

Governing for inclusion: Local government, mobility, and community creation

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Declaration

The work presented in this thesis was carried out at the African Centre for Migration and Society, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, under the supervision of Professor Loren Landau. I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work, submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination at this or any other university.

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Abstract

This thesis considers the ways through which migrants and local government officials co-create communities through their engagement with each other. With a recent upsurge of populist trends limiting migration globally, while inequality continues to increase, South Africa's experiences in managing diverse communities provide important lessons for scholars trying to understand both the drivers and limits of these trends. Through six related publications, this thesis suggests that local government officials and migrants are both playing active roles in defining communities and manufacturing categories of difference. Municipal officials often bring an epistemological bias towards a sedentary population, while migrants respond by demonstrating contestation of local authority and geographic boundaries.

First, a diagnostic tool that maps the nexus between mobility and local governance is presented in the thesis. The next article problematises this mapping by discussing some of the methodological and conceptual complexities that must be considered when bringing the two areas together. Then, the thesis considers in more detail one dimension of the diagnostic – specifically, the use of data to plan towards mobility. The following article looks at how perceptions of municipal officials are driving practice in responding to migrants. In chapter seven, municipal spatial management practices will be considered in relation to migration, particularly given that the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act has recently given widespread autonomy to municipalities to manage land use. Chapter eight looks at political incentives around exclusion and xenophobia. Finally, the thesis is concluded by a discussion and conclusion chapter, which discusses the results as a whole, synthesizes key theoretical findings, and looks at implications for future research. The research informing each of the six articles draws on empirical research from five South African municipalities in Gauteng, Limpopo, and Mpumalanga, in addition to work previously done by ACMS at the municipal

level. This research considers localised experiences of migration management outside of the more widely studied mega cities and border areas.

This thesis has found that municipal practice has a profound influence on the management of migration. In fact, municipalities are mandated to manage spheres that are critical to migration, such as land use and transport hubs. The findings of this research make a strong case for why policy making at a municipal level should be considered with a lens of migration just as much as international relations and other more traditional migration policy arenas.

1. Introduction

This thesis explores the interdependent relationship between the formation of communities in a context of migration, and local government practice in South African municipalities. It begins with an empirical question: how local government officials and institutions are responding to mobility in the municipalities they govern. It then considers the consequences, particularly what this means for the formation of social categories among residents. The concern here is with the construction of subjectively defined ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ in communities that are being continually shaped by international and domestic mobility, and what this means for the spatialised nature of state practice. The articles constituting this thesis first explore the definitional and methodological elements that define the practices of public administration relevant to mobility, and how these practices are shaping community formation within municipalities. The latter articles then widen to try and understand the political and social dynamics which are driving these processes, and how these inform the practice of both local government bureaucrats and residents.

While scholars are increasingly critiquing a misleading perception that states exercise power over a sedentary population, this thesis contributes empirical data around how these perceptions are practiced locally, and how this shapes state institutions not at a national scale, but at the localised level that characterises most of the interaction between residents and bureaucrats. South African municipal institutions are a particularly useful empirical example for creating lessons that resonate across a range of global contexts. First, they govern populations that are not only diverse in terms of ethnolinguistic categories, but also diverse in their experiences and expectations of state power and capacity. Furthermore, municipal institutions themselves often reflect global contexts of inequality, with cutting-edge, technologically sophisticated systems of satellite data creation often coexisting with a failure to

maintain basic infrastructure. This creates a microcosm for understanding how the politics of identity and inequality are shaping state practice, with lessons that extend beyond the borders of the specific municipalities studied.

The thesis begins with two articles which describe the empirical and conceptual considerations of local government practice in response to mobility. This includes first, *Measuring Municipal Responses to Mobility*, an article which presents a diagnostic tool to categorize the capacities that are necessary for municipalities to respond effectively to a mobile population. The diagnostic tool has the following six dimensions, which span technical to political components of governance: budgeting, data collection and management, participation, accountability, perceptions, and social cohesion. The article then applies this tool to two municipalities, to see whether these capacities have been demonstrated by some of the municipalities studied. It found an unsurprising correlation between general management capacity and the capacity for a municipality to respond to migration. However, it also uncovered the importance of looking at social inclusion and capacity to use data for planning as integrated issues. The article concluded by underscoring that by bringing together the different dimensions of managing migration, municipal capacity is understood, and therefore measured differently.

The next article, *Intersections of Migration and Local Governance: Lessons on methods and research design*, unpacks some of the complexity in studying the intersection of two fields that are often called ‘cross-cutting.’ While the first article approaches the problem by creating a neat diagnostic tool, this simplicity can obscure some of the areas where conceptualizing either topic was challenging, or came with methodological complications arising from widely different approaches to or stereotypes about the subjects. This article dives into these grey areas, and looks at the complexity in more detail. It found that divergent expectations and perceptions held by both migrants and municipal officials are limiting constructive engagement that could strengthen

both participation and service delivery. Building a common understanding across diverse stakeholders around the boundaries of state responsibilities and migrant rights is needed to improve municipal capacity to manage migration.

The third article, *Enablers and Constraints for Data Use in Planning for Mobility* draws on empirical data from interviews with local government officials, as well as participant observation data from time spent within municipalities, to explore one dimension of the diagnostic tool in detail. The component of data use was chosen because of the wide variation in practice and capacity across the municipalities chosen, and the unique challenges migration poses to data use as compared to other social categories. The purpose of this article is to explore in more depth one specific component of municipal capacity, and generate lessons that can be applied more broadly. Research found that perceptions that communities are sedentary has created a barrier to including migration effectively in data systems for planning. Furthermore, there are varied incentives for municipalities to champion data driven planning. While municipal officials are anecdotally responsive to migration as it happens within their communities, there are significant political barriers to building systems and strategies that would strengthen data use in planning for mobility.

The next two articles, *Managing and Imagining Migrant Communities*, and *Migration Governance as Place Making: South African experiences*, explore first, the role of local government officials in community formation, and then the role of migrant communities in the same process. The two articles together try to explain the dynamic relationship local government officials and migrant communities have in co-creating both local communities, and forms of governance and participation.

In *Managing and Imagining Migrant Communities*, research demonstrated that local government perceptions of migration and assumptions about migrant behavior are a powerful force in shaping the way communities are articulating

their identity. In fact, these perceptions are often superceding the actual geography of migration, with multi-generational residents being articulated as “outsiders”, and some categories of “insiders” coming from across national borders. This highlights the importance of managing mobility to go beyond technical practices of service and access, but to include the way communities are defined, and state practice is spatialised.

Migration Governance as Place Making: South African experiences discussed the ways in which municipal policy shapes migrant experiences. South Africa’s recently adoption of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) has given widespread authority to carry out place-management functions autonomously. This has widespread implications for migrants, but municipalities are not often considering the unique characteristics of migrant communities in their planning processes. This is a missed opportunity for efficiency gains in spatial planning, and greater engagement with migration could lead to more effective implementation of SPLUMA.

The final article presented in this thesis, *Local Politics of Xenophobia*, addresses some of the political incentives found at the municipal level to exclude migrants either from processes of community formation, or political participation. This chapter in particular engages with the wider political and social dynamics that are driving specific practices of local governance, and considers how these are expressed through municipal practices. This article argued that current research on bureaucratic forms of exclusion and their underlying dynamics are not speaking to each other sufficiently. However, service delivery protests, xenophobic violence, and other community mobilisation is part and parcel of negotiating legitimacy within the community, electoral incentives within governing parties, and the historical roots in South African still tying the politics of identity to state violence. Given the global context of post colonialism and inequality between countries, South Africa’s experience of envisaging, articulating, and expressing rights is

one of global significance.

In sum, the six articles bring new empirical data from five municipalities across South Africa, as well as drawing on additional case studies to understand both the epistemologies of local government officials about migration and community formation, and the ways in which the institutions and mechanisms that drive planning at the municipal level are geographically grounded. The thesis then considers what this means for community formation and access to the state. As a whole, the research has three primary findings. One is that divergent epistemologies around migration and community formation is limiting effective spatial planning at a municipal level. The second is that these epistemologies are often superceding the geography of mobility in driving municipal practice, implying that technical efforts to strengthen local spatial planning will likely fall short if they are not matched with reimagining communities, to include the realities of mobility. The third finding is that there are certain institutional barriers to reimagining municipal mandates to include mobility within their remit. This include both historical linkages between the politics of identity, inequality, and state exclusion, but also political incentives that are still driving exclusionary practices. Only interventions that look at both the technical and political dimensions of managing mobility as a system are likely to gain traction, but before these can be designed, it is important to build consensus and conceptual clarity around the nature of migration, and the responsibility of states in response to it.

Aim and Rationale

Research focus

This research seeks to understand how local governance structures are responding to mobile populations. In doing so, this research aims to describe the mechanisms through which local governing structures are including or excluding people, either deliberately or structurally, on the basis of mobility,

and in turn, creating categories of difference that are reshaping communities. It will then examine what categories of identity are being produced by state practice, as well as how patterns of social organization are changing the role of local government. It will then look at the bases on which communities are formed at a local level.

The specific research questions that guided this work include:

- How are local government officials both understanding, and responding to mobility?
 - o What does the institutional context of local government in South Africa currently enable or prevent in responding to both migrants and migration?
 - o How do structural factors like municipal independence, decentralization, etc. shape these responses?
- Which migrant epistemologies and practices around the role and capacity of the state are shaping bureaucratic practice?
 - o What are the unique expectations migrants hold in terms of the role of municipalities, and their rights to municipal services?
 - o How do different practices of migrant engagement with municipal authorities generate empirical and subjective categories of political and social difference?
 - o How do migrants view their community of residence, and community of origin, and what do these views mean for their positionality vis a vis municipal authority?
- What implications do the above have for the way local communities are constructed and governed?
 - o How is migration changing the way we understand the spatialization of local government practice?
 - o In what ways does migration challenge the processes through which local government constructs and governs their communities?

Contribution to knowledge

This research builds on a growing recognition that local government is increasingly responsible for managing migration at a local level. While there have been global policy calls for local authorities to engage more with migration, there is little empirical research about how officials have been responding to this call outside of the biggest, global metropolises. What research there is at the nexus of municipal practice and mobility largely overlooks cities in the global South, which are among the most mobile and diverse in the world. This is particularly important given the widespread autonomy municipalities are given in decisions related to both governance and spatial planning, coupled with their varied capacity to respond to their expansive planning mandate. Furthermore, literature in the migration field is only recently taking a local turn, with its roots firmly in the international and transnational space. There is limited empirical data on localized bureaucratic practice in community formation processes, or even on the participation of migrants in local governance. This research aims to contribute to theory building with extensive empirical research at a local level, with carefully selected case studies that have both national and global relevance.

This research further makes a contribution to practice. Most immediately, given the aspirations the South African government articulates around social cohesion, coupled with ongoing struggles around xenophobic violence, an in depth understanding of local government practice is useful for better informing programming around social cohesion and community creation. This importance is further underscored given the upcoming elections in 2019, and the widespread xenophobic violence that has characterized previous electoral cycles. While xenophobic violence is in no way restricted to local government elections, there are various linkages hypothesized between local political incentives, bureaucratic practice, and processes of community formation. Understanding these linkages is important for understanding how migrants

understand the state locally, and also for considering how normative processes led nationally may be implemented and experienced locally. Perhaps even more importantly, however, migration is a tool that communities are using to improve their access to municipal services. Migration is literally shaping the landscape of municipalities, and ignoring this in planning is missing an important opportunity for more effective planning and service delivery.

Finally, this research aims to optimize its contributions to the literature through various choices made in the research design and methodology. For example, secondary cities have been identified by STATSSA as experiencing the highest levels of migration, and yet are nearly absent from literature on migration. Similarly, much recent empirical work on the governance of migration focuses either exclusively on migrant communities, or exclusively on government officials, and this research has been designed to provide a balance of perspectives, as well as rigorous triangulation through multimethods data collection. This aims to allow contributions to debates across a wide range of contexts.

Theoretical Orientation and Literature Review

This thesis seeks to advance conceptual debates over the spatilisation of state practice through an engagement in South African case studies and policy deliberations. In doing so, it contributes empirically to work on place management and mobility in southern cities, literature on decentralisation and local governance in the global South, and finally, to South African policy debates around service delivery, social cohesion, and municipal authority. To do this, it first describes the ways through which South African municipalities are using spatially-bound data and perceptions to plan and administer their service delivery mandate. It then looks at how these local government practices are responding to the needs of the community governed, and what this generates in terms of community formation and engagement with the state.

This thesis brings a few unique angles to this debate, the first of which is that in discourse around migration, empirical research most often draws on mega cities, or border areas – places that are conspicuous due to their unique relationship with migration. While there is already a rich body of literature looking at the interface of migration and local experiences of the state, this literature most often locates itself in transnational spaces of some kind; either mega-cities with a cosmopolitan angle, or national border spaces. (Vertovec and Cohen, 1999; Werbner, 1999; Baubock and Faist, 2010; Levitt and de la Dehesa, 2017; Schiller, Darieva and Gruner-Domic, 2011). The research for this thesis brings empirical evidence about the social geography of local government in peri-urban areas and secondary cities, which may experience mobility and social geography differently. In turn, the relationship between residents and local government institutions doesn't necessarily look the same. The municipalities chosen are not obviously remarkable in their relationship to migration, but are nevertheless being shaped in equally important ways by mobility. Their importance in discussions of urbanisation and global governance is increasingly being acknowledged, but empirical data is still scarce (Marais, 2016; Roberts, 2014; Roberts and Hohmann, 2014; van der Merwe, 2016).

In doing so, this thesis will speak primarily to two theoretical debates that are currently ongoing. The first is around the public administration of migration, and municipal practices and epistemologies of spatial planning and place-management. This area will uncover some of the tensions between decentralization, geographically-bounded electoral systems, and municipal autonomy in a place where many people live multilocal lives, and migration-predictive demographic data is largely absent, or inaccessible to those who need it. The second is around migrant epistemologies and practices around the role and capacity of the state. In this discussion, this thesis will engage with scholars who are exploring the way migration is shaping and defining both the empirics of state practice, and also the way states are experienced and understood by communities who are living multi-local lives, whether they are

migrating or not (Ahouga, 2018; Bauman, 2011; Zapara-Barrero, Caponio and Scholten, 2017).

These two theoretical debates are then brought together to discuss how communities are locally constructed and governed. While the history of the field of migration tends to fall in the realms of international migration and transnationalism as mentioned above, a rich body of literature has grown over the last decade significantly out of South Africa that looks at migrant experiences with the local state. Some scholars point to the challenges of governing a mobile population (Landau, Segatti and Misago, 2013; Crush, 2008) while others focus on spaces of citizenship assertion and mechanisms of participation that are informed by identity (Miraftab and Wills, 2005; Lalloo, 1998). These bodies of literature are slowly coming to meet scholars who are looking at urban social geography, and the interface between local experiences of government and mobility (Benit-Gbaffou, Kihato, and Landau, 2010; Pillay and Tomlinson, 2006; Parnell and Mabin, 1995).

Local Government Administration of Migration

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Global Compact for Migration (GCM) both acknowledge the critical role cities play in global development. Simultaneously, scholars are in widespread agreement about the variable capacity of cities to drive equitable development, and the implications this has for development globally, and within the global South particularly (Parnell, 2016; Arfvidsson, Simon, Oloko, and Moodley, 2017; Chen, 2014; Buckley and Kallergis, 2014).

A central departing point guiding this thesis was a need to better describe local government practices in responding to a mobile population (Hoekstra, Kohlbacher, and Rauhut, 2018). There is a dearth of empirical work globally that looks at local government practice, particularly in the global South, outside of either large, cosmopolitan urban centres, or border areas (Cameron, 2018;

Caponio and Borkert, 2010). This research focused on peri urban areas and secondary cities in South Africa, which are currently being most shaped by migration (Atkinson, 2007; Mattes, 2002; Pithouse, 2008; Pillay, Tomlinson and du Toit, 2006), yet have a number of constraints in responding effectively. These include the history of governance in South Africa, capacity constraints of municipalities, and contestation for authority on the basis of identity (Picard, 2005; Reddy, 2014; Ruiters, 2018).

To do this, the thesis starts by engaging with public administration literature, and contributes empirical data around the extent to which municipalities are responsive to the needs and interests of migrants. To explore this, the research will engage with literature looking at either specific characteristics of the state (Friedman and Kihato, 2004; Grest, 1988; Lewis and Naidoo, 2004; Pycroft, 2000), or public management's effect on specific segments of the population (Beall, 2005; Williams, 2006).

Current processes of public sector reform in South Africa are often framed around New Public Management (NPM), which looks at public servants as managers, with similar responsibilities around effectiveness and efficiency that would be seen in the private sector, and looks at citizens as consumers of public services (Leemans, 1976; Christensen and Laegreid, 2007). While this approach is widespread in literature on public administration across South Africa, there is also an emergent acknowledgement of the limitation of these approaches (Andrews, 2013; Haque, 2015). Developing a more nuanced understanding of how migrants act as 'consumers' of public services, but also as active citizens, will help clarify some of the grey spaces of the state, where negotiation for access is often defining norms of state practice. Scholars of both migration and development more broadly in South Africa have long-since argued that service-delivery protests are not fundamentally about service delivery, but are about experiences of exclusion, rights, the politics of identity, and contested access to state resources (Alexander, 2010; Pithouse, 2008). The robust literature on the

apartheid state unsurprisingly gives due consideration to the way state structures politicize identity, but mobility is not always central to this discourse, even though xenophobic violence is a clear expression of the importance of mobility in understanding social cohesion.

For South Africa's entire quarter century of democracy, decentralisation has been a key principle of governance (Wunsch, 1998; Beall, 2005). The aspiration was to bring democratic decision making closer to people who had been previously excluded from state services. Articles 4 and 5 in this thesis in particular will engage in some detail around the successes and challenges local government has faced, but municipalities in South Africa hold tremendous autonomy, even though there are also tremendous institutional barriers to their effectiveness (Govender, 2017; Kanyane, 2014; Sibiya, 2015; Venter, 2007). Most of the scholars cited above are interested in the implications this context has for democracy. However, this thesis argues that if migration is taken into account when looking at local government, the landscape of democracy will change.

The Role of Migration in Local State Formation

Migration has deep historical roots in South Africa, and it has been a central force in shaping communities in the country and across the region. These trends range from labour migration to forced removals, international emigration, and economic migrants from within the region. Each of these kinds of migration come with different social and political shapes, but what is common across them is that migrant communities are negotiating their access to rights in various ways (Crush, 2008; Hunter et al, 2014; Jansen, 2016; Kok and Collinson, 2006; Landau, 2004). Trends of migration are reconfiguring expectations of local government officials, and municipalities at the same time are playing an increasingly important role in driving processes of community formation (Levitt and de la Dehesa, 2017; Vigneswaran and Quirk, 2015).

Migrants are using various strategies to counter either practices of active exclusion, or simply bureaucratic inconveniences (Landau, Segatti and Misago, 2013). While residents employ strategies to respond to problems of access to state resources as well, migrants have different options available. Multilocality is often a response, with regional or global networks based on differing forms of political, economic, and social access in different places (Blaser Mapitsa and Landau, 2016; Landau, 2014; Landau and Freemantle, 2018). However, these multilocal networks do not operate on the geographic logic of a nation state, and challenge traditional bureaucratic mechanisms of participation and planning (Harrison and Todes, 2015).

This means migrants have a unique role in reconfiguring the relationship between citizens and the state, as well as between state authority and geography. This includes not only the unique service provision needs of migrants, which are important, but addressing fundamental questions of bureaucratic practice and mandate, legitimacy, citizenship, rights, and community formation (Kaufmann, 2017).

Research Design and Methods

The research for this thesis was designed to answer first, how local government officials are understanding and responding to mobility, secondly, how migrant epistemologies and practices are shaping the state, and finally, how the actions of these two stakeholders together are redefining communities and the ways they are governed. These questions have certain methodological requirements for a valid answer. The first, is that rich, descriptive information was needed about both how local government officials understand migration and migrant communities and how they practice this understanding, as well as how migrants are understanding and interacting with local government. Due to the varied political nature of migration in municipalities, it was important to gather data from sites that have different political dynamics. It was also important to

triangulate data about what migrants and local government officials report as their views, with observed practice.

Given these demands, an approach of institutional ethnography was chosen to best understand municipal officials views and practices, and comparative case studies were selected to allow for a balance of in depth understanding of the social and political dynamics of migration in a place, as well as a span of various sites, to better understand what is common across them. While these two approaches created a heavy burden of data collection, given the scarcity of local empirical data on migration from South Africa's secondary cities, generating this data was also a goal of its own.

Institutional ethnography

Institutional ethnography was chosen to understand, first, how local government officials understand migration and migrant communities, and secondly, to compare this to actual practice in terms of provision of services, consultation, etc. This piece of research adopted a broad, sociological definition of institutions, to mean any structure through which social life and behavior are managed (Smith, 2005). This allows sociological methods for studying institutions to be freely applied to the state, as the degree to which bureaucratic structures are required for understanding vary.

Brewer defines an ethnographic style of research as:

The study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally (Brewer, 2000; 10; for other explications of ethnography, see Atkinson et al., 2001; Davies, 2012; Fetterman, 1998).

One of the motivations for using an ethnographic approach in this research is that it is designed to allow access to the social meanings people assign to their activities. This helped better answer subquestions around what the institutional context of local government in South African enables or prevents in responding to migrants and migration.

One of the main categories of institutional ethnographies, and the one into which this study falls, is to understand the practical reasoning and bureaucratic logic of organizational settings. This is a valuable tool for exploring institutionalist notions of the state, with an interest in the political and social mechanics of state structures. Within this, a range of guidelines exist through which ethnographies have been made more rigorous (Hammersley, 1990; Silverman, 1989; Stanley, 1990). Ethnographies are particularly designed to answer questions of how a particular group operates, what it means to be a member of a particular group, and how changes can affect that group. This approach allowed for a detailed picture of a municipality, in particular “the social, cultural and political issues which other methods find intangible can form the focus for analysis (Neyland and Surridge, 2003)”. This results in one of relatively few approaches that provide significantly in depth data in a form that would allow for practical recommendations, as they are based on an understanding of individual interests, feasibility, etc. Additionally, it allowed for a stronger conversation between the data collection within municipalities, and analysis around community formation.

Additionally, ethnography has a history of being used to understand the experiences and perspectives of marginalized groups, which are particularly left out of other methodological approaches (Willis, 1997; Whyte 1995). There is a significant body of literature on the methodological difficulties of studying migration, and an ethnographic approach is one of a limited range of ways to collect data on migrants ability to engage in local government (Billo and

Mountz, 2016).

For the purposes of this thesis, in each municipality studied (chosen through a process outlined below), a team of three researchers, including both South African citizens and migrants, spent one month initially scoping the municipal dynamics and carrying out a community mapping, and then a subsequent month participating in municipal processes, and interviewing over fifty key stakeholders per site, including municipal officials, leaders of migrant communities, and other community leaders. Interviews were semi structured, with specific follow up questions defined in an iterative process as the research team came to understand the unique social dynamics within the municipality. At certain sites, focus groups were developed based on requests from constituencies. Finally, researchers engaged with municipal public participation processes through the duration of their stay, and kept observation journals to document municipal practices, as well as migrant dynamics and engagement. This iterative approach to data collection provided robust qualitative data. Municipal case studies were then synthesized, following a process of thematic analysis.

Case study approach

A case study approach was chosen because it was important to look at communities experiencing a range of political and migration related dynamics, to better understand what was common or divergent across different institutional and demographic contexts. Case studies are often used to study institutions particularly where in depth and rich data is required, making it ideal for this research project (Hartley, 2004). Similar to an ethnographic approach, a case study is not a specific method, but rather a strategic approach to a research question.

Case study is particularly suited to research questions which require detailed understanding of social or organizational processes because of

the rich data collected in context....In organizational research, the case study is likely to be one or more organisations, or groups and individuals operating within or around the organisation. (Yin, 1995)

Theorists are increasingly considering context to be an explanatory factor in organizational behavior, which has made the case study approach gain currency among scholars of the organisation, and institutionalist theorists of the state. This is particularly relevant for understanding public administration structures, which are intricately linked to the socioeconomic context, political history, and other features surrounding the state (Keohane and Martin, 1995; George, 2019). Case study approaches are characterized by an inductive analysis, “focusing on processes in their social context (Hartley)”. Like an ethnographic approach, there is generally an inductive analysis, with multiple methods of data collection, including participant observation, interviews, focus groups, documentary analysis, etc., with a triangulation of results. This makes the combination of an ethnographic and case study approach particularly complimentary, as they use similar data collection methods to understand processes, within their context.

As is characteristic of the case study approach, this research began with a relatively simplistic theoretical framework, which was built up iteratively over the course of the fieldwork stage, to make sense of the data. The emergent theory is what then allows for wider significance, comparison, generalizability, etc. This lends itself to the inductive approach used, and recommended for case study theory-building (Yin, 1994; George, 2019), which looks at data, as well as emergent theories, and finds a framework for analysis that is most applicable.

The municipal case studied selected for data collection for this thesis took place in five municipalities in Gauteng, Mpumalanga and Limpopo, namely: Bushbuckridge, Hamaanskraal, Lephalale, Mamelodi, and Temba. The sites of research identified were peri-urban areas or secondary cities, due first to the

important theoretical contribution of the unique way these communities are being shaped by migration (Landau et al, 2011), but also due to their objectively high levels of migration (Kok and Collinson, 2006). According to a recent Community Survey, over 8% of the residents of Lephalale were born in a different province of country, which is nearly twice the provincial average. Bushbuckridge, on the other hand, reflects a lower rate of migration than the norm in Limpopo and Mpumalanga according to the recent Community Survey, but as a municipality with an international border, it has been the site of many important theoretical contributions in South Africa's migration scholarship, and the social and political mechanisms of demographic change in the community are relatively well understood, and could be brought to bear on a situation where official statistics reflect a relatively low level of migration, but resident reports, municipal official accounts, and academic research all points to the critical and fundamental ways migration is reshaping the community (Statistics South Africa, 2016).

This was reinforced by the next selection criteria of municipalities for the study, because communities were identified based on self-selection into a request for capacity development around migration management. This indicated the bureaucracies of the municipalities acknowledged that migration was an issue that was affecting either local development or social cohesion in some way. This was methodologically important, due to the low levels of awareness and engagement demonstrated by municipalities in previous research (Landau et al, 2013); municipalities with an interest in migration were likely to be more responsive to the research team. Mamelodi, Temba and Hamaanskraal were interesting because they shared certain similar demographic characteristics, but experienced differing levels of xenophobic violence.

Each article in this thesis then drew on the data and municipal case studies through different analytical lenses. Depending on the argument of the article, a heavier reliance was made on data from the municipality, or data from migrant

communities. Additionally, some of the articles within this thesis individually draw on additional material, gathered through additional phases of fieldwork taking place at ACMS, some prior to this fieldwork, and some in tandem. This is because certain arguments were better supported with data from additional sites.

Ethical Considerations

The design of this research presents two primary ethical challenges. Because this research has taken a comparative case study approach, and because both the practice of municipal officials as well as the opinion of migrants are under scrutiny, there is a need to protect vulnerable participants. Migrants could risk retaliation for criticizing government service delivery, or attribute criminal acts to members of government. On the other side, data gathered occasionally included details around corrupt practices by government officials, or other abuses of power. Due to the localized level inherent in the analysis of this study, disguising the identity of various informants in the data was difficult, given the limited numbers of people with access to various types of knowledge on municipal dynamics.

This is a point raised by Cassell and Snyman as inherent in the case study research design. “Ethically, one may gain information about activities which are illicit, illegal, or out of line with one’s own values.” Stake (1995:60) offers good guidance on navigating this, which is that, “the researcher should leave the organisation having made no one less able to carry out their responsibilities.” This was used as a guiding principle by the research team, with debriefings carried out every day in cases of difficult findings.

The ethical challenges this study posed were confronted in two places. The first is through careful methodological design, such as reading a disclaimer and receiving the informed consent of all participants. Encrypted, password protected digital recorders were used for those who agreed to be recorded,

and for others, pseudonyms were assigned at the note taking stage. Responses were anonymised, and interview recordings including discussions of a particularly sensitive nature, or referring to illegal activities, were deleted after notes were made. Researchers selectively terminated interviews when it seemed information being provided could compromise the safety of the researchers.

In addition to precautions to ensure the confidentiality of respondents, a second layer of confidentiality will be created through the methods of analysis. One option for structuring the research findings would have been articles per study site. While this may have allowed more robust discussion of certain ethnographic data, it would have made it difficult to maintain confidentiality. Rather than emphasizing case study outcomes per site, which would have required speaking specifically to actions or individuals defining the local government context, the research was structured around a thematic analysis of trends. This allowed the study to step back from a very localized analysis, which would necessarily demand detailed (and therefore personalized) descriptions of various localized players, and instead look at broader trends across all sites. By keeping the final result at a broader level of political analysis, it was not only easier to link the case study results to theoretically and practically interesting outcomes that could be applied across a range of other localities, but it was possible to guarantee the anonymity of people who provide detailed information about localized political dynamics.

Ethical clearance for this research was received separately through the two projects that supported different processes of data collection. The first, ANR, was exclusively scholarly, and done with the explicit recognition that data would be used for the purposes of this study. The second project was in conjunction with SALGA, and also had a collaborative capacity building aim. While it was agreed that data would also be used for scholarly purposes, the research design served both purposes.

The data was not collected exclusively by the author; at each site, a team of two additional researchers provided data collection support. This was a strength of the fieldwork, as the research team brought additional perspectives, positionalities, language skills, epistemologies, and experiences with the institutions and communities in question. Each pair of research assistants included a migrant to South Africa, and a South African from the province, if not the municipality, in question. The author played a hands-on role in data collection at every site, attending a majority of all interviews and focus groups, and actively engaging with the research assistants on the content of the data they gathered. When appropriate, the entire team participated in certain events (for example, open meetings of the municipality) in part to compare analyses of the experiences.

Integration of chapters into the thesis

This thesis broadly argues that local government plays an active role in manufacturing categories of difference, and this is happening through bringing a sedentariast bias into their role in management. This suggests that the democratic nature of local government could be understood differently if migration were taken into consideration. Within South African municipalities currently, local government officials have a 'sedentarist' bias in their work, and this is affecting not only migrant experiences and access to local government, but also the way in which communities are defined and understood. At the same time, migrants have unique needs for services, assumptions about participation, and willingness to engage politically. This is contesting the way communities are formed, and governance is defined. Understanding these two dynamics in more detail is central to both understanding local governance, and migration. Each chapter in this thesis contributes a part of this argument.

The first two articles grapple with the way the local governance of mobility is defined and conceptualized. The first does so by creating a diagnostic tool that

prescribes categories for understanding this governance, and applying it comparatively to different municipalities. This allows for broad comparability across the different case studies in this thesis, as well as argues for some of the central tenants in the governance of migration to include technical, institutional, and political elements, for a full reflection of the dynamics of both migration and local administration. The second article looks at some of the challenges of putting these components into the neat boxes of a diagnostic tool, and takes a more detailed look at the grey areas in the diagnostic tool development, as well as discusses some of the situations in which its application was made difficult due to either conceptual or methodological considerations. These two articles together provide a spectrum of ways of understanding the intersection of migration and local governance.

The third manuscript looks in more depth at one specific component of the governance of mobility – specifically, the use of data in planning. A deeper look at this specific issue helps uncover some of the limitations municipalities face in efforts to be responsive to mobility – these limitations range from technical, such as the availability and accessibility of data, to institutional limits on municipal capacity.

The fourth and fifth manuscripts look at the empirical findings of the core argument of the thesis. The fourth manuscript looks at how municipalities are managing, and perceiving migrant communities through interpreting empirical data on the practice of municipal officials, as well as their opinions about migrants and mobility. This uncovers how local government practice is shaping both the discourse and practice of community formation, and what expectations and practice are within the state in different localities with regards to migration. The fifth manuscript looks at how migrants are participating in this co-creation of communities, specifically considering processes of place making, and official municipal mandates therein. It includes

municipal practice around the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA), and how this practice is experienced by migrants.

The final article looks at some of the underlying social and political mechanisms that drive the bureaucratic practice observed in the other manuscripts, and discusses some of the results of this practice. It focuses specifically on xenophobia, and what this produces in terms of community formation and state practice.

2. Introduction to Publishable Manuscripts

Summary of current process of publication

As outlined in the introduction, the section below comprises of six publishable manuscripts that contribute to this composite thesis. A summary of the status of each manuscript, in the order that it appears in the thesis, is outlined below.

1. Measuring Municipal Responses to Mobility

This manuscript, jointly authored with my supervisor, Dr. Loren Landau, has been published by Sage Open. Sage Open is an internationally recognized journal indexed with Scopus. While this manuscript is co-authored, I am the first author, and primarily responsible for writing the article. Dr. Landau provided substantive guidance in developing and structuring the diagnostic tool, in addition to reading drafts and supporting the writing process. He also conceptualized and mobilized resources for the overall ANR research project, which supported the fieldwork providing data for the two municipal case studies in this article. It is available through the following hyperlinked citation : [Blaser Mapitsa, C., & Landau, L. \(2019\). Measuring municipal capacity to respond to mobility. Sage open, 9\(1\), 2158244019829565.](#)

2. Intersections of Migration and Local Governance: Methodological and conceptual considerations

I am the sole author of this manuscript, which was accepted for publication by the Journal of Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa. This journal is accredited by the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) for 2018.

3. Enablers and Constraints for Data Use in Planning for Mobility

I am the sole author of this manuscript, which was submitted for consideration to *Politeia* in 2017. *Politeia* is a DHET accredited journal focusing on public administration and municipal governance. Prior to submission, it was presented at the bi-annual conference of the South African Monitoring and Evaluation Association.

4. Managing and Imagining Migrant Communities

This manuscript has been published by *Africanus: Journal of Development Studies*, which has been indexed on the British Library database, and I am the sole author. It is available through the following hyperlinked citation:

[Mapitsa, C. B. \(2018\). Managing and imagining migrant communities. *Africanus*, 48\(2\), 1-17.](#)

5. Migration Governance as Place Making: South African experiences

This manuscript has been published by the *Journal of Place Management and Development*, and is currently in press, with all revisions and editorial details completed, though it has not yet been allocated an issue or volume. The *Journal of Place Management and Development* is international in scope, indexed by Scopus, and I am the sole author. It is available through the following hyperlinked citation:

Blaser Mapitsa, C. (2019). Migration governance as place making: South African experiences. *Journal of Place Management and Development*.
<https://doi.org/10.1108/JPMD-11-2017-0116>

6. Local Politics of Xenophobia

This article was published by the *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, which is international in scope and indexed by IBSS, ISI, and Scopus. I am the sole author of the article, and it was accepted for publication in 2016, although allocated to a 2018 volume and issue. It is available at the following hyperlinked citation:

[Blaser Mapitsa, C. \(2018\). Local politics of xenophobia. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53\(1\), 3-19.](#)

3. Measuring Municipal Responses to Mobility

This manuscript seeks to develop and apply a diagnostic tool to describe the municipal capacity to respond to a mobile population in two South African municipalities. In terms of the larger thesis, this largely serves two purposes. The first is to create a level of consensus around how key dimensions of municipal migration management are defined. The second is to introduce a component of comparability across case studies within the thesis experiencing different demographic trends and political dynamics. What emerged from applying the diagnostic is a recognition that the technical components of migration, such as data use for planning, are inexorably linked to political issues such as how municipal authorities understand social cohesion, and their own understanding of their mandate to act on local policy issues related to migration. Understanding the linkages between these different dimensions is critical in understanding the governance of migrants.

This article was jointly authored by Caitlin Blaser Mapitsa, and Dr. Loren Landau. Caitlin Blaser Mapitsa is the first author, and was primarily responsible for the writing process, in addition to all data collection and analysis. Dr. Landau provided substantive guidance in the development and structuring of the diagnostic tool, and provided support and supervision in the drafting process, in addition to mobilising resources for the overall research project that support the data collection of these municipal case studies.

Abstract

Mobility and urbanization are shaping cities in Southern Africa. Peri urban areas in particular are transforming at such a pace that municipalities are struggling to keep up with the changes. Local government is trying to build appropriate capacity to respond to a mobile population, but it is not always clear where to focus capacity development efforts. Applying a diagnostic tool on local government capacity to respond to mobility, researchers both tested the tool, and drew conclusions about the capacity of local government. This provides lessons for both how we measure the readiness of municipalities to respond to a mobile population, and also how we may focus capacity building efforts.

Keywords: Mobility, Urbanisation, local government, capacity, diagnostic

Introduction

Local government officials in South Africa are on the front lines of providing services to communities that are being transformed by migration. There is no question that mobility is changing African cities at a rapid rate, and that municipalities are struggling to keep up with the adaptive planning and changing needs that this mobility entails. As policy makers struggle to keep up with the way mobility is understood, and researchers scramble to explain its dynamics and consequences, migration continues to transform cities across Africa (Potts, 2011; O’Loghlen, 2017).

The constraints to state capacity in South Africa at the local government level particularly, are well documented, although research is still ongoing to understand the causes and consequences of these constraints (Picard, 2005). Municipal authorities are facing a range of challenges to plan for a mobile population. This ranges from the fact that municipal authorities do not necessarily embrace mobility as a catalyst for development (Landau et al, 2013), to the fact that migration is framed as a national competence, therefore irrelevant to officials at a municipal level (Landau et al, 2011).

While the South African state has espoused aspirations of driving democratic development, it has struggled to shift institutional practices away from its predatory past (Beall, et al, 2014). Local government in particular has struggled to transform public management institutions that had systematized patterns of exclusion and patronage (Dawson, 2014). Since 1994, government has repositioned the role of participation, so that all administrative processes, from planning to budgeting, are grounded in participation. However, it has not adequately specified who should participate, and how this participation should translate into bureaucratic practice, and this has been at the nexus of much of the tension around mobility, and migrant access to services. Institutionalizing these ideals and transforming administrative systems into hubs that are capable of applying sophisticated participatory practices has been an uneven

process (Tomlinson, 2017). Migration has been one nexus of this unevenness; some municipalities have made considerable progress towards inclusive service delivery, but the legitimacy of migrants to access services and participate in planning process remains contested (Landau, 2018).

A range of stakeholders have been working collaboratively to build the capacity of local authorities to act inclusively, and reform exclusionary systems of accountability, planning, and budgeting (Binns and Nel, 2018). However, due to the complex and multifaceted nature of both migration and municipal governance, it is often difficult for both scholars and practitioners to take part in a common conversation about governing a mobile populace. To overcome this obstacle, this article introduces a diagnostic tool that allows for stakeholders that come from a range of different disciplinary backgrounds to engage around a common understanding of the various dimensions through which municipalities govern a mobile population. A better understanding of the ways this is currently practiced will help inform how local government is currently planning towards a mobile population, and where attention is most needed.

Conceptualizing migration and state capacity

Migration is shaping South African cities in many forms. Africa is urbanizing faster than any other region in the world, and in South Africa, this growth is concentrated in secondary cities and peri-urban areas (Pieterse and Parnell, 2014). However, urban migration is only one form of mobility. South Africa has nearly half a million unsettled asylum cases, and labour migration, driven by a range of economic forces, has reshaped the way people interact with the region's borders, and the way people define home. While data quality is varied and statistics on migrants are contested, it is clear that mobility is an important factor shaping South Africa's demographic landscape (Tomlinson, 2017). This context of mobility calls into question many of the traditionally fixed social and political categories scholars use to understand communities (Baumann, 2002).

The study of migration often stems from literature on cosmopolitanism and crossing international borders, trying to understand the discourse and practice of defining 'foreignness'. However, an important growth in the field is increasing integration with discussions of more localised migration experiences. Rather than requiring an international border to be crossed for the category of resident to change, membership in a community is a more dynamic process, and mobility is one of a wide range of interrelated processes through which communities of people assert their rights to a space. This links the field of migration not only to discussions of international organisation and law, but also to processes of community formation and social reproduction (Landau, 2006).

This shift is important in understanding the relationships between migration and governance. Initially framed around border spaces, or grey areas of geographic control by the state, using a lens of mobility is redefining conversations social geographers and scholars of local governance are having about how access to services is negotiated as people move (Stock and Duhamel, 2005). However, given the prevalence of geographically-grounded systems of planning and governance, these different categories of migrants create a range of conceptual challenges for understanding rights and governance. At its most empirical, governments need a mechanisms for defining who they serve, and migration complicates this mechanism (Kaufmann, 2002). It is relatively easy to categorize citizens and noncitizens. But what about the huge spectrum between permanent and temporary residents? How much time must a person spend somewhere to become 'resident'? Does this change according to their linguistic background, family ties, or other social category? These questions demonstrate the challenges in theorizing mobility, and applying a lens of mobility to other fields, particularly including governance and public administration.

Due to the complexity inherent in the intersection of migration and governance, the capacities required by local authorities to govern a mobile

population are equally complex. The South African public sector faces a range of capacity constraints, ranging from technical to culture. However, recognized benchmarks for public sector capacity are often developed in different contexts. Without considering the context of mobility on state capacity, it is difficult to know whether the right measures of capacity are being used. Migration is unique in the way it shapes community identity, rights to access state resources, definitions of borders, and participation and use of public resources. There are a range of benchmarks for understanding good local governance which include service delivery capacity, but go beyond this to interrogate the causal mechanisms and systems that enable this (Bovaird and Löffler, 2002). While there are certain core features that are required to govern any community well, mobile communities require certain specific governance competencies. While these are fundamental to shaping the capacity of South African municipalities, given the importance of migration, they are not well understood. This is the gap this research aims to address, and through the development and piloting of a diagnostic tool, the authors aim to contribute to a growing discussion.

Background to local governance and migration in South Africa

Local government in South Africa faces multiple challenges that have changed shape over the past two decades. Local government structures were established through the Municipal Structures Act (RSA, 1998), which outlines obligations around Integrated Development Planning, designed to be a participatory process to engage local government and communities. Since its formation, local government has struggled to match the high expectations for service delivery held by the majority of the country that had been excluded from infrastructure development and public service provision. At the same time, local administrations have struggled to shake both perceptions and practices of the violent and exclusionary state of the apartheid past. Even while structures democratized, local government was not presented with a solution

to deeply divided communities, and political party structures that rely on patronage and the politicization of identity (Pithouse, 2008).

Since the establishment of democratic local government structures, there have been frequent processes of demarcation (Atkinson, 2007). This means that local authorities are responsible for not only changing geographic boundaries, but also changing populations within them. Furthermore, while rates of urbanization in South Africa may be relatively low compared to the rest of the region (UNDESA, 2011), mobility within cities, and secondary cities particularly, as well as between rural and urban 'homes' are still reshaping peri-urban areas, and redefining services needs (van der Merwe, 2016). In addition, mobility within municipal boundaries is high, and accurate information on this is difficult to access. With migration often perceived by local authorities as falling within the mandate of national government (Landau et al., 2011), and with limited data available to better understand often informalized sectors of the population, it is hardly surprising that officials are unequipped to plan for a mobile population.

The constraints to a more responsive local government approach are threefold. There are needs not only to address the technical issues, such as the availability of useable data, and skills of local government officials to use this data. Additionally, there are systemic challenges around planning and service delivery policies, clarifying mandates among various organs of government, etc. Finally, there are issues of culture within the public sector through which mobility is understood. Not only is the reality of migration, and its impact on reshaping cities and the use of services, relatively poorly understood, it is also stigmatized.

What this all points to is a need to shift fundamental beliefs of what it means to govern people whose lives are not grounded in a single geographical space. For example, people may not plan to stay in their current place of residence for the

whole cycle through which local governments plan. With precarious housing situations and increased informalization of the labor force, people within cities may have little incentive to engage with local government. Often, people living in cities are rooting their lives elsewhere, with extended families, longer term planning, and even some current service delivery needs based somewhere else (Landau, 2014). For local governments to respond to the realities of these populations, it is important to better understand the current local government response.

Methods and Approach

The research design for this article sought to answer the central question of how local government officials are responding to mobility in South Africa, and it did this through two primary methodological pillars. The first is an institutional ethnography of the municipality, which included key stakeholder interviews with municipal officials, participant observation of processes of municipal participation, and focus groups. Data collection built in triangulation, and this method was chosen to understand the bureaucratic logic of municipal settings (Smith, 2005). The second pillar was a comparative case study approach, chosen because of its ability to help the research team understand processes within their context (Hartley, 2004; Yin, 2017).

These two approaches together allowed the research team to gather contextually rich data from each municipal site, while still maintaining components of comparability across these different landscapes of mobility. The data was then analyzed through a grounded theory approach. This article marks an important step in the grounded theory process; specifically, the development of a diagnostic tool and its retrospective application to municipal case study data was one step in theory building, drawing from the available data on municipal practice.

The research informing this article took an inductive approach to building a diagnostic tool that looks at municipal capacity to govern a mobile population. Based on more than four years of field research in seven municipalities across Southern Africa, the diagnostic tool was developed based on the authors' categorization of the key municipal competencies required to respond effectively to a mobile population. This categorization emerged from a thematic analysis that took place on the basis of data gathered according to the process described below. To pilot the diagnostic tool, it was applied retrospectively to the municipalities with the most robust data in the identified categories, and this paper discusses this process and results. While it would be possible to apply the tool to a context where data is not as robust and still get a high level overview suitable for comparison, the intention of interrogating the tool itself, necessary in this pilot stage, would not have been sufficiently accomplished, so additional cases are not included in this article, which emphasizes a reflection on the application of the tool itself.

This article compares municipal capacity to respond to mobility in the municipalities of Bushbuckridge, and Lephalale. These are two different municipalities that are both being shaped by migration through different causes and resulting in different consequences. To do this, the article applies a diagnostic tool that was developed through a wider exploration of all seven municipalities to two specific case studies, in order to allow for more in depth discussion of both the municipal dynamics, and the strengths and weaknesses of the diagnostic tool in allowing for comparison across these different contexts (Blaser and Landau, 2014). The first phase of the research project included the municipalities of Mossel Bay, Tshwane, Nelson Mandela Bay, and Merafong. The second phase of the research included Gabarone, Lephalale, and Bushbuckridge.

The municipalities in both phases of research were identified through collaboration with the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) and the

South African Local Government Association (SALGA). The sites of research identified were peri-urban areas or secondary cities, due first to the important theoretical contribution of the unique way these communities are being shaped by migration (Landau et al, 2011), but also due to their objectively high levels of migration. According to a recent community survey, over 8% of the residents of Lephalale were born in a different province of country, nearly twice the provincial average. Bushbuckridge, on the other hand, reflects a lower rate of migration than the norm in Limpopo and Mpumalanga according to the recent Community Survey, but as a municipality with an international border, it has been the site of many important theoretical contributions in South Africa's migration scholarship, and the social and political mechanisms of demographic change in the community are relatively well understood, and could be brought to bear on a situation where official statistics reflect a relatively low level of migration, but resident reports, municipal official accounts, and academic research all points to the critical and fundamental ways migration is reshaping the community. This was reinforced by the next selection criteria of municipalities for the study, because communities were identified based on self-selection into a request for capacity development around migration management. This indicated the bureaucracies of the municipalities acknowledged that migration was an issue that was affecting either local development or social cohesion in some way. This was methodologically important, due to the low levels of awareness and engagement demonstrated by municipalities in previous research (Landau et al, 2013).

In each municipality, a team of three researchers, including both South African citizens and migrants, spent two months initially scoping the municipal dynamics and carrying out a community mapping, and then participating in municipal processes, and interviewing over fifty key stakeholders per site, including municipal officials, leaders of migrant communities, and other community leaders. Interviews were semi structured, with specific follow up questions defined in an iterative process as the research team came to

understand the unique social dynamics within the municipality. This comprehensive approach provided robust qualitative data, and also allowed each dimension of the diagnostic tool to be triangulated by several sources.

These municipal case studies were synthesized, and following a process of thematic analysis, a diagnostic tool was developed that looks at the dimensions of municipalities' ability to respond to a mobile population, and helps make explicit differences in municipal capacity. As the diagnostic tool was being developed, the research team considered existing tools to measure local government capacity. This included Bovaird and Loffler's benchmarking of good local governance (2002), as well as the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation's Local Government Management Improvement Model (LGMIM, 2013), as well as analysis that has not explicitly been articulated as a measurement tool, such as Mogale's Developmental Local Government and Decentralised Service Delivery (Mogale, 2003). This was done to validate that the patterns and trends emerging from the empirical data in the case study confirmed the hypothesis that an awareness of migration indicated a different prioritization and focus in defining and understanding municipal capacity.

It was clear from this review that migration was absent in the existing tools. A few other trends were evident in reviewing existing tools. One is that individual and institutional capacity were rarely considered together, and given the confluence of social and institutional factors that shape migration, the authors felt this was an important innovation in the diagnostic tool. A second, is that most tools choose to focus on either technical components of municipal management (such as the LGMIM), or governance (Mogale, 2013), and for the purposes of migration, considering them both is essential given both the political and bureaucratic mechanisms that affect migrants (Landau, Segatti and Misago, 2013).

Description of the Diagnostic Tool

The diagnostic tool applied in this article identifies six dimensions that represent critical capacities for municipalities to respond effectively to mobility. They were initially drawn from a thematic analysis of the empirical research conducted, but then refined on the basis of additional desktop research on governance theories around municipal capacity. They are largely indicative, to allow for comparative analysis and point to priorities for capacity building or other interventions. A more detailed description of each dimension, and how it is situated in current local governance theory can be found in Blaser and Landau (2014). The dimensions are outlined as follows:

- **Budgeting** – whether systems for budgeting are responsive to demographic changes and forward planning, including their ability to incorporate multilocal populations, and multi-site planning and collaboration
- **Data** – collection and management systems that are able to accommodate mobility, including being sufficiently disaggregated, of sufficient quality, and sufficiently accessible to officials
- **Participation** – whether the perspectives of migrants are included in technocratic mechanisms built to address the needs of residents.
- **Accountability** - whether the needs of migrants can be brought into political processes of accountability and oversight. Given that migrants are usually not a key voter base or Key Performance Indicators of municipal management, what accountability mechanisms can accommodate this unique minority group
- **Perceptions** – the extent to which officials think mobile populations fall within their responsibility, and understand some of the implications of this
- **Social cohesion**- the extent to which officials are accommodating the unique challenges of communities that have diverse needs, from class to ethnolinguistic diversity.

Within each of these six areas, there are five indicators which can score the extent to which a municipality is able to respond to migrants' needs. As an example, under the budgeting category, indicators include:

- Do budgetary authorities at the municipal level use accurate and forward looking data on settlement patterns and economic activities to plan resource allocations and inter-governmental transfers?
- Do budgetary authorities at the provincial or national level use accurate and forward looking data on settlement patterns and economic activities to plan resource allocations and inter-governmental transfers?
- Are there mechanisms which allow resource allocation and inter-governmental transfers to be reconsidered in light of dramatic changes in settlement patterns?
- Is an adequate proportion of municipal resources allocated to investing to prepare for future population patterns (work and settlement)?
- Is an adequate proportion of public resources dedicated to meeting the needs of economically marginalized populations including recent migrants?

These categories and indicators simply illustrate strengths and areas for concern within municipalities that will allow for comparison. Each category has five indicators that have been developed on the basis of the qualitative empirical research, which was then organized through thematic analysis. These indicators are, for the time being, indicative of indicators that should be tested and refined through future research and application of the diagnostic tool. Part of the goal of this paper is, through their initial application, to refine them by this additional step in engaging with the literature around each category in the local governance context. As they have been developed, the indicators are simply an indicative scoring, and not a specific performance measure.

The image below demonstrates the scoring of a fictitious, perfect municipality, that has full capacity to respond to mobility effectively. While such scoring would be unlikely to be achieved anywhere, it can help provide a benchmark against which to assess other municipalities, and identify gaps in their systems.



Figure 1: A perfectly responsive municipality

This paper applies the tool retrospectively to qualitative data from the Bushbuckridge and Lephalale municipalities, which are both dealing with different migration dynamics. The case studies from these two municipalities had the most robust data in each dimension of the diagnostic, making them appropriate choices for piloting the tool. While other municipalities could be added in future comparisons, the authors believed that piloting the tool based on the deepest interrogation of the themes identified from the widest spectrum of stakeholders was best for the initial tool formation. First, the overall capacities of each municipality to respond effectively to a mobile population will be discussed. Then, the tool itself will be discussed on the basis of its application.

Comparing Municipal Capacity

Bushbuckridge and Lephalale are both small municipalities in northern South Africa. Lephalale is in the province of Limpopo, and while Bushbuckridge used to be part of the Limpopo province, it was moved to Mpumalanga through part of a redistricting process that was contested in the early years of democracy, and finalized in 2005. Bushbuckridge is a rural municipality, which means much of the land is held under traditional tenure, and it has a high dependency ratio (Hunter, et al, 2014). It is close to the border of Mozambique, and there are strongly maintained historical migration patterns both across the border, and also to the Rustenburg mines, and Johannesburg for employment (Polzer, 2007). Lephalale, on the other hand, is a rural coal mining town. Formerly a largely agricultural municipality with occasional tourists passing overland to Botswana, the biggest coal reserves in the country were recently discovered within the boundaries of the municipality, and the construction of the Medupi power station has prompted huge growth in both the population and the economy (Crush, 2015).

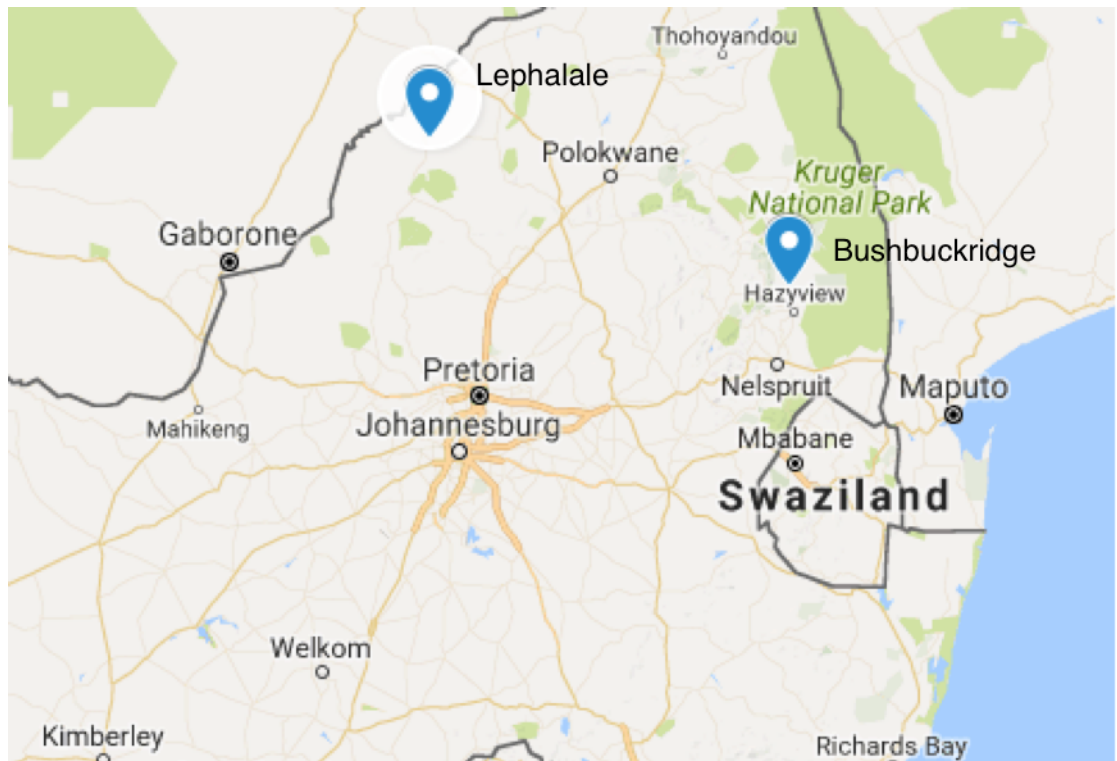


Figure 2: a map of northern South Africa, marking Lephalale and Bushbuckridge.

The different geographies, histories, and demographics of the two municipalities may imply different capacities to respond to migration, but comparison across diverse contexts can be a challenge. Applying the diagnostic tool confirms that each municipality has uneven capacity to respond to mobility, but they fall into different categories.

Given the levels of poverty in Bushbuckridge as well as South African systems of municipal finance, the municipality lacked revenue sources for certain fundamental technical capacities (MacDonald and Pape, 2002). As a result, the municipality scored relatively low on the technical dimensions of the diagnostic, specifically data collection and use, and budgeting. There was limited capacity to gather and use data, but also limited systems in place to feed this into budgeting and planning processes. This is in keeping with results from a range

of other studies seeking to understand the financial management capacity of the municipality, which validates the ability of the diagnostic dimensions to assess municipal capacity in certain areas (Monkam, 2014). While the municipality had not developed a plan for using forward-looking data on settlement patterns to allocate resources, the only significant resources to allocate were through national government transfers, which already have fixed formulae (Venter, 2007). This system was designed to promote equitable distribution of services, but does not easily accommodate predictive planning. Some officials, like the one quoted below, expressed frustration with these policies.

“We know people are moving to Thulamahashe. By the time we get water to the village, there won’t be people there to drink it.”

What Bushbuckridge lacked in technical capacity, however, it gained in a political culture of openness, particularly in the provision of basic services. Acknowledging the poverty that characterized the community, affecting residents from all geographic origins, municipal officials from Bushbuckridge worked to take on board the needs of marginalized communities within the municipality through active outreach in participation processes. A number of channels were in place to encourage all residents to participate in the municipality’s processes and services. This was even apparent in the research team’s access to the municipality, which was greater than any other case studied.

Some examples of the proactive systems put in place to encourage diverse participation include the establishment of several satellite offices of the municipality to limit the amount of travel required for residents to access basic services. There were mobile clinics that travelled to community members who were unable to reach local facilities. There were awareness campaigns on the radio and at taxi ranks to make new mothers aware of the regulatory changes

at home affairs. The municipality was engaging with traditional authorities, church leaders, and other key stakeholders in the community to better understand the barriers residents were facing in accessing social grants. As one SASSA official pointed out:

Sometimes, the systems we use keep us back. Like, unless we have an ID number for an individual, we cannot enter them into the system. But we understand, when a house burns down, we can't expect that person to have their ID, and they still need to eat. Home affairs can be slow, but a child can't get lost because they haven't been registered. So, we can't say that these people are looked after by the system, but we do know the people working at health. We do know the people at education. If there are people falling through the cracks, we really try and accommodate them, and understand their situation.

Bushbuckridge was the only municipal case study that had active programs in place to reach undocumented migrants. This is a commendable demonstration of inclusiveness in South Africa, where communities are often facing xenophobic or other forms of identity-based violence (Pithouse, 2008). However, these elements of supporting migrants may not present the full picture. Most Mozambican migrants share ethnolinguistic ties with residents of the community, and represent a powerful political group within the municipality (Neihaus, 2006). It then makes sense that in the dimension on social cohesion, the municipality had taken a range of positive steps, such as adopting a policy in favor of supporting social integration. It also means that in this unique case, capacity of the municipality to serve a mobile population could be reinforcing the political status quo in the community. It is important to consider this case, and acknowledge that while migrants are often categorized as vulnerable due to a range of characteristics in the migrant experience, that does not imply that migrant interests can not be aligned to local political

hegemony (da Cunha, 2016), or that they have to be at odds with the interests of other vulnerable groups.

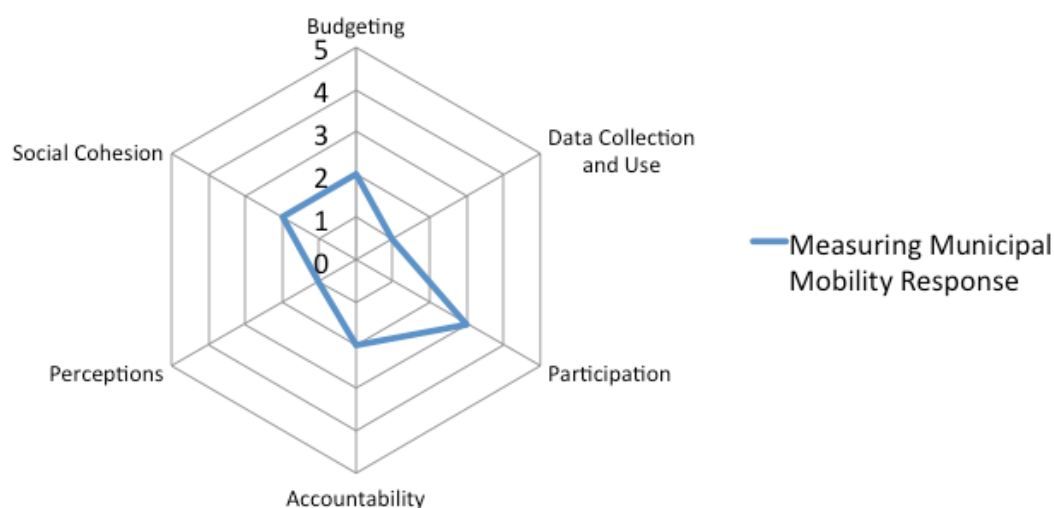


Figure 3: Municipal Capacity to Respond to Mobility in Bushbuckridge

On the issue of perceptions and political accountability, Bushbuckridge scored only one and two respectively, for two reasons. The first is that the municipality was under administration, which means that central government took over responsibility for financial and administrative management, due to lack of capacity and maladministration within the municipality. This shifted not only perceptions, but actual arrangements about roles and responsibilities within the municipality, creating limits on the boundaries of municipal control; for example, procurement responsibilities were removed from the municipality and placed in the hands of the province, significantly shaping structures of accountability (Tau, 2015). While municipal officials in many municipalities do not consider migration as something that fits within their mandate (Landau et al., 2013), it becomes more appropriate for a municipal official under administration to see this as something outside their remit, given the range of responsibilities that have been removed from the municipality. Furthermore, given that many of Bushbuckridge's migration dynamics center around an

international boundary, and that international migrants are subject to a range of policy decisions at the national level by home affairs, it is also understandable that municipalities, which have little say over the policies that affect them, are hesitant to accept responsibility for the outcomes of these policies. In this case, the diagnostic tool is simply reflecting what could be intuited by municipal context, but confirming this empirically still allows this information to inform future research and practice (Rodriguez, et al, 2016).

Applying this diagnostic tool to the case of Bushbuckridge demonstrated that the municipality has limited technical capacity, struggling to gather and use data, and also few political incentives to take responsibility for responding to mobility. At the same time, there was an openness to ensuring everyone has access to basic services, including taking necessary steps to include people marginalized by a range of factors. In between the two, the municipality faced challenges as a result of its institutional positioning. Under administration, the municipality had limited scope to act, but was saddled with the consequences of policies of which they have little ownership.

Lephalale received different scores in the diagnostic, and this reflects the different municipal capacity and trends in migration.

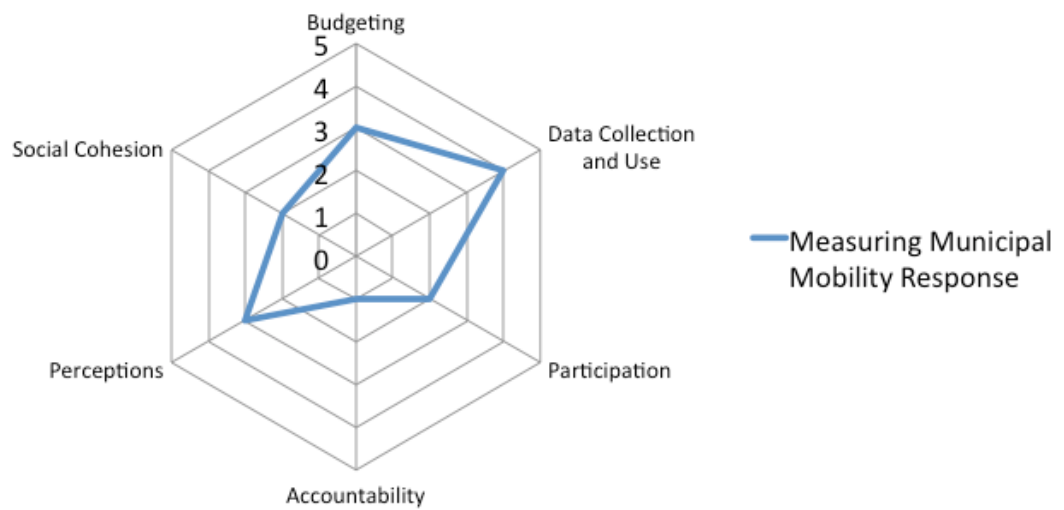


Figure 4: Municipal Responses to mobility in Lephalale

The figure above demonstrates the capacity of the municipality in Lephalale to respond to mobility. Unlike Bushbuckridge, Lephalale has a mine, and various commercial farms, all of which provide a strong resource base for the municipality. It is a rural area, but has relatively strong capacity for planning. However, the construction of the Medupi power station is one of the largest development initiatives taking place in South Africa, so the scale of the migration, including not only construction workers, but also cognate workers like traders, and job seekers, was overwhelming such a small town. Its population growth from 2011-2016, not including transient workers, has been nearly 4%, which is more than twice the national average. As an additional dynamic, the presence of the mine has created a heavy gender skew in the population, with nearly 10% more men than women in the community (Statssa, 2016). Furthermore, the rapid influx of resources created political contestation in a number of spheres that had not been the case in Bushbuckridge. For example, the municipality had a team of people who were skilled at using spatialised demographic data for planning, which is very rare for a municipality of its size. However, there was contestation about how informal settlements

were described. Opposition party counselors highlighted ballooning informal settlements, while ruling party counselors were accused of ignoring data on growing townships in favor of diverting resources to develop surrounding villages, which provided their voting supporter base. As one official explained:

We are sticking to our plans in the villages. It is true, people are moving to the township, and they are staying in shacks. They need everything, water, electricity. But, they are also new here. Will they still be here when it's time to vote?

This technical capacity was apparent in the diagnostic, including relatively strong capacity to use evidence in budgeting processes. However, the municipality was struggling with the political dimensions of the tool, like areas of downward accountability and participation. This has been corroborated by other scholars of participation in the municipality, demonstrating that the diagnostic tool is largely consistent with other research approaches (Mbeki and Phago, 2014; Xavier et al, 2017). Even before data collection began to develop the dimensions of the diagnostic tool, this was apparent to the research team, since accessing the municipal offices and setting up appointments was a challenge that threatened the viability of the research. The municipality demonstrated a strong culture of exclusion and violence towards many constituencies, and migrants were often politically expedient constituencies to target (Blaser Mapitsa, 2016). These structures of political violence made it evident that there were strong incentives for upward political accountability, which can inhibit meaningful participation (Binns and Nel, 2018).

This context made it challenging for municipal officials to put in place the institutions and systems to strengthen evidence use, and several municipal officials acknowledged this gap. One official said of a community consultation meeting, “We are required to consult, but if I’m a member of the community, I’m not sure I would go. Because everybody knows the decisions have already

been made.” Public participation became a compliance exercise, as they did not meaningfully shape the political decision making process. One respondent summarized things simply. “This town is run by the mayor, and the mine. Nobody else counts.” This made it difficult for the municipality to use participation as a tool to promote social cohesion. This was highlighted by the regular strikes and protests that took place during the period of research. As Xavier et al (2017) emphasize, community participation is too often seen as mitigating future risk of conflict, rather than an integral component of decision making. This purpose, when migrants are already on the brink of social conflict, certainly shifts the way the municipality engages migrants. However, the redeeming feature of this framing is that municipal officials themselves articulated this as a problem. They understood both the obligations to facilitation inclusion, and were upfront about where they were falling short; this is an important foundation to strengthening municipal capacity.

The section above illustrates that Bushbuckridge and Lephalale have different strengths and shortcomings in responding to their mobile populations. These differences are both a cause and a result of the different dynamics of migration in the localities, the different histories of each place, and the different community dynamics. The diagnostic tool, while not comprehensive, provides an framework for comparing these different issues across contexts.

Reflecting on the Diagnostic Tool

The diagnostic tool developed by Blaser Mapitsa and Landau allows for comparability of a municipality’s response to mobility across different municipal contexts. While it balances technical capacity, institutional capacity and political capacity, the technical and institutional components of the tool lend themselves best for comparison across municipalities. The political capacity dimension requires a more detailed analysis of the context than this diagnostic tool is able to provide. It remains important that this diagnostic tool not be seen as a stand alone panacea for understanding a municipality, but

rather than it be one tool that can provide a unique angle as part of a broader, multimethods approach. In the case of understanding Lephalale and Bushbuckridge above, the diagnostic tool allowed an element of comparability that would have been difficult to achieve through other qualitative approaches and their analysis.

A shortcoming of the diagnostic tool is that it fails to capture the directionality between the various components it measures. In fact, there is a strong relationship between whether the political leadership of a municipality believes that responding to a mobile population is part of their job, and a municipality having the capacity to collect and use data. Similarly, participation processes are both causes and consequences of structures of accountability. As this tool is further developed, it would be useful to take a more integrated, systems approach to municipal practice, which would accommodate these multidirectional linkages and feedback loops (Cabrera, Colosi and Lobdell, 2008). Efforts are currently underway to develop the application of a more detailed pilot for each dimension of the diagnostic tool individually, and once this process is complete, the next step will be to refine the diagnostic in a way that takes a more integrated systems approach to municipal capacity.

In the future, there is scope to develop a more detailed tool, with dimensions that bring out the institutional linkages between the technical, institutional, and political components of responding to a mobile population more explicitly. In the meantime, however, the strength of the diagnostic tool is that it gives a simple snapshot of the relative strengths and weaknesses of a municipality, and provides an innovative definition of what municipal capacity looks like when a population is on the move. Due to its simplicity and indicative nature, it allows for a level of comparison across different contexts, and easily identifies priority areas of capacity development or further research.

Conclusion

All too often, local government's capacity to respond to a mobile population is seen as a technical challenge. Building migration into planning processes is a requirement to building cohesive and prosperous communities. However, for municipalities to engage with human mobility effectively, there is a need to rethink the role of local government. Planning for a mobile population is not an additional piece of work, added to the end of overstretched planning processes, but rather an opportunity that should be integrated with what is already ongoing, and that must start with awareness on the parts of officials.

Issues of social fragmentation and exclusion seem like 'soft' issues. However, the culture around using data to plan effectively is in fact a driver of the use of evidence in planning processes (Stewart, 2015). This means that social fragmentation can be a significant barrier to service delivery. With migrants often symbolizing various forms of social cohesion, bringing research on migration into debates on social cohesion, public management, and local governance is important for understanding the faultlines of diversity and expressions of power within South African municipalities (Berger, 2018).

What our research found was a strong correlation between management and planning strength more generally, and the capacity to manage the various dimensions of mobility. Furthermore, while this is linked to the resource base of municipalities, it is not necessarily the case that municipalities that are better resourced have stronger capacity across each dimension of the diagnostic. Even in municipalities that are quite technically effective, local authorities face notable constraints to planning, particularly around data quality, participation, budgeting cycles, and institutional arrangements. Furthermore, the understanding, attitudes, and perceptions of municipal officials remain an important constraint in responding effectively to mobility. Many of these issues do not sit exclusively in the domain of municipalities, but

given the level of independence municipalities have to act (RSA, 1998), they are an important unit of analysis.

Migration and mobility are by definition deeply spatialized. There is no question that people are moving, both within and between municipalities, and planning around this is crucial to effective local governance. Municipalities are on the front line of these changes, and with service delivery backlogs and social fragmentation, it is not surprising that migrants are at the crux of both technical and political challenges in planning and management processes (Landau, 2018). Better understanding these catalytic issues will help understand local government capacity in more conventional areas of research.

Applying this diagnostic tool to the municipalities of Bushbuckridge and Lephalale demonstrated the need to reframe the debate around migrants at a municipal level. Traditionally, social inclusion and state capacity to use data for planning are seen as wildly separate issues. However, if a lens of mobility is applied to municipal capacity, they are simply different sides of the same coin, of delivering services that are appropriate to the existing community, and planning for a future community. Looking at the capacity to plan towards a mobile population can unlock technical, political, and conceptual challenges municipalities currently face in a wide range of programs.

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4. Intersections of Migration and Local Governance: Methodological and conceptual considerations

This article explores some of the conceptual challenges faced when identifying the intersections of migration and local governance. It draws on data from the process of developing the diagnostic tool, and identifies areas where research methods and tools for studying the confluence of migration and governance were shaped by the epistemologies of either local government officials, or migrants. One of the main streams of argument in this thesis is that divergent expectations around access to state services is generating categories of difference, and changing processes of community formation. In order to access this argument, it is important to first identify some of the grey areas of conceptual validity among respondents around both local governance, and mobility.

This article first identified divergent views around some key areas for this thesis. One of the first is a lack of awareness among municipal officials around the extent of impact municipal level policy making has on migrant communities. Linked to this is a perceived lack of authority around issues surrounding migration and migrants. This is bolstered by relatively low expectations for state services held by migrants. A second, is weak consensus around the nature of migration. Many municipal officials consider migration to be a singular event, that takes place rarely, and is completed in its entirety within a short period of time. Meanwhile, migrants themselves are embracing migration as a multilocal lifestyle, and process of living that can involve circulatory and multiple services accessed simultaneously in different locations over an indefinite period of time. This shifts expectations around not only of state practice, but also of the definitions of community to be served. Grappling with these intricacies is essential for understanding what spatialised state practice looks like from multiple points of view.

Abstract

Background: A recent study interrogating the ways in which municipal authorities in South Africa are governing their mobile communities demonstrated that there is potential for both conceptual innovation and methodological rigour when integrating the cross cutting systems of migration and local governance. However, this integration also posed a number of challenges that were apparent both during the data collection phase, as well as when the diagnostic tool was designed.

Aim: The process of implementing this research raised methodological and conceptual questions about how these two areas of work intersect. This paper aims to reflect not on the results of the study itself, but on the methodological process issues that can lay a foundation for a better understanding of how to study the intersection of two interdisciplinary fields.

Setting: This research took place in five South African municipalities in Limpopo, Gauteng, and Mpumalanga, selected because they reflect a broad spectrum of migration dynamics and demographic patterns.

Methods: Mixed methods fieldwork including document review, key stakeholder interviews, focus groups, and community mapping took place in all five municipalities, taking an inductive approach to developing a diagnostic tool, which was applied retrospectively based on the data gathered.

Results: This paper found that resolving a number of divergent conceptual issues is important to effectively interpret results around the intersection of the cross-cutting fields of governance and migration can be studied.

Conclusion: This methodological reflection is important on its own, but it will also help ensure that future initiatives around strengthening local governance, or making systems more responsive to the needs of migrants, are on solid conceptual, methodological, and practical ground.

Introduction

The governance of municipalities and migration are both critical forces in reconfiguring processes of democracy and development both globally, and in South Africa. Megacities have long been recognised as spaces of global innovation, economic growth and creativity, but this lens has rarely been extended to South Africa's secondary cities. While these are the metropolises that are statistically receiving the highest percentage of migrants, they remain on the periphery of scholarship and policy making. They have a high degree of autonomy in development planning, but the competencies required to plan proactively towards the demographic changes posed by migration vary significantly.

This piece of research found that the ability of local governments to respond effectively to a mobile population varied considerably on the basis of a wide range of factors. It also emerged from the research process that preconceptions held by both municipal officials and migrants about the nature of the community, the service delivery needs of migrants, and the processes of municipal planning has meant that municipalities are missing an opportunity for more effective and efficient service delivery, and migrants are unable to access the participatory channels that do exist. This article does not primarily engage with the content of the findings of the study, which have been published elsewhere (Blaser and Landau, 2014). While these results are important for municipal planning and local government capacity building, the focus of this article is on the conceptual and methodological lessons that were learned through the process of implementing the research. Studying the local governance of mobility, two cross-cutting topics that are hotly contested, requires methodological tools that allow the researcher to take respondents beyond their instrumental understanding of either topic.

Through a focus on the research process, this article will provide lessons for a wide range of stakeholders, academics, and practitioners who are working with

crosscutting governance or migration initiatives. This article will highlight key lessons for how both areas of focus are conceptualized and translated into research methods and tools. Illustrating the way research methods understand these intersecting topics is an important beginning to better understand how local government can be more responsive to migration dynamics in the future.

Context of Local Governance and Migration

Local governance, and particularly municipal level governance play a central role in discussions on migration, and the management of mobile populations (Ahouga, 2017). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have a strong focus on localisation, looking at global issues through a lens of local management structures. Goal 11 focuses explicitly on sustainable cities, and urban planners and municipal managers are now engaging with a range of global processes that are actively seeking to understand what role local governance, and the governance of cities in particular, plays in key global issues such as inequality and climate change (Kanuri *et al*, 2016; Coalition Communitas, 2016).

This interest in local governance is juxtaposed with a similarly strong interest in migration. Migration has often been part of a wider debate on development and identity, but a rise of populism in the global North is reigniting debates about the definition, identity and rights of migrants. Inspired in part by Brexit, the process of defining nation states and the populations they govern is now part of a global conversation that is looking at how these different definitional approaches connect to public sector bureaucracies, and what it means for migrants (Somerville, 2016). These two cross cutting trends are the localisation of analyses of global governance, and the importance of migration in understanding how places develop spatial definitions and cohesive communities.

In spite of the simultaneous importance of both areas of study, there is no consensus around how to understand local government's responsiveness to migration, let alone what good practice could look like in this regard (Zapato-Berrero, *et al*, 2017). This research therefore required the development of a tool and method that could bring people together around common core concepts, and specify an approach that would allow the research team to understand how these concepts were operationalized by respondents, and analyse trends and areas of divergence. Through this experience, a range of important lessons were learned, and this article aims to distill a few of the most salient points that have come from this process. In doing so, this article will first explain the design of a diagnostic tool designed to categorise municipal responses to mobility, and look at the practical, conceptual, and contextual challenges of applying this tool across several different municipalities. It will conclude with lessons for scholars who are trying to study the intersection of cross-cutting fields.

Many scholars of governance in South Africa posit that "transformation of the local sphere of government has probably been the largest undertaking within the entire governance adjustment process since democratisation in 1994" (Van der Walddt, 2016). However, tremendous work remains for municipalities to be functional, let alone developmental entities. In the 2015-2016 financial year, only 49 out of 263 municipalities received a clean audit, and none of them were from Limpopo, where much of this fieldwork was conducted (Auditor General South Africa, 2016). A wide range of capacity development initiatives are targeting municipalities in the hope of improving local service delivery, with an increasing focus on intervention by national and provincial structures (Reddy, 2014; Van der Walddt, 2016). However, without a widely held consensus of what the composite components of planning capacity are, efforts are likely to remain incomplete.

Development of a migration responsive diagnostic tool

It was evident from the outset that building a diagnostic tool that would reflect the migration responsiveness of local government would be an important step in providing participants from different perspectives with a common reference point on a complex topic. However, it was also clear that the tool had to be informed by an iterative process of data collection, and could not be developed without first understanding the conceptual boundaries of the respondents. It has already been acknowledged that the way dimensions of local governance are conceptualised is a driving force in management research (Gerard, 2016). A collaboration between the Migrating Out Of Poverty Programme (MOOP), the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) at the University of Witwatersrand, and the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) made it possible to spearhead iterative fieldwork to better understand the ways in which local government in South Africa is responding to migration in five South African municipalities. This research was part of a longer term, phased research project which aims to better understand how migration is reshaping communities, and what potential it holds for poverty reduction.

Fieldwork for this research was conducted in iterative steps guided by an inductive approach, with two visits to each site. Due to data privacy concerns, the specific municipalities involved cannot be named. The first visit was a week long, and included a community mapping, as well as interviews to get a sense of both the migration and governance dynamics within the community (Gioia, 2013). The second visit was a month long and included key stakeholder interviews and focus groups. The tool emerged from these key stakeholder interviews rather than informing them. It was based on a conceptual framework of ecological systems developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) and previously used by the author in a gender diagnostic study (Jansen van Rensburg and Blaser Mapitsa, 2017). This model includes the macro levels of social cohesion and participation, meso levels of accountability and

participation, and micro levels of data collection and budgeting. This approach was adopted keeping in mind a systems approach to governance, which acknowledges the administrative and social dynamics therein.

While the diagnostic tool is deliberately reductionist to allow for comparability across a range of contexts, it did not replace a more exploratory, inductive approach which was a hallmark of the research project. Without bringing together both approaches, such detailed substantive and methodological reflections would not have been possible. The research team tried to balance issues of comparability across different administrative and institutional contexts, and held that a framework which simplified these issues was helpful provided that it was not at the exclusion of more exploratory work. However, the structured tool still created difficulty in reaching consensus among the various stakeholders around the scope of measurement, particularly with regards to which components of governance would be captured.

Scope of the tool

Six dimensions emerged, which covered the widest span of key competencies municipalities would need to demonstrate in order to be responsive to mobility. The dimensions included: budgeting, data collection and use, participation, accountability, perceptions, and social cohesion. A deliberate decision was made to include a full spectrum of competencies, ranging from technical, to strategic. Moreover, the purpose of the tool was to be broadly indicative, so while each step of the five-point scale was generally defined (Blaser and Landau, 2014), a decision was made not to be prescriptive in the scoring process, because the value of the tool was to identify relative strengths and gaps.

To interrogate the degree to which mobility was found in the various dimensions, several criteria were identified within each dimension. The criteria

began with a score of 0, as entirely absent or even problematic to responding to mobility. The scale increases to a score of five, which was a robust and proactive response to a mobile population and the needs of migrant communities. The measurements were a deliberately imprecise process, with the numerical values being broadly indicative. This was to allow for a schematic comparison across contexts from which rich qualitative data had been gathered, rather than applying a specific quantitative scale.

Applying the migration responsive diagnostic tool

Once the tool was fully developed, it was applied retrospectively to the municipalities of Bushbuckridge, Lephalale, and Hammanskraal on the basis of data which had already been collected, and from which the diagnostic tool emerged. Sources of information for the assessment included IDPs, a review of documents from the municipalities, key stakeholder interviews and focus groups, and participant observation notes from a range of municipal public participation initiatives. Departments responsible for local economic development, planning, and service provision were explicitly targeted for interviews as well as observation, in addition to civil society organisations, and community based organisations serving migrants within the community.

Data was collected through an iterative process described above. Once fieldwork was complete, data was analysed, and the tool was developed on the basis of points of convergence and divergence across the municipalities studied. The tool was then applied retrospectively on the basis of available data. The results were then discussed with the municipalities in a verification workshop. Had time and resources allowed, having an additional step of fieldwork to apply the tool collaboratively with stakeholders may have both resulted in less schematic findings and more refined criteria, but also strengthened buy-in and ownership. However, applying the tool retrospectively was a useful way of triangulating the consistency of data gathered across

municipalities, and confirming areas of consistency and divergence in the findings.

Conceptual Challenges in a Comparative Case Study Approach

In developing the migrant responsive diagnostic tool, a key concern was to have some level of comparability across each municipality, and to the extent possible, maintain comparability across different dimensions of the diagnostic (Blaser Mapitsa and Khumalo, 2017). A first phase of research conducted at ACMS carried out detailed case studies within several municipalities, but the focus in this later stage was to target potential for capacity building initiatives, and as such, while contextualising the data was important, being able to compare and generalise was a central aim (Vearey, et al, 2014).

Each municipality demonstrated key differences. Some will be discussed later in the article, while others are illustrated in detail in publications addressing the content of thematic findings of the research (Blaser and Landau, 2014). These differences ranged from contextual differences around the dynamics of mobility within the municipality, to institutional differences in the structures of governance and political incentives. Sometimes, these institutional differences presented a challenges in defining concepts around both migration, and governance (Zapata-Barrero, 2017). Consistently applying these concepts in different institutional concepts was a constant struggle for the research team. This was made even more challenging due to the fact that a range of responsibilities were required to respond effectively to mobility, including planning, data management, etc. Each municipality defined and delegated these responsibilities differently across different offices, with some functions sitting strongly in departments of economic development, while others were performed more by service delivery departments. Finally, others conducted these functions more through institutional partnerships with other bodies (Vearey et al, 2014). Since no municipality had specific, defined outcomes

around migration, understanding what these different capacities look like, and where they sit within the municipal administration was a crucial part of the diagnostic study.

Furthermore, each municipality had varied migration dynamics, which interfaced with mechanisms of governance in different ways. In some communities, migrant workers remitted a significant portion of the economy, and represented a powerful political force. In other municipalities, international migrants were closely aligned to the ruling political party, and were again a powerful political force. In yet other municipalities, the ruling party was actively involved in perpetuating xenophobic violence to build their electoral support (Blaser Mapitsa, 2016). These differences in context between the various municipalities had a tremendous influence on the way the diagnostic tool was applied, and the way the results were interpreted. Due to this, it is particularly important to have stronger tools, applied more broadly, for understanding municipal institutions and their role in responding to a mobile population.

Reflecting on the methodology of developing and applying the diagnostic tool from a comparative perspective is important because the results of the diagnostic tool will only translate into learning if context from the municipalities is reflected. Further studies about municipal planning capacity can only be appropriately contextualised if the methodological approach, as well as the study's results, have sufficient reflection and interrogation.

Overview of Research Findings

While this article primarily deals with the study's conceptual framework and research methods, rather than explicit findings, a summary of the key results help contextualise this methodological discussion. The most central finding of the study is that both migrants and local government officials are co-creating

the community through a dynamic process of governance and contestation around how communities are defined and served.

Municipal policy is developed in a way that largely ignores both the specific service delivery requirements of migrants, but also that does not take into account the ways through which migration is shaping the community (Blaser Mapitsa and Landau, 2014). With the introduction of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA), which gives municipalities widespread powers linked to land use, strengthening municipal capacity to spatialise planning processes is becoming increasingly vital. There are other key powers in the municipal domain that are critical for migrant well being, such as the management of nodes of transport, and shaping social cohesion, where municipal authorities are playing a central role in shaping migrant experiences in South Africa.

This paper synthesizes the results of a research project that entailed fieldwork in five South African municipalities in 2013-2014, exploring how secondary cities in the region are responding to mobile populations. What emerged were three themes, that, when seen in aggregate, point to a need for a conceptual shift to be shared by migrants and local government officials if mobility is to achieve its potential of enabling development. The first is that migration is seen overwhelmingly as a problem, by both municipal authorities, and sometimes even by migrants themselves. While there are some nuances within this, most local authorities within municipalities are certainly not embracing migration as an opportunity. Landau and Blaser Mapitsa (2014) previously explored the various capacities required for local government officials to respond effectively to mobility at a municipal level. However, none of these dimensions will work effectively if municipal officials aren't, first and foremost, willing to view the opportunities migration presents.

The second theme that emerged as particularly important for the way municipal responses to mobility should be designed is that state practice is experienced locally. While both municipal authorities and migrants have a discourse that speaks to a belief in a rationalized bureaucracy that is uniform at least at a national level, in fact, the evaluation of governance and people's experiences of management happen on a very localized scale, and this needs to be understood in planning. While scholarship on local governance in Africa acknowledges that the state has varied manifestations at a local level (Fukuyama, 2017; Borzel and Risse, 2016), it is critical to explore this in more granularity for issues which are often not considered a local competency.

Finally, migrants are currently seen as a bureaucratic, social, and political 'no man's land' in terms of state governance. Claimed by neither their communities of origin nor their hosts, there is no clarity of mandate in terms of either what is needed to govern migrant communities, nor where that competency and responsibility should sit. The result is an oscillation between a policy vacuum, and cacophony. As one scholar summarises, "where policy instruments have, explicitly or implicitly, addressed issues of migration, there have been contradictory and confusing messages. (Atkinson and Marais, 2006)" The confluence of these three things means that both the migrant experience is made far more difficult, but also that municipal authorities are missing a tremendous opportunity for more efficient service delivery and accelerated economic development.

Methodological Reflection

This article takes into account reflections that came from all researchers who were part of the project, as well as the data gathered in the findings. It specifically considers three different aspects of the research process. The first area is of practical considerations, such as differences in language and migrant

status of the research team, preparation of the research project, and the data collection itself. The second section reflects on the conceptual challenges in applying the tool, and the institutional differences in the municipalities. The third and main area of reflection is looking at intersection and fragmentation between governance and migration. It is through this third area that it becomes apparent how both fields need to be reconceptualised to better articulate areas of intersection. It will also point to areas where capacity building may gain traction at the municipal level.

Practical challenges in transecting two interdisciplinary areas

Working multilocally is a time and resource intensive process. Even with significant time allocated to the fieldwork process, multiple trips need to be taken to each site, for an iterative approach to data collection. With a small team of researchers all at the behest of municipal officials' schedules, a significant travel budget and generous time are both requirements to ensure coherence in data collection approaches. Additionally, since the research began as inductive, as the diagnostic tool was forming, the research team needed to be in constant communication about the findings emerging from each site, and develop a tightly coordinated approach to data collection. This was particularly important with the most critical stakeholders, with whom the interview instruments were open ended, to allow for maximum benefit from an inductive approach. However, it also meant that results were reliant in skilled interviewers who were in close communication with each other, to build the data collection in a common direction across sites.

One decision was taken to aggregate the technical capacities of the municipality across all departments and entities. In fact, there was significant variation across different departments and entities, around everything from accountability and participation, to data collection and use. This was true in some places due to individual competency, but also in some places due to the

location of a function within the municipal administration. While the diagnostic tool could be adapted to be applied to a smaller unit of analysis, keeping it at the municipal level was an important decision in order to maintain the possibility for researchers to compare across municipal contexts. Departmental levels were too varied and localised for the purposes of the research.

Additionally, defining both the concepts of migration and governance in a way that resonated across all the municipalities was difficult. While there were administrative definitions in place, these weren't always accurate reflections of the way the concepts were practiced. Furthermore, the same terminology, both around migration and around governance, was often used to represent very different concepts. For example, governance in some places looked at the exercise of the audit function, while in other places it referred to ethnolinguistic dimensions of the ruling political party. It emerged through the course of fieldwork that there was a very evident practical challenge linked to existing stereotypes of migration. Negative associations with migrants and migration are reasonably well documented in the literature on migration and governance (Vertovec, 2015). However, governance is also subject to a range of stereotypes, particularly at a local government level, where municipal capacity and political violence dramatically impact individual attitudes and perceptions (Benit-Gbaffou, 2014).

Conceptual difficulties applying the tool

An immediate struggle in developing the tool and applying it effectively is that migration was often a politically charged topic at the municipal level, prompting officials to respond in a certain way. However, these influences were not the same across municipal contexts. As a result, it was difficult to know that respondents were engaging with the concept of migration in the same way. For example, in some places 'migration' immediately triggered discussions of foreign-born spaza shop owners. In other places, 'migration' spoke nearly

exclusively to migrant mineworkers. Both migrant communities existed in all these municipalities, but due to the local social and political dynamics, one particular migrant community was a reference point, and certainly informed the approach of municipal officials to the research.

Related to this problem was the challenge that many municipal officials had not thought in great detail about the various ways in which migrants shape communities, and as a result, questions that are articulated around migration specifically, either led to officials saying that migration is a national competency and does not have anything to do with their work, or spoke only to issues of service delivery towards international migrants, which is of interest, but a very limited component of the research. While this did come out in the pilot phase and was mitigated by introducing a range of questions related to planning and demographic change and less explicitly about migration, it remained a key conceptual issue as the research unfolded.

It is evident that a lack of consensus about the importance and competencies to respond to a mobile population that different municipalities have located these functions in different places (Parnell, 2002; Harrison and Todes, 2015). While exploring these functions in more detail may be interesting, pragmatically, it meant that entry points into municipalities varied, and that understanding how these functions were expressed was inconsistent and often difficult. It also made it more complex to go through a process of obtaining buy in and support for the research process, as it was not immediately evident who the most important stakeholders were. The fact that this hurdle was encountered in every single municipality demonstrates that there is a definite lack of consensus around how municipalities should best respond to migration.

Contextualising and Comparing Results

The previous sections have already touched on the fact that analysing the results of the diagnostic study required returning to a large amount of inductive data on how municipalities understand migration, and how communities understand governance, to look for points of intersection and divergence. A diagnostic tool then summarised the most salient features, to allow for comparability across a range of municipal contexts. This is important to allow each municipality to plan for coordinated capacity development responses.

A further challenge to comparing municipal responses to mobility across different municipalities is that it is difficult to contextualise both each site's demographic variations, as well as the political dynamics these imply for migration. Both are socially and historically embedded, constantly changing, and require a high level of contextual knowledge about each community. In the future, methods around these intersections might introduce respondent coding to address some of these contextual variations, but it was not possible to introduce such approaches for this particular study.

Finally, the research encountered a simple shortage of contextual information in all the municipalities that would have made it easier to make stronger comparisons. As discussed earlier, the municipalities were specifically chosen due to their relative exclusion from migration-related research. While this is a strength in terms of the study's contribution to literature in the field, it is a weakness from the perspective of contextualisation and comparability. Understanding the richness of social dynamics in each municipality was part of the strength of the research, but in the future, a more nuanced comparative analysis would be possible if these contextual diversities had a stronger basis in research.

Intersecting migration and local governance

Mainstreaming migration across local government in South Africa faces a wide range of challenges. They both include divergent technical and political concepts that different stakeholders both understand in different ways, but also practice in different ways. The mandates and practice within local government for responding to mobility are complex and at times, unclear. While both fields have widely been recognised as priorities, given the economic development trajectory and the SDGs, activities are unlikely to increase as long as there are not commonly held definitions, or widespread capacity.

Without consensus on core conceptual tenants of migration and local governance, it was a difficult task to pull together a diagnostic tool that will gauge their intersection, particularly one that could then be compared across a range of municipal contexts. However, this is precisely why the research team found the development of the diagnostic tool so valuable. This iterative process of sharpening the scope and focus of the tool helped uncover the core competencies municipalities need to respond effectively to migration, and see how these look across different municipal contexts. The research process was an important part of defining the problem, which may be a theme in better understanding how cross cutting fields intersect.

One important thing that emerged is that a wide range of roles and responsibilities are involved in making municipalities more responsive to migration. However, for this to happen effectively, it is important to separate out each role and mandate within each administrative body, and strengthen cross functional coordination. This has not traditionally been a strength of local government (Rogerson,, 2014), and points to an area that may require capacity building if a mobility citizenry is to be responded to effectively.

Finally, complexities in this piece of research, and the development of the diagnostic tool, highlighted that each municipal context had a distinct political, social, and administrative structure. It is within each of these contexts that

migration and local governance processes of planning and participation are contested, conceptualised, and operationalised. While the diagnostic tool development was one step towards teasing out some of the points of contestation, and making these divergent views more explicit, more work is still needed to translate this into a process of building capacity and encouraging consensus.

Lessons learned integrating cross cutting topics

Over all, this study highlighted several lessons for integrating mobility and local governance, both of which are cross cutting fields with multiple points of intersection. Any effort at understanding municipal capacity, or planning capacity development interventions, will only be successful with an in depth engagement of the intersection between local governance and mobility, to ensure that planning processes are effectively accommodating demographic change. There are clearly a range of factors ranging from technical skills around data and use, to the structure and implementation of participation practices, and more contextual components of social inclusion. Municipal officials would benefit from clear guidelines around how they can better respond to migration in the community, and these materials would be best developed with engagement from a wide range of stakeholders, and using the diagnostic tool as a basis for discussion and consensus building. It is important that the capacity to respond to a migrant populace doesn't lie with specific individuals responsible for service delivery or participation processes, but that the complexity is owned across the municipality, and that a range of functions can be drawn on to ensure responsive planning and implementation. Sometimes, a resistance to engaging with migrants or issues of migration can be a helpful starting point for understanding how best to transform municipal practice.

Finally, it was evident that a municipality's capacity to respond to migration was interwoven with its capacity to engage with a large range of other issues,

from planning to service delivery. As such, this diagnostic tool should not stand in isolation of other tools to gauge and support municipal effectiveness, ranging from the Local Government Management Improvement Mechanism (LGMIM) to audit functions (Reddy, 2014; Sanderson, 2001). However, using the lens of a cross cutting issue, migration in this case (though other population groups like gender, could provide a different and equally interesting analysis), can occasionally uncover intersectional linkages that other approaches to understanding capacity might miss. In this case, what came out most clearly were the interlinkages between technical and institutional capacities within the municipality, as well as the way in which political authority within municipalities is historically and socially embedded. While this is not a surprise to those working on issues of local governance, capacity development approaches may not always integrate this reality.

Conclusion

The results of a preliminary application of the diagnostic tool in three municipalities, Lephalale, Bushbuckridge, and Hamaanskraal, offer significant opportunity to identify strengths and gaps in municipal capacity to manage a mobile community. Technical challenges were identified, such as data availability and management, as well as the existence of forums for coordination and mechanisms for participation. There are also political and social factors which range from the ownership of spaza shops to historical economic ties across migrant communities. Despite the unique localized landscape of mobility and governance, there are many common trends in municipal response capacity.

Municipalities and migrants are both engaged in a dynamic process of creating a common community. However, expectations and perceptions held by both migrants and municipal officials are limiting robust participation and effective service delivery. One step towards overcoming this will be developing a shared

understanding of what municipal responses to mobility can look like. Given the level of autonomy municipal authorities have in South Africa, empowering municipal officials to translate the lofty goals held nationally in the Constitution and National Development Plan requires equipping officials with appropriate tools to understand migration responsive budgeting, participation mechanisms, and accountability. An important foundational step to facilitate this is to build recognition for the fact that municipal policy making has an impact on migrants. There is a widespread perception that migrants can only be governed by national government, and this ignores the realities that governance is experienced locally, and local policies and practices are crucial frontline links between migrants and governance.

One of the results of implementing the study is that it made apparent the extent to which definitions and concepts linked to migration and local governance are divergent, and dependent on the specificities on the municipality and its unique social and political dynamics. This was unexpected; it made a strong case for the importance of the diagnostic tool, given the difficulties of comparing the empirical data across different contexts. At the same time, it generated additional results. The diagnostic tool helped identify and draw attention to areas of contestation that otherwise may have been overlooked. If these discussions are continued and deepened, there is a possibility to build consensus among stakeholders who have an important role to play in municipal responsiveness to a mobile population. Additionally, such results will help all levels of government better understand the current capacity and landscape to identify the most relevant capacity development interventions. Given that municipalities having such autonomy in the way migrants are received, starting to define migrant responsive local governance is critical for meeting SDG targets around inclusive cities.

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5. Enablers and Constraints for Data Use in Planning for Mobility

This article looks at the incentives that exist within the municipal case studies that were part of this research to use mobility related data in planning and target setting. Chapter three in this thesis identifies data as one of the key technical dimensions for a municipality to manage mobility effectively. A rigorous understanding of where people are living, and how this is changing, is central for being able to effectively deliver services. This article does this by exploring existing municipal planning systems, and how migration data features in both processes of target setting and implementation.

This feeds into the overall argument of the thesis by exploring the ways in which technical components of data and the capacity to use it are linked to political will and incentives. A thread running through each article in this thesis is that certain epistemologies about the nature of communities, the nature of migration, and the nature of the state, are shaping local government practice, and that understanding this requires both the manifestations at a level of practice, as well as an understanding of the incentives and drivers within an institution.

Abstract

This article seeks to understand the enablers and constraints to the effective use of data for planning in South African municipalities. An iterative process of case study development took place in six South African municipalities, ranging from rural municipalities to mega-cities, but focusing on secondary cities and peri urban areas.

As the South African government is working to build monitoring and evaluation systems at all levels of government, the drivers of monitoring data need to be considered carefully. Additionally, as global discussions of the role of cities in governance move forward, it is important to understand the management systems that underpin these cities. In the cases studied, there is considerable variation in the capacity and incentives for data use, and these variations need further study.

The need for stronger management systems at a municipal level in South Africa is well understood. However, this paper identifies some data-specific areas for strengthening, as well as linking the technical areas of data use to political incentive systems. This paper underscores the ways in which data systems are developed in socially embedded ways. There should be stronger linkages between social analyses of local government, and understanding of managerial practice, for both to mutually reinforce local development. This paper both looks at an understudied empirical nexus between migration, and the managerial systems of planning.

Keywords: planning, African cities, migration, evidence use, decentralization

Introduction

African cities are on the move, and it is increasingly common for people to live multilocal lives. However, this is not reflected in the way local government's planning, monitoring and evaluation systems are being designed. Municipalities are at the coalface of this mobility with their service delivery mandate, and given the widespread decentralization that has swept the continent's public sector over the last two decades, municipalities are widely responsible for independent decision making on a large array of service delivery and management issues (Crook and Manor, 1998). However, many municipalities have been unable to engage with robust, forward-looking demographic data, or even assumptions of mobility, to allow for proactive planning for shifting populations.

Municipal officials in South African share not only an assumption that populations are fixed, but also carry a normative judgment that sedentary populations are desirable (Blaser and Landau, 2014). As a result of this, the targets and indicators that are being set for municipal performance by largely autonomous administrations do not reflect the reality of a migrating populace, and may not be enabling development of the actual population they are governing. Planning systems are largely centralized and upward, not at all multilocal, and therefore do not accommodate the varying needs and developmental diversity of different municipalities.

Similarly, monitoring, evaluation, and data systems are often decentralized, and hold similar assumptions about the nature of the community. Due to the explicit effort to introduce downward accountability into municipalities, through the election of local ward counselors, the independence of municipalities, etc., most service delivery systems in South African are significantly geographically bounded. Additionally, due to efforts to decentralize service delivery, most data collection systems are developed

within each service independently (Harrison and Todes, 2015). As a result, coordinating information across geographic areas, or across integrated services is a challenge.

When these two issues are brought together, emerging evaluation systems are caught in a conundrum. Planning systems are centralized, and data monitoring systems are decentralized. Both of these systems are designed and analysed by officials who make assumptions that a populace has not, and will not move. However, this also offers an opportunity for municipalities to introduce mobility into their analysis, and to lead towards more multilocal planning and data systems. If this could be introduced into the current processes for setting indicators and measuring progress, municipalities might become more responsive to the needs of residents.

Literature Review

This article will engage in two bodies of literature; the first is research understanding the way mobility is generating new forms of state practice. The second is the literature in public administration that is looking at the spatialisation of planning, and the decentralization of municipal monitoring and evaluation systems. It will focus on work that highlights the importance of mobility for municipal planning, and in analysis, will address issues of how planning is currently spatialised, and what multilocal planning could look like. It will particularly consider this in line with emerging discussions about the evolution of South Africa's national evaluation system, and public sector evaluation systems in the region.

Mobility and state practice

The way mobility is shaping state practice has been gaining attention in recent years. As a recent book entitled *Mobility Makes States* argues (Vigneswaran and Quirk, 2015), the way people move across boundaries is as fundamental to understanding a state as the boundaries themselves. This is what Faist (2013)

calls the “mobility turn”, as more a social paradigm or diagnostic lens for assumptions about the world, rather than an isolated field of study. As he asks, “What is this new norm normalizing?”

The field of migration has often been like a pendulum, swinging between framing migration as a problem for development, and a solution (Glick Schiller and Faist, 2014). This narrative has often been framed by Northern governments and international organisations, which has created an asymmetry in the discussion around who counts as a migrant, and what the social and economic causes and consequences of migration are.

Increasingly, scholars of urban studies and those of migration are engaging with similar theoretical frameworks, for understanding the complex interconnected relationships between geography, mobility, and power.

Most research looking at the way states shape migration have focused on large scale, international migration and the nation state. From the slave trade to regional labour migration, there is a large body of scholarship on states driving mobility (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002; Brubaker, 2010; Levitt and de la Hasa). However, while this research considers these trends, it focuses at the municipal level, equally considering the role of the state in influencing ‘micro-mobility’. Through municipal planning and service delivery decisions, local government authorities are determining how plots are zoned, where infrastructure is provided, and where upgrading takes places. These drive settlement patterns of migrants within municipalities (Baubock and Faist, 2010), and the way this fits into local community dynamics is important for understanding local government practice.

Similarly, migrants are also imaging public authorities in their places of origin and residence, and these expectations are shaping the ways migrants interact with authorities (Crush and Ramachandran, 2017). For example, experiences of

police violence are not only shaping migrant decision making in the migration process itself, they are shaping localities of residence, willingness to report crimes, and involvement in community forums.

Indicator Development and Place

Moving from looking at the social components of managing a migratory municipality, it is equally important to understand the actual mechanisms of management. Municipalities are driven by planning processes which involve targets and indicators.

African governments are currently undergoing a wave of developing national monitoring and evaluation systems, that are aligning data emerging from departments and national statistical agencies with long term development plans (Phillips et al, 2014).

The Department of Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation (DPME) has been building a national evaluation system in South Africa since 2011. The Department was established in 2009, largely in response to a dissatisfaction by leadership in government about poor performance on service delivery. The initial directive was to focus heavily on monitoring and accountability, but as it grew, the importance of a learning and performance mandate also grew, culminating in the creation of an evaluation related mandate (Goldman et al, 2015).

At the same time, the government has needed to balance effectiveness with limited capacity, and a need to broaden its focus and scope. With this in mind, the process of localizing the national evaluation system has been phased, with Provincial Evaluation Plans being introduced within the last 2 years, and support gradually extending to municipalities which are already demonstrating components of results based management.

It has become evident in the decentralization of the evaluation system, that for accurate setting of targets and indicators, multilocal planning is essential. However, there are relatively few mechanisms in place to facilitate multilocal planning.

Methods

This article draws on research from six South African municipalities in the provinces of Gauteng, Limpopo, and Mpumalanga. Fieldwork was conducted over a period of 18 months, as part of three different research projects. At each site, multimethods research was carried out through an iterative process that included community mapping, focus groups, key stakeholder interviews, and participant observation. Due to political and security concerns, individual respondents, and, as far as possible, specific municipalities are kept anonymous.

Through an inductive process, a diagnostic tool was developed that looks at the competencies municipalities need to respond effectively to migration (Blaser and Landau, 2014). The six dimensions of mobility responsiveness were identified as data collection and use, budgeting, participation, accountability, perceptions, and social cohesion. They were included to span a range of technical, institutional, and political requirements for a municipality. While they are all important for different reasons, this paper will focus particularly on the dimension of data collection and use.

Results

This study has found a 'sedentarist' bias across systems of municipal data generation and use, falling broadly into two categories. The first is a bias in planning systems, which has led to the setting of targets and indicators that include assumptions of a sedentary population. One result of this has been an incentive to ignore the ways through which mobility could enable development, which can be seen in planning systems. The second is around M&E and data

management systems, which are both decentralized and geographically grounded. This limits their effectiveness in measure development outcomes which are spread across municipal boundaries.

Migration and Planning Systems

There is rich literature to suggest that individuals migrate as a strategy to boost household income, access better services, and diversify risk (Bakewell, 2008). Public officials, on the other hand, generally hold a negative view of the migration process, with perceptions that it is something problematic, and possibly something to be controlled or minimized (Baumann, 2011; Sassen, 1999). These were reinforced by our research, but are not themselves new contributions to debates on planning or migration. When brought together, however, they have something important to offer. They illustrate that municipalities are not necessarily taking citizens experiences or aspirations into account as they themselves set targets for successful development, and one of the reasons is because mobility is being side lined.

As an example, Bushbuckridge was one cite of study. It is a rural community, that has a relatively high dependency ratio, and high levels of out migration. At the same time, it is situated near the border of Mozambique, and has a long history of migration from Mozambique. The municipality's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) contains a SWOT analysis, and places both immigration and migrant labour as threats, clearly demonstrating that they are not viewed as either strengths or opportunities (Bushbuckridge, 2014).

Were the municipal officials of Bushbuckridge to consider mobility as an opportunity in the way most residents do, they may act towards it quite differently. Many municipal officials spoke to the way that it is currently problematized. For example, "Look, on migrants....we don't have a border post like Komantiapoort, so it is not so big for us. But we do have one office of home affairs. If we hear someone is here illegally, we report them. If we find anyone

has come to do criminal things, the police do get involved. We have removed the spaza owners from Zimbabwe, so we are doing things to support people.” Another official speaks to the difficulty mobility causes for local planning. “When we do the IDPs, we are going to the communities and finding what they need. Usually it is water. So we make a note, that this settlement needs water. But we find that by the time things have been procured, the people who were living there have moved [to the township]”

This contrasts sharply to the way residents and migrants themselves view the process. One local authority acknowledged that, “The big houses by the tar road, they are built by migrant remittances. There are no jobs here, no local economy. If people want to make money, their best chance is to leave.” This was echoed by men and women alike, across the socioeconomic spectrum. One woman pointed out, “I didn’t want to just survive on my child support grant, so I went to Johannesburg.” Similar sentiments were shared by dozens of members of the community, who viewed migration at worst as a necessary means of survival, and at best, a great opportunity for upward mobility.

The challenge then comes when this disjuncture is translated into the municipal planning process. For example, in the category of Local Economic Development, the primary opportunity seen by a rural municipality is its geographic location near to the Kruger National Park and associated tourism. As a result, the only goal to enhance local economic development is “acceleration of land claims by department of land affairs.” While this is certainly important and fundamental to the community, this issue spans far beyond the five year timeline of integrated development planning, and little of the authority around land restitution is at the municipal level, already indicating a mismatch between the level of planning, and the level of anticipated results. People living within the community are making immediate decisions about their livelihood, where migration is more relevant than longer term tourism opportunities. If the municipality acknowledged the importance of migration for local economic

development in practice, they may invest in different strategies to boost the local economy. They may also be able to better harness or organize the current economy, which focuses heavily on migrant work and remittances, to support coordinated planning.

A related problem of planning around mobility was noted by an official in Hammanskraal, which is a periurban area in Gauteng that receives both inward migration from rural areas and informal settlements, but also sends residents to Johannesburg and Pretoria. One official mentioned, “It’s one step forward, two steps back, because we are trying to decrease the number of people who are indigent. But when people earn more, they move out, and the people who are coming are still looking for work. Because of this, we’re always failing.” Another official in the same department highlighted a similar issue. “When we’re trying to see how we’re doing, you realize, we don’t know who is going, and we don’t know who is coming. You might think it’s under control, but then you find a new settlement is springing up. Or a case was under control, but suddenly, boom, the child is living elsewhere. How do we know if he is now able to get the grant where he is?” This is where the issue of deliberate target setting becomes essential, in a way that sets municipalities up for measuring progress accurately, acknowledging that residents’ lives aren’t fixed within municipal boundaries.

The section above has highlighted some of the ways in which municipal officials are looking at migration primarily as a problem, whereas community members are acting on it as an opportunity. These divergent approaches are leading to challenges in planning processes. It demonstrates that in creating evaluation systems and setting targets for the municipality, there is a divergence in understanding both the roots and the effects of mobility. The result is that there is no consensus about how programmes should most effectively respond. The next section will discuss how a lens of mobility, and taking into account the multi-local lives many residents live, could change the way success is measured.

Data management and multilocality

When it comes to data generation, South African enjoys stronger systems and structures for data collection than many countries in the region. However, when it comes to migration specifically, the national statistical agency (StatsSA) recognizes that available data on migration is:

.....generally scanty, patchy and skewed. Such shortcomings tend to negatively influence policies, debates, dialogues, etc. as well as distort communication about migration. This contributes to anti-migrant sentiments that could lead to harmful stereotyping, discrimination and even xenophobia (Bundlender, 2013).

While this availability of reliable and quality data is certainly a constraint, it is certainly not the only, and possibly not the most important limitation to data use. As one member of the research team found in Botswana, “[a]t the most basic level, demographic data is not available or sufficiently nuanced to provide the basis for urban planning. Yet it is not data paucities alone that are at issue. Rather, it is political and institutional structures that work most strong against forward looking planning (Campbell, 2014).”

STATSSA has taken steps to improve the situation, introducing more migration related data into both the census and the community survey. However, there is currently a vicious cycle between the marginalization of migration as a central issue to planning, and the availability and accessibility of high quality and relevant data.

One health practitioner highlighted this as a challenge, linking it as well to the way target setting is done. “We are pushed so much to increase adherence to ARVs. It’s drummed in. But we know people go to Lesotho in December and can’t follow treatment there.” Another community health worker also

mentioned that migration was making it difficult to know the quality of their adherence data. She said, “you find we have many people dropping out, but then, that is not the case. Those people are sticking to treatment, they’ve just gone elsewhere. So you are going to say things were not working well, but actually they are.”

Officials from several other sectors cited the challenges in ‘losing’ people in otherwise effective service delivery programmes, when some sort of transfer process was supposed to take place. Others highlighted the opposite problem. As one social worker pointed out, “We are supposed to reach all indigent households in the community. So when the number of households we reach increases, we think we are doing well. But in the meantime, we find these are people who are coming into the community. How do we know if our reach is actually improving, or if the numbers in the community are increasing?”

At a departmental level, officials are both aware and frustrated by the way migration is affecting their results, and simultaneously not included in their planning. However, there seem to be many obstacles to building systems of more responsive, coordinated planning, which require interrogation.

Migration and Evaluating Public Management

South Africa’s national evaluation policy has burgeoned in recent years, with a National Evaluation policy framework adopted in 2011, which initially addressed only national departments, but is now being expanded to apply to provinces and municipalities. This is encouraging municipalities to think critically in assessing the monitoring data at their disposal, and evaluate the effectiveness of various service delivery interventions. While building performance based systems within the public sector is laudable, the more these are decentralized, the more important it becomes to consider multilocality in evaluating a municipality’s progress.

Increasingly, evaluation systems are being established to shape the way targets are set and analysed. This is an opportunity to bring an awareness of mobility into the way municipalities and provinces are measuring the success of their programmes. However, it has already been acknowledged in the planning domain, that this shift is not easy, and geographically-rooted governance is the norm. Scholars from urban management have found that:

Geographical and administrative boundaries prevent a strategic approach to environmental planning and management of the peri-urban interface that is holistic enough to include concerns at the city/region level and simultaneously take into consideration the specific problems affecting peri-urban dwellers. Neither the immediate priorities of periurban communities nor the longer-term issues affecting the sustainability of the city/region are likely to be addressed by municipal authorities unless specific fora are set up for this purpose (Allen, 2003).

At the same time, one of challenges to building evaluation systems at provincial and municipal levels is the already existing multiplicity of fora without the requisite resources to support and sustain their operations. As one official summed it up, “sometimes, we coordinate at the expense of service delivery.” At the same time, Allen highlights the need for this coordination in order to have more effective service delivery, particularly in connection to peri urban areas. He highlights that “this interface demands a conceptual and methodological shift from the physical definition of urban and rural areas (understood as clearly limited geographic and administrative entities) to a broader understanding, whereby the complex patterns of settlement and resource use, the flow of natural resources, of capital, goods, services and people, do not fit or accord with jurisdictional boundaries.” This is precisely what scholars of migration are underscoring. Responding effectively to

migrants does not just require considering an additional community, it requires a conceptual shift.

Perhaps one of the biggest challenges to introducing multilocality in evaluating government performance is that there may be trade-offs that are politically unpopular, or contestations that are difficult to confront with a technical approach. This is already a challenge in planning, and when players from different geographical jurisdictions are included, it could add an additional dimension to the contestation. It would require officials to confront whether it is okay if one locality increases its economic development if it happens at the expense of another, or whether investing in employment generation in one place leads to higher dependency ratios in other places. While this may be a political problem for those who govern municipalities, it is precisely through engaging with these trade offs that brings people to lead multi-local lives. One migrant articulated this calculation by saying, “I don’t like being away from my children, but I need to come where there is work, and they have a better school with my mother.”

At the moment, public sector target setting is largely migration blind. At best, it encapsulates some of the ways through which migration is a problem, and may target ways in which illegal or informal migration is limited or controlled. At worst, it may disincentivise recognizing some of the ways that migration can support development. Most likely, it is somewhere in the middle, not effectively supporting some of the positive contributions migration could make to development, but also doing very little to set targets meaningfully across a range of changing demographic factors.

Conclusion

Developing evaluation systems at a municipal level face a variety of constraints to being responsive to mobile populations. These include being embedded in

centralized planning systems, and decentralized monitoring systems that both assume people do not move. This creates a challenge of both appropriateness and rigour for an evaluation system that should respond to the needs of a populace. However, it also creates an opportunity to introduce multilocal considerations into the existing system.

Municipal authorities share an acknowledgement that mobility is shaping the communities they govern in important and fundamental ways. However, officials are not equipped with the systems, data, mandate, or understanding to plan an effective response to migration. In a few emergent cases, grappling with these collective constraints on effective planning may be leading to new forms of collaboration. As cities emerge as important centres of power in an agenda of global transformation, there is an urgency in looking at the possibilities and limits local government faces in effective planning, and what new forms of management systems maybe required to facilitate the implementation of these plans.

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6. Managing and Imagining Migrant Communities

This article brings empirical data to the question of how local government officials understand mobility in the communities they manage, and what this means for their practices of participation and access. This is critical to the argument of the overall thesis, which is that officials are actively manufacturing categories of difference by bringing sedentarist epistemologies to their role in management. In fact, the research found that categories of difference are actually more important than geography as local officials define both the communities they serve, and the way they understand migration within their municipalities.

Presented in this article is a finding that while national boundaries play a role in shaping discourse on migration, they are not a significant driver of localised politics of identity. Findings highlighted the need to continue bringing together social geography with literature on understanding the daily practices of the state to better understand how local government authorities are creating not only definitions of their community through their actions, but also communities of migrants.

Abstract

Integrated development planning processes are a key mechanism of engaging communities in local decision making, and legitimizing the work of municipal governments. However, civil servants have maintained a longstanding series of assumptions about populations being fixed, that migration is something that should be controlled, and that communities are defined by ethnolinguistic and associated geographical boundaries. These assumptions are far removed from the current South African reality, but remain firmly ensconced in the imagination and practice of local political officials. They hinder inclusive participation and adaptive planning, and they are generating social frictions that prevent re-imagining inclusive communities, and developing participatory IDPs.

Key words: Migration, social cohesion, local governance, development

Introduction

This article looks at how both international and local migrants within South Africa are changing state practice at the local government level. Through case studies of five South African municipalities, it explores how local government officials and residents view participation in IDP processes. What has emerged calls into question the assumption that a national boundary must be crossed for state practices to be shaped by migration. This article argues that both local and international migrants are shaping local government practice in important, yet distinct ways. Expectations of migrant communities by bureaucrats are actually fueling social fragmentation in many places, and in others, migrants are actively working to assert control over a currently state-dominated discourse around rights to services by changing the way they participate in local government decision-making and service provision.

This article seeks to explain how migrants and local government officials are co-creating definitions of communities within their municipal boundaries. They do this through negotiating right and access to services, as well as by establishing normative practice and discourse around the nature and periphery of “community” in local participatory governance processes. This article both describes the phenomenon as it was observed in the municipalities, as well as discusses the implications that arose through the research process.

To better understand this phenomenon, the article focuses specifically on Integrated Development Planning (IDP) processes, which have been designed to ensure local government plays a role that is both developmental and inclusive. With local government having a history of driving social divisions, an integrated planning process has been largely unable to combat norms around participation, and deeply entrenched social and political divisions. Since 1994, government in South Africa has endeavored to create the “transformation of local government and the need to align boundary demarcation, institutional restructuring, financial and fiscal direction and resources, all with a view to

building democratic and developmental institutions (Pillay, Tomlinson and du Toit, 2006).” This is a task that requires shifting not only institutions that have been historically entrenched as predatory towards communities, but also perceptions and patterns of behavior. Furthermore, changing geographical boundaries (and populations within them), institutional realignment, and changing financial priorities and processes, means local government has had to take root in shifting sands. In a context of limited state capacity and resources, and tremendous inequality, it is easy to see some of the challenges local government has faced. Transformation and participation have been vital ingredients in developmental local government.

Public participation is a critical element of legitimizing local government, and central to the local of South African municipalities, which have a high degree of autonomy. However, neither the institutions nor the incentives were built to catalyse this participation. In fact, many of the barriers which were built expressly to prohibit participation during apartheid remain in place. However, considering the mobility of the population adds another dimension to understanding participation. It reinforces how the perceptions officials hold of what their community should look like drives practice, and how this practice in turn shapes communities. It uncovers some of the struggles local government has faced in using participation as a tool for transformation. Civil servants hold assumptions that the populations they serve are sedentary (Malkki, 1995; Lems, 2016). This informs who and how they think should be participating in IDP processes. The way these assumptions are expressed, and the form it takes will be explored in detail below. The article will then explore some of the consequences these assumptions have on state practice.

This article will start by explaining the research process that contributed the data. It will then present the findings, first of how government officials understand both migrants and migration, followed by findings of how migrants are participating in IDP processes. A discussion section will then look at how

patterns of behavior by both bureaucrats and migrants are driving social fragmentation, as well as how the state is being shaped by its engagement with migrants.

Background and Relevant Literature

To better understand the nexus between local governance and migration, two primary areas of literature are drawn from. The first is literature on social geography, which is debating the role of migration in processes of community formation. While this literature has generally had a transnational focus, there is increasing interest in recent years at a range of localized approaches. This literature helps understand the role migrant communities play in defining the state at a local level. The second body of literature is that of public participation, which takes a different approach to understanding issues of community formation, through the way participation is structured and legitimized. This literature helps understand the way local state institutions are defining communities in relation to migrants.

Social geographers and scholars of migration have been grappling with the links between mobility and state practice. Foundational scholars of transnationalism posited that expressions of local culture were a counterweight to homogenizing forces of globalization (Harvey, 1989; Werbner, 1996). Others questioned the conflation of culture and location, with urban, cosmopolitanism creating 'global villages' in megacities (Massey, 2010; Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2010). Yet another body of literature is examining how local state practices are being shaped by mobility (Vigneswaran and Quirk, 2015; Landau and Monson, 2008; Benit-Gbaffou, Kihato, and Landau, 2010). What much of this literature has in common is the assumption that for migrants to shape the nation-state, they must be moving across national borders. This study challenges that assumption, by specifically considering the categories and implications of localized migration. Not only has it found that local government in fact actively creates categories of migrants, it has found localized migration plays an important, and

under-represented role in driving processes of defining the state practice at a municipal level.

Equally important to understanding local governance is understanding the process of participation in municipal community consultation processes and service delivery expectations. In an early critique of structures of participation, Cooke and Kathari (2001) pointed out that without developing commonly held ideals of participation, processes will fall back on silent habits of inclusion and exclusion. Without recognizing the different, changing and multiple identities that motivate participation, decision-making driving participation remains poorly understood. This has been observed in South Africa's local government, where there has long been a recognition that local power dynamics impact participation (Miraftab, 2005; Hildyard et al., 2001; Lewis and Naidoo, 2004).

At the same time, South African has been at the forefront of innovation in public participation processes (McLaverty, 2017). Municipalities in particular are acknowledging that public participation is a key to solving historic spatial and social inequalities (Beall et al., 2014). Integrated Development Planning (IDPs) became a mechanism for institutionalizing public participation through the Municipal Structures Act (1998), but its implementation has been varied. One of the biggest criticisms of IDP processes so far is that they "easily undermine and devalue the voices of (some) citizens by failing to acknowledge the temporal and spatial political geographies onto which they are projected (Lemanski, 2017)." This underscores the importance of bringing together issues of participation and mobility. By using a lens of migration, some of the unique features of community formation and participation can be better understood.

Methodology

Much of the existing literature on mobility and the state sits in the disciplines of transnationalism, and urban governance. As a result, most research is done either in megacities, or around international border posts. This research aims

specifically at challenging this departure point, and chose as sites five small towns and peri-urban areas, all with different kinds of demographic changes taking place. Municipalities first self selected into a sample by reporting limited capacity to respond to migration effectively. Municipalities were then purposively selected because they represented a wide spectrum of the different ways migration can affect communities. Additionally, they were chosen because the municipalities themselves looked quite different at each site. They comprise of Hamaanskraal, Temba, Mamelodi, Lephalale, and Bushbuckridge. One site was a rural community where land is entirely under traditional leadership and the municipality is mostly migrant-sending, but is relatively close to an international border. Other sites include townships in northern Gauteng, quite far from both any international border or Johannesburg, but at the former intersection of three different homelands, and experiencing internal migration from more rural areas nearby. Yet another was a rural mining town experiencing a migration boom with the construction of a power station, where corporations were heavily shaping the municipal focus.

By having a wide span of mobility dynamics and local government structures, the study is able to speak to some of the social and institutional dynamics that appeared across the diverse cases. Enough cases were chosen to be able to pull out structural commonalities across places with different bureaucratic and migration dynamics. However, few enough cases were chosen that each site could be looked at in a high degree of detail, with two months of data collection at each site with over 100 interviews in total, giving a comprehensive picture of how the municipality works, and how different segments of the community interact with it. Several different data collection approaches were used, to be able to contextualize the interviews of local government officials within the dynamics of the community and demographic information available.

This research used an approach adapted from grounded theory, which combined inductive and deductive mixed methods data collection at all sites

(Ralph et al, 2014). This article is a synthesized analysis of five municipal case studies, the data collection for which took place in a five stage process over two years. The first stage was desktop research, which collated available information about each municipality with a particular emphasis on demographic makeup, migration trends, and local governance. Research teams of three researchers, led by the author, were also composed with a balance of gender and migration status. Fieldwork was an iterative process, to allow for stronger, and more localized data collection instruments. The second stage of data collection was a scoping visit of two weeks, and included a participatory community mapping process (Kindon, et al, 2007), to understand municipal dynamics, and triangulate the desktop data which generated hypotheses around the most appropriate stakeholder groups for selection.

The third stage of data collection was in depth fieldwork, which involved more than 30 in depth, semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders at each site, including municipal officials, migrants, and community leaders and civic associations. Interviews with municipal officials included their attitudes and impressions of the state of migration in the municipality as well as the migrant community itself, discussions of how migrants received municipal services, and specific examples of migrant issues of interactions. Interviews of migrant communities, on the other hand, looked at perceptions of municipal officials, reports on access to services and any barriers thereto, and specific situations that shaped their interactions with the municipality. Focus groups were also held that included political party committees, migrant association members, or other community groups. A participant observation process also took place linked to community consultation activities held by the municipality. The precise target group for each data collection technique depended on the results of the initial community mapping, but was designed to best understand the local social and political dynamics linked to migration and local governance.

Local government assumptions of migrants and community

It is not a surprise that most local government officials across all five sites studied held negative opinions about the phenomenon of migration, and its impact on their work. Many scholars in other contexts have noted the difficulties states have in responding to migration, and the negative opinions public sector officials tend to hold about migration (Baumann, 2011; Sassen, 1999). What was most interesting from this research is looking with more granularity at what the articulation of attitudes around migration implies for how officials understand the role of the state, and what this then means for the how state practice is driving social dynamics. In the cases studied, officials were actually using mobility as a tool to reinforce certain categories of citizens, including strengthening existing systems of patronage. To make this argument, the article will first look at the discourse of officials around the phenomenon of mobility. Then it will consider the way officials talk about migrants themselves. Finally, it will discuss how mobility is used to articulate social fragmentations, and reinforce certain categories of privilege.

Finding that officials articulate frustration about mobility in these South African municipalities was expected. What was interesting is the way this was articulated, in relation to the state. Officials discussed their objections to mobility around three primary areas. The first was that they needed to define the way residents participate in local government processes, and many suggested implementing various forms of movement restriction to remedy this problem. The second was that it threatened clarity around rights and access, and bureaucrats felt there should be no grey areas in terms of the relationships between citizens and the state. Finally, officials spoke of state capacity, and the strains migrants put on services that were already struggling to keep up. These strains were both in terms of volume, but also around appropriateness and efficiency, planning, and other functions. The section below will bring in data

from interviews with officials around each of the three areas outlined above.¹ It will then discuss what this understanding of migration has meant for state practice, and local government's role in identity formation.

Officials views on Mobility and Participation

Officials unanimously agreed that mobility was shaping their communities and their work. However, they did not have the same level of consensus on how migrants could best engage with local government decision making processes. Some local officials bemoaned the lack of participation in planning processes by migrants:

"People are coming every day, and we don't know who they are, or where they are staying. Then they will agitate because they don't have services. But how can we provide services to people if we don't know about them? We cannot be effective as government under these conditions."

A commonly expressed sentiment by local government officials was that they were operating with imperfect information, and mobility made their job even harder. While this perception came through clearly, it was equally true that local government officials were not using available data in their planning as it was, indicating that this was as much an issue of imagined communities as it was actual planning capacity. Of the five sites studied, only one had capacity to engage with available demographic data, which was of good enough quality to support limited planning, but it faced many challenges beyond being responsive enough to capture migration trends. A similar issue was expressed by officials trying to define migration. While on one hand, the need to exert control over

¹ Due to security concerns in several of the sites studied, quotations remain anonymous

people coming into the community was acutely felt, at the same time, the need to define who counts as 'local' and who is a 'migrant' was expressed:

"Although some people from Mozambique have been in the country for as long as 20 years, some of them do not have identity books. Are they migrants, or not? They are not on the population roll, and when budgeting for the Bushbuckridge municipality is made, it does not include them. But when the municipality provides services, it must provide for everybody that lives in a particular village. They cannot decide, I will participate here, but not there, if they are turning on the tap here."

Officials clearly stated that in order to function effectively, they needed to have some degree of participation from migrants. However, there was a disjuncture between the discourse of inclusivity, and practices of exclusion. This includes not only engagement in planning processes, but also control over how migrants and local residents are defined. In discussing how migrants should participate in IDP processes, it became evident that officials were taking judgments on the basis of ethnolinguistic ties and socioeconomic status in determining how participation should take place. This points to practiced exclusion on the basis of officials' imaginations of ideal communities, rather than inclusion on the basis of empirical evidence about the community. This resonates with Gupta and Ferguson (1997), who founded a critique of the conflation of culture and location.

State Capacity to respond to Mobility

The most common way public officials discussed the topic of mobility is linked to the issue of state capacity. With less value judgment attached on the surface, officials correctly point out that when institutions are struggling with the capacity to carry out basic functions, more complex systems of planning and

adaptive management that would allow for a more effective response to a mobile population, are far out of reach:

You plan for a big number of people in the outskirts rural areas, and when those services get supplied, it turns out that the number has reduced and the people have moved to the semi-urban residential areas. Then there is a problem of informal settlements.

Particularly at sites where the rural areas were historically underserved, officials were acutely aware of local migration as a household coping strategy, but felt their ability to respond to it was limited. This links local government's response to mobility to the issue of state capacity, which was reiterated frequently by respondents. While there is substantial research on South Africa's local government capacity, this research suggests that a lack of willingness or understanding of officials in the way migration affects their work could easily direct existing state capacity in other directions. One official clearly summed up the importance of political incentives in service delivery:

When the need is so great everywhere, the place we start must be a political decision. Who will be motivated to provide services to migrants when they are not politically organized to protest, they are not our voter base, and our political principles are pointing us in other directions? Maybe migrants will get services if the queue is not long.

Another official also highlighted the politicization of decision making around migrants, but in an area where the political dynamics around migrants was different, he reached the opposite conclusion:

We don't have the resources to serve everyone. Most people living here, they don't have money. So how do we decide? It wouldn't be right to say, this one is from here, so they can have. Everyone has the same need, we are all human. Sometimes, you look at someone from

Mozambique and you find they belong more than someone from the Eastern Cape. Who's to say just because you don't have an ID, you don't deserve? We know honest people are coming here to work, and we must accommodate them.

Officials at all sites spoke to the myriad of ways migration was shaping their economy, and service delivery plans. There was clearly frustration in the difficulties migrants posed to the state, reinforcing findings of Sassen (1999) and Malkki (1995):

It is fundamental, how people move. They cannot just come and go willy nilly. When the white paper is revised, we need to make sure there is a register, so when a person comes to our municipality, we see their ID document. We know who they are. They have an address. We know where to find them.

In spite of frustrations about the limitations of state capacity to respond to migration, officials had a largely nuanced view of the benefits that came with a population on the move. Particularly for economies that were based heavily on remittances, views of migration as a phenomenon were generally positive, while views of migrants themselves varied in ways that will be explored later:

The community is affected by migration; many migrant would come home to die. When they get sick they can't be employed so they return home. This in return affects the health system and the social structure which has a negative impact on the community. The positive side is that lot of remittance comes back.

In addition to local government officials articulating their own vision of the state through their opinions of migration as a process, they further clarify how the role of government is seen through their opinions of migrants themselves.

This separation between the phenomenon of migration and migrants themselves is useful because it looks both how officials see the institutional components of the state, but also how the state can define and form communities within the constituency it serves. In the sites studied, it was particularly interesting that positive or negative views of migrants were not universally held. Rather, 'outsider' migrants were seen as problematic and contributing to all the negative associations with the process of migration, to the point where multi-generational residents who shared certain traits with 'outsider' migrant communities were discussed with the migrants themselves. However, 'insider' migrants were seen as positive regardless of any association with the phenomenon of migration.

This calls into question the arguments of Castells (2010), and Soja (1998) that mobilizing ethnic identity is a counterbalance to forces of globalization and capitalism. While there may be contexts in which this is the case, in South African local government, identity-based patronage appears to be a driving force for localizing identity. This is demonstrated by the division between the way 'outsider' migrants are portrayed, versus 'insider' migrants, even when the outsider migrants are in fact local, and the insider migrants are from another country.

One local government official experienced this, being labeled an 'outsider', even though he was from a neighboring province. *"The only thing here is that people don't understand one another. They accommodate people from other countries, but not from other provinces. I am from Gauteng, and they ask me why I'm here."*

This was reiterated by another migrant, who drew the distinction between the primacy of ethnolinguistic ties, as opposed to international boundaries. *"People from here, they do not like people from outside. Like me, I'm from Gauteng province. They do not like me, but Mozambique is not outside."*

Similarly, respondents compared international migrants that were ethnolinguistically similar to those who were part of a different group, demonstrating the extent to which identity is being mobilized to reinforce existing systems of patronage within local government:

“These people [from Zimbabwe] take jobs from everywhere, even the shops, they are paying them R30 per day, but me because I am from here, I will not work for R30 per day but they take those jobs. That’s why we chase them out of the shops. People from Mozambique are like us, they will also not work for amounts like that.”

As much as ‘outsider’ migrants were criticized, migrants were seen as an asset to the economy if they were part of the community. Some respondents pointed to the economic contribution migrants made to the community. *“These are beautiful houses near the tar roads; they are built on migrant remittances.”*

The research clearly showed that officials expressed more of an opinion about the identity of residents, than whether or not they were migrants. In fact, if international migrants shared ethnolinguistic heritage with privileged groups of residents, they were considered resident, whereas multigenerational residents in communities were considered migrants, and associated with a common set of ills. Local government officials were functionally creating migrant communities of people who were not moving.

This is interesting for two reasons. The first is that the state is actually generating migrants in a way that does not link to mobility. Instead, it is linked to how the state itself is playing functions of control and patronage. The second reason is that it demonstrates that officials’ perceptions of the links between identity and space are quite important, because they are being used to create

binary categories within the communities they serve. This is fueling contestation around state power.

Drivers of migrant participation

To understand the way the local state is creating categories of people through the way it interacts with residents, it is also important to look at how residents are responding, and sometimes actively shaping state behavior. In the sites we studied, residents, particularly those ‘othered’ by state practice in particular, were deliberately expanding grey areas of state control, contesting not only the role of the state in controlling mobility, but also the ability of the state to categorize residents as insiders or outsiders.

To examine this idea more closely, this section will first look at how migrants participate in municipal IDP processes, and what their motivations are in doing so. It will then look at how IDP processes are designed, and how this relates to migrant participation therein. Finally, this section will look at how the relationship between these two things is changing local government behavior in the sites studied. Several scholars have explored how migrants participate in local government processes, and how migrant lives are often spread across space in a way that local government doesn’t always effectively accommodate (Landau, 2009; Polletta, 2014). It is a fundamental part of the migrant experience for one person’s needs from the state to be spread across different municipalities.

One migrant told a story that is typical of people’s realities across South Africa:

My aunt was born here, but she’s from Zim and that’s where she’s building a house for when she is old. Maybe she would build here, but there’s no water. She goes to Johannesburg to sell what she makes every week. She’s also in a union that side, so that street traders don’t get chased. When she goes there, she doesn’t have a place to stay. She’d like

a place of her own, but for now, she stays with her cousin, until she can afford to look for something. Her children are young, and she can't leave them, so they stay with her sister, who's married in Louis Trichart. They go to school there.

This illustrates the way in which current migrant lives require different engagement mechanisms than sedentary residents. However, migrants also plan differently across space. Migration is often fundamentally a planning strategy, and the way a migrant will engage with a local planning process is very much shaped by what they plan on doing where they are, and where they plan on going in the future. A worker in Gauteng who has left family behind in a rural area and plans to return to soon as her working years have passed would need to interface with local government very differently than a student who has come to Polokwane with the intention of starting a family there after the completion of his studies.

In this way, a migrant's 'imagined life' becomes very important, in much the same way that the 'imagined communities' public sector officials serve is an important driver of behavior and decision making. Research has demonstrated (Landau et al, 2011) that many migrants plan to spend only a few years in a city, but end up staying for decades. This may mean that residents do not have an incentive to engage with a place they would like to leave. "This is not my fight. I just came. Years ago, they were raising the issue of water, I wasn't here. Years after I go to Johannesburg, there will still be no water." This demonstrates that while migration primarily has a spatial dimension, there is also a temporal consideration. IDP plans span 5 years. However, they are often accused of being wishlists, and actual implementation of plans can take much longer. This is a further disincentive for migrants to participate in IDP processes. Presumably the time required to gain the cultural capital and the relationships required to affect processes may not be offset by the planning cycle, and time a migrant anticipates to stay in a community and see the results of engagement.

Another incentive that was raised by several migrants interviewed was that, absent a social and political support network in their a new community, they felt their participation was unlikely to be useful. Usefulness of engagement was mentioned by many residents, migrants and non migrants alike, in shaping their engagement with local political processes. “Here, I am nobody. Why would I go to these meetings when I cannot change anybody’s mind? At home, maybe I am somebody, and I could convince people.” This indicates that the communities migrants are tied to may be different to those that create change in local government. This is in keeping with many scholars who have criticized participation processes in South Africa’s local government (Polletta, 2014).

This was reiterated by other migrants, one of whom said, “This meeting is not for us. People who want to be involved in politics, they might be interested. But all I see are promises, and I know in 5 years, nothing will have happened. I’m not one to wait my whole life for people to talk, my children need to eat tomorrow.”

IDP processes have been designed with an explicit aim of redressing past inequities. There is no doubt that in South Africa, this is much needed. However, by framing planning processes around historically excluded groups, it builds an incentive of looking backward at demographic trends. Many historically excluded groups are using migration as a strategy for economic mobility, and are moving to access better services and economic opportunities (de Brauw, et al, 2014). A municipality that plans to serve a population on the basis of where they were, rather than where they will be, will clearly struggle to respond to the needs of the community. This framing particularly excludes migrants, who are at the frontier of the demographic changes that are reshaping communities. For local government to respond effectively to the needs to residents, particularly those who have been historically marginalized, they need to plan for the communities of the future, and not those of the past.

Migrant Identities Shaping State Practice

The section above demonstrated the inclination of local government officials to view their role as one of defining not only the way migrants should participate in local government, but also of the ways in which people are considered migrants. By looking at the way residents are interacting with the state, it is clear that they are not passive recipients of state power, but have developed several mechanisms of responding to these assertions of state power, through both repositioning their own identity, and also re-articulating the role of the state.

One migrant used an example of his experiences with crime to distinguish himself from local residents, asserting moral authority as a differentiator:

My experiences as a migrant in South Africa were eye opening; things were a norm to others. Issues such as the young girl who was raped behind us, down the street someone had bought sand, however a dispute irrupted because of the payment, someone got a shovel and knocked the other over the head which split his skull and he died. I wish I could help people here understand that that is not normal.

The way migrants discuss their own experiences as separate from the community they are living in highlights the strategies migrants are using to navigate the complex bureaucratic system of accessing services:

Nobody wants to ignore the rules, but you find the rules weren't written for us. Even the people who live here, if they have to wait years for an ID, they'll look for another way. Our situation is complicated, and we know we won't get help from the government. So we're used to looking for another way.

Both migrants, and sedentary residents that have been bequeathed honorary migrant status by local government officials are expanding grey areas of state control, as well as evading black and white categories of identity. “I always hate the question – where are you from. Where am I from? I’ll tell you where I was born. I’ll tell you where I live. Anything else is politics.”

Similarly, one respondent expressed a pragmatic response to the common struggles with bureaucracy:

At the end of the day, I need to get things done. If I need a letter saying I am from here to get a job, I will find that letter. If I need a rates bill from back home, I will get that. For every account and every office they want to put in you some box, I just get in the box they want, I will get what I need and then move on.

Discussion

Local government practice is actively shaping communities, through the way it interacts with migrants and residents. While this isn’t new, it is important to explore and better understand in different social and institutional contexts. One interesting finding that emerged out of the particular sites studied is that the migration status local government was ascribing had more to do with ethnolinguistic identity than with actual mobility. On one hand, this adds support to the already well-documented fact that identity based politics are strongly shaping South African local government (Beresford, 2015). At the same time, it makes it clear how intersecting challenges are making it difficult for local government to plan. While some of these challenges are logistical, such as the pace of urbanization in the region, others are about the way communities are perceived.

Local government is playing a role in manufacturing and reinforcing community identities, including creating categories of insiders and outsiders that doesn't necessarily correspond to the actual mobility of people. These same public sector actors are trying to create binary boxes into which residents can be placed, as part of the state's role in controlling the movement of residents. These binary categories are limiting, and limited in their ability to describe the actual experiences and needs of residents.

Migrants and residents have developed a number of effective responses to these efforts by the state to control residents, to minimize their need for state intervention, and limiting the number of ways the state can exert control. Strategies have ranged from working to strengthen the role non-state actors can play in service delivery, to asserting forms of identity that hold moral suasion over discriminatory discourse by either local government, or members of the community itself.

While migrant communities are being reshaped by public officials, migrants are also making decisions based not only on their immediate, tangible interests, but on their imagined lives. This means both migrants and local government authorities are planning towards communities that will never take shape.

Conclusion

Research from five municipalities in South Africa has demonstrated that local government officials and migrants are in a dynamic process of co creating the local state, and community at the municipal level. On one hand, local government officials hold strong assumptions about migration, migrants, and the communities that they serve. They are acting on these views in ways that are sharpening the role of the state, but also actively reshaping the way communities articulate their identity. While international migrants play a role in shaping this discourse, in fact, national boundaries are not a significant driver of these politics of identity. Some non-citizens are 'insiders' and some

multigenerational residents are 'outsiders' in the way both communities and public officials are articulating their aspirations for the community. This highlights the extent to which public officials' understanding of the communities they serve is critical in shaping state practice. On the other hand, migrants themselves are unique both in the way they are defining communities through their own interactions, and the way they are demanding services and negotiating rights are shifting municipal practice.

For municipalities to plan effectively, and for public participation processes to truly play a role in inclusion, IDP processes need to accurately reflect the community as it is, and plan for the community that the municipality will serve in the future. As long as planning remains grounded in historical inequities, and communities are imagined as homogenous and sedentary, social fragmentation and frustrations with service delivery will continue to grow.

On one hand, the research presents a warning about continuing to base practice on subjective notions of who the state 'should' serve. On the other, it presents an opportunity. Local governments have been struggling to keep up with huge service delivery backlogs, and growing frustration by residents who feel excluded and unheard (Pithouse, 2009). Simply transforming the discourse around IDP processes to articulate goals of inclusion could change the degree of legitimacy of local governments. Much policy-focused research is about the capacity constraints of local government. While the real constraints of budget and skills may remain, simply imagining communities differently may be an important first step to serving them more effectively.

Research should continue to bring together literature on spatial geography and daily practices of the state. Scholars have already uncovered important dynamics around the interface between mobility and community formation. However, until we know more about how local authorities are responding to

these dynamics, it will be difficult for the state to reign in its role in fueling exclusion and social fragmentation.

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7. Migration Governance as Place Making: South African experiences

This article explores how municipal governance of mobility can be viewed as a process of place making in itself. To do this, it looks at the spatial management responsibilities of municipal authorities, which are wide ranging, and identifies ways in which these policies both consider and impact migrants. Furthermore, it considers the wide-ranging roles migrants play in place making processes, by being ambassadors across geographically bound social networks, and residents with different interests in service delivery.

The article points to a missed opportunity for migrants and local government officials to work more closely and constructively in supportive planning efficiencies, and also responding to specific needs of migrants. This engagement promises many benefits not only for migrant communities, but all residents who would benefit from efficient gains in service delivery.

This is central to the argument of the overall thesis, because it highlights the ways in which municipal policy making, while largely migration-blind, its effectiveness threatened by demographic changes. Furthermore, it highlights the sweeping effects that municipal policies have on migrant experiences and access to services. Finally, it identifies key opportunities that engagement of municipal authorities around migration offers for improved spatial management.

Abstract

Purpose: This paper explores the role of migrants in the process of place making, through case studies of migrant engagement with municipal planning in five South African municipalities.

Approach: This study draws on empirical research carried out over two years, using mixed methods research in each municipal case study. Data comes from key stakeholder interviews, participant observation, focus groups, and demographic data to understand the perceptions and practices of local government officials and migrants within the community.

Findings: This research demonstrated that local government officials are assuming a population that is sedentary and geographically bounded, while migration is actively shaping communities. This mobility provides an opportunity for management practices to become more inclusive and effective.

Originality: By examining systems of local governance through the lens of a mobile population, new possibilities emerge about the ways migrant participation can contribute to the definitions of a place.

Keywords: Local governance, participation, place management, migration

Introduction

The field of place management has started grappling with the linkages between defining a place, and the role of residents and participation in the place branding process (Braun, Kavaratzis and Zenker, 2013; Eshkol and Eshkol, 2017). However, this emergent conversation is only beginning to grapple with complexities in resident identity, and disaggregated participation process. This article aims to contribute to this debate, by specifically considering the role migrants can play in defining a place. Migrants have a unique and important role to play in defining places, by their very refusal to be tied to a specific place, and their multiple roles and methods of engagement with different localities. However, in addition to their uniqueness in the place making debate, they also provide a stratified lens through which place making could be understood; much like a gendered analysis can shift a social lens, a migrant centered analysis can shift spatial planning.

The field of migration has recently been looking at the dynamic relationship between migrants and place boundaries (Quirk and Vigneswaran, 2015). While this is most often framed around international state boundaries and national identity, the last decade has seen growing interest in the role migrants play in defining local places, and how different definitions of borders and boundaries are being redefined by the processes of migration and mobility (Caponio, et al, 2010).

Due to these international roots of the migration field, the entry point into social geography literature has been through mega-cities or border areas, most often looking at experiences of urban cosmopolitanism. However, more recent research is contributing to theory building of how different forms of mobility contribute to place-making. The research that underpins this article looks explicitly at communities that fall outside traditional debates of transnational place making. Secondary cities and rural towns, which are neither remarkable

in their global cosmopolitanism, nor shaped explicitly by international migration, but rather, face more mundane, but equally important and theoretically interesting demographic changes. This forces mobility to be seen through the social and historical context of a place, and enriches the possibilities of what a migrant lens could bring to the place making process.

This article brings together migration and place management in three ways. First by looking at ways migrant communities have shaped the way municipal officials are understanding and articulating the geographical area they manage. Next, it considers also how migrant experiences and processes of participation in these municipalities have shifted the way places are defined and managed. Finally, it begins to unpack the uniqueness of migrant experiences in the place-making process, and looks at the implications this could have for theory building in the arena of place management and development.

Background: Mobility, identity and place governance in South Africa

Through South Africa's apartheid history, there has been a long-standing integration between place management, identity, and mobility. Through a system of racial classification, people's identity tied them unwillingly to a place, and mobility, both to economic opportunities, but also to people with different identities, was stringently controlled through a pass system. The literature on postcolonial states and South African governance explain the process through which the government drove the creation and categorization of communities (Mattes, 2002).

Through the practice of managing the geography of South Africa, community identities solidified, including identities linked to migration. The migrant worker became a socially recognized community, and with it an understanding of the concomitant social and economic effects. As Okeke-Ogbuafor et al. (2017) point

out, this creates a dual sense of identity, first to communality and relationships, and then to place. These two identities are at times complementary, and at others, contradictory, but both need to be better understood to develop systems of spatial management that are responsive to a populations' lived experience.

South Africa's Municipal Policy Context

Decentralization has been an important feature of South Africa's transition to democracy, with national political power devolved to two tiers of government after 1994. The two tiers are provincial and municipal governments, both of which have a high degree of independence, with democratically elected political leadership (Valeta and Walton, 2008). The aspiration of decentralization is that it would keep power close to citizens, promote greater participation in political decision making, legitimize democratic systems of governance, and ensure efficiency of service delivery (Cameron, 2018).

The Constitution of South Africa provided for these tiers of government in 1996 in Section 152, and this was followed by the Municipal Structures Act in 1998, and the Municipal Systems Act of 2000, which articulated and then further clarified the mandate of local government. There are currently eight metropolitan municipalities, 44 district municipalities, and 205 local municipalities in South Africa. While the national and provincial governments have roles in setting a strategic agenda, municipalities have significant autonomy in working towards their mandate, which includes providing municipal services, and promoting socioeconomic development. The Municipal Structures Act acknowledges the importance of traditional leaders in rural development, and mandates certain rights to them around both administering land rights, and also facilitating processes of participation (Bikam and Chakwizira, 2014).

Integrated Development Planning (IDP) is a mechanism through which municipalities set their five year development plan. These plans are to drive budgeting and management decision making, and the IDP cycle aligns with council elections (Valeta and Walton, 2008). IDPs are binding of the municipal authority in their exercise of power, making them particularly important vehicles for planning and engagement.

Over the last two decades, however, South African municipalities have faced a range of challenges achieving their mandates, including limited public sector capacity at the municipal level, a lack of clear mandates given the rapid evolution of policy and jurisprudence around local governance, and limited legitimacy of government in many communities given the history of apartheid (Pycroft, 2000). IDP processes, which should be at the nexus of participation, legitimacy, and capacity, have been subjected to scrutiny, with lively debates among scholars, policy makers, and municipal officials around how the process can be improved.

South Africa's migration context

Migration has played a central role in South Africa's governance and development, with around 12 percent of the population migrating within each 5 year period since 1975 (Kok and Collinson, 2006; Worden, 2011). The mining industry in South Africa grew through migrant labour, and the economic engine of apartheid was built through forced removals, and the further entrenchment of the migrant labour system. Since democracy, South Africa's economic opportunities have made it an attractive destination for migrants across Africa, and while migrants from other African countries receive a disproportionate focus in migration discourse, they represent a relatively small portion of migrants. More than half of South Africa's migration is temporary or circulatory (Kok and Collinson, 2006).

High quality data on migration remains hard to find, but the census has responded by recently including additional migration dynamics. Urbanisation is an important national trend, and while rates of urbanization are lower in South Africa than many countries in the region, the country is already relatively urbanized, making the trend still important, with secondary cities being particularly affected (Toverson, 2017). Additionally, trends within an urban area, such as moves from townships to suburbs, remain important in understanding shifts in spatial equality.

Place Management in Policy and Practice

Spatial planning and management in South Africa has been a particularly complex policy space, which has undergone rapid changes since democratization. “The statutory home that spatial planning has had through South African history is complex and has been confusing at times” (Joscelyn, 2015). The recent Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) has been a recent response to this. A framework law, it establishes a framework for spatial planning and land use for the country. It creates the space to rationalize some of the areas of overlap, and fill some of the gaps in policy discussed below, and clarifies roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders. It is structured around five principles: spatial justice, spatial sustainability, spatial resilience, efficiency and good administration. It has been widely acknowledged that SPLUMA has created the opportunity for clarity (Dlamini and Musakwa, 2014; Van der Westhuizen, 2014), but understanding the landscape within which it was introduced is important for understanding some of the opportunities and challenges to its effective implementation.

Cameron (2018) and others (Musvoto et al, 2016; Nene, 2016) posit that one of the challenges to legitimate and effective municipal government in South Africa is that it is trying to take root in a shifting geographical and social landscape. Of the five municipal case studies in this research, four have experienced a

demarcation process, through which municipal boundaries are redrawn, over the last two decades. The demarcation process is highly politicized, with communities often vying to be associated with the municipality they perceive as better placed to leverage political clout, which can be difficult to disentangle from historical identity based politics (Atkinson, 2007). As Cameron reiterates, “Structural reform (twice), territorial changes (twice), new management structures have all been introduced in the space of ten years.....Continuous reorganization can disrupt local governments administratively and detrimentally affect service delivery.”

Urban, rural, and district municipalities are all newly created categories, and have different responsibilities. In addition, the Constitution includes a principle of ‘shared authority’ with a district, which divides powers among different municipal categories. Jurisprudence has generally indicated that district municipalities only have the powers bestowed in legislation, and other authority lies with local municipalities. However, since local municipalities do not have the capacity to perform all of the functions within their remit, a system of ‘temporary authorisations’ delegated authority to the district level when the Municipal Systems Act was passed. This created a situation where neither municipal nor district officials had clarity of mandate, and these have been determined in somewhat adhoc ways, based on highly localized issues of municipal capacity and political allegiance.

Some scholars discuss the ‘boundedness’ of local government (Bennett, 1989), to describe the relationship between administrative structures and socio-economic activity. Most municipalities in South Africa are ‘unevenly bounded’. Due to the diverse and unequal demographic makeup of South Africa, municipalities are often governing villages, townships, towns, and a range of other settlements (such as mines, peri-urban areas, and industrial agriculture). Each different settlement area may demonstrate different socioeconomic

patterns, reflecting this heterogeneity of local socioeconomic activity (Simone, 2004).

Municipalities can impose property taxes and charge fees for service provision. However, different communities have different histories of paying for services, and developing both mechanisms of revenue collection and willingness of consumers to pay has been a challenge. While rural councils under traditional leadership formerly had limited fiscal capacity, there are now expectations that land management and financial management functions are interconnected. There is little policy guidance for municipal officials on how bureaucratic practice can and should play a place making function. However, it is evident that through the act of governing that municipalities play a critical role in articulating the way places are defined.

In this context, SPLUMA provides an opportunity to include rural and informal settlements into decentralized spatial development planning, but more importantly, create clarity around the roles and responsibilities of all spheres of government in spatial planning. However, SPLUMA identifies municipalities as the key decision maker on many components of spatial management. This has come with certain safeguards. For example, political office bearers, while involved in strategic decisions, do not make operational decisions on land development applications (South Africa, 2013), which may reduce opportunities for corruption. However, there are still a large number of unanswered questions. For example, the mandate and role of traditional authorities is provided for, but not clarified, which has been raised as a criticism (Land and Accountability Research Centre, 2015). Additionally, South African municipalities lack capacity on a range of functions, and on issues of planning in particular, technical planning skills are concentrated in metropolitan municipalities (Nel; 2016). Allocating responsibilities without concomitant capacity may exacerbate inequalities across municipal performance.

When consider the impact SPLUMA might have on the management of migration, there are two concerns that are immediately apparent. The first is that the Act itself is entirely silent on issues of migration. Given that spatial planning is required in part to respond to the changing settlement needs of residents, a specific mention of migration would be an important signal to diverse actors that the issue of migration should at least be taken into consideration. While it could be argued that issues such as spatial sustainability might imply a consideration of migration, others have acknowledged that there is significant divergence in the way these pillars are being interpreted (Barnes and Nel, 2017). The second concern is the widespread mandate given to municipalities. This undoubtedly comes with advantages, particularly related to spatial justice and efficiency. However, the capacity and resources to implement the structures implied by SPLUMA are uneven, as is an understanding of the needs and rights of migrants (Sibiya, 2015). There is a risk that this group, particularly given their political marginalization, may be overlooked by municipal decision makers without explicit steps to protect and represent their unique needs.

Relevant literature on migration and place making

Understanding Municipalities as Places

Several multidisciplinary fields, including social geography, place management, and migration studies, are concerned with the relationships between people and places. There is a widespread acknowledgement that there is a multidirectional shaping in the evolution of communities and geographies (Vigneswaran and Quirk, 2015). From this, emerges the notion of a 'place,' which is a composite construct of various components of a location (it can include parts such as culture, language, economy, natural attractions, etc.) (Hanna and Rowley, 2007).

Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) argue that as the place branding field grows, there is a dominant view that places are increasingly defined in static ways. Govers and Go (2009) further reinforce that the identity of a place is built based on the political dynamics, cultural discourse and historical narrative that dominates a place. While scholars acknowledge that the identity of a place is a dynamic process, it often comes with an assumption that place identities “are internal to the place and disconnected from outsiders (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013).” Migration provides an opportunity for place managers and the growing field of place branding to engage with the dynamism of a co-creation of place identity. At the same time, this approach to defining places provides an outlet for managers to think critically about how the daily practice of bureaucracy incrementally and iteratively defines a place, and consequently, who has access and rights to it.

As the sections above have highlighted, this composite approach to geography is particularly valuable to the loosely bounded South African municipal context, given the overlay of municipal authorities which might correspond to some subset of a place. While this research deals only peripherally with the concept of place branding (Anholt, 2002), it is useful to consider the deliberative process of constructing a place as part of better understanding the way municipal officials can define place through practice.

While places imply a specific geography, a place usually has physical, but also cultural and symbolic attributes (Lepofsky and Fraser, 2003). This implies a value in exploring subjective approaches to place making that are created through practice. In keeping with this, a range of scholars have explored socially embedded approaches to place making by considering gender, age, or ethnicity in understanding the place making process (Hopkins, 2010; Mohamed, 2013).

Intersection of migration and place making

It is through acknowledging that place making is a dynamic, relational process that migration, with its transnational paradigm, finds places of intersection (Pierce, et al, 2011; Phillips and Robinson, 2015). Migration, as a social process that transcends space, poses a unique conceptual challenge to place making. However, it is precisely through the way the literature on migration interrogates the role of place in shaping identities and social experiences that an intersection with place making emerges (Silvey, 2004). While literature on place making is increasingly socially engaged, migrants represent a social category that is not geographically bound (Phillips and Robinson, 2015).

Braun, et al indicate three primary ways residents are involved in the place making process. The first is through their own characteristics and behavior, being part of the place brand. The second is as an ambassador of the place, and the third is through their own civic engagement, they have a role in shaping the politics and place management process. These categories are useful because they echo the analysis of several scholars of migration (Vigneswaran and Quark, 2015) who also categorise the relationship between migrants and defining geography through migrant practice, through state engagement, and through their multi-local lives.

Similarly, literature on local governance helps explain the role of migrants in place making processes. Given the rich debates about the role of identity in local politics in South Africa, the process of identity formation through governing is important (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). On the surface, it can serve as a word of caution about the exclusion that can come from actively branding a place. Local government can perpetuate identity-based politics in a number of ways, and strong place brands that mobilise identity based on location can be catalyze xenophobia (Blaser Mapitsa, 2016). However, it could equally serve as an opportunity. Many South African local government officials have struggled with their social inclusion mandate. While there is will to fight existing systems

of xenophobia or nepotism, there aren't programmatic tools to change patterns of governance. Place branding could prove a powerful force for creating more inclusive communities, and this is increasingly something municipal managers can explore.

Finally, migrants offer an opportunity for innovation in the place making field. Precisely because their lives defy geographic boundaries, they call into question the geographic basis of place making. However, migrants are creating multilocal livelihoods for themselves that span social as well as geographic spaces (ibid; Okeke-Ogbuafor, 2017). There may be an opportunity for the field of place management to innovate by better understanding migrant strategies and expertise in transcending both social and geographic boundaries, gaining fluency across a range of audiences, and navigating different places.

Research methods

The research approach was designed to understand how local government has been incorporating mobility and identity into its planning, budgeting, and consultation or public participation processes. The research took a mixed methods approach, borrowing components of grounded theory; specifically, combining inductive and deductive approaches, and assuming 'all is data' (Ralph et al, 2014). Each case study development began with desktop research that collated key data available about the municipality, including the demographic makeup and migration trends within the municipality, as well as key social and political dynamics in governing mobility. Research teams of three to five researchers, led by the author, were balanced by both gender, and migration status. Fieldwork at each site was carried out in two visits, to allow for an iterative understanding of the community. The first visit of two weeks included a participatory community mapping process (Kindon, et al, 2007), to get an understanding of the municipal dynamics, triangulate data on migration trends, and identify stakeholder groups.

After a break of a month to draft the relevant research instruments that would reflect the unique dynamics of the site in question, the research team returned for a period of two months. This data collection period included semi structured interviews with key stakeholders within the municipality, migrant associations, and community leadership or other civic associations. At least 30 interviews were conducted in each municipality. For municipal officials, interviews covered attitudes and impressions of migrants in the community, reports on how migrants received municipal services, and specific examples of interactions with migrants or on migrant issues. Interviews with migrant communities covered perceived attitudes and impressions towards municipal officials, reports on access to services including both barriers and services that are readily available, and specific incidents where their migrant status shaped their interaction with the municipality. Focus groups were also held, and included political party committees and migrant association members. All data was triangulated against a participant observation process in a range of community consultation activities that the municipality held during the fieldwork period, to build an organizational ethnography of each municipality.

This methodological approach was chosen to understand the practical reasoning and bureaucratic logic of organizational settings. This is a valuable tool for exploring institutionalist notions of the state, with an interest in the political and social mechanics of state structures (Hartley, 2004; Silverman, 1989). This approach was chosen as the best for understanding the interface between the practice of local government officials and migrants in co producing places.

This article is based on fieldwork that took place in five South African municipalities in 2013-14. The fieldwork took place under the banner of two projects, which were both looking at how municipal governments were responding to migration. The municipalities were identified through collaboration between the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) and

the South African Local Government Association (SALGA). Secondary cities and peri-urban areas were identified as a research priority, since Statistics South Africa (STATSSA) has determined that these are the areas currently facing the highest levels of mobility, and they are particularly under researched, given the focus of the current research base on the local governance of migration is overwhelmingly on mega cities and rural areas (Borel-Saladin and Parnell, 2017; Rogerson, 2017; Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2016). First, municipalities self selected into the sample through contacting SALGA with a self-assessment indicating limited capacity to managing migration effectively. Then, the research team restricted sites to Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and Limpopo, for reasons of physical and linguistic accessibility. Then, the possible municipalities were reviewed and purposively selected to include a diverse span of migration dynamics, including Bushbuckridge, which is near an international border and has robust demographic data available, one small town with an influx of migrants due to a large infrastructure project, one municipality with a high dependency ratio primarily sending migrants, and Hamaanskraal and Mamelodi, two peri-urban areas in Gauteng experiencing rapid growth and circular migration. This selection allowed the research team to explore trends across a wide variety of migration trends, and also have case study material which reflected a wide variety of municipal migration trends across the country.

Throughout the data collection process, the research team had to be responsive to municipal context. One case study was wracked by political violence, and individual counselors would not meet with the research team. In this case, a solution was found that involved focus groups with the counselors and key supporters from their ward. Similarly, in some municipalities civil society groups were under threat, and preferred the anonymity offered by a focus group setting, rather than risk individual association with the research by other members of the community. In two municipalities, the research team had to adapt data recording methods, since participants refused recording of interviews. While this variability in methods and approach based on the

municipal context allowed for contextually appropriate data in each case study, it had to be balanced with comparability across sites.

Results: Governing migrants through place management

The results of the research demonstrate that migrants are shaping the identity of places, through a process of co-creation with municipal officials. This can be seen first, through existing place branding that recognizes the ways in which migrants are shaping communities, and second, through interviews with municipal officials, who frequently discussed the way migrants were shaping their municipality. Finally, it was expressed by migrants themselves, who are aware of not only the contribution of their presence to a place, but also the role they play in defining the place to their communities of origin.

While there was consensus that migration is an important influence on the community, opinions varied about the nature of this influence. There was a wide spectrum from those who articulated migrants as shaping the community in a negative way, associated with crime and informality, to those who embraced diversity and associated migration with opportunities of growth. This discussion will be structured according to the three primary ways Braun, et al (2013) explains resident influence in the place making process. By applying this lens to migrants, this will contribute to a growing discussion on how place making is shaped, strengthened, or disrupted by diverse categories of residents.

Migrants within communities

Responses from officials within municipalities nearly universally acknowledged that migrants play an important role in the experience of place, even in communities where rates of migration were relatively small, by national averages, or were relatively local, for example within the same province. Officials expressed mixed views of both the process of migration, and of migrants themselves, and these views are reflected in the way they manage the

community. However, given the strategic role migrants play in both understanding and experiencing a place, this is missing an opportunity for managers to better understand the place they govern.

This can be seen in the municipal IDPs. One municipality placed migrants in the centre of social ills the community was facing, saying the municipal area is “characterized by high unemployment rate, poverty, unregulated influx in particular that of the Somali, Ethiopian and other foreign nationals (Bushbuckridge Municipality, 2015).” Other municipalities are more balanced in their framing of migration, with another IDP saying “High levels of migration, which have created both challenges and opportunities for the City, also have a direct effect on issues of social inclusion, as do challenges faced by xenophobia (City of Johannesburg, 2013).” These conflicting feelings on the impact migrants have on the experience of a place came through interviews with municipal officials as well.

Some municipal officials aimed to promote homogenous identities of their communities, and grappled with how to fit migrants into these narratives. For example, one official highlighted that “This town is for us, the Pedi, and the Boere. Nobody else has a claim.”² Another respondent saw advantages in diversity, saying, “The Nigerians are problems, because they are coming to sell drugs. But not all migration is bad. We used to be a rural community, and now we’re on the global map. People from South Korea, Slovakia, and the UK can say they know this place, and they are leaving things behind. Now, if we get visitors, maybe they’ll find a sushi restaurant. They’ll feel at home here.”

Some officials only linked migration to economic development, while reinforcing a narrative of homogeneity. In one municipality, remittances from

² Due to concerns about respondent security, all quotations are anonymous, and certain municipalities have not been named.

mining contributed to the economy, and most migrants arriving from a neighboring country still shared ethnolinguistic ties with the community. This led to one official questioned when the concept of migration was relevant, and what it meant for place making, saying, “Our children go work in Gauteng, but when they come home, are they migrants? Our brothers come from Mozambique, but they are like us. Do we call them migrants? We have some migrants, the Pakistani shopkeepers, but they are few, if someone visits, you might not notice them.”

Recognizing that municipal management experiences are diverse, certain trends emerged. Newly arrived migrants often congregate in certain geographic areas (Cheong et al, 2007; Landau et al, 2011). This could be for economic reasons (for example, informal settlements, due to low cost of housing, and informality of tenure arrangements that do not require ID documents), or entrenched social networks (Lin, 2014; Thompson, 2016). This may be bolstered by local spatial planning. For example, new migrant settlements often spring up in places with better access to work opportunities (Tomlinson, 2017). The specific characteristics of migrant arrival areas varies dramatically by locality, but may face poor service provision, due to the inability of municipalities to plan proactively around demographic changes (Nel, 2016). This can make migrant spaces outside the boundaries of structures of political engagement, such as ward counselors, discouraging the official structures of municipal management from wielding influence over these migrant spaces, creating a cycle of politically led, but bureaucratically enforced marginalisation (Landau et al, 2011; Vigneswaran and Quark, 2015).

Migrants as Ambassadors

Literature on place making has reinforced the idea that residents, particularly those who have positive experiences in a place, communicate this as ambassadors (Taecharungroj, 2016). Migrants have a unique role as ambassadors of a place, because of the geographic diversity of their network,

and the legitimacy of their lived experiences in both places. Their experiences of a place not only carry legitimacy since they can compare the new community to their place of origin, but their messages are also likely to travel (Phillips and Robinson, 2015).

Migrants in this study were aware of this role, and understood their responsibility as ambassadors. Particularly migrants who came looking for work viewed an important part of their role as understanding the local community and communicating opportunities to their communities of origin. “I’m the first one here from Gambia. I came to see how the place is and if there is work, and if I see that it’s a good place, more people will come. But from what I see now, I’ll tell people to go somewhere else. It’s true that there are jobs, but people don’t want to give them to migrants. The large companies are so xenophobic, if you don’t pay a local politician you can’t get a job. It would be hard to build your life here.”

One young migrant discussed the pressure of being an ambassador, saying, “Everyone thinks in Gauteng, there are jobs. You can come here to be rich. And on one hand, it’s true, but I always tell people at home it is not that easy. Maybe you can find a job, but it is not that easy, and life is expensive.” Another migrant highlighted similar sentiments, but in a different context. “People from Zim are scared to come to South Africa, because they hear so much about the crime, and the xenophobia. And I have to tell them it’s true. I can’t tell you how many cell phones I’ve had stolen, so it’s not a lie. But at the same time, I need to explain to them how you find a way to live anyway, and that there are things about the place that are nice.”

Most migrants admitted to communicating mixed feelings about their new places of residence. Acknowledging the economic opportunity, access to services, or greater safety their new locale provides, many migrants miss family, a cultural community, or other elements of their place of origin. The process of

place making is often explicitly acknowledged in these mixed feelings. As one businessman said, “I come here to work, and if that’s what you want, it is fine. You can make a living here. But it is not a place that is interested in changing. So I would say, come and work here if you are willing to fit in. Don’t expect to be welcomed if you are different.” He emphasized the permanence of the place brand. Another migrant to a different municipality also highlighted the place brand. “This is a mining town. People come from everywhere to work underground. It is like the Wild West. It’s not a life for everyone, but it is not a bad place.” Other migrants also saw their role as ambassadors of norms and experiences from their communities of origin. One Zimbabwean migrant was particularly concerned with South Africa’s violence and criminality, saying, “In this community you can kill someone for a cell phone. I wish I could make people realize that this is not normal.”

While all residents of a community may play the role of ambassadors through their communications with visitors, or to residents of other places when they travel, migrants play a particularly important role in this regard. This is due to both their existing social networks in other places, but also the legitimacy their message will have, due to their cultural fluency in different places (Kesten, et al, 2011). For this reason, it is important for place managers to consider the specific role migrants play as ambassadors, and consider both acknowledge this unique capacity migrants bring to the community, and planning around this.

Migrants as Civic Agents Defining Places

The way migrants engage with municipal officials in decision making processes is particularly important for understanding how they exercise their role as civic agents. First of all, a subset of migrants are not citizens, and therefore do not vote, removing one of the key tools for civic action. However, they are still affected by municipal policies and politics, and may still engage in a range of civic activities. This demonstrates that migrants engage differently from other residents in democratic processes. Secondly, migrants have different incentives

for participating in local political decision-making. Migrants are more likely to have multilocal lives, and thus only want to access a subset of services within one location (Blaser and Landau, 2016).

Literature on spatial planning and management has long recognized the challenges of participatory planning. Participation requires support, and can be difficult to facilitate, since final decision making still rests in the hands of authorities (Eshkol and Eshkol, 2017). The literature on migration has an active debate on the varying ways in which migrants participate in local governance processes. Some scholars underscore the necessity of participation to legitimize governance (Williams, 2006). Others, however, highlight that participatory processes often fall back on silent habits of exclusion (Cooke and Kathari, 2001). Scholars of local governance in South Africa have long recognized the way local power dynamics impact participation. However, considering the mobility of a population adds a new dimension to understanding participation (Miraftab, 2005; Haily, et al, 2001).

This research surfaced some structural ways that managers influence migrant participation. One way is through the recognized need to promote equality through service delivery to historically excluded communities. While this is a laudable goal, it also directs municipal managers towards a specific community which is often experiencing high levels of out migration. If migration were acknowledged as a legitimate and important tool through which historically excluded communities could achieve equity, there would be a change in practice around both service provision and processes of participation. For example, municipal efforts to promote participation universally entailed conducting outreach meetings in a local language. While this allowed a wide swathe of the population to participate with a level of engagement that would not have been possible in English, it also excluded migrants who did not share an ethnolinguistic heritage with the community. One recent migrant to a peri urban area picked up on this immediately. “It’s good that they’re trying, but

now I can tell when they say participation, they are talking about the people in the villages. It is not for me.”

Depending on the temporal components of planning processes or political dynamics, migrants may feel traditional channels do not meet their needs (Eshkol and Eshkol, 2017; Polletta, 2014). Migrants often have uncertain time horizons in a community, which discourages participation in long-term initiatives. As one respondent explained it, “I’m here to work, and in a year, maybe two, when I get money, I’ll go back to my family. They’re talking about building clinics, building schools. I know it will take five years to happen. Why do I need to have a voice there?”

Migrants may be likely to require certain services from the municipality, such as obtaining proof of residence from traditional leaders in order to access things like banking, and new service hookups. These municipal processes are not the most common target of participation processes. One traditional leader discussed the different roles municipalities and traditional authorities play in the place management process. “We are a rural area, and there are no jobs here, so you could say migrants don’t come here. But actually, you can see they come to us, because we can give them something the municipality can’t. Whenever you go somewhere, the first thing you need, to do anything, is a proof of residence. Before your child can go to school, before you can go to the clinic, you need something to say you live here. If you come here and don’t have money, the municipality will ask, where is your lease? If you are staying in a shack, you don’t have a lease. But here, we understand things better. We know, when people are trying to improve their lives, that they need someone to say, come, you are part of this community. We can do that.”

Some services are migrant-specific, while others are less relevant to migrants. For example, each municipality studied had a programme around burying indigent residents who have died. In one municipality, this programme was not

being implemented effectively, leading to protest action. Migrants cited this as civic action that was not relevant to them, because they did not plan to be buried in their destination community, and would not benefit from engaging with the municipality around this. For municipal officials to be able to respond to the needs of current residents and to plan for the needs of residents years into the future, it is critical that these dynamics be understood at a local level.

The political nature of decision making can discourage migrants from taking part in the processes that do exist, since losing political capital is often part of the migrant experience. Some municipal management decisions take place within political party structures. In four of the five research sites, these structures were closed to certain segments of the community, and actively deterred newcomers. This was not necessarily overt discrimination against migrants, but still made it difficult for migrants to influence decisions. Eshkol and Eshkol (2017), similarly noted that participatory processes are “not seen as binding by either the planners or decision makers...leading to disappointment and cynicism.” Several respondents, both municipal officials and migrants, reiterated this point. One local economic development planner admitted, “we have multiple priorities, and sometimes they conflict. Sometimes we have a participatory process, and we hear one thing. But national tells us something else, and if we don’t do that, we know next year there won’t be money. What should we then say is in the best interests of the community?”

While this research has developed hypotheses, there is a need for further investigation by scholars at the nexus of mobility and management to see which practices can facilitate migrant responsive place management. Some scholars have mentioned that participatory processes may provide opportunities to build social cohesion and strengthen civil society, beyond any technical contribution to planning outcomes (Netto, 2011; Innes and Booher, 2004). Looking at migration as an opportunity is an important first step to shifting discourse. Recognizing migration as a contextual factor that may

provide opportunities for efficiencies in service delivery, economic development, or social cohesion could provide an opportunity for municipal officials to engage collaboratively with migrants, and in turn reshape the process of place making.

Recommendations and Conclusion

This article has explored how migrants and municipal officials in five South African municipalities co-define these municipalities as places. Next, it has looked at how migrant experiences of places, and political participation within them, is unique. Finally, it looked at the migrant role in place making processes, where migrants sit at an important nexus of different geographies and communities. By bringing together debates in the field of migration and place management, this paper has uncovered the potential for place management to build social cohesion and inclusion, and for mobility to strengthen processes of participatory planning. The findings of this research have created a compelling case for municipal officials to engage actively with the migration dynamics and migrant communities in their municipalities for more effective planning, policy development, and service delivery.

The recent introduction of SPLUMA has localized many critical place management functions. While this creates opportunities to clarify a number of functions that were previously concurrent and poorly understood, there are significant capacity gaps at the municipal level that have implications for the planning efficacy of municipalities (Nel, 2016; Nene, 2016). This has further implications for migrants, who may not have the political recognition or temporal incentives to engage with municipal planning processes. While SPLUMA is a step in the right direction, certain protections should be offered to migrants to ensure there is not localized discrimination, and additional research and communication should be carried out at both national and local levels of government to ensure sufficient information and capacity is accessible at a local level to understand the interface between migrants and SPLUMA. As municipal

capacity is being built in the place management arena, ensuring migrants and migration are included is critical to effective place management.

The role of migrants in communities is perhaps the most contested in the place making process. Municipal officials, and even migrants themselves are torn about the value of migrants in the community. While diversity is often recognized as a strength, it is one that is balanced carefully with negative stereotypes of many migrant communities (Landau, 2014). Serious attention in the policy making sphere to issues of social cohesion and how municipalities can respond to local diversity is important to resolve this tension (Caponio and Bokert, 2010). Additionally, more scholarship and resources available to municipal authorities on the implications of migration is critical to facilitate effective decision-making.

Migrants immediately acknowledged their role as ambassadors in the place making process, but for municipal officials, whether this function was given recognition depended both on whether migration was seen as an asset or a threat to the community, and whether the role of ambassadors is considered important for local development. For example, municipalities where tourism formed an important stream of local development were more aware of the ambassador function of migrants. Municipal officials should consider supporting and developing programmes, like city twinning, that give a platform and visibility to this ambassador role.

Finally, the role of migrants as civic agents is varied. Migrants engage with municipalities in different ways for different reasons, and the political participation of migrants is dependent on local social and political dynamics (Miraftab and Wills, 2005; Phillips and Robinson, 2015). This is an area where national political leaders and municipal officials both play a critical role in demonstrating that migrant priority issues can be taken on board, and that space for meaningful participation is possible. At the same time, this must be

incentivized through provincial and national political party dynamics, where democratic, participatory, and accountable engagement should be encouraged at a municipal level (Mattes, 2002).

The diversity of experiences illustrated above can best be navigated with more information available to municipalities on migration dynamics and their implications for planning and development. Scholars of migration as well as institutions such as STATSSA should proactively disseminate information to municipalities about migration dynamics at a local level, and the implications these may have for planning and shaping communities. At the same time, policy makers should take on board the critical role migration plays in spatial planning, and should provide explicit guidance to municipalities on how to be migrant responsive.

This article has looked at some of the ways through which migrants and municipal officials contest and co-create places. It begins by exploring the policy context of migration and place management in South Africa, and then looks at the way these policies are experienced and implemented by both emigrants and municipal officials. In doing this, the article takes the three ways Braun, et al. delineate as the way residents influence the place making process; specifically, residents as and integrated part of a place brand, residents as ambassadors, and residents as citizens. The research has found that migrants have a unique role in all three categories of place making discussed above. Furthermore, it has found that the current policy and practice do not go far enough to reconcile the unique role migrants place in place making, and the practice of municipal officials in engaging them. Bringing migration to the center of spatial planning will not only serve the interest of migrant communities, but will also be an important step towards strengthening municipal effectiveness.

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8. Local Politics of Xenophobia

This article focusses on xenophobia; a specific form of violent exclusion of migrants, to try and understand the role of local government in community formation. This is central to the thesis because it answers questions around the social practices that emerge from local governments community formation practices. The research found that bureaucratic processes of exclusion in South Africa are actively fueling xenophobic violence, in keeping with broader patterns around the politicisation of identity for exclusion within South Africa's local government sphere.

Finally, the article points out that literature on state capacity and daily practice is largely divorced from analyses of the political dynamics that underly them. These are an important explanatory factor that should be brought back in. By considering the society in which local government is embedded, and the broader social constructions of community and difference, state practice may be understood differently.

Abstract

Drawing on research from five peri-urban sites across South Africa on how local government is responding to mobility, this research explores how xenophobia is being produced by local governance processes and structures. Building a better understanding of the mechanisms of exclusion in local government is essential not only for planning interventions that may strengthen democracy, but to understand how the daily practices of local government can promote, or undermine democracy.

Keywords: governance, xenophobia, local governance, migration, planning

Introduction

Not only does xenophobia exist in a context of exclusionary local politics, it is a product of this violence. This article emerged from a year of fieldwork looking at local government's responses to mobility in five peri-urban areas across South Africa, and begins by describing the bureaucratic mechanisms driving exclusion. It will then explore the causes and trajectory of these processes, looking at some of the outcomes and sociopolitical structures that have been produced, ranging from a fragmentation of citizenship expressions, to a repoliticisation of identity, to increased dysfunction in planning and consultation processes. Finally, it will explore some of the implications this has for local governance and social cohesion.

South Africa is just over 20 years into democracy, and over the past two decades, ongoing efforts have been made to strengthen local government as a means of strengthening citizen participation in decision-making. The logic was that by bringing political decisions closer to the community, citizens will be empowered to engage with political processes. However, the outcome has largely been the opposite. Local government is driving fragmentation, alienation, and conflict. The state, particularly at a local level, while enabling access of some citizens to certain socio-economic rights, is at the same time denying people political agency (Landau, 2011).

Following the wave of xenophobic violence in 2008 in South Africa, a range of studies emerged that explored the causes and consequences of such violence in communities (Crush, 2008; Misago, 2009). Not only in the media, but also in related research, the blame is often placed on unemployment, inequality, and competition for jobs and resources (Human Science Research Council, 2008). However, this study contributes to existing research challenging this assumption, and instead finding that foreigners are less the subject of discrimination from local government, but instead find themselves on the fault

lines of local political party politics (Misago, 2009; Monson, 2011). Localised bureaucratic structures have been designed in such a way that, while not often deliberately discriminatory, they are exclusionary of mobility in their nature, and they perpetuate the politicization of identity.

This study set out to explore how the daily practices of local government officials affected migrants through the delivery of social services, which would help explain the underlying process of xenophobic systems. However, what emerged is that xenophobic practices were less linked to discriminatory practices or attitudes at the level of individuals in local government, and instead part of the politics of patronage found within local government. This is entirely in keeping with Wilkinson's argument that violent ethnic mobilisations are not an outcome of polarised politics of identity, but rather the means through which stakeholders use identity to achieve a political outcome (Wilkinson, 2006).

In each of five sites studied, there were strong connections between local political party structures in the local elite, which use mobility as a means of accessing resources (through provincial and national structures), and as a tool of excluding competing political role players. In all 5 sites, an inductive approach was used, which included an initial site visit that resulted in a mapping of the main actors in the community, followed by the development of research tools to use for each. Key stakeholders were defined, and drawn up into an interview plan. There was then a return to the site, and over 40 interviews were conducted over the course of two months each. Participants included local government employees, councilors, political party officials, trade union and business leaders, church, NGO, residents associations and other community leaders, and regional or technical bodies as relevant. The results of this research have several limitations. Researchers faced opposition within certain parts of local government. Additionally, while the number of sites in this study is not large enough to draw wider conclusions about governance across

South Africa or beyond, the common trends across different sites do point to certain broader considerations for social cohesion, local identity formation, and localized citizen-state relationships in peri-urban areas.

Background to Local Governance and Mobility in South Africa

Local government was configured in its current form as part of the transition to democracy in the early 1990s. However, since then, it has changed in a range of ways, and relationships between residents and local government structures are informed by a much longer history. The Local Government Transition Act of 1993 established negotiating forums with local authorities, to pave the way for the first local government elections in 1996. Since then, however, the dynamic policy terrain on which local government works has been far from stable. For example, in 2007, an Act was passed regulating the fiscal powers of municipalities. A municipal demarcation board was established in 1998 to redraw municipal boundaries in advance of the 2000 elections. Of the five cases studied, not a single municipality's boundary has remained the same since 2000. This is just to highlight the fact that while democratization involved a huge shift in South Africa's public administration, things have not been standing still since then. This is one contributing factor to the difficulties municipalities have faced taking root locally, but it is far from the only one.

Local government was coming into a space where there was very low trust in local political institutions. Local authorities who worked with the apartheid regime often received technical skills and education, but lost legitimacy, while local authorities that opposed the apartheid regime were more grounded in the politically active people in the communities they serve, but this often came at the expense of experience in government bureaucracy. These divisions did not immediately disappear with the transition to democracy, and while the dynamics changed when the African National Congress (ANC) was overwhelmingly voted into power, it is perhaps at the level of local government that these historic dynamics become more apparent (Glasier, 1998). "Elements

of consociational government, having been denied nationally, were ensured at local level, meaning that significant decisions could not be taken without the consensus of minority residents. Although this was later overturned, as Robinson has observed, local government became the site on which existing privilege was most robustly defended” (Beall, 2001).”

Locally, the transition to democracy did not necessarily change relationships between neighbors. Competition for jobs, political support from local businessmen, and other less tangible forms of support or patronage have remained largely the same, even if the structures at the top have changed (Beall, 2001). As a result, the legitimacy of local government is always tenuous, which produces a culture of impunity, corruption, and violence. Because of tightly enmeshed allegiances between local political, business, traditional and other leaders, it has been very difficult to engender a culture of democratic opposition.

This is far from disconnected from the dynamics of migration locally. Migration was long used as a tool for economic and social control. From the way mining hostels deliberately promoted the politicization of identity to forced removals, mobility has played a critical role shaping South African society. Geographic spaces in South Africa are strongly interconnected, but have different cultures and politics. Former homelands have high dependence ratios, high rates of out migration, but often more established, comparably more stable and sometimes homogenous communities with greater social cohesion. Townships are on the periphery of urban areas, and tend to be both more recently established, and also more cosmopolitan. Populations are more linguistically mixed, more educated, and while unemployment is still rife, employment opportunities for people living in townships far outstrip those in former homelands. These spaces are often combined with traditional urban areas or town in newly drawn wards during the demarcation process in 1999. However, the different elements of a ward often have little in common historically, geographically, or socially. This

process reduced the number of municipalities from 843 to 284, and was widely seen to threaten traditionally held areas of authority (Goodenough, 2002).

All peri-urban are politically significant, even though they may be economically peripheral, because support from local structures of the ANC is essential for provincial and national political interests. The ANC is the political party that has held a significant majority since democracy, and people in positions of power within the party and within national government usually require support from local party structures in peri-urban areas to legitimize their position. 'If you have a senior job in the provincial government, but are a junior in the party, you are weak. If you are senior in the party, you may be a clerk, but the world is yours (Anonymous, 08/11/2013).'

This generates a culture of patronage, and ties in directly to localized experiences of xenophobia that will be explored later in the article.

You need to be on everyone's good side. It's not that you don't want to criticize when you see something wrong. It's that you don't have that confidence, if you criticize, to believe others will see the good in what you are doing. If you criticize, someone important may get angry, and you will lose your job. Not only will you lose your job, you will lose the support and protection you had in the community. This might be your wife's small business, or the health care your brother was getting. No one is confident enough in their legitimacy to take stands. People need local support, and you get that by being on everyone's good side. (Anonymous, 08/11/2013)

Theoretical Background

There is little question that the capacity of local government to plan and respond according to demographic shifts is going to be a key factor in the delivery of public services in coming years. Urbanisation has reshaped Africa's

demography over the past 20 years, and continues to shape secondary cities, though it remains an understudied phenomenon. Similarly, promoting social cohesion will be a central challenge. Building on previous research in the African Centre for Migration and Society (Landau et al., 2011), looking at urbanization, migration, and the distribution of power within African cities, this study chose a focus on peri-urban areas, because they are often at the limits of state control. They are also hubs of local migration, often places of flux for individuals and families between urban economic centres, and rural roots of extended families. This places them at the forefront of the way migrants relate to the state, where identities, belonging, and norms around rights and entitlement are shifting.

South Africa is now 20 years into democracy, and promoting social cohesion and equity remains a huge challenge to government. Protests feature heavily in the political landscape, and range in focus from labour disputes to service delivery, xenophobia to political disenfranchisement. The currency these protests have gained over the last decade demonstrate that participation and political voice are being expressed through contestation around access to services and migration. Both have become important points of mobilization for South African citizens; a symbolic territory for expressing an alienation from democracy – and simultaneously, a space of contestation around rights. These forms of mobilisation have ranged from overt violence, to Bourdieu's (1989) 'gentle, invisible forms of violence....the violence of credit, confidence, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, gratitude, piety.'

In addition to the literature on state formation, this study engages with the literature on ethnic identity and constructivism. Hale (2004) claims that, 'Ethnicity, then, serves to structure such action by providing people with social radar that they use to efficiently identify or impose social possibilities and potential constraints in a world of immense uncertainty and complexity.' Rejecting both strictly rationalist and strictly constructivist approaches, Hale

looks instead at ‘why and how people tend to think and act in terms of macro-level identity categories in the first place.’ This provides a link to the anthropology of local governance. As the case studies demonstrated, both the reasons people call on certain identity categories, and the resultant actions have direct bearings on the process of state formation at a local level.

Case Studies and Key Findings

Five case studies were chosen for this study; all were peri-urban, and were chosen according to the importance of mobility in their local political landscape. They ranged in location from Gauteng, to the borders of Zimbabwe and Botswana in Limpopo and Mpumalanga. The sites include: Lephalale, Bushbuckridge, Hammaanskraal, Mamelodi, and Temba.

Lephalale, a district in Limpopo with about 20,000 inhabitants, is a relatively new settlement, with the main town of Ellisras having been established only in 1960. Ellisras is a small town, and is skirted by a township; both mainly serve the local coal mine. There are villages in the periphery, which historically served as labour reserves to the farming land that dominates the area. While its economy had always been based largely on mining, the discovery that it sits on one of the world’s biggest coal reserves led to the construction of Medupi, one of the world’s largest coal-fired power stations. Over the past decade, people have flooded to Lephalale in search of work, and the social landscape of the formerly sleepy mining town changed dramatically. In addition to the labour migration, there had been an influx of contractors, skilled foreign workers, and others hoping to take advantage of the booming economy. Rapid growth, with both its positive and negative elements, was visible everywhere. As the economy grew, so did the level of political contestation, with violence becoming a common feature in meetings of the democratically elected local council, or ANC. While there had been incidents of xenophobic violence, the locality was heavily governed by fear and intimidation.

Bushbuckridge is a municipality whose land is under tribal authority; this is important because unlike other areas studied, in Bushbuckridge, there is an historic and direct conflict between municipal authority and tribal authority that existed well before democracy. The area was formerly under Lebowa and Gazankulu administration, and these divisions, which were built around politicizing identity, remain relevant to understanding the current local government landscape. While Bushbuckridge is currently part of Mpumalanga, it falls on the border with Limpopo, and was part of a redistricting that was only finalized in 2006. This demarcation only took place after a protracted period of often violence protests. It is a labour sending area, with a substantial portion of the population working on mines in the Northwest province. This leaves the municipality with few streams of revenue generation, as there is a very high dependency ratio in the community. One of the results of Bushbuckridge falling under traditional leadership is that residents living in areas classified as villages do not usually pay rates or taxes. The same level of services are also not provided, such as trash collection, and owners are only given a right to occupy land, as opposed to title deeds for full ownership. Commercial farms in the nearby area, which are liable to pay significant taxes, are zoned into different municipalities. Due to allegations of mismanagement, the municipality was placed under provincial administration at the time of fieldwork, which essentially places all functions of both the municipal manager and the mayor in the hands of provincial authorities.

Mamelodi, Hammanskraal, and Temba are all peri-urban areas within the Tshwane Municipality. All are heavily economically linked to Pretoria and Johannesburg. The populations of all three areas are diverse, with Hammanskraal and Temba falling along the former border between KwaNdebele, Bophuthatswanaland and Lebowa, and all near the current border between Gauteng, the Northwest province, Limpopo, and Mpumalanga. While they share many demographic characteristics, localized party politics as well as expressions of xenophobia and community-led protests are significantly

different, making them illustrative cases of how citizen-state relations are shaped to include or exclude on the basis of identity.

The administration of the state and roots of alienation

To have a better sense of both the mechanisms and expressions of xenophobic exclusion and violence, it is important to contextualize local government's connection to citizens. Since the onset of democracy, the government has made many concerted efforts to strengthen downward accountability and citizen participation at a local level. Coordinated administrative efforts were supposed to strengthen democratic structures by linking people more closely to their service providers (Wunsch, 1998). However, local government entered the political scene with low levels of trust and embeddedness in the community. Local political structures were already fragmented, with loyalties spread, sometimes competing, sometimes overlapping between tribal authorities, the apartheid regime, and the liberation struggle. While realignment occurred as part of the process of political transformation, a local government has never emerged that has had a widely agreed upon function and legitimacy. Not only do local government structures behave in very different ways across geography, department, and demography, but citizens have not reached a shared agreement on expectations and interactions (Lalloo, 1998). As a result, norms are both fragile and highly localized.

Understanding some of the drivers of legitimacy and capacity within local government institutions will also help uncover some of the ways it responds inclusively or divisively to residents. One example that helps explain how local planning is informed is the case of redistricting, which affected every single site of study over the course of the last two decades. In only 20 years, not a single municipality studied was serving the same geographic community delineated in 1994. Add to this a highly mobile population, and it is no wonder that systems of citizen accountability have not matured, and local government control is

vulnerable to political contestation and capture. As one political leader in Bushbuckridge explained,

People from Bushbuckridge didn't have political influence during the time we fell under Limpopo. There was no representative in the provincial government. There are changes since Bushbuckridge moved to Mpumalanga. But the politicians are the bigger beneficiaries. There are now more representatives in provincial structures from Bushbuckridge, including the MEC for Agriculture (Anonymous, 07/21/213).³

While local government was established with a great deal of initial hope and optimism in the potential for a democratic transition, the routes local government has had available to connect with communities have been through the very same fragmented local channels of power, that rely heavily on patronage and silence. It is then understandable that these structures have been unable to function in robust and democratic ways, that there is strong intertwining between political and economic decision-making, and that there are low levels of trust with citizens and multiple forms of exclusion, and violent and oppressive responses to dissent.

Recent research points to this mistrust being justified (Pithouse, 2016; Landau, 2011). These findings hint that the state has been largely unable to transform colonial patterns of subjugation. The extent to which local government is able to relate to residents as rights bearing citizens remains limited. As Pithouse (2016) describes, "most oppressed people in the city are denied the right to assert themselves as political actors, as rational actors, on a shared stage, we

³ In all sites, the findings were politically sensitive in nature. Therefore, interviewees will only be identified by date. A full list of interviews are available upon contacting the author.

are in the presence of attempts to silence the present. Attempts to silence the present are, among other things, attempts to make a very strong claim about who is in charge...Protagonists in this drama were not just the state, capital, patriarchy or white supremacy, but most certainly included local political elites, operating in a matrix shaped by all these forces, along with others. It is clear that their arsenal includes forms of authority and power that, while in part authorised and legitimated via liberal democratic arrangements, also operate outside the law.”

As mentioned above, there is an increasing body of research pointing to the inherently political nature of the daily administration of the state. Furthermore, the way identity is articulated and used to build communities of power, access resources, or criticize actions by the state is playing an important role in shaping the relationship between residents and the state. For the purposes of this study, the day to day operations of municipalities have implications for social cohesion, intergroup violence, the localized formation of identity, and the relationship between citizens and the state, which is central for understanding the nexus between identity and democratic processes.

While the nature of mobility and socio-economic municipal profiles of each of the study sites were varied, there were certain characteristics they all shared. Across all locations, these included:

- low levels of trust between citizens and the state.
- political parties playing both a divisive role in communities, and gatekeeping roles towards government resources.
- patronage politics and violence remaining an important tool of political and social control.
- a lack of shared expectations among local government leaders, community members, and traditional authorities about the roles and responsibilities of different parts of local government.
- some level of xenophobic violence directly linked to party politics.

Some residents in peri-urban areas were proactive in articulating gaps in their democratic relationship with local government. In most cases, people linked this to the multiple nodes of power and accountability at the local level. However, identity issues were also raised. What emerged most clearly is that there is no commonly held vision of who the municipality is, who they serve, and what their responsibilities are. Local government was conflated, or put into conflict, in various ways in different places, with the ANC, the private sector, traditional leaders, and other local authorities. Several respondents reflect on the role and identity of the municipality in their community.

The municipality is closer to big business like Eskom and Exxaro than the community. What we are saying is that, as local employees and local businesses together with the multinationals and the big nationals, we are the players, and the municipality should be the referee....the municipality is not doing that (Anonymous, 29/05/2013).

This demonstrates both the interlinkages between political and economic power, and also the confusion across the board among local role players about the role of the municipality. Another respondent also highlights this lack of clarity between powers of the municipality, and traditional leadership.

There is a very big challenge with regards to the relationship between the municipality and traditional leaders. The fact is that they own the land. When the municipality wants to formalize a village, there is always that scuffle. That competition and disagreements on what can be done by whom, and what is within the powers of the other party (Anonymous, 23/06/2013).

A further respondent underscores the same issue, but highlights the blurred lines between political power in the municipality, and political party structures

by saying, ‘do you mean the municipality? Or do you mean the ANC? Because I think you know the difference. But I’m sure they do not.’ (Anonymous, 26/06/2013).’

A final respondent speaks not only to a lack of clarity about the identity of the municipality, but points to the kinds of behavior this produces on the part of elected representatives. It highlights exactly how this lack of clarity and lack of legitimacy affects the behavior of local politicians. ‘They (municipal councilors) keep themselves busy when the community wants to discuss what is happening. Or if they do avail themselves, they will give answers such as ‘I don’t know what the municipality is waiting for’. Who is the municipality (Anonymous, 24/07/2013)?’

One clear dynamic that arose in every single site studied was the rapidly evolving and central role of the ANC in shaping local government politics. While membership in the ANC was clearly a kind of currency for access to political and economic resources (from jobs to tenders from the municipality to access to provincial and national leadership), it was not in itself sufficient to signal ‘in group’ connections, whether due to factionalism within the ANC itself, additional gate keeping mechanisms put in place by local party branches, or links to national or provincial party structures. As one respondent said, ‘You want a job? Forget studying. Forget applying. Join the youth league. The day you sign up, you will have job offers. If it’s in government, it’s because everyone thinks you’ll support them. If it’s in business, it’s because they think you can get them tenders (Anonymous, 25/03/2012).’

This research further found that, as local government failed to provide services and play other roles that would legitimize it in the community, people have been responding by legitimizing more diverse bases of power, including (depending on the site) traditional leaders, private service providers, businesses, and other non-state centres of power. However, these actors can

also get pulled into a relationship or co-option or competition. Several respondents pointed to the fact that local authority is a highly dynamic and contested space.

We know local government won't do most things for us. You can go to their office, and they will send you from pillar to post. You can spend years chasing after anyone, but nobody will take responsibility. At least if you go straight to Eskom, you might not get what you want, but people will be straight with you. This is the person who decides. You talk to them, and you get a yes, or no (Anonymous, 23/08/2012).

While on the surface, poor service delivery within municipalities, or evasive responses by officials might seem to be a de-politicised, public administration challenge, possibly linked to capacity or skills development. However, it will become clear in the following sections that it is deeply linked to the generation of local identity, as well as both violent and non-violent expressions of xenophobia. This fits well with the school of rational choice theorists who claim that identity and expression are intertwined, not only in the decision making processes of local government officials, but in how residents then use their own identity to engage in the local political sphere (Calvert, 2002).

South Africa has a long history of institutionalizing identity in politics, in a way that is changing with the way democracy has evolved. This is in part because new local government structures have needed to take root through political parties, community groups, and other existing sources of local power that had been developed through the politicization of identity. However, this has historically been, and remains, a highly contested process. South African citizens are challenging the authority of the state to exclude, sometimes by manufacturing exclusion that is at odds with the state's progressive policies of asylum (Landau and Monson, 2008), but at other times contesting this expression of state power through participation, inclusion, and solidarity

(Pithouse, 2009). This is an issue of renewed importance to scholars, some of whom have suggested that identity is being politicized in new ways (Neocosmos, 2010).

Understanding these changing relationships is critical for understanding the new interactions between citizens and the state in South Africa. As Pithouse (2016) summarises, “It is also clear that this is not an aberration, nor a hangover from the past, but is in fact a constitutive feature of the present. At the same time, there is also an exercise of power from below that, in certain moments and places, raises real questions – material and symbolic – about the extent to which those authorised to be in charge are in fact fully in control of the people and spaces they are attempting to govern.” This contestation is clearly lively, and some of the discussion below will outline the way in which it is manifest:

Jobs are an important currency for municipalities, particularly in peri-urban areas where unemployment rates are high. Several respondents noted that access to jobs is tied to politics of identity. ‘To get a job, it’s about who you know. Nobody will argue with that. But when will we start calling a spade a spade? It’s tribalism (Anonymous, 17/07/2013).’

Another respondent pointed to the complex nature of defining in- and out-group members in peri-urban spaces. At one site, foreign migrants speaking Shangaan were seen as local, while migrants from Gauteng were outsiders. Similarly counter intuitive dynamics existed in several sites, pointing to the complexity of any blanket conclusions around where access, power, and discrimination may lie. ‘Xenophobia? We don’t have that here. Foreign migrants aren’t a problem; they’re mostly Shangaan anyway. But people from the Gauteng, like me? Everyone asks me what I’m doing here (Anonymous, 21/07/2013).’

It is evident that the democratic transition in South Africa has meant a series of rapid changes in the role of the state, the ANC and the relationship between the state and citizens. While there may be an initial anticipation that the onset of democracy would engage a disenfranchised citizenry, the reality has been much more complex. One product of this has been the emergence of ethnic discourses in the political sphere, and the role of identity in legitimizing access to power.

Local powers and the creation of identity

Municipalities have a role to play in social cohesion, but the precise nature of their responsibilities is unclear. Specific pieces of legislation link infrastructure development and service delivery to social cohesion, and the role of municipal and provincial government is deliberately linked to nation building.⁴ However, the responsibility for social cohesion sits somewhere between the Presidency and the social cluster, which is a group of government departments brought together to integrate their work around government wide objectives (many of which are most active at the local level).

As both a product and reflection of this complicated location within the public administration, it is not clear how municipalities should act to promote social cohesion. Given that local political institutions have historically played a strong role in manufacturing difference, deliberate efforts would be needed to shift practice. An excerpt from the IDP of one of the sites studied is a beautiful illustration of the contradiction in local government, between an explicit mandate to create unity, contrasting with practices of manufacturing difference.

⁴ <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/docs/pcsa/social/social/part9.pdf> and What Holds Us Together: Social Cohesion in South Africa (HSRC Press, 2003)

‘It is characterized by high unemployment rate, poverty, unregulated influx in particular that of the Somali, Ethiopian and other foreign nationals. The Municipality has in the past been able to address the issue of social cohesion in ensuring that the setup of placing people along tribal belonging not exist (sic). (Municipality, 2012)’ While an increase in the politicization of identity has been more widely acknowledged by South African scholars in recent years, the role of both mobility and the state in shaping these dynamics remain largely overlooked (Neocosmos, 2010, Crush, 2008).

There is no question that local government is currently in crisis; only 5 municipalities in the entire country received a clean audit in 2012. Protests about local governance and service delivery issues have erupted in every province in the country, and they are a direct reflection of the crisis of legitimacy held by local government authorities (Alexander, 2010). Far from being about services themselves, these protests demonstrate the lack of voice, or the ineffectiveness of current channels of participation in local government (Pithouse, 2009). This tenuous hold local government representatives have on power further undermines their incentives to act democratically, and instead pushes them to become further entrenched in systems of patronage. While many government employees are genuinely dedicated public servants, they are contending with systemic issues that make it difficult to work effectively. These systemic issues link strongly to the way a localized identity is formulated. The result has implications for how citizen and state relationships can be used to either build or break down social cohesion at the local level.

The importance of labour migration specifically, and its impact on governance was raised in both sending and receiving communities. It is integrally linked to local government’s planning challenges, but also to certain assumptions about what an idealized citizenry needs in a space. These expectations are still very spatially grounded, while the reality of residents are not. Some respondents pointed to the conundrum mobility created for local government, to have even

the definition of 'resident' confused. Some people worked in one area, where they are assumed to pay rates or otherwise contribute to the local economy, while their families were in another area. Others arrived as job seekers, but only intended to remain in the area if they found employment. In one family, the province of employment, house construction, children's school enrollment, and social grant collection were all different. Many people were investing resources in communities in which they did not live, making them more likely to want to influence local politics in absentia. This differentiated use of space and government services makes it difficult for municipalities to plan.

While the nature of population dynamics at each site means the scenario in local government varies, there are common themes around the difficulty of planning and budgeting, challenges to social cohesion, data availability and quality, and accountability and expectations of the municipality.

For communities receiving migrants, no matter the scale, this was seen as a major challenge to municipal capacity. Overwhelmingly, receiving migrants was seen as something negative. 'A big workforce has converged in a small town. The small town cannot cope....(Anonymous, 18/06/13)' However, others also acknowledged that it was an opportunity for growth. 'I can't say the migration is bad, it's just not what we are used to. We wouldn't have the mall if the town hadn't grown. Now there are more jobs. People complain because there is also the negative aspect, but I think on balance, it is a positive. (Anonymous, 19/06/2013)'

Respondents were more balanced in their view of sending migrants, with a mix of positive and negative qualities discussed. The economic advantages of migration were clear in sending communities. 'There are beautiful houses near the tar roads, they are built on migrant remittances (Anonymous, 26/07/2013).'

However, so were the social disadvantages. 'This is where people go to die.

Anyone who can work, leaves. Imagine living in a place like this, full of people facing their graves.’ (Anonymous 19/07/2013).

Municipal employees in communities that had migration patterns entrenched over generations knew not only the economic and social impacts of migration, but had a strong sense of how mobility was impacting on local governance. Some municipal workers spoke only of the socio-economic impact of mobility. ‘Migration affects our work, because it affects families. Some children apply for grants because their father left to find work in Johannesburg, but no one has heard from him ever since (Anonymous, 18/07/2013).’

Other respondents linked mobility directly to democracy and social cohesion.

What does democracy mean in a place like this? The people who are earning the money that builds this place, don’t live here. Do they vote where they stay? Do they vote here? They might not even know the candidates. Is it better they vote for their friends? Power here has been moved to the mines (Anonymous, 21/07/2013).

Chandra points to a cyclical link between democratic processes and identity; he claims that identity *‘can be a product of the very political and economic phenomena that they are used to explain....* Welfare spending and public goods provision can create or change the ethnic identities presumed to affect patterns of welfare spending and public goods provision. And violence in its many forms can create or change the ethnic differences presumed to cause violence.’

First, while the specific situations across all 5 case studies varied tremendously, with a common thread across each place being the strong (but not similar) role the ANC played in shaping the local political landscape, and using patronage to control state resources. These systems and processes are strongly tied to identity historically, but is now returning in new forms. This is in keeping with

existing scholarship that acknowledges a close relation between ethnic diversity and patronage.

Previous research on the relationship between ethnic diversity and patronage can be divided into two schools of thought. The first school, represented by a voluminous body of work, argues that ethnic diversity impedes the distribution of public goods, pushing a political system towards patronage goods instead. (Alesina et al, others). The second school, represented by a handful of more recent work, argues that the causal relationship goes in the opposite direction: patronage-based politics can make ethnic differences more salient (Fearon 1999, Caselli and Coleman, Bates 1974, Chandra 2004). (Chandra, 2012)

In one site, shifting allegiances that came with democratization had as a consequence the dominance of the ANC, and therefore municipal resources, by one ethno-linguistic group, that was closely linked to the Bantustan government. In another, geography was used as a proxy for ethno-linguistic allegiances, with municipality officials working with the (homogenous, resident) village, at the expense of the (diverse, mobile) township. In another, there was a widely held impression that the ANC had been “captured” by migrants, because branch meetings were held in a specific language. Each of these stories reflect how tenuously local government maintains its legitimacy, and demonstrates how many other possible counter narratives of legitimate power there are at a local level.

This demonstrates that there is a tension between an expectation that citizenship is geographically rooted, and expressed as such, and that migration has long been an integral part of shaping the political landscape in South Africa. This means that there are questions about who constitute legitimate residents locally. One result is an inconsistency in the way mobility and identity are expressed in the political space. Another is the importance of identity as a

political currency, driven by an uncertainty about how citizenship is or can be expressed legitimately at a local level. This contributes to a vicious cycle of confusion about the legitimacy, role, and mandate of local government, and the patronage, weak institutions, and silence in the face of xenophobia, violence, and corruption are all products of this.

The bureaucracy of exclusion

While data contributing to this research did not primarily focus on attitudes and practices of public officials, it nevertheless emerged as a theme with important implications for identity, mobility, and political control. It is also an important contrast to xenophobic violence, which may emerge from the same crisis of citizenship, but which is expressed in very different local government spaces. Attitudes of officials in public service ranged from sympathy to apathy towards foreign migrants. However, it wasn't immediately apparent that bureaucratic blockages or indifference were very strong drivers of xenophobia. While a full analysis of the attitudes of local government service providers is beyond the scope of the paper, a sampling and some implications are below, with a need for more focused research on the subject.

While there were negative sentiments about foreign migrants expressed by service providers at the local level, they were not only an exception, but importantly delinked to actual acts of generating violence. This opens a much wider issue of 'softer' forms of discrimination, which, while certainly present, do not seem to be a driving force in xenophobic violence.

In one municipality, a local political leader suggested a linkage between social grant fraud and international migration. 'Some reside in the neighboring countries, and only come to South Africa to collect social grants and return to their countries.' A Mozambican migrant familiar with this accusation pointed to the absurdity of this claim. 'Do they know what the bus fare is to Maputo? Does the South African government think it is that generous (Anonymous,

21/07/2013)?'

There was certainly evidence of a general lack of awareness of how migration impacts on service provision, but the only overt exclusion seemed to be around having an ID book. Given the difficulty of obtaining an ID book, both for certain nationals and certainly for international migrants, this is an example of the exclusion of bureaucracy. However, the more evidence that emerged of various forms of bureaucratic exclusion, the clearer it became that the mechanisms driving overt violence against foreign nationals were in fact very different from the mechanisms driving more subtle forms of exclusion. Further examination would no doubt uncover a relationship between the varying vulnerabilities and forms of exclusion.

At a service-office level, while occasional xenophobic attitudes were expressed, the overwhelming majority of officials professed good will towards foreign migrants, but seemed to think their hands were tied due to bureaucratic requirements of an ID book.

We want to help them (foreign migrants), but we can't. We have to follow certain processes. They don't have an ID book. If someone comes without an ID book, and needs a food parcel, the first time, we give it to them, because they are hungry. We will work with home affairs. But if you find the next month, they still don't have an ID book, we can't give to them again (Anonymous, 18/07/2013).

Another respondent echoed a similar sentiment.

Migrants, it is hard for us to serve them. They have the worst time, because they have all the problems we do, with domestic violence and child neglect. But we don't have capacity to respond to them positively most of the time, and so it creates a situation where most cases are not reported. It's not good. But we don't have the facilities. I think a special office should be set up to deal with them (Anonymous, 23/06/2013).

It is a testament to a relatively professionalized bureaucracy, even at a local level, to see officials repeatedly voicing their personal opinion, whether it is of sympathy with insiders or sympathy towards migrants, but also immediately and deliberately recognizing the official policy on serving people.

In my job, I don't say anything, because everybody has rights, and all people are the same. But if you ask me, as a person, maybe I shouldn't say it, but I think, South Africans are better. You should hire them. They're our people, we should support our own. But I know that's just in my heart (Anonymous, 16/11/2013).'

While looking at the relationship between local government official's attitudes and practices would no doubt be instructive, it is unfortunately outside the scope of this study. What did emerge with the methodologies employed, however, was information about how bureaucrats' actions are changing citizenship expressions. Attitudes of people both within and about the municipality are important markers of legitimacy.

One migrant expressed frustration with a lack of available services. 'The municipality can do nothing for us. We don't bother going to them (Anonymous, 06/07/2013).'

The sentiment was echoed by a local resident, who attributed the situation to politics of identity. 'I'm sorry to say, it never used to be like this. But now, if you go in, and if you want something, you say you are Shangaan. You might get it (Anonymous, 07/06/2013).'

What these quotes demonstrate are not uniform processes or practices of discrimination, but more an anecdotal sample of the varying ways bureaucracy can discriminate against migrants. This supports the assertion that the state has a role to play in the manufacturing of difference.

Xenophobic mobilization and local politics

Both migration literature and some media reports often implicitly put forward the view that xenophobic exclusion is a result of overwhelming anti-foreigner sentiments in the general public, and that violence and systematic exclusion of foreigners has been a manifestation of that (Crush, 2008). This study has found that while xenophobic sentiments are rampant, mobilization against foreigners, in particular violent mobilization, has generally been an offshoot of competition for resources, and reflects broader trends in local group mobilization. While xenophobia attitudes are widespread, it did not follow that they were linked to violence. It has been criminality either perpetuated or condoned by local elites, rather than the general public. As one respondent said, 'I don't like the Somalis; they take our business. So I'll pay one rand more for bread somewhere else. But violence? Look, I'm not crazy. Just because I don't like something doesn't mean I can do whatever I want (Anonymous, 16/09/2012).' This points to a culture of impunity required for violence, which is linked to systems of patronage that are rapidly and newly re-politicizing ethnic identity.

In four of the five sites, foreign migrants were particularly prone to being scapegoats, since they were a 'soft target' for any political party branch looking for popular support. In the 5th site, most foreign migrants shared ethno-linguistic ties with the party in power, which meant identity was articulated in a different way. The state will need to play a proactive role in generating social cohesion to overcome the current violent and divisive tendencies. Through a stronger understanding of the relationship between citizens and the state, as well as how this relationship can contribute to the politicization of ethnicity could provide tools for shifting the violent nature of political contestation.

Again, this is suggested by Wilkinson (2006), who suggests that 'ethnic riots are best understood, not as the *outcome* of already high degrees of competition, polarization and hatred between solid ethnic groups, but rather as the *means* through which political parties and political entrepreneurs construct solid

ethnic categories, however briefly, for a clear political purpose.’ This is heavily suggested in the literature, so it is not a particularly surprising finding. What is more surprising, however, is the extent to which it was recognized by people involved in local political processes.

In one site, all foreign run spaza shops had recently been closed down, with their owners run out of town. It was common knowledge within the community who led the attacks on the shop keepers. ‘We know who attacks foreigners, and it’s not the community....They are thugs. The mayor protects them, they’re his friends. The police are part of that (Anonymous, 23/06/2013).’

While the acts of xenophobic violence were linked to local political structures, it would be simplistic to write it off as the actions of one particular faction. Rather, it is a product of the same lack of legitimacy that causes divides across local power structures. ‘Sure, last week they shut down the shops of the Zimbabweans. That’s not xenophobia. That’s the ANC at it again (Anonymous, 29/06/2013).’

The ANC was often evoked to explain local xenophobic violence. As the party dominating every municipal council, it was, in each site in different ways deeply embroiled in the often violent struggle for legitimacy.

I can tell you, there are two causes of violence in our community. One is alcohol. The other is politics. If someone was killed, first ask, was anyone drunk? If not, you can be sure it’s politics. And I say this as a member of the ANC leadership. I know what I am talking about. I’ve had bricks put through my window in the middle of the night. Xenophobia? It’s all politics (Anonymous, 25/05/2013).

Some respondents went so far as to equate xenophobic violence to the perhaps more studied and better understood service delivery protests. They seem to be produced by the same patterns of governance.

The newspapers say we don't like people from Zimbabwe, that we chase them. Really? They are our brothers. When we were fighting apartheid, they helped us. Sure, maybe some people have prejudices, you can say they are ignorant. But do they cause violence? No. Open your eyes. Each time someone has been chased, if it is not the mayor himself standing there, it is one of his men. It is lazy reporting. Like service delivery protests; it just looks like people are violent, but that's not the real story. But they don't want to look there. Knowing the truth is inconvenient (Anonymous, 29/06/2013).

Many respondents across the board were comfortable labeling xenophobic violence as 'political'. In some places, this was because the ANC or councilors in the municipality were at the nexus of conflict. In other sites, however, it seemed like there was a widespread awareness of how corrupt the local governance space was for opportunists to act criminally or violently, even if it wasn't necessarily linked to formal structures of government.

Xenophobia? No. We don't have that here. Just look, you will find some of the most successful business owners are from Mozambique. On our street, people are from Lesotho, Swaziland. Our children go to school together. What you have, are criminals. Some may be foreigners, and they give the others a bad name. Like how nobody likes Nigerians because some are selling drugs. But the real criminals, they are South Africans. They steal money, we call them successful. They are politicians (Anonymous, 19/06/2013).

In all 5 sites, foreign shopkeepers were seen as visible, soft targets for people trying to score quick political or economic gain. 'The people in the community are not against us. In fact, they like us. It's only the politicians who chase us out. Someone thinks they can get something. The police look the other way while they loot (Anonymous, 25/06/2013).'

This sentiment was echoed by many respondents, who were quick to say that xenophobia wasn't a widespread social problem. While some data disputes this, it does seem true that xenophobic public opinion is not itself sufficient to explain the levels of violence seen in South Africa.

For the people in the community, we don't have any problems. We visit our neighbors, we celebrate festivals together. I can even say South Africa is a welcoming place. But the politics! You have to be sure to keep your head down. You know every time elections are coming, you are at risk. Next time, I'm going to lock up and stay with my cousin in Johannesburg until elections blow over (Anonymous, 25/06/2013).

Others acknowledged that there were antifoigner sentiments in the community, but still insisted that some political catalyst was needed for violence to spark.

The problem isn't with the people. You read the paper, it says xenophobia, xenophobia, I want to say, there is no xenophobia in this town. Nobody cares where you are from. The problem is that they care who gets the money. We used to be renting out space from the spazas from ANC people. They agreed to give us the space, and we would pay to build. Now that we built, they keep increasing the costs, more and more. If we rent anywhere else, they drive us out of town (Anonymous, 28/05/2013).

Migrants themselves also had a nuanced view of the roots of xenophobia.

Of course, there are South Africans who don't like us. They don't know how to run a business. About buying in bulk, accounting. They'd rather chase us than learn. But that's not what gives us trouble. What gives us trouble is that the mayor wants to score cheap points. He shuts down our shops, and then tells all the youth, look, I'm doing this to create employment for you. Now you can have jobs. What can we do? There

are many unemployed youngsters, and they vote. It doesn't make sense, but it keeps them in power (Anonymous, 19/06/2013).

What has come out of the interviews is that foreign migrants are easy targets in local political battles, whether it is for control of certain revenue streams that are specifically associated with migrant groups, or electioneering. This seems to be a far stronger explanatory factor for the acts of xenophobia than any attitudes or actions among service providers. This is not to imply that there have been no scenarios in which xenophobic violence was popular, or caused by a range of other factors not linked to party politics. Rather, it is to illustrate that causes of xenophobia are highly localized, and the role of governance in generating violence has been under researched.

Conclusion

The literature on the bureaucratic forms of exclusion at the local level, and the political dynamics that underlie them are largely separate conversations. This research makes a case for bringing them together. In South Africa, a stronger understanding of both the bureaucratic processes of state exclusion at the local level, as well as the way power in the community is exercised is key for understanding the root causes of xenophobic violence. All forms of exclusion should be understood in a context of how identity is being politicised at the local level. In each case study, foreign migrants and the politics around them were a subplot in a larger story around political violence.

This study comes out in support of the idea that identity is largely used to achieve political objectives, and that an absence of strong and cohesive local identities leaves foreign migrants vulnerable to xenophobia violence. Furthermore, local government structures have not managed to overcome the use of identity as a fulcrum of exercising political power. In fact, to the contrary, changes associated with democracy have created incentives to politicize

ethnicity in new ways, which in turn threatens the building of a cohesive vision of citizenship.

Overlapping layers of local authority, combined with a lack of a cohesive vision of citizenship, have created a bureaucracy open to exploitation by people jockeying for resources and control. This has been combined with many of the individuals, systems and structures that were designed under apartheid to politicize identity for the purposes of exclusion gaining currency as the state becomes an important vehicle for political and economic security. Violent or exclusionary mobilization around 'outsiders' is one manifestation of this, but a part of the same process is a tribalisation of identities that is happening through patronage politics within the ANC. As such, xenophobic violence, police brutality, service delivery protests, and the suppression of civil society dissent, should all be discussed as part of an interconnected democratic crisis.

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9. Conclusion: Municipal Management as Migration Policy

Municipalities are becoming critical players in reconfiguring global governance (Parnell and Robinson, 2012; Scott, 2002). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have now explicitly linked the issues of inclusive and sustainable cities to other key development issues such as climate change and gender equality. While urban areas have long been seen as spaces of innovation, economic growth and creativity (Redfield and Singer, 1954), this lens has rarely been extended beyond the mega cities of the global South. Africa's secondary cities and towns are urbanizing at some of the most rapid rates in the world (Kok and Colinson, 2006; Potts, 2012). In Agenda 2030, there is a growing acknowledgement that processes of urbanization, consumption, production, and industrialization overlay social geography, and trying to understand one without the other will result in an incomplete picture. At the same time, there is an understanding in the literature that African municipalities face unique institutional challenges and political pressures, and may well behave differently from cities in other regions. This study brings the two discussions together, by looking at how South Africa's secondary cities are responding to migration.

Moving across a geographically bounded definitions of development, migration is a silent revolution, changing South Africa's post-apartheid demographic landscape almost unnoticed by policy makers. While urbanization is one form of migrating, scholars are building a stronger understanding of a wide range of migrant dynamics. Due in part to the later wave of industrialization and urbanization in Africa, much of the progress in this field has focused on the African continent (Tienda, 2006). Trends in migration research are reshaping how we understand urbanization. While cosmopolitanism and transnationalism

both have roots in urban debates, it is now becoming clear that when people move to these diverse urban areas, they do not leave behind other communities (Schiller, 2011, Nedelcu, 2012). Increasingly with the assistance of technology, people's lives are spanning geography in new ways. State bureaucracies are still catching up with these changes, and are not always equipped to respond effectively.

This is true looking at social relationships, economic relationships, and also planning across time and generations. Our understanding of the ways peoples lives, identities, and relationships span geography has changed dramatically over the last decade, with a burgeoning of research in the field (Mallett, 2004; Cresswell, 2010; Silvey, 2006). The field of management has had a longstanding interface with migration, largely because border areas are a key node of state control, and much of the process of understanding the role of the state in migration, is understanding these formal administrative spaces where mobility is controlled and legislated. More recently, though, there has been a shift in looking at the role of the state in migration as something limited to international border areas and cosmopolitan mega cities, to looking at local government (Hoekstra et al, 2018). However, this conceptual shift around the importance of municipal practice has found itself stuck against two barriers.

The first barrier to shifting practice on the basis of a reconceptualized role for cities in responding to mobility is that this new conceptualisation has been slow to filter through to more practical disciplines of management and public administration. Understanding how municipal officials actually practically respond to mobility, whether it is in their response to migrants as recipients of services, or plan around demographic changes, is critical to the way these theoretical and conceptual shifts are interpreted. While this transformation of discourse at a level of global governance is promising, it will fail to create change in practice if it is not accompanied by commensurate shifts in institutions, technical capacity, and other levers that drive municipal practice.

The second barrier is that empirical research around municipal responses to mobility is largely limited to the global North, or at best, a very limited selection of cosmopolitan, Southern mega cities. While scholarship on migration in the global south is growing, it has not been accompanied by a similar understanding of practices of local governance. Literature on how cities respond to migrants began with research on responses to migrant arrivals in cities like New York, London, and Amsterdam, and established that it is important to study localities like Portland, Maine, or Naples, Italy, since secondary cities have different social and political dynamics (Sinatti and Horst, 2015; Myrberg, 2017; Spencer, 2017). However, scholars are virtually silent on secondary cities in Africa, and there are many reasons to believe that these locations are unique. One example of this is demonstrated through patterns of migration; many of Africa's larger cities are deurbanizing, due to trends in urban poverty (Tacoli, 2001). Furthermore, there are different institutions for public management that lead to different incentives, levels of autonomy, and processes of political decision making. Officials in Africa's secondary cities are responding to a different group of residents with different resources available than bureaucrats in the global north. Additionally, these residents have different social and political concerns regarding migration. Officials work in different institutional contexts, and have different options at their disposal to respond to mobility, in terms of resources and political choices.

What emerged from the research in this thesis were three themes, that, when seen in aggregate, point to a need for a conceptual shift to be shared by migrants and local government officials if mobility is to achieve its potential of enabling development. The first is that migration is seen overwhelmingly as a problem, by both municipal authorities, and sometimes even by migrants themselves. While there are some nuances within this, most local authorities within municipalities are certainly not embracing migration as an opportunity. Landau and Blaser Mapitsa (2014) previously explored the various capacities

required for local government officials to respond effectively to mobility at a municipal level. However, none of these dimensions will work effectively if municipal officials aren't, first and foremost, willing to view the opportunities migration presents.

The second theme that emerged as particularly important for the way municipal responses to mobility should be designed is that state practice is experienced locally. While both municipal authorities and migrants have a discourse that speaks to a belief in a rationalized bureaucracy that is uniform at least at a national level, in fact, the evaluation of governance and people's experiences of management happen on a very localized scale, and this needs to be understood in planning. While scholarship on local governance in Africa acknowledges that the state has varied manifestations at a local level (Fukuyama, 2017; Borzel and Risse, 2016), it is critical to explore this in more granularity for issues which are often not considered a local competency.

Finally, migrants are currently seen as a bureaucratic, social, and political 'no man's land' in terms of state governance. Claimed by neither their communities of origin nor their hosts, there is no clarity of mandate in terms of either what is needed to govern migrant communities, nor where that competency and responsibility should sit. The result is an oscillation between a policy vacuum, and cacophony. As one scholar summarises, "where policy instruments have, explicitly or implicitly, addressed issues of migration, there have been contradictory and confusing messages. (Atkinson and Marais, 2006)" The confluence of these three things means that both the migrant experience is made far more difficult, but also that municipal authorities are missing a tremendous opportunity for more efficient service delivery and accelerated economic development.

Shifting the Migration-Management Nexus

Data emerging from these five interlinked case studies and their thematic

analysis has painted a clear picture of municipalities and migrants that are sitting on the opposite sides of a dilemma in local governance. This dilemma has a range of features, many of them coming from the conceptual shifts needed above. The first is that there is not a consensus about the competencies and responsibilities municipalities need to respond effectively to mobility. The second is that there is a gap between the governing role municipalities could play, and the managerial realities municipalities in South Africa currently face. The third is that inclusion and exclusion are experienced by migrants at a local level, no matter where policy making takes place. The spatialisation of inequality and concomitant state capacity means that migrant experiences are varied and localized; policymaking should therefore accommodate nature variations in local practice, particularly in the realm of migration where these variations are particularly large. While this inequality could be stratified in various ways, it is clear that municipal level planners have many tools at their disposal to respond effectively to inequality, which is both shaped by and shaping mobility, but these tools are not being employed effectively. The way incentive systems are managed within municipalities do not yet provide a platform to respond effectively to mobility. In order for municipalities to have the internal systems to respond to the needs of a shifting population, a range of shifts are needed, spanning from conceptual changes, to building new institutions, to shifting technical capacity within them.

Migration as a an opportunity and a process

Scholars of migration have long asserted that public sector officials have a 'sedentary bias', with a normative expectation that communities within their domain of governance should not move. Migration is seen as a problem, and if it cannot be stopped, it should at best be mitigated (Gordon, 2016; Jansen, 2016; Palmary, 2002; Maharaj, 2010). At the same time, research suggests that migration can be a valuable tool of economic development, and is contributing to communities by reducing poverty, supporting efficiency in service delivery, and bolstering diversity and innovation (Crush and Dodson, 2017; Skeldon,

2014). However, it is not clear what systems, institutions, and practices result from the gap between these two discourses, and this study adds some empirical data from South Africa's secondary cities to the discussion.

The first shift this research demands is to change the idea that migration is a remarkable, singular life event related to crossing a certain boundary – implying that after moving from one place to another, a sedentary life is established apart from the community of origin. In fact, migration is a varied, often incremental process, not with an ultimate aim of establishing a sedentary life in another place, but with an aim of developing multilocal facets of life. Most households partake in various forms of migration in some way as part of very normalized social processes, whether it is a young adult travelling for education, moving closer to work, moving as part of a process of marriage or divorce. Some of these shifts are temporary by design (for example, the custom of a new mother living for a period of time with her family of origin), others are unpredictable (for example, coming to Johannesburg looking for work). Relocation can take place within municipal boundaries or across international boundaries, and while the kinds of borders being crossed can shape the migrant experience, there is no singular temporal or geographical shape to migration. Rather, it is important to upend the sedentary bias held by government officials. The time has passed when policy makers could assume a certain form of participation, and a certain need for services, based on place of residence.

By looking at migration as an inherent and normalized process of demographic change, and policies built around it the same way as municipal planners approach birth, death, or household formation, the way that municipalities can engage with mobility suddenly changes. Migration, while still a challenge to be managed in various ways, also presents opportunities. It becomes a contextual reality that requires a municipal approach, rather than something that should be stopped, or passed on to other authorities.

This reframing also suggests two opportunities for municipal authorities to engage with migration. One is that evidence from migration research indicates that people are overwhelmingly likely to move to places where they believe they will have better access to services, although the realization of this varies (Beauchemin and Bocquier, 2004; Vearey, 2008; Landau, 2004). This can stimulate efficiency in service delivery, particularly in rural areas where migration and densification usually go hand in hand (Turok, 2012; Geyer, et al., 2012; Atkinson and Marais, 2006; Cross, 2001). Supporting this movement may be one of the easier steps a municipality could take towards providing some sort of redress for spatial inequality.

A second opportunity this framing of mobility presents to municipal authorities is that depending on the form migration takes within their locale, multilocal lives often demand different services that officials are accustomed to providing. It is very possible that, depending on the nature of the settlement, the population could grow in an area without a concomitant need for schools, parks, graveyards, or other facilities a municipality would be expected to provide. On the other side of the spectrum, certain areas could require a disproportionate number of health care facilities, SASSA offices, or other services. Having detailed, disaggregated data about the nature of the community and their service delivery requirements should translate into more efficient planning for the specific needs of the people in question.

This places an imperative on researchers to expand the current discussion beyond the problems posed by migration. While there is ample work being done on the causes of xenophobic exclusion and the factors that catalyze violence, there is remarkably little to understand the causal mechanisms of social cohesion, and the social and managerial strengths that can arise from diversity, translocal connections, and other byproducts of mobility. Similarly, research at the nexus of service delivery and migration tends to focus on the

demands migrants place on already strained systems, rather than efficiency gains that can arise from migration.

Governance is experienced locally

A second key conceptual shift that emerged from this research was a reinforcement of the idea that governance is experienced locally by migrants. While national public sector institutions and international policies may be an important piece in the puzzle of migrant experiences, the overwhelming majority of narratives from migrants were about experiences of inclusion and exclusion at local points of service. This suggests a need to strengthen research around localized implementation and practice of policies which, particularly in South Africa, tend to be aspirational at a national level, but without the required institutional capacity to implement locally (Krassner and Risse, 2014).

This reinforces recent research on social cohesion, which is demonstrating that even data disaggregated to a ward level is still not spatially disaggregated enough to predict experiences of social cohesion and inclusion (Polzer-Ngwato, 2017). This makes it particularly important for both academics and public sector officials to be aware of the local articulations of national policies and norms, in addition to being able to identify the extremely localized spaces of to support migrants.

This is particularly underscored considering the highly spatialised nature of inequality in contemporary South Africa. While much research exists on the way income distribution, housing, services, and demographic makeup of communities remains divided by geography (Landau and Freemantle, 2018), much less research explicitly focuses on what this means for practices of local governance. While it may be intuitive that, due to the way local government institutions are socially embedded, communities that exhibit xenophobic practices may contain local points of service that reflect these patterns of exclusion, there is a need for more research to interrogate the drivers of

bureaucratic decision making at a local level. While this research has contributed some empirical data to this discussion, it is a clear need in future research.

The empirical evidence resulting from this research initiative suggests certain ‘hotspot’ areas for municipal management of mobility. These are areas that both migrants and local government officials have identified across case study locations as particularly important for migrant experiences of access and integration. They are also areas over which municipal policy making has significant sway. They include:

- Taxi ranks, bus stations, railways, and other transit hubs
- New areas of building development / emerging peri urban settlements
- Spaza shops and informal trading hubs
- Queues outside of home affairs, and other migrant-specific service centres

While specific dynamics within the case study municipalities differ significantly, all of these areas are shaped by municipal policy making, and further research should point to good practice for creating inclusive and accessible facilities, not only for migrants, but residents who may face a range of vulnerabilities.

The section above highlighted the ways in which migration can be seen as a spectrum, from macro to micro. This spectrum approach should be applied to governance as well. Migrant workers passing through a taxi rank to return to Zimbabwe need to use the same taxi rank as students returning from boarding school for the holidays. They may have different requirements of the space, but understanding the needs of both will strengthen municipal effectiveness.

Managing Migration is Everyone’s Mandate

A third theme that research demonstrated is a gaping hole in the realm of migration mandates at a municipal level. This is both on the part of municipal

authorities, and to a lesser extent, on the part of migrants themselves. Perhaps due to a lack of clarity on what is required to respond to migrants, a first response from municipal officials is overwhelmingly that this is an issue for the national department of Home Affairs, and outside of their remit. Many local government officials understand some of the grey areas of policy and mandate, but the consensus is that migration is not one of these grey areas – it belongs elsewhere. Claiming responsibility for appropriate components of the migrant experience is an important conceptual shift required within local government. Similarly, many migrants shared a consensus that what local government does is “not for us.” There is need to create an appropriate and shared set of expectations of rights and responsibilities held by migrants and municipal authorities.

First, there is limited consensus on the competencies and responsibilities municipalities need to respond effectively to mobility. This makes it easy to point fingers at anything from a lack of mandate, to a lack of available data. Building consensus on what a migration-responsive municipality looks like is important to then determining how various capacities could be strengthened. While this research has contributed to first steps in this regard, more is needed both from a research perspective, and also by institutions which support municipalities across the country such as the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA); there is an opportunity for them to fill a void in this area.

Secondly, current incentive systems within municipalities do not provide a platform for an effective response to mobility. First of all, national plans and policies that may be articulated appropriately and effectively at a national level can lose their luster when they are translated into tools that drive bureaucratic practice locally, such as KPIs of municipal staff. An excellent example of this is in the realm of social cohesion, where national plans articulate a sophisticated

understanding of multilayered inequality, but once programming is developed in a municipal context, indicators of success become the number of sportsfields upgraded, or cultural shows held. Particularly in the realm of governing migration, much more research and policy work needs to be done to clarify how the national policy agenda could be translated into local government practice, and how the local policy agenda could translate into national government policies and practice.

Finally, as posited in the introduction, the space for municipalities to play a leadership role in governing global processes of development, particularly around issues such as migration, is wide open. However, most municipalities in South Africa currently lack the institutional capacity to or incentives to play more fundamental roles of service delivery and accounting (van der Walddt, et al, 2018). Leading processes of transformative governance would require a significant shift in existing municipal capacity and management systems.

The scenario of municipal practice outlined above may partially explain the uneven participation of migrants in local governance processes. Without the requisite decision making processes and bolstering, this participation is unlikely to yield meaningful results. Additionally, given that municipal priorities and migrant priorities seem to be on parallel planes, migrants may not acknowledge the relevance or importance of participating in these processes even if there were to be results coming out of it.

Municipal Management as Migration Policy

To start filling this chasm between expectations and practice of municipalities towards migration, it is important to start thinking of municipal management *as* migration policy. This will allow the current municipal policy environment to be interrogated with a lens of mobility; it will then become apparent what changes municipalities could make to take advantage of the opportunities a migrant

population offers them, and similarly, what current practices are excluding migrants, or serving as a barrier to development in the context of mobility.

There are many areas of municipal authority that play central roles in shaping migrants livelihoods and experiences in their homes of origin, transit points, and places of residence. These policies shape migrant and resident choices about where and how to live. In South Africa, there are various areas of municipal authority that have particularly critical implications for migrants and mobility management. These areas of authority could provide a starting point for interrogating a municipality's capacity to respond to mobility. While the specific separation of powers is likely to be different in other countries, these broad areas may still serve as a starting point for consideration, across national and international contexts.

Land use. South African municipalities have significant latitude in categorizing the use of different kinds of land. This includes the right to acknowledge residents and provide proof of residence, categorizing land as residential versus agricultural, which affects both the way the land is taxed but also which building codes the area is subject to, issuing permits for spaza shops, which influences who is able to trade on land owned, etc. Within this, **nodes of mobility** are particularly important. Municipalities are responsible for governing actual points of transit within their borders. This can include the languages of sign posting and reception, provision of safety services, etc.

Social cohesion. Municipal programming on social cohesion does not currently reflect either national aspirations, or current research on effectiveness. While emerging research is demonstrating an understanding around the contextual and causal factors of social cohesion, there is now a need for work to be done around effective programming and processes of measurement at a municipal level.

Planning. Migrants are disproportionately affected by new and emerging developments and the services that are available to them. While there are policy constraints within which municipal planning takes place, forward looking planning that is predictive of settlement trends over a multi year period is critical for a successful nexus between migration and municipal management. Municipalities could play a proactive role in constructive communities that are inclusive, and support the efficiency gains found in migration.

More research is needed to interrogate the landscape of current municipal policy across a wider range of urban contexts, and understand what shifts would be needed to be more responsive to the opportunities posed by mobility. While global research on the mandates and roles of municipalities in governance has grown rapidly in recent years, there has not yet been a concomitant shift down to understanding municipal policy and practice, and what institutions need to be built in order for these changes in governance can to be translated into effective systems of practice.

Conclusion

As it currently stands, South African municipalities are already playing a critical role in shaping the developmental trajectory of the country in both positive and negative ways. Similarly, mobility is currently reshaping municipalities by changing their demographic makeup, diversity, and demand for services. This change is happening largely without any willing involvement from municipal authorities, particularly in communities beyond those where migration carries obviously bureaucratic characteristics (for example, international border posts, or planned refugee resettlements). As a result, the relationship between migrants and municipalities is apathetic at best, and at worst, actively conflicting (Blaser Mapitsa, 2016). Migrants are subjected to municipal policies that are being made with an anticipation and expectation that communities do not, and should not move. This is an expectation that limits the ability of migrants to both access needed services, and also contribute effectively to local

development.

Managerial systems within municipalities are blind to processes of migration, and as a result, are the passive recipients of the needs and requirements mobility places on municipal services. Significant institutional shifts would be required to allow space for a shift in practice. While mobility is not the only cause of uneven efficiency within local planning and service provision, it is a particularly important one, due to the way migration is shaping the future demographic landscape of communities. This is further exacerbated by the fact that municipal political systems are designed to meet the needs of a voter base that is often xenophobic (Gordon, 2016), and certainly has a different set of service delivery priorities.

However, there are clear synergies in arenas of policy and practice between migrants and municipal managers, and identifying and articulating them at various levels of government could allow municipalities to take advantage of some of the opportunities for development migration offers. For this to be realized, more work is needed to better understand how municipal management systems can build migrant responsive policies.

An important preliminary step in allowing this to happen is to normalize certain conceptual shifts that acknowledge that municipalities to play a critical role in responding to mobility, and that migrants offer opportunities for municipalities to achieve their mandate successfully. However, shifts at a conceptual level are insufficient. This must be accompanied by institutional changes that acknowledge the mechanisms through which migrants are currently excluded from political and technical processes within municipalities, and identifies ways of shifting this practice.

There is a dearth of research at the junction of migration and local government management in the global South, particularly beyond select mega cities. Most

management literature on migration focuses on global borders, or large, cosmopolitan metropolises. While the governance research has taken a local turn, it is now time for the management research to follow.

Scholars looking at municipal management in the realms of decentralization across the global South have provided certain foundational lenses for understanding the opportunities, limits, and implications of devolving authority to local government, in countries and communities where there is varied state institutional capacity and diversity of local practice. What has emerged is an understanding that these authorities have different institutional shapes, different political incentives, and different technical capacity to national or even provincial authorities. This literature would be strengthened by considering the implications multilocality and mobility have on local authorities and governance practices across a wide range of geographic, demographic, and bureaucratic contexts.

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