pierre Misago, Véronique Gindrey, Marguerite Duponchel,
Loren Landau and Tara Polzer

October 2010



"Always Needed, Always There"

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A collaborative project of:

The South African Red Cross Society (SARCS) and
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Based in Johannesburg, the **Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP)** is an internationally engaged, Africa-oriented and Africa-based centre of excellence for research and teaching that helps shape global discourse on migration, aid and social transformation. For more information about the FMSP see www.migration.org.za.

The **South African Red Cross Society (SARCS)** is an impartial, neutral and independent organisation. It is a member of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). The core mission of the Society is to identify, prevent and alleviate human suffering and foster human dignity in all communities. The mission is based on the Geneva Conventions – the “right of humanitarian initiative” – and the seven fundamental principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

The **United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (OCHA)** is the arm of the United Nations Secretariat that is responsible for bringing together humanitarian actors to ensure coherent response to emergencies. OCHA's mission is to mobilise and coordinate effective and principled humanitarian action in partnership with national and international actors in order to alleviate human suffering in disasters and emergencies; advocate for the rights of people in need; promote preparedness and prevention; and facilitate sustainable solutions.

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Vulnerability, Mobility and Place: Alexandra and Central Johannesburg Pilot Survey

Section 1: Executive Summary

There are high levels of mobility into South Africa's cities, both from within the country and from across its borders. Urbanisation creates demands on services and the potential for social conflict within the urban spaces to which people are moving. Given that it is impossible to deter people from moving to the country's urban centres, there is an acute need to regularly monitor and assess the potential for violent conflict and the vulnerabilities people face in relation to achieving liveable income levels, access to services, and protection by the law.

Even while a move to an urban area often means improved income opportunities and service access for those who move, urban residents also face both humanitarian and developmental challenges. Consequently, there is a need to define vulnerability profiles of urban residents in ways that inform and assist in effectively targeting both immediate (i.e., 'humanitarian') and long-term (i.e., 'developmental') interventions. Mobility, internal or international, may in some ways increase vulnerability, or it may act as a protective factor. The relationship between mobility and vulnerability cannot be assumed but must be established empirically.

To these ends, this report summarises the findings of a pilot survey aimed at empirically assessing vulnerability levels and factors causing vulnerability as related to migration to the city. A further motivation for this study was to assess levels of violence and vulnerability experienced by individuals who had been affected or displaced by the wide-spread violence against foreign nationals in May 2008, especially those displaced within communities rather than to high profile displacement camps. The study was conducted as a collaboration between the Forced Migration Studies Programme of the University of the Witwatersrand (FMSP), the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA), and the South African Red Cross Society (SARCS). Research was conducted in Alexandra

Township and three neighbourhoods in Johannesburg's inner city (Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville) from 3 February to 3 March 2009. There were 2028 respondents overall, with 1006 in Alexandra and 1022 in the inner city. In each location, the sample was divided into foreign-born, South African-born recent arrivals to the city and South African-born long-term residents.

The study's approach to vulnerability has several important characteristics. Firstly, vulnerability is multi-dimensional. The study identified four distinct types of vulnerability, including:

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

Secondly, different groups are more exposed to different forms of vulnerability to different degrees, and vulnerability in one dimension is not necessarily correlated with vulnerability in other dimensions. Due to this specificity, the multi-dimensional approach to vulnerability enables analyses which allow for effective programme planning through:

- Identification of the most vulnerable individuals and groups within a location;
- Comparison of vulnerability levels between groups in a location;
- Comparison of vulnerability levels between residents in different locations;
- Development of a locally appropriate measure of vulnerability in the context of South African cities, and urban displacement more broadly;
- Comparison with other indicators developed by government, international organisations or civil society, even though these indicators were not explicitly used as a basis for data collection in this survey;
- Identification of priority intervention areas, based on identification of most vulnerable groups.

Key Findings

The key findings of the study include:

Despite significant variations, there are a number of critical factors that affect populations' levels of vulnerability across nationality. These include, inter alia:

- *Place of residence:* Location in the city is one of the most powerful factors in differential vulnerability outcomes. People resident in Alexandra Township, as compared with residents of the inner city, no matter their migration history or personal attributes, were much more likely to be unemployed; have low quality living conditions in terms of housing, water and sanitation; and have low access to services. Furthermore, vulnerability to violence or threats of violence is much higher for all residents of Alexandra, and especially for people born outside South Africa. Living in Alexandra, however, reduces vulnerability to insecurity due to actions by state representatives such as the police, which is higher in the inner city.
- *Gender:* In relation to security, being a woman means less likelihood of having experienced threats or overt violence from neighbours and state actors due to ethnic or national discrimination.¹ For the other types of vulnerability, women are more vulnerable than men to unemployment and to not accessing services.
- *Level of formal education:* The survey shows that a good level of education protects from vulnerability to unemployment and vulnerability to lack of access to basic services. It is the most important factor in predicting absence of paid activity and low capacity to work. It has no effect, however, on vulnerability to violence or targeting by state representatives, once the effect of place of residence has been factored out.
- *Length of stay in Johannesburg:* Regression results show that people who migrated to Johannesburg more recently are more likely to be unemployed or to have a low capacity to work but that they are less vulnerable concerning security issues than long-term residents.

¹ Note that the study did not assess exposure to domestic or sexual and gender-based violence, which are known to be very high in South Africa.

- *Documentation*: To hold documents significantly protects from being exposed to unemployment and insecurity from state representatives. Surprisingly, it does not seem to have an impact on access to services, or on vulnerability to violence.
- *Having spent most of his/her life in an urban or rural environment*: Surprisingly, being an internal or international migrant originally from a rural environment seems to be an asset when looking for a job in Johannesburg.

Nationality has important effects on different forms of vulnerability:

- If we judge vulnerability relative to liveable income levels, access to services, and protection by the law, the *least vulnerable groups in our survey are those who were born in South Africa and have resided for an extended period in their current community of residence*. At the other end of the spectrum we find two significantly different forms of vulnerability. On the one hand, domestic migrants are particularly vulnerable to economic insecurity, while on the other hand, international migrants are significantly more likely to face physical insecurity.
- South Africans in both Alexandra and the inner city are more likely to be unemployed than non-nationals. However, when education impacts and other factors are excluded through regression analysis, South Africans still have a greater likelihood than foreign nationals of earning more. South Africans are also much more likely to have better access to services and lower vulnerability to violence or threats by state representatives.
- Only one factor seems to universally increase exposure to every kind of composite vulnerability: being *born in Zimbabwe*. When factoring out the impacts of generally higher education levels and other protective characteristics which many Zimbabweans bring with them, Zimbabweanness on its own increases vulnerability to unemployment and low capacity to work, access to basic services, violence, and insecurity due to state action.
- Other nationalities in our sample experienced vulnerability in different ways. *Migrants born in Mozambique or Malawi*, when compared with South Africans, Zimbabweans and people from the DRC, face a lower risk of unemployment but a higher risk of harassment by state representatives and of insecurity in the neighbourhood (particularly Mozambicans). When controlling for other factors such

as the length of stay in Johannesburg, *being born in the DRC* significantly decreases the chances of having a paid activity and increases the perceived risk of insecurity at or near home.

Breaking the findings down by form of vulnerability, the key results in terms of **socio-economic forms of vulnerability** are the following:

- Our research shows that in terms of quality of accommodation, access to water/sanitation and electricity, and the quality of nutrition, place of residence is much more significant than country of origin in explaining differential outcomes. Residents of Alexandra face much poorer living conditions than inner city residents and lie far below the national averages.
- Within Alexandra, the foreign-born are significantly more likely to live in poorer accommodation conditions than South Africans, including the highest percentage of informal/self-built housing (e.g. shacks), and the lowest percentage of access to electricity and running water. This survey's findings show no evidence to support popular presumptions that foreigners own or occupy government provided RDP houses at the expense of South African citizens.
- As with other socio-economic indicators, the location of residence is highly significant in determining levels of vulnerability to unemployment. Within a location, however, an individual's migration history also plays an important role in determining income generation chances. Respondents' reported unemployment rate is particularly high in Alexandra where 72% of South African-born residents reported *not* having a paid activity. The figure was 50% in the inner city. This compares with 59% and 53% of unemployed foreign nationals in Alexandra and the inner city, respectively.
- An unexpected finding is that recent South African internal migrants seem to be more likely than all other groups to have full-time employment, especially in the inner city. This may be due to selection effects, in that internal migrants either come to the city if they already have job options, or leave when they cannot find work, but this interpretation would need to be confirmed through further research.

- The foreign-born are more likely to be self-employed than those born in South Africa. This may be due to entrepreneurial traditions in some cases, or exclusion from formal employment markets and social welfare nets (such as government grants).
- The fact that, all other things being equal, undocumented people have lower chances of being in paid employment questions popular allegations that they represent a cheaper and therefore more desirable option for employers and therefore represent a threat to the employment options of locals or legal migrants.
- In terms of governmental social grants, the study shows that not all eligible South Africans are receiving all the grants they should be receiving. There is no evidence that non-nationals are receiving state grants to which they are not legally entitled.
- Although credit for personal or entrepreneurial expenses is difficult to obtain for most respondents, it remains more elusive for those born outside of South Africa.
- Self-reported health levels are worse among long-term resident South Africans, compared with recent South African arrivals to the city or international migrants. They are also worse in Alexandra than in the inner city. Long term South African residents and the foreign-born in Alexandra reported similar levels of difficulty in accessing health care. The differences lie in the reasons for health care access restrictions. For South African-born respondents, the main reasons for not easily accessing healthcare were financial, distance to facilities, and language problems. Among the foreign-born, the largest proportion report having been refused access because they did not have adequate documents.
- Levels of education are significantly lower among Alexandra residents than among those living in the inner city. The foreign-born in Alexandra have lower education levels than locals, while education levels are equivalent for both groups in the inner city. When broken down by nationality, however, Mozambicans and Malawians tend to have lower education levels than South Africans, while Zimbabweans and Congolese have higher education levels.

The survey findings in terms of vulnerability to **insecurity and violence** are among the most important:

- On average, more than 25% of respondents reported that they or a household member had been a victim of some form of crime since moving to their current locations. In contrast to findings on other areas of vulnerability, there seem to be no significant differences in experiences of crime with regard to area of residence or population groups surveyed. A large proportion of crime victims said they would not report the incident to the police, with recent South African migrants and the foreign-born less likely to do so than South African long-term residents.
- The foreign-born are far more likely to be stopped or visited at their homes by the police or the military. Whereas the national-born are stopped or visited mostly as part of ongoing criminal investigations, the main reason the foreign-born were stopped was to check their immigration status.
- As noted above, the vulnerability to violence and threats of violence of all residents in Alexandra is higher than in the inner city. However, in Alexandra, the foreign-born are six times as likely to have experienced threats of violence due to nationality or ethnicity as national-born residents (49% compared with 8%). In the inner city, experiences of threats are much lower, with 5% of South African-born and 18% of the foreign-born inner city residents reporting them. The survey results show that length of stay in a neighbourhood does not impact on the likelihood of experiencing threats of violence. This suggests that vulnerability to threats of violence is not related to a person's level of 'integration' in the sense of being established and known in a particular location.
- 46% of the foreign-born still living in Alexandra in February 2009 reported being forced to leave their neighbourhood temporarily because of violence since their arrival in Johannesburg. Such displacement was much lower in the inner city. Concerning experiences while being displaced, the main shelter options were friends' or relatives' places (44%) and government shelters (27%). 15% of the respondents displaced by violence reported to have slept outside. These findings suggest the need to look beyond government displacement camps and formal shelters in identifying and supporting the needs of those forced to move due to threats or violence.

Recommendations

Joint Recommendations for Government, Civil Society Organisation and UN Agencies

- Develop/encourage development of more nuanced standard measures of vulnerability, beyond a single indicator of income levels. Incorporate these into regular national data collection instruments such the census and community surveys, and ensure that relevant government departments regularly collect data using these indicators to monitor vulnerability levels in relation to their respective mandates (shelter, nutrition, public service access, violence, etc.). Also ensure that multi-dimensional vulnerability analyses are regularly done and that data collected by any institution is published publically in forms which are accessible to government and civil society. These analyses can serve to inform not only governmental humanitarian and developmental programming, but also help to align governmental, civil society and UN assistance priorities.
- Incorporate an awareness of mobility effects into vulnerability analyses and into humanitarian and developmental interventions. Especially South African mobility to urban areas should be explicitly recognised as a developmental challenge and actively addressed in planning, rather than either ignoring or fearing it's impacts. Cross-border mobility should also be recognised as a reality of urban development and regional integration, and incorporated into governmental service delivery planning.
- Prioritise humanitarian and development interventions in high vulnerability locations, such as Alexandra and other informal settlements and townships. In these locations, include both vulnerable South Africans and foreign nationals in interventions.
- Address the ongoing threat of violence against foreign nationals with priority, given the high levels of displacement and ongoing threats experienced.² The focus of interventions should especially be on informal settlements such as Alexandra, where threats are much higher than in the inner city. In locations where violence and displacement have occurred in the past, mechanisms should be put in place to

² For an assessment of causes of violence against foreign nationals and possible responses, see Misago, J.-P., L. B. Landau, et al. (2009). *Towards Tolerance, Law, and Dignity: Addressing Violence against Foreign Nationals in South Africa*, Johannesburg, IOM and FMSP.

monitor the conditions under which displaced people return to their previous communities and their levels of vulnerability.

- When displacement through violence occurs, consider interventions to provide protection and assistance to the displaced apart from the provision of formal shelters, since many find alternative shelter with friends or family.

Specific Recommendations for Government

- Find means of increasing confidence in the police among both recently urbanised South Africans and foreign migrants. This is crucial for effectively combating the high levels of crime which this survey confirms in Alexandra and the inner city. Confidence building measures would include reducing the role which the police play in immigration control.³
- A key factor in the vulnerability of South Africans to higher unemployment rates is low education levels. This finding, while not surprising, once again reinforces the need to prioritise the education sector, including adult education, in the interest of economic development and poverty alleviation.
- While documentation for foreign nationals does not protect against all forms of vulnerability, it is an important resilience factor and so ongoing efforts to provide appropriate and administratively efficient documentation options to foreign migrants should be continued.
- Given the importance of social grants as a safety net for the most economically vulnerable, and given the relatively low numbers of foreign nationals who are either of pension age or have young children, consider extending eligibility for old age pensions and child support grants for long-term resident, legal foreign nationals.

Specific Recommendations for Civil Society Organisations

- Civil society organisations working on both poverty and violence reduction should seek to target their interventions based on empirically established levels of vulnerability for different groups. For example, being female or foreign-born does not necessarily mean always being the most vulnerable, as these characteristics may

³ See Vigneswaran, D and Duponchel, M (2009). One Burden Too Many? A Cost-Benefit Analysis of Immigration Policing in Gauteng, Johannesburg, FMSP

in some cases increase resilience and protection against some forms of vulnerability, such as some security risks and unemployment, respectively. Similarly, being male or South African may increase levels of certain kinds of vulnerability in some cases.

Section 2: Background and Objectives

The continuing settlement of internal and international migrants in the country's urban areas presents humanitarian hazards and human development opportunities. Viewed from a national or regional perspective, and from the perspective of migrants, movements into cities often correspond with improved access to employment and critical services for those who move. Considered from the perspective of those responsible for responding to the needs which newly urbanised residents present, migration raises the spectre of heightening unemployment, demands on services, and social conflict within the urban spaces to which people are moving. Given that it is impossible to deter people from moving to the country's urban centres, there is an acute need to regularly monitor and assess the potential for violent conflict, and the vulnerabilities people face in relation to achieving liveable income levels, access to services, and protection by the law.

Ineffective responses to mobility coupled with poor urban service delivery mean that newly urbanised populations and long-term residents often live in conditions that are unduly dangerous, unhealthy, and occasionally inhumane. Anecdotal accounts from service providers make it clear that the current capacities of and activities undertaken by government departments, civil society organisations, and residents are unable to address the needs of a significant proportion of South Africa's urban residents. As South African cities transform through domestic and international migration and other population dynamics, there is a need to develop the evidence base for more concentrated interventions that will prioritise those areas and people who are most vulnerable.

A number of international agencies and domestic organisations recognise that the challenges of urbanisation in South Africa are both *humanitarian* and *developmental*. Consequently, there is a need to define vulnerability profiles of urban residents in ways that inform both immediate (i.e., 'humanitarian') and long-term (i.e., 'developmental') interventions. Such efforts must recognise the challenges of evaluating particular needs in contexts where there are high levels of background poverty among long term residents and a chronic lack of service delivery. Assistance to new arrivals and highly vulnerable populations—international and national migrants along with long-term residents—needs to be carefully considered alongside general socio-economic conditions in urban environments. To be effective, interventions must be developed that are seen as benefiting whole

communities while ensuring a safety net for the acutely vulnerable. Defining where there is need for humanitarian action is important because it also informs where developmental actors and programming have a role. This cannot be accomplished without adequately designed and supported monitoring. To date this has not been done in a structured or consistent manner in South Africa.

Defining Vulnerability

In attempting to undertake a careful and nuanced analysis, this report addresses critical gaps in current knowledge about South Africa's population dynamics and vulnerabilities to enable government and civil society to better address the needs of the urban poor. The data shows that it is necessary to define vulnerability in multiple dimensions. Four types of vulnerability were identified from the data:

- i) vulnerability to general poverty due to poor levels of income and low capacity to work because of ill health or low educational levels;
- ii) vulnerability to poor living conditions and other forms of physical insecurity due to problems accessing public services, adequate housing, and decent nutrition;
- iii) vulnerability to violence, assault and harassment due to the actions of criminals or other residents; and
- iv) vulnerability to insecurity due to the actions of state representatives.

This is a multi-dimensional vision of vulnerability that brings together key concerns around humanitarianism, human security, and livelihoods. Given the wide range of vulnerability indicators and standards currently in use in South Africa and internationally, this study has not used a universal standard of vulnerability (e.g. Sphere standards⁴). The South African government, for example, does not have a single, standardised definition of poverty or a set of indicators used to assess poverty or vulnerability levels.

The multi-dimensional approach to vulnerability adopted here enables certain kinds of analysis and not others. It allows for:

- Identification of the most vulnerable individuals and groups within a location;
- Comparison of vulnerability levels between groups in a location;

⁴ The Sphere Standards are internationally accepted, although not binding, standards for the provision of humanitarian assistance. www.sphereproject.org

- Comparison of vulnerability levels between residents in different locations;
- Development of a locally appropriate measure of vulnerability;
- Comparison with other indicators developed by government, international organisations or civil society, even though these indicators were not explicitly used as a basis for data collection in this survey;
- Identification of priority intervention areas, based on identification of most vulnerable groups.

The approach to vulnerability indicators taken here does not allow for:

- Analysis of all forms of systemic vulnerability – labour conditions, for example – since it places an emphasis on those forms of vulnerability associated with conditions in or near a person’s place of residence;
- The effectiveness of existing programmes or initiatives which aim to reduce vulnerability. This would require before and after information which this once-off survey cannot provide. If this pilot study is expanded and repeated, however, it will be able to assist in the evaluation of intervention effectiveness.

This study’s particular concern with violence emerges from the ‘xenophobic’ attacks that occurred in May 2008 and ongoing violence that continues to target foreign nationals and other ‘outsiders’ (usually South Africans belonging to specific ethnic / linguistic groups). As there are strong reasons to believe that intergroup conflict will recur, systematic monitoring in urban areas can provide early warning of future tensions and conflict as well as an entry point for prevention and mitigation activities.

Recognising the need for higher quality data that could be compared across space and time, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), the South African Red Cross Society (SARCS), and the Wits Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) conducted a comparative pilot study in two of Johannesburg’s most fluid and fraught neighbourhoods: Alexandra Township and the primary residential areas of Johannesburg’s inner city (Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville suburbs). These sites are hereinafter referred to as Alexandra and the inner city respectively. Details of the sampling and survey technique are included in Section 3 of this report.

Project Goals

This Johannesburg survey, conducted from 3 February to 3 March 2009, was a pilot for a broader project that has both immediate and strategic goals. In the short term, the overall project is designed to:

- Identify and compare the vulnerabilities experienced by foreign nationals, South Africans who have recently moved to an area, and long-term South African residents in those areas. In doing so, it was designed to collect data that would link spatial and personal variables with particular forms of vulnerability to poverty, illness, and displacement. This includes identifying the challenges of accessing services and livelihoods.
- Assess the impact of past and current violence and other forms of harassment and exploitation, and how these factors impact on the livelihoods and living patterns of foreign nationals and South African citizens. We are particularly concerned with identifying where there is a need for conflict resolution mechanisms and considering the types of actors that could provide suitable and legitimate interventions.

Strategically, the study is intended to accomplish three fundamental goals:

- To situate the study of and programmatic interventions for foreign-born and domestic migrants within a broader anti-poverty, anti-vulnerability policy agenda. It is a stated aim of the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) and South African Red Cross specifically to ‘mainstream’ migration programming into broader work in urban communities.⁵
- To reflect spatialised patterns of need, risk, and opportunity so as to help direct resources to where they are most needed.
- To provide baseline data for both spatial (multi-site) and longitudinal (multi-time) comparisons. Such a comparative approach can identify heightening risks and vulnerabilities and help evaluate the effectiveness of policy interventions.

⁵ See IFRC Policy on Migration, November 2009, <http://www.ifrc.org/Docs/pubs/who/policies/migration-policy-en.pdf>

Fulfilling these strategic objectives requires the expansion of this study beyond the pilot study described in this report.

This study is not intended as a general introduction to the communities in which it was conducted. As such, it can not review the full historical context, the operations of various organisations, the communities' political associations and dynamics, or the success of particular interventions. These are all important concerns but ones that will only be addressed through additional, qualitative research.

In reading this report, it is important to keep in mind that urban residential areas are not normal theatres of operation for humanitarian action. That said, the UNHCR and others now recognise the need to develop policies and approaches to improve assistance in cities. This is in line with the High Commissioner's new policy approach to assistance to urban refugees.⁶ In doing so, organisations are faced with a number of challenges: it is invariably harder to identify and access those in need as compared with rural assistance or those living in grouped settlements such as camps. Moreover, the risk of politicization of assistance is often higher and more difficult to manage. Whereas camp environments are exceptional spaces relatively removed from prevailing politics and institutional complexities, assistance provided in diverse urban communities must engage with existing political power structures and social inequalities.

This project complements work being done elsewhere in South Africa that has attempted to evaluate the needs and conditions of foreign-born and recently urbanised or migrated populations. These include, among others, a project by the University of South Africa (UNISA) that has tried to evaluate the experiences of Zimbabweans currently living in Gauteng;⁷ the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) two quantitative assessments in Musina (2009);⁸ the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) interviews with refugees and asylum seekers (2009);⁹ Save the Children's

⁶ See UNHCR Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas, September 2009, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/topic,4565c2253e,4565c25f4c7,4ab8e7f72,0.html>

⁷ Makina, D. (2007). Survey of Profile of Migrant Zimbabweans in South Africa: A Pilot Study. Pretoria, University of South Africa.

⁸ IOM (2008). Migrants' Needs and Vulnerabilities in the Limpopo Province, Republic of South Africa. Pretoria, International Organisation for Migration – Report on Phase 1. And IOM (2009). Migrants' Needs and Vulnerabilities in the Limpopo Province, Republic of South Africa - Report on Phase 2. Pretoria, International Organisation for Migration.

⁹ There is as yet no publically available summary of the outcomes of this assessment exercise.

assessment of vulnerable migrant children near the Zimbabwean border (2008),¹⁰ and the Forced Migration Studies Programme's (FMSP) work on anti-foreigner violence across South Africa.¹¹ These initiatives provide invaluable information but are often too particularistic or anecdotal to provide an adequate base line or regular monitoring tool. In many instances this is because the studies only target a single group at a single period in time. This prevents comparison with other groups and does not allow researchers to track changes as a result of interventions or broader socio-economic and political dynamics. These studies have also tended to be linked to preparations for a particular form of intervention (e.g., public education, resettlement, social protection of minors) and, as such, have often overlooked broader contexts and existing institutional challenges.

Partners and their roles

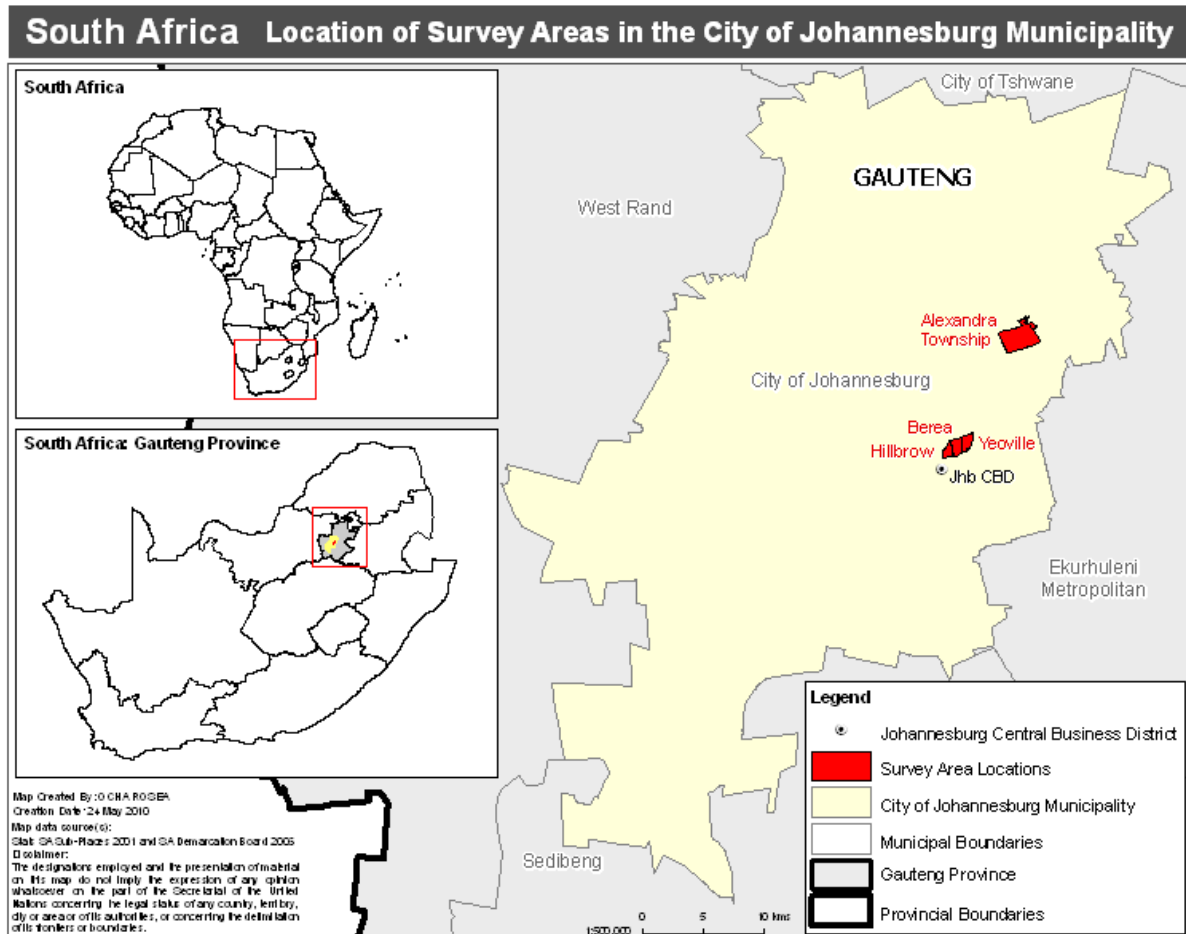
The project is a joint initiative by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), the South African Red Cross Society (SARCS) together with the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC), and the Wits Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP). In addition to their overall support and involvement in the whole project process (from planning to implementation), different partners played specific roles as follows:

1. UNOCHA led the general planning and development of the pilot project; provided personnel to help supervise fieldwork;
2. SARCS recruited 25 Red Cross volunteers who did the fieldwork; provided relevant logistics (transport, allowances for fieldworkers, uniform) and covered most monetary costs (particularly for data capturing and data entry costs).
3. The Wits-FMSP designed the research instrument and sampling strategy, trained volunteers on research methodology and process; coordinated the fieldwork, data entry and analysis; drafted the final report and covered costs for questionnaire reprints.

¹⁰ Save the Children UK (2007). Children Crossing Borders; Report on unaccompanied minors who have travelled to South Africa. Pretoria.

¹¹ See, among others, Misago, J.-P., L. B. Landau, et al. (2009). Towards Tolerance, Law, and Dignity: Addressing Violence Against Foreign Nationals In South Africa. Johannesburg, IOM and FMSP, and Misago, J.P., Monson, T. et al (2010). May 2008 Violence Against Foreign Nationals in South Africa; Understanding Causes and Evaluating Responses. Johannesburg. CoRMSA

Section 3: Research Methods



To achieve the goals and objectives outlined above, the following sampling approach was followed in selected areas of central Johannesburg and Alexandra (see above map for areas surveyed).

- **Site Selection:**

Criteria used to identify areas to survey included:

- Significant migrant populations,
- Areas where violence against foreign nationals had occurred in the recent past (with the aim of capturing foreign-born and others who had been displaced by violence and had not returned to their original community as well as displaced people who had returned),

- Different forms of housing (including areas dominated by older houses, shacks and government provided houses (i.e., Reconstruction and Development Programme houses)).
- Accessibility (we were unable to sample some areas due to our inability to access buildings or because we felt it would be unsafe for our researchers to continue with their work. These included certain buildings in the inner-city and the hostels in Alexandra.)

Within Alexandra and the inner city, we randomly selected wards or enumerator areas in which to work. In selecting the specific sub-sites, we used images produced by the City of Johannesburg in 2006 and provided by Statistics South Africa (the most recent available data) and estimations by locally-based SARCS staff about densities of foreign nationals and experiences of violence and displacement. The map above shows the areas sampled.

- *Target Sample Size:* Because of the population heterogeneity of the areas sampled, a large sample was needed to allow for the possibility of multivariate analysis. As such, the total sample size for this pilot study was 2000 respondents. 1000 individual respondents were sampled in each of the two sub-sites (Alexandra and the inner city).
- *Quotas:* To ensure our ability to compare the sub-groups within our study population and control for differences within them, we set sampling targets of 500 foreign-born (defined as anyone born in a country other than South Africa); 250 internal migrants (defined as South African citizens who have lived in the current area for 10 years or less); and 250 long-term residents (defined as South African citizens who have lived in their current area for more than 10 years).¹²
- *Household Sampling:* In all areas, interviewers selected respondents by knocking on every fourth door. At each selected residence, interviewers asked to speak to the first available person over 18 years regardless of age or gender. Where the head of

¹² While there is theoretically the possibility of overlap between these groups (e.g. someone who was born outside South Africa but now has South African citizenship and has been living in the survey location for more or less than 10 years), we did not find such individuals in our sample. These three categories are therefore mutually exclusive in our sample.

household was under 18, the interviewer asked to speak to the first available person over 16 years of age. Wherever possible, the interviewer would conduct the interview with only the interviewee present to ensure (a) that respondents could speak freely; and (b) that our data reflects individual experiences and perceptions. Where household members refused to participate, where no one was home, or if the potential respondent did not meet the selection criteria, the interviewer recorded this on a log sheet and went to the next fourth house.

While theoretically sound, the sampling strategy proved difficult to implement in its strictest form in Alexandra. These challenges took two primary forms.

- The nature of the built environment made it difficult to enumerate houses. This was a particular concern where shacks were not aligned in orderly ways that would facilitate counting and selection. In many cases, residences were so closely packed that we could not easily pass between them to reach the next door. As such, we were not always able to adhere to the planned household sampling strategy.
- It proved difficult to reach the quotas, especially for foreign-born respondents, through random sampling in Alexandra. According to information from local officials, residents and observation by the research team, the main reasons seem to be (in their order of importance) that i) there were not as many foreign-born migrants in selected areas as expected; ii) most foreigners were not home during the day, and iii) some foreign-born residents refused to reveal their foreign identity.

After reaching quotas of South African respondents by randomly sampling in Alexandra, we started specifically targeting foreign-born respondents using a snowball sampling approach. Even then we only managed to find 227, which represents 28% of the total sample of 1006 respondents. Although these challenges mean that the sample is less randomised than we intended, it nevertheless provides a strong indication of issues and concerns within Alexandra.

In the inner city, the selection of enumerator areas (EAs) was done randomly in line with previous studies the FMSP has conducted in similar areas.¹³ The main challenge here was

¹³ Vigneswaran, D. (2007) Lost in Space: Residential Sampling and Johannesburg's Forced Migrants. *FMSP Migration Methods and Field Notes*, 4.

access, with the research team struggling to gain entry to selected multi-tenant and multi-storey buildings and houses. To meet our targets we selected additional, neighbouring EAs. In contrast to Alexandra, in the inner city we reached required quotas using the initial, random sampling strategy. In total, our inner city sample includes 1022 respondents of which 546 are foreign-born. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the total sample. It is significant to note that long-term resident South Africans (living in their current location for more than ten years) are represented at a lower percentage than targeted in the inner city (16% rather than 25%). Long-term residents were difficult to find in these areas since these neighbourhoods have experienced major population shifts in the past decade; they are ‘ports of first entry’ where new arrivals from within and outside South Africa first settle and then move on to other city neighbourhoods; and the rents are relatively high, discouraging poor South Africans who have alternative options in townships or informal settlements. In both sites, fieldworkers were able to reach a wide range of respondents including elderly, youth, women and undocumented migrants. Of the foreign-born respondents, 42% were undocumented.¹⁴

Table 1. Sample breakdown by place of living and migration history

Place of living	Migration history		Sample	
			N	%
Alexandra	Born in South Africa	Long term residents	385	38%
		Internal migrants	326	32%
	Foreign-born		277	28%
	Unspecified		18	2%
	Total		1006	100%
Central Johannesburg	Born in South Africa	Long term residents	160	16%
		Internal migrants	310	30%
	Foreign-born		546	53%
	Unspecified		6	1%
	Total		1022	100%
Grand total			2028	-

¹⁴ It is important to emphasise that, due to the specific locations in which this survey was conducted, the percentage of undocumented migrants cannot be extrapolated to any broader population level, e.g., it does not represent the percentage of undocumented migrants in Johannesburg, Gauteng or South Africa.

Survey instrument and analysis

The survey used a questionnaire developed by Wits-FMSP with inputs from all other partners. It contained questions about household structure, demographic profile of the respondent, migration history and documentation, relations to police and experience of violence, health, education, livelihoods, social participation and future hopes and expectations. After extensive pilot testing, the original English version was translated into languages spoken by both migrants and locals (i.e., IsiZulu, Sesotho, Shangaan and French).

Once data collection was complete, information was manually entered into an electronic database before being cleaned and analysed. The initial descriptive analysis was conducted by Wits-FMSP before being shared with other partners for consideration and comment. This report is a result of a series of discussions identifying the most significant findings.

Challenges and limitations

The fact that this pilot survey only covered two areas of Johannesburg, and the oversampling of foreign respondents in Alexandra, mean that the sample is not representative at city, provincial or national level. Consequently, the findings cannot be a basis for generalization about the living conditions of South Africans and migrants in the country as a whole. Such generalisation can only be achieved after the survey has been replicated in a significant number of other relevant urban and rural areas across the country.

Further, since our sampling strategy targeted households, it is certain that some other vulnerable groups, such as the homeless, those living in social shelters, unaccompanied migrant minors or persons living in institutions (such as hospitals, detention centres, etc.) were not represented in the sample. Despite these limitations, however, the survey reveals important insights into the living conditions and vulnerabilities of both citizens and immigrants living in the surveyed areas. The instrument used in this project is now a tested assessment tool that can be adapted and used elsewhere.

Section 4: Vulnerability Profiles

For present purposes, vulnerability is understood as an individual's or community's inability independently to withstand the multiple hazards and risks to which they are exposed. Acute vulnerability – levels of risk demanding humanitarian intervention by external actors – can be defined as the condition of people or communities who do not have adequate access to 'essential goods and services relative to the needs of the individual.'¹⁵ This section of the report explores the vulnerability profiles of the inhabitants of selected areas through the discussion of their current socio-economic conditions. This includes looking at access to essential public services, education, health, social cohesion and safety and security. The discussion compares challenges and opportunities not only between sites (i.e. Alexandra and inner city) but also among sub-populations (i.e., long term South African residents, internal migrants and foreign nationals). Vulnerability and risk factors are explored further in Section Five.

Livelihoods

Current living conditions

As judged by quality of accommodation, access to water/sanitation and electricity, and the quality of nutrition, our research shows that place of residence is much more significant in determining vulnerability levels than country of origin. Residents of Alexandra face much poorer living conditions than inner city residents and lie far below the national averages.

For example, as Table 2 below indicates, an average of 50% and 10% of sampled households in Alexandra still use the bucket system and mobile toilets respectively, with only c. 36% of households having access to proper sanitation (flush, chemical or pit latrine). There is no statistically significant difference between South African and foreign-born in terms of access to sanitation in Alexandra. The Presidency's 2009 national development indicators¹⁶ give a 77% national average of households with access to proper sanitation. Our survey shows that

¹⁵ See, <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/sanctions/handbook/chapter5-3.htm>

¹⁶ The Presidency, Republic of South Africa (2009) Development Indicators, <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/main.asp?include=learning/me/indicators/2009/index.html>

100% of inner city residents, independently of their country of origin, had access to proper sanitation, as well as almost 100% access to electricity and running water.

Table 2. Access to sanitation in Alexandra

What is the main type of toilet used by members of your household?

	South African-born	Foreign-born
flush or chemical toilet	41%	31%
pit latrine	4%	3%
bucket latrine	45%	54%
portable or mobile to	8%	11%
other	1%	1%
Total	100%	100%

When disaggregating the population within a location, however, migration history does tell an important story in terms of levels of relative vulnerability. Within Alexandra, the foreign-born are significantly more likely to live in poorer accommodation conditions than South Africans. As tables 3 and 4 show, foreign-born residents have the highest percentage of informal/self-built housing (e.g. shacks), and the lowest percentage of access to electricity and running water. This survey’s findings show no evidence to support popular presumptions that foreigners own or occupy government provided RDP houses at the expense of South African citizens. Indeed, among all the foreign-born interviewed in Alexandra, only one respondent was living in an RDP house and he was not the owner (he was renting from a South African).

Table 3. Percentage living in self-built/informal housing in Alexandra

South African long-term residents	75%
South African recent internal migrants	82%
Foreign-born	88%

Table 4. Percentage with electricity and running water in Alexandra

	Use electricity for cooking	Running water in dwelling
South African long-term residents	70%	17%
South African recent internal migrants	65%	10%
Foreign-born	48%	7%

Overcrowding is another indicator of highly vulnerable housing conditions. Overcrowding is high in both Alexandra and the inner city, but Alexandra's levels are higher, with the mean number of people per sleeping room being 3.2 compared with 3.0 in the inner city.¹⁷ In Alexandra, there is no significant difference between levels of crowding among the foreign-born and the South African-born, but the foreign-born are more likely than South Africans to live in crowded conditions in the inner city (averages of 3.2 vs. 2.8 per sleeping room). If we look at the percentage of households with more than three persons per sleeping room (e.g. the pervasiveness of severe crowding), there is no statistical difference between groups in either location, with around 62% with more than 3 persons sleeping per room in Alexandra, and 51% in the inner city.

Given the nature of our data, it is impossible to evaluate whether the shelters and houses in which people are living, whether in the inner city or Alexandra, meet the 3.5m² per person (plus privacy) outlined in the Sphere Standards¹⁸ or the higher standards included in the South African government's indicators for space, access to water, and the availability of sanitation. The indicators on sanitation, water and crowding provided above do, however, enable an approximate identification of the most vulnerable groups. This is also significant because quality of housing has well-established effects on other forms of quality of life, including health.

We therefore use a proxy indicator for poverty which is based on quality of housing. A proxy for poverty is necessary because the survey did not collect information on respondents' and household overall income to determine the percentage of those living below different poverty lines set by the government (R524/month; 388/month and 283/month).¹⁹ If we define as poor any person who lives in a shack or without running water, electricity or proper sanitation in his/her dwelling, Alexandra hosts far more poor people than the national and municipality averages. Table 5 below compares statistics from Statistics South

¹⁷ This is a statistically significant difference.

¹⁸ The Sphere Standards are internationally accepted, although not binding, standards for the provision of humanitarian assistance. www.sphereproject.org

¹⁹ See The Presidency, Republic of South Africa (2009) Development Indicators, <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/main.asp?include=learning/me/indicators/2009/index.html>

Africa data (2001 census and 2007 community survey) and our vulnerability pilot survey, using the same indicators for poverty.²⁰

Table 5. Proxy Poverty Rates

Geographical unit	Year	Population group	Proxy poverty rate (black population only)
South Africa	2001 Census	National-born	85%
		Foreign-born	76%
	2007 Community survey	National-born	74%
		Foreign-born	63%
Johannesburg district municipality	2001 Census	National-born	67%
		Foreign-born	58%
	2007 Community survey	National-born	44%
		Foreign-born	40%
Alexandra	2009 Vulnerability pilot survey	National-born	91%
		Foreign-born	95%

Table 5 shows that poverty rates, as defined by our proxy indicators, have been declining for South Africans at the national (85% to 74%) and municipal levels (67% to 44%), when comparing 2001 and 2007 statistics. Apart from our Alexandra findings, poverty rates for foreign nationals when looked at nationally and at the Johannesburg municipal level are consistently lower than for South Africans, and they have also been declining with time. This may be because a higher percentage of foreign nationals than South Africans live in inner city contexts. For the inner city, a housing-related proxy for poverty would not be appropriate, since the vast majority of city residents live in formal housing. To confirm the Alexandra-based findings that the foreign-born are more vulnerable to low shelter quality in informal settlements, further research in other informal settlements and peri-urban areas would be necessary.

Nutrition

Concerning nutritional status, the survey did not collect information on daily caloric intake and so it is not possible to determine if there are acute humanitarian vulnerabilities. As a useful proxy for quality of nutrition, however, the survey collected information on the

²⁰ Since our survey only includes the black population of the inner city and Alexandra, and since the national averages for both South African and foreign-born populations are skewed by more wealthy racially defined groups, we are only comparing our data with the Statistics SA national averages for the black population.

number of times per week respondents consume bread, meat, fish, milk and vegetables. The key finding here is that the residents of the inner city are again significantly better off than those of Alexandra, and that location is a much stronger predictor for vulnerability than migration history. There is no statistically significant difference between the consumption levels of different categories of migrants within their respective locations (Alexandra or the inner city). Combined across both locations, the foreign born seem to be slightly more likely to consume more high nutrition items than both categories of South African-born, but this may be an artefact of our sample.

Table 6. Nutrition Index Mean ²¹

	Alexandra	Inner City	Combined
South African long-term residents	17.51	22.16	19.22
South African recent internal migrants	17.11	22.85	19.55
Foreign-born	17.76	22.05	20.69*
Aggregate by location	17.50**	22.25**	

Income generating activities

As with other socio-economic indicators above, the location of residence is highly significant in determining levels of vulnerability to lack of income. Within a location, however, an individual's migration history also plays an important role in determining income generation changes. Respondents' reported unemployment rate is particularly high in Alexandra where 72% of South African-born residents reported *not* having a paid activity. The figure was 50% in the inner city. Although the location difference in our study sample is not as stark as for South Africans, foreign-born residents of Alexandra are also significantly more likely to be unemployed (59%) than foreign-born residents of the inner city (55%). Especially full-time work is more accessible in the inner city than in Alexandra.

When aggregated across location, the percentage of unemployed South African-born in our sample is 63%, with 55% of the foreign-born unemployed. As a point of comparison, the national expanded unemployment rate for the black population born in South Africa, which

²¹ This index shows the mean number of times per week in each migration grouping and location that people consume aggregated portions of bread, meat, fish, milk and vegetables. * denotes a significance level of .01 and ** a significance level of .001 or greater.

combines those unemployed and looking for work with those not economically active, was 59.6% in 2007 (based on the 2007 StatsSA Community Survey). The expanded national rate for the black foreign-born was 32.8%. The higher employment rate of foreign nationals which our study found (see Table 7) is therefore confirmed by national statistics.

Table 7. Employment status

Employment Status	Alexandra Township			Inner City		
	SA long-term resident	SA recent internal migrant	Foreign-born	SA long-term resident	SA recent internal migrant	Foreign-born
Unemployed	72%	71%	59%	54%	46%	53%
Working part-time (formal/informal sector)	6%	6%	12%	6%	10%	10%
Working full-time (formal/informal sector)	12%	17%	16%	27%	32%	24%
Self-employed	5%	3%	9%	6%	4%	10%

An unexpected finding is that recent South African internal migrants seem to be more likely than all other groups to have full-time employment, especially in the inner city. As also shown in other research, the foreign-born are more likely to be self-employed than those born in South Africa. Our data does not allow us to compare levels of pay or income for similar jobs, or compare the details of labour rights as experienced by different groups.

Among the national-born who are employed, they are most likely to be (in decreasing order of importance) domestic workers, restaurant employees, security guards or factory workers. The foreign-born are mainly employed as restaurant workers, domestic workers, security guards, construction workers or in petty trade. Among the unemployed, the majority of both the national and foreign-born survive on support from spouse/partner or other household members and odd jobs.

Access to government social grants

There is no evidence that non-nationals are receiving state grants, while such grants play an important role in supporting citizen livelihoods. The South African Social Security Agency

(SASSA) states that its mandate is informed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) Section 27.1 which states that “everyone has the right to have access to: (a) health care services, including reproductive health care; (b) sufficient food and water; and (c) social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance.”²² Government provided social grants include:²³

- *Grant for older persons*: for males and females aged 60 years or older. Only citizens and permanent residents are eligible;²⁴
- *Disability grant*: for disabled persons aged from 18 to 60. Citizens, permanent residents and refugees are eligible;
- *War veteran’s grant*: for persons aged 60 and older or disabled persons who must have fought in the Second World War or the Korean War. Citizens and permanent residents are eligible;
- *Foster care grant*: the foster parent must be a South African citizen or a legal immigrant (including permanent residents, refugees, asylum seekers or holders of other temporary residence permits);
- *Child support grant*: the child must be under the age of 15 and the applicant must be the primary care giver and a South African citizen or permanent resident;
- *Care dependency grant*: the child must be under the age of 15; a medical report must confirm severe, permanent disability; the primary care giver must be a South African citizen or permanent resident;
- *Grant-in-aid*: for persons receiving an older persons, disability or war veteran’s grant but who require full-time attendance by another person owing to their physical or mental disabilities;
- *Social Relief of Distress grant*: for the temporary provision (for not longer than three months) of assistance intended for persons in such dire need that they are unable to meet their or their families' most basic needs.

Since 2004, the older persons’ grant, the child support grant and the disability grant are available equally to permanent residents as to citizens.²⁵ Since 2008, the disability grant is

²² The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). www.sassa.gov.za

²³ Source: The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA)

²⁴ Other criteria such as spouses meeting the requirements of the ‘means test’ are applicable.

²⁵ See Constitutional Court Case Khosa & Mahlaule & Others v Minister of Social Development (2004)

available to refugees as well.²⁶ The foster care grant is available to all legal immigrants to South Africa as well as to citizens. Only the social relief of distress grant is not dependent on any form of identity documentation and so it is theoretically available to all categories of foreign nationals, including those without documentation, even though its application for foreign nationals is not a well-established principle in the Department of Social Development. For example, the public booklet by SASSA²⁷ explaining the different grants, states that social relief of distress is only available to citizens and permanent residents, even though this is not the case in law.

There are two issues of concern regarding access to social grants for the vulnerable groups identified through this survey:

- i) Access for vulnerable South Africans and permanent residents who are currently eligible to receive grants;
- ii) Interpretation of the Constitutional right to social assistance (Section 27.1 (c)) for “everyone” (including asylum seekers, refugees and possibly other migrants in some cases) in terms of possible future revisions to the current legal restrictions of most grants to citizens and permanent residents.

For the purposes of this report, we only focus on what our data can tell us about the first issue – access for currently eligible groups – and we only look at South African citizens, since we did not record whether foreign-born respondents had permanent residence status. The second question of potentially expanding access in future is possibly an advocacy concern for the future.

The survey shows that access to some kinds of grants is of limited relevance to the majority of migrants, while other grants are potentially more important. While 7% of the South African long-term residents in our sample had persons over 60 in their households, this was only the case for 3% of recent internal migrants and 2% of foreign-born respondents. In contrast, 53% of long-term resident South Africans and 52% of the foreign-born had children under 18 living with them, while only 41% of internal migrants did.

²⁶ See CoRMSA (2008). Protecting Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in South Africa. Johannesburg, Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa, p.23

²⁷ <http://www.sassa.gov.za/content.asp?id=1000000501>

While nationally there has been a steady increase in numbers of recipients of grant assistance (over 13 million in March 2009²⁸), the findings of this pilot survey suggest that many eligible South Africans in urban contexts are still not accessing grants. Even though the survey did not systematically assess the eligibility of South African respondents and their households for specific grants, it nevertheless gives us proxy indicators based on which we can assess who is likely to be eligible to receive a grant. Our sample of households with elderly members is too small to present significant differences in percentages for different groups of South Africans, but Table 8 is nonetheless indicative of the challenges which domestic migrants, and some long-term residents of cities, face in receiving old age pensions.

Table 8. For South African-born households including someone above 60 years of age, percentage not receiving an old-age grant

	Alexandra		Inner city	
	Long term residents in Jhb	Recent arrivals in Jhb	Long term residents in Jhb	Recent arrivals in Jhb
Do not receive a government older persons' grant	55% (n=33)	100% (n=6)	58% (n=19)	100% (n=5)

Similarly, while a smaller problem than with old age pensions, it appears that some potentially eligible South Africans do not have access to child support grants. As above, the numbers are too small to see whether there are real differences between recent arrivals and long term residents of the city, but the trend suggests the need for more research on the impacts of mobility on social grant access. See Table 9 below.

Table 9. For people who are economically independent, unemployed, and have a child under age (<18)²⁹, percentage not receiving a child support grant

	Alexandra		Inner city	
	Long term residents in Jhb	Recent arrivals in Jhb	Long term residents in Jhb	Recent arrivals in Jhb
Do not receive a government older persons' grant	12% (N=82)	8% (N=64)	10% (N=20)	20% (N=30)

²⁸ Development indicators 2009

²⁹ We recognise that the child must be under the age of 15 to qualify for a child support grant. However, we did not collect information on the age of children but only on the presence of someone under 18. We nonetheless believe that these figures provide plausible estimates of eligible people without access to the grant.

The survey confirms that very few foreign-born access government provided grants. Given the current restrictions of social grants to citizens and permanent residents (apart from the disability grant and foster child grant for refugees), this is not surprising. Further institutional research would be required to understand how and when the social relief of distress grants is used in relation to foreign nationals, which this current survey cannot answer. The finding that the foreign-born are not receiving grants suggests the need for a better understanding of other (informal) social safety nets for foreign-born migrants, and research and advocacy concerning the introduction of formal safety net transfers for the most vulnerable foreign nationals.

Access to credit

Access to credit is often critical for the creation of small enterprises and home improvements, which in turn have positive effects on income, health and food security vulnerabilities. Although credit is difficult to obtain for most respondents, it remains more elusive for those born outside of South Africa. When asked where they would go if they needed to borrow R5000, 38% of South Africa-born and 47% of foreign-born responded that they had nowhere to go. However, a significantly higher proportion of South African born (25%) reported that they would go to the bank (versus 10% of the foreign-born). Given the difficulty of opening an account without immigration status documents and a full time job, this should come as no surprise for either group. It also suggests there may be space for micro-credit initiatives or some form of expanded lending on behalf of the private sector targeting inner city and informal settlement residents. However, given the limited income of much of the population, such initiatives must be accompanied by careful analysis to determine if such moneys would be used for investment or debt-trap consumption.

Summary of livelihood challenges

In sum, the majority of respondents (both national and foreign-born) in our sample face numerous livelihood challenges, with unemployment and lack of access to basic services at the top of the list, particularly in Alexandra. In most cases, location of residence – whether

in an informal settlement like Alexandra or in the inner city – is a stronger predictor of vulnerability levels than migration history. However, migration history does also contribute to different forms of vulnerability. While those born outside of South Africa are more likely to be involved in regular income generating activities, they still have poorer living conditions compared to the national-born. Moreover, the lack of access to social grants and credit facilities means that those who are not working lack a safety net. Section 5 below further explores the relation between migration history and vulnerability.

Health

The survey focused on a number of health-related issues including perceptions of health conditions; the frequency of seeking healthcare; healthcare facilities most frequented; difficulties (if any) in accessing health care and reasons thereof. The findings reveal that in both Alexandra and the inner city, long-term South African residents more often characterise their own health as poor or very poor³⁰ compared to the internal or international migrants. On average, inner city inhabitants are more likely to consider themselves healthy than Alexandra residents do (4% report having poor health status compared to 13%). These perceived health conditions manifest themselves in the frequency of seeking medical care. For example, 19% of long-term residents and 10% of the internal or international migrants sought medical care during the week preceding the survey. While such subjective understandings are not necessarily linked to actual health, it is likely that there is a strong relationship between feeling healthy and having access to sufficient nutrition and better medical services.

In terms of accessing healthcare, there is a wide variety of difficulties, with the local long-term residents and the foreign-born in Alexandra experiencing similar levels of difficulty in accessing needed healthcare. Among Alexandra residents who sought health care, 11% of long term residents report having experienced difficulties, followed by people born outside of South Africa (10%) and internal migrants (3%). Although less severe, the inner city situation reflects similar divisions. Although these figures do not, alone, reflect a

³⁰ It is important to note that self-reported health status was not in any way confirmed through medical assessments. It is therefore conceivable that some reporting differences between groups is because of different perceptions of what constitutes 'poor' or 'very poor' health. However, there is no reason to assume that these differences of perception are likely to be very large.

tremendous gap in health care for the urban poor, we must keep in mind that they speak neither to the quality of care received nor do they reflect those who have not sought care. Given that many included in the survey are relatively young, the percentage of people who have needed care can be expected to be relatively low. With this in mind and the fact that the South African government has made enormous investments in the public health system, it remains significant that more than 1 in 10 long term residents reports having problems.

For many national-born respondents, the main reason for not easily accessing healthcare was financial (nearly one out of four respondents who tried to access health care). Other reasons mentioned included distance to facilities (30% of long-term Alex residents who tried to access health care) and language problems (20% of internal migrants who tried to access health care). Among the foreign-born, 39% of those who tried to access health care report having been refused access because they did not have adequate documents. This is in spite of the Constitutional right to basic health care for “everyone”, regardless of legal status or documentation, and in spite of directives from the National Department of Health reinforcing this general right of access. Government clinics are the most preferred healthcare facilities by both locals (69%) and foreign-born populations (57%) who have ever sought health care, and more so in Alexandra than in the inner city.

In conclusion, it appears that

- Despite their economic challenges, populations who migrated from other provinces to Johannesburg less than 10 years ago and international migrants have better health status than long term residents. This is probably largely due to demography and self-selection (being younger and healthier when they decide to migrate), as new arrivals face more difficulty in accessing care than long term residents;
- Poverty and lack of adequate documentation are the main reasons why residents of Alexandra and the inner city have difficulties in accessing the healthcare needed.

Education

Levels of education are significantly lower among Alexandra residents than among those living in the inner city. For instance, 12% of respondents (all groups considered) in Alexandra have not completed any form of formal schooling while only 3% of the inner city

respondents fall in this category. There are also significant differences within areas: in Alexandra, 16% of the foreign-born respondents have no formal schooling compared to 7% of the national-born. However, the inner-city foreign born populations have equivalent education levels as their South African-born counterparts.³¹ The survey further reveals that the majority of the least educated (those with no formal schooling or those who have only completed primary education) are also unlikely to have completed any other form of professional training.

When breaking this down further by nationality, furthermore, significant differences emerge. Among international migrants, one finds both highly skilled people (90% of the migrants born in the DRC and 68% of the migrants born in Zimbabwe have finished secondary education) and people with no formal schooling (26% of the migrants surveyed who were born in Mozambique). 62% of the locals have finished secondary education but only 0.5% have a post-graduate degree compared with 5% of the migrants born in the DRC.

Table 10. Highest Level of Education

Employment Status	Alexandra Township			Inner City ³²		
	SA long-term resident	SA recent internal migrant	Foreign-born	SA long-term resident	SA recent internal migrant	Foreign-born
No formal schooling/ some primary	8%	6%	16%	4%	1%	2%
Completed primary	38%	37%	44%	24%	23%	20%
Completed secondary	52%	54%	39%	61%	62%	63%
Completed tertiary and/or postgraduate	2%	3%	2%	10%	15%	15%

In terms of children’s access to schools, the survey suggests that a significant number of foreign and South African children do not attend schools. In Alexandra, 7% of sampled South African-born households have children of school age who are not currently in schools; the figure amounts to 15% among households of foreign-born in Alexandra and to an average of 8% in the inner city (all population groups combined). These percentages are based on small numbers, hence the differences between these populations groups are not statistically significant and further research with larger samples will need to be conducted to confirm if

³¹ While differences in education level are significant in Alexandra, there is no significant difference in the inner city.

³² While differences in education level are significant in Alexandra, there is no significant difference in the inner city.

there are indeed the significant differences of experience between nationals and non-nationals. The main reported reasons why children are not in school include the inability of households to pay for books, fees or uniforms; lack of acceptable documents, particularly for children whose parents are foreign-born; children being too old for the grade level; and lack of space in schools.

Counter-intuitively, enrolled children of long-term South African residents face greater difficulties in understanding the language of instruction at schools than the children of international migrants. On average, 3.1% of the national-born report that children in their households face serious difficulties in understanding the language of instruction compared to 0.4% among foreign-born households, although this difference is not statistically significant due to the small numbers with children in school.

In many ways these figures about school access and comprehension in school are encouraging and suggest that access to education – while important – is not a high priority area for immediate intervention.

Safety and security

Migration and documentation of the foreign-born

International migrants are not new to either Alexandra or the inner city. Among survey respondents, 48% of the foreign-born living in Alexandra and 22% in the inner city arrived in the country before 2000. Despite claims that South Africa is currently faced with an unprecedented mass influx of international migrants, the survey reveals that the largest number of foreign-born respondents arrived in the country in 2001 for Alexandra and 2004 for the inner city. The primary motivation for movement was economic although in many instances economic conditions may be linked to political instability or persecution. A significantly higher number of international migrants in the inner city reported migrating for political reasons (17%) than in Alexandra (7%). Among internal migrants, the primary reasons for migrating were economic or familial in Alexandra and for better educational opportunities in the inner city.

As for documentation, people born outside the country and now living in the inner city were far more likely to have some form of documents (65%) versus those in Alex (44%). The country of birth with the highest proportion of undocumented migrants is Mozambique (54%) followed by Zimbabwe (45%) and Malawi (41%). However, the total figures rely on too small a sample to be significantly different across countries. In line with the migration motivations discussed above, the inner city hosts more people with refugee and asylum seeker documents than Alexandra. Of the foreign-born, 47% in the inner city and 18% in Alexandra report having asylum seeker or refugee documents; 13% report holding a valid visa to be in the country; and 14% report holding South African identity documents. Since information about documentation was exclusively based on self-reporting, and surveyors did not ask to see any papers, it is possible that some misreporting about documentation status occurred. However, the relatively high numbers of respondents who admitted to being undocumented suggests that the survey was not considered threatening and that many respondents were truthful about their status.

Crime, policing and access to justice

On average, more than 25% of respondents reported that they or a household member had been a victim of some form of crime since moving to their current locations.³³ Given that national crime statistics are irregularly released, not broken down by specific areas and in various ways unreliable,³⁴ it is difficult to say if this is in line with national averages for the inner city and Alexandra.³⁵ Regardless, the figures are remarkably high by global standards. In contrast to findings on other areas of vulnerability, there seem to be no significant differences in experiences of crime with regard to area of residence or population groups surveyed. The national born and foreign-born were largely affected in the same proportions although the foreign-born have often been in Johannesburg (and therefore exposed to Johannesburg's crime levels) for a shorter period of time. It is important to note that a large proportion of crime victims (59% of the crime-affected population living in the inner city and 47% in Alexandra) said they would not report the incident to the police. In both locations, in

³³ It is possible that experiences of crime or threats of violence are under-reported. Surveys of this kind, however, are likely to get higher levels of reporting than the official crime statistics, especially with regard to violence experienced by foreign nationals, since official crime statistics are based only on crimes which are formally charged with the police and foreign nationals are known to under-report to the police.

³⁴ See Bruce, D., 2010, 'The ones in the pile were the ones going down': the reliability of violent crime statistics', CSVR, Johannesburg, <http://www.csvr.org.za/images/docs/theonesinthepile.pdf>

³⁵ See, South African Police Service, 2009, *Annual Report: Crime Situation in South Africa*.

comparison with long-term national residents, recent South African migrants and the foreign-born are less likely to report a crime to the police.

Table 11. Percentage who would ‘do nothing’ if crime were committed against them³⁶

	Alexandra	Inner City
SA long-term residents	40%	46%
SA recent internal migrants	53%	67%
Foreign-born	54%	63%
Aggregate by location	47%	59%

In the survey, only a small number of respondents were asked why they would not go to the police. In the case of foreign nationals, the most commonly reported reasons were that they feel that the police do not care about foreigners or they fear having their immigration status discovered. Further research is needed to understand these motivations better and to understand the barriers which South African internal migrants experience in going to the police. What is most significant about these numbers is that they reveal a generalised level of distrust of the police by all residents in the inner city and Alexandra.

The survey clearly reveals that the foreign-born are far more likely to be stopped or visited at their homes by the police or the military (55% compared to 21% among the national-born). Whereas the national-born are stopped or visited mostly as part of ongoing criminal investigations, the main reason the foreign-born were stopped was to check their immigration status. Interestingly, there were only minor differences in interactions with police among foreigners in Alexandra and the inner city. In Alexandra, 51% reported being stopped by the police compared to 57% in the inner city. However, there is a more significant difference among South Africans in the two areas: 16% report being stopped in Alexandra compared with 28% for the inner city. This may be a result of citizens being confused for non-nationals in the inner city or simply a result of an enhanced police presence in the inner city. There is no significant difference between South African long-term residents and recent internal migrants in either location.

³⁶ Differences by migration history are not statistically significant.

Violence and displacement

For this section, it is especially important to keep in mind that our sample does not allow for any generalisation of the results to the national level. There are a number of reasons for this. First, along with all its history and current characteristics that make it a distinct township, Alexandra was the epicentre of the May 2008 outbreak of violence that drove large numbers of the foreign-born out of the township. Our fieldwork revealed that most foreign-born living in “Beirut”, the neighbourhood in Alexandra where the violence started, left the township during the violence and did not come back. Most of the foreign-born respondents in Alexandra were found in Setswetla, the area least affected by the May 2008 violence. Second, the sampling strategy of specifically augmenting foreign-born respondents through snowball sampling in Alexandra (see methodology section above) might have led to a bias that overrepresented people who had experienced violence in the sample. Nevertheless, the survey reveals important insights into the violence or threats thereof and displacement in two different environments.

Threats of violence

A significant number of respondents report being regularly threatened by other residents of their neighbourhoods because of their nationality, ethnicity or tribe. In Alexandra, the foreign-born are six times as likely to have experienced such threats as national-born residents (49% compared with 8%). In the inner city, experiences of threats are much lower, with 5% of South African-born and 18% of the foreign-born inner city residents reporting them. These findings, showing the foreign and national-born difference of experiences regarding violent threats, especially in Alexandra, and the differences in threat levels between Alexandra and the inner city, are among the most important results of this study.

It is worth noting that 4% of the national-born living in Alexandra, 19% of the foreign-born living in Alexandra and 7% of the inhabitants of central Johannesburg reported having been victims of threats due to their ethnicity or nationality before May 2008. The figures are similar for the threats reported after June 2008. It is an important finding that the incidence of threats of violence has remained relatively constant and high in the periods before, during and after the May 2008 attacks.

The survey results show that length of stay in a neighbourhood does not impact on the likelihood of experiencing threats of violence. There is no significant difference between South African long-term residents and recent internal migrants in either location, or between foreign-born respondents who have been in either location for shorter or longer periods of time. This suggests that vulnerability to threats of violence is not related to a person's level of 'integration', in the sense of being established and known in a particular location.

The likelihood of being vulnerable to victimisation depends on a range of variables, which all overlap. When we use the statistical analysis technique of econometric regression to look at the impact of each variable separately, while controlling for other variables, some additional patterns emerge:

- Poorer households are more vulnerable to threats of violence, all other things being equal. This contradicts the often-heard claim that individuals are attacked because they are 'stealing jobs' or accessing more public services than other residents of the same location. It rather suggests that threats of violence are made against those who are already the most socio-economically vulnerable.
- At an individual level, when controlling for all other factors such as location, education level, etc., foreign-born face a 26% higher chance of threats than those born in South Africa.
- Of the nationalities of foreign-born covered in significant numbers in the survey, Mozambicans and Congolese appear to be more vulnerable to threats than Zimbabweans, who face a significantly lower risk of threat than these two nationalities, when controlling for all other parameters. This finding also challenges statements made in the media and by some migrant and refugee-rights organisations that Zimbabweans are particularly vulnerable to attack.
- When controlling for characteristics of the households (e.g. levels of poverty and education), Alexandra residents on average do not seem to be significantly more at risk to be threatened than the residents of the inner city. The above-mentioned location effects therefore seem to actually be explained by different levels of poverty and education among residents of the inner city as compared with Alexandra. However, when we performed the analysis on the two distinctive samples of foreign-

born in Alexandra and foreign-born in the inner city, the risks faced by the foreign-born vary hugely depending on their location. In Alexandra, foreign nationals faced a 39% higher chance than the South African-born of being victimized because of their origin, while in the inner city it is only 12% higher.

Violence induced displacement

In our sample, 158 individuals reported having been displaced by violence at some point since moving to Johannesburg. Of those who had been displaced, 93% were interviewed in Alexandra. Indeed, 46% of the foreign-born still living in Alexandra in February 2009 reported being forced to leave their neighbourhood temporarily because of violence. Only eleven persons interviewed in the inner city (1 South African and 10 (2% of foreign-born interviewed) had been displaced because of the violence. Four of them were living in another neighbourhood when the violence or threats of violence occurred.

Over half of the Mozambicans interviewed in Alexandra were at some point in time displaced as a result of threats or direct violence. This was only the case for fewer than 11% of the Zimbabweans. More than half of the people who returned to Alexandra after being displaced mentioned the lack of alternative options as the main reason for their decision to come back into the same communities from which they were chased. This suggests that the displaced persons who returned to their previous communities, especially to Alexandra, remain extremely vulnerable. If they had the means to do so, they might well have resettled in other areas or communities perceived as safer or more secure. Only twelve persons displaced from other areas by the violence were living in Alexandra during the time of the survey, which suggests that Alexandra is not a destination of choice for most violence affected foreign-born in the Johannesburg areas. These findings suggest that, despite government claims that re-integration has been successful, risks and humanitarian needs persist.

Concerning experiences while being displaced, the preferred shelter options were friends' or relatives' places (44%) and government shelters (27%). 15% of the respondents displaced by violence reported to have slept outside. These findings suggest the need to look beyond government displacement camps and formal shelters in identifying and supporting the needs of those forced to move due to threats or violence. In 2008, almost all humanitarian

assistance to displaced persons was focused on formal shelters, suggesting that a significant segment of the population received little assistance and remained at risk.

Social participation and social capital

Levels of social participation and social capital in a community and among groups in a community are relevant to vulnerability in several ways. Firstly, individuals who are members of social organisations are often more resilient to social and economic shocks through recourse to informal sources of in-kind and financial support. Second, communities with strong, active and broadly accountable organisations may be less likely to mobilise in violent ways. Third, knowing the types and support base of local organisations is important in the design of any intervention aimed at reducing vulnerability. In contexts of acute social fragmentation, it may be unrealistic to expect residents of a particular location to work together in an intervention, for example.

The survey reveals generally low levels of participation and involvement by all groups of respondents in meetings, cultural organisations, credit associations, social clubs, and other formal organisations and fora.

Table 12. Levels of Participation in Civic and other Social Institutions³⁷

	Alexandra Township		Inner City	
	SA-born	Foreign-born	SA-born	Foreign-born
Ward meetings	58%	50%	21%	8%**
A church/mosque/religious organization	44%	44%	63%	66%
Police or security committee (CPFs)	23%	17%	12%	5%**
NGOs that work with migrants	13%	14%	4%	5%
Organizations run by refugees or migrants	6%	17%**	3%	8%**
Rotating credit association	5%	3%	4%	3%
Stokvel (informal savings group)	16%	8%**	12%	5%**
Cultural club/organisation	10%	2%**	10%	4%**
Youth or women Groups	16%	7%**	17%	7%**
Sports club/gym/social club	14%	12%	25%	15%**

³⁷ Where there is a statistically significant difference between SA and foreign-born levels of participation, this is marked with * for a .01 difference and ** for a .001 difference.

As Table 12 shows, the one relatively common form of formal civic participation is attendance at Ward meetings. These are significantly more important to Alexandra residents than residents of the inner city with both national and foreign-born attending these meetings (58% and 50% respectively in Alexandra and 21% and 8% in the inner city). Interestingly, participation does not seem to vary much with the length of stay in the neighbourhood. Another important, if less prevalent, form of participation is in local community policing forums (CPFs). Again, this is much more common in Alexandra than in the inner city, with foreign-born residents attending at similar levels as South African residents. Foreign-born attendance at CPF meetings in the inner city is significantly lower than South African attendance, but even South African attendance is relatively low. An important finding is that NGOs that work with refugees and migrants, whether run by refugees/migrants or not, have relatively limited membership or attendance in both Alexandra and the inner city. It is also interesting that similar numbers of South Africans and the foreign born attend meetings and event by NGOs working with migrants and refugees, although attendance of refugee-run organisations is predictably higher among the foreign-born in both locations.

In contrast to low membership in civic organisations, the survey confirms the importance of churches, mosques or religious organisations' events. 64% of inner city residents and 44% of Alexandra residents report regularly attending religious events. This suggests that religious groups are important potential partners in vulnerability-reduction interventions.

Apart from participation in religious events, there seems to be generally low levels of tolerance and social capital in both Alexandra and the inner-city. 54% of the foreign-born sample feels disadvantaged by their national or ethnic identity, independently of their location in Alexandra or the inner city. Levels of trust in the South African police are lower than among South Africans, although higher in Alexandra than in the inner city. In Alexandra, importantly, there is no statistically significant difference between South African and foreign levels of trust in the police. Regarding levels of trust between South Africans and foreign nationals, the foreign-born have low levels of trust in South Africans, but South Africans have particularly low levels of trust in foreigners, reflecting national trends which suggest that there is widespread dislike of foreigners across South African society.³⁸

³⁸ See Southern African Migration Project, *The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*, ed. Jonathan Crush (Cape Town: IDASA, 2008), p.2

Table 13. Levels of Social Cohesion and Trust³⁹

	Alexandra Township		Inner City	
	SA-born	Foreign-born	SA-born	Foreign-born
Feel disadvantaged by tribal or clan identity	18%	54%**	15%	54%**
I trust people from my ethnic group/tribe	62%	60%	61%	61%
I trust the SA police	73%	66%	58%	46%**
I trust South Africans	73%	42%**	65%	45%**
I trust foreigners living in South Africa	26%	65%**	34%	47%**

³⁹ Where there is a statistically significant difference between SA and foreign-born levels of participation, this is marked with * for a .01 difference and ** for a .001 difference.

Section 5: Forms of vulnerability and factors influencing vulnerability

The previous sections of this report have looked at the impacts of vulnerability factors one at a time. In reality, however, vulnerability factors such as nationality, gender, education level and place of residence all interact with each other. For example, the vulnerability of Zimbabweans as a group is compounded by their greater likelihood of living in informal settlements and reduced by their relatively high education levels. The following section, therefore, uses statistical regression techniques to factor out these interaction effects and isolate the vulnerability impacts of specific characteristics, such as nationality, gender, etc.

Furthermore, we have combined several of the vulnerability factors described in the sections above into four distinct vulnerability indicators. Each of these indicators has different implications for responses, as they have different causes and involve different actors. The four composite indicators are the following:⁴⁰

1. **Vulnerability due to unemployment and low capacity to work:** This indicator focuses on the absence of paid activity as well as ill health and low education levels.
2. **Vulnerability due to low access to basic services:** This indicator combines information on perceived relative household poverty, nutritional variety, sanitation and water access, accommodation crowding levels, and problems experienced accessing health care and education.
3. **Vulnerability due to physical insecurity and violence:** This indicator combines having been forced to move due to violence or threats of violence, expectations of having to move in near future, and experiences of threats due to nationality or ethnicity.
4. **Vulnerability to insecurity due to actions of state representatives:** This indicator combines information on being stopped by police or military, levels of trust in police, and plans to relocate due to immigration or legal difficulties.

By looking at such a broad spectrum of forms of vulnerability this study goes beyond the standard vulnerability studies in South Africa (e.g. the Stats SA 2007 Community Survey), which tend to focus exclusively on material poverty as a general form, indicator and factor of vulnerability and risk.

⁴⁰ A detailed breakdown of how each indicator is compiled is included in Annex 1.

Through regression analyses, we look at the relative impacts of different factors (such as foreignness, sex, length of stay in a location, etc.) on each form of vulnerability. These findings go beyond the specific locations and populations sampled in this study and suggest more general lessons about the nature of vulnerability in South Africa. One key lesson is that not all forms of vulnerability are correlated with each other: different groups may be more vulnerable in some ways than in others.

Factors contributing to vulnerability due to unemployment and low capacity to work

This form of vulnerability deals with lack of paid activity and low capacity to work due to ill health and low education levels. The following is a list (in decreasing order of importance) of factors that have a statistically significant impact on this vulnerability. These factors will be discussed in detail later in relation to all forms of vulnerability. An individual is significantly more likely to be unemployed if he/she:

- has a low level of education;⁴¹
- is female;
- is living in Alexandra;
- is born in South Africa, Zimbabwe or the DRC (this risk is significantly lower for people born in Mozambique or Malawi);
- lacks documents;
- has spent most of his/her life in an urban environment;
- has migrated to Johannesburg recently, regardless of place of origin.

Factors contributing to vulnerability due to poor access to basic services

The survey results show that a significant number of respondents face difficulties meeting their basic needs because their income is too low and/or because they are denied access to basic public or private services such as accommodation, electricity, water and sanitation,

⁴¹ The education factor within the composite vulnerability indicator is a binomial (see Annex 1), while the explanatory factor includes the full scale of educational options. This allows us to see the effect of education on unemployment and capacity to work even though it is partly incorporated into the dependent variable.

government provided social grants, as well as healthcare and education. An individual is significantly more likely to have poor access to basic services if he/she:

- lives in Alexandra;
- is born in Zimbabwe (this risk is significantly lower for people born in South Africa);
- is female;
- has a low level of formal education.

Factors contributing to vulnerability due to physical insecurity and violence

This form of vulnerability concerns people living in neighbourhoods with high crime rates and a high prevalence of public violence, whether they have themselves been victims or not. It also reflects the subjective fear of being targeted by criminals or collective violence because of national or ethnic identity, such as during the xenophobic violence of May 2008. The survey reveals that both the national and the foreign-born face this form of vulnerability, although at different levels. As an example, 46% of the foreign-born surveyed in Alexandra were at some point forced to leave their place of living because of violence or threats thereof. While far fewer South Africans have been displaced due to their ethnicity, 8% in Alexandra and 6% in the inner city have still experienced threats based on ethnicity or tribe. According to this pilot survey, an individual is more likely to have experienced violence or threats of violence if he/she:

- was born in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, or the DRC (this risk is significantly lower for people born in South Africa);
- lives in Alexandra;
- is male. This is a counter-intuitive finding but one that may reflect men's more public existence and engagements with neighbouring people of different groups;
- has been living in Johannesburg for a longer period of time.

Factors contributing to vulnerability/insecurity due to actions of state representatives

This type of vulnerability is particularly prevalent among the foreign-born due to corrupt and 'over-zealous' immigration policing. As this survey reveals, 53% of the foreign-born in the inner city have been stopped on the street or visited at home by the police or military to check their immigration status. While the police and immigration officers have the right to check immigration status, other studies have shown that this checking often amounts to harassment, extortion and unlawful arrests.⁴² The survey further reveals that the foreign-born living in both sites do not feel that they have equal protection by the law as they often prefer not to report violence or criminal acts perpetrated against them. In addition to the fear that their immigration status might be discovered, they also feel that police do not care about foreigners. The following list of contributing factors lends support to the above assertions. They are once again presented in a decreasing order of their statistical significance. An individual is more likely to have been targeted by state representatives or to distrust them if he/she⁴³:

- was born in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi (this risk is significantly lower for people born in South Africa);⁴⁴
- is male;
- lives in the inner city;
- lacks documents.

Considering the impact of key characteristics on forms of vulnerability

The analysis of the pilot data enables an evaluation of the respective importance of various individual and household characteristics in the occurrence of different forms of vulnerability. The identification of vulnerability-producing characteristics enables more effective targeting of interventions. It is important to emphasise that these factors do not

⁴² CoRMSA (2009). Protecting Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in South Africa. Johannesburg, Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa.

⁴³ Even though in some contexts perceptions of threat are not highly correlated with actual experiences of threat (such as with many forms of crime), in this case, the perception and experience of being targeted by state representatives are highly correlated.

⁴⁴ Being born in the DRC has no effect either way in terms of being targeted by state representatives.

necessarily produce vulnerability, but rather that vulnerability is more likely to be correlated with the presence of these factors. Finally, appropriate policies and intervention strategies can reduce the extent to which these factors result in vulnerability.

Place of residence

Living in Alexandria or the inner city affects the nature of vulnerability to poverty or violence. Of course, the choice of the place of residence can itself be influenced by other characteristics, such as income or social networks. Isolating this factor in the regression analysis allows for the identification of the specific impact of the place of residence on vulnerability, all other things being equal.

As expected, *living in Alexandria* clearly leads to being exposed to a higher risk of unemployment, low service access and insecurity. The only vulnerability factor which is greater for residents of the inner city is exposure to insecurity due to actions of state representatives.

Country of birth

To assess vulnerabilities associated with particular countries of origin, we looked at the main countries of birth in our sample: Zimbabwe, Mozambique, the DRC, Malawi and South Africa.

Migrants born in Zimbabwe: Only one factor seems to universally increase exposure to every kind of composite vulnerability: being born in Zimbabwe. When factoring out the impacts of generally higher education levels and other protective characteristics which many Zimbabweans bring with them, Zimbabweanness on its own increases vulnerability to unemployment and low capacity to work, access to basic services, violence,⁴⁵ and insecurity due to state action.

⁴⁵ While our findings on page 32 show that Zimbabweans are less likely than Mozambicans and Congolese to experience threats of violence, all else being equal, they are more vulnerable than all other nationalities when using the composite indicator for experiences of violence and threats of violence.

Migrants born in Mozambique or Malawi, when compared with South Africans, Zimbabweans and people from the DRC, face a lower risk of unemployment but a higher risk of harassment by state representatives and of insecurity in the neighbourhood (particularly Mozambicans).

When controlling for other factors such as the length of stay in Johannesburg, *being born in the DRC* significantly decreases the chances of having a paid activity and increases the perceived risk of insecurity at or near home.

On the one hand, people *born in South Africa* have a significantly higher risk of not having work or having low capacity to work (due to ill health and low education) than people born in Malawi or Mozambique. On the other hand, South Africans are significantly less affected by the other risks, including access to services and both forms of insecurity. While many South Africans in our sample live in the informal settlements and have low education levels – which in practice leads to high levels of poverty when looking at South Africans as a group – when place of residence and education level are factored out by comparing South Africans only with others also resident in those areas and with low education levels, being born in South Africa is still an advantage in terms of having better income levels and easier access to services.

Gender

Vulnerability is commonly expected to vary by gender. Furthermore, women's migration patterns are often assumed to be different from those of men, which in turn can lead to differential vulnerability risks. Our survey findings did show significant differences in migration patterns and vulnerability by gender, but not always in the ways expected.

Like other factors, being a woman can be an asset or a liability for different forms of vulnerability. In relation to security for instance, being a woman means less likelihood of having experienced threats or overt violence. However, this may be because women are more likely to preventatively avoid certain insecure spaces and activities, such as by not leaving the house in the evenings. Not being threatened or physically attacked as often

therefore does not mean that a generalised atmosphere of violence does still represent a constraint on women. For the other types of vulnerability, women are more vulnerable than men. When controlling for other important factors such as the level of education, women have clearly lower chances of having a paid activity and of accessing services.

Level of formal education

The survey shows that a good level of education protects from vulnerability to unemployment and vulnerability to lack of access to basic services, while having a low level of formal education increases these vulnerabilities. It is the most important factor in predicting absence of paid activity and low capacity to work.

Having spent most of his/her life in an urban or rural environment

One would expect that urban environments and particularly Johannesburg can destabilise newly arrived migrants coming from rural areas, and that migrants coming from urban areas, particularly international migrants who grew up in major cities, would be able to quickly make the most of the city's resources. Surprisingly, being an internal or international migrant originally from a rural environment seems to be an asset when looking for a job in Johannesburg. There could be a declaration bias as 'rural' migrants might more readily consider every paid activity as 'work' whereas 'urban' migrants might not declare some odd or part-time jobs as a 'work'. There might also be a selection bias as those who migrate out of the general rural population are relatively younger, healthier and more entrepreneurial than those who stay. However, the same selection bias would apply to migrants of urban origins. It is also possible that 'urban' migrants are less interested in low-paid activities, and that migrants from rural areas are more willing to take low paying and manual jobs rather than not working at all. Further research is needed to explain the impacts of the rural/urban origin vulnerability factor. Rural or urban origin has no effect on levels of vulnerability to physical insecurity or state targeting.

Length of stay in Johannesburg

The regression results show that people who migrated to Johannesburg more recently are more likely to be unemployed or to have a low capacity to work. This finding from the regression analysis suggests that the data presented on page 21, showing that recent South African migrants are more likely to be employed full time compared with other groups, needs to be more carefully studied. It may mean that many recent South African migrants have characteristics which enable job finding even beyond the handicap of being recently arrived.

The regression also shows that recent arrivals to the city (both in Alexandra and the inner city, both South African and foreign) are better off concerning security issues than long-term residents. This regression finding seems to contradict the findings earlier in the report (pg 31-32) that there is no significant difference in exposure to violence or official targeting between people who have lived for longer or shorter periods in Alexandra or the inner city, whether South African-born or not. This seeming discrepancy may be the result of the composite vulnerability indicators used for the regression, or it may be that other factors (such as nationality or gender) are confounding the real length-of-stay effect in single-factor analyses.

As possible explanations for the length-of-stay effects, the disruption caused by migration from another country or another province and the lack of established social networks in the new location could increase exposure to unemployment vulnerability. On the other hand, people born in Johannesburg or having spent a lot of time in Johannesburg might suffer from particular forms of security vulnerability as they have higher chances of having grown up in a violent environment. The somewhat surprising findings regarding length of stay will require more research to understand the interactions between characteristics (of both vulnerability and resilience) which recent arrivals bring with them, and vulnerability characteristics which arise from the environment in their current location.

Documentation

To hold documents significantly protects from being exposed to unemployment and insecurity from state representatives. Surprisingly, it does not have an impact on access to services, or on vulnerability to violence. The fact that, all other things being equal, *undocumented* people have lower chances of being in paid employment questions popular allegations that they represent a cheaper and therefore more desirable option for employers and therefore represent a threat to the employment options of locals or legal migrants.

Section 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

This pilot survey in two parts of Johannesburg provides a series of new and important insights into the nature and patterns of vulnerability in South African cities. The most important systematic lessons include:

- The multi-dimensional nature of vulnerability, and the inclusion of vulnerability towards violence and insecurity due to state action, in addition to more conventional socio-economic forms of vulnerability;
- The importance of mobility as a determinant of different forms of vulnerability. This includes both domestic and international mobility, albeit with different vulnerability outcomes;
- The importance of location-specific analyses of vulnerability, with informal settlements such as Alexandra providing contexts of heightened vulnerability in almost all dimensions and for all their residents, when compared with even the poorest inner city areas.

The full value of this pilot study will only emerge with application of the survey to other parts of the country, and its repetition in the same areas over time. Then the instrument will allow us to track changes in vulnerability levels, and which factors and interventions can mitigate the vulnerability impacts associated with innate characteristics, such as sex or nationality, and which can reduce the impact of choices, such as mobility.

Even the current findings, limited as they are to particular locations, paint a very worrying picture. The prevalence of various forms of violence, particularly related to national and ethnic discrimination, suggests both immediate and ongoing humanitarian protection needs, as well as the constant potential for wide-spread violence which may lead to displacement and material humanitarian needs. To the extent that government, civil society and UN agencies share a concern and mandate for the prevention of large-scale violence and displacement, and therefore to prevent the need to invest heavily in future humanitarian responses to displacement, the need for early intervention is urgent.

Although vulnerability to physical insecurity and violence seem to have different prevalence patterns in the population than vulnerability to socio-economic deprivation, the presence of violence in a community is obviously not independent of the presence of socio-economic

deprivation. Finding means of addressing (real and perceived) inequalities of employment access and public service access in highly deprived locations such as Alexandra (and presumably other informal settlements) is therefore both a crucial priority in and of itself, as well as a means of addressing levels of violence in that location.

Even though this survey was not designed to assess in detail absolute levels of humanitarian need, e.g., to malnutrition, shelterlessness, lack of access to adequate clean water and sanitation, etc., the proxy indicators included in the survey instrument do suggest that pockets of such extreme vulnerability exist in informal settlements such as Alexandra. Furthermore, the extremely vulnerable include both South Africans and foreign nationals, with an emphasis on the former. Given the transitory nature of many informal settlements, with new individuals entering these gateways to the city all the time, such socio-economic vulnerability is both structural (in that it occurs consistently in the same location) and acute (in that it may affect new individuals and households for particular periods of time). The challenge, therefore, is that the responsibility to intervene not fall between the cracks of government departments, civil society organisations and UN agencies tasked with emergency humanitarian assistance and those mandated to provide longer term development support.

The findings of this pilot study therefore lead to a series of recommendations to the South African government, to South African civil society organisations, and to UN agencies operating in South Africa:

Recommendations

Joint Recommendations for Government, Civil Society Organisation and UN Agencies

- Develop/encourage development of more nuanced standard measures of vulnerability, beyond a single indicator of income levels. Incorporate these into regular national data collection instruments such the census and community surveys, and ensure that relevant government departments regularly collect data using these indicators to monitor vulnerability levels in relation to their respective mandates (shelter, nutrition, public service access, violence, etc.). Also ensure that multi-dimensional vulnerability analyses are regularly done and that data collected by any institution is published publically in forms which are accessible to

government and civil society. These analyses can serve to inform not only governmental humanitarian and developmental programming, but also help to align governmental, civil society and UN assistance priorities.

- Incorporate an awareness of mobility effects into vulnerability analyses and into humanitarian and developmental interventions. Especially South African mobility to urban areas should be explicitly recognised as a developmental challenge and actively addressed in planning, rather than either ignoring or fearing it's impacts. Cross-border mobility should also be recognised as a reality of urban development and regional integration, and incorporated into governmental service delivery planning.
- Prioritise humanitarian and development interventions in high vulnerability locations, such as Alexandra and other informal settlements and townships. In these locations, include both vulnerable South Africans and foreign nationals in interventions.
- Address the ongoing threat of violence against foreign nationals with priority, given the high levels of displacement and ongoing threats experienced.⁴⁶ The focus of interventions should especially be on informal settlements such as Alexandra, where threats are much higher than in the inner city. In locations where violence and displacement have occurred in the past, mechanisms should be put in place to monitor the conditions under which displaced people return to their previous communities and their levels of vulnerability.
- When displacement through violence occurs, consider interventions to provide protection and assistance to the displaced apart from the provision of formal shelters, since many find alternative shelter with friends or family.

Specific Recommendations for Government

- Find means of increasing confidence in the police among both recently urbanised South Africans and foreign migrants. This is crucial for effectively combating the high levels of crime which this survey confirms in Alexandra and the inner city.

⁴⁶ For an assessment of causes of violence against foreign nationals and possible responses, see Misago, J.-P., L. B. Landau, et al. (2009). *Towards Tolerance, Law, and Dignity: Addressing Violence against Foreign Nationals in South Africa*, Johannesburg, IOM and FMSP.

Confidence building measures would include reducing the role which the police play in immigration control.⁴⁷

- A key factor in the vulnerability of South Africans to higher unemployment rates is low education levels. This finding, while not surprising, once again reinforces the need to prioritise the education sector, including adult education, in the interest of economic development and poverty alleviation.
- While documentation for foreign nationals does not protect against all forms of vulnerability, it is an important resilience factor and so ongoing efforts to provide appropriate and administratively efficient documentation options to foreign migrants should be continued.
- Given the importance of social grants as a safety net for the most economically vulnerable, and given the relatively low numbers of foreign nationals who are either of pension age or have young children, consider extending eligibility for old age pensions and child support grants for long-term resident, legal foreign nationals.

Specific Recommendations for Civil Society Organisations

- Civil society organisations working on both poverty and violence reduction should seek to target their interventions based on empirically established levels of vulnerability for different groups. For example, being female or foreign-born does not necessarily mean always being the most vulnerable, as these characteristics may in some cases increase resilience and protection against some forms of vulnerability, such as some security risks and unemployment, respectively. Similarly, being male or South African may increase levels of certain kinds of vulnerability in some cases.

⁴⁷ See Vigneswaran, D and Duponchel, M (2009). One Burden Too Many? A Cost-Benefit Analysis of Immigration Policing in Gauteng, Johannesburg, FMSP

Appendix 1: Composite Vulnerability Indicators

This appendix outlines how the composite vulnerability indicators used in Section 5 of the report were constructed.

Vulnerability due to unemployment takes values between 0 and 3 and includes:

- the person is unemployed, unpaid worker or housewife/homemaker = 1 point
- the person considers his/her health status as poor or very poor for his/her age = 1 point
- the person has no formal schooling or primary education only = 1 point

Vulnerability due to low access to external resources takes values between 0 and 20 and includes:

- the person considers that his/her household is poorer than average in the living area = 1 point
- the person consumes meat, fish or fresh vegetables less than seven times a week = 1 point
- the main type of toilet used by the members of the household is not a flush or chemical toilet = 1 point
- the household does not have access to running water inside the dwelling = 1 point
- average number of persons sleeping in a room of the dwelling = x points
- the person has already had difficulty accessing health care needed in Johannesburg = 1 point
- some children under 18 and old enough to go to school are not attending school = 1 point

Vulnerability due to physical insecurity and violence takes values between 0 and 3 and includes:

- the person or a member of his/her household has already been forced to leave where he/she was living and spend time elsewhere because of violence or threats of violence = 1 point
- the person expects to move within the next 6 months because of discrimination/xenophobia = 1 point
- the person or a member of his/her household has already been threatened because of his/her nationality, ethnicity or tribe = 1 point

Vulnerability to insecurity due to actions of state representatives takes values between 0 and 3 and includes:

- the person expects to move within the next 6 months because of legal/immigration difficulties and to escape official attention = 1 point

- the person affirms that he/she would not go to the police if someone broke into his/her residence and stole from him/her, because 'the police don't care about foreigners', or because he/she fears that his/her immigration status is going to be discovered, or because he/she fears for his/her own safety = 1 point
- after moving to Johannesburg, the South African police or military have stopped the person or come to his/her house to check if the person was working without a permit or to check immigration status or identity documents = 1 point

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