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MIGRATION AND FOOD SECURITY IN CITIES OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH

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Abstract

South-South migration is an important, though poorly researched, component of the global migration regime. This discussion paper focuses on the movement of migrants from one country in the Global South to live and work in urban areas of another. While they move from one country to another for a variety of reasons and with variable outcomes, the vast majority of South-South migrants move to cities in countries of destination where employment and livelihood opportunities are greatest. The authors find that the data for generating an overall picture of the global distribution of South-South migrants in cities is patchy and dated and that even less is known about the urban food insecurity challenges confronting these highly-mobile individuals. Through a case study of the city of Cape Town, South Africa, this paper identifies priority areas for future research. These include food insecurity as a driver of South-South migration to cities; the levels, determinants and experience of food insecurity for migrants in cities; migrant strategies to mitigate food insecurity; the relationship between food security and social protection for migrants; the role of remittances in promoting and undermining food security; and the place of migrants in transforming urban food systems, especially through their activities in the informal food sector in cities.

Keywords

Suggested Citation

Introduction

The relationship between South-South migration and food security, a neglected subject until recently, is starting to attract growing interest from researchers and policy makers (Chikanda et al 2018, Choitani 2017, Craven and Gartaula 2015, Crush 2013, Crush and Caesar 2017, FAO 2018, Zezza et al 2011). The literature on the links between migration and food security has largely focused on the nutritional, dietary, and health impacts on immigrants and refugees of migration to cities in the North (Bailey 2017, Moffat et al 2017, Tarraf et al 2017). A central element is the "healthy immigrant" hypothesis which posits that migrants are generally more food secure and healthier than those they leave behind, as well as the population of receiving societies (Dean and Wilson 2010, Fennelly 2007, Girard and Sercia 2013, Kennedy et al 2015, Vang et al 2017). Over time, the food security gap with local populations closes as the quality of the immigrant diet declines (Ayala et al 2008, Holmboe-Ottesen and Wandel 2012, Martinez 2013, Lesser et al 2014, Sanou et al 2014). Research on migrants in the Global North who come from Asia (Nguyen et al 2015, Oh and Saito 2015), Latin America (Guarnaccia et al 2012, Vahabi et al 2011, Vera-Becerra et al 2015), and Africa (Delisle et al 2009, Gele and Mbalilaki 2013, Méjean et al 2007, Okafor et al 2014, Renzaho and Burns 2006) all suggests that there is an increase in over-nutrition or obesity over time (Guendelman et al 2011). Similar findings have been reported from studies focused on the experiences of refugee populations living in the North (Hadley et al 2007, 2010, Dharod et al 2013, Nunnery and Dharod 2017).

In comparison, there is little research of similar geographical breadth or thematic reach among South-South migrants. Several recent studies have tested the healthy immigrant hypothesis in the context of internal migration to cities in the South (Carioca et al 2017, Chen 2011, Dodd et al 2017, Ginsburg et al 2017, Lu, 2009), but there are few studies of international migrants in the South, the subject of this paper (Mathee and Naicker 2015). The research silence on the South–South migration

and food security nexus is symptomatic of a broader problem. Compared to the vast number of studies of migration from the Global South to Europe and North America, there has been a serious neglect of intra-regional movements within the Global South (so-called South-South migration) (Crush and Chikanda 2019). While there have been a number of programmatic calls for more attention to South-South migration (Anich et al 2015, Bakewell 2009, Campillo-Carrete 2013, De Lombaerde et al 2014, Hujo and Piper 2007, Ratha and Shaw 2007), the relative neglect is a product of "the Northern discourse on South-North migration, which has traditionally attracted widespread attention from scholars based in the North and has been assumed to have greater developmental value relative to other migration flows" (Crush and Chikanda 2019: 394).

Growing intra-South migration movements are taking place within the context of accelerating urbanization in the Global South (IOM 2015, Lerch, 2017). Rapidly-growing cities are the destination for the vast majority of migrants and a significant proportion of the over 120 million South-South migrants live in cities in other countries. New migrants in most countries are "overwhelmingly city-bound" (Benton-Short et al 2005), as well as being attracted to larger "gateway" cities where the opportunities for pursuing a livelihood are greater (Price and Benton-Short 2008). As Price and Benton-Short (2007: 114) note, the proportion and significance of the foreign born varies greatly from country to country, and from city to city (see also Balbo 2005, Price and Benton-Short 2008). Over time, migrants may also move down the urban hierarchy to secondary cities in search of other livelihood opportunities. As Price and Benton-Short (2007: 104) observe, it is a mistake to think of gateway cities as sites of permanent settlement as "a more accurate metaphor may be that of a turnstile, where immigrants enter for a period of time and then leave for other cities" in that or another country. There are also what we might call "revolving door cities" such as those in the Gulf states characterised by large numbers of migrants on temporary work permits who are legally obliged to return home at the end of their work contracts (Fargues 2011).

South-South migration is highly dynamic and cannot be reduced to a single type. One recent typology identified as many as 13 different types of South-South migration (Hugo 2009, Crush and Chikanda 2019). The common characteristic of these different types of migration is that the vast majority of migrants retain close transnational ties with their countries and communities of origin. In general, however, the transnational connections of migrants living in cities of the South mean that "global immigrant destinations are the nodes from which complex linkages are formed with the economic periphery" (Benton-Short et al 2007: 957). The specific character of South-South remitting has yet to be fully unraveled (Ratha and Shaw 2007). A recent overview suggests that the remittances literature ignores flows of goods – and foodstuffs in particular – in favour of quantifiable flows of cash (Crush and Caesar 2018). The food security impacts of cash remittances in countries of migrant origin in the South have commanded increasing attention (Anton 2010, Combes and Ebeke 2011, Ebadi et al 2018, Fabrouk and Mekni 2018, Romano and Traverso 2017, Rosser 2011, Sulemana et al 2018, Thow et al 2016). However, these macro-economic national-level studies of the food security-remittances link do not differentiate between remitters in the North or South or whether the benefits are primarily felt by rural or urban households.

This overview paper focuses on the movement of migrants from one country in the South to live and work in urban areas of another. Although there is considerable debate on how to define the South (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Daley 2019), the paper takes a broad geographical perspective defining the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and the Middle East as constituents of South-South migration. Research on the socio-economic and cultural integration and exclusion of migrants and refugees in cities in the Global South

is starting to grow (Bakewell and Landau 2018, Crush et al 2015, Jenkins 2012, Whitehouse 2012). However, there is limited knowledge on how their migration experience interacts with their food security status and challenges. Several pertinent questions arise: does food insecurity act as a driver of migration to cities in another country in the Global South? What is the food security status of migrants in the Southern city and does it improve or deteriorate over time? How does the migration of some family members to a city in another country impact on the food security of those left behind? And finally, how does remitting impact on the food security of migrant remitters?

South-South Migration Dimensions and Directions

UNDESA (2017) estimates that the global stock of international migrants increased from 153 million in 1990 to 258 million in 2017 (Table 1). The number of migrants in "developing regions" (the Global South) increased over the same time period from 70 million to 112 million. In 2017, therefore, 43% of all migrants globally lived in the Global South. Of these, 80 million were in Asia, 25 million in Africa, and 10 million in Latin America and the Caribbean. In total, 97 million (or 87%) of migrants in these regions are from other countries in the South (Table 2). Intra-regional South-South migration is strongest in Asia. Around 81% of African South-South migrants move to other countries within the continent. Figure 1 shows that South-South migration grew rapidly after 2005 and became the single largest of the four general forms of intra-regional migration around 2011, when it became more voluminous than South-North migration. Although both South-North and South-South have been increasing in volume, Figure 1 shows that the gap has widened over time.

TABLE 1: International Migrant Stock, 1990-2017

	International migrant stock (millions)			
	1990	2000	2010	2017
World	152.5	172.6	220.0	257.7
Developed regions (North)	82.4	103.4	130.7	146.0
Developing regions (South)	70.2	69.2	89.3	111.7
Africa	15.7	14.8	17.0	24.7
Asia	48.1	49.2	65.9	79.6
Europe	49.2	56.3	70.7	77.9
Latin America and Caribbean (LAC)	7.2	6.6	8.2	9.5
North America	27.6	40.4	51.0	57.7
Oceania	4.7	5.4	7.1	8.4
Source: Data from UNDESA (2017)				

TABLE 2: Migrant Stock in Global South by Source and Destination Region, 2017

Destination	Origin					
	North	South	Africa	Asia	LAC	Oceania
South	14.4	97.4	23.8	63.1	6.3	0.2
Africa	2.3	22.3	19.4	1.2	0.0	0.0
Asia	9.2	70.4	4.4	63.3	0.4	0.1
LAC	2.9	6.6	0.1	0.3	6.1	0.0
Source: Data from UNDESA (2017)						

FIGURE 1: Volume of South-South Migration, 1990-2017
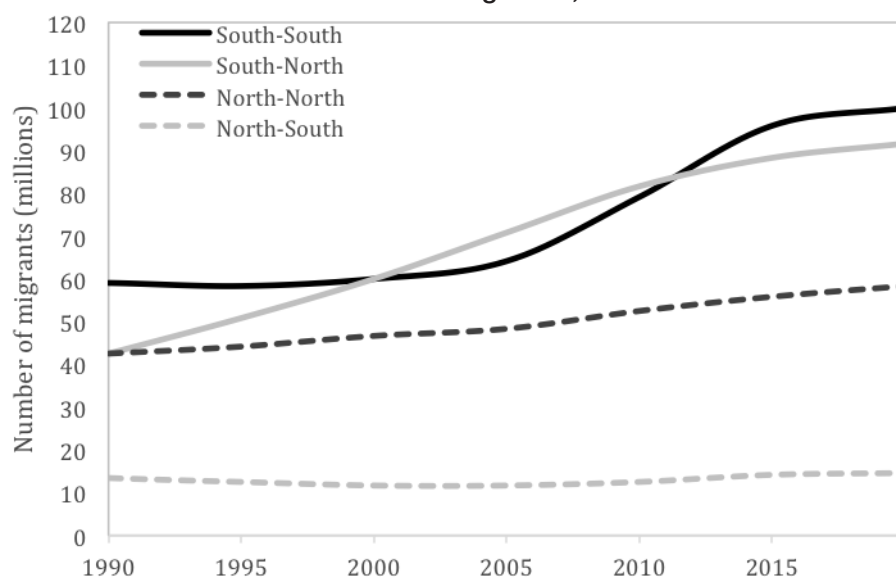
Source: UNDESA (2017)

The ILO has corresponding data for the global distribution of migrant workers. Of the 258 million migrants globally in 2017, the ILO (2018: ix) estimated that 164 million were migrant workers (which it defines as "international migrants of working age who are employed or unemployed in their current country of residence"). Of these, 47.1 million are resident in middle-income countries and 5.6 million in low-income countries. Of those in middle-income countries, 28.3 million are men and 18.7 million are women. In low-income countries, there are also more male migrants (3.6 million male versus 1.9 million female) (ILO 2018: 11). Table 3 shows the numbers of migrant workers in other countries in various regions of the Global South, including 23 million in the Arab States, 12 million in Sub-Saharan Africa and 12 million in South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific. In total, there are 73.5 million migrant workers – 68% men and 32% women.

Most countries in the Global South both receive and send migrants. In 2015, there were 161 South-South migrant origin countries and 158 migrant destination countries (Table 4). There were 19 migrant origin countries with more than 1 million out-migrants and 23 migrant destination countries with a similar number of in-migrants. Table 5 lists the top 20 South-South destination countries, the number of migrants in each, and the number of countries from which those migrants originate. Table 6 shows the top 30 bilateral migration corridors ranked by the number of migrants in the destination country. The primary conclusion from these data sets is that when South-South migration is disaggregated, a complex geographical picture emerges involving the vast majority of countries in the Global South and a multiplicity of bilateral migration corridors.

TABLE 3: Migrant Workers by Region, 2017 (millions)

Region	Male	Female	Total
Arab States	19.1	3.6	22.7
Central & Western Asia	3.5	5.0	8.5
Eastern Asia	3.2	2.7	5.9
LAC	2.8	1.7	4.5
Northern Africa	0.9	0.3	1.2
South-Eastern Asia & Pacific	6.4	5.2	11.6
Southern Asia	6.0	1.3	7.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	8.3	3.6	11.9
Total	50.2	23.4	73.6
Source: ILO (2018: 15)			

TABLE 4: South-South Migration Origin and Destination Countries, 2015

No. of migrants	No. of countries	
	Migrant origin	Migrant destination
>5 million	2	3
3-5 million	6	3
1-3 million	11	17
500,000-1 million	14	8
250,000-500,000	21	17
100,000-250,000	19	17
20,000-100,000	35	45
<20,000	53	48
Total	161	158
Source: Crush and Chikanda (2019: 384)		

TABLE 5: Major South-South Migration Countries of Destination, 2015

	No. of migrants	No. of origin countries
1. Saudi Arabia	9,842,647	17
2. UAE	7,922,240	27
3. India	5,123,283	26
4. Thailand	3,888,426	29
5. Pakistan	3,625,927	8
6. Jordan	3,096,575	27
7. Hong Kong	2,727,819	14
8. Kuwait	2,719,395	28
9. Iran	2,479,202	5
10. Malaysia	2,285,220	18
11. Singapore	2,225,098	11
12. South Africa	2,133,355	107
13. Côte d'Ivoire	2,095,575	16
14. Lebanon	1,993,878	21
15. Oman	1,741,924	15
16. Qatar	1,642,319	28
17. Nigeria	1,076,442	9
18. Bangladesh	1,066,223	14
19. Kenya	1,023,927	13
20. Ethiopia	1,033,041	10
Source: Crush and Chikanda (2019: 386)		

TABLE 6: Major South-South Migration Corridors, 2015

	Origin country	Destination country	No. of migrants
1	India	UAE	3,499,337
2	Bangladesh	India	3,171,022
3	Afghanistan	Iran	2,348,369
4	China	Hong Kong	2,307,783
5	Palestine	Jordan	2,142,755
6	India	Pakistan	2,000,098
7	Myanmar	Thailand	1,978,348
8	India	Saudi Arabia	1,894,380
9	Afghanistan	Pakistan	1,618,687
10	Burkina Faso	Côte d'Ivoire	1,294,323
11	Indonesia	Saudi Arabia	1,294,035
12	Syria	Lebanon	1,255,494
13	Malaysia	Singapore	1,123,654
14	Pakistan	Saudi Arabia	1,123,260
15	Pakistan	India	1,106,212
16	Indonesia	Malaysia	1,070,433
17	India	Kuwait	1,061,758
18	Colombia	Venezuela	973,315
19	Laos	Thailand	969,267
20	Bangladesh	Saudi Arabia	967,233
21	Egypt	UAE	935,308

22	Bangladesh	UAE	906,483
23	Pakistan	UAE	863,858
24	Cambodia	Thailand	805,272
25	India	Oman	777,632
26	China	Korea	750,639
27	Egypt	Saudi Arabia	728,608
28	Syria	Jordan	700,266
29	Paraguay	Argentina	679,044
30	India	Qatar	645,577
Source: Crush and Chikanda (2019)			

Although it is possible to construct an overall global picture of South-South migration flows at the national level, equivalent data at the urban scale is not available. The Globalization, Urbanization and Migration database (https://gum.columbian.gwu.edu) provides data on the migrant population of over 100 cities globally (but in many cases the figures are now quite dated). Price (2017) estimates that in the years 2010-2016, there were 22 cities globally with over 1 million foreign-born residents of which seven were in the Global South (five in the Middle East, one in Africa, and one in East Asia). Global South cities with more than 100,000 foreign-born residents included 10 in the Middle East, 7 in Latin America and the Caribbean, 3 in Africa, and 2 in Asia. The proportion of immigrants in gateway and turnstile cities tends to be much larger in the Global North (some such as Toronto exceeding 30% of the total population). In Africa's largest gateway city, Johannesburg, the foreign-born population is around 13% of the total of 4.1 million (Peberdy 2013). In revolving door cities, such as those in the Gulf, the proportion of migrants exceeds 80% of the total population (Fargues 2011).

Disaggregating migrant numbers by country and city is a necessary first step but it tells us nothing about the objective reality and subjective experience of being a newcomer in an often harsh and inhospitable environment. South-South migrants are over-represented among the urban poor and constitute a disproportionate number of the poorest groups in many cities. Migrants are often employed in precarious 3-D jobs (dirty, dangerous, demeaning) on the margins of the formal economy. Migrants in many cities are excluded from the formal labour market and are forced to get by with employment or self-employment in the informal economy. The legal status, entitlements, rights and economic opportunities for migrants are framed by national and municipal policy environments. These, in turn, impact on their place in urban food systems and their food access and security prospects. South-South migrants are not a homogenous group, however, and it is important to identify different types of migrants and their legal status, potential to transition to permanent settlements, ability to bring family, human rights, and general food security status (Table 7).

Forced migration (Nos. 11 and 12 in Table 7) is an important dimension of population migration in the Global South for which there is more data on urban residence. The UNHCR Statistical Database recorded 20.4 million refugees globally in 2018 (http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview). As Table 8 shows, South-South movement of refugees and asylum seekers dominate in the two major regions of origin, namely Asia and Africa. Of the nearly 12 million forced migrants from Asia living outside their home countries in 2018, 54% were in other countries in the region. Of the 7.4 million forced migrants from Africa, 92% were living in another African country. In 2018, the top four origin countries with the highest refugee population globally were Syria (6.6 million), Afghanistan (2.7 million), South Sudan (2.3 million) and Somalia (949,600). The top five destination countries in the South were Turkey (3.7 million), Pakistan (1.4 million), Uganda (1.2 million), Sudan (1.1 million), and Iran (980,000). The top 25 refugee destination countries hosted more than 17 million refugees combined. Only five of the top 25 were in the North, accounting for only 11% of refugees in 2018.

TABLE 7: Typology of South-South Migration

Type	Legal status in destination	Potential to transition from temporary to permanent residence	Ability to bring family	Rights	Food security
1. Lower-skilled temporary migration	Documented and undocumented	Very low	Not possible	Very limited	Insecure
2. Lower-skilled seasonal labour migration	Documented and undocumented	Low	Not possible	Very limited	Very insecure
3. Higher-skilled immigration	Documented	Very high	Allowed	Substantial	Secure
4. Higher-skilled temporary labour migration	Mostly documented	High	Allowed	Substantial	Secure
5. Project-tied labour migration	Documented	Low	Possible	Limited	Secure
6. Student migration	Documented	High	Allowed	Substantial	Mixed
7. Formal and informal business migration	Documented and undocumented	Moderate	Possible	Limited	Insecure
8. Border commuting	Documented and undocumented	Low	Not necessary	Limited	Insecure
9. Informal cross-border trading	Documented and undocumented	Low	Not necessary	Limited	Insecure
10. Medical tourism	Documented and undocumented	Low	Allowed	Limited	Mixed
11. Forced migrants (asylum-seekers)	Undocumented	Low	Possible	Very limited	Very insecure
12. Forced migrants (recognized refugees)	Documented	Moderate	Possible	Limited	Mixed
13. Diaspora tourists	Documented	Low	Allowed	Limited	Secure

Source: Adapted from Hugo (2009) and Crush and Chikanda (2019)

TABLE 8: Refugees and Asylum-Seekers by Region, 2018

	Territory of origin			Territory of asylum		
	Refugees	Asylum seekers	Total	Refugees	Asylum seekers	Total
Africa	7,367,085	904,434	8,271,519	6,774,632	611,174	7,385,806
Asia	11,854,347	1,235,431	13,089,778	6,393,683	269,857	6,663,540
Europe	383,570	193,623	577,193	6,476,353	1,245,549	7,721,902
LAC	328,076	757,560	1,085,636	215,161	513,132	728,293
N America	406	2,701	3,107	427,247	797,658	1,224,905
Oceania	1,302	1,570	2,872	69,330	61,573	130,903
Unknown	268,334	78,723	347,057	-	-	-
Total	20,203,120	3,174,042	23,377,162	20,356,406	3,498,943	23,855,349

Source: UNHCR (2019)

According to Muggah (2018: 1), cities are the "front line of forced migration." This is because most forced migrants move to urban areas in other countries. The UNHCR estimates that nearly 60% of the global refugee population resides in large, medium and small cities, with only 30% living in planned camps. The vast majority of the world's urban refugees move to neighbouring countries where they end up living in low–income urban neighbourhoods. While living in cities provides

certain benefits, such as anonymity, connections to social networks, access to essential services, and formal and informal employment opportunities, forced migrants are often restricted to the informal economy and are highly vulnerable to exploitation, discrimination, and deportation (Darling 2017, Muggah, 2018).

Some 60% of refugees globally were living in urban areas by the end of 2016 (UNHCR 2017). In urban locations, refugees almost always live in individual accommodation, with very few in any kind of camp or organized settlement. The proportion of refugees living in urban areas varies considerably from region to region, and country to country. Many African countries require refugees to live in camps located in rural areas. As a result, the proportion of refugees living in urban areas is relatively low: 10% in Kenya, 6% in Uganda, 3% in Ethiopia, and 2% in the DRC (Table 9). The only African countries with a significant proportion of urban-based refugees are South Africa (100%), Burundi (38%), and Rwanda (20%). Most of South Africa's 180,000 asylum-seekers also live in urban areas. Outside Africa, in many of the countries with large numbers of refugees, most live in urban areas.

TABLE 9: Proportion of Urban-Based Refugees (end-2016)*

Countries (with >50,000 refugees)	Number of refugees	% Urban	% Rural	% Other/unknown
Asia/Middle East				
Pakistan	1,352,560	67.8	32.2	0.0
Lebanon	1,012,969	100.0	0.0	0.0
Iran	979,435	97.2	2.8	0.0
Jordan	685,197	80.0	20.0	0.0
Bangladesh	276,207	0.0	12.0	88.0
Yemen	269,783	39.1	60.9	0.0
Iraq	261,864	46.4	0.0	53.6
India	197,851	12.4	31.9	48.7
Thailand	106,447	3.6	96.4	0.0
Malaysia	92,262	100.0	0.0	0.0
Africa				
Uganda	940,835	6.4	93.6	0.0
Ethiopia	791,631	2.5	87.3	10.2
DRC	451,956	2.1	46.6	51.4
Kenya	451,099	9.6	90.4	0.0
Sudan	421,466	33.8	66.2	0.0
Chad	391,251	1.0	99.0	0.0
Cameroon	375,415	6.4	93.6	0.0
Tanzania	281,498	0.1	99.9	0.0
South Sudan	262,560	5.0	95.0	0.0
Niger	166,093	2.8	97.2	0.0
Rwanda	156,065	20.2	79.8	0.0
Algeria	94,232	4.5	0.0	95.5
South Africa	91,043	100.0	0.0	0.0
Mauritania	74,148	2.0	62.9	35.1
Burundi	57,469	37.9	62.1	0.0
Latin America				
Venezuela	172,053	0.0	0.5	99.5
Ecuador	102,848	0.0	0.0	100.0
Source: UNHCR (2017)				

Urban Migrants and Food Security: A Case Study

The food security situation of South-South migrants and refugees has recently begun to emerge on the research agenda in South Africa (Crush and Tawodzera 2017, Maharaj et al 2017, Napier et al 2018). The country has become a major destination country for South-South migration since the end of apartheid in 1994 (Crush 2015). Far from arriving in a more food secure state than local populations, many migrants are extremely impoverished and suffering from acute food insecurity. At the height of the Zimbabwe's economic crisis in 2008, for example, IOM (2009) interviewed 1,155 Zimbabwean respondents in Musina, a South African town south of the Zimbabwean border (IOM 2009). There was an intense level of food insecurity among the newly arrived migrants: 8% had eaten nothing the previous day while 42% had eaten only once. Many relied exclusively on food distribution programs run by local faith organizations while private citizens also donated food to the migrants or offered them ad hoc employment to enable them to buy food. In another study, Maharaj et al (2017) interviewed 355 adult refugees in Durban, South Africa, and found that 23% often did not have enough food and 54% were often eating less. The proportion with a significant level of anxiety and depressive symptomatology was 49% and 55% respectively. Both not eating enough and eating less were significantly associated with anxiety and depression.

The city of Cape Town in South Africa has become a key terminus for both internal and international migrants (Jacobs and Du Plessis 2017, Rule 2018). The 2011 Census found that there were 125,000 foreign-born people in this city of 3.4 million. Of these, 88% were South-South migrants with the remainder coming from Europe. The numbers have continued to rise. The migrants originate from an increasingly diverse set of countries although the primary source is the rest of Africa, particularly Zimbabwe (45,000 in 2011), the DRC (8,100). Namibia (7,500), Somalia (6,700), Mozambique (3,200) and Nigeria (2,600) (Table 10). There were also sizable pockets of migrants from non-African countries including India, China, and Bangladesh. There is a growing number of studies exploring the migrant experience of Cape Town, including their social networks (Brown 2015, Morreira 2010, Owen, 2015), identities (Buyer 2008, Tewold 2019), victimization by xenophobia (Dodson 2010, Peberdy and Jara 2011), precarious work (Dodson 2018), informal self-employment (Crush et al 2017b, Northcote and Dodson 2015, Rogerson, 2018), housing strategies (Williams 2017), and remittance behaviour (Nzabamwita 2018).

Research specifically on the food security of migrants in Cape Town provides insights into fundamental questions related to the subject of this discussion paper. This includes a 2016 study of Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town and Johannesburg which surveyed 500 migrants and conducted 50 in-depth interviews (Crush and Tawodzera, 2016), focus groups and semi-structured interviews with 71 Congolese, Somali and Zimbabwean migrants (Hunter-Adams 2017, Hunter-Adams et al 2016, Hunter-Adams and Rother 2016), and a study of 60 young migrants from Zimbabwe (Sithole and Dinbabo 2016).

First, among the important reasons for migrating to South African cities are hunger and food insecurity in home countries. In the case of the Zimbabwean migrants, reasons for migration were dominated by a comparison of overall living conditions in the two countries (cited by 84% of migrants). As many as 44% explicitly mentioned hunger and food insecurity as a reason for migrating to South Africa (Crush and Tawodzera 2016). Sithole and Dinbabo's (2016) study of young migrants found that 63% had moved from Zimbabwe as a result of food shortages. Hunter-Adams (2017), however, suggests that migrants in Cape Town also tend to romanticize the food environment from which they came, particularly when they compare the supposed "naturalness" of home diets compared with the ultra-processed nature and expense of their Cape Town diet.

TABLE 10: Country of Origin of Migrants in Cape Town, 2011

| Country of birth	No.	%	% of foreign-born
Zimbabwe	44,722	1.27	36.0
Europe	14,820	0.42	11.9
DRC	8,101	0.23	6.5
Namibia	7,549	0.21	6.1
Somalia	6,663	0.09	5.4
Mozambique	3,209	0.04	2.6
Nigeria	2,568	0.07	2.1
India	2,010	0.06	1.6
China	1,430	0.04	1.2
Lesotho	1,044	0.03	0.8
Bangladesh	797	0.02	0.6
Ghana	623	0.02	0.5
Botswana	526	0.01	0.4
Swaziland	344	0.01	0.3
Other*	30,014	0.9	24.1
*Includes Pakistan, Malawi, Angola, Burundi, Rwanda, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Chad, Sudan, Burkina Faso, Algeria			
Source: Rule (2018)			

Second, there is the question of the economic, social, and political determinants of food security for migrants in destination cities. Crush and Tawodzera (2016: 17) note that "migrants are a great deal more vulnerable to food insecurity than their local counterparts in the poorer areas of these cities." Most migrant households (in Cape Town and Johannesburg) were either moderately (24%) or severely food insecure (60%). Only 11% were completely food secure. As one migrant noted: "life is really difficult. The food is never enough and I have gone hungry many times" (Crush and Tawodzera 2017: 97). Diets were also lacking in diversity and monotonous: "It is difficult to afford the food we want. We eat the same kind of food day in and day out. Usually we eat pap (maize porridge) and offal because that is what is cheap… it is the same food over and over again. There is no variety" (Crush and Tawodzera 2017: 96). Migrants do not have access to land to grow any of their own food so food security is directly linked to income and expenditure choices (Hunter-Adams 2017). Nor do they have easy access to the formal labour market. Only half were in formal employment, primarily low-paying, unskilled work, while many of the rest were employed or self-employed in the informal sector.

Third, given the precarious nature of the food security of migrants, what strategies do they employ to help mitigate food insecurity? Zimbabwean migrants adopted a variety of coping strategies during periods of food scarcity including reliance on less expensive foodstuffs (84% of households), eating food of poorer food quality (78%) and consuming less preferred but cheaper foods (74%) (Figure 2). In addition, slightly more than half indicated that they had reduced the number of meals eaten per day, borrowed money to buy food, or sought help from a friend or relative. Slightly less than half had reduced portion sizes consumed by household members, and 20% had reduced the amount of food consumed by adults in the household or purchased food on credit. The unaffordability of health food was identified as a key challenge: "We know a lot about food quality and the desirability for us to have such good food. That we know. Our only problem as a household is that we do not have the money to buy such foods.… In some of the shops they sell food that is about to expire and if we are lucky we get some before other people grab the lot (Crush and Tawodzera 2017: 96)

A fourth issue is the relationship between food access and social protection for migrants and refugees. All

FIGURE 2: Dietary Strategies Used by Households during Shortages
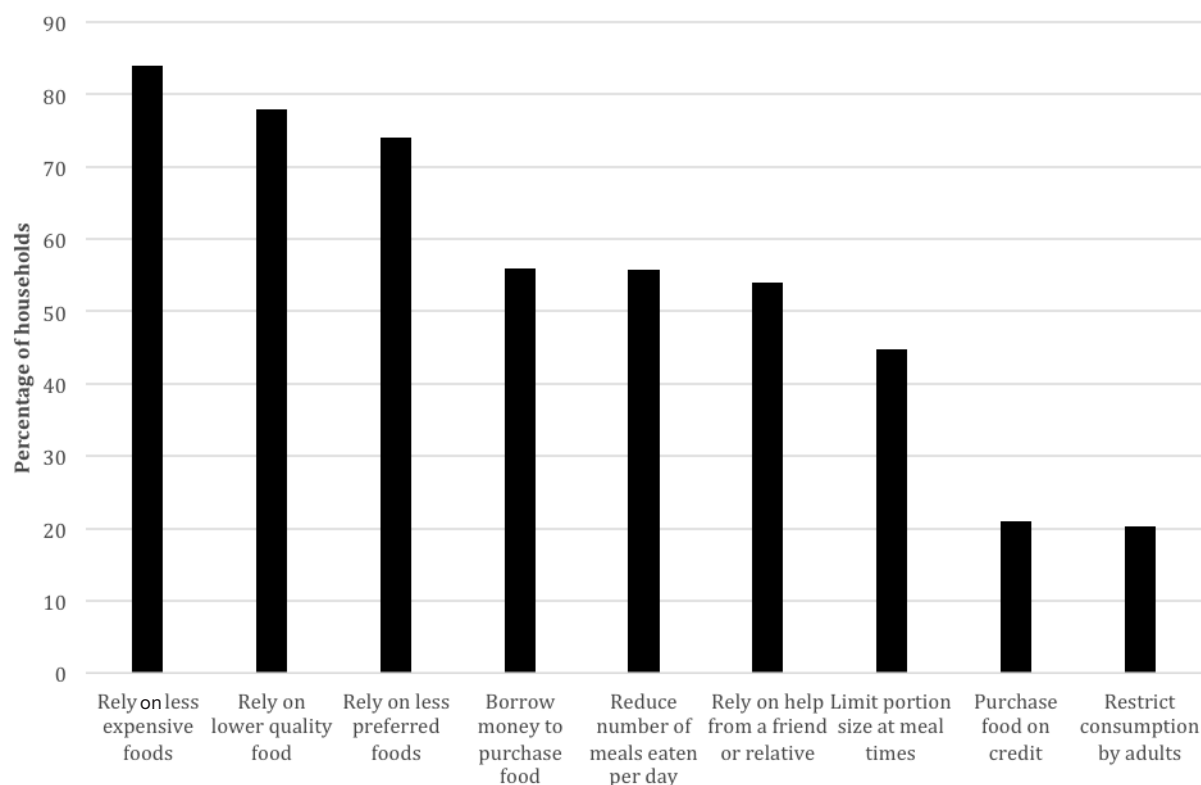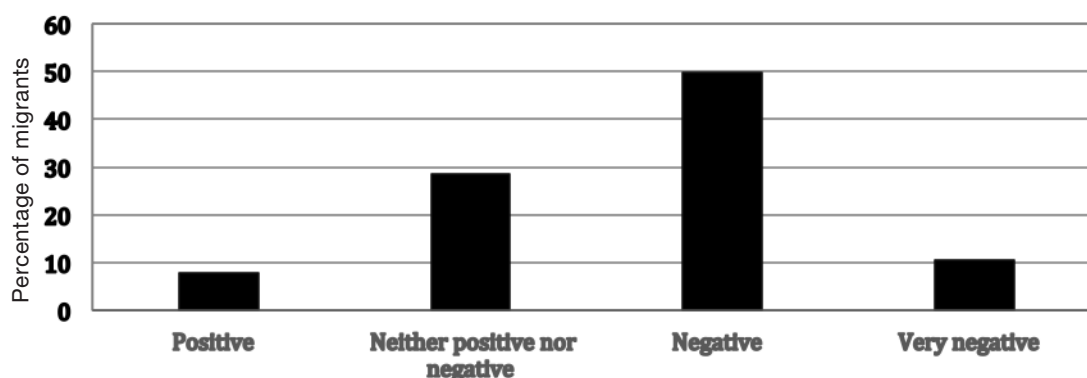

Source: Crush and Tawodzera (2016)

migrants and refugees fend for themselves as little material assistance is forthcoming from the state or UNHCR. South Africa's system of social grants is critical in providing income and mitigating severe food insecurity among poor households. Migrants are usually precluded from accessing grants and have to rely on social networks and informal social protection mechanisms. "We are a community of sharing" said one "(and) if you are unable to help others when they are in dire need, they will also not help you when you are in trouble. Our communities and networks have memories – very long memories and we know who gives and who doesn't … if I have some food, then my neighbour won't starve" (Crush and Tawodzera 2016: 22-23).

Fifth, these studies raise the question of the connection between the food security of migrants and those they leave behind. Both Crush and Tawodzera (2016) and Sithole and Dinabo (2016) found high rates of remitting from paltry income. Few migrants indicated that remitting had a positive effect on their own food security status. On the contrary, 60% said it had a negative or very negative impact (Figure 3). One of the primary reasons for coming to South Africa and Cape Town is to earn money to support those left behind. Migrants remit what they can when they can. While this may have a positive impact on the food security of family left behind, it makes them a lot more vulnerable to food insecurity themselves (Crush and Tawodzera, 2016: 36).

Finally, many migrants and refugees in Cape Town, and South Africa more generally, are forced to make a living in the informal economy, and the food sector in particular (Crush et al 2015, Gastrow and Amit 2015). A recent HCP survey of informal food vending in Cape Town, for example, found that 52% of the city's food vendors were South-South migrants from other countries (Tawodzera and Crush 2019). In addition, nearly 40% of Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town and Johannesburg were working in the informal sector, engaging in activities such as selling foodstuffs, household goods, clothing, shoes, and arts and crafts (Crush

FIGURE 3: Impact of Remitting Money on Zimbabwean Migrant Household Food Security in South Africa

Source: Data from Crush and Tawodzera (2016)

and Tawodzera 2017). Income-earning opportunities in the informal sector clearly plays an important role in mitigating food insecurity of the migrants. However, the informal food sector is also a vital cog in the city's food system, making food accessible to households in low-income areas of the city more generally (Battersby et al 2016). The role of South-South migrants in mitigating food insecurity is obvious but also underappreciated. Migrant food vendors in Cape Town are more vulnerable to crime and have been the victims of waves of xenophobic violence (Crush and Ramachandran 2015, Crush et al 2017a, Gastrow, 2018, Uwimpuhwe and Ruiters 2018). Ironically, the destruction and looting of migrant-owned food businesses not only destroys their own food security but undermines that of poor South Africans who depend on them for easy access to an affordable food supply.

Conclusion

South-South migration is an important, though poorly researched, component of the global migration regime. Migrants moving from one country to another within the Global South do so for a variety of reasons and with variable outcomes but the vast majority move to cities in countries of destination where employment and livelihood opportunities are greatest. Even the stereotypical image of refugees cloistered in camps far from urban areas fails to do full justice to the fact that many asylum-seekers and refugees in the Global South live in cities in

host countries. As this paper shows, the data for generating an overall picture of the global distribution of South-South migrants in cities is patchy and dated. Even less is known about the urban food insecurity experiences and challenges confronting these highly-mobile individuals. This is a dramatic contrast with the large research literature on food security and associated nutrition and health outcomes among migrants from the South in cities of the North. Through a case study of the city of Cape Town, this paper identifies a set of priority areas for future research on South-South migration and food security more generally. These include food insecurity as a driver of migration to cities; the levels, determinants and experience of food insecurity for migrants in cities; migrant strategies to mitigate food insecurity; the relationship between food security and social protection for migrants; the role of remittances in promoting and undermining food security; and the place of migrants in transforming urban food systems, especially through their activities in the informal food sector in cities.

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