

**IRREGULAR MIGRATIONS INTO SOUTH AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS
OF THE BEITBRIDGE BORDER CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IN
APARTHEID AND POST-APARTHEID ERAS, 1980-2017.**

By

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Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS (MA)

in

POLITICAL STUDIES

at the

DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF VENDA

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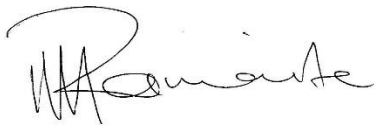
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DECLARATION

I, **Khumotso Ronald Ramaite**, declare that this dissertation submitted to the University of Venda for a Masters of Arts degree in Political Studies has not been submitted by me or any other person to this or any other university as a requirement for a degree or any other qualification. All materials and sources contained herein have been duly acknowledged by means of complete references.



SIGNATURE

30/06/2021

DATE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family, namely my father, Mashau Maligana Phineas Ramaite; my mother, Ndivhudza Elisa Mangenge; my siblings, Madivha Avhaphani Francinah, Nkhuliseni Edwin and Rohangwela 'Granny' Ramaite.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people have touched my life in a special way and contributed to the completion of this dissertation.

The first person to thank is my mentor, Dr. Christopher Ngwenya. He may be modest about his contribution, but he has been the most important figure in my academic evolution over the last few years. He gave me the time and attention when I needed it, and I could not have needed a better mentor than him. My Doctor, I am indebted to you beyond payment.

I am grateful to my supervisors Professor R.R. Molapo and Ms. N.V. Sibawu for their professional guidance.

I owe my heartiest gratitude to the Zimbabwean migrants who opened their doors when we asked for their participation in this study. Without them, there would not have been any data for this research.

I appreciate all my friends who have been there for me throughout this journey, especially Gamelihle Ncube and Bulu Ngobeni. We stuck together since we began this journey. You played a significant role towards the completion of this work through your comradeship. I also extend my appreciation to Edzisani Mukwena for his moral support. He was there for me during stressful data compilation. He gave me the support as a big brother. Thanks Mukwena.

I also acknowledge Prof. I.D.I. Ramaite and the late Dr. P.E. Ramaite-Mafadza for being the source of inspiration to me. Lutendo Colbert Mukwena, thank you for being such a supportive elder brother.

To my aunt, Mainganya Flora Ramaite, I thank you for your unwavering support towards my studies. My appreciation further goes to Dr. Mashau Silas Ramaite who opened doors and welcomed me to his home for my stay during my Master's journey.

ACRONYM AND ABBREVIATIONS

5SAIB	Five South Africa Infantry Battalion
9/11	September 11 th , 2001
ACAA	Aliens Control Amendment Act
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
ARMSCOR	Armaments Corporation of South Africa
ARV	Anti-retroviral Drugs
AU	African Union
BMA	Border Management Authority
BP	Border Patrol
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DA	Democratic Alliance
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ETDs	Emergency Travellers Documents
EMS	Emergency Medical Services
EU	European Union
FP-7	Seventh Framework Programme
FRELIMO	Frante para o Liberacao do Mocambique
FTLRP	Fast-Track Land Reform Programme
HIV	Human Immune Virus
ID	Identity
ISIL	Islamic State in Iraq and Lavent
ISS	International Security Studies

KNP	Kruger National Park
KZN	Kwa-Zulu Natal
MK	uMkhonto we Sizwe
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan-African Congress
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RENAMO	Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADF	South Africa Defence Forces
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SANDF	South Africa National Defence Force
SMA	Soutpansberg Military Area
SMG	Soutpansburg Military Ground
SAP	South African Police
SAPS	South Africa Police Services
SIVE	Sistema Integrado Vigilancia Exterior
TLU	Transvaalse Landbou Unie
UK	United Kingdom
UAVs	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
US	United States
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZDP	Zimbabwean Documentation Process

ABSTRACT

This study examined the border control and management mechanisms that were in place during the apartheid era and those that exist now that curb illegal entry into South Africa through the Beitbridge Border. In order to fully understand this, the study examined the nature of South Africa's Beitbridge Border control and management systems in apartheid and post-apartheid eras. This was done in view of the fact that immigrants flocked into apartheid South Africa in large numbers, and this trend worsened after South Africa became a democratic government in 1994. Given the tendency by undocumented nationals from South Africa's neighbouring states to illegally cross into the country at will, the study argued that border control mechanisms are lax. It determined that there are collusions among the immigration officials, army, the police and human traffickers at the Beitbridge border post that facilitate such irregular entries. This was in view of the fact that there are tens of thousands of undocumented Zimbabweans who live in Johannesburg and Thohoyandou, among many places in South Africa. Another salient feature of this phenomenon was that South Africa deports almost a thousand of these every month, but a few days after their deportations, the same people are back in the country. This study was done qualitatively in order to gather data from various individuals connected with the phenomenon.

Key Terms:

Apartheid, Beitbridge, Border, Migration, Post-Apartheid, Undocumented.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1. Introduction

Borders in the context of this study are internationally recognised boundaries between two countries.¹ This study examined irregular border crossings into South Africa through the Beitbridge border post. It investigated the ease with which undocumented individuals cross into South Africa in the post-apartheid dispensation. Nearly three decades after the Berlin Wall collapsed, we still see bigger barriers separating countries from each other. Today, walls snake through many thousands of kilometres in an effort to monitor and control the movement of people. In addition, there are fences, watchtowers and border patrols that complement such walls. This is in sheer contrast to the widely held notion that the 21st century signalled the erosion of boundaries among nation-states. That is, barriers continue to be erected in the European Union, Asia and Africa. With reference to Africa, freedom of movement is arguably the biggest challenge Africans face in the 21st century. Similarly, the control and regulation of borders in ways that permit the easy movements of people has been a subject of contentious debate.² The future of Africa is one that is held back by restrictive immigration controls and the militarisation of borders. It is argued that the African Union (AU) should adopt the European Union (EU) model of cross-border migration that allows for the free movement of people across international borders. Others are of the opposite view, though.³ These arguments were explored later in chapter five.

Most African governments, however, adopt restrictive immigration measures. These measures deter the influx of migrants into their respective countries. Apartheid's demise, however, saw a tremendous influx of foreign nationals into the country. Even though there is no reliable data on the exact number of foreign nationals in the country,

¹ N. Hernodh, The Fine Line That Separates US - Processes of Namibian Identity Making and Tribalism in a Border Region, A paper presented at the Symposium on Border Regions in Southern Africa, (University of Namibia, 7 – 8 September, 2015). p. 1.

² W. Okumu, Border Management and Security in Africa, in Journal of The Border Institute. 2011. <https://www.researchgate.net/publications/30898355>

³ C.C Nshimbi and L. Fioramonti, A Region Without Borders? Policy Framework for Regional Labour Migration Towards South Africa, Migration for work Research Consortium Report. Policy Brief 1-(6) (July 2013).

the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) estimates that there are about 12 million undocumented migrants in the country.⁴ Meanwhile, the educated guess number of undocumented migrants is between 2.5 and 5 million.⁵

Campell states that Southern Africa has been the most targeted region in sub-Saharan Africa due to its relatively high level of economic and social development relative to other regions in Africa.⁶ That is, post-apartheid South Africa has become the favourite destination of foreign nationals, both legal and otherwise. This has seen the South African government investing a lot of time, money and human resources in trying to effectively control and manage its borders.⁷ In particular, this study assessed the nature of the Beitbridge border and the attendant control measures that existed during the apartheid era and those that exist now.

1.2 Background to the Problem

In order to understand the context in which this study was framed, it is important to provide a brief description of cross-border migration in southern Africa. Currently, there is a large-scale movement of people into South Africa. South Africa, Namibia and Botswana are favoured destinations for migrants from the SADC region, partly because of their relatively stable economies.⁸ South Africa (due to its larger economy when compared to its neighbours), attracts the largest number of illegal cross-border migrants from southern Africa and beyond.

In view of this, suffices it to say that the country lacks a proper and effective border management and control system(s) to curb the cross-border movement of undocumented people into its territory.⁹ The cross-border movements are a

⁴ J. Crush, "Covert Operations: Clandestine Migration, Temporary Work and Immigration Policy in South Africa." South African Migration Project, Migration Policy Series, No. 1 (Cape Town: South African Project Migration). 1997. p. 18.

⁵ D. Vigneswaran, 'Undocumented migration: risks and myths.' 2008. p. 143.

⁶ [www.http/taps.journals.ac.za](http://taps.journals.ac.za) E.K. Campell, Reflections on Illegal Immigration in Botswana and South Africa, in Journal of African Population Studies. 2006. p. 1.

⁷ [www.http/taps.journals.ac.za](http://taps.journals.ac.za) E.K. Campell, Reflections on Illegal Immigration in Botswana and South Africa, in Journal of African Population Studies. 2006. p. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ C.C Nshimbi and L. Fioramonti, A Region Without Borders? Policy Framework for Regional Labour Migration Towards South Africa, Migration for work Research Consortium Report. Policy Brief 1-(6) (July 2013). p. 1.

phenomenon, which is as old as humankind. But, in the modern dispensation, this poses a threat to the country's security when borders are porous.

There is evidence that South Africa's current responses to the reality of illegal migrations in southern Africa do not provide the most optimal solutions to the phenomenon.¹⁰ The concern about tightening its borders, national security and the increasing fear of the other Africans are now common in South Africa.¹¹ This study focused on the Beitbridge border control measures that were in place during the apartheid era and those that are there now. It investigated how such measures influenced and still influence the entry of undocumented people into South Africa. It is also important to indicate that the terms 'irregular' and 'undocumented' migrants are used interchangeably in this study as they refer to the movement of people across South Africa's border in a manner that violates the country's immigration laws and regulations

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Borders are a major subject of interests in Europe, Asia and the Americas. In Africa, however, they do not get much attention, and hence are less studied.¹² Even though there are many studies on migration and borders, little has been studied in a comparative sense. A preliminary literature review on the subject of border control was done. In spite of the extensive literature on this subject, not much is written about how the borders were managed and controlled during apartheid on the one hand, and how they are managed and controlled today. As a result, this has created a void in literature in this respect.

Managing borders is a daunting task. In fact, borders should be bridges rather than barriers for cross-border collaboration and integration. But, this should not facilitate illegal entries by undocumented people (with contrabands), while allowing easy

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ <https://www.pambazuka.org/pan-africanism/against-colonial-borders-need-african-citizenship-now>. Accessed: 9th June, 2017. 11:13.

¹² Symposium on Border Regions in Southern Africa (University of Namibia, Katima Mulilo Campus, 7 – 8th September, 2015). p. 3.

movement of documented ones and their goods.¹³ Uncertainty, however, surrounds the free movement of people across the SADC region.

There seems to be an uncontrolled free entry of undocumented people into South Africa through the Beitbridge Border Post.¹⁴ This has led to serious tensions in the country between locals and foreigners, dubbed ‘xenophobic attacks’. That is, local people complain bitterly about such undocumented immigrants¹⁵, accusing them of criminal activities on one hand, and of taking their jobs on the other, among other related complaints. Of note here is the lack of in-depth studies that investigate the causes of such unprecedented inflow of undocumented people across the Beitbridge Border Post.

This study’s concern, therefore, is the supposed free entry of undocumented people into South Africa through the Beitbridge Border Post, which has largely contributed to tensions between locals and immigrants, but has received less attention from scholars and academics.

1.4 Aim of the Study

The aim here was to study the border control measures that were in place during the apartheid era and those that exist now that curb illegal entry into South Africa through the Beitbridge Border.

1.5 Study Objectives

This study’s objectives are:

- To identify the border control measures and mechanisms that were in place during apartheid, from 1980 to 1994.

¹³ W. Okumu, Border Management and Security in Africa, in Journal of The Border Institute. 2011. p. 1.
<https://www.researchgate.net/publications/30898355>

¹⁴ Findings from interviews with Anatswanashe, Chenzini, Takudzwa, Hondo, Mike, Mlabo, Obert, Rufaro and Vimbo (pseudo names), Thohoyandou: 16th and 17th January, 2018.

¹⁵ In the context of this study, ‘undocumented immigrants’ refer to the Zimbabwean foreign nationals who sidestepped South Africa’s Beitbridge border thereby violating the country’s immigration laws and regulations.

- To identify the border control and management mechanisms that are currently in place at the Beitbridge Border Post.
- To identify the gaps and challenges in border control and management that facilitate irregular entry into South Africa.
- To determine the South African government's attitude and perceptions towards undocumented immigrants in its territories.

1.6 Research Questions

The study answered the following main research question:

- How was South Africa's Beitbridge Border Post controlled and managed during apartheid (in the 1980s) and, how is it controlled and managed now?

In addition, the study answered the following secondary questions:

- What were apartheid's border control and management mechanisms at the Beitbridge Border Post?
- What are the current border control and management mechanisms at the same border?
- What are the gaps and challenges in border control and management that facilitate irregular entry into South Africa?
- What is the South African government's attitude towards, and perceptions of illegal immigrants in the country?

1.7 Justification for the Study

This study dealt with the border control imperatives in the context of South Africa's Beitbridge Border Post. Given that there is limited literature that tackle the issue of undocumented immigrants' easy access into the country, this study is essential as it would add to the body of knowledge in this field. This study is important in that it used first-hand information from immigrants to show the effectiveness or lack thereof of the country's border control and management mechanisms. This is a vital aspect of this study as it provides voice to the voiceless immigrants, thus would help the government to improve its control and management of the country's borders. The study, through

its recommendations, will help towards the general improvement of the management and control of South Africa's borders, particularly the Beitbridge one. In this context, this study will be used as one of the referral sources by policymakers in their bid to improve our border control and management systems. By helping tackle the challenges related to the successful management and control of our borders, this study will help reduce irregular migrations into the country. In this way, the so-called 'xenophobic attacks' would be indirectly controlled due to the limited number of illegal immigrants who would enter our country. Given all the above, this study is justified.

1.8 Definition of Key Concepts

Apartheid: This was a system of separate development of races in South Africa. This policy was vigorously implemented from 1948 until 1993.¹⁶

Border: In the case of this study, a border is an internationally recognised line that divides South Africa and its neighbouring countries. This demarcation line should be crossed legally, following South Africa and its concerned neighbours' laws.¹⁷

Border management: The concept refers to the authorised flow of people across borders and the detection and prevention of people's irregular entry into South Africa (in the national interest, particularly economic development, security and peace).¹⁸

Freedom of movement: For the purposes of this study, the phrase refers to the right of people to legally move across Beitbridge Border Post.¹⁹

Immigration: A process by which non-nationals, for example, Zimbabweans, move into South Africa for the purposes of settlement, employment and criminal activities.²⁰

¹⁶ M.B. Mhauri, E. Salani and R. Mokotedi, Understanding Apartheid in South Africa through the Racial Contract, in International Journal of Asian Social Sciences, 5(4) 2015. p. 205.

¹⁷ N. Hernodh, The Fine Line That Separates US - Processes of Namibian Identity Making and Tribalism in a Border Region, A paper presented at the Symposium on Border Regions in Southern Africa, (University of Namibia, 7 – 8 September, 2015). p. 1.

¹⁸ W. Okumu, Border Management and Security in Africa, in Journal of The Border Institute. 2011. p. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ T. Hayter, *Open Borders. The Case Against Immigration Controls*. Second Edition. London, 2004. pp. i – 226.

Migrant: Any person moving or has moved across the Beitbridge Border into South Africa, either legally or otherwise.²¹

Migration: It is the movement of people across Beitbridge Border Post. It should be noted that this study did not draw a distinction amongst refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family-reunification or touring South Africa, when applying this concept.²²

Post-apartheid: The period after the demise of apartheid in South Africa, notably from 1994 onwards.²³

Undocumented immigrants: Refers to the Zimbabwean foreign nationals who sidestepped South Africa's Beitbridge border thereby violating the country's immigration laws and regulations.²⁴

Xenophobia: For this study, the concept refers to hatred, attitudes, prejudices and behaviour by South Africans that reject, exclude, vilify and often result in assaults on foreign nationals, mostly from African countries, for example, Zimbabwean nationals. This is usually done based on the perception that they are either here to take jobs meant for locals or are here for criminal activities.²⁵

1.9 Outline of the Study

Chapter One provides an introduction to this study, its background, statement of the problem, aim and objectives, and the research questions. This Chapter also justifies why this study was done.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² T. Hayter, *Open Borders. The Case Against Immigration Controls*. Second Edition. London, 2004.

²³ F.L.M. Seda, 'Border Governance In Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration And Cross-Border Regions.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015.

²⁴ C. Erb, *Hardened Borders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso*, in *Aspeers Journal*, Vol. 2. 2009. pp. 97 - 126

²⁵ F.L.M. Seda, 'Border Governance In Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration And Cross-Border Regions.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015.

Chapter Two reviewed literature where the emphasis was on studies that dealt with immigration and border control in general. It reviewed scholarly works, focusing on the aspects that were pertinent to this study.

The third Chapter dealt with this study's methodology. It described and explained the research design and methods used in this study. Also explained here is the population and its sample (sampling procedure) as well as the study's limitation.

Chapter Four presented and discussed data as collected from the prospective interviewees. Such data was integrated with that collected from secondary sources. The aim of this chapter is to show how the Beitbridge Border is controlled to curb irregular entry into South Africa.

Chapter Five analysed and interpreted data as presented and discussed in Chapter Four. Data from secondary and primary sources were integrated with that from interviews to provide a solid argument on how people irregularly cross into South Africa through the Beitbridge Border Post.

In Chapter Six, the study findings are presented, the conclusion made and recommendations for further improvement provided.

1.10 Conclusion

The free movement of people across international borders is a contentious issue in South Africa. This is particularly so when one considers the skewed economic growth and development of South Africa's neighbouring countries, particularly Zimbabwe whose economy has visually collapsed. This has invariably led to an upsurge of economic refugees from Zimbabwe to South Africa, the majority of whom are undocumented. Given this entrenched trend, it was necessary to conduct an in-depth study to determine how porous or lax South Africa's border management and control mechanisms are at the Beitbridge Border Post.

It is hoped that this study would help policy makers and senior officials managing our borders formulate full-proof strategies to curb the seemingly uncontrolled entry into the country by various undocumented nationals within and without southern Africa.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the study's contextual background concerning the immigration controls. It begins by discussing the theory used to interpret the findings. The theory of migration underpins this study. The second section explains the concepts 'illegal', 'alien' or 'undocumented' as well as 'border' in order to appreciate how they are used in the context of this study. Considering that these are not only specific to South Africa, the Chapter first looks at immigration and border control in Europe and the United States of America. This is followed by border controls in Asia and Africa. The patterns of historical and current trends in border controls in Southern Africa are also looked at. Issues to be emphasised here are the similarities and differences between the immigration controls during the apartheid and in post-apartheid eras. This is followed by literature on the perceptions and attitudes towards foreigners by the post-apartheid government. Literature on the Zimbabweans' irregular migration to South Africa is reviewed as well. This review draws attention to contending issues that relate to humanitarian concerns regarding the border controls. The last section concludes this Chapter.

2.2 Literature on Theory of Migration

One theory that stood out in helping explain the gravity of Zimbabweans' irregular migrations to South Africa is the 'Theory of Migration' by Lee. According to Lee, there are four factors that are considered when one decides to migrate. These include factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles and, personal factors.²⁶

The first and second factors are classified as the push and pull factors respectively. Push factors are associated with the area of origin. They are attributes that force people to leave their current societies to elsewhere, such as poverty, hunger, drought,

²⁶ E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in Journal of Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. pp. 49 and 50.

death of parents or caregiver, acute economic pressure exerted on families and, unstable and abusive environments. Pull factors are associated with the area of destination. They are attributes that attract people to move to desired societies (pulling them), which include better health facilities and the availability of jobs (even menial work in the construction industry, farms or working as maids).²⁷ With the pull factors, an individual is influenced by preferences and interests, whereas with the push factors, he/she has no choice but to cross the border. It is, therefore, unreasonable for a researcher in the field of migration to neglect the reasons why people migrate. Lee, however, believed that the emphasis on migration should be placed on the push factors (internal) and not the pull factors (external).²⁸

The third factor, which is of particular importance to this study, stresses the notion of intervening obstacles. Lee illustrated that the process of migrating is filled with obstacles between two locations.²⁹ Intervening obstacles are the measures or barriers that may block one from migrating. It must also be mentioned, however, that nation-states have reacted and continue to react with ever more restrictive and repressive border control mechanisms, among them the mandatory detention, illegalisation, forced destitution and mass deportations.³⁰ Also, Lee mentioned distance, physical and political barriers as being restrictive as well. It is important to underline that barriers can also be mental or legal. These, according to Lee, can develop into the so-called intervening obstacles.³¹

Faced with this situation, the migrant has to reflect on his situation and consider both "...the positives of staying and the negatives of moving, as well as their converses."³² If the positives of the destination outnumber the positives of staying, then the likelihood of migrating is high, and vice versa.³³ This theory shows that in order to migrate from one place to another, one has to overcome certain difficulties at different levels such

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ C. Lydersen, 'Push' and 'Pull' Factors for the Marriage Migration of Russian Women in the age group 20-30 from St. Petersburg to Sweden. Working Paper, Centre for German and European Studies, 2011, No. 8. p. 22.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 23

³⁰ A. Stanojoska and B. Petrevski, 'Theory of Push And Pull Factors, New Way Of Explaining The Old.' 2012. (No Page Numbers).

³¹ E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in Journal of Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. p. 52.

³² C. Lydersen, 'Push' and 'Pull' Factors for the Marriage Migration of Russian Women in the age group 20-30 from St. Petersburg to Sweden. Working Paper, Centre for German and European Studies, 2011, No. 8. p. 23.

³³ *Ibid.*

as the ones mentioned above.³⁴ Intervening obstacles helped conceptualise this study as it studied the barriers in entering South Africa. In the context of this study, it is important to understand how undocumented Zimbabwean migrants overcome these obstacles/barriers.

Lastly, Lee purports that personal factors such as a person's education, knowledge of the receiving population and family ties, among others, should be taken into consideration. These factors, according to him, are important because they might make migration either possible or not happen at all.³⁵

In this regard, in order to understand why undocumented migrants from Zimbabwe decide to come to South Africa through the Beitbridge Border, the pull and push factors were integrated, as well as the intervening obstacles and personal factors. The next section defines the concepts that are pertinent in this study.

2.3 Definition of Concepts

This section defines the concepts as espoused by various scholars, and what they mean in the context of this study. These include illegal, alien, undocumented and border. These are discussed below in the order they appear above.

2.3.1 Illegal, Alien or Undocumented

What is interesting about immigration laws is that there are no special terms for those who break them. Thus, we are in a state where there are no agreed terms for this crime. There is a need, therefore, to create new ones. A debate on this is fraught with humanitarian concerns. Words have immense power and can frame the way we think about issues at a grand scale. Several terms that include illegal alien, undocumented immigrant, illegal immigrant, trespasser, fraud, thief, illegal entry, and visa overstay, *inter alia*, come to mind. Each of these has a slightly different connotation and wills

³⁴ E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in Journal of Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. p. 51.

³⁵ C. Lydersen, 'Push' and 'Pull' Factors for the Marriage Migration of Russian Women in the age group 20-30 from St. Petersburg to Sweden. Working Paper, Centre for German and European Studies, 2011, No. 8. p. 23.

people to imagine a different type of a person. When a writer chooses to use any of these terms, they intentionally do so to convey a certain meaning.

Informed by neutrality, this study uses the terms “irregular” and “undocumented” instead of “illegal” or “alien” when referring to individuals who have subverted the immigration laws by crossing the country’s borders through irregular means. At this point, it is important to clarify the terms “irregular” and “illegal” as they are often confused. Koser explains that the term “irregular” is preferable over “illegal” because migrants are not criminals.³⁶ “Undocumented” is more neutral sounding and, “immigrant” has, generally, positive connotations. The former implies that a person lacks immigration documents. Its use is intended to hide the quasi-legal, and thus the questionable presence of individuals in the territory of a country without following its formal “legal” residency procedures. This is a more legally correct term that applies to one particular crime. In contemporary discourse, this is often taken as the language of the “liberal” perspective.

“Alien”, on the other hand, connotes something foreign, unfamiliar, perhaps dangerous, and even extra-terrestrial, depending on the context. It alienates undocumented immigrants, making them feel completely unwanted and unfit for society. This could potentially result in increased violence or crime, and is a bad idea both from a legal and moral standpoint.

“Illegal” needs no explanation. Calling someone an “illegal immigrant” dehumanises people and removes their dignity by implying that their very existence is a direct violation of the law.³⁷ The term implies that everything a person is doing in the country is illegal, from the way they got in (trespassing) to the way they are making money (stealing jobs – and not paying taxes) to how they buy commodities (on welfare), and accessing medical treatment.³⁸ This is somewhat deceptive in a sense that actions, not people, are illegal.

³⁶ K. Khalid, ‘International migration: a very short introduction’, in D. Pencheva, Irregular immigration and the European Union border control policies: Personal experiences of asylum seekers in the Trampoline House (Copenhagen, Denmark) with the EU border regimes and the Danish asylum system. (Unpublished Master Thesis, Goteborg University, 2012). p. 22.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states that, “Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution”.

The base line is simply “immigration and immigration policy”. With particular importance to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the possibility that labelling as “illegal” may jeopardise refugees’ asylum claims. Thus, the most obvious divergence is between the interests of migrants and the right of the states to control their borders.³⁹ Adding the fact that irregular migration could be beneficial for both sending and receiving states, we could conclude that state sovereignty and human rights are two principles that are difficult to reconcile.⁴⁰

2.3.2 Conceptualisation of the Border

The early studies on borders by scholars such as, *inter alia*, Ratzel (1903), Hartshorne (1933; 1937), Kristof (1959) and Minghi (1963) laid the foundation for modern border studies to highlight the co-evolution of borders and states. Anderson *et al.* see borders as filters that sort people into desirables and non-desirables, skilled and unskilled, genuine and bogus, worker, wife, or refugee, among others.⁴¹ Here, Anderson *et al.* see borders as the mark of a particular kind of relationship, one based on deep divisions and inequalities between people who are given varying national status.⁴² Scott, on the other hand, refers to borders as symbolic boundaries and societal processes that help construct societies at a more general level. He posits that, “In terms of everyday life, borders are formed by the spatial organisation of differences; both the reproduction of the symbolic systems and the creation of subjective distinctions (borders) between self and the other are central to the perceptions and organisation of human societies.”⁴³ In Anthropology, however, the definition is precisely opposite. Here, a border generally means the socio-spatially constructed differences between cultures/categories, and a border generally stands for a line demarcated in space.⁴⁴

³⁹ D. Pencheva, Irregular immigration and the European Union border control policies: Personal experiences of asylum seekers in the Trampoline House (Copenhagen, Denmark) with the EU border regimes and the Danish asylum system. (Unpublished Master Thesis, Goteborg University, 2012). pp. 22 and 23.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*

⁴¹ B. Anderson, N. Sharma and C. Wright, Editorial: Why No Borders?, in *Journal of Refuge*, Vol. 26 No.2 p. 6.

⁴² *Ibid*.

⁴³ J.W. Scott, *Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe*. Yliopistokatu: Springer International Publishing, 2015. p. 29.

⁴⁴ H.V. Houtum, The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries, in *Geopolitics*, No.10, 2005. p. 672.

According to Kristoff, the primary function of boundaries as legal institutions was clear: “In order to have some stability in the political structure, both at the national and international levels, a clear distinction between the spheres of foreign and domestic is necessary. The boundary helps to maintain this distinction.”⁴⁵ In the same vein, Jamagidze highlights that borders are not merely lines separating states from each other. They reflect differences in institutions, policies and regulations.⁴⁶ Paasi, cited in Scott, contends that to understand borders is an issue of understanding how states function and thus...how borders can be exploited to both mobilise and fix territory, security, identities and memories, and various forms of national socialisation.⁴⁷ In the context of this study, border refers to the line that divides South Africa and Zimbabwe, where immigration policies are enforced to restrict the entry of Zimbabweans based on the quality (skills for labour) and the perceived threat they pose to the South African society.

In addition, ‘bordering’ is another important concept to take note of here. Considering that this dissertation looks at migration across international borders, and in particular illegal migrants, it is important to establish an understanding of this concept and what it means here. Scott discusses how borders have been historically conceptualised. According to him, the process of bordering could be defined as the everyday construction of borders, for example, through political discourses and institutions, media representations, school textbooks, stereotypes and everyday forms of transformation.⁴⁸ Houtum, on the other hand, uses the term “b/ordering” to refer to the interplay between the ordering (of a chaos) and border-making.⁴⁹

The argument by Houtum, as explained by Scott, is that physical borders are not there only by tradition, wars, agreements and high politics, but are also made and maintained by other cultural, economic, political and social activities.⁵⁰ Everyday ‘bordering’ and ‘ordering’ practices continue to create and recreate new socio-cultural

⁴⁵ L.K.D. Kristof, ‘The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries’ in J.W Scott, *Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe*. Yliopistokatu, Springer International Publishing, 2015. p. 29.

⁴⁶ L. Jamagidze, The Significance Of Borders In Georgia EU Trade Relations, in *Administraciai Zarzadzanie* (34), Number 107, 2015. p. 126.

⁴⁷ J.W. Scott, *Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe*. Yliopistokatu: Springer International Publishing, 2015. p. 29.

⁴⁸ J.W. Scott, *Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe*. Yliopistokatu: Springer International Publishing, 2015. pp. 31 and 32.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 32.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

boundaries and divisions which are also spatial in nature.⁵¹ At one level, bordering serves to satisfy people's basic needs, being protected from external and internal threats and determining the territories which belong to particular political, cultural and social groups. These goals are achieved, first, through the process of socialisation in the family and at school by the media, shaping a self-identification of an individual with certain territory, cultural and political system. Second, security is supposed to be provided by a sovereign ruler or authorities, looking for legitimacy in the eyes of citizens.⁵²

On a more subtle level, and pertinent to this study, bordering is about a politics of difference. As shown by Scott in his analysis of bordering and border politics, border narratives, for example, have always consciously and subconsciously thrown up the notion of difference which exists on both sides of the border. Scott problematises this by suggesting that either borders are created to reflect the existing differences between groups and cultures, and are thus imposed upon the landscape (be it geographic or social) to institutionalise and perpetuate that difference, or borders are imposed upon 'origin', uninhabited spaces and in, deterministic fashion and thus responsible for the evolution of difference on either side of the line of separation (which is equally a barrier to communication and movement.⁵³ Paasi has named this the identity producing functions of borders or boundaries:

The meanings of boundaries are thus underlined by the fact that identities are produced through them. They become part of the collective identities, shared memories and the sense of continuity between generations. Identities are often represented in terms of a difference between 'Us and the Other', rather than being something essentialist or intrinsic to a certain group of people.⁵⁴

Thus, in the words of one scholar, "bordering is basically the desire to distance oneself from the other in order to uphold the (fantasy of the) 'Self' during the feelings of fear

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Newman and Paasi, 1998; Newman, 2011 in J.W. Scott, *Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe*. Yliopistokatu: Springer International Publishing, 2015. p. 32.

⁵³ J.W Scott, *Bordering, Border Politics And Cross-Border Cooperation In Europe*. Yliopistokatu: Springer International Publishing, 2015. p. 32.

⁵⁴ A. Paasi, 'Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality in the World of Flows,' in C. Yndigegn, 'Between Debordering and Rebordering Europe: Cross-Border Cooperation in the Øresund Region or the Danish-Swedish Border Region.' (No year). pp. 47-59.

or anxiety.”⁵⁵ However, a closer analysis of cross-border narratives would indicate that the opening of borders highlights, rather than diminishes, the notions of differences.

Against this background, taking a look at the South African immigration laws provided a useful illustration of what Scott, Newman, Paasi and Huotum suggested here. In this regard, it is important to augment this perspective (of the bordering) as reflected on the national identity of migrants in the South African context, taking into consideration this country’s peculiar history. The history of bordering in South Africa is important as it provides the basis for understanding the country’s immigration and border control mechanisms today. Literature on border studies in the country suffers from a void insofar as the South Africa-Zimbabwe bordering is generally concerned. Unfortunately, this provides an insufficient premise for a conversation on border in today’s discourse. This dissertation, therefore, seeks to make a contribution on ‘bordering’ literature.

2.4 Combating Irregular Migration in Europe

With the advent of globalisation,⁵⁶ one would have thought that in the 21st century dispensation, borders would not be a barrier to the movement of people around the globe. The commonly held belief was that economic integration and inter-dependence would lead to open borders, and more harmonious cross-border relations.⁵⁷ To the contrary, the dream was short-lived as governments have instead raised barriers in all corners of the globe. Thus, border studies have attracted great interests among scholars in recent years. That is, they have become a subject of interest in exploring the complexities of cross-border migration and border politics. Territorial borders have for decades been consolidated in the post-world war architecture. Current developments such as the territorial armed conflicts, the refuge crisis or transnational flows of people, economies and ideologies and the contested national borders have lost their significance in an ambivalent way. In addition to these visible territorial

⁵⁵ H.V. Houtum, *The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries*, in *Geopolitics*, No.10, 2005. p. 677.

⁵⁶ ‘Globalisation’ is a process whereby countries are becoming closely connected to each other and State’s boundaries disappearing to form a global community.

⁵⁷ P. Andreas, ‘A Tale of Two Borders: The U.S.-Mexico and U.S.-Canada Lines After 9-11.’The Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies University of California, San Diego. Working Paper 77, May 2003. p. 1.

borders, other forms of boundaries exist in societies, families, biographies, socio-economic contexts and social environment. Examples for this are societal bordering processes (inclusion/exclusion) of ethnic, socio-cultural or religious groups. At the moment, the most overly studied and researched state borders are particularly the European, and the US-Mexico borders.

The European borders provide a useful basis from which to begin the border discussion. To begin with, irregular migration in Europe did not just evolve by default. There were several factors behind that set forth the preceding development of this trend. The search for a good life, employment opportunities, coupled with civil unrests in African and the Middle East countries are some of the factors that resulted in large-scale movements of migrants into Europe. Compounding this is the influx of hundreds of thousands of immigrants from war-torn countries such as Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia, which has stirred anti-immigrant sentiments in Europe. On the part of EU's blame, however, irregular migration stems from the Schengen Agreement,⁵⁸ and its failure to formulate a systematic policy on issues including asylum and labour migrations. This, consequently, opened the floodgates for the unauthorised migrants into EU, either through inland or sea borders.

In studying the European borders, Anderson underscores Europe's failed 'fight' against irregular migration. An important feature of introspection to make here is on public funding. He points out that despite strict border controls, people still manage to make it across the seas to Europe's shores. Anderson employs the term 'illegality industry' to show us how irregular migration has been turned into profitable business for many actors. That is, immigration and border controls have now been modelled into a 'market in border security'. Anderson explains that the EU leaders were defiant and opted for tight border security models. That is, member states have developed costly systems and technologies to control and manage irregular migrations. By setting

⁵⁸ The Schengen Agreement or Schengen system, is a result of series of treaties from 1985 and 1990, and came into force in 1995. The main objective of those treaties was the creation of measures related to the abolishment of border controls between the participating states. The parties have fewer identity checks on the crossing of borders. A main issue was the strengthening of control at the exterior borders as a precondition for the elimination of control between the Schengen States. S. Alscher, 'Knocking at the Doors of 'Fortress Europe': Migration and the Border Control in Southern Spain and Eastern Poland.' Working Paper 126. The Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies (University of California) 2005. p. 5; D. Pencheva, 'Irregular immigration and the European Union border control policies: Personal experiences of asylum seekers in the Trampoline House (Copenhagen, Denmark) with the EU border regimes and the Danish asylum system.' (Unpublished Master Dissertation), Goteborg University, 2012. pp. 25 and 26.

up agencies, EU member states believed that they would protect EU's external borders and crackdown on any attempt of illegal entry.

In her comparative study of the Spanish and Poland border controls, Alscher opined that the pull and push factors like the Spanish economy and the ongoing bad economic conditions in West African countries played an important role.⁵⁹ The majority of these undocumented immigrants are from countries of the Niger Delta who endure instability, civil wars and inter-state conflicts. In response to the increasing undocumented immigrants, the Spanish government enforced the Spanish Sistema Integrado Vigilancia Exterior (SIVE) and fences at the Greek, Bulgarian and Hungarian borders. This sophisticated system is equipped with motion detectors, video and infrared-cameras and control towers. The main objective of SIVE is the complete surveillance of the Spanish southern border in the autonomous communities of Andalusia and the Canary Islands to the exclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. Today, a high security border fencing system surrounds Ceuta, which consists of two rows of fences. The Schengen state's ambitions for tighter border controls are spearheaded by the EU's Seventh Framework Programme (FP-7). These border security initiatives are financially supported by the EU.

The focus of the system is to ensure that persons who are or might be considered unwanted by any participating state are not permitted into the country.⁶⁰ This, considering the fact that most migrants come from the troubled Africa and the Middle East countries. The border controls are thus underpinned by discriminatory values and the constant fear of the spread of Islam in Europe, loosely termed '*islamophobia*.'⁶¹ Added to that is the possibility of the depopulation of Europe by migrants which poses significant threats against European governments. To exacerbate this fear, the acts of

⁵⁹ Morocco is a transit country to the EU through the strait of Gibraltar, the Canary Islands and the two occupied cities of Ceuta and Melilla, mostly used by natives of the Western and Eastern African countries. S. Rezouni, 'Illegal Immigration: Causes, Consequences, and Nationality Securing Implications?' (Unpublished Master's Thesis) U.S. Army War College, 2010. p. 5.

⁶⁰ D. Pencheva, 'Irregular immigration and the European Union border control policies: Personal experiences of asylum seekers in the Trampoline House (Copenhagen, Denmark) with the EU border regimes and the Danish asylum system.' (Unpublished Master's Dissertation) Goteborg University, 2012. pp. 25 and 26.

⁶¹ '*Islamophobia*' means the dislike of Muslim or Islam which emanate from the Europeans' belief that Muslims are inherently violent, and that they would Islamise Europe.

terrorism,⁶² targeted and carried out in Europe, have sparked debate about security concerns and the tightening of the external borders.

Arguing against restrictive border measures, Anderson contends that this security approach has countered the objective of controlling and reducing illegal entry. He alluded that more controls in one area forces migrants into more risky crossings, and hence the argument that the security initiatives do not solve the problem at the borders. This aspect of security approach on border control helped to establish the extent to which the Beitbridge Border Post is managed and controlled. Also in line with this study's objective, the study identified and revealed the illegal channels of entry used by undocumented migrants to evade the border patrol authorities at Beitbridge Border Post. Thus, both Anderson and Alschaer's works were used for comparative analysis in this study.

In contributing to the debate on the EU's border control, Pencheva investigated border control policies, focusing on Denmark's asylum system. Like Anderson and Alscher, her analysis was mainly based on restrictive border regimes, which are an obstacle to migrants. Pencheva found that there are places across the Syrian-Turkish border where there is no border control, or where people pay money to the mafia to gain entry.⁶³ She observed that the Syrian-Turkish border has since become an entry point for refugees fleeing conflict in Syria. Pencheva looked at how migrants respond to restrictive border controls. She revealed that they take staggering measures of ingenuity to overcome these obstacles in order to achieve a better life. That is, since acquiring a passport is a must to enter the EU, migrants buy fake ID documents or visas. For any Syrian asylum seeker who wishes to make it to Europe, a passport is easily obtainable from human traffickers. The necessary service that these smugglers provide to migrants has created a formidable bond that beats border controls. This in turn created a profitable international business for the former. Agreeing with Anderson,

⁶² The deadliest recent Islamic terrorist attack in Europe include, among others, the 2015 Paris attack, 2016 Nice attack and the 2016 Atatürk and the 2017 Manchester Arena bombing, all of which the perpetrators claimed to be inspired by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

⁶³ 'Mafia' refers to a group of criminal syndicates involved in organized criminal elements. Pencheva, Irregular immigration and the European Union border control policies: Personal experiences of asylum seekers in the Trampoline House (Copenhagen, Denmark) with the EU border regimes and the Danish asylum system. (Unpublished Master Dissertation) Goteborg University, 2012. p. 44.

Pencheva concludes that the restrictive immigration policies are counter-productive. Penchava's work helped this study to make a comparative analysis of border control measures and the methods undocumented Zimbabwean migrants resort to in their attempt to cross the border into South Africa through the Beitbridge border.

Triandafyllidou and Ambrosini look at irregular immigration control in Italy and Greece, paying particular attention on fencing and weak gate-keeping. Greece was faced with irregular migration in the 1990s after the collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Escaping economic difficulties, Greece became a host country for many. In their study, Triandafyllidou and Ambrosini observed that people crossed on foot with or without assistance from smugglers or were smuggled by speed-boats through the Ionian Sea to the north-western Greek coastline and the Corfu Islands. The authors explain fencing (measures that actively target illegal migrants in order to arrest and then expel them) and gate-keeping (strategies aimed at restricting practical legal access to a nation or institutions).⁶⁴

Fencing, in general, broadly encompasses the enactment of immigration laws to expel migrants. On the internal aspect of the fencing operations, Triandafyllidou and Ambrosini noted that Greece practiced massive arrest-and-expel operations targeting irregular migrants, mainly the Albanians.⁶⁵ These enforcement exercises were a means to deter irregular migrants from entering, to deter those who were already in the country from staying, and compel them to leave on their own initiatives. With regard to external fencing operations, the Greek State responded to irregular migration by stepping up its border fencing by setting up a special corps of Border Guards, with a view to tackling irregular migration through the Greek-Albanian border. The authors observed that fencing (particularly the operations by the Border Guards and the interceptions by the coast guard patrols) made it difficult for undocumented migrants to enter Greece without the help of organised networks.

Gate-keeping, on the other hand, include policies such as controlling employers and workplaces for irregular employment of undocumented migrants. It is a popularly held

⁶⁴ A. Triandafyllidou and M. Ambrossini, Irregular Immigration Control: Italy and Greece: Strong Fencing and weak Gate-keeping serving the Labour Market, in *European Journal of Migration and Law*, Vol. 13 (2011). p. 261

⁶⁵ These operations targeted public places such as metro stations, squares, and crowded neighbourhoods of the city centres. A. Triandafyllidou and M. Ambrossini, Irregular Immigration Control: Italy and Greece: Strong Fencing and weak Gate-keeping serving the Labour Market, in *European Journal of Law*, Vol. 13 (2011). p. 261.

view that employers hire immigrants to exploit their desperate situation.⁶⁶ This is driven by the fact that employers would hire them at higher wages than they would usually earn in their home countries.⁶⁷ Undocumented migrants are employed in specific economic sectors such as agriculture, tourism, catering, other manual jobs and caring/cleaning services, in jobs that natives are not willing to take and where informal employment is the rule rather than the exception.⁶⁸ The Greek State's strategy of internal gate-keeping includes labour inspection as a way to combat irregular migrant employment rather than mere irregular stay.

Similarly, Vogel and Cyrus agree with Triandafyllidou and Ambrosini that the increase in inspections within the national borders may help limit opportunities for immigrants without the status to engage in legal employment. On the other hand, Vogel and Cyrus argue that it is doubtful whether the proposed instruments are suitable for achieving this goal. They observed that the extended employer obligations and inspections would prevent irregular migrants from taking up legal, taxable employment.⁶⁹

Thus, these studies by Vogel and Cyrus; Triandafyllidou and Maurizio were relevant to this study as they brought to the fore the practical solutions to curb irregular migration. However, since this study was concerned with immigration control at the border post, particular attention was paid on 'fencing' as explained by Triandafyllidou and Maurizio. In the context of this study, fencing includes assessing whether investment in human resources and technical means were done to boost the SANDF and SAPS for the effective Beitbridge border control and management.

In her book titled, *Open Borders: The Case Against Immigration Controls*, Hayter explored the British immigration control measures from a human rights perspective. She analyses the dilemma which exist in Britain's immigration controls and

⁶⁶ A. Triandafyllidou and M. Ambrossini, Irregular Immigration Control: Italy and Greece: Strong Fencing and weak Gate-keeping serving the Labour Market, in *European Journal of Migration and Law*, Vol. 13 (2011). p. 261.

⁶⁷ S. Rezouni, *Illegal Immigration: Causes, Consequences, and Nationality Securing Implications?* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, U.S. Army War College), 2010. p. 9.

⁶⁸ T. Maroukisi, K. Iglicka and K. Gmaj, 'Irregular migration and informal economy in Southern and Central-Eastern Europe: breaking the vicious cycle?', in A. Triandafyllidou and M. Ambrossini, Irregular Immigration Control: Italy and Greece: Strong Fencing and weak Gate-keeping serving the Labour Market, in *European Journal of Migration and Law*, Vol. 13 (2011). p. 262.

⁶⁹ D. Vogel and N. Cyrus, Irregular Migration in Europe – Doubts about the Effectiveness of Control Strategies, in *Institute of International Economics. Policy Brief*, No. 9 (March, 2008). p. 7.

humanitarian concerns that arise as a result of the harsh treatment of migrants. She notes that the changes in immigration laws and the ever-increasing repressive measures such as the opening of detention centres as prisons, do not work.⁷⁰ Hayter makes an analogy of the water metaphors commonly applied to immigrants that can be applied to controls: "controls are like a dam; when one hole is blocked, another one appears somewhere else."⁷¹

Situating human rights in relation to border controls, Hayter highlights ways in which governments make use of whatever measures they choose to deter, punish and eject people they do not wish to receive in their territories. She underlines the fact that the governments resort to ways they would not treat their own citizens, and which undermines accepted norms of liberal democracy, the rule of law and human rights. This is evident in the case that sometimes migrants are called 'illegals', as if a human being could be categorised as an illegal human being. She reveals that the British government has opened detention centres which are used as prisons, without any commitment to comply with the UNHCR's guidelines by abolishing detention in prisons.⁷²

By studying the South African government's attitude and perceptions towards undocumented migrants, Hayter's work helped establish if the South African government's border control measures conform to international standards, as is observed in Britain. This was an important revelation as this study sought to make similar observations to identify the border control measures used by the South African government at Beitbridge. Hayter's work made a significant contribution to this study as it was used for comparative analysis on issues pertaining to the humanitarian border regime at the Beitbridge border. This is one area that needs a substantial amount of attention with regard to human rights and border controls. This is detailed in the next section in the context of the humanitarian border regimes.

⁷⁰ T. Hayter, *Open Borders. The Case Against Immigration Controls*. Second Edition. London, 2004. pp. i – 226.

⁷¹ T. Hayter, *Open Borders. The Case Against Immigration Controls*. Second Edition. London, 2004. pp. i – 226. p. xi.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 122.

2.5 Immigration and Border Control in North America

While the above reviews centred on immigration and border controls in Europe, this section looks at the United States of America (hereafter the USA) and Mexico border. The modern USA-Mexico border presents an interesting case of border regime studies. Much like the European borders, that border is typically another example of the hardened/tightened border control. Alden argued that the USA traditionally had loose border controls, and it was possible to walk freely across almost any portion of the land borders with Mexico or Canada.⁷³ This is because the primary goal of border security was on drugs and other contrabands. However, that began to change in the 1980s with the increase of illegal migration from Mexico and later on after the September 11th terrorist attack. Now, the USA has taken border control to extreme levels, making it almost impossible to illegally cross its borders.

Andreas examined the U.S border security in the context of the 9/11 terrorism attack.⁷⁴ He pointed out that the post-9/11 border controls are re-tooled and redesigned as part of a new and expanding 'war on terror'. The U.S response to the terrorist attack included tightening of its border inspections and a toughening of the policy discourse about the border and cross-border flows. Commenting on the event after the 9/11, Alden opined that preventing future terrorist attacks became the highest national priority of the U.S, and stopping entry by future would-be terrorist became a major priority of their strategy.

In his article, *Immigration and Border Control*, Alden looked at the U.S border control to curb irregular migration in general. His analysis is on the border control measures adopted by the Congress (both the Democrats and the Republicans) in their bid to secure the nation's borders against Mexican undocumented migrants. On the enforcement of strong borders, Alden noted that the Congress has increased the size of Border Patrol (BP) agents, and embarked on extensive fencing along its southern border with Mexico. This includes a vehicle and pedestrian fencing. The former are metal barriers that block cars and trucks, but do not stop pedestrians, while the latter

⁷³ E. Alden, *Immigration and Border Control*, in Cato Journal. Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter 12). 2008. p. 108.

⁷⁴ On September 11th, 2001 a terrorist organization, Al-Qaeda, carried out co-ordinated attack on the U.S soil by crashing hijacked planes against the Twin Towers and the Pentagon. About 2000 lost their lives on that fateful date. Following this event, border control has been part of counter-terrorism mission of Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to prevent future terrorist attacks. E. Alden, 'Immigration and Border Control'

are high steel barriers that can be breached through ladder or tunnelling. Other deployed measures include sophisticated technologies such as pilotless drones, sensor cameras, among others, aimed at preventing illegal crossings at the land borders.⁷⁵

The high profile border enforcement campaign, however, has proved to be counterproductive. A study by Erb provides a lucid picture of this. Her work is an in-depth analysis of the inefficient solutions to the immigration problems at the El Paso border post.⁷⁶ Erb identified three determinants influencing the inefficiency of immigration and border control. First, by meeting the needs of the US employers and Mexican low-skilled labourers, a strong dependency was created, which even tighter immigration could not break. Due to the geographic proximity, undocumented Mexican migrants provide a source of cheap labour. The study observed that labour contracting in the farms and industry led to evident dependency, which in turn fuelled irregular migration.

The second determinant is solid networks of families and friends that have been established. Erb observed that family and kinship ties as well as social networks across the US - Mexico border have expanded, constituting a greater incentive to cross the border (legally or otherwise) and significantly facilitate the Mexicans' irregular migrations.

The third determinant is that undocumented migrants always find a way to exploit the system. The study revealed that migrants avoid highly patrolled areas, using different paths to enter and cross. Another mode of entry includes the use of human traffickers. Erb observed that reinforced border controls have encouraged undocumented Mexican migrants to turn to smugglers to enter the US illegally. That is, migrants seek the help of human traffickers who transport them across the border and thereby avoid long difficult walks that carry the loss of potential working time, apprehension or

⁷⁵ For a detailed analysis of the U.S border control see the works by, but not limited to, Alden, Immigration and Border Control, in Cato Journal. Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter 12). 2008. pp. 107 - 127; C. Erb, Hardened Boarders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in Aspeers Journal, Vol. 2. 2009. pp. 97 - 126; P. Martin, Bordering on Control: Combating Irregular Migration in North America and Europe. D. Vogel, Migration Control in Germany and the United States, in International Migration Review. Vol. 34, No. 2 (Summer, 2000). pp. 390 – 422.

⁷⁶ C. Erb, Hardened Boarders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in Aspeers Journal, Vol. 2. 2009. pp. 96 – 126.

death.⁷⁷ As a result, organised crime increased in which sophisticated criminal networks earn high returns for helping immigrants enter the US. This has contributed to a growing sense of insecurity along the borders, even as illegal entry has become more difficult. In support of Andreas, Erb contends that the policy enforcement was a policy failure not only because it proved to be a poor deterrent, but because it had a number of perverse and counterproductive consequences. For example, the emergence of more skilled and sophisticated trans-national migrant smuggling groups has created more serious organised crime problem along and across the border.

All these facts have made the border permeable. The clear evidence is that migrants and those who facilitate their migration resort to staggering feats of ingenuity, courage and endurance to assert their right to move and flee. What is more prevalent from Erb's findings is that the number of re-entries of deported migrants has steadily and steeply risen, suggesting that heightened border enforcement has neither a long-lasting deterrent effect, nor does it impede people from entering the US illegally. In support of Erb, Andreas argued that stricter border control did more to re-direct rather than reduce the flow of undocumented migrants. Erb and Alden's works aided this study to comparatively analyse facts in relation to sophisticated ways in which human traffickers use the Beitbridge border.

In a parallel way, Andreas brings to our attention the fact that the enforcement of Strategy of Prevention through Detention,⁷⁸ had other effects. The turning to the use of more remote and dangerous entry points in the desert and mountains for migrants has resulted in hundreds of migrant deaths.

⁷⁷ Smugglers are associated with crime groups, drug cartels and gangs. Drug cartels already have expertise in gathering intelligence on BP practices, logistics, the placement of motion detectors and cameras and other communication devices to get around over tighter controls, hence they serve as perfect associate for human smugglers. C. Erb, Hardened Borders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in *Aspeers Journal*, Vol. 2. 2009. p. 103.

⁷⁸ 'Strategy of Prevention through Detention' was a policy strategy adopted by the Congress intended to enable Border Patrol agents to detect attempted entries immediately and to deter undocumented crossers in more remote areas, thereby hoping to end the cat and mouse game. C. Erb, Hardened Borders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in *Aspeers Journal*, Vol. 2. 2009. p. 102.

2.6 Border Control in the Middle East

The Israeli and Palestine border is yet another controversial separation barrier.⁷⁹ Needless to say that Israel's borders and territorial scope are a case of heated and endless debate. This border is punctuated by steel fences, concrete walls and barbed wire. The Israeli government's justification for the fortification of that border is that it helps keep the Palestine fighters off its territories, while critics say it creates a de facto border and land grab.⁸⁰ To gain operational control, the Israeli government deployed resources such as the sophisticated intrusion detection equipment. This strategy was intended to enable the Border Patrol Agents to detect the Palestinians' attempted entries into Israel. Many Israelis call it the 'security fence', while it is known as the "Apartheid Wall" in Arab countries. Regardless, thousands of Palestinian labourers continue to cross illegally every day to work inside Israel.⁸¹

There are other walls in the region. On the Gaza Strip, for example, Israel has another highly fortified fence. Egypt has strengthened fences along its own borders with Gaza. In 2013, the Israeli government completed a fence along the Egyptian border to keep out migrants and smugglers seeking to enter from the Sinai Peninsula.⁸² Besides the fence between the West Bank and Jordan, Israel is also constructing a fence to keep guerrillas out along its border with Jordan. Along the border with Lebanon and Syria, Israel has also built complex security barriers.⁸³

The Saudi government is constructing a security barrier on its long, porous frontier with Yemen as the latter has been riven by civil war and military interventions. Running

⁷⁹ The State of Palestine was divided into two in 1948 after the WW2 to create a Jewish state, Israel. The Holocaust and other political developments in Europe convinced Jews they needed their own country, and their ancestral homeland (Jerusalem) seemed like the right place to establish it. Israel and Palestine have since constantly been engaging in a war of 'occupation', which resulted in the seizure of some Palestinian territories. Israel has claimed sovereignty of defeated Palestinian territories. The reluctance of the Arab world to recognise the existence of a Jewish state in their midst has been a source of Arab-Israeli conflict.

⁸⁰ <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/9/5/walls-world-keep-foreigners-out-html>. Accessed: 29th May, 2018. 18:39.

⁸¹ <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/9/5/walls-world-keep-foreigners-out-html>. Accessed: 29th May, 2018. 18:39.

⁸² The Sinai Route runs from the East and Horn of Africa through Sudan and Egypt into Israel. Restrictive migration policies by both Egypt and Israel include the building of a fence along the Sinai-Israeli border, tougher border controls as well as the establishment of a detention centre. K. Marchand, J. Reinold and R. Dias e Silva, *Study on Migration Routes in the East and Horn of Africa*. 2017. p. x.

⁸³ <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/9/5/walls-world-keep-foreigners-out-html>. Accessed: 29th May, 2018. 18:39.

from the Red Sea to Oman, the barrier is marked by sandbags, concrete pipelines and electric detention system. With the threat of infiltration by the Islamic State in Iraq and Lavent (ISIL), a system of barbed wire fence, electric fence and movement sensors has been set up in the desert. Emigration movements in this region are linked to the permanence of conflicts and the persistence of economic inequalities.⁸⁴

In south Asia, India has constructed a concrete and barbed wire wall separating India and Bangladesh. With the Indian Border Forces and watchtowers alongside paddy fields, India aims to keep out illegal entrants, and stop human trafficking. Violence along the border has resulted in some people being killed, as security worries often drive Indian troops to open fire on Bangladeshi migrants.⁸⁵

2.7 Immigration and Border Control in Africa

Evidently, most countries have followed suit in building stricter borders through building barbed wire fences as barriers. Contemporary borders are perceived as being designed to keep undesirables out.⁸⁶ The trend is the increasing ‘criminalisation’ of migrants and the ‘securisation’ of border through tightening border controls to keep out criminals and terrorists. In North Africa, for example, the well-known border fences are those between Morocco and Spain.⁸⁷ Morocco is a transit country to the EU. The Moroccan government has constructed a wall along its border with Algeria. This came after Morocco accused Algeria of mishandling irregular migrations, smuggling of gasoline and drug trafficking into the country. The wall is heavily patrolled by the military and is installed with radars and electronic sensors to “guard against terrorist threats.”⁸⁸ The efforts to counter-terrorism cannot be overstated in this part of the region. Terrorists have been crossing porous and poorly secured borders, particularly in the Horn of Africa and the Sahel regions with ease while armed with weapons and

⁸⁴ <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/9/5/walls-world-keep-foreigners-out-html>. Accessed: 29th May, 2018. 18:39.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ J.A.M. Tebas, African Frontiers: walls to face threats, in Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos, 01/2016. p. 2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸⁸ J.A.M. Tebas, African Frontiers: walls to face threats, in Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos, 01/2016. p. 6.

materials for making bombs.⁸⁹ The Tunisian government has constructed a wall on its border with Libya to fight terrorism.⁹⁰

Addo's paper explored the cross-border criminal activities in West Africa. It focused on the criminal activities as inspired by porous borders. The control and regulation of cross-border activities are essential for ensuring peace and stability, and for promoting political and socio-economic activities needed for integrating West Africa.⁹¹ However, West Africa is prone to cross-border problems such as trans-national criminal elements. Trans-national syndicates engage in drug trafficking, small arms and human beings, among other activities, as a means of livelihood.⁹² The smuggling of goods across national borders is most prevalent along the Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria and Burkina Faso corridors of the sub-region. These goods are smuggled in vehicles or on foot, using secret and illegal routes across the border to evade special regulations, levies or taxes.⁹³ Thus, Addo argued that weak borders in West Africa fuel cross-border criminal activities. The state capacity to respond to the threat and challenges posed by these illegal activities is equally weak. This applies to the Beitbridge border which is an established smuggling route for cars and other contrabands. An in-depth analysis of the Beitbridge border control provided clues to ascertain the extent to which criminal cross border activities take place there.

In his policy brief on the border management strategies in West Africa, Lamptey's paper scrutinised the ineffective border control strategies that hamstring the effective border control and management, primarily in Mali and Nigeria. Lamptey observed that border agents mandated to manage the country's borders lack the capacity to effectively carry out their mandates. In Nigeria and Mali, Lamptey found out that the personnel at the border posts are ill equipped and poorly motivated. The lack of office space and accommodation for the border control personnel, coupled with inadequate means of communication, have severely tested the capacity of these agents to do their work effectively. In addition to the border control inefficiency is the fact that border

⁸⁹ W. Okumu, 'Border Management and Security in Africa.' 2011. p. 9

<https://www.researchgate.net/publications/30898355>

⁹⁰ J.A.M. Tebas, *African Frontiers: walls to face threats*, in Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos, 01/2016. p. 6.

⁹¹ P. Addo, *Cross-Border Criminal Activities in West Africa: Options For Effective Responses*. Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre. KAIPTC Paper No. 12 (May, 2006). p. 4.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

personnel at the border lack adequate training and logistics to effectively carry out their duties.

Although armed conflict over borders have been few, most violent conflicts take place in borderlands. Unsecure borders allow for the free movement of people and criminal actors who spread violence and insecurity from state to state. Militant groups regularly cross the border with impunity, attacking civilians on both sides.⁹⁴ Mercenaries have become major players in African civil wars such as those fought in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola, the DRC and Somalia.⁹⁵ Some mercenaries fight in most of these civil wars after easily crossing from one Conflict Theatre to another.⁹⁶ Thus, Okumu opined that insecure borders are rebel 'group's best friend because they contribute to severe security threats such as insurrection, incursion and terrorist activities. The terrorists skillfully exploit porous and unmanaged borders to evade military detections.⁹⁷

Similarly, Tafira makes a case that it is now time Africans were granted African citizenship, meaning that there should be free human movements across the borders; that is, Africans should be at home no matter where they are in the continent.⁹⁸ To him, dismantling colonial borders is, therefore, a veritable project. This is envisioned by the continents' founding fathers' (Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Thomas Sankara and Muammar Gaddafi) dreams to have a United States of Africa's geographic walls that divide one nation from another dismantled. The overriding argument is that the partition walls should be brought down to open the floodgates for free movement of goods and people. Those who hold this view distance themselves from the concerns that international crime syndicates could misuse the free movement between countries in the continent to facilitate entry into other countries. Of importance here is the study's emotional appeal for African countries to abandon the border system. Generally, Tafira's work is optimistic and provides sympathetic views in

⁹⁴ D.S. Carik, 'Porous Borders and the Insecurity of Civilians: Cross-border Violence in Darfur and Eastern Chad.' Policy Brief, Ford Institute for Human Security, GPSIA, University of Pittsburgh, winter 2009.

⁹⁵ The mercenary groups are usually contracted by the government to beef-up its security and defiance capabilities. P. Addo, *Cross-Border Criminal Activities in West Africa: Options For Effective Responses*. Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre. KAIPTC Paper No. 12 (May, 2006). p. 7.

⁹⁶ A.F. Musah and J.K. Fayemi (eds), *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma*, in W. Okumu, *Border Management and Security in Africa*. p. 9. <https://www.researchgate.net/publications/30898355>

⁹⁷ W. Okumu, 'Border Management and Security in Africa.' 2011. p. 4.

<https://www.researchgate.net/publications/30898355>

⁹⁸ H.K. Tafira, 'Against Colonial Borders: The Need for African Citizenship Now.' Available from:

<https://www.pambuka.org/pan-africanism/against-colonial-boarders-need-african-citizenship-now>

support of the notion of the borderless African continent. Given such views, Anderson *et al.* and Tafira's work were used as a basis for analysis in this study.

2.8 Immigration and Border Control in Southern Africa

As opposed to many countries in North, East and West Africa, migration in southern African is driven by socio-economic issues. Thus, most of the migrants in this part of the continent are economic migrants. However, this does not imply that the borders are open for everyone. Three waves of movements can be distinguished in relation to Botswana and Zimbabwe migrations from the 1970s onwards. The first wave was driven by liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, when political refugees fled to Botswana both as a base from which to conduct their independence campaign against the Smith regime, and to provide skills to the Botswana economy. At Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, many went back home. The second wave was during the political unrest in Matabeleland. The resultant agreement between ZANU-PF and ZAPU allowed this wave of exiles to return once more. The third wave in the late 1990s was a result of the political and economic crisis. This time, it was not only political activists who went there, but people with a range of professions.⁹⁹ Initially, the Botswana government was broadly sympathetic to migrants fleeing from Zimbabwe.

In 2003, however, Botswana began the construction of an electrified fence along its border with Zimbabwe. The fence that separates Botswana and Zimbabwe is over 500 kilometres long, and two metres high.¹⁰⁰ The Zimbabwe's economy has been in freefall since the early 2000s. As a consequence, many Zimbabweans have migrated to Botswana, one of the strongest economies in the continent. The number of Zimbabwean migrants in Botswana was estimated at between forty and one hundred thousand as of 2009.¹⁰¹ The country deports hundreds of Zimbabwean undocumented immigrants every month. The number of Zimbabweans arrested and deported in

⁹⁹ South Africa's Migration Policies: A Regional Perspective. 2011. p 23.

¹⁰⁰ <http://mgafrica.com/article/2015-04-02-kenya-plans-for-anti-terror-somalia-border-wall-here-are-six-other-border-barriers-in-africa> Accessed 07/05/2018.

¹⁰¹ 'Zimbabwean migration into Southern Africa: new trends and responses.' (Forced Migration Studies Programme report, Wits University). November, 2009. pp. 33 and 34.

Botswana rose from 22 000 in 2015 to nearly 29 000 in 2018.¹⁰² The fence acts as a crossing for refugees and undocumented immigrants fleeing economic and political hardships in Zimbabwe. However, the justification for the building of this barrier is the need to stop the spread of foot-and-mouth disease in Botswana. Between 2000 and 2003, two outbreaks of the deadly foot-and-mouth disease were reported in areas around the border.¹⁰³ Botswana has a lucrative beef trade with the EU that makes the industry the second highest foreign exchange earner after mining.¹⁰⁴ The Zimbabweans, however, argue that the height of the fence is intended to prevent Zimbabweans from illegally crossing into Botswana. Although the electric fence is never turned on, the Zimbabwean officials, however, claim that Southern Africa is building its version of the Israeli security wall.¹⁰⁵

In retaliation, the Zimbabwean migrants have torn down parts of the fence as their government has condemned the structure as an affront to human rights violations, which mimics the Israeli attempt to box Palestinians into West Bank and Gaza Strip. The arrival of Zimbabweans has stirred resentment and fuelled claims that many are criminals and spongers. Locals turn vigilantes as they try to expel Zimbabweans, derogatively referred to as “*makwerekwere*” (foreigners), after blaming them for a spate of robberies and burglaries. Accusing their host of xenophobia, Zimbabweans say that they come in search of sanctuary and work, not for trouble. Zimbabwe has encouraged the destruction of the fence because it has divided families on either side of the border.¹⁰⁶ The barrier remains a source of tensions between the two countries. Tebas observed that the fence is scarcely patrolled and gaps created by rivers offer porous crossings for both people and animals alike.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Botswana Battles Influx of Zimbabwean Illegal Immigrants. Available on:<https://www.voanews.com/africa/Botswana-battles-influx-zimbabwean-illegal-immigrants> Accessed: 27/05/2018. 13:09.

¹⁰³ <http://mgafrica.com/article/2015-04-02-kenya-plans-for-anti-terror-somalia-border-wall-here-are-six-other-border-barriers-in-africa> Accessed 07/05/2018. 14:05.

¹⁰⁴ <http://mgafrica.com/article/2015-04-02-kenya-plans-for-anti-terror-somalia-border-wall-here-are-six-other-border-barriers-in-africa> Accessed 07/05/2018

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/sep/10/southafrica.zimbabwe> Accessed 7th May 2018. 15:37.

¹⁰⁷ J.A.M. Tebas, ‘African Frontiers: walls to face threats’, in Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos, 01/2016. p. 10; <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/9/5/walls-world-keep-foreigners-out.html>. Accessed 07/05/2018 14:30; <http://mgafrica.com/article/2015-04-02-kenya-plans-for-anti-terror-somalia-border-wall-here-are-six-other-border-barriers-in-africa> Accessed 07th May, 2018. 15:22

Moving the discussion to South Africa's border control, McMichael observed that under the apartheid regime, South Africa's borders were fortified with electric fences, regular army patrols and auxiliary civilian commando units.¹⁰⁸ The border fence between South Africa and Mozambique is a typical example of this. This border stretches from Komatipoort (beginning of the Kruger National Park) to Jeppe's Reef Mbuzine (border with Swaziland). It was built in the 1940s. Tebas posits that people used to cross this border freely until 1975.¹⁰⁹ In agreement, Wenzel and Tlabela noted that since the governments were interested in monitoring movements than in controlling them, passes were relatively easy to obtain. That is, the border presented no real obstacle to people who wanted to move in the southern African region.¹¹⁰

In 1985, however, South Africa's Defence Forces (SADF) began to erect an electric fence to deter the African National Congress (ANC) guerrillas from infiltrating the country from Mozambique.¹¹¹ The coming to power of the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) disturbed the apartheid government, as the former provided the ANC with operational bases from which to launch its independence campaigns.¹¹² Both the South African and Rhodesian authorities began overt and covert operations against FRELIMO. They created RENAMO and provided it with resources to destabilise Mozambique.¹¹³ Political tensions and military conflicts led to the closure of several borders between the hostile governments, that is, between South Africa and the 'frontline' states (Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe) as part of the anti-apartheid struggle.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ C. McMichael, The re-Militarisation of South Africa's borders. 20 July 2012. Available from: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/chris-mcmichael/re-militarisation-of-south-africa%e2%80%99s-borders>. Accessed: 21st January, 2019. 10:25.

¹⁰⁹ J.A.M. Tebas, 'African Frontiers: walls to face threats', in Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos, 01/2016. p. 12.

¹¹⁰ M. Wenzel and K. Tlabela, *Historical Background to South African Migration*. Cape Town: HSRC, 2006. p. 71.

¹¹¹ R. Tyson, Mozambique fence – Obsolete, But Deadly, Knight Riddle Newspapers. November 26, 1990. Accessed: 07/05/2018.

¹¹² J.A.M. Tebas, 'African Frontiers: walls to face threats', in Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos, 01/2016. p. 13.

¹¹³ <http://mgafrica.com/article/2015-04-02-kenya-plans-for-anti-terror-somalia-border-wall-here-are-six-other-border-barriers-in-africa> Accessed 07/05/2018.

¹¹⁴ H. De Haas and W. Muhwava, 'African Migration. Draft Report Prepared for African Regional Consultative Meeting on the Global Compact on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration,' commissioned by Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (October, 2017). p. 2.

Operating underground and in exile, the ANC and PAC's military wings, the MK and Poqo guerrillas respectively, necessitated the heavy presence of security forces (SADF and SAP) along the length and width of the country's borders. Similarly, the international solidarity in liberation struggle among black nationalists running away from the country to join the liberation struggle in neighbouring states provoked the fear for the white minority regime.

Along its borders, South Africa set up an electric fence. The construction of the fence could be viewed in the context of the country's fear of the communist regimes' influence on liberation movements. The fence stretched over rough mountain terrain from Swaziland's border on the south to South Africa's Kruger National Park (KNP) to the north. It was in huge circles of razor wire, formed into a dragon-like structure snaking across rocky mountains and through woody valleys.¹¹⁵ Campell observed that the fence's lather mode was fatal, while the 'alarm' mode was designated to warn border officials of attempted crossings.¹¹⁶ Over a hundred deaths occurred between August 1986 and August 1989.¹¹⁷ However, leaders of the Council of Churches dispute this figure, claiming that it was over 200 death a year.¹¹⁸

In his newspaper article, *Mozambique Fence – Obsolete, But Deadly*, Tyson contends that some suffered severe burns, and even lost limbs as a result. Most of the victims were refugees (women and children) attempting to cross the border to flee the civil

¹¹⁵ R. Tyson, *Mozambique fence – Obsolete, But Deadly*, Knight Riddle Newspapers. November 26, 1990. Accessed: 07/05/2018.

¹¹⁶ E.K. Campell, *Reflections on illegal immigration in Botswana and South Africa*, in *Journal of African Population Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2006). p. 6.

¹¹⁷ <https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg12517011-000-hundreds-killed-by-south-africas-border-fence/> T. Monteiro, 'Hundreds Killed' by South Africa's border fence,' *Newscientist*, published 27 January 1990. Accessed 07 May 2018, 14:37

¹¹⁸ <https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg12517011-000-hundreds-killed-by-south-africas-border-fence/> T. Monteiro, 'Hundreds Killed' by South Africa's border fence,' *Newscientist*, published 27 January 1990. Accessed 07 May 2018, 14:37 ; Kotze and Hill, 1977 in E.K. Campell, *Reflections on illegal immigration in Botswana and South Africa*, in *Journal of African Population Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2006). p. 6 and J.A.M. Tebas, *'African Frontiers: walls to face threats'*, in *Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos*, 01/2016. p. 11.

war,¹¹⁹ and famine in Mozambique.¹²⁰ The majority of the refugees in South Africa settled in areas near the border and, in particular, in the former homelands of Gazankulu,¹²¹ and KaNgwane.¹²² De la Hunt contends that the Mozambican refugees were frequently arrested and deported.¹²³ The South African government of the time refused to recognise the Mozambicans who had fled into the country as refugees, and thereby deprived them of international assistance.¹²⁴ This is an important fact as it helps understand the post-apartheid border management against the current border control policies.

We must understand that by virtue of being a white supremacist state, South Africa was put under tight security control due to the hostilities between it and the African nationalist movements. Embedded in the ideas of a colonial and imperial project, the apartheid regime laid a persistent constellation of ideas which were against “anything” that was “black”. This constellation of ideas provided the practices of apartheid border regime project.¹²⁵ This study explores the ideologies of border and immigration controls in apartheid South Africa, paying particular attention to the idea of ‘undesirable immigration’. This provides one perspective on the apartheid regime’s fortress borders built to bar undocumented migrants from entering the country.

¹¹⁹ The Mozambican civil war, which began in 1979 but reached fever pitch in the mid-1980s, was literally a war of attrition; the infrastructure supporting civilian life was destroyed across swathes of the Mozambican countryside. Between 1979 and 1992 – one in three Mozambicans - fled their homes. They crossed Mozambique’s borders and became international refugees; they went to Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Malawi was the largest host country, followed by South Africa. <https://oldsite.issafrica.org/01-jun-2005-monograph-no-117-a-mixed-reception-mozambican-and-congolese-refugees-in-south-africa-john> Accessed 21st May, 2018. 20:16.

¹²⁰ R. Tyson, Mozambique fence – Obsolete, But Deadly, Knight Riddle Newspapers. November 26, 1990. Accessed: 07/05/2018.

¹²¹ Gazankulu was a Bantustan in South Africa, intended by the apartheid government to be a semi-independent homeland for the Tsonga people. It was located both the Northern Transvaal (now Limpopo province) and Eastern Transvaal (now Mpumalanga province). It shared border with KaNgwane, and served as a buffer zone against Marxist-Communist Mozambique

¹²² KaNgwane or ‘Swazi Territory’ was a former homeland (Bantustan) in South Africa for the Swazi people. The South African government hoped to use this homeland as a buffer zone against guerrilla infiltration from Mozambique.

¹²³ De la Hunt, 1977 in M. Wentzel and K. Tlabela, *Historical Background to South African Migration*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006. p. 81.

¹²⁴ M. Wentzel and K. Tlabela, *Historical Background to South African Migration*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006. p. 81.

¹²⁵ C. McMichael, The re-Militarisation of South Africa’s borders. 20 July 2012. Available from: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/chris-mcmicheal/re-militarisation-of-south-africa%e2%80%99s-borders>. Accessed: 21st January, 2019. 10:25 and C.S. Schippers, ‘History attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa: Longitudinal Study. (Unpublished Master’s dissertation), Stellenbosch University, 2015.

Monteiro, in her newspaper article, *'Hundreds Killed by South Africa's border fence*,¹²⁶ brings to our attention the fact that Mozambicans had then developed a number of methods to jump the fence. That is, some simply threw logs over the electrified part. Some claim that shaking the fence caused a short circuit which disabled one of its sections. She revealed that the most common methods were to prop up a section of the fence with wooden sticks, and then crawl underneath. Also, there were paid guides who got people through.

Technically speaking, the fence was not the only threat faced by refugees fleeing the fighting in Mozambique. The Mozambique section of the fence stretches over sixty three kilometres from Swaziland to KNP. For the Mozambicans, an alternative to the fence was to walk into South Africa through the KNP. But, this option was fraught with danger from animal predators such as lions.¹²⁷

Writing on the post-apartheid state of Mozambique– South Africa border fence, Nel, in her newspaper article titled, *Mozambique-South Africa border fence is a complete joke*,¹²⁸ contends that crossing between Mozambique and South Africa was as easy as a three kilometre bush walk, and then ducking under the fence. Basically, the Mozambique border is literally a walk in the park. She reveals that stretching about seven kilometres from the Lebombo Border Gate to one of the many farms bordering the mountains and Mozambique, numerous holes are visible. These holes are particularly on the farms whose perimeters border the fence, and have become useful routes for illegal human trafficking. Illegal cigarettes, drugs, people and vehicles were being smuggled into the country through these gaps. Her investigation revealed that this was made possible because there was poor patrol by the army, where suspicious vehicles were not intercepted. These are alarming findings as the border patrol agents should be visible at all times.

While this may be so, it is important to note that this work looks beyond discussing immigration controls. There is clear evidence that apartheid immigration control and border management systems were restrictive and brutal. Of concern to this study,

¹²⁶ <https://www.newscientist.com/mg12517011-000-hundreds-killed-by-south-africas-border-fence/> Accessed 07th May, 2018

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1308017/mozambique-sa-border-fence-is-a-complete-joke/> Accessed 07 May 2018

however, is the lack of comparative studies on how the Beitbridge border post was controlled and managed during the apartheid, and in post-apartheid eras.

2.9 Immigration and Border Control in Post-apartheid Era

Following the collapse of South Africa's apartheid regime and the shift to a new democratic dispensation in 1994, it became necessary to amend the former's immigration policies.¹²⁹ The first attempt to such reforms was made in 1995. The Aliens Control Amendment Act (ACAA) was adopted by the new government in 1995 to control illegal immigration.¹³⁰ However, Campell notes that the 1995 amendment did not bring any change since its inception. This led to the need for further reforms. Consequently, the Green Paper on International Migration (1997), the White Paper on International Migration (1999), the Refugee Act (1998) and finally, the Immigration Bill (2002) came into being. These documents, as Campell argues, reflect the seriousness with which the South African government strives towards implementing a humane and fair immigration policy.¹³¹

Furthermore, the post-apartheid government introduced the Immigration Act of 2000 followed by its amendment in 2004. Seda postulates that with these instruments, South Africa embodied a different approach to immigration, with particular focus on economic-related migration and a link to border control (inside the country and on the remainder of the border).¹³² Carter, in Schippers, argues that the apartheid policies left behind a legacy of isolation.¹³³ To reinforce this argument, he claims that it was the crux of the NP government strategy, the separation of South Africa from other

¹²⁹ C.S. Schippers, 'History attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa: Longitudinal Study. (Unpublished Master's dissertation), Stellenbosch University, 2015. p. 18.

¹³⁰ F.L.M. Seda, 'Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration And Cross-Border Regions.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis), Erasmus University, 2015. p. 60.

¹³¹ E.K. Campell, Reflections on illegal immigration in Botswana and South Africa, in Journal of African Population Studies, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2006). p. 6 and F.L.M. Seda, 'Border Governance In Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration And Cross-Border Regions.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015. p. 60.

¹³² F.L.M. Seda, 'Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration And Cross-Border Regions.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University 2015. p. 61.

¹³³ Carter, 2010. p. 1 in C.S. Schippers, 'History attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa: longitudinal study.' (Unpublished Matters dissertation) Stellenbosch University, 2015. p. 6.

countries, which is the root cause of the “isolationist tendencies” we see today.”¹³⁴ The desire to keep the South African citizens separate from other citizens is clearly evident in the history of racism inflicted on foreigners in South Africa.¹³⁵

The understanding of the policy dynamics of the immigration control contestations enabled this study to ascertain the South African government’s perception and attitude towards migration. It should be mentioned that these policies were implemented to curtail the entry of ‘non-preferred migrants’, and hence they resort to illegal channels, thereby subverting the South African immigration laws and regulations to gain entry into the country.

In her discussion of *History Attitudes towards Foreigners: Longitudinal Study*, Schippers studied the South Africans’ complex nature of attitudes towards foreigners from 1996 to 2013. She juxtaposed the influence of social dimensions (interpersonal trust and social tolerance) with the more economic dimensions (employment preference) and psychological dimensions (attitudes towards migration). The major outcomes were that the South Africans have become intolerant of foreigners. This level of intolerance doubled between 1996 and 2013. Her study revealed that there are growing levels of distrust of foreigners. Schippers also found that there is a decline in numbers of people who have positive attitudes towards migration, and hence foreigners should be allowed into South Africa on conditions that certain criteria are met. Based on Schipper’s findings, it was revealed that the increased border control measures at the Beitbridge border emanate from public opinion and attitudes towards foreigners.

Seda, on the other hand, studied the post-war Mozambique border governance. Commenting on post-apartheid South Africa’s migration management, Seda echoed Wentzel and Tlabela, where he states that post-apartheid South Africa’s border control prioritises pre-dawn searches and repatriation of immigrants who have irregular status in South Africa.¹³⁶ The post-apartheid South Africa has increased its budget and resources for police raids and deportation operations that include the tracing, arrests

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ C.S. Schippers, ‘History Attitudes towards Foreigners in South Africa: Longitudinal Study.’ (Unpublished Master’s Dissertation) Stellenbosch University, 2015. p. 6.

¹³⁶ F.L.M. Seda, ‘Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-Border Regions.’ (Unpublished PHD Thesis), Erasmus University, 2015. p. 63.

and deportation of refugees and undocumented immigrants, particularly Mozambicans and Zimbabweans.¹³⁷ As a result, the South African immigration authorities have deported a significant number of migrants who they believe to have entered the country illegally. These also included migrants from Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Pakistan and China.¹³⁸

The claim is that these undocumented immigrants are a source of competition for South Africans in terms of employment opportunities, while they are also considered to “frustrate state efforts to regulate the health, education and housing sectors.”¹³⁹ In actual fact, Hayter argues that the locals’ unemployment seems to have little or no basis in reality. It is caused by capitalist recessions rather than by immigration.¹⁴⁰ The xenophobic attacks in May of 2008 and April of 2015 (resulting in several deaths, and destruction and looting of foreigners’ property) illustrate the experiences immigrants endure.¹⁴¹

The key point of contestation evident in South Africa’s immigration and border control is the wedge between holistic approaches that are rooted in fundamental ideas of South Africa’s democracy, which it reinforces. Evidently, although the laws and institutions have changed, they still reinforce discriminatory values like dissimulation, apprehension and the deportation of migrants.

Hennop *et al.* and Irish provide a lucid picture of the post-apartheid border regime. They evaluate the challenges faced in controlling South Africa’s borders and borderlines.¹⁴² They investigated the effectiveness of South Africa’s border control mechanisms in preventing illegal smuggling across South Africa’s international borders. Their study is based on the analysis of existing border control institutions in the KwaZulu Natal border with Swaziland (the Golela Border Post), and the Northern

¹³⁷ Vigneswaren, 2013; Crush and Dodson, 2007 and Crush, 1999 in F.L.M. Seda, ‘Border Governance In Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-Border Regions.’ (Unpublished PHD Thesis), Erasmus University, 2015. p. 63.

¹³⁸ SAIRR, 2007 in C.S. Schippers, ‘History attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa: longitudinal study.’ (Unpublished Master’s Dissertation) Stellenbosch University. 2015. p. 19.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ T. Hayter, *Open Borders. The Case Against Immigration Controls.* Second Edition. London, 2004. pp. 158-159.

¹⁴¹ F.L.M. Seda, ‘Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-Border Regions.’ (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015. p. 64.

¹⁴² E. Hennop, C. Jefferson and A. McLean, ‘The challenge to Control South Africa’s Borders and Borderline.’ 2001. pp. 1 – 99.

Cape border with Namibia (the Nakop Border Post). The study found that there is substantial interest in improving border control in South Africa, both from national and international perspectives. A number of challenges, however, make corruption, smuggling and illicit cross-border activities possible. That is, borders are understaffed, with some lacking basic facilities for effective border policing such as face-mile machines, consistent electricity supply, and proper living quarters for police/customs/immigration officers, vehicles and proper search and storage factors.

While structures are in place to facilitate co-operation between the different government departments involved in border control, there are still challenges that include the lack of communication, resulting in the loss of valuable intelligence information on crime and criminal syndicates. There is also the lack of trust among the agencies and this has resulted in mutual accusations of corruption, and the lack of adequate coordination mechanisms. The research also found that the SANDF supports the SAPS in borderline control (land, air and sea), but operates under severe financial and material constraints, and this restrict their operational capacity. As a result, large parts of South Africa's international borders are thus under no control. Lacking here is the analysis of how the Beitbridge Border Post was controlled and managed during the apartheid era, and then the post-apartheid one. The above revelations, however, enriched this study to ascertain the extent to which the Beitbridge border was capacitated and challenged to successfully control and manage irregular entry by Zimbabweans into South Africa.

A similar study by Irish, on the other hand, examined the illicit trafficking of vehicles across the Beitbridge border post.¹⁴³ The study found that there is no single department with overall authority at that border, and different departments often have diverse priorities. Irish observed that cooperation among departments is mainly dependent on individuals and their will to work together with their counterparts from other departments. She contends that these individuals are motivated by their respective departments' own priorities, which do not always correspond with those of others. Irish laments the lack of overall border control mechanism, pointing out that there are different agencies with different, sometimes, competing mandates.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ J. Irish, 'Illicit Trafficking of Vehicles across Beitbridge border post.' ISS Paper 109, June 2005. pp. 1 – 5.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Although this may be so, it must be mentioned that the above revelations by both Hennop *et al.* and Irish were important in expounding this research's findings. Important to note, however, is that the studies on Beitbridge Border Post focus on the border control to detect and prevent the smuggling of contrabands. This current study focuses on the border control mechanisms put in place to detect and prevent irregular entry of undocumented individuals from Zimbabwe into South Africa.

2.10 Zimbabweans' Irregular Migration to South Africa

It is important to acknowledge those who examined irregular migrations of Zimbabweans to South Africa through the Beitbridge Border Post. Chirwa *et al.* examined the Zimbabwean cross-border migrations to South Africa. They identified three problems with regard to Zimbabweans' cross-border migrations. The first was the flawed estimates of the numbers of undocumented immigrants in South Africa. They observed that there are contradicting statistics regarding the actual number of undocumented migrants in South Africa because of their illegal nature.¹⁴⁵ In actual fact, it is difficult to determine the flow of migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa because of the poor statistical records. The authors argue that this makes it impossible to count the new ones or compare new figures against previous estimates. They added that the current South African immigration laws contribute to informal migrations. Even highly skilled migrants or investors face a set of immigration laws that strongly privilege South African citizens. Would-be asylum seekers are denied their legal rights, as a result.

The second problem relates to South Africans' increasing presence at the border for immigration controls. The border police and soldiers are stationed at the border in order to detect and prevent any individual attempting to cross illegally. They also observed that South Africa's security forces (from the SAPS, Home Affairs (DHA) and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) have been deployed to arrest and deport suspected undocumented migrants. They also pointed out that despite this joint

¹⁴⁵ J. Chirwa, A. Finger, T. Polzer, J.P. Misago, J. Schroeder and D. Vigneswaran, Special Report: Fact or Fiction? Examining Zimbabwean Cross-Border Migration into South Africa. Forced Migrations Studies Programme (FMSP) & Musina Legal Advice Office: South Africa [online]. Available from: <http://migrations.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2008/03/fmsp-2007-b->

effort, the border management has failed to control the illegal movement of people across any of its borders, including those with Lesotho and Mozambique. They claim that the deportation of undocumented immigrants proves to be an ineffective border management strategy in the face of irregular migrations. This was an important observation made by Chirwa *et al.* In reflecting on the role of the SAPS, DHA and SANDF, this analysis became useful as it helped to address the second of this study's objectives.

The third problem was that none of the Zimbabweans crossing the border are refugees. The study noted that there is confusion with regards to the definition of migrants. Terms such as "illegal immigrant" or "economic migrant" have no basis in South African law.¹⁴⁶ Consequently, this ambiguity has led to Zimbabweans being termed and classified as "border jumpers". The authors contend that this has led to confusion over the question of whether Zimbabweans qualify for refugee status or not. This being the case, it is important to note that there is no causal relationship between a refugee and a migrant, and that the latter can be interpreted at multiple levels. Chirwa *et al.*'s work was useful to this study because it provided a new perspective on how the South African government views Zimbabwean migrations to South Africa. This work was used to analyse issues raised during data collection.

On the other hand, Macheke *et al.* see the lack of documentation by Zimbabweans who illegally migrate to South Africa as a humanitarian challenge.¹⁴⁷ The authors reveal that large numbers of Zimbabweans have been arrested, detained and deported back to their country. They noted that those deportees do not lack documentation. That is, they have passports, but intentionally decide not to use them because they overstayed their visit here. The study also saw medication as one of the reasons for migrating to South Africa. The authors found that the HIV/AIDS epidemic has impacted greatly on migration. They claim that HIV/AIDS anti-retroviral drugs (ARV) are easily accessible in South Africa as compared to Zimbabwe's medical

¹⁴⁶ J. Chirwa, A. Finger, T. Polzer, J.P. Misago, J. Schroeder and D. Vigneswaran, Special Report: Fact or Fiction? Examining Zimbabwean Cross-Border Migration into South Africa. Forced Migrations Studies Programme (FMSP) & Musina Legal Advice Office. 2007. p. 5.

Available from: <http://migrations.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2008/03/fmsp-2007-b->

¹⁴⁷ S. Macheke, W. Lunga and Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge, in Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies. Vol.6, No.3, 2015. pp. 250 – 256.

centres. Although the ARVs are free and available in Zimbabwe, at times they are difficult to get because of poor supply. In this regard, the authors contend that the primary reason to get access to medication and reliable supply of food to complement the retroviral therapy, migrants decide to migrate to South Africa. Like Chirwa *et al.*'s study, Macheke *et al.*'s work also enriched this study in understanding the reasons why undocumented Zimbabweans come to South Africa. More importantly, Macheke *et al.*'s work contributed significantly here as it provided a platform for understanding the measures taken by the South African government to tackle the issue of irregular migrations to the country through the Beitbridge Border Post.

In a similar study, Munyanyi questions the infrastructural upgrading as a smuggling antidote at the Beitbridge Border Post.¹⁴⁸ The study raised challenges such as uncontrolled access to the customs area and the poor surveillance as factors influencing irregular migration. As a result, Munyanyi proclaimed that the Beitbridge Border Post is one of the most porous border posts in Zimbabwe. He stated that people could be seen entering and leaving the border without proper searches or declarations. Small-scale traders pass through with goods, especially bread, several times a day without completing customs formalities. Munyanyi also found out that the border lacks adequate resources such as the closed circuit television (CCTV) or any electronic surveillance mechanism. As such, surveillance is difficult in the absence of technology, and without surveillance rampant smuggling thrives.

However, Munyanyi's study falls short for a number of reasons in addressing issues as raised in this study's first Chapter. First, he examined the issues about the Beitbridge Border Post from the Zimbabwean side. Second, and most important to this study, he is not concerned with the movement of people *per se*, legal or otherwise. Munyanyi is largely concerned with smuggling of goods through the Beitbridge Border Post. Last, since he concentrated on Zimbabwe's border control system, his study fails to account for the immigration and border control systems in South Africa. Nonetheless, Munyanyi's work was useful to this study as it enabled it to compare the two sides of the border post's porousness, and how this aids illegal entry of migrants

¹⁴⁸ W. Munyanyi, Is Infrastructure Upgrading an Antidote for Smuggling? Evidence from Beitbridge Border Post, Zimbabwe, in *World Customs Journal*, Vol.9, No.1, 2016. pp. 103 – 106.

to South Africa. Thus, an in-depth analysis of the Beitbridge border post from the South African side would complement Munyanyi's work.

Perhaps the most extensive and comprehensive study of the Zimbabweans' irregular migrations to South Africa is that by Ncube *et al.* These authors investigated and examined immigration policy reforms and pervasive irregular migrations, focusing on illegal border jumpers through the Beitbridge border.¹⁴⁹ The paper analysed the reasons why illegal border jumping by Zimbabweans occurs in light of favourable policy reforms that enhance legal migrations. Concerning the nature of irregular migrations through the Beitbridge border the study revealed four major illegal channels to this effect. First, crossing through the bush between the two countries far from the designated border crossing point. This form of crossing is facilitated by guides. The second form of crossing is under the bridge. The third illegal channel is through the designated points with the help of motorists or bus drivers. As mentioned by Macheka *et al.* the reasons given for illegal entry include the lack of documentation required to legally enter South Africa.¹⁵⁰ The study's findings also reveal that some individuals have passports, but do not use them as only a limited number of days are given by the South Africa immigration authorities at the border. This is in line with this study's perception that some undocumented Zimbabweans have valid passports, but problems emanate from the violation of migration agreements such as overstaying in South Africa, *inter alia*.

Interestingly, the study also found out that the South African officials, under certain circumstances, refuse to allow Zimbabweans to enter the country. Another issue is that most of the Zimbabweans based in South Africa still maintain ties with the families back home. Due to sudden eventualities such as death, these individuals who already live in South Africa have to illegally travel back home. Like Chirwa *et al.*, Macheka and Munyanyi, Ncube *et al.*'s work does not detail how the Beitbridge border post is controlled to curb irregular migration, thus leaving a gap that this study would help to fill. The above studies focused more on illegal entry into South Africa, and not South Africa's border control measures. Their strength lay in that they provided a new

¹⁴⁹ G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. pp. 114 - 120.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.* p. 118.

dimension in the understanding of the conditions that set forth irregular migrations to South Africa.

Aria conducted a research on the inner workings and practices of the smuggling industry along the South Africa-Zimbabwe border.¹⁵¹ According to Aria, the Beitbridge border has experienced growth in smuggling. Aria identified different groups that assist undocumented migrants to illegally across the border. These include the police, the army or immigration officials, transport operators, friends or relatives, other immigrants, and smugglers (*amagama-guma*). Three prominent smuggling groups top the list. The first being the professional smugglers. The author observed that undocumented migrants prefer the services of professional smugglers because they are likely to reach their destinations as the former usually negotiate with potential dangers and law enforcement officials successfully along the way. Aria claimed that the smugglers have great knowledge of police schedules. They know when familiar policemen would be on duty.

The second group consists of transport operators. The study observed that the taxi drivers play a crucial role in the smuggling process. They operate in the Zimbabwean town of Beitbridge and that of Musina in South Africa. They charge a certain fee for taking individuals without papers across the border post. In addition, the paper revealed that government officials assist smugglers to evade detection and/or arrest. According to Aria, “corrupt police officers at the border post are involved in aiding and abetting the whole process of illegal entry into this country.”¹⁵² These were important revelations as they helped this study to ascertain the way in which undocumented Zimbabweans cross the Beitbridge border into South Africa.

2.11 Humanitarian Concerns over the Border Control

There is a body of literature that looks at the border regime from a human rights perspective. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to examine the history

¹⁵¹ T. Aria, ‘Report on Human Smuggling across the South Africa/Zimbabwe Border.’ MRMP Occasional Report, in Forced Migration Studies Program (Wits University) (March, 2009).

¹⁵² T. Aria, ‘Report on Human Smuggling across the South Africa/Zimbabwe Border.’ MRMP Occasional Report, in Forced Migration Studies Program (Wits University) (March, 2009).p. 31.

and the humanitarian field in detail, it is important to note that there has been significant expansion and professionalisation of the humanitarian organisations and their increased linkages with state practices over recent years.¹⁵³ This section reviews the existing body of literature on the said issue.

According to Squire, the border regimes have no regard for human rights.¹⁵⁴ International instruments such as the UNCHR and Geneva Conventions were purposefully designed to reflect on the issues of human rights and the protection of migrants and refugees.¹⁵⁵ From this, we realise that even when a platform is made available for migrants, it is neither regarded as a matter of priority nor a means to introduce the secondary status of migrants. It must be mentioned, however, that inasmuch as the undocumented migrants want to start their lives afresh in countries of their destinations, they also want to be recognised as equal to locals, having rights and enjoying the same freedoms, work and education, as well as having all their grievances attended to.

In their article, *International Migration, Border Controls and Human Rights: Assessing the Relevance of a Right to Mobility*, Pecoud and Guchteneire make the point that migrants should be protected.¹⁵⁶ The authors looked at international migration from a human rights perspective. They discussed the immigration and border controls in favour of and against a right to mobility. They argued that contemporary migration and migration policies are largely restrictive, but still fail to meet their proclaimed objectives which call for alternative approaches to international human flow. This view was shared by Hayter who claimed that tight border control threatens the moral foundations of liberal democracies. She contends that the applications of immigration controls have become progressively more vicious.¹⁵⁷ She highlighted the fact that governments have embarked on “war on asylum”, attacking asylum seekers for their supposed abuse of

¹⁵³ V. Squire, ‘Post/Humanitarian Border Politics between Mexico and the US: People, Places, Things.’ 2015. (No page numbers).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ The global framework for refugee rights and protection is multifaceted. It includes the International Refugee Law (IRL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL). Rights include, among others, justice rights, non-discrimination and access to courts of law, freedom of movement and welfare rights. In South Africa, Section 27 of the Refugee Act sets out the rights of recognized refugees and asylum seekers, which include full protection of the Constitution’s Section 2 Bill of Rights.

¹⁵⁶ A. Pecoud and P. de Guchteneire, *International Migration, Border Controls and Human Rights: Assessing the Relevance of a Right to Mobility*, in *Journal of Borderland Studies*, Vol.21 No.1, 2006. pp. 66 – 82.

¹⁵⁷ T. Hayter, *Open Borders. The Case Against Immigration Controls*. Second Edition. England, 2004. p. ix.

the system and singles them to harsh treatment; driving them into illegality, locks them up, do not allow them to work, reduce them to destitution, labels them ‘illegal immigrants’ and promises to deport them if it cannot stop them from working in the first place.¹⁵⁸

By drawing attention to the opening of detention centres as prisons, and the police brutality against immigrants, a humanitarian approach to migration should be considered. Immigration controls as they are currently practised violate the provisions of several international treaties, to which the South African government is a signatory. Such cruelty is incompatible with the hard-fought-gains of liberal democratic societies. These measures affect the population as a whole, reduce its democratic rights, and risk turning target countries into police states.¹⁵⁹

Considering the above, there is a body of literature that calls for doing away with borders. Anderson *et al* .in their article, *Why No Borders?* opined that the restrictive immigration policies do not have any effect. What Anderson *et al* .highlighted here is that various scholars have noted that increasingly militarised border controls, for instance, have increased the costs paid for migration, be it in monetary value for securing passage, the extraction of labour, or the costs of one’s life.

One important, but less examined response to this historical conjuncture is the emergence of calls for ‘No Borders’. These are made on the basis of interrelated ethical, political, social, and economic grounds. Their challenging of nation-states’ sovereign right to control mobility signals a new project, one with ideas of “society”, and one aimed at creating new social actors not identified with nationalist projects (projects that are deeply racialised, gendered, sexualised, and productive of class relations).¹⁶⁰ The studies by Pecoud and Guchteneire; Hayter; Anderson *et al* were important in that they juxtaposed the growing concerns for increased border control with human rights narratives. This outlook certainly helped this study to look at the Beitbridge border in terms of human rights and the humanity of migrants.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. xi.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, T. Hayter, *Open Borders. The Case against Immigration Controls*. Second Edition. London, 2004. pp. i – 226.

¹⁶⁰ B. Anderson, N. Sharma and C. Wright, *Editorial: Why No Borders?* in *Journal of Refuge*, Vol.26 No.2 p. 6.

2.12 Conclusion

This Chapter reviewed relevant literature on issues pertinent to this study. A theoretical framework which was used to interpret this study's findings was discussed. The theory of migration was used to conceptualise the findings of the study. Within this theory, the following concepts were chosen to underpin the research findings: the pull and push factors, personal ties and intervening obstacles. The framework demonstrated the gravity of the Zimbabweans' irregular migrations to South Africa. The salient concepts were discussed. The literature review presented different concepts for migrants. These include 'illegal', 'alien' and 'undocumented' as they relate to Zimbabwean migrants. Also discussed was the concept of 'border' and its meaning in the context of this research. The international and South African literature on immigration control were reviewed. The overview of the border controls in Europe, the US, Asia and Africa were prominent. The review also drew attention to border control and human rights. The purpose of the literature review was to describe and consolidate various aspects of immigration controls in cross-border migration. Both international and South African literature on immigration and border controls were compared and contrasted with the Beitbridge border control measures. In Chapter Three, the research design and methodology that informed this study's data collection processes are discussed.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to explain the research methodology followed by this study. The Chapter discusses the research approach and design that were used in the study, including the data collection and analysis methods. The interpretivist and constructivist paradigms are also discussed as they provided the study's philosophical world view. Interviews were used to investigate the irregular channels of entry at the Beitbridge border and the measures in place to stop such illegal acts. Individual face-to-face interviews and participatory observation were used as data collection methods. The justification for each of the data collection methods used in this study is discussed. The Chapter winds up with ethical issues pertaining to the research. It is important to indicate that the terms 'irregular' and 'undocumented' migrants are used interchangeably in this study as they refer to the movement of people across South Africa's border in a manner that violates the country's immigration laws and regulations.

3.2 Research Methodology

This study was done qualitatively. It adopted and used qualitative methods of research due to the fact that it is interpretivist in nature. It adopted the qualitative research approach because this enabled the researcher to understand the research problem better by obtaining in-depth data concerning the problem that was investigated in order to achieve this study's objectives. The researcher studied the border control measures that were in place during the apartheid era and those that exist today that help curb irregular entry into South Africa through the Beitbridge border. This was done by giving undocumented Zimbabwean migrants a platform to tell in their voices how they irregularly cross the border into South Africa, thus giving voice to the voiceless. As they did so, they relived their experiences.

The primary instrument of data collection and analysis enabled the researcher to illustrate and expand the study through verbal and non-verbal communication. The

important aspect of the qualitative approach is the fact that its data collection methods are based on “case studies, personal experiences, introspectives, life stories, interviews, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives.¹⁶¹ All these research practices “can provide important insights and knowledge”.¹⁶² This study was concerned with border control measures and the experiences of undocumented Zimbabweans who irregularly cross the Beitbridge border to South Africa. This does not require any enumeration.¹⁶³ The task was to understand how undocumented migrants seep through this border based on personal experiences and perceptions, and the description of the processes that characterised these acts.

The qualitative research’s advantage over quantitative ones is that it provides an insight necessary to understand the participants’ role in the event, and their perceptions of the experiences. The focus was on the participants’ multiple experiences, meanings they attach to events and processes associated with irregular migration, and the measures to combat such. According to its proponents such as Terre’ Blanche, qualitative methods are described as more efficient because they allow the researcher to study the selected issues in-depth, openness, and detail as they identify and attempt to understand the categories of information that emerge from the data.¹⁶⁴ This approach enabled the researcher to have an insight into the causes of irregular migration by undocumented Zimbabweans to South Africa.

For this reason, the qualitative approach was adopted to explain the phenomenon that cannot be quantified. For example, an explanation of why and how undocumented migrants cross the Beitbridge border irregularly, thereby infringing on the country’s immigration laws and regulations. Mafuwane believes that the objective of qualitative research is to promote a better understanding of, and to increase insight into human

¹⁶¹ N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research: Entering the field of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, California: 1994. p. 2.

¹⁶² C. Nelson, P.A. Treichler and L. Grossberg, ‘Cultural Studies’, in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research: entering the field of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, California: 1994. p. 3.

¹⁶³ M.T. Blanche *et al.* (Eds), *Research in Practice. Applied Methods in Social Sciences*. Cape Town, 2006. p. 47.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

conditions. As such, qualitative research emphasises an improved understanding of human behaviour and experience.¹⁶⁵

Finally, the qualitative research approach was valuable because of its naturalistic, holistic, and inductive fundamental characteristics.¹⁶⁶ When the process of data gathering is inductive, it allows for the building of concepts, rather than deriving postulates deductively. Essentially, this approach allowed the researcher to study the phenomenon as it unfolded in Beitbridge without manipulation.¹⁶⁷ This added balance to the study as it investigated without manipulating the irregular channels of entry. It also interrogated the ways in which the border post was, and is controlled and managed to curb such irregular entry into the country by blending in with participants through face-to-face interviews. This approach permitted the researcher to gather the participants' stories, and then write a literal account of their experiences as to how they irregularly cross the Beitbridge border.¹⁶⁸ That is, the researcher attempted to build up a detailed picture of the life stories and experiences of the undocumented migrants as they moved across to South Africa.¹⁶⁹ This helped in studying events in their natural settings, and interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings individuals attach to them. The idea here was to capture the conversations, experiences, perspectives, voices and meanings of these individuals.¹⁷⁰

This process included investigating, observing, and documenting in detail, undocumented Zimbabweans' experiences in irregular entry, and the measures to combat that. The researcher found the qualitative descriptions of the participants' experiences and the inductive analysis of data as most suitable here because these procedures enhanced this study's objectivity which could be lost if other strategies (quantitative or experimental) were applied.

¹⁶⁵ B.M. Mafuwane, 'The Contribution of Instructional Leadership to Learner Performance.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis) University of Pretoria, 2012. p. 74.

¹⁶⁶ M.T. Blanche *et al.* (Eds.), *Research in Practice. Applied Methods in Social Sciences.* Cape Town, 2006. p. 47.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ N.V. Ivankova, J.W. Creswell and V.L. Plano-Clark, 'Foundations and approaches to mixed methods research,' in C. Ngwenya, 'Youths in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle: A Case Study of Bulilima District, 1960 – 1980.'

(Unpublished PHD Thesis) University of Venda, 2017. p. 108.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research: entering the field of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, California: 1994. p. 6.

3.3 Research Design

This study adopted a case study design. Data collection methods for case studies typically combine archives, interviews, questionnaires, and observations.¹⁷¹ This was advantageous to this study because it ensured that the issue was not explored through one lens, but rather from a variety of lenses which allowed for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood.¹⁷² Merriam contends that a qualitative case study is an intensive, holistic, descriptive and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon or social unit.¹⁷³ Interrogating a phenomenon from multiple angles generated insightful information for this study. Since there are few studies that investigated in-depth South Africa's border control measures to irregular migration, the case study design fitted in well with this study because it encourages the researcher where there is little or nothing known about the phenomenon of interest.¹⁷⁴

The case study approach was preferred over other research designs because it allowed for the close collaboration between the researcher and the participants, while enabling the latter to tell their stories.¹⁷⁵ Through these stories, the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants were able to describe their views of reality and this enabled the researcher to better understand the participants' actions.¹⁷⁶ The researcher captured the issues of irregular entry through the Beitbridge border as experienced and perceived by undocumented Zimbabwean migrants. The researcher's choice of the case study design was influenced by the fact that the approach would give voice to undocumented Zimbabwean migrants as they are the ones affected by the border control measures.

In this study, the first preference was given to accounts of the participants' and their understanding of immigration and border control measures. The views and voices of

¹⁷¹ K.M. Eisenhardt, Building Theories from Case study Research, in *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1989. p. 534.

¹⁷² P. Baxter and S. Jack, Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers, in *The Qualitative Report*, Vol.13, No.4, Article 2, 2008. p. 544.

¹⁷³ S.B. Merriam, *Case study research in education: a qualitative approach*. Michigan, 1988. p. 21.

¹⁷⁴ A.B. Thomas, *Research Skills for Management Studies*. Manchester, 2003. p. 128.

¹⁷⁵ B.F. Crabtree and W.L. Miller, 'Doing Qualitative Research', in P. Baxter and S. Jack, Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers, in *The Qualitative Report*, Vol.13, No.4, Article 2, 2008. p. 545.

¹⁷⁶ P. Baxter and S. Jack, Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers, in *The Qualitative Report*, Vol.13, No.4, Article 2, 2008. p. 545.

a number of the participants were analysed in-depth and, therefore, formed the main findings of this study. The research paid attention to individual experiences and perceptions of immigration and border control, and did not attempt to generalise the findings.

In view of the above, a case study was selected. The case was the South Africa-Zimbabwe border (the Beitbridge Border Post). This is one of the busiest port of entry and exit to and from South Africa. In fact, the Beitbridge Border Post links South Africa with the rest of Africa. However, attempts by the researcher to obtain an authorisation letter (from the SAPS and the SANDF) to interview border control authorities there were unsuccessful. That said, the experiences and knowledge of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants who irregularly crossed the Beitbridge border served as the main data for this study.

3.3.1 The Nature of the Study

This study was exploratory and descriptive in nature. The former, because the information on illegal migration is not documented, therefore not official, had no reliable statistics.¹⁷⁷ Also, since there are few studies that investigated Beitbridge border control measures during the apartheid era, and then the post-apartheid one, this became an exploratory study.¹⁷⁸ This study searched for new insights with regards to the border control mechanisms at the Beitbridge border post. Van Wyk wrote:

This is the most useful and appropriate research design for those projects that address a subject about which there are high levels of high uncertainty and ignorance about the subject, and when the problem is not very well understood (that is, very little existing research on the subject matter).¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ S. Macheka, W. Lunga and C. Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: Is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge?, in *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*, Vol.6, No.3, 2015 and J. Chirwa *et al.*, *Special Report: Fact or Fiction? Examining Zimbabwean Cross-Border Migration into South Africa*. Johannesburg, 2007.

¹⁷⁸ M.T. Blanche *et al.* (Eds), *Research in Practice. Applied Methods in Social Sciences*. Cape Town, 2006. p. 47.

¹⁷⁹ B. Van Wyk, 'Research design and methods Part II.' [PowerPoint, University of Western Cape]. Available from: https://www.uwc.ac.za/Students/Postgraduate/Documents/Research_and_Design_II.pdf Accessed: 07th/11/2017.

In the same breath, it was also a descriptive study in that it described the phenomenon through narrative-type descriptions (for example, interviews with undocumented migrants about their experiences), classification (for example, documenting different irregular channels of entry) and measuring relationships (the conditions that promote such precedent flow of people).¹⁸⁰ The descriptive research aspect provided an accurate and valid representation of the factors that were relevant to the research question. The case study was used to describe a phenomenon in relation to the real-life context in which it occurred.¹⁸¹

The researcher chose to use the descriptive inquiry that involved the use of words and pictures to illustrate what the researcher had learnt about the phenomenon. The researcher also used literature review as a qualitative approach to enhance the data collected from the informants. The study findings were discussed in relation to the existing body of literature in order to demonstrate how this study would contribute to the body of knowledge in this field of study.

3.4 Population and Sampling Methods

A population is defined as an aggregation of the elements from which the sample is actually selected.¹⁸² In this study, it refers to the total number of the research participants. The eligibility criteria in this study were that the participants had to: be undocumented Zimbabwean migrants; and had crossed the Beitbridge border illegally to live in South Africa. This was to find people who would provide relevant data for this study.¹⁸³ Also, this enabled the study to have a sample that was as representative as possible for the target population.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ M.T. Blanche *et al.* (Eds), *Research in Practice. Applied Methods in Social Sciences*. Cape Town, 2006. p. 44.

¹⁸¹ R. K. Yin, 'Case study research: Design and methods (3rd ed.)', in P. Baxter and S. Jack, *Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers*, in *The Qualitative Report*, Vol.13, No.4, Article 2, 2008. p. 548.

¹⁸² Babbie and Mouton, *The practice of social research*, 270.

¹⁸³ J.W. Creswell, 'Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions,' in M.T. Blanche, K. Durrheim and D. Painter, *Research in Practice (2nd ed). Applied Methods in Social Sciences*. Cape Town, 2006. p. 49.

¹⁸⁴ J. Mouton, 'Understanding Social Research,' in M.T. Blanche, K. Durrheim and D. Painter, *Research in Practice (2nd ed). Applied Methods in Social Sciences*. Cape Town, 2006. p. 49.

This study followed a non-probability sampling method since its purpose was to provide detailed information on the problem, rather than to generalise the findings. That is, purposive sampling was used to identify knowledgeable and experienced prospective participants in this research. The purpose for selecting the study's units of analysis was to have respondents who would provide sufficient data. Yin, for example, defines purposeful sampling as the selection of participants or sources of data for use in a study, based on their anticipated richness and relevance of information in relation to the study's research questions.¹⁸⁵

In this survey, nine individuals were interviewed. That is, nine undocumented Zimbabweans (five males and four females). The chosen ones contributed meaningfully to this research. Suri and Yin agree that purposeful sampling requires access to key informants in the field who can help identify information-rich cases.¹⁸⁶ The priority was to choose those who understood the issues the study raised well enough to provide substantive information. For this reason, the research focused specifically on those migrants who managed to illegally cross the Beitbridge border. Based on this selection, the problem of irregular migration could be more acutely understood, and more information would be available for the identification of border control options to curb this problem.

Since undocumented migrants were difficult to identify because of fear of arrest, the snowball sampling technique was used at the South African side of the Beitbridge Border Post and in Thohoyandou.¹⁸⁷ Snowball sampling was used to identify and recruit "hidden populations"; that is, groups not easily accessible to researchers through other sampling strategies.¹⁸⁸ In this technique, one person refers to another

¹⁸⁵ R. K. Yin, 'Qualitative research from start to finish,' in S.J. Gentles, Sampling in Qualitative Research: Insights from an Overview of the Methods Literature, in *The Qualitative Report*, 2015, Vol.20, No.11, Article 4. p. 1778.

¹⁸⁶ H. Suri, Purposeful Sampling in Qualitative Research Synthesis, in *The Qualitative Research Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2011. p. 66 and R. K. Yin, 'Qualitative research from start to finish,' in S.J. Gentles, Sampling in Qualitative Research: Insights from an Overview of the Methods Literature, in *The Qualitative Report*, 2015, Vol.20, No.11, Article 4. p. 1778.

¹⁸⁷ S. Macheke, W. Lunga, C. Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: Is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge?, in *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*, Vol.6, No.3, 2015. p. 251.

¹⁸⁸ N. Mack *et al.*, *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. Boston, 2005. pp. 5 and 6.

person and the chain continues until the researcher has enough number of cases for his study.¹⁸⁹ This technique helped the researcher to unearth more respondents.

3.5 Data Sources

The main data collection techniques used in this study were interviews, documentary survey, as well as field-notes and observations. A semi-structured interview schedule was used to capture data relevant to the study's objectives and research questions.

3.5.1 Semi-structured (Face-to-Face) interviews

Interviewing can be used to make previously hidden or silenced voices to speak.¹⁹⁰ Here, the interviews gave some undocumented migrants the chance to voice their concerns over issues that are rarely openly acknowledged in the public discourse. That is, the reasons for undocumented Zimbabweans to resort to illegal channels of entry. Primary data was collected through the use of semi-structured interviews with the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants who narrated their accounts or versions of their past experiences, feelings and thoughts.¹⁹¹ Primary data refers to the first-hand information from the participants.¹⁹² An interview guide was designed according to the research questions.¹⁹³ It comprised of open-ended questions designed such that they allowed the respondents to express their viewpoints through probing. As opposed to other types of interviews (structured and unstructured), semi-structured interviews were chosen because they are flexible in nature, and no particular order was followed when posing questions.

¹⁸⁹ R.M. Grinnell and Y.A. Unrau, 'Social work research and evaluation: Foundation of evidence based practice,' in C. Ngwenya, 'The Role of Youths in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle. A Case of Bulilima District, 1960 – 1980.' pp. 105 and 106. (Unpublished PhD Thesis) University of Venda, 2017). p. 122.

¹⁹⁰ T.M. Rapley, 'Interviews,' in C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium and D. Silverman (Eds), *Qualitative Research Practice*, SAGE Publications, 2004. p. 16.

¹⁹¹ C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium and D. Silverman (Eds), 'Qualitative Research Practice,' in B.M. Mafuwane, *The Contribution of Instructional Leadership to Learner Performance*. (Unpublished PHD Thesis) University of Pretoria, 2012. p. 84.

¹⁹² A.S De vos, H. Strydom, C.B. Fouche and C.S.L. Delport, *Research at Grass roots: for the social sciences and human service professionals*, (3rd ed). Pretoria: Van Schaik, 2005. p. 236.

¹⁹³ See Appendix A at the back of the study.

Mack *et al.* noted that in-depth interviews are optimal for collecting data on individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored.¹⁹⁴ The researcher was aware that the subject matter at hand was sensitive, and the respondents would not be willing to open up on their experiences. The method afforded this study an opportunity to capture non-verbal responses, including body language (emotions and behaviour) which indicated the level of discomfort with the questions asked. It also indicated the level of enthusiasm over the issues that were discussed.¹⁹⁵ Thus, Chereni claims that story-telling as a data collection method becomes effective when dealing with issues such as irregular migration.¹⁹⁶ In this case, undocumented migrants were asked to re-enact their stories to relieve their experiences. Based on the fact that the interview questions were open-ended in nature, this provided the room for probing and cross-checking in order to obtain clarity on vague responses. This form of data gathering was efficient because it allowed the interviewer and interviewees to engage in 'mutual self-disclosure'.¹⁹⁷ Thus, both speakers need to talk in a language of their emotions, feelings and experience.¹⁹⁸

The interviews were recorded with a digital tape-recorder. The tape provided the researcher with a detailed record of 'our' verbal interaction than any amount of note-taking or reflection could offer.¹⁹⁹ The researcher replayed the tapes as he transcribed.²⁰⁰

Conversely, interviews have, *inter alia*, a problem that the quality of data the researcher receives often depend on the ability of the interviewer. Some people have the natural ability to conduct an interview and gather data well. Some interviewees may have their own biases that could impact the way they respond. Interviews can

¹⁹⁴ N. Mack, C. Woodsong, K. M. Macqueen, G. Guest and E. Namey, *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. North Carolina, 2005. p. 2.

¹⁹⁵ www.snapsurvey.com/blog/advantages-disadvantages-facetoface-data-collection/. Accessed: 26th June, 2018. 19:06.

¹⁹⁶ A.A. Chereni, 'Methodological Approach And Conceptual Tools For Studying Migrant Belongings In African Cities: A Case Of Zimbabweans In Johannesburg', in S. Macheke, W. Lunga, C. Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: Is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge?, in *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*, Vol.6, No.3, 2015. p. 255.

¹⁹⁷ T.M. Rapley, *Interviews*, in C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium and D. Silverman (Eds), *Qualitative Research Practice*, SAGE Publications, 2004. p. 25.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ T.M. Rapley, *Interviews*, SAGE Publications, 2004. pp. 18, 25.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

also be time-consuming, that is, their setting-up, interviewing, and data entry can prolong the analysis, feedback, and the reporting process.²⁰¹

Another disadvantage may be that the participants may refuse to be tape-recorded. This may lead to their withdrawal from the interview.²⁰² Only one participant refused to be recorded in this study. In this case, the researcher recorded his responses in writing. In addition, since interviews were audio recorded, the disadvantage is that if the tape recorder crashes without an external data backup, the entire data is lost. This means that the user should always have backup. The researcher made two duplicate copies of tapes; one copy was for regular use and the other was kept as back-up in the event that data got lost or destroyed. By noting these problems, the researcher took precautionary measures to minimise their impact.

3.5.2 Field-notes and observations

The researcher, as a participant observer, made observations on how the border is illegally crossed, patrolled and guarded. The participant observation was efficient for collecting data on naturally occurring behaviours in their usual contexts.²⁰³ Immigration and border control is a complex and challenging task. For border control to be effective, it requires the complex interaction of many variables. For this reason, the assessment of irregular migrations was better done when irregular border crossings were in place (rather than afterwards) by observing how the undocumented migrants participate in that process. As a result, the description of these processes was valuable for the research outcomes. Further, it was difficult to predict with accuracy the illegal migrants' behaviour.

Field notes included an account of events, how people behaved and reacted, what was said in conversation, where people were positioned in relationship to one another, their comings and goings, physical gestures, the researcher's subjective responses to

²⁰¹ T.M. Rapley, *Interviews*, SAGE Publications, 2004. p. 18.

²⁰² D.R. Monette, T.J. Sullivan and C.R. De Jong, 'Applied social research: a tool for the human services professions. 6th ed', in Ngwenya, C. The Role of Youths in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle. A Case of Bulilima District, 1960 – 1980. (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Venda, 2017). p. 146.

²⁰³ N. Mack, C. Woodsong, K. M. Macqueen, G. Guest, and E. Namey, *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. Boston, 2005. p. 2.

what he observed, and all other details and observations necessary to make the story of the participant observer complete. In this case, field notes were written during the observations or following the activity. They were recorded in order not to forget the details of the cases.²⁰⁴

3.5.3 Documentary study: Primary and Secondary sources.

Secondary information was obtained from secondary sources. These were documents that contained someone else's interpretation and analysis of the situation. In this study, secondary sources were information about what had been researched and documented on immigration and border control. Such information was available at the University of Venda's library in the form of books, theses and dissertations. The said sources are also easily accessible online in the form of journal articles. This information was compared with the ones obtained on the fields from the participants to explain and illuminate different contexts and their relevance to this study.

Sources for primary information were in the form of newspaper articles and reports, as well as minutes of meetings, which were found online. These records were deemed useful for this study because of their reliability. They contained first-hand accounts of the phenomenon that was studied. They were reliable because the information was raw as it had not been interpreted or tempered with or diluted by someone's opinion about the subject matter. The relevant primary information for this study was that from the SANDF and SAPS members as contained in their online news bulletin. The information was consolidated and integrated with that obtained from the interviews.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data was analysed thematically. Thematic analysis is a type of qualitative analysis. It is used to analyse classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the data. It illustrates the data in great detail and deals with diverse subjects via

²⁰⁴ N. Mack, C. Woodsong, K. M. Macqueen, G. Guest, and E. Namey, *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. Boston, 2005. p. 2.

interpretations.²⁰⁵ Almost all qualitative research studies involve some degree of transcription – the data may be tape recorded interviews, or handwritten field notes.²⁰⁶ The aim of data analysis is to transform information (data) into answers to the original research question. Qualitative data analysis began by identifying themes in the data and the relationship between those themes. It was important, therefore, to ensure that the type of data analysis was in line with the research paradigm, and that data answered the research questions.²⁰⁷ As such, data was sorted, coded, organised and indexed in a manner that was easier for the researcher to interpret it. Texts were summarised by checking key themes, phrases or passages that were used in a more detailed analysis. The process was guided by the study's aim.

The undocumented migrants' responses were analysed first. This was followed by an analysis of the responses from border patrol officers as surveyed online. The responses to the questions gave rise to a discussion of key findings. The undocumented migrants' responses and those of the border control authorities were compared and contrasted with the reviewed literature. Conclusions were drawn using the key findings as reflected therein.

3.7 Trustworthiness of the Study

The researcher ensured the trustworthiness (validity/reliability) of this study by adopting the criteria developed by Lincoln and Guba, namely credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability.²⁰⁸ These are detailed below.

²⁰⁵ R.E. Boyatzis, 'Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development', in M.I. Alhojailan, Thematic Analysis: A Critical Review of Its Process and Evaluation, in West East Journal of Social Sciences, Vol.1, No. 1, 2012. p. 40.

²⁰⁶ A. Lacey and D. Luff, Qualitative Data Analysis, in National Institute for Health Research 2009. p. 20.

²⁰⁷ M.I. Alhojailan, Thematic Analysis: A Critical Review of Its Process and Evaluation, in West East Journal of Social Sciences, Vol.1, No. 1, 2012. p. 52.

²⁰⁸ A.S. De Vos, H. Strydom, C.B. Fouche, C.S.L. Delpont (ed), *Research at Grass Roots: For the social sciences and human service professions*. Van Schaik Publishers, Pretoria. 2002. p. 333.

3.7.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to how well the researcher obtained the research results and to what extent such results represent the information obtained from the participants. To ensure the credibility of this study, the researcher member checked and triangulated data. Triangulation refers to when the researcher compares the participant's responses against one another to see if they agree or differ on similar aspects.²⁰⁹ Member-checking refers to when the researcher confirms the participant's response by reflecting on the information the participants have already given.²¹⁰

3.7.2 Transferability

This refers to the extent to which the research results could be used to address similar issues in different contexts if following the same process. To ensure transferability, the researcher ensured that the data used in this study, together with constraints encountered, were outlined. This assisted in case the results are used in other contexts to determine the kind of people or methods that could be used to yield similar results.

The external validity of a research project can be threatened by the Hawthorne effect, the type of sampling method selected, the validity of the research instrument (semi-structured interview schedule in this case) and by the predictive value of the research instrument. The Hawthorne effect is the behaviour that is displayed by the participants because they are aware that they are involved in a study.²¹¹ Being aware that they are involved in a study of irregular migration, undocumented individuals would have given answers to please the interviewer, instead of providing honest information about their real life experiences. This type of threat to external validity was minimised by providing explanations to the participants, and by not pressurising them into giving any responses. They were requested to be as honest as possible. If a study lacks external

²⁰⁹ L. Krefting, Rigor in Qualitative Research: The assessment of trustworthiness, in *The American Journal of Occupational Therapy* 45 (3), 1991.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ D. Oswald, Handling the Hawthorne effect: The challenges surrounding a participant observer, in *Review of Social Studies*, Vol.1, No.1, Autumn 2014. p. 53.

validity, then one is not confident that the findings can be applied beyond the narrow confines of that study.

3.7.3 Dependability

Dependability is the degree of consistency with which the instrument measures an attribute in the same environment as used in the original study and yielding similar results.²¹² Interviews were used to obtain different views from the same set of questions in order to ensure reliability. The researcher ensured this by recording the participants' responses and taking field notes based on what he observed as well as by incorporating member checking notes to enhance the possibility of repetition.

3.7.4 Conformability

This refers to the neutrality of the researcher on the research process. This means that the researcher has to be objective and refrain from influencing the research results as much as possible. To ensure the conformability of this study, the researcher adopted the 'bracketing' method. That is, putting aside one's personal experiences or culture to stop it from interfering with the results.²¹³ The researcher was as open minded as possible and avoided leading the participants to the answers he (researcher) wanted. If the interviewer is not neutral, they will be 'unduly biased' in the interviewee's story and thus 'contaminate' data.

²¹² W.L. Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative And Quantitative Approaches* (7th Ed). Boston, 2011. p. 82.

²¹³ R.J. Amdur, *The Institutional Review Board Members Handbook: Principles of the Belmont Report*. Boston: Jones and Bartlett publishers, 2002. p. 76.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

Research ethics in this study were in accordance with those stated by Mack *et al.* namely, informed consent, the principles of beneficence of the respect for human dignity and justice.²¹⁴ The following sub-sections explain these ethics.

3.8.1 Consent for conducting the survey

The researcher informed the participants about the purpose, nature, data collection methods and the extent of the research prior to the commencement of the interviews.²¹⁵ To ensure that the research could be undertaken in-depth, it was necessary to conduct confidential interviews with different individuals in an attempt to assess the situation concerning irregular migrations and border control measures at ground level. In line with this, consent was obtained to conduct this survey from the University of Venda's Research Ethics Committee.²¹⁶ Consent was obtained to interview undocumented Zimbabwean migrants.

3.8.2 The principle of beneficence

The principle of beneficence includes freedom from harm and exploitation. With regard to the freedom from harm, the researcher guaranteed that no participants were put in a situation where they might be harmed as a result of their participation, physically or psychologically so.²¹⁷ Psychological discomfort may result from the nature of the questions asked. In that regard, an opportunity was provided for each participant to ask questions and to air their feelings concerning this study.

Freedom from exploitation was observed by not exploiting the participants' vulnerability. The undocumented individuals who crossed the border illegally are regarded as 'undesirable individuals' as they are in the country 'illegally'. The likelihood is that they could be deported if found to have illegal status. Careful explanations were

²¹⁴ N. Mack, C. Woodsong, K. M. Macqueen, G. Guest, and E. Namey, *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. Boston, 2005. pp. 9 – 11.

²¹⁵ See Appendix B at the back of the study.

²¹⁶ See Appendix C at the back of the study.

²¹⁷ A. Fontana and J.H. Frey, *Interviewing: the art of science*. Thousand Oaks, California, 1994. p. 372.

provided to these migrants about their right to refuse to participate in the study, and that their participation or refusal would not have a bearing in their stay in the country in any way whatsoever.

3.8.3 The principle of respect for human dignity

This principle includes the right to self-determination, and the right to full disclosure. The right to self-determination was followed by providing the participants with the right to refuse to participate in the study, the right to discontinue the study if they felt uncomfortable, the right not to answer specific questions if they did not want to disclose that information and the right to ask for clarification if they were not sure about any aspect of the research project or any specific question.

Addressing the participants' right to full disclosure, the researcher described the nature of the study, the participants retained the right to refuse to participate in this study, the researcher's responsibilities and the risks/benefits involved, before the actual interviewing process commenced.

3.8.4 The principle of justice

The justice principle states that the researcher should be fair when selecting his research participants. The participants were selected because they fit the purpose of the study and not based on the weaknesses or the advantage that the researcher had over them. The fairness of the study was evaluated based on how much it benefitted the participants than how the researcher benefitted. In this case, the researcher ensured that the participants' human rights were not compromised for the research gains. The selection process followed the acceptable research methodology paradigms.

The participants were properly treated. This was through respecting their beliefs, habits, culture and lifestyles. Their right to privacy was respected because the researcher ensured each participant's privacy by interviewing them individually and privately, and by treating data collected with confidence. Anonymity was adhered to

by ensuring that no completed semi-structured interview schedule could be linked to any specific participant. The researcher was obliged to protect the participants' identity, places, and the location of the research. Identities, locations of individuals and places were concealed in published results, data collected were held in anonymity, and securely kept.²¹⁸ The completed interview schedules were only accessible to the researcher. Data collected was used for the purpose of this study only, and the completed interview schedules were destroyed as soon as the research report was accepted. The research report provided facts, but no names of individuals appear in it.

3.9 Conclusion

This Chapter outlined the research methodology and the design used in the study. As a qualitative study, the researcher chose the qualitative case study which enabled him to select individuals who were willing to participate. The qualitative case study also helped the researcher to design data collection instruments and, collect and analyse data with the intention to reach the maximum expectations. Also, it was to understand how and why the selected participants from the selected research sites responded positively to participating in the research process. In this study, the researcher also explained how the selected research samples and instruments used in the data collection and analysis allowed him to come up with conclusions based on what the participants said. Furthermore, the quality of the study was ensured by exploring the data credibility criteria common in a qualitative approach. In the next Chapter, the study findings are discussed and analysed.

²¹⁸ M. Punch, *Politics and Qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA, 1994. p. 92.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the study findings. The previous Chapter discussed the research methodology followed in this study. A qualitative research approach was adopted. This study investigated irregular migrations to South Africa through the Beitbridge border post, and the measures put in place to stop the influx of undocumented Zimbabweans into the country. Themes constructed from the data collected through semi-structured interviews are presented herein to provide an insight into the meaning undocumented migrants attach to their experiences of illegal border crossing into South Africa. This Chapter is divided into four sections. The first section is its introduction. The second provides the contextual background. It deals with the history of South Africa's borderline security, which was based on the country's campaign against communist guerrilla activities along the northern border with Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The third section illustrates the border security measures adopted by the successive ANC-led governments in post-apartheid era. The migrating responsibilities of border control and safeguarding between the SAPS and SANDF is also discussed here.

The fourth section presents and discusses the data as collected from interviewees. The data presented and discussed relate to the irregular entry into South Africa by foreign nationals through the Beitbridge border. The measures put in place at the Beitbridge border to prevent illegal entries are also presented and discussed here. The last section concludes this Chapter.

4.2 Contextual Background to Border Control in the Apartheid Era

In order to fully understand South Africa's position against irregular migrations, it is imperative to first understand the context in which apartheid cross-border movements were controlled and managed. The South African authorities began constructing a

border fence along its external borders in the 1940s.²¹⁹ In general, the South African borderline patrols, and the Beitbridge border in particular, could be best understood in the context of anti-communism campaigns against Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola that posed existential threat against white minority regime in South Africa. In the mid-1970s, the political landscape in the southern African region was altered by the independence of Angola and Mozambique from Portugal.²²⁰ It was unthinkable to the apartheid regime to have black-ruled-socialist and hostile regimes as neighbours. All were Marxist and were publicly opposed to white minority rule.²²¹

When Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980, South Africa's worst fears were realised. It had lost a long-time ally whose regime was considered a protective buffer of the white-controlled states.²²² Before 1980, people moved freely across the border to visit relatives and friends, and it was easy to move from one side of the border to the other. Although there was a fence, the authorities allowed local people, whom they knew, relatively free movements across the border. Apart from occasional patrols by the police, no real policing occurred at the border. This made the border crossings easy for the border communities.²²³

However, when the ZANU (PF) government came into power, the apartheid regime became concerned with the infiltration of guerrillas into the country. Before that time, the apartheid regime had counted on the Smith regime to counteract guerrilla activities on its border with Zimbabwe. In the 1970s, weapons, ammunition, uniforms, financial assistance, intelligence support and training were provided to the Smith regime, specifically for this purpose.²²⁴ As pointed out by Emerson in Seda, "To assist in the

²¹⁹ <https://globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/fence-mozambique.htm> Accessed: 19th May, 2019. 22:31.

²²⁰ Portugal's withdrawal from Angola added layer of perceived threats against apartheid state. The possibility of a Marxist government, sympathetic to the ANC and SWAPO, propelled South Africa to involve itself in Angola's civil war. Their intention was to prevent the MPLA from taking control of Angola at independence, but later focus on trying to maintain control of South-East Angola against the MPLA and SWAPO. N. Scott, From the SADF to the SANDF: Safeguarding South Africa for a better life for all?

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237432846>

²²¹ N. Scott, 'From the SADF to the SANDF: Safeguarding South Africa for a better life for all?'

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237432846>

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ GlobalSecurity.org is an online site that has extensive information on the border control and security during the apartheid and in post-apartheid. Available on: <https://globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/fence-mozambique.htm> Accessed: 19th May, 2019. 10:31.

²²⁴ F.L.M. Seda, 'Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-Border Regions.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015. p. 49.

infiltration and ex-filtration of guerrillas across the Rhodesian and Mozambican border, the South Africans supplied some seven vehicles, including heavy duty trucks.”²²⁵

After 1980, tables turned. South Africa’s external borders were left exposed to unfriendly neighbours. The ANC used both Mozambique and Zimbabwe as corridors for infiltrating the country. Tentative steps had to be taken that would see South Africa gaining total control of its external borders. However, as the apartheid regime was dealing with political insurgents, another threat emerged; a wave of migrants from Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, fleeing political persecution flooded the country.

This came as a result of the political persecutions against the Ndebele tribe, mainly in Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces from 1982 to 1987. The unresolved tribal tensions between the dominant Shona tribe and the minority Ndebeles had long been an on-going animosity dating back to the days of the liberation struggle. However, it reached a boiling and ripping point in 1982. This operation, known as *Gukurahundi* (Shona name which translates to ‘early rain which washes away the chaff before the spring rains’) witnessed the barbaric, brutal killings and torture of many Ndebeles in the hands of Zimbabwe’s elite Special Forces.

However, the most important factor to fully understand the *Gukurahundi* issue was the apartheid South African’s destabilisation policy towards Zimbabwe. The apartheid regime recruited people for sabotage purposes. These acted as double agents after Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980. South Africa’s destabilisation policy of Zimbabwe was twofold. First, it involved the supply of misinformation to the government regarding discontented Ndebeles and ZAPU. This included trusted government informants, ideally placed to exacerbate tensions already existing between the ZAPU and ZANU-PF by perpetuating misinformation against the former.²²⁶

Secondly, it included the creation of ‘Super-ZAPU’ dissidents and their undercover support in Zimbabwe, and these carried out military attacks on the government and

²²⁵ F.L.M. Seda, ‘Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-Border Regions.’ (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015. p. 49.

²²⁶ https://pindula.co.zw/South_African_Destabilization_Policy_of_Zimbabwe Accessed: 1st August, 2019: 21:08

the country's infrastructure.²²⁷ This act of sabotage between 1981 and 1982 was codenamed 'Operation Drama'. Operation Drama's primary role was the formation and funding of 'super-ZAPU' dissidents. This was a small band of dissidents, recruited from refugee camps in Botswana and trained in four camps in the Transvaal.²²⁸ The apartheid regime supplied weapons to 'super-ZAPU' dissidents. 'These operated in Matabeleland and the Midlands Provinces in the 1983 and 1984. Although outnumbered by the 'pure-ZAPU' dissidents (who wanted nothing to do with South Africa), these 'super-ZAPU' dissidents had better weapons and ammunitions, which were in short supply to the former in 1983.²²⁹ 'Super-ZAPU' elements developed as a response to the deployment of the 5th Brigade, as South Africa took advantage of the growing anger of former ZIPRA fighters and civilians living in refugee camps in Botswana.²³⁰

In January 1983, the ZANU-PF government, predominantly Shona, gave directives to the Zimbabwe's elite 5th Brigade,²³¹ and the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) to unleash terror on Ndebele communities, which it labelled and branded as dissidents. As the name *Gukurahundi* suggests, the aim was to cleanse the country of the unruly Ndebele citizens. Ndebele men of fighting age were considered potential dissidents and, therefore, guilty of subversive activities. As large groups of people were burnt alive in huts, countless Ndebeles were displaced and they found refuge in neighbouring countries such as South Africa, Zambia and Botswana.

The *Gukurahundi* was deemed a success by the apartheid regime in three ways. First, this created an atmosphere in which distrust and dislike between ZANU–PF and ZAPU escalated. Second, in making it difficult for the ANC's military wing, MK to use Matabeleland as a base for training and attacks across the border into South Africa.

²²⁷ https://pindula.co.zw/South_African_Destabilization_Policy_of_Zimbabwe Accessed: 1st August, 2019: 21:08

²²⁸ https://pindula.co.zw/South_African_Destabilization_Policy_of_Zimbabwe Accessed: 1st August, 2019: 21:08

²²⁹ <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2015/03/06/gukurahundi-apartheid-sa-zim-collaboration/> Accessed: 1st August, 2019. 21:13.

²³⁰ <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2015/03/06/gukurahundi-apartheid-sa-zim-collaboration/> Accessed: 1st August, 2019. 21:13.

²³¹ The Fifth Brigade was a militia that received military training from North Korea. The members were drawn from ex-Zimbabwe African National Liberation army and Zimbabwe People' Revolutionary Army.

Last, it worked to discredit Mugabe's international reputation as a Prime Minister representing a country commitment to national reconciliation.²³²

Conversely, the policy backfired on the regime as it created another problem, that of undesired immigrants. Due to its policy of isolation, the apartheid government at the time was wary of anyone entering the country from independent black states around it. As such, it refused to offer international assistance or amnesty to these refugees as they were viewed as a security risk.²³³ Against this background, South Africa's border controls in the 1980s were enforced against refugees and guerrillas infiltrating from the northern border.²³⁴

Accordingly, these perceived threats propelled the apartheid regime to step up its border control operations. Between 1984 and 1985, for example, the apartheid regime began the construction of a fence that separated South Africa and Zimbabwe. Along its border with Zimbabwe, the fence, also known as the Kafta, Nabob or Norex fence, ran from the Sand River just east of Musina up to Alldays area and stretched almost to the Botswana border. The fence also stretched from Komatipoort to Mbusini on the borders of Mozambique and Swaziland.²³⁵ It consisted of two razor-wire barriers that shielded a series of electrified wires, which were set to administer a lethal shock.²³⁶ The electric fence was designed to create an electrical circuit when touched by a person or an animal. It consisted of several strands of copper wire, backed with barbed wire, with 3, 500-volts.²³⁷ The shock voltage was lethal.

It should be noted that over 28 years of its existence, the Berlin Wall resulted in eighty-deaths. On the other hand, the Norex fence surpassed that number. An unknown number of people died from being shot by commando units while trying to cross.²³⁸

²³² <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2015/03/06/gukurahundi-apartheid-sa-zim-collaboration/> Accessed: 1st August, 2019. 21:13.

²³³ M. Wentzel and K. Tlabela, *Historical Background to South African Migration*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006. p. 81.

²³⁴ <https://www.globalsecurity.org/militaryworld/rsa/fence-norex.htm> Accessed 15th January, 2019. 13:31.

²³⁵ E. Hennop, *SANDB control of the Northern and Eastern border Areas of South Africa*. Institute of Security Studies, Occasional paper, No. 52. 2001. (No page numbers); and C. McMicheal, *Re-Militarisation of South Africa's borders*. Available on: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/chris-mcmicheal/re-militarisation-of-south-africa%e2%80%99s-borders> Accessed: 21st January, 2019. 10:25.

²³⁶ E.K. Campell, *Reflections on illegal immigration in Botswana and South Africa*, in *Journal of African Population Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2006).p. 6.

²³⁷ <https://www.globalsecurity.org/militaryworld/rsa/fence-norex.htm> Accessed 15th January, 2019. 13:31.

²³⁸ <http://mgafrica.com/article/2015-04-02-kenya-plans-for-anti-terror-somalia-border-wall-here-are-six-other-border-barriers-in-africa> Accessed 07/05/2018. 14:37. Accessed: 07 May, 2018, 14:37.

Due to this, the South African church leaders called for the electrified fence to be switched-off. Tyson observed that such a monster pile of razor wire was almost difficult enough to cross.²³⁹ The fence was to deter the ANC guerrillas from infiltrating the country from Zimbabwe, and stem the flow of refugees seeking asylum in the Venda Homeland.²⁴⁰

The 1980s was the militarisation of the South African society. The border area was subjected to a large-scale military build-up.²⁴¹ Heavily armed soldiers were stationed on most farms which themselves came to resemble mini-fortresses. Farmhouses were surrounded by security fences and were linked with radio communication to local military headquarters.²⁴² The sub or echo-stations were built every ten-kilometre intervals to house the infantry section patrolling that part of the border. The fence was manned by the military personnel from the Soutpansberg Military Area (SMA). The sub-stations were brick and mortar buildings with sleeping quarters for ten men.²⁴³ They were equipped with computer facilities that monitored and controlled the electricity range when the fence was switched on, which provided the precise location of any contacts or attempts that tempered with the electrified fence.²⁴⁴

When interference occurred on the fence, which was set on alarm mode, it would register at the substation closest to the interference, then the SMA headquarters, as well as at the offices of the contractor responsible for the maintenance of the electric fence.²⁴⁵ McMicheal asserted that this build-up was intended to establish a 'trip wire' against infiltration by guerrillas from the anti-apartheid movements.²⁴⁶ In the bush

²³⁹ R. Tyson, Mozambique fence – Obsolete, But Deadly, Knight Riddle Newspapers. November 26, 1990. Accessed: 07th May, 2018. 14:07.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ J.E. Buys, 'The Transformation Of The South African Police From A Paramilitary Force To A Service Delivery Agency, 1980-1998: A Historical Assessment.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis), University of the Free State, 2007. p. 123.

²⁴² M. Murray, 'South Africa, time of agony, time of destiny, the upsurge of popular protest,' in E. Buys, 'The Transformation Of The South African Police From A Paramilitary Force To A Service Delivery Agency, 1980-1998: A Historical Assessment.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis), University of the Free State, 2007. p. 123.

²⁴³ <https://www.globalsecurity.org/militaryworld/rsa/fence-norex.htm> Accessed 15th/01/2019. 1:31 PM.

²⁴⁴ E.K. Campell, *Reflections on illegal immigration in Botswana and South Africa*. Johannesburg, 2006. p. 6. and www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2010/05/26/troops-reinforcing-porous-and-dangerous-border Accessed: 15th January, 2019. 12:12.

²⁴⁵ <https://www.globalsecurity.org/militaryworld/rsa/fence-norex.htm> Accessed 15th January, 2019. 13:31.

²⁴⁶ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/chris-mcmicheal/re-militarisation-of-south-africa%e2%80%99s-borders> Accessed 21st January, 2019. 10:21 PM.

terrain between sub-stations, the troops engaged with border jumpers, and the SMA members would arrest the intruders.²⁴⁷

On the line of defence, however, the army patrols and auxiliary civilian commando units fortified the border.²⁴⁸ The SADF maintained its presence at the border since the 1970s. The border control was further reinforced by helicopters that flew (patrolled) along the border at an hourly interval. One of the prominent border patrols were the SADF's 12th Infantry Battalion, a horse and dog unit. The unit hit the ground hard in halting cross-border activities concerning political movements and underground military groupings.²⁴⁹ The increase in soldiers along the border made it difficult to cross. In this period, crossings from South Africa to Zimbabwe came to all but a complete standstill. Most South Africans who crossed the border were not residents of the borderland, but were rather members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing.²⁵⁰ McMichael contends that these borders were linked into a wider repressive architecture that joined domestic clampdowns by both the military and the police with combat deployments, cross-border raids and covert operations in neighbouring "frontline States".²⁵¹

Externally, the SAP was also utilised in protecting the country from external threats. It was paramilitary in culture and character. It was classified as a paramilitary organisation with strict military discipline, behaviour, conduct and methods of operation.²⁵² The SAP's border patrols during the apartheid era was, except for crime prevention, also militaristic and political in nature. The police units wore camouflaged uniforms, were armed with automatic rifles and shotguns, and used Hippos.²⁵³ The

²⁴⁷ <https://www.defenceweb.co.za/sa-defence-sa-defence/zimbabwe-border-fence-in-dispair/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 12:05.

²⁴⁸ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/chris-mcmichael/re-militarisation-of-south-africa%e2%80%99s-borders> Accessed 21st January, 2019. 10:21.

²⁴⁹ www.defenceweb.co.za/mobilesite/defence/home/item_id-50392/ Accessed 24th January, 2019. 10:40 PM.

²⁵⁰ <https://globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/fence-mozambique.htm> Accessed: 19th May, 2019. 10:31.

²⁵¹ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/chris-mcmichael/re-militarisation-of-south-africa%e2%80%99s-borders> Accessed 21st January, 2019. 10:21.

²⁵² J.E. Buys, 'The Transformation Of The South African Police From A Paramilitary Force To A Service Delivery Agency, 1980-1998: A Historical Assessment.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis), University of the Free State, 2007. pp. 89 and 90.

²⁵³ J.E. Buys, 'The Transformation Of The South African Police From A Paramilitary Force To A Service Delivery Agency, 1980-1998: A Historical Assessment.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis), University of the Free State, 2007. p. 95.

equipment they utilised in their role as protector of the borders was also distinctly of military nature.²⁵⁴

The cooperation that existed between the SAP and the SADF was of unprecedented nature. This was reflected in their military discipline.²⁵⁵ There was no distinction between the SAP and SADF. Their conduct, discipline, methods of operation, culture and equipment were the similar. The only difference was found in the uniform they wore.²⁵⁶ The SAP's presence along the borders effectively halted subversive elements from crossing into the country. This gave rise to the idea that the SAP should establish permanent bases at various points along the border with Zimbabwe as well as introduce regular police patrols.²⁵⁷ Along the South African borders, and the Beitbridge border in particular, the police were assigned to three-month tours on patrol.²⁵⁸

The SAPS and the SADF's counter-insurgency units remained at the border until they were withdrawn at the end of 1990. However, border crossers did not give the electric fence the fear and respect it deserved. Monteiro reported that the electric fence was not as human proof as envisioned. Writing on the Mozambique border, she observed that border crossers had developed a number of methods to cross the fence. She wrote,

Some simply throw a log over the electrified part. Some claimed shaking the fence short-circuited it, which disabled a section of that fencing. The most common method was to prop up a section of the fence with wooden sticks and then crawl underneath.²⁵⁹

Monteiro also observed that border crossers turned to the help of guides who got them through the fence for a specified amount of fee. The setup of the electric fence was fatal. According to Monteiro, those who survived suffered severe burns and even lost

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 90.

²⁵⁵ J.E. Buys, 'The Transformation Of The South African Police From A Paramilitary Force To A Service Delivery Agency, 1980-1998: A Historical Assessment.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis), University of the Free State, 2007. p. 90.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 89.

²⁵⁷ J.E. Buys, 'The Transformation Of The South African Police From A Paramilitary Force To A Service Delivery Agency, 1980-1998: A Historical Assessment.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis), University of the Free State, 2007. p. 123.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁵⁹ <https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg12517011-000-hundreds-killed-by-south-africas-border-fence/>
Accessed 21st January, 2019. 11:08.

limbs as a result.²⁶⁰ Monteiro claims that the Zimbabwe section of the fence resulted in few deaths.²⁶¹ The electrified fence, to a certain extent, had a deterrent effect. But, it did not stop the potential border jumpers from moving across. Migrants and guerrillas alike used such methods to exploit the system to gain access into and out of the country. The fence was not of much deterrence to border crossers whose will power was to access the country. In other words, the electric fence was effective for crossers who were illiterate, but in-effective to technically sophisticated ones.

At the same time, the Norex fence did not run the whole length of the border. It ended at the Sand River, to the east of Beitbridge border post.²⁶² There was a gap of approximately thirty-two kilometres of a non-Norex fence at the Vhembe area.²⁶³ The fence was not erected as it would have infringed on the elephants' migration route in this area.²⁶⁴ The Sand River provided the shortest distance from Beitbridge to Musina. This area became a crossing point for illegal migrants from Zimbabwe who preferred not to cross the Norex electric fence.²⁶⁵ However, in spite of the heavy presence of the police and army, the gap in the Vhembe area allowed for the free movement of people into South Africa.

4.3 Contextual Background to Border Control in Post-Apartheid Era

South Africa's 1994 elections changed the power relations between South Africa and Zimbabwe as the two states were no longer ideological enemies. With the dawn of democracy, efforts were made to reduce the border presence of both the SANDF and the SAPS, and the electric fence was switched off.²⁶⁶ In 2003, the then President Thabo Mbeki's administration decided that the deployment of the military at the border crossings was to be phased out and replaced by the SAPS. Army units were to be

²⁶⁰ <https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg12517011-000-hundreds-killed-by-south-africas-border-fence/>
Accessed 21st January, 2019. 11:08.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² www.globalsecurity.org/militaryworld/rsa/fence-norex.htm Accessed 15th January, 2019. 13:31.

²⁶³ E. Hennop, *SANDF Control of the Northern and Eastern Border Areas of South Africa*. Institute of Security Studies, Occasional Paper No. 52, August 2001. (No page Number).

²⁶⁴ <https://www.globalsecurity.org/militaryworld/rsa/fence-norex.htm> Accessed 15th January, /2019. 13:31.

²⁶⁵ www.globalsecurity.org/militaryworld/rsa/frnce-norex.htm Accessed 15th January, 2019. 13:31.

²⁶⁶ E. Hennop, C. Jefferson and A. McLean, 'The challenge to Control South Africa's Borders and Borderline.' ISS, 2001. pp. 1.

completely withdrawn by 2009. At that time, the police were considered a better option for border protection and the SANDF's responsibilities were shifted to the SAPS.²⁶⁷ The reason for scaling down the soldiers was that there was no perceived external threat to the security of the country or to the new-found freedom in South Africa.²⁶⁸ Another reason was that funds had to be channelled towards social services.²⁶⁹

However, the rising anti-migrant sentiments and the influx of thousands of migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa compelled the country to secure its borders once more. In April 2009, the then President Kgalema Motlanthe overturned Mbeki's decision and authorised the SANDF's continued presence until after the 2010 World Cup.²⁷⁰ With the sharp rise in crime in the country and the subsequent extra burden placed on the police, the SANDF was placed on service by the President to assist and support the SAPS with crime prevention, including the assistance with border security.²⁷¹ The transfer of the borderline functions from the SAPS back to the SANDF was concluded in March 2009, with the SANDF taking over at two operational bases along the border with Zimbabwe. The SAPS is deployed at the Swartwater, Pontdrift, Beitbridge, Musina and Madimbo bases in this province. In November 2009, it was officially confirmed that the SANDF was once again the primary statutory agency for borderline control and protection.²⁷²

The SANDF's return to control and safeguard our borders is code named 'Operation Corona', which means a direct redeployment of the SANDF and related resources to the borders.²⁷³ 'Op Corona' is aimed at gaining operational control over South Africa's borders. Hennop says that the return of the SANDF was to ensure that the integrity of borders is maintained by preventing the undetected movement of people and goods across.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁷ www.defenceweb.co.za/mobilesite/defence/home/item_id-50392/ Accessed 24th January, 2019. 10:40.

²⁶⁸ E. Hennop, C. Jefferson and A. McLean, 'The challenge to Control South Africa's Borders and Borderline.' ISS, 2001. pp. 1.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/chris-mcmicheal/re-militarisation-of-south-africa%e2%80%99s-borders> Accessed 21st January, 2019. 10:21.

²⁷¹ www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/borderline-policing.htm Accessed 24th January, 2019. 10:10.

²⁷² www.defenceweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/item_id-28765/ Accessed 5th February, 2019. 7:29.

²⁷³ Operation Corona is a SANDF's plan to safeguarding South Africa land borders launched in 2009 taking over the function of borderline control from the SAPS.

²⁷⁴ E. Hennop, SANDF Control of the Northern and Eastern Border Areas of South Africa. Institute of Security Studies, Occasional Paper No. 52, August 2001. (No page Number).

The reinstatement of the military was motivated by practical considerations as the police services do not have the levels and capabilities to guard the country's borders.²⁷⁵ This was defined as a 'national security' operation rather than a law enforcement exercise, but any undocumented migrants and smugglers intercepted were supposed to be handed over to the police.²⁷⁶

Border safeguarding was rolled out in three phases.²⁷⁷ That is, phase one witnessed the SANDF deployment on the Zimbabwe and Mozambique borders in Limpopo (Pointdrift and Musina) and at Mpumalanga (Macadamia and Skukuza). The SANDF made the Mozambican and Zimbabwe borders as their "first priority" in order to control the influx of people and goods. Phase two saw the SANDF deployed along the Swaziland and Lesotho borders, in KwaZulu Natal (Ndumo and Pongola) and at the Free State (Ladybrand). Phase three, which began on April 2017, focused on the borderline control along the Botswana and Namibia borders. At present, Operation Corona's sub-units are deployed at Ladybrand, Fourieoband, Maluti, Pongola, Ndumo, Zonstraal, Macadania, Sand River, Madimbo, Musina and Pontdrift.²⁷⁸

There are twenty-two companies that are available for Operation Corona, and fifteen of these are deployed.²⁷⁹ More than five thousand SANDF members are deployed in the borders that include Pontdrift and Beitbridge (facing Zimbabwe), and Macadania (opposite Mozambique) and Ndumo in Northern KZN. In Limpopo, these soldiers are deployed at Madimbo base. Five companies are deployed at Musina and Pontdrift along the Zimbabwe - South Africa border.²⁸⁰

SANDF's border safeguarding strategy has three tenets. That is, to effect deterrence, to exercise control, and to contain adversarial situations. The 'detection' aspect focuses on the enhancement of the situational awareness and the identification of threats, while the 'control' tenet includes the preparation and implementation of strategies, interdepartmental cooperation, capability development, *inter alia*

²⁷⁵ https://v2.itweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/item_id-5420/ Accessed 5th January, 2019. 19:15.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ These deployment phases of the SANDF are ranked according to priority. The first being the Beitbridge border because of the influx of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa.

²⁷⁸ www.defenceweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/item_id-28765/ Accessed 5th February, 2019. 7:29 PM.

²⁷⁹ www.defenceweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/item_id-28765/ Accessed 5th February, 2019. 07:29.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

(manoeuvre at operational/tactical level). The 'response' tenet deals with the institution of both defensive and offensive measures to control, contain and/or neutralise the threat.²⁸¹ Against this background, the next section discusses how the Beitbridge border is controlled to curb irregular migration of Zimbabweans to South Africa.

4.4 Border Control Measures at the Beitbridge Border Post

As has been revealed, Beitbridge is the established route along which migrants irregularly gain entry into the country. Thus, it was given a 'high priority' on the SANDF border control list. This section deals with illegal border crossings and the measures to address this. In recent years, thousands of Zimbabweans have jumped, and continue to jump the border seeking a better life south of the Limpopo River. A small town at the border of Zimbabwe and South Africa, Musina is a buzzing hive of activities due to the influx of Zimbabweans. It is often seen as a land of milk and honey for refugees from Zimbabwe and across the continent. Small-scale farmers and the Zimbabwean citizens buy groceries and other products in Musina.²⁸² Undocumented Zimbabwean migrants track for days to get into the country through crossing the crocodile infested Limpopo River, and walk across the bush for hours where they overcome countless barriers for a better life.

As noted above, the post-apartheid government has not taken lightly the reality that its borders are easily permeable, particularly its border with Zimbabwe. However, border control is no easy task as those involved should be proactive instead of being reactive. Border control is about detecting irregular entries by undocumented migrants and smugglers alike. The control of irregular migration is a brand new ball game to post-apartheid South Africa. In this era, controlling our borders against irregular migration has become a major theme for the SANDF and SAPS. It is important to note at this juncture that there are two distinct aspects; the border control and port of entry control. Currently, role players such as the DHA focus more on the port of entry, while

²⁸¹ PowerPoint Presentation to the Portfolio Committee on Police titled: 'Border post and borderline security'. Available from: <http://pmg-assets-s3-website-eu.wes1.amazonaws.com/docs/2011/111108bBorderpost.pdf>

²⁸² W. Munyanyi, *Is Infrastructure Upgrading an Antidote for Smuggling? Evidence from Beitbridge Border Post, Zimbabwe*, in *World Customs Journal*, Vol.9, No.1, 2016. p. 105.

the SANDF is more concerned with guarding borders. Like their SAPS and SANDF counterparts, the immigration officials at the port of entry are armed.

A cocktail of measures has been devised and adopted to stem irregular migrations at the Beitbridge border. As discussed above, a fence was erected along the banks of the Limpopo River on the South African side to prevent irregular entry. The fence at the Beitbridge border consists of three lines of wire; animal-proof wire fence on the Zimbabwe side with a similar razor-mesh fence on the South African side.²⁸³ The section in between is called the “no-man’s land” area.²⁸⁴ That space between the borders belongs to no one. This is where the guma-gumas,²⁸⁵ and undocumented migrants cross, despite the SANDF patrols, by going through holes in the border fence. It is also a sophisticated smuggling route.²⁸⁶



Figure 1: The triple layer of razor sharp wire barrier in the no man's land.

Source: Defenceweb.

In 2008, a new section was raised by workmen from the Department of Public Works to replace the ageing rusty border wire, a triple layer barrier of razor sharp steel in no-

²⁸³ <https://www.defenceweb.co.za/sa-defence-sa-defence/zimbabwe-border-fence-in-dispair/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 12:05.

²⁸⁴ R. Elphick and R. Amit, 'Border Justice. Migration, Access to Justice and the Experience of Unaccompanied Minors and Survivors of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Musina.' African Centre Migration Society Research Report, 2012. p. 24.

²⁸⁵ Guma Gumas- this is the name given to criminals who act like they want to assist you to cross the border, then they attack and rape border jumpers.

²⁸⁶ R. Elphick and R. Amit, 'Border Justice. Migration, Access to Justice and the Experience of Unaccompanied Minors and Survivors of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Musina.' African Centre Migration Society Research Report, 2012. p. 24.

man's land. The three barriers, however, did little to hold up the desperation of people coming from the other side. According to Anatswanashe,

I came to South Africa in July 2009. I border jumped. First, we crossed the river. The water level was low, it was easy to cross through...The border is fenced with razor-wire, but people cut holes on the fence. That's where we cross. We were eleven in the group. We went by foot at night from Beitbridge, negotiating through the bush and farms for two days. When we got tired, we would rest and then continue afterwards...My husband had once embarked on this journey, and he knew the pathways...We walked...passed a village, and continued walking until we found a road and took a taxi to Musina. From there, my husband and I took another taxi to Thohoyandou.²⁸⁷



Figure 2: Picture of a group of undocumented migrants crossing the shallow Limpopo River.

Source: John Moore/Getty images.

It is common for undocumented Zimbabwean migrants to have a guide among them. Due to the fact that her husband once embarked on this journey, it made the crossing relatively easy for them because her husband was familiar with the terrain as well as the soldiers and police patrol routines.²⁸⁸

In as much as this is happening, based on the informants as they tell their stories of migration and what made them come to South Africa, this is in line with Lee's 'pull' and 'push' factors. There are compelling factors that make Zimbabwean migrants cross

²⁸⁷ Interview with Anatswanashe (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

²⁸⁸ Interview with Anatswanashe (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

the border into South Africa. Poverty, hunger, drought, and economic pressure exerted on families and, unstable and abusive environments are some of the factors forcing them to leave their home country.²⁸⁹ They look for food, shelter and safety. This is the reality of many undocumented Zimbabweans. People do not want to leave their families and homes and walk under difficult conditions, risking their lives to come to South Africa. As Lee explains, the migrant has to reflect on his/her situation and consider both "...the positives of staying and the negatives of moving, as well as their converses."²⁹⁰ In this case, the positives of migrating to South Africa outnumber the positives of staying in Zimbabwe, and hence migrate to here.²⁹¹

Asked why they used that particular route, Takudzwa said, "We used that route to cross the border because at that time I did not have enough money to apply for the passport and the work permit."²⁹² Without money or proper documentation, those fleeing Zimbabwe's economic rot use illegal routes. Eight out of the nine interviewed participants revealed that they did not have passports. The Limpopo River forms a natural border between Zimbabwe and South Africa. But, with the drought and lack of water, it enables free passage between two countries. It is known in the area that moving between the two countries is not difficult when the water level is low. Major-General Hlatswayo told *Sowetan Live* that crossing depends on the season since they cross wherever the river is shallow. During the rainy season very few people cross the border because it is dangerous.²⁹³ This was also acknowledged by eight respondents. Crossing the border by swimming across the river is also observed by scholars such as Mabudusha and Ncube *et al.*²⁹⁴ Anatswanashe's narrative augers well with Lee's tenets of 'intervening obstacles' where he stated that migrants have to overcome certain difficulties at different levels in order to prove their mobility.²⁹⁵ The physical

²⁸⁹ G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. p. 117.

²⁹⁰ E.S Lee, *Theory of Migration*, in *Journal of Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. p. 50.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² Interview with Takudzwa (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

²⁹³ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-08-23-soldiers-clean-up-cops-mess-at-borders/> Accessed: 09th/04/2019. 10:13 PM.

²⁹⁴ S.A, Mabudusha. 'The Policing of Undocumented Nationals in South Africa.' (Unpublished PhD thesis) University of South Africa. 2014. p. 114; G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. p. 118.

²⁹⁵ E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in *Journal of Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. pp. 49 and 50.

barriers (the river and inhospitable terrain), the political barriers (perimeter patrols and the razor-wire fence) and financial constraints (travel costs and permit application) are obstacles that migrants face, what Lee considers as the intervening obstacles. Illegal migrants have to overcome these obstacles before they reach South Africa.²⁹⁶

Hlatswayo also noted that foreign nationals cross the lines by either digging underground, tearing down the fence, making holes or destroying man-made obstacles placed across the Limpopo River.²⁹⁷ This coincided with the visit to the frontier by the DA's Spokesman and Deputy for Defence and Military Veterans, David Mayneir and James Lorimer in July 2009. They observed that sections of the border fence had been stolen and that there was low presence of the police. Maynier, quoted on the Defence's website, reported that,

On our visit to the South Africa-Zimbabwe border in Beitbridge, we found that several gates had been left open, the border fence had been cut wide open on several places, and large sections of the fence had been flattened in many other areas. On our tour, we also found a low police presence. The police, unlike the army, do not do foot patrols, and were deployed at 10 km intervals at sub-stations along the border.²⁹⁸



Figure 3: Suspected smugglers and undocumented migrants cutting and jumping the border fence.

Source: John Moore/Getty images.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-08-23-soldiers-clean-up-cops-mess-at-borders/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 10:13.

²⁹⁸ DA's visit to South/Zimbabwe border in July, 2009 <https://www.defenceweb.co.za/sa-defence-sa-defence/zimbabwe-border-fence-in-dispair/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 12:05.

With low border patrol, undocumented Zimbabweans were able to walk across the border undetected. This border fence was designed to stop the influx of undocumented Zimbabweans into South Africa looking for food and work. Irregular migrants usually conduct a careful check of the area to detect the presence of the police/army, and when the coast is clear, they scramble across into South Africa. According to Takudzwa, there are easier places to cross when one knows where to look. In some stretches of the border, there is just a single fence.²⁹⁹



Figure 4: An undocumented migrant crawling under the fence. The other picture shows a gaping hole on the border fence.

Sources: Reuters/Siphiwe Sibeko and Soweto live/Pertunia Ratsatsi.

The ease with which undocumented Zimbabwean migrants cut the fence and cross-over is a major concern. The border fence is riddled with holes as a result of being tempered with by these migrants.³⁰⁰ The holes on the border fence speak of tens of undocumented Zimbabweans who cross over day and night. Major-General Hlatswayo told *Sowetan Live* that the SAPS neglected the fence, which was a vital cog in detecting people's movements along the border.³⁰¹ The SANDF was withdrawn from border patrols from 1998 until 2009.³⁰² Their eleven year absence from the

²⁹⁹ Interview with Takudzwa (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

³⁰⁰ <https://www.defenceweb.co.za/sa-defence-sa-defence/zimbabwe-border-fence-in-dispair/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 12:05.

³⁰¹ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-08-23-soldiers-clean-up-cops-mess-at-borders/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 10:13.

³⁰² E. Hennop, 'SANDF Control of the Northern and Eastern Border Areas of South Africa.' Institute of Security Studies, Occasional Paper No. 52, August 2001. (No page Number).

borders opened up a free way for many illegal activities that include the influx of undocumented migrants.³⁰³

This is in line with the findings of the International Security Studies (ISS) as well as a performance audit by the Auditor-General on the Border Control and Police Advisory Council which found that the SAPS has failed to take over the functions of borderline control from the SANDF.³⁰⁴ At that time, the proposed personnel was low, meaning that the function of borderline security was not effectively carried out. The Auditor-General's report also found that there was no security analysis of the border fence. Places were found where border fences were inadequate or even non-existent.³⁰⁵ In short, there was no border to speak of in many parts between the two countries.

The apartheid regime had built substations every ten-kilometre to house the infantry section patrolling that part of the border. Those substations had equipment to monitor the electrified fence, which had been in alarm mode until 1994. Like the domestic fencing of a similar type, an alarm is set off when intruders short-circuit the wires. The normal reaction to an alarm was for the section to send reaction elements to the area concerned to arrest the suspected border jumpers.³⁰⁶

The electric detection fences no longer work due to the lack of attention and maintenance since soldiers were deployed there, making it easier for them to be taken down.³⁰⁷ A glimmer of hope came in 2011 when parliament gave priority to the fencing of the border, resulting in the deployment of two platoons of engineers (around eighty engineers) whose task was to repair the apartheid-era razor fences (the Norex fence) that cover other parts of the border.³⁰⁸ Major-General Hlatswayo said that this was the least they could do to prevent the further deterioration of the fence. Closing the holes

³⁰³ www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/borderline-policing.htm Accessed 11th January, 2019. 1:36.

³⁰⁴ https://v2.itweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/item_id-5420/ Accessed 5th February, 2019. 8:51.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ <https://www.defenceweb.co.za/sa-defence-sa-defence/zimbabwe-border-fence-in-dispair/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 12:05.

³⁰⁷ www.defenceweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/item_id-53767/ Accessed 17th/01/2019. 1:08 AM.

³⁰⁸ R. Elphick and R. Amit, 'Border Justice. Migration, Access to Justice and the Experience of Unaccompanied Minors and Survivors of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Musina.' African Centre Migration Society Research Report, 2012. p. 24.

was an everyday job. They close them today and tomorrow they find them open again.³⁰⁹

Attempts by the SANDF to effect basic repairs to the fence in Beitbridge have, however, proven unsuccessful.³¹⁰ Former Home Affairs Minister, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, told *Mail & Guardian* that the worst would be...to go back to the past where we had electric fence meant to restrict people.³¹¹ Referring to the Beitbridge border, it was originally developed in a manner that “allows little movement between South Africa and the rest of the continent, but we are talking of the free movement of people here.”³¹² This is in line with another inspection done by the DA team in 2018 at the Beitbridge border which discovered that a large area of the border fence had been cut open, a literal goal for those hoping to cross illegally.³¹³ These numerous vantage points expose the SANDF’s patrol movements.



Figure 5: Members of the SANDF effecting basic repairs on the South Africa-Zimbabwe border fence.

Source: Sowetan Live/Pertuania Ratsatsi.

³⁰⁹ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-08-23-soldiers-clean-up-cops-mess-at-borders/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 10:13.

³¹⁰ <https://mg.co.za/article/2011-04-04-porous-borders-is-smugglers-paradise> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 18:06.

³¹¹ <https://mg.co.za/article/2008-12-09-tight-borders-encourage-illegal-migration> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 18:16

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ The DA in November 2018 embarked on a tour of South Africa’s borders to better ascertain the problems facing access points into the country. www.politicsweb.co.za/politics/anc-has-left-borders-broken-and-sandf-thinly-sprea Accessed 30th January, 2019. 13:12.

The Department of Public Works is mandated to oversee the patrol and fencing projects along the border. The functions of the Public Works Department include the rehabilitation and construction of fencing and patrol roads along the borders. Their mandate is to ensure that the fence is well maintained and there is enough ground clearance for vehicles used for border protection activities. In reality, however, not much is done to maintain the fence.³¹⁴

Despite the fence being a physical barrier, the soldiers conduct a 24 hour operational shift, seven days a week at the Beitbridge border, rather than the “shift-work” of the police.³¹⁵ The battalion headquarters in Musina and the Sand River manage Operation Corona.³¹⁶ The Musina military base in Limpopo is located near the Beitbridge border post. Soldiers stationed at Musina are tasked to deal with undetected persons trying to enter South Africa. In 2010, there was one company in the Musina and Beitbridge area. It has been strengthened to one hundred and eighty-seven members since it protects the Home Affairs processing facility near Musina, close to the Zimbabwe border.³¹⁷ Today, there are five Infantry Battalion (5SAI) companies with three hundred and forty Special Forces troops deployed at the Beitbridge border.³¹⁸ The deployed soldiers are meant to protect the long border. The two companies of Parabats, the elite South African paratroopers deployed in recent years to Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Burundi, also patrol this highly porous border.³¹⁹

According to the SANDF manuscript, there is a difference between the SAPS system of scheduling duties and theirs.³²⁰ The SAPS use a ‘rostering system’,³²¹ whereby only one third of the personnel would be in the area while on duty. When their eight hours

³¹⁴ Presentation to the Portfolio Committee on Police titled ‘Border post and borderline security’.

Available from:<http://pmg-assets-s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/docs/2011/111108bBorderpost.pdf>

³¹⁵ www.irinnews.org/news/2010/05/26/troops-reinforcing-porous-and-dangerous-border Accessed 13th January, 2019. 15:23.

³¹⁶ Ibid

³¹⁷ <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/11206> Accessed 16th January, 2019. 21:50.

³¹⁸ S.A, ‘Mabudusha. The Policing of Undocumented Nationals in South Africa.’ (Unpublished PhD thesis) University of South Africa. 2014. p. 64.

³¹⁹ www.irinnews.org/news/2010/05/26/troops-reinforcing-porous-and-dangerous-border Accessed 13th January, 2019. 15:23.

³²⁰ See manuscript of a 2010 Parliamentary Committee, ‘Border Control: briefing by Chief of Joint Operations, South African National Defence Force.’ <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/11206> Accessed 16th January, 2019. 21:50.

³²¹ “Rostering system” is a list that shows the order in which a job or duty is to be done by the members of a group. Merriam -Webster dictionary.

a day is up, they return to their home base. However, the SANDF personnel assigned to the area remain there at all times.³²²

At night, illegal border crossings are rampant, and this then is the right time for border patrols. According to Major-General Hlatswayo everyday soldiers find a new hole in the perimeter fence made by new comers.³²³ When a suspected group of undocumented migrants is detected, a radio comes in from the ground. The SAPS patrol the Limpopo River using a helicopter. When the pilots spot a group of undocumented migrants, they make a radio contact to the police and soldiers on the ground to intercept it. The helicopter flies around the group to make sure that they do not lose them.

Anatswanashe had this to say regarding that 'cat and mouse' game between the authorities and the undocumented migrants that takes place in the border area.

As we were sitting, we spotted a police van patrolling the area. We ran into hiding until the path was clear, and continued walking.³²⁴

She added that at some point on their journey, the police spotted them and a police chase ensued.

We ran and ran...Others were apprehended. My husband and I, together with several others managed to elude them (the police). We found a hiding spot where we remained there until nightfall because we feared the police would still be in the vicinity searching for us. We feared that they would arrest and deport us.³²⁵

More are willing to risk their lives coming to South Africa as they have to share the bushes with snakes, leopards and other dangerous predators that live in the wild. Mabudusha asserts that undocumented migrants often do not want to be noticed by border patrol officials when they cross the border.³²⁶ Suffice it to say that most irregular

³²² See 2010 Parliamentary Committee Report titled: 'Border Control: briefing by Chief of Joint Operations, South African National Defence Force.' <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/11206> Accessed 16th January, 2019. 21:50.

³²³ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-08-23-soldiers-clean-up-cops-mess-at-borders/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 10:13.

³²⁴ Interview with Anatswanashe (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

³²⁵ *Ibid*

³²⁶ S.A, 'Mabudusha. The Policing of Undocumented Nationals in South Africa.' (Unpublished PhD thesis) University of South Africa. 2014. p. 114.

border crossings occur at night when there is no visibility in order to elude the border patrol agents.

There are coordinated efforts among the soldiers, the ground patrol and police aviation crew. The aviation crew keeps suspected border crossers in the radar while directing soldiers on foot patrol. When the coordinated mission pays off, the suspects are sent to the holding cells in Madimbo. According to Rear-Admiral Schoultz, a former Chief Director Operations at SANDF, the SANDF has a good working relationship with the SAPS.³²⁷ The relationship between these two is governed by Section 18 (1) (d) of the Defence Act and Section 13 of the Police Act.³²⁸ The above allows for members of the SANDF to arrest, detain, seize and search as stated in Section 20 (2) of the Defence Act 42 of 2002 as well.³²⁹

What is interesting, however, is that SANDF undertakes searches, seizure and arrests, but does not want to be involved in the legal processes.³³⁰ On his visit to the Beitbridge border in 2018, the DA spokesperson, Julis stated that,

Standing along our border, we were able to capture the footage of people on the other side of the border watching the South African side. From there, they could see the SANDF patrols arriving and leaving, and thereby ascertain the best time to cross undetected.³³¹

It is apparent that undocumented migrants are not deterred by the presence of the soldiers and the police stationed along the border. They know that their actions are wrong, but they justify them in many ways.

In his defence, Mike said that,

Most of us coming here have passports. The problem is that we are given days at the border...I have a seven year old kid who visited for the school holidays. All the papers were there(children's papers are too many) and I requested a month, to which he

³²⁷ According to the manuscript of a 2010 Parliamentary Committee meeting on border security <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/11206> Accessed 16th January, 2019. 21:50.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³¹ www.politicsweb.co.za/politics/anc-has-left-borders-broken-and-sandf-thinly-sprea Accessed 30th January, 2019. 13:12.

(immigration official) replied 'Ok, I will give you a week'. Just imagine. These Immigration officials make it difficult for migrants who want to come here legally.³³²

The above account was corroborated by Anatswanashe, who lamented that the immigration officials simply refuse to give people days. Sometimes they give them seven days. She added that sometimes one must have money to buy additional days from those in charge.³³³ Mike is a legal migrant who came to South Africa in 2005. He said, "Under President Mbeki, Zimbabweans had a temporary visa for 90 days stay, after those days we would go back to renew our permits. The visa process was used from 2005 until 2009." Anatswanashe came in 2009 after the free 90 days visa for Zimbabweans had been lifted. Out of options, she was compelled to use illegal channels of entry. This is yet another impediment to migration as espoused by Lee. South Africa has put up legal barriers that prevent the Zimbabwean people from coming here legally.³³⁴ As a result, undocumented migrants have to respond to legal barriers by opting for illegal channels of entry. This ties up well with Ncube's observation that the limited days are indirect conflict with the need to find gainful employment in South Africa, which may take months, and hence gaining entry through the bush becomes an attractive option.³³⁵

Another important fact to consider with regard to limited days is the geographic proximity of Zimbabwe and the Limpopo Province. Due this proximity, a citizen of Zimbabwe, for example, may find it necessary to pay daily visits to relatives on the opposite side of the border in Limpopo without being obliged to possess a visa. Sometimes visits may extend to longer periods. When this happens, one becomes an illegal person in this country. Thus, the undocumented migrants would rather use the river crossing areas where, according to Mlambo, "nobody checks if you have the papers or not".³³⁶ It is important to note that South Africa did not have a specific policy framework to regulate Zimbabwean migrants until April 2009 when the DHA introduced the Zimbabwean Documentation Process (ZDP). This legal framework suspended the deportations of undocumented Zimbabweans and offered amnesty to many migrants

³³² Interview with Mike, Thohoyandou: 16th January, 2018.

³³³ Interview with Anatswanashe, Thohoyandou: 16th January, 2018.

³³⁴ E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in Journal of Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. p. 51.

³³⁵ G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. p. 118.

³³⁶ Interview with Mlambo, Thohoyandou: 16th January, 2018.

in order for them to legalise their stay.³³⁷ This project paved the way for Zimbabweans to obtain proper documentation. But, that offer expired in July, 2011.³³⁸

Tati argued that,

The divide imposed by inconsistent borders on communities with cultural affinities is a facilitating factor of irregular migration within the SADC. Some borderlines have experienced a large concentration of irregular migrants who are traditionally similar with the indigenous populace. The recognition of their cultural proximity has not, however, prompted the government to rethink its border control policing to stem out irregular migration.³³⁹

Such type of migration should be treated differently due to its fluidity and encouragement of the cultural and ethnic ambient system.³⁴⁰ Yet, many restrictions are still in place. South Africa's legal framework does not see the benefit of receiving migrants. As Okumu points out, the management and security of African borders appear to be influenced by a number of trends taking place in Europe and America. The first trend is the increasing "criminalisation" of migrants through tightening of border controls to keep out criminals and terrorists. The second trend is the "securitisation" or fortifying of borders and tightening of controls, which in turn have led to increased spending on border security.³⁴¹ The politicians and policy-makers frame migration as a threat to national security, thus South Africa has adopted a strict immigration policy.

The SANDF and SAPS immediately arrest those who illegally cross the border. Current legislation favour continuous arrests, detention and repatriation.³⁴² Many

³³⁷ Z. Jinah, "We have To go Into the Bush." Understanding the response of NGOs and government in addressing conditions faced by cross border migrant in Musina. Case Study: Musina, Limpopo South Africa. African Centre for Migration & Society, Research Report, April 2012. p. 19.

³³⁸ C.C. Nshimbi and L. Fioramonti, A Region without Borders? Policy Frameworks for Regional Labour Migration towards SA.

³³⁹ G. Tati, The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions, in Espace Populations Societes, Article 3, 2008. p. 15.

³⁴⁰ G.Tati, The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions, in Espace Populations Societes, Article 3, 2008. p. 15.

³⁴¹ W. Okumu, 'Border Management and Security in Africa.' 2011. pp. 6 and 7.
<https://www.researchgate.net/publications/30898355>

³⁴² F.L.M. Seda, 'Border Governance In Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration And Cross-Border Regions.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015. p. 58.

Zimbabweans are rounded up, held at deportation centres and driven back across the Beitbridge border. Mudau (of the SAPS) told eNCA that,

...when we find them, we take them. As police officers, we are not allowed to arrest and put them in cells, we take them to the refugee camp where they apply for an asylum status.³⁴³

Under the Immigration Act, the border police are empowered to arrest and detain undocumented foreigners for up to forty-eight hours. An old army base at Artonvilla on the banks of the Limpopo River is used by the South African government as a holding camp for undocumented migrants. It can hold up to one thousand people while they await deportation.³⁴⁴ In Musina, these individuals are detained at the police cells as there is no official detention centre for migrants.³⁴⁵ The DHA processes deportations directly from these cells. The immigration officer is required to conduct an investigation within 48 hours to determine the immigration status of each person.³⁴⁶ In enforcing the provisions of the Immigration Act, the DHA established such detention facilities.

Between 2006 and 2009, the Soutpansburg Military Ground (SMG) was used as a detention facility for undocumented migrants awaiting deportation. The detention centre was run and overseen by the Musina police as opposed to the DHA.³⁴⁷ In May 2009, a ruling by the North Gauteng High Court held that the use of SMG as an unauthorised immigration facility was unlawful. They also found that the detention conditions at the SMG were inhumane and unlawful, and the facility was closed.³⁴⁸ According to Hayter, immigration controls, as they are currently practised, violate the provisions of several international treaties, to which the South African government is a signatory. Such cruelty is incompatible with the hard-fought-gains of the liberal democratic societies. Such measures would affect the population as a whole, reduce

³⁴³ Peter Mudau, SAPS official at Musina, interviewed by ENCA. www.enca.com/refugees-south-africa Accessed 5th February, 2019. 22:53.

³⁴⁴ <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2005/03/18/desperate-locals-vote-with-their-feet/> Accessed: 10th April, 2019. 22:52.

³⁴⁵ A. Hiropoulos, Migration and Detention in South Africa. A Review of the applicability and impact of the legislative framework of foreign nationals. Policy Brief 18, November 2017. p. 4.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p .6.

³⁴⁶ A. Hiropoulos, Migration and Detention in South Africa. A Review of the applicability and impact of the legislative framework of foreign nationals. Policy Brief 18, November 2017. p. 4.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p .6.

³⁴⁸ A. Hiropoulos, 'Migration and Detention in South Africa. A Review of the applicability and impact of the legislative framework of foreign nationals.' Policy Brief 18, November 2017. p. 6.

its democratic rights, and risk turning target countries into police states.³⁴⁹ Similarly, Crush, in Seda, compared post-apartheid border control procedures to that of the apartheid era, arguing that the post-apartheid government inherited a system of cross-border migration management rooted in the abusive practices of the past, which became a direct conflict with government to transparency, equality, accountability and fundamental rights.³⁵⁰

Although only the DHA is authorised to carry out deportations under the Immigration Act, the SAPS has done its own extra-legal deportations.³⁵¹ In support of Elphic and Amit, Seda argued that the government has increased its budget and resources for police raids and deportation operations including tracking, arrest and the repatriation of refugees and undocumented migrants, particularly the Mozambicans and Zimbabweans.³⁵² Dozens of Zimbabweans are deported per day, most of whom are repeat offenders. The undocumented migrants are picked up, loaded into SAPS vans and driven across the border.³⁵³

Tati claims that the practice of deporting irregular migrants is ineffective. He contends that most deportees return to South Africa using various illegal channels to re-enter the country within a short time after deportation.³⁵⁴ This phenomenon is called a “revolving door syndrome”, and presents major challenges to manage irregular migration. Tati’s sentiments echo Hondo’s response when he said that, “If they deport me back through Beitbridge, I won’t go home. As soon as they drop me, I would be back the same day.”³⁵⁵ Elphick and Amit noted that this means that undocumented

³⁴⁹ See, for example, T. Hayter, *Open Borders. The Case against Immigration Controls*. Second Edition. London, 2004. pp. i – 226.

³⁵⁰ F.L.M. Seda, ‘Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration And Cross-Border Regions.’ (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015. p. 63.

³⁵¹ R. Elphick and R. Amit, *Border Justice. Migration, Access to Justice and the Experience of Unaccompanied Minors and Survivors of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Musina*. African Centre Migration Society Research Report, 2012. p. 53.

³⁵² F.L.M. Seda, ‘Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection Of International Border Controls, Regional Integration And Cross-Border Regions.’ (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015. p. 63.

³⁵³ R. Elphick and R. Amit, ‘Border Justice. Migration, Access to Justice and the Experience of Unaccompanied Minors and Survivors of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Musina.’ African Centre Migration Society Research Report, 2012. p. 53.

³⁵⁴ G. Tati, *The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions*, in *Espace Populations Societes*, Article 3, 2008. p. 23.

³⁵⁵ Interview with Hondo, Thohoyandou: 16th January, 2018.

migrants are exposed to the dangers that accompany irregular border crossings.³⁵⁶ According to Tati,

The 'revolving door syndrome' has been found to be used by some undocumented migrants as a means of getting free transport to their home country at particular dates of the year. For instance, it has been reported that they will present themselves to Immigration Officers for arrest and deportation around the Christmas season, a time for visiting relatives in their home country.³⁵⁷

To counteract this practice, the DHA tends to avoid deporting detainees over the Christmas period.³⁵⁸ Tati notes that costs are also incurred in sending back the detainees to their home countries.

According to the SAHRC, during the arrest and detention process, undocumented migrants are subjected to physical torture, and are at the mercy of corrupt officials. Police commonly assault migrants and steal their money and other goods during arrests.³⁵⁹ Klaaren claims that corruption and bribery are widespread, and migrants must pay to be released from detention or even to access the telephone.³⁶⁰ Once individuals are in detention, they are subjected to routine abuse by the police and the army, including physical assault and degrading language.³⁶¹ Deaths of undocumented migrants occur in police custody.³⁶² At the end of the day, police turn arrests of undocumented migrants to their own advantage. They use arrest statistics for

³⁵⁶ R. Elphick and R. Amit, 'Border Justice. Migration, Access to Justice and the Experience of Unaccompanied Minors and Survivors of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Musina.' African Centre Migration Society Research Report, 2012. p. 53.

³⁵⁷ G. Tati, The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions, in Espace Populations Societes, Article 3, 2008. p. 23.

³⁵⁸ SAPS, 2005, in G. Tati, The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions, in Espace Populations Societes, Article 3, 2008. p. 21.

³⁵⁹ 'South African Human Rights Commission,' 1999: 59-66 in J. Klaaren and J. Ramji, Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa after Apartheid, in Africa Today Journal, Vol. 48, No. 3, Evaluating South African Immigration Policy after Apartheid (Autumn, 2001). p. 44.

³⁶⁰ 'South African Human Rights Commission,' 1999: 88-95, in J. Klaaren and J. Ramji, Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa after Apartheid, in Africa Today Journal, Vol. 48, No. 3, Evaluating South African Immigration Policy after Apartheid (Autumn, 2001). p. 44.

³⁶¹ 'South African Human Rights Commission,' 1999: 99-103, 197-109.66 in J. Klaaren and J. Ramji, Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa after Apartheid, in Africa Today Journal, Vol. 48, No. 3, Evaluating South African Immigration Policy after Apartheid (Autumn, 2001). p. 44.

³⁶² 'Human Rights Watch' 1998:55-64, in J. Klaaren and J. Ramji, Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa after Apartheid, in Africa Today Journal, Vol. 48, No. 3, Evaluating South African Immigration Policy after Apartheid (Autumn, 2001). p. 44.

'undocumented migrants' to increase their overall crime fighting figures. The SANDF also engages in this statistical enterprise.³⁶³

4.5 Corruption and Smuggling across the Beitbridge Border

No discussion of the border crisis is complete without noting that from the moment undocumented Zimbabwean migrants cross the Beitbridge border and begin their journey south, the entire process becomes a massive money-making machine. A complex network of smugglers, corrupt local officials, truck drivers, lookouts and drug cartels exert absolute control over the migration flows through the Beitbridge border. They have, over the past decade, refined it to a lucrative business enterprise.

Although the demand to enter the country without legal documentation is an issue that has to be prevented, for some border patrol officials working at the port of entry, this has become an opportunity to make extra income.³⁶⁴ Asked what happens when intercepted by the soldiers patrolling the border area, Hondo blatantly revealed that "We give them money."³⁶⁵ In fact, Anatswanashe described this scenario clearly. Her group was intercepted on two occasions by separate groups of soldiers who demanded money from them: "You must make a plan", those were their words, she said, as they demanded money from them. The 'plan' here is a code name for bribery money of between R20.00 and R50.00 a person.

Those who had the money paid, others did not have it, like my husband and I. We only had R10 left, we pleaded with them until we paid R10 and they let us go. Those who did not have the money, we left them behind,³⁶⁶ lamented Anatswanashe.

She said that they feared to use the cleared roads because the soldiers would detect them. According to Mabudusha, since they are not familiar with the officials working at the port of entry, they attempt to bribe the law enforcement officials to let them into the

³⁶³ J. Klaaren and J. Ramji, *Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa after Apartheid*, in *Africa Today Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 3, Evaluating South African Immigration Policy after Apartheid (Autumn, 2001). p. 44.

³⁶⁴ S.A, Mabudusha. 'The Policing of Undocumented Nationals in South Africa.' (Unpublished PhD thesis) University of South Africa. 2014. p. 114

³⁶⁵ Interview with Hondo, Thohoyandou: 16th January, 2018.

³⁶⁶ Interview with Anatswanashe (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

country.³⁶⁷ She stated that there are good soldiers with good heart, and those with no heart at all.³⁶⁸ To this end, she opined that the soldiers stationed at this border do not send them back. Instead, would rather have them give them money and let them pass through.

Corrupt officials facilitate people and contrabands' irregular entry into the country. Bribery is a money-making enterprise at Beitbridge border post among soldiers and the police. In the past, the majority of those crossing into South Africa without passports used the crocodile infested Limpopo River as their crossing point. Now, corruption has become so rampant that one can illegally pay their way into the country. The business of migration control has proved to be a lucrative one for the employees of the SAPS, the SANDF, and the DHA due to bribes.³⁶⁹

Passing through the port of entry gates without the required documents is almost impossible. However, Zimbabwean men in Musina bribe immigration officials to cross the border. *GroundUp* did an investigation of the Zimbabwean man who smuggles tyres across the Zimbabwean border. Milos, quoted in *GroundUp*, said, "I give them R40. 00 tip." However, this money exchange is not done in public spaces. He revealed that,

There are too many closed circuit cameras now at Beitbridge border, the South African side...The bathroom act is to fool senior immigration officers into thinking I was being formally searched by junior law enforcers... Just one Coca-Cola or Sprite a week is the trick to pass...These officers know me. We relax and drink together in Musina.³⁷⁰

Similar sentiments were echoed by Major-General Hlatswayo who said that if one has money, anything is possible at the border. It is easy to bribe your way through.³⁷¹ Corrupt officials facilitate the illegal entry of persons and contrabands at this border by working in cahoots with transporters and accepting bribes, thus making them major

³⁶⁷ S.A, Mabudusha. 'The Policing of Undocumented Nationals in South Africa.' (Unpublished PhD thesis) University of South Africa. 2014. p. 114

³⁶⁸ Interview with Anatswanashe (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

³⁶⁹ J. Klaaren and J. Ramji, *Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa after Apartheid*, in *Africa Today Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 3, Evaluating South African Immigration Policy after Apartheid (Autumn, 2001). p. 45.

³⁷⁰ <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/musinas-tyre-push-boys-skid-row/> Accessed: 07th April, 2019. 11:54.

³⁷¹ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-08-23-soldiers-clean-up-cops-mess-at-borders/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 22:13.

players in irregular migration.³⁷² Harris proclaimed that these officials who abuse their powers must be criminalised and punished by the criminal justice system in order to eradicate the culture of impunity that prevails along the country's borders.³⁷³ It can also be deduced that this is a form of receiving undocumented migrants in the country, in which foreign nationals become familiar with how law enforcement officials at the border operate and later take advantage of the opportunity to enter the country illegally."³⁷⁴

Based on Milos' account, it appears that the frequency of their visits becomes known to the border security guards, the port of entry police and other officials working there. This means that their movements are ignored, with the result that whether one has left or still remains in the country is often unclear to these officials.³⁷⁵ This is in line with Mabudusha's findings that these people (small-scale traders) have a very good trusting relationship with the police and other officials working at the port of entry, who let them in without checking their passports.³⁷⁶

Similar patterns were observed by Munyanyi who noted that people could be seen entering and leaving the Beitbridge border without proper searches or declarations. Small-scale traders could pass through with goods, especially bread, several times a day without completing customs formalities.³⁷⁷ Munyanyi observed that the Beitbridge Border Post is porous to such an extent that small-traders easily enter and exit despite the fact that the police, immigration and customs officers man the gate.³⁷⁸ Therefore, checking the documents of these everyday passers is not taken as seriously as

³⁷² S. Macheka, W. Lunga and Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge, in *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*, Vol.6, No.3, 2015. p. 252; G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. p. 120; G. Tati, The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions, in *Espace Populations Societes*, Article 3, 2008. p. 28.

³⁷³ B. Harris, A foreigner experience: Violence, Crime and Xenophobia during South Africa's transition, in *Violence and Transition Series*, Vol. 5, August 2001. pp. 15.

³⁷⁴ S.A, Mabudusha, 'The Policing of Undocumented Nationals in South Africa.' (Unpublished PhD thesis) University of South Africa. 2014. p. 114

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 115.

³⁷⁷ W. Munyanyi, Is Infrastructure Upgrading an Antidote for Smuggling? Evidence from Beitbridge Border Post, Zimbabwe, in *World Customs Journal*, Vol.9, No.1, 2016. p. 105.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

checking whether they are carrying stolen goods or not.³⁷⁹ To counter this, Hlatshwayo (Chief of Joint Operations at SANDF), added that the troops are now rotated every three months to prevent them from forming relationships with undocumented foreign nationals or criminals.³⁸⁰

The area spanning the border between South Africa and Zimbabwe is covered by farms, both crop and game farms. The border farms are border category on themselves. Undocumented people cause damage to border farm properties. Farmers complain that snares are set and crops damaged as the undocumented migrants cross their fields. Organised smuggling syndicates operating along the Zimbabwean-South Africa border have invented sophisticated ways of conducting their illicit business by using inflatable boats to cross the flooded Limpopo River. An article by *Sunday News* revealed that the syndicates, working in cahoots with villagers in Makakavhule area of Beitbridge (about forty kilometres west of the border town), smuggle illegal cigarettes, drugs, beers, people and vehicles into the country through boats.³⁸¹ Smugglers slip through the fence, hide in the plantations and phone their accomplices, who quickly transfer the goods into taxis. From there, they are sold to hawkers in the settlements around Musina and afar. The racketeering takes place both at night and during the day under the watch of the SAPS and SANDF patrolling the border.

A similar situation plays itself along the South Africa-Mozambique border. According to one farmer interviewed by the *Lowvelder*,³⁸² “We are on the frontline. The guys are getting brave and steal plants and goods from us on their way back through the fence. We catch several and hand them over to the police, but we feel the incidents have escalated.”³⁸³

Much like the border authorities, the farmers whose properties border the fence have turned vigilantes in order to protect their properties. They formed a landowners association and patrol the area regularly, part of a formal plan to stop the increasing

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁰ www.defenceweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/ Accessed 16th January, 2019. 11:52.

³⁸¹ <https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/limpopo-smugglers-up-the-game-with-new-boats/> Accessed: 07th April, 2019. 19:40.

³⁸² *Lowvelder* is a source of community news in the city of Mbombela, Mpumalanga Province.

³⁸³ <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1308017/mozambique-sa-border-fence-is-a-complete-joke/> Accessed: 07th March, 2019. 21:33.

number of Zimbabweans' irregular crossings into the country. The Transvaalse Landbou Unie or Transvaal Farmers Union (TLU) created the units to search for and arrest illegal border crossers. Klopper (a security guard in one of the private companies that participates in farm patrols), told the *Mail & Guardian* that,

When we catch them...they are tired and thirsty and having gone for a week without something to eat. They don't even have the energy to run away, even if they wanted to.³⁸⁴

Klopper added that farm patrols were more effective than police operations. The farm patrols are structured along the same lines as the now defunct commando system. They patrol farms with flashing green lights, looking for Zimbabwean migrants whom they perceive as a huge security threat.³⁸⁵ These farmers have radio communication. When migrants are caught, their hands are secured with cable ties/string tape, put in the back of a pickup truck, and handed over to the police for processing and deportation back to Zimbabwe.³⁸⁶ Taking law into their own hands means that the farmers act outside the law. For these farmers, however, protecting their property is community policing.³⁸⁷

Paradoxically, some of the inflatable boats are allegedly owned by South African white commercial farmers who reside along the Limpopo River. According to Ndou (a villager in Makakavhule), as quoted in the *Sunday News*,

Some of these farmers along the border own these boats, and they work in cahoots with these smuggling syndicates to smuggle cheap labour from Zimbabwe. Most of their farm workers are Beitbridge villagers living in areas along the border, and with these boats it's actually convenient to transport them across the flooded river into the country.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ <https://mg.co.za/article/2007-08-10-a-floodgate-for-illegal-immigrants> Accessed: 10th April, 2019. 11:26.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁶ <https://www.aparchive.com/metadata/youtube/2948265656796a44165d44116d014a2584> Accessed 04th February, 2019. 22:47.

³⁸⁷ <https://mg.co.za/article/2007-08-10-a-floodgate-for-illegal-immigrants> Accessed: 10th April, 2019. 11:26.

³⁸⁸ <https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/limpopo-smugglers-up-the-game-with-new-boats/> Accessed: 07th April, 2019. 19:40.



Figure 6: Suspected smugglers in an inflatable boat as they cross the Limpopo River to South Africa.

Source: Thupeyo Muleya/Sunday News.

Most of these South African farmers who live along the border cash in on desperate Zimbabweans who hire the boats to cross the Limpopo River. The villagers are illegally employed in neighbouring South African farms and exploited by these farmers. Jinah argues that these migrants are employed as seasonal and permanent farm workers in Musina.³⁸⁹ Similar observations were made by Bolt who noted that large numbers of Zimbabwean seasonal workers are employed on the farms each winter, and while some stay for the whole harvest, others quickly move on southwards into South Africa.³⁹⁰ Others found their way into the services and construction sectors in major cities, especially Johannesburg.³⁹¹ Tati argues that the decline of contractual labour migration to South African mines has contributed to the increase in the influx of undocumented migrants here. He contends that formal gates of migration to the mines have closed, and hence floods of undocumented migrants make use of undesignated channels to enter South Africa.³⁹²

The post-apartheid South Africa has selective labour migration measures. Restrictions are imposed based on the quality of a migrant such as specific skills, age and

³⁸⁹ Z. Jinah, "We have To go Into the Bush." Understanding the response of NGOs and government in addressing conditions faced by cross border migrant in Musina. Case Study: Musina, Limpopo South Africa. African Centre for Migration & Society, Research Report, April 2012. p. 8.

³⁹⁰ <https://theconversation.com/the-precaurious-road-zimbabweans-travel-to-see-a-new-life-in-south-africa-58911> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 3:11 PM.

³⁹¹ G. Tati, The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions, in Espace Populations Societes, Article 3, 2008. p. 10

³⁹² *Ibid.*

educational level.³⁹³ Rezouni asserts that agricultural businesses and construction industry do not necessitate high skilled workers. Such laws increase the number of undocumented migrants as employers in host countries contribute by hiring them at wages highly superior to those in the source countries.³⁹⁴ By meeting the needs of the South African employers and Zimbabwean low-skilled labour, a strong dependency syndrome has been created, which even tighter immigration laws could not break. The dependency in terms of labour supply and demand having developed a certain level of convenience by hiring workers for less expenses who are often unprotected by labour unions or law.³⁹⁵ To this end, Rezouni opined that the in-effectiveness of the employer sanctions for hiring undocumented migrants is another factor that gives rise to irregular migration.³⁹⁶

The former Home Affairs Minister, Gibaba, said that employers who illegally employ foreign migrants without authorisation to live and work in South Africa will be targeted for prosecution under the Immigration Act. Gigaba said, “The crackdown of national joint operations has already seen employers charged for employing undocumented migrants, and undocumented migrants being arrested following inspections of fifty-six businesses including hotels, retail shops, garage and panel beaters in Tshwane and Johannesburg.”³⁹⁷

This programme, launched under the Immigration Act and new visa regulations as promulgated in 2014, engages the Home Affairs with the construction industry, business associations, agricultural and trade unions to get their co-operation in the campaign against illegal migrants.³⁹⁸ Following in Gigaba’s footsteps, the Home Affairs Minister, Siyabonga Cwele, quoted in the *Citizen*, said that inspections were being done at workplaces across South Africa to determine the legal standing of

³⁹³ S. Rezouni, ‘Illegal Immigration: Causes, Consequences, and Nationality Securing Implications?’ (Unpublished Master’s Thesis, U.S. Army War College), 2010. p. 6.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ C. Erb, Hardened Borders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in *Aspeers Journal*, Vol. 2. 2009.pp. 96 – 126

³⁹⁶ S. Rezouni, ‘Illegal Immigration: Causes, Consequences, and Nationality Securing Implications?’ (Unpublished Master’s Thesis, U.S. Army War College), 2010. p. 6.

³⁹⁷ www.workpermitsouthafrica.co.za/employers-charged-in-illegal-migrants-crackdown/ Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 20:48.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

employees.³⁹⁹ If convicted, the employers could be fined or imprisoned for two years.⁴⁰⁰ At the Limpopo border, commercial farmers are being raided by the army and the police, resulting in the deportations of large numbers of their workers.⁴⁰¹ However, Tati argued that the close monitoring of undocumented migrants' employment is ineffective, as very few employers have been charged for employing undocumented migrants. The farming sector continues to hire seasonal workers from the nearby border communities in Limpopo.⁴⁰²

Bolt acknowledged that many of these Zimbabwean farm workers have relatives elsewhere in South Africa with whom they remain in constant contact.⁴⁰³ Another point to note is that most of the undocumented migrants based in South Africa still maintain ties with the families back home. Due to the eventualities such as the death of a family member, those individuals who already live in South Africa have to travel back home where they cross irregularly.⁴⁰⁴ In fact, Hondo had this to say: "Yes, I have visited my country many times because I left my parents there, so I do visit home." Concurring with Hondo, Mlambo said, "But, when going home, I just go straight to the border gate and tell them that I don't have papers, and they let me through."⁴⁰⁵ Others who lack employment are connected to workers through kinship, friendship, and sexual relationships.⁴⁰⁶ All these facts have made the border permeable.

Beitbridge is notoriously known for its criminal cross-border activities, including the smuggling of contraband cigarettes, drugs, alcohol and vehicles across the border. A culture of bribery and corruption has transformed the border area into a melting pot of transnational criminal activities. Criminals and security agents collaborate to further criminality. One smuggler, Mathibela, told *Oxpecker* that,

³⁹⁹ <https://citizen/cp.za/news/south-africa/government/2112888/sa-spending-significant-of-money-deporting-illegal-immigrants-cwele/amp/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 20:18.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰¹ <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2006/southafrica0806/7.htm> Accessed: 10th April, 2019. 15:10 .

⁴⁰² G. Tati, The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions, in *Espace Populations Societes*, Article 3, 2008. p. 23.

⁴⁰³ <https://theconversation.com/the-precaurious-road-zimbabweans-travel-to-see-a-new-life-in-south-africa-58911> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 15:11.

⁴⁰⁴ G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. pp. 119.

⁴⁰⁵ Interview with Mlambo (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

⁴⁰⁶ <https://theconversation.com/the-precaurious-road-zimbabweans-travel-to-see-a-new-life-in-south-africa-58911> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 15:11.

Here, soldiers, the police, smugglers and muggers work together. Some officers are syndicate members, shareholders, beneficiaries or informers, updating information on border patrols for a fee or share of the loot...The soldiers and the police feature in all crime syndicates, that is, thieves, robbers and muggers, contraband smugglers, drug dealers and, vehicle and stock-theft rings. No syndicate can exist without them,⁴⁰⁷he added.

These alarming revelations have traces of truth in them. In 2017, the Hawks arrested a police officer, a paramedic and a former SARS official on suspicion of colluding with cigarette smugglers in Musina. The suspects used emergency and police vehicles to transport illegal cigarettes between Zimbabwe and South Africa.⁴⁰⁸

For those who cross the border illegally, it is a treacherous journey without food and water in the searing heat. If they are lucky enough to escape the hazards that nature throws at them, another danger often lies in wait. Along the way, their lives are endangered by criminal gangs that prey on migrants on both sides of the border; roaming bandits called “*amaguma-guma*”. When asked about her knowledge of and experience with *amaguma-guma*, Anatswanashe said, “No, I have only heard of incidents where these gangs attack and rob people at the border. It could be money or cellphones...If you don’t have money, they rape you. Luckily for us, we didn’t meet with them.”⁴⁰⁹ Women and young girls are the most vulnerable to *amaguma-guma*. Rufaro, however, was not so lucky. This is what she said,

We were using the footpath in the bush, and in the middle of the bush, we met one person with a knife who demanded that each one of us should give him money. When I got closer to him he didn’t talk to me, but searched me and took money from my bra...I don’t know what happened to those who remained behind, whether they were raped, I don’t know. We walked and met another armed gang. We managed to run away and reached Musina.⁴¹⁰

This ordeal was corroborated by Vimbo. Vimbo and her group of six people were approached by a smuggler who said,

⁴⁰⁷ <https://oxpeckers.org/2017/10/border-bandits-turn-donkeys-smuggling/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 12:45.

⁴⁰⁸ <https://ewn.co.za/2016/10/20/officials-arrested-in-Limpopo-for-smuggling-illicit-cigarettes> Accessed: 07th April, 2019. 19:20.

⁴⁰⁹ Interview with Anatswanashe, Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

⁴¹⁰ Interview with Rufaro (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January 2018.

I want money before you cross this river because I am its owner. If you want to go through this fence, I will go and cut the fence. If I cut that fence for you, you will pay me R10 per person. If you don't have that money, nobody is going anywhere.⁴¹¹

These men offer themselves as guides, but they are actually swindlers, thieves and rapists.⁴¹² Pecoud and Guchteneire indicated that cross-border mobility is now a business, and various kinds of more-or-less criminal activities prosper based on the impossibility of many to migrate legally.⁴¹³ There is plenty of testimony among the Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa as to the kind of dangers they face in the hands of the so-called *amagama-guma*. Musina shelters are filled with women who carry the scars of abuse while crossing the river. Transactional rapes are some women's only option, especially those who are economically vulnerable. Little is done to stop *amagama-guma*. Policing on the Zimbabwean side is scarce. The South African police have their hands full with the constant flow of undocumented migrants as a result.⁴¹⁴

Amagama-guma present a constant threat to the border protection and security. They rule the territory from the border post to Musina, and at the illegal crossing points along the river. Captain Madona told the *eNCA* that, "They (*amagama-guma*) are masters in this place. They know all the corners." He added that, "These local criminals employ scouts and decoys armed with cell phones to guide mules, young men who are paid between R150 and R200 to across the border with cargo."⁴¹⁵ While the capture of illegal migrants is commonplace along the border, the army rarely captures the smugglers. "They know that we are going to shoot at them," says Madona. "Usually they drop the boxes when they see us and run for their lives back to Zimbabwe where they regroup",⁴¹⁶ he concluded.

⁴¹¹ Interview with Vimbo (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January 2018.

⁴¹² www.enca.com/south-africa/police-claim-victory-against-border-criminals Accessed 5th February, 2019. 21:45.

⁴¹³ Pecoud, A. and de Guchteneire, P. International Migration, Border Controls and Human Rights: Assessing the Relevance of a Right to Mobility, in *Journal of Borderland Studies* Vol. 21, No.1. (Spring 2006). p. 72.

⁴¹⁴ S.A, Mabudusha, 'The Policing of Undocumented Nationals in South Africa.' (Unpublished PhD thesis) University of South Africa. 2014. p. 120.

⁴¹⁵ www.enca.com/south-africa/police-claim-victory-against-border-criminals Accessed 5th February, 2019. 21:45.

⁴¹⁶ Extracted from the *Mail and Guardian*. <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/11206> Accessed 16th January, 2019. 21:50.

The *amaguma-guma* are different opponents as they blend in with migrants and those caught are found to carry both the South African and the Zimbabwean passports.⁴¹⁷ This routine for the SANDF plays itself out nightly along the Limpopo River. Criminals are busiest at this time. Former Limpopo Police spokesperson, Lt-Colonel Ronel, told the *Newsday* that,

The South African police established a special task team to operate within a ten-kilometre radius around the Beitbridge border post, investigating *amaguma-guma*'s criminal activities. We also take part in joint operations with the Military, SARS and other departments in this regard.⁴¹⁸

The *amaguma-guma* quickly adapt to the presence of the police and the army, and send out their own scouts to track the soldiers' movements.⁴¹⁹ As part of their *modus operandi*, they came up with a system of signalling. This defines the lifelong porous South Africa - Zimbabwe border. Their sophisticated network of surveillance that relies on scouts gives them advantage. Addo pointed out that transnational syndicates skilfully exploit porous and unmanaged borders to evade authorities.⁴²⁰ At the same time, transnational syndicates engage in trafficking (contraband and people) as a main source of their livelihoods.⁴²¹

Brigadier General Mgobozi, the SANDF spokesman, told the *DefenceWeb* that the SANDF does not have enough resources to effectively patrol the border, where more money is needed to deploy more companies. Mgobozi said that the government cannot tell soldiers to protect the borders, but not give them funds to carry out their mission. Echoing Mgobozi, the Chief of SANDF, General Shoke admitted at a press conference (in July, 2018) that the SANDF does not have the resources or adequate equipment to secure the country's borders, admitting that the porous borders are not

⁴¹⁷ www.irinnews.org/news/2010/05/26/troops-reinforcing-porous-and-dangerous-border Accessed 13th January, 2019. 15:23.

⁴¹⁸ Response by Former Limpopo Police spokesperson, Lt-Col Ronel, told *Newsday* <https://www.newsday.co.zw//2012/05/08/-unmasking-beitbridge-terror-gangs/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 18:28.

⁴¹⁹ <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/fr/node/248587> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 18:42.

⁴²⁰ P. Addo, *Cross-Border Criminal Activities in West Africa: Options For Effective Responses*. Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre. KAIPTC Paper No. 12 (May, 2006). p. 4.

⁴²¹ P. Addo, *Cross-Border Criminal Activities in West Africa: Options For Effective Responses*. Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre. KAIPTC Paper No. 12 (May, 2006) and G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, *Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post)*, in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. pp. 119.

under our military's control. The issue of border security is not just about the number of soldiers deployed at the border, but the broader resource problem which they face. This critical shortcoming means that little is being done about cross border crime and irregular migration. We currently have fifteen of the needed 22 SANDF sub-units to patrol the borders. The DA's shadow Minister of Defence and Military Veterans, Kobus Marais noted that,

Our borders are porous, and in far too many places, non-existent or not patrolled effectively because the SANDF does not have the human, technical and infrastructural resources it needs to get the job done effectively.⁴²²

Lamprey also raised the lack of capacity as contributing to our weak borders because border agents would not effectively control them.⁴²³ Quizzed if the army is genuinely patrolling the border, Mlambo said,

It is difficult to say that they patrol the border because all they want is money. The army is only there to ensure the safety of undocumented migrants from *amaguma-guma*, adding that he did not think they are doing enough, but it was better than nothing.⁴²⁴

Undocumented migrants seem to be pleased with the modus operandi of the border patrol officials. That is, the SANDF members patrolling on foot through the forest encounter an array of different situations during their shifts, and the migrants are often dehydrated, starving, victims of rape and robbery, and desperate. The above narration is in line with what Munyanyi observed, that the South Africa-Zimbabwe border is loosely guarded. Such state of affairs serves to encourage irregular border crossings by the Zimbabwean migrants. Most, however, succumb to such treacherous undertakings. Bolt said,

Game farmers find corpses slumped against trees in the silent, parched expanse of the mopane veld, their postures exhausted, their empty water bottles still in hand.⁴²⁵

⁴²² www.da.org.za/2018/07/sandf-confirms-border-opertions-are-under-resourced Accessed 16th January, 2019. 13:13.

⁴²³ A.A. Lamprey, Rethinking Border Management Strategies in West Africa: Experiences from the Sahel. Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre. Policy Brief 12/2013. p. 8.

⁴²⁴ Interview with Mlambo, Thohoyandou: 16th January, 2018.

⁴²⁵ <https://theconversation.com/the-precaurious-road-zimbabweans-travel-to-see-a-new-life-in-south-africa-58911> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 15:11.

The Limpopo River, which is commonly used as a crossing point to South Africa, is crocodile infested, further posing risks to the lives of those illegally using it to cross into the country. Undocumented migrants are often mauled by hippos and crocodiles when they attempt to sidestep the official crossing point.⁴²⁶ It seems that more and more undocumented migrants are forced to detour through remote and dangerous crossings, sometimes forced to turn to the help of organised criminals.⁴²⁷ Pecoud and Guchteneire argued that restrictive border controls have several challenges, including the human cost for the migrants themselves. They contend that the most tragic and obvious illustration of this cost lies in the number of people who die on their way to receiving countries.⁴²⁸

The SAPS and the military, together with the Emergency Medical Services (EMS) rescue personnel conduct search and rescue operations along the Limpopo River.⁴²⁹ The SAPS Limpopo Provincial Police spokesperson, Brigadier Mojapelo, in the *Newsday*, said,

Members of the unit, together with the Air Wing, rescued two women and three girls aged between six and ten years trapped by the Limpopo River near Beitbridge. It is suspected that they attempted to enter the country illegally when they got trapped by the rising river.⁴³⁰

A harsh and unforgiving landscape straddling the border with Zimbabwe is a natural barrier, not so much a protective wall but a region built to divide the borders of two nations. These features pose migrating challenges to Zimbabwean migrants intending to reach their goals. The above speaks to Lee's tenet of intervening obstacles.⁴³¹ The effect of intervening obstacles varies from individual to individual.⁴³² Many

⁴²⁶ Also See <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/limpopo/crossing-river-to-get-to-sa-a-risky-business-7343878> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 16:07.

⁴²⁷ C. Erb, Hardened Boarders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in *Aspeers Journal*, Vol. 2. 2009. p. 117; G. Tati, The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions, in *Espace Populations Societes*, Article 3, 2008. p. 23.

⁴²⁸ Pecoud, A. and de Guchteneire, P. International Migration, Border Controls and Human Rights: Assessing the Relevance of a Right to Mobility, in *Journal of Borderland Studies* Vol. 21, No.1. (Spring 2006). p. 73.

⁴²⁹ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/limpopo/crossing-river-to-get-to-sa-a-risky-business-7343878> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 16:30.

⁴³⁰ <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2017/01/2-zim-border-jumpers-drown-limpopo-river/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 16:00.

⁴³¹ E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in *Journal of Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. p. 51.

⁴³² C. Lydersen, 'Push' and 'Pull' Factors for the Marriage Migration of Russian Women in the age group 20-30 from St. Petersburg to Sweden. Working Paper, Centre for German and European Studies, 2011, No. 8. p. 22.

undocumented migrants, especially the young, sick and old become mentally and physically defeated by the deadly conditions. According to Lee, however, intervening obstacles (distance, physical and political barriers) have to be overcome before migration finally takes place.⁴³³ These include the Limpopo River, the razor-wire fence, dangerous terrain and perimeter patrols.

The search and rescue teams from the EMS, SAPS and Military put their own lives at risk in trying to save others, while working along river banks infested with crocodiles, hippos and snakes. In the spirit of “*Ubuntu*” (humanity), border authorities are hard-pressed to turn a blind eye to their neighbours. If done without authorisation, this act of solidarity, as well as their help on the ‘rescue mission’, could lend them behind bars for allegedly aiding undocumented migrants and working with human traffickers. Rendering this work makes them no different from the human traffickers. Mabudusha sums this thus, “In this way, the officials at the port of entry become sympathetic to the travellers and facilitate their movement, turning a blind eye to this issue, aware of the desperation of these people”.⁴³⁴

Pecoud and Guchteneire admitted that this is a clear indication that even though some migrants are caught crossing the border while others are expelled, motivated migrants manage to escape controls by taking more risks, crossing in new border areas, and relying on professional people-smugglers. Tougher border control measures do not seem to reach their proclaimed target figures, and major debates have questioned the ability of states to control migration.⁴³⁵ Pecoud and Guchteneire concluded that tight border controls threaten the moral foundations of liberal democracies.⁴³⁶

4.6 Border Security has Become a Money Industry

Drawing comparisons from the Europe and the US border security models, the post-apartheid South Africa border control and safeguarding became a profitable business

⁴³³ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁴ S.A, Mabudusha, ‘The Policing of Undocumented Nationals in South Africa.’ (Unpublished PhD thesis) University of South Africa. 2014. p. 114.

⁴³⁵ Pecoud, A. and de Guchteneire, P. International Migration, Border Controls and Human Rights: Assessing the Relevance of a Right to Mobility, in Journal of Borderland Studies Vol. 21, No.1. (Spring 2006). p. 71.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 73.

for many agencies. Anderson terms the ‘market in border security’ an “illegality industry”.⁴³⁷ Much like its European and U.S counterparts, the post-apartheid government developed costly systems and technologies to control and monitor irregular migrations. As principal agencies in border safeguarding, the SANDF and SAPS constantly renewed their tactics on guarding our borders, incorporating new vehicles and technologies into their operations. As part of Operation Corona, Operational Base Madimbo was revamped and expanded after it was upgraded by the Defence and Security company Saab Grintek. The base is near the Zimbabwean border to the east of Musina. Saab Grintek Defence was awarded a contract by Department of Defence (DoD) to upgrade the dilapidated Madimbo Operational Base, initially built in 1970s. The revamped base includes a new Military Police Facility, including a holding cells, and a secure store for confiscated contraband. Saab Grintek Defence is also engaged in upgrading further operational base facilities for the SANDF.⁴³⁸

Furthermore, new technologies are also developed by the defence industry spearheaded by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (ARMSCOR).⁴³⁹ In 2017, the SANDF unveiled “lighter and faster military packages” to be used to fight crime along the border. Over twenty-five specialised patrol vehicles were handed to soldiers to patrol the borderline between South Africa and Zimbabwe. The type of vehicles chosen for this were the 4x4 Toyota Land Cruisers as shown below. “They are fitted not only with safety measures, but they also have medical support equipment and facilities for the troops patrolling on the ground”,⁴⁴⁰ said Lt Col Moore. The new vehicles would assist in preventing the smuggling of stolen vehicles and other goods. Lt Col Moore of the SANDF’s Joint Operations added that, “The delivery of the vehicles...will enhance the

⁴³⁷ R. Anderson, Europe’s failed ‘fight’ against irregular migration: ethnographic notes on a counterproductive industry, in *Journal of Ethics and Migration Studies*. Volume 42, Issue 7, 2016. p. 1055.

⁴³⁸ <https://www.defenceweb.co.za/sa-defence-sa-defence/sandf-receives-first-upgraded-border-safeguarding-base/> Accessed: 17th December, 2018. 20:12.

⁴³⁹ ARMSCOR is a research component of the SANDF that specializes technology innovation and development. It is a catalyst in the upgrading of products as well as maintenance and disposal of products.

⁴⁴⁰ www.csir.co.za/sandf-launches-new-range-military-vehicles-improve-its-border-safeguarding-capability Accessed 17th December, 2018. 20:12.

SANDF's footprint and effectiveness at the border."⁴⁴¹ He also said that these vehicles would go a long way in empowering the deployed soldiers.⁴⁴²



Figure 7: New Land Cruiser used by the SANDF in border control operations.

Source: CSIR.

Hlatshwayo said that they are looking at the possibility of reintroducing the use of horses, dogs, motorcycles and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs/drones) as part of the measures to keep the border under surveillance.⁴⁴³ In 2008/2009 financial year, the SAPS procured four 4x4 vehicles, night-sight apparatus, binoculars, global positioning and communication systems for borderline functions.⁴⁴⁴

This smart-border technology enabled the border police and soldiers to immediately detect attempted entries, thereby hoping to end the cat and mouse game once and for all. Prior to the implementation of this new strategy, both the SAPS and the SANDF members tried to catch undocumented migrants after they had already crossed the border. The new strategy has, however, generated the opposite effects. Instead of deterring illegal crossings, the new security initiative has forced undocumented crossers to use further remote areas. In sum, the border security has become an opportunity for South Africa's defence sector and security forces to justify their role in times of austerity. Anderson argued that,

⁴⁴¹ www.defenceweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/itm_id-49878/ Accessed 11th January, 2019. 14:55.

⁴⁴² <https://www.csir.co.za/sandf-launches-new-range-military-vehicles-improve-its-border-safeguarding-capability> Accessed 17th December, 2018. 20:12.

⁴⁴³ www.defenceweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/ Accessed 16th January, 2019. 11:52.

⁴⁴⁴ www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/borderline-policing.htm Accessed 11th January, 2019. 2:19 PM.

The security approach does not 'solve' the problem at the border. Instead, more controls in one area forces migrants to more riskier crossings.⁴⁴⁵

As the SAPS and the SANDF forces close one route, a new pathway is opened up. There are more than two-hundred illegal crossing points along the Limpopo River stretching over 300 kilometres. Hayter stated that controls are like a dam; when one hole is blocked, another one appears somewhere else.⁴⁴⁶

4.7 Conclusion

This Chapter outlined how the country's borders were controlled. Border functions were the responsibility of the SAP (the SAPS's predecessor) and the SADF (the SANDF's predecessor). It has been illustrated that the perceived threat at the time were the liberation fighters who were viewed as political insurgents by the apartheid regime. The Chapter argued that in spite of the restrictive nature of the border control and patrols, guerrillas managed to illegally cross the border. The Chapter further illustrated that at the dawn of democracy, the border control was left under the custodian of the SAPS.

The Chapter demonstrated during Zimbabwe's economic crisis of the early 2000s, the border control was prioritised. The illegal channels of entry mainly involved crossing the river, and at the official port of entry. The illegal crossings were revealed by the study's informants. The SAPS, DHA and SANDF's measures to stem illegal flows of migrants were also discussed. It emerged that these officials arrest, detain and deport those found to be illegal in this country. The participants' views were infused into the existing literature on immigration control to consolidate the findings. The Chapter also touched on criminal activities engaged by the people's smugglers and the South African authorities. It was revealed that an increase in border protection was forcing undocumented migrants into dangerous and remote areas. Against this background, the next Chapter evaluates the findings presented in this Chapter.

⁴⁴⁵ R. Anderson, Europe's failed 'fight' against irregular migration: ethnographic notes on a counterproductive industry, in *Journal of Ethics and Migration Studies*. Volume 42, Issue 7, 2016. pp. 1062.

⁴⁴⁶ T. Hayter, *Open Borders. The Case Against Immigration Controls*. London, 2004. p. xi.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA DISCUSSION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1 Introduction

The previous Chapter discussed this study's findings as data collected from interviews and surveyed documents. This Chapter interprets and analyses the findings relating to the border control strategies adopted by the apartheid and post-apartheid governments in dealing with illegal entries into South Africa through the Beitbridge border. The first section introduces the Chapter. The second one analyses information related to illegal channels of entry. The reason for irregular migrations are interpreted and analysed here. The third section analyses the government's response to irregular migration. The fourth analyses the gravity of Zimbabweans' irregular migrations to South Africa. Here, particular attention is paid to the factors that facilitate irregular migrations to South Africa, such as the social relationships (family and kinship), labour migration and, cultural and historical ones. The analysis on the fifth section addresses issues pertaining to human rights. The focus here is on the human cost and the abuse of the migrants that come as a result of the increased border security. The last section winds up this Chapter.

5.2 Nature of, and the Reasons for Illegal Entry through the Beitbridge Border

This section interprets and analyses data that relates to the reasons for irregular entry and the paths used by undocumented migrants to come to South Africa. Interviews with migrants who irregularly crossed the border were important in that they provided a platform for them to say their lived experiences in this aspect. Their participation was crucial since they were the ones who perpetuate this form of migration, and are also directly affected by border control measures. They explained this phenomenon better, and hence this study sought to give voice to the voiceless.

The Zimbabwean economic crisis is a multi-layered narrative. When the ZANU (PF) led government came to power, it had a lot of gasp, ambitions and expectations in terms of what it was supposed to deliver to the Zimbabwean people. To this effect, the economic crisis in that country should be traced from the early 2000s when Zimbabwe

embarked on its Fast-Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). Under this programme, Mugabe's regime confiscated white-owned farms, and gave them to its cronies (war veterans), thus indirectly destroying the country's vibrant agricultural sector in the process.⁴⁴⁷ This turned Zimbabwe from being Africa's bread basket into a basket case.⁴⁴⁸

The destruction of white-owned farms that followed the unlawful evictions of white farmers caught the international community's attention. The international community in turn condemned these abuses and sanctions were then imposed on the Zimbabwe government. The foreign direct investments were ceased immediately, with the hope that the government would stop its land grab policy.⁴⁴⁹ The then President, Mr. Mugabe, demonstrated that he prioritised his political position over the country's economy. He took skewed policy decisions irrespective of their economic effects.⁴⁵⁰

With little capital injection and production challenges compounded by the government's denial to accept that its economy was failing, Zimbabwe sunk into economic meltdown, described as the worst economic crisis in the country's history. The hyper-inflation era (2008-2013) wrecked the Zimbabwean economy.⁴⁵¹ Without formal jobs, the Zimbabweans had no choice but to cross the border to South Africa, hoping for a better life. This was due to a bad economy that made them live in abject poverty. At times, basic commodities were unavailable on the shelves.⁴⁵² All interviewed respondents indicated that the reason why they irregularly crossed the Beitbridge border was to seek for a better life for themselves and their families here. Zimbabwean migrants are forced to leave their home country for South Africa because of poverty, hunger, and drought, death of parents or caregivers and acute economic pressure exerted on families.⁴⁵³ This agrees with Lee's theory of migration that suggests that dominant emphasis should be put on the internal (push) factors and not

⁴⁴⁷ For a detailed analysis on President Mugabe leadership's stylesee, among others, G. Cain, Bad Governance in Zimbabwe and its Negative Consequences, in *The Downtown Review*, Vol. 2. Iss. 1, 2016; D. Gadiel, The Economic Legacy of Comrade Mugabe, in *Policy*, Vol. 34 No 2, Winter 2018.

⁴⁴⁸ J. Crush and D, Tevera, *Zimbabwe's Exodus, Crisis, Migration, Survival*. Unity Press, Cape Town, 2010. p. 2.

⁴⁴⁹ G. Cain, Bad Governance in Zimbabwe and its Negative Consequences, in *The Downtown Review*, Vol. 2. Iss. 1, 2016. p. 5.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 3.

⁴⁵¹ D. Gadiel, The Economic Legacy of Comrade Mugabe, in *Policy*, Vol. 34 No. 2, Winter 2018. p. 7.

⁴⁵² J. Crush and D, Tevera, *Zimbabwe's Exodus, Crisis, Migration, Survival*. Cape Town: Unity Press, 2010. p. 15.

⁴⁵³ S. Macheke, W. Lunga and Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge, in *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*. Vol.6, No.3, 2015. p. 202.

the external (pull) factors.⁴⁵⁴ Due to migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa, the economy in Zimbabwe has sunk as there are few people who pay tax, whereas that of South Africa has gained as there are many people who pay tax, including foreigners.

The undocumented migrants who crossed the Beitbridge border to South Africa also experienced unprecedented violence. Zimbabwe, under Mugabe, instituted a one party rule, and openly encouraged corruption.⁴⁵⁵ Communities that supported the opposition MDC party were raided, and its supporters and leaders either beaten or killed by the government forces. Hondo said, “I border jumped to save my life.” Safety was another reason for crossing the Beitbridge border. For these reasons, the Zimbabwean migrations to South Africa could be classified into two categories: economic migrants and political asylum seekers. The economic migrants, on one hand, are those seeking economic opportunities to better their lives and those of their families. South Africa is the industrial hub in Africa and the migrants expect a higher standard of living compared to their country of origin, which in this case is Zimbabwe.⁴⁵⁶

On the other hand, political asylum seekers are those looking for a safe place to stay (refuge or asylum) after fleeing political violence orchestrated by the Zimbabwean government. Lee asserted that the migrant has to reflect on his situation and consider both “...the positives of staying and the negatives of moving, as well as their converses.”⁴⁵⁷ If the positives of the destination outnumber the positives of staying at the origin, then the likelihood of migrating is high, and vice versa.⁴⁵⁸ Crush and Williams, in Macheke, acknowledged that when a migrant is exposed to these push

⁴⁵⁴ C. Lydersen, ‘Push’ and ‘Pull’ Factors for the Marriage Migration of Russian Women in the age group 20-30 from St. Petersburg to Sweden. Working Paper, Centre for German and European Studies, 2011, No. 8. p. 22.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ G. Cain, Bad Governance in Zimbabwe and its Negative Consequences, in The Downtown Review, Vol. 2. Iss. 1, 2016. p. 3.

⁴⁵⁶ S. Macheke, W. Lunga and Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge, in Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies. Vol.6, No.3, 2015. pp. 202.

⁴⁵⁷ E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in Journal of Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. p. 51.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

and pull factors, they are forced to make a decision to migrate and thereby kick-start the migration process.⁴⁵⁹

In sum, a failing economy compounded by the political persecutions kick-started the migration of Zimbabweans to neighbouring countries such as South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. Due to its relatively high level of economic and social development, South Africa witnesses a large movement of Zimbabweans to its shores.⁴⁶⁰ Thus, the country is seen as a safe haven for many Zimbabwean undocumented migrants.

The undocumented migrants walk for hours to cross the Limpopo River, scale or cut the fence, avoid border patrols and scramble into South Africa. This is a prominent form of migration whereby undocumented people walk through the bush between South Africa and Zimbabwe, far from the designated border crossing point.⁴⁶¹ However, this form of crossing is considered possible only when the river is shallow, in the dry season. This is a traditional crossing point, which was also used by political insurgents in the 1980s, and is still used to this day. This form of crossing is considered dangerous as it is characterised by criminal activities in the bush, notably from *amaguma-guma*. This augurs well with Lee's intervening obstacles. Lee argued that migrants have to overcome physical and political barriers.⁴⁶² In this context, physical barriers include the crocodile infested Limpopo River, the unforgiving bushy terrain and the intense heat.

Political barriers such as fences and detention centres as well as the Immigration Officers, soldiers and the police stationed along the Beitbridge borderline add to the hurdles that undocumented migrants have to overcome. Despite migration being dependent on the ability of an individual to be mobile, these compounding dangers make the journey more of a mental challenge than a physical one. The presence of the armed soldiers within the borderline area is enough to deter those attempting to cross the border. These, according to Lee, are intervening obstacles.⁴⁶³ In the midst

⁴⁵⁹ S. Macheka, W. Lunga and Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge, in Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies. Vol.6, No.3, 2015. pp. 202.

⁴⁶⁰ E.K. Campell, Reflections on Illegal Immigration in Botswana and South Africa, in Journal of African Population Studies. 2006. p. 1. [www.http://taps.journals.ac.za](http://taps.journals.ac.za)

⁴⁶¹ Interview with Anatswanashe, Hondo, Chenzini, Takudzwa, Vimbo, Mlambo, Obert and Rufaro (pseudo names), Thohoyandou: 16th and 17th January, 2018.

⁴⁶² E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in Journal of Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. p. 51.

⁴⁶³ E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in Journal of Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. p. 51.

of it all, however, the undocumented migrants are pushed to the corner to make an unpopular decision; one that is about reconciling the dangers of their journey and green pastures that lie on the other side of the fence. At this juncture, it is important to briefly outline the weaknesses with Lee's theory.

The weakness of Lee's theory lies with its explanatory power, that is, it is descriptive rather than analytic.⁴⁶⁴ Critics such as De Haas have argued that it is not a theory, but a conceptual framework for classifying the various factors that explain migration.⁴⁶⁵ It is only useful to categorise the reasons that prompt people and, why and how people respond to 'push' and 'pull' factors.⁴⁶⁶ Again, this theory does not deal with the life after migration has taken place, especially the migrants' expectations and treatment in the area of destination. In other words, the weakness of this theory lies in that it was propounded in Europe, and has less bearing on Africa's migration issues. Thus, it is not entirely applicable to the African setup. That is, the migration trends in Europe are certainly different from those in Africa, particularly in Southern Africa.

It must be noted here that the Zimbabwean migrations caught the South African government off-guard. The relatively young government had withdrawn its army and reduced the number of border personnel (SAPS) because there was no perceived external threat.⁴⁶⁷ Between 1998 and 2009, the Beitbridge border was poorly guarded. In many parts, there was no fence as it was destroyed or stolen.⁴⁶⁸ The electric fence that runs the length of the border had been switched off at the dawn of democracy in 1994. This made crossing relatively easy, and hence easily facilitated the migrants' illegal entry into the country. This form of entry is also facilitated by people smugglers who operate along the Beitbridge border. At the same time, this group preys on vulnerable women and children who become victims of robbery and rape.

⁴⁶⁴ H. de Haas, 'Migration Theory. Quo Vadis?', in K. Wotela and C. Letsiri, International Movements in Post-apartheid Dispensation and Illegal Immigration into South Africa, in Journal of Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, Vol.11, No.4, 2015.p. 108.

⁴⁶⁵ H. de Haas, 'Migration Theory. Quo Vadis?' in K. Wotela and C. Letsiri, International Movements in Post-apartheid Dispensation and Illegal Immigration into South Africa, in Journal of Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, Vol.11, No.4, 2015.p. 108.

⁴⁶⁶ International Organization for Migration, 'The Push and Pull Factors of Asylum-Related Migration. A literature Review.' 2016. p. 8.

⁴⁶⁷ E. Hennop, C. Jefferson and A. McLean, 'The challenge to Control South Africa's Borders and Borderline.' 2001. pp. 1.

⁴⁶⁸ https://v2.itweb.co.za/mobilesite/defenceweb/home/item_id-5420/ Accessed: 5th February 2019. 20:51.

The reason for the use of this form of dangerous crossing is that the border crossers do not have proper documentation. That is, they do not possess passports or Emergence Travelling Documents (ETDs) that are required to legally enter South Africa. Takudzwa and Hondo admitted that these documents are not cheap to acquire in Zimbabwe.⁴⁶⁹ Obtaining a passport or work permit is a costly process. Similarly, Ncube *et al.* observed that the major reason for the lack of documentation is that the passport application fees are still prohibitive given that the majority of the people are in the low income brackets.⁴⁷⁰

Due to the fact that many Zimbabweans come to South Africa to seek for jobs, they must apply for passports and work permits. This is yet another legal barrier that Zimbabwean migrants have to overcome. South Africa and Zimbabwe have different rules that stop people from coming into the country. Migrants have to travel to Harare to get their papers done. However, due to the bureaucratic processes involved, such paper work may take months to be finalised. South Africa has put excessive conditions for entering the country, and these include the production of affidavits for children under the age of seventeen, signed by either or both parents.⁴⁷¹ Scores of Zimbabwean women with minor children have been turned away as they could not be allowed entry without the required documents, and are thus left stranded at the border as South African immigration officials demand these.⁴⁷²

In addition to that, South Africa has a set of specific skills, age and educational levels for migrants who want to work in the country. Current policy debate is based on a principle of non-racialism, while maintaining employment preferences for South Africans.⁴⁷³ The reason for this move is to compensate the brain drain of white doctors and other professionals who migrated to developed countries.⁴⁷⁴ Most of the Zimbabwean migrants, however, are unskilled and semi-skilled, and hence do not

⁴⁶⁹ Interview with Hondo and Takudzwa (pseudo names), Thohoyandou: 16th January, 2018.

⁴⁷⁰ G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, 2014. p. 118.

⁴⁷¹ G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, 2014. p. 118.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

⁴⁷³ M.A.B. Siddique, 'South African Migration Policy: A Critical Review.' Research Paper (University of Western Australia). (No Year). p. 13.

⁴⁷⁴ G. Tati, The Immigration Issues in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Discourses, Policies and Social Repercussions, in *Espace Populations Societes*, Article 3, 2008. p. 10.

meet the required expectations of South Africa's industries. These confusing developments have fuelled irregular migrations where the undocumented people are smuggled into the country or through undesignated points of entry along the crocodile infested Limpopo River.⁴⁷⁵

In general, though post-apartheid has abandoned racist and discriminatory immigration policies, it does little to enhance migration despite the need to take this advantage to address the 'brain drain scourge'. This is not surprising because selective migration has long been the tradition in South Africa. The apartheid government reinforced racist immigration policies of earlier governments by encouraging the entry of skilled white Europeans while discouraging the less skilled black people.⁴⁷⁶ This practice draws inspiration from the Immigration Quota Act (1930), which aimed at controlling the Jewish immigration. The Act also established the concept of discrimination between the migrants from 'desirable' and 'undesirable' countries.⁴⁷⁷ All these factors propelled undocumented migrants to resort to illegal crossings.

Nevertheless, some migrants have passports but do not use them because of the limited number of days given to them by the South African immigration authorities at the border.⁴⁷⁸ The limited days are in direct conflict with their need to find gainful employment in South Africa, which may take months, and hence gaining entry through the bush becomes an attractive option.⁴⁷⁹ Ncube *et al.* observed that some individuals risk arrest if they use the designated channels as they are wanted for various crimes either in South Africa or Zimbabwe.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁵ S. Macheke, W. Lunga and Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge, in *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*. Vol.6, No.3, 2015. p. 254.

⁴⁷⁶ M.A.B. Siddique, 'South African Migration Policy: A Critical Review.' Research Paper (University of Western Australia). (No Year). p. 13.

⁴⁷⁷ The political persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany increased the rate of Jewish migration to South Africa. Many were highly skilled professionals but the South African government was anxious to stop Jewish Immigration, M.A.B Siddique, 'South African Migration Policy: A Critical Review.' Research Paper (University of Western Australia), (No Year). p. 13.

⁴⁷⁸ Interview with Mike and Anatswanashe, Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with Mlambo, Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018 and G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. p. 118.

⁴⁸⁰ G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. p. 118.

The lack of border patrol profoundly influenced Zimbabweans' irregular migration into South Africa. Undocumented migrants do not seem to be deterred by the presence of the army stationed along this border. Contrary to the perception that undocumented migrants are illegal because they go undetected, the reality is that border patrols and control seem ineffective in detecting illegal entrants, if not preventing them.⁴⁸¹ As from 2006, the South African government decided to step up its border control at the Beitbridge border. Yet, undocumented migrants still go through this border. Most undocumented respondents reported at least one encounter with border authorities on their way into the country. Some, like Anatswanashe, came across soldiers and bribed their way through.⁴⁸² At the same time, undocumented migrants depend on the soldiers for their safety from *amagama-guma* who are known to rob and rape migrants.⁴⁸³ The *amagama-guma* have thus become primary patrollers of the South Africa-Zimbabwe border. They are not deterred by the presence of the police, army and immigration authorities.

Central to Zimbabweans' irregular migrations is corruption that is widespread. As the South African government increases its border security, smuggling syndicates have developed at the border to help undocumented migrants cross it. Smugglers work in cahoots with the army, police and immigration authorities.⁴⁸⁴ For a good price, they can get undocumented migrants and contraband back and forth across this border. The blame can be put on both the South African and Zimbabwean governments. First, this is a communication problem. The failure of South Africa to facilitate visa agreement for Zimbabwean migrants to legally come to South Africa contributes to irregular migration. Last, the failure by the South African government to call the Zimbabwean authorities to order is another weakness here.

⁴⁸¹ Interview with Anatswanashe (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. p. 118.

⁴⁸² Interview with Anatswanashe (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

⁴⁸³ Interview with Mlambo (pseudo name), Thohoyandou: 17th January, 2018.

⁴⁸⁴ <https://oxpeckers.org/2017/10/border-bandits-turn-donkeys-smuggling/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 12; <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010-08-23-soldiers-clean-up-cops-mess-at-borders/> Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 22:13.

5.3 Hardening South Africa's Border Control Measures

The above section analysed and interpreted the reasons for, and the nature of irregular migrations to South Africa. This section analyses and interprets the South African government's responses towards Zimbabweans' migrations to here. Currently, the conversation on South Africa-Zimbabwe border and migration policy does not deal with this fundamental question: Why thousands of Zimbabwean migrants leave their country and risking their lives crossing the inhospitable Limpopo River destined for South Africa? Instead, the South African government is focused on detaining and deporting such migrants. It is also focused on investing more on border patrols and surveillance.⁴⁸⁵ South Africa's approach to this issue has to do with two aspects, namely 'Criminalisation' and 'Securitisation'. Okumu noted that the management of Africa is informed by a number of trends taking place in Europe and the USA.⁴⁸⁶

From the criminalisation of migrants' perspective, the post-apartheid government has attempted to frame the need for border security to fight crime. Unfortunately, the government has come to confuse Zimbabwean migrants with criminals. This is partly because its officials and the South Africans in general, have negative views on migration.⁴⁸⁷ As such, Zimbabwean migrants are labelled as thieves, rapist, prostitutes, human traffickers or robbers. The police stop these migrants at random, and demand to see their passports. Failure to produce IDs or passport is a criminal offence.⁴⁸⁸ The reality is that most undocumented Zimbabwean migrants inside detention facilities are there for violation of civil and not criminal laws.

⁴⁸⁵ See, among others, A. Hiropoulos, Migration and Detention in South Africa. A Review of the applicability and impact of the legislative framework of foreign nationals. Policy Brief 18, November 2017. p. 4; F.L.M. Seda, Border governance in Mozambique: the intersection of international border controls, regional integration and cross-border regions. Unpublished PHD Thesis, 2015. p. 63.; R. Elphick and R. Amit, Border Justice. Migration, Access to Justice and the Experience of Unaccompanied Minors and Survivors of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Musina. African Centre Migration Society Research Report, 2012. p. 53.

⁴⁸⁶ Okumu, W. 'Border Management and Security in Africa.' 2011. p. 4

<https://www.researchgate.net/publications/30898355>.

⁴⁸⁷ E. Boyton, "Protectionism and National Migration Policy in South Africa." (Unpublished Master's Dissertation), University of Cape Town. 2015, p. 41.

⁴⁸⁸ <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/why-immigration-controls-resemble-apartheid-in-their-adverse-consequences-for-freedom/> Accessed: 08th May, 2019. 21:24.

These migrants are merely victims of the system that fails them. Yet, South Africa is quick to arrest them. At the Beitbridge border, their individual stories do not count for much. It is largely irrelevant to the police, army and immigration authorities whether they travelled for weeks to escape poverty and persecution. When they are arrested, they are labelled criminals. They become statistics for law enforcement clusters, a success story.⁴⁸⁹ The issue is, locking them up and deporting them when they pose no threat makes no sense. South Africa should release migrants who pose no threat to communities, those who are not a security risk. At the same time, arresting and deporting undocumented Zimbabwe migrants has proved an ineffective border management strategy.⁴⁹⁰

As the immigration policies are written, the burden is on migrants to prove their legality in this country. There is a general consensus among policy makers and the public that foreigners should be allowed into South Africa on the conditions that they meet certain criteria.⁴⁹¹ This is entirely backwards. The burden should be on the government to demonstrate why an individual migrant should not be allowed into the country. Zimbabwean migrants have to prove that they would not violate the lives, liberties and properties of the South Africans and residents. This attitude is a result of growing levels of distrust and intolerance towards foreigners.⁴⁹² Admittedly, migrants have a high likelihood of committing crimes once they are here. Thus, the current system is equivalent to presuming every migrant as guilty. The bottom line is that the Zimbabwean migrants that the South African government calls criminals include those who have been charged or convicted of criminal activities.

Second, the securitisation of borders is said to be in the interest of national security. Categorically, the Beitbridge border has been deemed 'priority number one', and is being militarised. In a globalised world, transnational criminal activities are increasing. Organised criminal groups such as gun-running, drug smuggling and money

⁴⁸⁹ J. Klaaren and J. Ramji, *Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa after Apartheid*, in *Africa Today Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 3, (Autumn, 2001). p. 44.

⁴⁹⁰ J. Chirwa, A. Finger, T. Polzer, J.P. Misago, J. Schroeder and D. Vigneswaran, Special Report: Fact or Fiction? Examining Zimbabwean Cross-Border Migration into South Africa. Forced Migrations Studies Programme (FMSP) & Musina Legal Advice Office: South Africa p. 6. [online]. Available from: <http://migrations.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2008/03/fmsp-2007-b-. 2007>.

⁴⁹¹ C.S. Schippers, 'History Attitudes towards Foreigners in South Africa: Longitudinal Study.' (Unpublished Master's Dissertation), Stellenbosch University, 2015. p. 6.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

laundering syndicates exploit the lax borders to expand their businesses.⁴⁹³ For this reason, the major concern for border control is on the proliferation of firearms, drug smuggling and illegal movements of people.⁴⁹⁴ Another concern is that those trafficked across the Beitbridge border also participate in criminal activities in the country.⁴⁹⁵ Even though South Africa has not experienced any terrorist activities, terrorist acts could take place in the country. After 9/11 terrorist attacks in America, security issues became more critical when one considers the possible use of the Beitbridge border domain to attack South Africa. For this reason, the new mechanisms at the Beitbridge border are there to primarily ensure that our borders are secure.⁴⁹⁶

By and large, post-apartheid South Africa continues with the apartheid legacy of the fortified and militarised border regime. Beginning in 2006, the police increased their border patrols and the army recently such patrols as well. The border fence is also rehabilitated, and what is left open is a wide expanse of bushy, mountainous and remote terrain.⁴⁹⁷ The South African government's strategy is to use nature as an ally, hoping that undocumented migrants would realise how risky it would be to attempt to cut across the dangerous terrain. In this way, the South African government has created an image of a fortress and a permanent idea that South Africa is impermeable by both irregular migrants and criminals.

What is apparent at the Beitbridge border, however, is that the more extreme the counter-measures and security become, the greater risks migrants are willing to face in order to get to South Africa. To them, these enforcements reinforces their determination to reach South Africa. More and more undocumented migrants respond to tougher enforcement by seeking other less defended routes.⁴⁹⁸ By avoiding border patrols, the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants make difficult journeys that have potential death.⁴⁹⁹ They die of dehydration and hunger, and many more drown in an

⁴⁹³ A. Minnaar, Border and Regionalism, in African Security Review. 2001. (No Page Numbers).

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁶ A. Minnaar, Border and Regionalism, in African Security Review. 2001

⁴⁹⁷ J. Chirwa, A. Finger, T. Polzer, J.P. Misago, J. Schroeder and D. Vigneswaran, Special Report: Fact or Fiction? Examining Zimbabwean Cross-Border Migration into South Africa. Forced Migrations Studies Programme (FMSP) & Musina Legal Advice Office: South Africa [online]. p. 6. Available from: <http://migrations.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2008/03/fmsp-2007-b-. 2007>.

⁴⁹⁸ A. Pecoud and P. de Guchteneire. International Migration, Border Controls and Human Rights: Assessing the Relevance of a Right to Mobility, in Journal of Borderland Studies, Vol. 21. No.1. (Spring 2006). p. 71.

⁴⁹⁹ C. Erb, Hardened Borders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in Aspeers Journal, Vol. 2. 2009. p. 117.

attempt to cross the Limpopo River.⁵⁰⁰ The figures are probably underestimated as no one knows how many bodies lie in death undiscovered. Psychologically, it is difficult to mourn the loss of one's loved one without a body. From the dead to the rest of the world, our border has to change. None of us want a border like this. Despite this concern, South Africa has not yet adopted new immigration policies other than repatriation and the 'securitisation' of borders.⁵⁰¹ South Africa should work at trying to revamp its immigration system to make it possible for people who want to come or work here legally if there is a job for them.

One of the unintended consequences of beefing up its borders is that South Africa has unintentionally beefed up organised crime at the border as well. The border controls deter would be crossers by raising the cost of illegal entry.⁵⁰² Tougher enforcement increases the price of undocumented migrants who want to enter South Africa. Most of those attempting to enter illegally now use smugglers, and that is costly.

One critical point is that the use of people smugglers to assist in crossing increases when border enforcement is toughened.⁵⁰³ It is important to highlight that any successful attempt to outlaw a good that is high in demand creates an organised crime problem because the value of the prohibited good rises.⁵⁰⁴ As a result, fortified borders increase the financial incentives to elude law enforcement agents. Though fewer clients, but bigger money profits, border controls have effectively made it much more profitable and necessary for migrants' smuggling organisations and other kinds of smuggling activities to develop along the border. Transnational syndicates engage in drug trafficking, small arms and human beings, among other activities, as a means of livelihood.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁰ On the dangers and life threatening situations migrants are face with see E.S. Idemudia, J.K. Williams and G.E. Wayatt, Migration challenges among Zimbabweans refugees before, during and post arrival in South Africa, in Injury and Violence Journal. 5(1) and G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. p. 116; Accessed: 09th April, 2019. 15:11 ;

⁵⁰¹ F.L.M. Seda, 'Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-Border Regions.' (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015. p. 62.

⁵⁰² E. Alden, Immigration and Border Control, in Cato Journal, Vol. 32, No. 1, 2012. p. 116.

⁵⁰³ C. Erb, Hardened Boarders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in Aspeers Journal, Vol. 2. 2009. p. 117.

⁵⁰⁴ E. Alden, Immigration and Border Control, in Cato Journal. Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter, 12). 2008. p. 117.

⁵⁰⁵ P. Addo, Cross-Border Criminal Activities in West Africa: Options For Effective Responses. Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre. KAIPTC Paper No. 12 (May, 2006). p. 4.

The *amagama-guma*, for example, and other transnational criminal syndicates exploit the illegal entry and exit of Zimbabwean migrants by charging them high prices.⁵⁰⁶ In this way, contrabands are easily moved illegally across the uncontrolled and poorly policed Beitbridge border.⁵⁰⁷ Those goods are smuggled in vehicles or on foot, using secret and illegal routes across the border to avoid special regulations, levies or taxes.⁵⁰⁸ Smugglers are very creative. They have to try and find a back door to get an opportunity to cross the border despite its being fortified. Even if South Africa builds the China Wall, smugglers would go over it, underneath it and around it. Increased border patrols and constructing fences would not stop desperate, needy and poor people. Thus, irregular crossing is a phenomenon that would not stop.

Smugglers have their own sophisticated counter-surveillance.⁵⁰⁹ Erb acknowledged that drug cartels already have expertise in gathering intelligence on border authorities' practices, logistics, the placement of cameras and other communication devices to get around ever tighter controls; and hence, they serve as perfect associates for human smugglers.⁵¹⁰ Their sophisticated network of surveillance rely on scouts that give them advantage. Furthermore, the security at the Beitbridge border is also compromised by corruption. The scourge of corruption cuts across different disciplines and departments operating within and along the South Africa-Zimbabwe borderline.⁵¹¹ South Africa should change its immigration policies to counter smuggling organisations in order to minimise their negative impact on society.

Essentially, the reason for tight border security in the Beitbridge border has been to ensure security from terrorists, human traffickers, gun-running organisations and drug dealers.⁵¹² In the field of border research, security and freedom are regarded as

⁵⁰⁶ www.irinnews.org/news/2010/05/26/troops-reinforcing-porous-and-dangerous-border Accessed: 13th/01/2019. 3:23 PM.

⁵⁰⁷ A. Minnaar, *Border and Regionalism*, in African Security Review. 2001. (No Page Numbers).

⁵⁰⁸ P. Addo, Cross-Border Criminal Activities in West Africa: Options For Effective Responses. Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre. KAIPTC Paper No. 12 (May, 2006). p. 4.

⁵⁰⁹ C. Erb, *Hardened Borders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso*. pp. Leipzig, 2006. pp. 117.

⁵¹⁰ C. Erb, *Hardened Borders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso*, in *Aspeers Journal*, Vol. 2. 2009. p. 117.

⁵¹¹ Major-General K.R. Meetsi presentation titled 'Border Security: Factor that influence cross-border criminal activities: A South African reality and feasible alternatives.' Available from:

https://www.saps.gov.za/resource_centre/publications/maj_gen_kr_meetsi_presentation.pdf Accessed: 12th/07/2019. 16:06.

⁵¹² A. Minnaar, *Border and Regionalism*, in African Security Review. 2001. (No Page Numbers).

mutually inclusive; one cannot exclude one from the other. On one hand, security goes without freedom because if South Africa only ensures security without freedom and civil liberties, the likelihood is that it would degenerate into a 'National Security State'⁵¹³, much like North Korea.

On the other hand, if South Africa ensures freedom without security, this does not allow its citizens and residents to enjoy their freedom due to fear of external threat, for example, from organised crime groups. As such, security and freedom are two sides of the same coin. However, deciding which side is more prominent is problematic. It is not surprising that the idea of Africa as a threat is hard to shake off for post-apartheid South Africa.⁵¹⁴

The aforesaid criminal elements along the border and the issues relative to that are more important from a national security perspective, especially when one looks at the border from a holistic context. Holistically, it is important that the South African government takes border security beyond law enforcement issues. Border security is something that needs to be addressed across the board. First, the government needs to address the demand side of the equation that drives a lot of the border crimes. The reality at the Beitbridge border is that the vast majority of high value shipments (drugs and other contrabands) do not come through the river or bushes where there are no patrols or fencing. Instead, they come through the port of entry. They do not pass through the river as many people are made to believe.

Second, South Africa needs to address the demand for undocumented labour in the country. Until the government addresses these issues, it cannot stop these crimes because no matter what is done at the border, as far as physical security measures are concerned, smugglers would find ways to defeat those measures because the profits are huge. It is important, therefore, that the South African government thinks of the border not in terms of the law, but in terms of holistically addressing the demand

⁵¹³ National Security State takes excessive measures, including the political, economic and military powers to fight what it perceives as threats to its sovereignty. Powers are given to institutions such as the Intelligence, Police, and Defence and Home Affairs Ministry to conduct overt and covert operations to enforce national security.

⁵¹⁴ J. Crush and D. McDonald, Introduction to Special Issue: Evaluating South Africa Immigration Policy after Apartheid, in *Journal of Africa Today*, Vol. 48. No. 3. 2001. pp. 1 – 13.

factor in order to help secure what is there. To this end, migration is viewed as a hindrance to the post-apartheid project of nation building and social transformation.⁵¹⁵

At the same time, it is a well-known fact that the borderline between South Africa and Zimbabwe is at the state of complete collapse. The current SAPS and SANDF deployment there is ineffective in combating both the smuggling of people and contrabands. This ties in well with Addo's sentiments when he argued that weak borders such as Beitbridge, fuel cross-border criminal activities, and the state capacity to respond to the threat and challenges posed by these illegal activities is equally weak.⁵¹⁶ Moreover, the number of re-entries of deported undocumented migrants continues to rise, suggesting that heightened border enforcement has neither a long-lasting deterrent effect, nor does it impede entering the country illegally. Based on current estimates, the system is a failure. The fences along the border have not been an effective deterrent. They simply have changed the ways and costs of getting in.

The simple fact to deduce here is that our government has failed to devise a proper command-and-control structure. Due to this lack of security strategy and unified command among the DHA, SAPS and SANDF, there is no cooperate in information sharing about the criminal activities along the border.⁵¹⁷ A lack of security strategy under a unified command results in the duplication of tasks and a waste of resources in terms of operational planning and executing.⁵¹⁸

For these reasons, the parliament passed the Border Management Authority (BMA) Bill in 2018 to conduct border law enforcement functions along our country's borders. As such, South Africa's law enforcement and other supporting elements should function under one unified command. However, questions loom on whether the BMA would be merely a coordinating body, acting as a kind of 'joint operations centre' for the many government bodies such as the SAPS, SANDF and DHA involved in securing and managing of our borders or whether it would just be a dead rubber.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁵ J. Crush and D. McDonald, Introduction to Special Issue: Evaluating South Africa Immigration Policy after Apartheid, in Journal of Africa Today, Vol. 48. No. 3. 2001. p. 9.

⁵¹⁶ P. Addo, Cross-Border Criminal Activities in West Africa: Options For Effective Responses. Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre. KAIPTC Paper No. 12 (May, 2006). p. 4.

⁵¹⁷ J. Irish, 'Illicit trafficking of vehicles across Beit Bridge border post.' ISS Paper 109, June 2005. p. 5.

⁵¹⁸ S.P. Sayakkarage, 'Immigration And The Effects On The National Security Of Sri Lanka. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation), Naval Postgraduate School, 2006. p. 82.

⁵¹⁹ D.P. Baker, 'A Border Patrol for South Africa? Available from: <https://issafrica.org/amp/iss-today/a-border-patrol-for-south-africa> Accessed: 7th/07/2019.

This Bill is, however, stuck at the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), and hence is yet to be implemented.⁵²⁰

5.4 Softening South Africa's Borders

Softening South Africa's borders would mean opening up the gates with Zimbabwe. In the true sense of the word, open borders would be the same as moving from Limpopo to Gauteng province. In other words, there would be no officers, authorities, customs or check points. That would mean that drug dealers, smugglers and traffickers go anywhere they want. Open borders would essentially represent the abolition of nationhood. This study's position, however, opposes such borderless state. Instead, open borders should be about unlimited labour migration. It would not necessarily be labour migration, but also people would come for various reasons. Simply put, South Africa would be border light, there would be no numerical limits of non-criminal and non-terrorist people moving into the country. It is not an open border *per se*, but a description of the cross-border movement of people.

The case for open borders is based on two arguments; moral and empirical. The moral claim is that immigration restrictions are unjust. Letting undocumented migrants work for willing employers and renting from willing landlords is not charity. It is basic decency. The empirical claim is that migration contributes to economic growth.⁵²¹ Many undocumented Zimbabwean migrants have opened stores, creating jobs for the local, and hence boost the country's economy in the process.⁵²²

However, there is one obstacle to this. The objection relates to patriotic solidarity. Aristotle wrote that humans gather first in the family and then clan or villages, and then ultimately a state.⁵²³ Humans have in their nature the formation of political communities. Those communities have a certain claim on our loyalty. The concerns

⁵²⁰ National Council of Provinces (NCOP) meeting report titled: Border Management Authority Bill: National Treasury, SARS & SANDF concerns. Available from: <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/258133/> Accessed: 12th/07/2019. 16:06.

⁵²¹ T.S. Ngomane, 'The Socio-Economic Impact of Migration in South Africa: A Case Study of Illegal Zimbabweans in Polokwane Municipality in the Limpopo Province.' (Unpublished Master's Dissertation), University of Limpopo, 2010. pp. 18 and 23.

⁵²² *Ibid*, 23.

⁵²³ J. Zarri, 'Aristotle's Theory of the Origin of the State,' *Philosophy* 107, July 16, 1948. p. 1.

and preferences of those members triumph over the concerns and preferences of foreigners. This does not imply any specific immigration policy necessary, one could be for more or less immigration, but it means that the effects the immigration may or may not have on South Africans is more important than whatever benefits or harms that our immigration policy would have on migrants.

In a sense, selfishness is the whole point of gathering together social communities. Scott calls this a politics of difference, and borders are created to reflect these differences.⁵²⁴ Thus, in the words of Houtum, “Bordering is basically the desire to distance oneself from the other in order to uphold the (fantasy of the) ‘Self’ during the feelings of fear or anxiety.”⁵²⁵ Applying this in the South African context, the immigration policies place value on people born in South Africa, and not foreigners who happen to be on the other side of the border. Furthermore, not only is the foreigner a threat, but also inferior to a South African. Apartheid was built on the notion of white superiority and the African black as the inferior race.⁵²⁶ That legacy has continued as the post-apartheid South Africa was built on the premise of South Africa’s superiority over the rest of Africa.⁵²⁷ The interesting philosophical question here is whether the South African government has greater concern for its fellow South Africans than it does for people from other parts of the world. In the same token, it is about whether the South African citizens have greater loyalty to their clans or nation.

Aristotle said that every virtue has two related vices. One is the excess characteristic that marks the virtue, and the other is the deficiency of it.⁵²⁸ For instance, feeling patriotic or solidarity with one’s own countrymen is a virtue, and it has two related vices. One is the excess of it which we could call ‘xenophobia’, or something of that kind, and the other is the lack of it (lack of patriotic solidarity). In the face of it, the fact that South Africa loves its citizens more than foreigners tempts it to treat undocumented migrants unjustly.

⁵²⁴ J.W. Scott, *Bordering*, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe. Yliopistokatu, 2015. pp. 31 and 32.

⁵²⁵ H. Houtum, *The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries*. , in *Geopolitics*, No.10, 2005. p. 677.

⁵²⁶ E. Boyton, “Protectionism and National Migration Policy in South Africa.” (Unpublished Master’s Dissertation), University of Cape Town. 2015. pp. 58 and 59.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid*.

⁵²⁸ W.D. Ross, *Nicomachean Ethics*. Kitchener: Batoche Books, 1999. p. 32.

At the same time, the question around the migration policies is not whether they favour South African families or countrymen over migrants, but how they can favour them. Obligations to help one's family or other South Africans do not mean one has the right to support a government that initiates coercive measures against others to stop Zimbabwean migrants from voluntarily coming here and work with fellow South Africans. It does not extend to that. There are some evil actions that the South African government could take against migrants that they absolutely should not take even though they benefit South Africans. The liberal and ethical intuitive argument to this is that preventing some Zimbabwean migrants from voluntarily migrating is one action that is impermissible because the harms are so drastic and vast. The current migration policy is framed in such a way that they maintain employment preferences for South Africans.⁵²⁹ The right to engage in contracting migrants from Zimbabwe is much more important than the idea to engage in economic protectionism and to protect certain isolated groups of migrants from other people just because they are from another country.

In South Africa, post-apartheid politics have been influenced by the growth of nationalist politics around the world, especially in countries like the UK and the USA⁵³⁰ This populist mentality, combined with the South African politicians' refusal to take responsibility for failing public services, has made the African immigrant community the target for all the country's ills.⁵³¹ There is also fear of labour and business competition not just with government of South Africa, but with the general population.⁵³² The new democratic government wishes to redistribute the national cake among its citizens without sharing a slice with undeserving outsiders.⁵³³ The fear is that if South Africa was to open up its economy, it would be flooded by people from Africa. The fear of the unknown would change when the South Africans get economically empowered.

⁵²⁹ M.A.B. Siddique, 'South African Migration Policy: A Critical Review.' Research Paper (University of Western Australia). (No Year). p. 13.

⁵³⁰ W. Okumu, 'Border Management and Security in Africa,' 2011. p. 7.

⁵³¹ T.S. Ngomane, 'The Socio-Economic Impact of Migration in South Africa: A Case Study of Illegal Zimbabweans in Polokwane Municipality in the Limpopo Province.' (Unpublished Master's Dissertation), University of Limpopo, 2010. p. 27.

⁵³² *Ibid.* p. 51.

⁵³³ J. Crush and D. McDonald, Introduction to Special Issue: Evaluating South Africa Immigration Policy after Apartheid, in *Journal of Africa Today*, Vol. 48. No. 3. 2001. p. 9.

The opposition political parties such as the DA have capitalised on anti-migrant climate and are vocal on “securing our borders”. Among their practical strategies, they propose the heightened crackdown on foreigners. This strategy is based on the deployment of protection units in the form of Commandos. The implementation of the commando system would be to search and round up migrants across the country in rural and urban areas, and then drive them back across the border. This was the logic of apartheid. It was the crux of the apartheid regime strategy, the separation of South Africa from other countries, which is the root cause of “isolationist tendencies” we see today.”⁵³⁴ Under the pass laws, black people from the Bantustans (homeland) were mandated to carry reference books or ‘dompas’ to limit and control their movements in white areas. Failure to carry the ‘dompas’ was a criminal offence punishable by jail time.⁵³⁵ The desire to keep the South African citizens separate from other citizens is clearly evident in the history of racism inflicted on foreigners in South Africa.⁵³⁶ During the apartheid era, black population lived in fear because the SAP operated with ‘fearful force’ that they instilled in them.⁵³⁷ When looking at the SAPS and SANDF’s current conduct, discipline, methods of operation and culture, they inherited the paramilitaristic and political nature of the apartheid regime where African migrants, particularly Zimbabweans, have become the *swart gevaar*,⁵³⁸ to the black race in the post-apartheid South Africa.⁵³⁹

There is a problem with such a system. First, South Africa is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. Many migrants have adapted and blended in South African communities, making it difficult to identify them. With this practice, the South African citizens and residents would continue to be victims of wrongful arrests and detention if they fail to show their identity books. The victims are often those whose physical

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁵ <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/why-immigration-controls-resemble-apartheid-in-their-adverse-consequences-for-freedom/> Accessed: 08th May, 2019. 21:24.

⁵³⁶ C.S. Schippers, ‘History Attitudes towards Foreigners in South Africa: Longitudinal Study.’ (Unpublished Master’s Dissertation), Stellenbosch University, 2015. p. 6.

⁵³⁷ J.E. Buys, ‘The Transformation Of The South African Police From A Paramilitary Force To A Service Delivery Agency, 1980-1998: A Historical Assessment.’ (Unpublished PHD Thesis), University of the Free State, 2007. pp. 95 and 96.

⁵³⁸ *Swaartgevaar* is Afrikaans loosely translated “Black danger.”

⁵³⁹ E. Boyton, “Protectionism and National Migration Policy in South Africa. (Unpublished Master’s Dissertation), University of Cape Town. 2015. p. 59.

characteristics (skin colour and location of vaccination marks) resemble those of foreigners.⁵⁴⁰

Second, since greater control would be subjected to those already in the country, this strategy is again problematic in that it extends to the citizens and residents. Any effort to identify and exclude or penalise migrants would require stopping or searching or questioning anyone.⁵⁴¹ If migrants must show their passports at borders, everyone would have to, including returning citizens. If immigrants must present their credentials at internal checkpoints, then everyone, including citizens, would have to in order to prove that they are not immigrants.⁵⁴²

Again, this type of border control infringes on the freedom of ordinary citizens and residents. Employers, landlords and educational institutions are subjected to harsher punishment for hiring, housing or hosting would-be migrants, and are in the process turned into agents of state while trying to run their own affairs.⁵⁴³ They also do the work of regulating, monitoring and reporting to the government in order to preserve their right to operate or to stay out of jail.⁵⁴⁴ This is not putting resources to good use. At the same time, irregular migration pales compared to drug problems and human trafficking when spending resources on irregular migration and tracking, relocating and identifying migrants that live in the country that contribute to its economic growth.

5.5 Rationale for Irregular Migration to South Africa

Without a doubt, there is a crisis at the Beitbridge Border. But, it is a deeply misunderstood crisis that is driven by specific factors. In general, the growing numbers of migrants crossing the border are driven by three major factors; labour demands and family ties as well as geographic, cultural and historic factors.

⁵⁴⁰ J. Crush and D. McDonald, Introduction to Special Issue: Evaluating South Africa Immigration Policy after Apartheid, in Journal of Africa Today, Vol. 48. No. 3. 2001. p. 9.

⁵⁴¹ <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/why-immigration-controls-resemble-apartheid-in-their-adverse-consequences-for-freedom/> Accessed: 08th May, 2019. 21:24.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁴ <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/why-immigration-controls-resemble-apartheid-in-their-adverse-consequences-for-freedom/> Accessed: 08th May, 2019. 21:24.

First, labour migration facilitates irregular migrations to South Africa. By meeting the needs of South African employers and Zimbabwe low-skilled labourers, a strong dependency is created, which even tighter immigration laws could not break. This dependency in terms of labour supply and demand developed a certain level of convenience in hiring Zimbabwean workers for fewer expenses who are often unprotected by labour unions or law.⁵⁴⁵ Additionally, the long absence of true border enforcement or any regulation regarding Zimbabwe migration fuels the current cycle.⁵⁴⁶

Second, migrants are people too. When they come to a society in a different country, they bring with them their values and virtues that all of the people have, and not just labour inputs. Immigration not only brings two hands or arms, it actually brings people connected to those arms. Most undocumented migrants have families and they keep contact. In the event of special ceremonies or if a member of a family dies, Zimbabwean migrants visit home. The need and desire to visit their families in their home country make bush crossings highly attractive to them.⁵⁴⁷

In addition, the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants come to South Africa to seek for better livelihoods. Successful migrants feel obliged to help their family members back home to also migrate to here.⁵⁴⁸ In this way, those who illegally cross the border follow the path of their family members, and then hope that those left behind would join them

⁵⁴⁵ C. Erb, Hardened Boarders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in *Aspeers Journal*, Vol. 2. 2009. p. 106 and T.S. Ngomane, 'The Socio-Economic Impact of Migration in South Africa: A Case Study of Illegal Zimbabweans in Polokwane Municipality in the Limpopo Province.' (Unpublished Master's Dissertation), University of Limpopo, 2010. p. 18.

⁵⁴⁶ T.S. Ngomane, 'The Socio-Economic Impact of Migration in South Africa: A Case Study of Illegal Zimbabweans in Polokwane Municipality in the Limpopo Province.' (Unpublished Master's Dissertation), University of Limpopo, 2010. p. 18; W. Munyanyi, Is Infrastructure Upgrading an Antidote for Smuggling? Evidence from Beitbridge Border Post, Zimbabwe, in *World Customs Journal*, Vol.9, No.1, 2016. pp. 103 – 106; C. Erb, Hardened Boarders: A case Study on Inefficient Solutions to the Immigration Problem in El Paso, in *Aspeers Journal*, Vol. 2. 2009. p. 106.

⁵⁴⁷ G. Ncube, N. Nqobizitha and M. Sithole, Immigration Policy Reforms and Pervasive Illegal Migration: A Case of Illegal Border Jumpers (Beitbridge Border Post), in *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.19. Issue 5, Ver.1, 2014. p. 118.

⁵⁴⁸ D. Gelderblom and W. Adams, 'The Limits and Possibilities of Migrant Networks', in S. Macheke, W. Lunga and Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge, in *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies*. Vol.6, No.3, 2015. pp. 202.

later. Thus, migration becomes self-perpetuating as it helps create social structures to sustain itself.⁵⁴⁹

In this way, every documented or undocumented migrant in South Africa has a potential to facilitate another's immigration into the country. This might explain why correcting this problem by legalising or documenting undocumented migrants actually exacerbate the dilemma. Unless properly managed, migration networks may impede efforts to effectively deter irregular migrations.⁵⁵⁰ Family ties and kinship, as well as social networks across the South Africa-Zimbabwe border tremendously expand, constituting a greater incentive to cross the border (legally and illegally), thereby significantly facilitating the Zimbabweans' migrations. This augers well with Lee's theory of migration when he mentioned that personal factors such as family ties should be taken into consideration as they can either make migration happen or not happen at all. It is important to note that the decision to migrate is never completely rational. There are always possible exceptions to any type of generalisation of migration. In the same token, not all migrants migrate as a result of their own decision; for example, children have to go along with their parents, and wives accompany or follow their husbands. Such type of migration is known as sequential migration.⁵⁵¹

Last, it is necessary to emphasise that the rate of irregular migrations between South Africa and Zimbabwe is also enhanced by the two countries' geographic proximity to each other, in addition to cultural and historical factors, and the colonial heritage.⁵⁵² Letsiri and Wotela admitted that every ethnic group in this part of Africa has relatives on the other side of the border because of the artificial manner in which the Berlin Conference decided Africa's international boundaries.⁵⁵³ Admittedly, Zimbabwe's geographic proximity to South Africa strongly facilitates cross-border migration. For

⁵⁴⁹ K. Wotela and C. Letsiri, International Movements, post-apartheid dispensation and illegal immigration into SA, in *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2015. pp. 108 and 109.

⁵⁵⁰ K. Wotela and C. Letsiri, International Movements, post-apartheid dispensation and illegal immigration into SA, in *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2015. p. 109.

⁵⁵¹ A. Avasarkar, 'What is Everett Lee's Conceptual Framework for Migration Analysis?' Available from: www.preservearticles.com/education/what-is-everett-lee-s-conceptual-framework-for-migration-analysis/16078 Accessed: 12th/07/2019. 18:56.

⁵⁵² Towards a White Paper on International Migration in South Africa. Guidelines for Public Consultation. 15 June 2016. p. 15 and K. Wotela and C. Letsiri, International Movements, post-apartheid dispensation and illegal immigration into SA, in *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2015. p. 109.

⁵⁵³ K. Wotela and C. Letsiri, International Movements, post-apartheid dispensation and illegal immigration into SA, in *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2015. p. 109.

instance, the seasonal agricultural employment opportunities allow the Zimbabwean migrants to make rapid and repeated movements between South Africa and Zimbabwe to work seasonally. The Beitbridge town in Zimbabwe and Musina town in South Africa are just 16 kilometres apart. Small-scale travellers find it easy to move back and forth across the border. Culturally, the former is dominated by the Vhavenda and Ndebele people who are also found on the South African side. Notably, distance separating the places of origin and destination is an important factor that can make one to migrate or not. According to Lee, distance, while omnipresent, is by no means the important factor.⁵⁵⁴

Linguistically, the Shona of Zimbabwe are related to the Vhavenda. The Tshivenda language is quite unique in South Africa, for it cannot be grouped with either the Nguni or Sotho. It is entirely on its own, as it is one of the Shona languages spoken in Zimbabwe. To the non-speakers, the language Tshivenda appears to be difficult and fast spoken, with the result that it becomes difficult to understand. For the Shona speaking people, however, it does not pose much difficulty.⁵⁵⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that the Vhavenda have never accepted the Limpopo River as a boundary.⁵⁵⁶

It is historically correct, therefore, to proclaim that these tribes have been coexisting from time immemorial, and were disrupted by the partition of Africa since after the 1884 Berlin Conference. The colonial border, the Limpopo River, not only affected the regular movement of people living on either side of the river, but also the historical and cultural links with their neighbours across the border.⁵⁵⁷ This argument is reinforced further by Wotela and Letsiri who said that...these tribes were either divided by new borders, and/or had a history of sharing and marrying among themselves.⁵⁵⁸ The issue of borders and documentation between these neighbouring tribes is meaningless, and hence colonial to them, and thus 'jumping the border' is something that should not be

⁵⁵⁴ E.S. Lee, Theory of Migration, in Journal of Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1. 1966. p. 57.

⁵⁵⁵ A.S. Munyai, 'Understanding the Christian Message in Venda: A Study of the Traditional Concepts of God and of Life Hereafter among the Venda, with Reference to the Impact of These Concepts on the Christian Churches.' (Unpublished Master's Dissertation), University of Pretoria, 2007. p. 7.

⁵⁵⁶ A.S. Munyai, 'Understanding the Christian Message in Venda: A Study of the Traditional Concepts of God and of Life Hereafter among the Venda, with Reference to the Impact of These Concepts on the Christian Churches.' (Unpublished Master's Dissertation), University of Pretoria, 2007. p. 7.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁸ K. Wotela and C. Letsiri, International Movements, post-apartheid dispensation and illegal immigration into SA, in The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2015. p. 109.

considered ‘illegal’ to them.⁵⁵⁹ The historical evidence indicates that the Limpopo River was never regarded as a boundary, but only an artificial colonial border.

From an African point of view, therefore, the possession of travelling documents is an inconvenience because of the proximity of these countries to each other, which creates a favourable culture of cross-border exchange and interaction.⁵⁶⁰ This is in itself an indication that the historical, cultural and linguistic links strengthen migration networks’ access to international borders in this region.⁵⁶¹ People such as small-scale traders and pastoral ones are not a threat, and the government needs to distinguish between such groups as not all border crossers pose a threat to internal security.

In view of the above, this section argues that South Africa should consider adopting simplified borders. Such a border regime takes account of the social responsibility with respect to culture, religion and migration. A “simplified border” regime allows communities who live in the border areas to cross the border regularly for socio-economic reasons, without being checked automatically. Reasons may range from family visits to medical treatment and attendance of ceremonies such as marriages or burials. These individuals should carry ID cards and simply sign a register when moving back and forth across the Beitbridge border.⁵⁶²

5.6 Conclusion

This Chapter analysed the illegal channels of entry and the reasons for that. Zimbabwean migrants cross the Beitbridge border fleeing poverty. They use the Limpopo River to enter South Africa because they do not have required documents. To counter their movement, the South African government has beefed up its border control. However, this Chapter has argued that the current border controls and patrols are ineffective. Instead, they re-direct migrants who avoid being detected by venturing

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ Macheka, W. Lunga and Musarurwa, Illegal Migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa: is Lack of Documentation a new Humanitarian Challenge, in Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies. Vol.6, No.3, 2015. p. 253.

⁵⁶¹ K. Wotela and C. Letsiri, International Movements, post-apartheid dispensation and illegal immigration into SA, in The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2015. p. 109.

⁵⁶² F.L.M. Seda, ‘Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-Border Regions.’ (Unpublished PHD Thesis) Erasmus University, 2015. p. 52.

into remote and dangerous illegal crossing points. The people smugglers benefit because of the increased border controls. At the same time, migrants are abused by the smugglers who facilitate their illegal entry. The next Chapter concludes this study.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE IMPROVEMENT

6.1 Introduction

This study investigated the Beitbridge border control and management systems in apartheid and post-apartheid eras. In order to understand the extent to which this border is controlled, undocumented Zimbabwean migrants living in the country were interviewed. Also ascertained here were the measures put in place to curb this form of entry into South Africa. The study was guided by the research questions and their corresponding objectives. As the case involved two different systems of government, it was imperative for this study to deal with the measures that were in place during the apartheid era and those that exist today (post-apartheid era). The two eras had different emphasis in terms of border safeguarding. Reciting their lived experiences, the views of the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants were imperative in that they helped this study to understand the reasons why people subvert the immigration laws in order to enter this country. This form of entry propelled the South African government to beef up its border control and policing systems. The border control measures put in place at this border are presented below as this study's findings.

6.2 Study Findings

The data discussed in Chapter Four and analysed in the next Chapter showed that undocumented migrants use undesignated spots along the Limpopo River to cross into South Africa. Based on the information from Chapters Four and Five, it is clear that the current border control system has failed to stop the illegal entries into the country. The study's findings were informed by its objectives and the corresponding research questions as illustrated below.

6.2.1 Objective One and subsidiary Question One: To identify border control measures and mechanisms that were in place during the apartheid era, 1980-1994, at the Beitbridge border

The study revealed that the Beitbridge border was controlled and policed as an anti-communism campaign. The apartheid regime feared the infiltration by the MK guerrillas from Zimbabwe. This fear necessitated the building of fortresses along the Limpopo River. Between 1984 and 1985, the apartheid regime installed an electrified fence to deter the entry and exit of the supposed insurgents. The fence's voltage was deadly. Dozens of border jumpers were killed attempting to cross through the fence, while many were wounded and lost their limbs in the process. The border was further reinforced by the deployment of soldiers and the police, in addition to a ten kilometre wide clearing along the fence. As if this was not enough, helicopters flew (patrolled) along the border at hourly intervals. Substations were built along the South Africa-Zimbabwe borderline to house the infantry units patrolling the border.

Such border build up was designed in such a way that it was almost impossible to enter apartheid South Africa illegally. Border crossers had to re-route and venture into dangerous and remote areas. There was a gap of approximately thirty-two kilometres along the Norex fence in the Vhembe area. There was no fence here, as its erection would have interfered with the elephants' movements in the Kruger National Park. In this context, Border jumpers were left vulnerable to predators in the area. It should be noted that in spite of its high voltage, the electric border fence did not effectively deter illegal entries and exits out of the country. That is, guerrillas and other border jumpers developed a number of strategies to breach this border fence. First, they used logs to walk over the electrified fence. Second, shaking the fence short-circuited the system and this disabled that portion which was shook. Another method was to prop up a section of the fence with wooden sticks and crawl underneath it. Last, border jumpers enlisted the services of the guides who got them through the fence for a specified amount of fee. The electric fence, therefore, was only effective against those who did not know much about the area, mostly first timers.

6.2.2 Objective Two and subsidiary Question Two: To identify the border mechanisms that are currently in place at the Beitbridge border.

At the dawn of democracy, the electric fence was disabled and the number of border personnel manning the Beitbridge border post was reduced. The authorities did this informed by the absence of any perceived external threat. But, in the wake of Zimbabwe's economic crisis and the Zimbabweans' subsequent migration to South Africa, the Beitbridge border post's security became the government's 'high priority' once more. In this case, the electric fence was rehabilitated, and new sections were erected to complement the existing old structures. The SAPS, alongside the SANDF, control and police the border. Like its predecessor, the post-apartheid government has made the Beitbridge border a fortress. Both the SAPS and the SANDF arrest any suspected border jumpers. It must be clear that the SANDF is not involved in the legal processes and deportation of the undocumented migrants, however.

In 2009, the SANDF was given the primary responsibility to safeguard the country's borders. The reason for recalling the SAPS was that it had neglected the border fence and that it did not have the required capabilities for border patrol and control as this was now deemed a national security concern. The SANDF maintain the borderline security, while the SAPS is responsible for criminal activities along the Beitbridge border. There are currently five Infantry Battalion companies deployed there, with three hundred and forty Special Forces troops guarding its long stretch. The SANDF patrol the border 24/7, while the SAPS monitor the border on an eight-hour-shift basis.

In spite of such measures, the study revealed that undocumented migrants and smugglers alike irregularly criss-cross the border anyhow. Migrants cut holes, scale or burrow beneath the fence. The current system does not deter the undocumented migrants from entering the country unofficially.

6.2.3 Objective three and subsidiary Question three: To identify gaps and challenges in border control to curb irregular migration.

There are a number of challenges in as far as the successful border control and management is concerned at the Beitbridge border. The first challenge is that the SANDF is underfunded. It lacks resources such as equipment, cameras, floodlights, sensors and other technical infrastructure that would enable the effective surveillance of the hot spots along the 225 kilometre South Africa -Zimbabwe border line. With lack of resources, the SANDF are unable to detect attempts at entries soon enough to stop them.

The second challenge is that the border has become porous due to the frequency with which the undocumented migrants damage the fence. That is, the border fence is continuously trampled, cut and burrowed underneath by smugglers, poachers and migrants as they illegally move across it. The electric fence no longer works due to the lack of attention and maintenance from the time soldiers were deployed there. Attempts by the SANDF engineers to effect basic repairs to the fence have proven unsuccessful. The Department of Public Works is responsible for maintaining the fence, but has done little to rehabilitate it.⁵⁶³

The scourge of corruption is yet another impeding factor. Corrupt officials facilitate people's illegal entries into the country. Bribery has become a money-making enterprise by the soldiers deployed to man the border. Corruption has become so rampant that it is now too easy for one to illegally pay their way into the country without any documentation. Human traffickers work in cahoots with border authorities to facilitate the irregular entry of undocumented Zimbabweans at this border. The business of migration control proves to be lucrative for the SAPS, the SANDF, and the DHA, through bribes. In short, the undocumented travellers have captured the above entities at the Beitbridge border post.

⁵⁶³ Presentation to the Portfolio Committee on Police titled 'Border post and borderline security'. Available from: <http://pmg-assets-s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/docs/2011/111108bBorderpost.pdf>

6.2.4 Objective four and subsidiary Question four: To determine the South African government's attitude and perception towards undocumented migrants in its territory.

With regard to the government's attitude and perception of migration, the study discovered that the South African government has negative views about migration. The post-apartheid government's attitude is the same as that of its predecessor that viewed Africans as 'unfavourable' migrants. The SAPS, for example, would stop people randomly, arrest and deport them without any care. The immigration policies are informed by the economic protectionist tendencies, despite the country's 'brain drain' phenomenon. The immigration policies seek to strictly control and often halt the migration of low-skilled labourers. The DHA recently launched a programme that targets employers who hire undocumented migrants.

The anti-migrant climate has influenced many opposition political parties' political narratives in South Africa. Even if Zimbabwean migrants have permits or acquired citizenship, they still struggle for full inclusion in society. Zimbabwean migrants have often been labelled border jumpers, prostitutes, thieves and rapists. Name calling has dimmed their prospects of being offered asylum or refugee status by the South African government. The point of departure is that the South African government, as was the case with the apartheid regime, refuses to recognise the undocumented Zimbabweans who fled into the country as refugees, thereby depriving them of international assistance. They are blamed for the rise in crime, and for the overwhelming public service decline (mainly the health and housing sector). Locals also blame them for taking their jobs. The testament to this are the recurring events of the 'afro-phobic' attacks on the African foreign nationals. Yet, the government is in denial and often turns a blind eye when such incidents occur. They do not want to project a negative image of the country overseas.

6.3 Conclusion

Broadly, Zimbabwean migrants' current trends in flocking to South Africa illegally are a phenomenon that has its roots in that country's fast-track land reform programme that began in 2000, and the 2008-2013 hyper-inflation, which literally destroyed

Zimbabwe's economy. Generally, undocumented Zimbabwean migrants who enter the country through Beitbridge border are economic and survival migrants. In as much as they do not want to leave their homes and families, and risk their lives across the inhospitable terrain, they have no choice under the circumstances. They are victims of the system that has failed them. However, due to the rising crime rate, unemployment and the government's failure to deliver public services, the South African government has put in place a series of fences and border patrols designed to stem the influx of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants into the country. But, based on current estimates, the system has failed.

The perpetuation of the apartheid-style fortified border has two clear results. The first being the human cost. Increased border control and policing have re-routed undocumented Zimbabwean migrants into remote and dangerous areas where they risk their lives in deadly conditions attempting to enter South Africa. The apartheid style electric fence has resulted in many deaths. To date, hundreds of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants have drowned attempting to cross the Limpopo River. Many more have been mauled by crocodiles and hippopotamus as they seek for a better life south of the Limpopo River. At the same time, the increased border control has exposed the undocumented migrants to the notorious *amagama-guma* gangs who rape, rob and steal from them. Their effects are felt by women and children who are the most vulnerable.

Another clear consequence is that the increased border patrol and policing has necessitated the need for help from human traffickers. The more difficult it is to cross the border, the more migrants turn for help from such people. Thus, irregular entry has become a lucrative business for human traffickers and the self-proclaimed guides. Government officials, on the other hand, also milk these migrants due to their vulnerability, thereby supplementing their income base by colluding with human traffickers. Also, the border controls have failed to deter the undocumented migrants because the government officials collude with the police to let undocumented individuals pass through at the port of entry.

One of the obvious failures by the South African government has been to deal with the demand for migrants' cheap labour, drugs and prostitutes. In as far as the physical security measures are concerned, smugglers and the poor, needy and desperate

migrants always find ways to subvert these. Until the South African government addresses these demands, the border controls would not stop people from illegally crossing into the country because the benefits of doing so are huge.

At the same time, the current Zimbabwean migration constitutes a communication problem. That is, there is lack of communication between the South African and Zimbabwean governments. The two governments are to blame for failing to speedily facilitate the visa agreements or the liberalisation of visa processes for the Zimbabwean migrants to enter this country legally. By facilitating labour agreements, borders would become bridges as opposed to being barriers to migration. In addition, the lack of cross-border co-operation between the two countries has contributed to irregular migrations to South Africa. Also, the lack of intelligence or information-sharing makes it difficult for the SANDF to secure the Beitbridge border.

Equally to blame is the involvement of the under resourced border control and policing entities such as the SANDF, the SAPS and the DHA. These are unable to perform their duties to the best of their abilities due to the lack of resources. The SANDF, as the custodian of border security, do not have full control and surveillance of the border. That said, undocumented Zimbabwean migrants exploit such weaknesses (poorly guarded and policed) to enter the country illegally. The state's response to this form of movement has been weak so far. In all this, the porous Beitbridge border plays a central role in the increase of the Zimbabwean population in South Africa.

6.4 Recommendations

The undocumented migrants who cross the border to South Africa are economic migrants. This study recommends that there should be a formalisation of the bilateral labour migration agreement between South Africa and Zimbabwe. This agreement will enable the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants to legally enter South Africa. At the same time, labour agreements between independent states will help the regional integration processes in the SADC region.

Currently, there is a disjointed border control command structure. There is no single department with overall authority for the Beitbridge border control, and the different

departments often have diverse priorities, sometimes competing mandates.⁵⁶⁴ A lack of security strategy under a unified command results in the duplication of tasks and a waste of resources in terms of operational planning and executing. As such, South Africa's law enforcements and other supporting elements should function under one unified command. It is recommended that the recently passed bill, the Border Management Authority (BMA), speedily takes charge of the overall border control functions at the Beitbridge border post.

Equally important is that border security should go beyond just law enforcement. There is a need to address the demands that drive the illegal entry and border crime across the Beitbridge border. It is recommended that the government addresses these demands in order to stem out the social problems such as the need for cheap migrant labour, drug smuggling and prostitution, among others.

Information intelligence sharing with Zimbabwe is essential for cracking down on the flow and the route of smuggling and trafficking rings. Collecting data about human smuggling and drug trafficking is important for cracking down on undocumented migrants and organised crime organisations. Many cross-border criminal activities in the Beitbridge border occur because of lack of critical information shared by the two countries. It is recommended that greater cooperation and coordination between South Africa and Zimbabwe is established through bilateral agreements to prevent the illegal flow of men and materials.

Corruption is widespread and rampant at the Beitbridge border post. It is recommended that the government creates the Border Anti-Corruption Watch, an independent entity that would deal with the corrupt activities at that border.

6.5 Suggestions for Future Research

This study presented its findings regarding the measures put in place by South Africa's successive governments to stem the influx of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants

⁵⁶⁴ J. Irish, 'Illicit trafficking of vehicles across Beit Bridge border post.' ISS Paper 109, June 2005. pp. 1 – 5.

into the country through the Beitbridge border post. The following suggestions are meant to improve future studies on this phenomenon.

- Undocumented Zimbabwean migrants use human traffickers as guides to help them cross the Beitbridge border into South Africa. There are no smugglers' voices to speak for themselves. That is a serious omission on the part of this study. There is a need to understand how human traffickers facilitate the illegal entry of undocumented migrants into South Africa. It is suggested that future studies should incorporate such views.
- Cross-border migration should be handled and managed by two countries. Undocumented Zimbabwean migrants move back and forth across the Beitbridge border post. This study dealt with the state's measures meant to curb irregular entry at this border (the South African side). It is suggested that future studies to incorporate the views of the Zimbabwean authorities on this matter as well.
- Continental and regional integration means the removal of barriers, and borders should be bridges as opposed to barriers. Fortified borders such as those of South Africa seem to contradict the spirit of continental and regional integration. It is suggested that future studies should look at how the idea of South Africa building fortresses at its borders impact on regional and continental integration.

In spite of the above short-comings, this study fulfilled its aim and objectives. It investigated the border control measures that were in place during the apartheid era, and those that exist now to curb irregular entry into South Africa through the Beitbridge border. The above suggestions are testament to this.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What is your name, and where were you born?
2. When did you cross the Beitbridge border into South Africa?
3. How did you come to South Africa?
4. Where did you enter this country and how so?
5. Why did you enter that way?
6. Have you visited your country since you came here? If so, how did you do so?
7. Do you think it is common for people to come here the way you did, and why?
8. Explain to us how you entered South Africa?
9. Do you think people still use that way to enter South Africa, why do you think so?
10. Do you think it is easy to enter or leave South Africa without a passport, why?
11. What do you make of South Africa's border control methods?
12. Why is it easy for people without passports to enter or leave South Africa?

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT

RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

UNIVEN Informed Consent

Appendix B

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Title of the Research Study : Irregular Migrations into South Africa: A Comparative Analysis of the Beitbridge Border Control and Management System In Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Eras, 1980-2017.

Principal Investigator/s/ researcher : Mr Khumotso Ronald Ramaite.
BA Hons in Political Studies.

Co-Investigator/s/supervisor/s : Ms N.V. Sibawu.
Masters in History.

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study: The aim here is to study the border control measures that were in place during the apartheid era and those that exist now that curb illegal entry into South Africa through the Beitbridge Border.

Outline of the Procedures : It is the responsibility of the participants to consent to the study. There will be an interview guide. The interviews will be conducted privately at a secluded location. Participants must be Zimbabwean undocumented migrants who illegally crossed the Beitbridge border. If necessary, follow-up interviews will be conducted, and each interview session will take about 30 minutes. The participants will be chosen purposefully.

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant : There will be no foreseeable risks or discomforts to participants.

Benefits : The findings of the study will be published, but the participants' biographical details will be kept anonymous.

Reason/s why the Participant May Be Withdrawn from the Study: Non-compliance, illness, adverse reactions, etc. There will be no adverse consequences for the participants should they choose to withdraw.

Remuneration : The participants will receive no monetary or other types of remuneration.

Costs of the Study : The participants will be expected to cover no costs towards the study.

Confidentiality : The participants will be interviewed independently and their responses will be anonymous.

Research-related Injury : No injury is expected. In the event that this occur, extra measures will be taken and compensation may be provided.

Persons to Contact in the Event of Any Problems or Queries:

Please contact the researcher, Khumotso Ramaite on 082 842 1450, my supervisor, Prof: R.R. Molapo on 072 678 2392 or the University Research Ethics Committee Secretariat on 015 962 9058. Complaints can be reported to the Director: Research and Innovation, Prof. G.E. Ekosse on 015 962 8313 or Georges Ivo.Ekosse@univen.ac.za

General:

Potential participants must be assured that participation is voluntary and the approximate number of participants to be included should be disclosed. A copy of the information letter should be issued to participants. The information letter and consent form must be translated and provided in the primary spoken language of the research population

CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, (*name of researcher*), about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: __,
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (*Participant Letter of Information*) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerized system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.

Full Name of Participant Date Time Signature

I,

(*Name of researcher*) herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully

Informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

Full Name of Researcher

..... Date..... Signature.....

Full Name of Witness (If applicable)

..... Date Signature.....

Full Name of Legal Guardian (If applicable)

..... Date..... Signature.....

Please note the following:

Research details must be provided in a clear, simple and culturally appropriate manner and prospective participants should be helped to arrive at an informed decision by use of appropriate language (grade 10 level- use Flesch Reading Ease Scores on Microsoft Word), selecting of a non-threatening environment for interaction and the availability of peer counseling (Department of Health, 2004)

If the potential participant is unable to read/illiterate, then a right thumb print is required and an impartial witness, who is literate and knows the participant e.g. parent, sibling, friend, pastor, etc. should verify in writing, duly signed that informed verbal consent was obtained (Department of Health, 2004).

If anyone makes a mistake completing this document e.g. a wrong date or spelling mistake, a new document has to be completed. The incomplete original document has to be kept in the participant's file and not thrown away, and copies thereof must be issued to the participant.

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APPENDIX C: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

RESEARCH AND INNOVATION
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

NAME OF RESEARCHER/INVESTIGATOR:

Mr KR Ramaite

Student No:

11630857

PROJECT TITLE: Irregular migration into South Africa: A comparative analysis of Beitbridge control and management system during apartheid and post-Apartheid Eras, 1980-2017.

PROJECT NO: SHSS/19/DS/06/3006

SUPERVISORS/ CO-RESEARCHERS/ CO-INVESTIGATORS

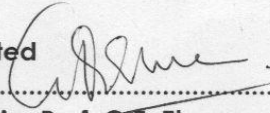
NAME	INSTITUTION & DEPARTMENT	ROLE
Prof RR Molapo	University of Venda	Supervisor
Ms NV Sibawu	University of Venda	Co - Supervisor
Mr KR Ramaite	University of Venda	Investigator - Student

ISSUED BY:

UNIVERSITY OF VENDA, RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Date Considered: July 2019

Decision by Ethical Clearance Committee Granted

Signature of Chairperson of the Committee: 

Name of the Chairperson of the Committee: Senior Prof. G.E. Ekosse

UNIVERSITY OF VENDA

DIRECTOR
RESEARCH AND INNOVATION

2019 -07- 04

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"A quality driven financially sustainable, rural-based Comprehensive University"

APPENDIX D: ENGLISH EDITING AND PROOF-READING LETTER



CROCODILE LANGUAGE EDITING AND PROOF READING

MISTAKES AFFECT THE QUALITY OF YOUR WORK. WE CORRECT THEM TO ENHANCE IT, ACADEMICALLY SO.

06 JULY, 2021.

To whom it may concern,

This is to confirm that I did proofread and edit MR. KHUMOTSO RONALD RAMAITE's Master's dissertation whose title reads: ***IRREGULAR MIGRATIONS INTO SOUTH AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE BEITBRIDGE BORDER CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IN APARTHEID AND POST-APARTHEID ERAS, 1980 - 2017.***

His study read fairly well. Errors attended to included but were not limited to concordance, repetitions, incorrect use of tenses, wordy sentences as well as discourse markers. After attending to these errors, Mr. RAMAITE's dissertation now reads perfectly well. **It however remains his sole responsibility to effect the changes outlined therein.**

Should you require any clarification, my contact details follow below:

Cell: 0784803023 or 0607589535

Email: 68ngwenya@gmail.com
Or: ngwenyachris@webmail.co.za

Sincerely,

Ngwenya Christopher (PhD).