

**ORAL NARRATIVES OF SELECTED FEMALE MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE
CASE OF THOHOYANDOU, LIMPOPO PROVINCE**

BY

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Declaration

I, FAITH MARY MUSVIPWA, declare that this research is my original work and has not been submitted for any degree at any other university or institution. The research does not contain other person's writing unless specifically acknowledged and referenced accordingly.

Signed (Student).....Date.....

Abstract

The study aimed to explore on the oral narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa. It was a case study of Thohoyandou in the Limpopo Province. Female migrants are faced with integration challenges such as political and socio-economic challenges. The study focused on reflecting on stories of selected female migrants who reside in Thohoyandou. The study was qualitative in nature and utilised a qualitative exploratory research design because it was aimed at exploring perceptions on oral narratives of selected female migrants. The researcher made use of non-probability sampling in the form of purposive sampling method and snowball. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews. Data was then sorted, coded, organised and indexed in a manner that made it easier for the researcher to interpret, analyse and present in content analysis. Text was summarised by checking key themes, phrases or passages that were used in a more detailed analysis. The process was guided by the original aim of the study. Findings of the study postulated that most female migrants came for economic reasons and discrimination is perceived to be an important barrier to integration. Other significant integration barriers include linguistic, educational, and institutional factors. Internal factors (social, cultural, and religious norms, immigrants' own opinions about themselves, lack of motivation and intergenerational mobility) are also serious barriers to integration.

Keywords: integration, immigration, migration, migrant labourer, female migrant

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Dedication

This research is dedicated to my late mother who departed on earth on the 23rd of May 2016. I love you and miss you so much mother. Thank you so much for being there for me always, for encouraging me, for constantly reminding me that I can do it, the wound you left will never heal and some tears never dry it still feels like a second ago time changes nothing. It is sad that you are no longer with us to celebrate the success of your little girl. You fought so hard to be where I am today, I greatly appreciate the love and effort. May your soul continue to rest in eternal peace.

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List of Acronyms

ILO: International Labour Organisation

HRW: Human Rights Watch

GCIM: Global Commission for International Migration

ILODG: International Labour Office of the Director General

UNDP: United Nations Development Plan

UN: United Nations

UDHRC: Universal Declaration of Human Rights Charter

AU: African Union

SSA: Statistics South Africa

UNDESA: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

SAIRR: South African Institute of Race Relations

DHA: Department of Home Affairs

SAM: Southern African Migration

LEED: Local Economic and Employment Development

BEE: Black Economic Empowerment

BBBEEA: Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1. Introduction and Background

Female migration has been on the rise in the world. United Nations' statistics show that the gap between male and female international migration between 1960 and 2000 has been much smaller than previously thought. In fact, since 1960 there have been as many women migrants as their male counterparts, with women accounting for 48.8% of all migrants in 2000 (Zlotnik, 2003:7). In Sub-Saharan Africa, the migration of women accounted for 47.2% of the total number of international migrants in 2000, an increase of only 7.4% that spans the 40 years since 1960 (Zlotnik, 2003:18). The availability of statistics has forced scholarly attention towards understanding the phenomenon that many now term the "feminization of migration" (Adepoju, 2004; Zlotnik, 2003; Sander and Maimbo, 2003:9). These trends are reflected in Sub-Saharan Africa where recent studies show that women are increasingly migrating independently of their spouses or male guardians (Sander and Maimbo, 2003; Kihato, 2007:11). In 2001, the immigrant population had grown to 5.4%. Johannesburg alone had seen a 57% increase in the number of migrants from the continent and the rest of the world, from approximately 66 205 to 102 326 (Peberdy, 2004:23). A survey undertaken by Legget (2003:19) in inner city Johannesburg, found that 25% of residents were foreign born.

These statistics evidences that relocation has become a day to day activity for many people across the world. People are constantly moving across countries for a multitude of reasons. Migration which could be defined as the movement of people from one country or locality to another is the effect of numerous factors or changes occurring in an individual's home country. As a result of migration, South Africa has become a destination and transit point for migrants from the African continent (Landau, 2007:33). The issue of migration is not a new phenomenon to South Africa; it dates back to the 1860's with the discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State and gold in the Witwatersrand. The discovery of these minerals led to the high demand and recruitment of cheap labour from countries namely Malawi, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland (McDonald, 2006:19). With the demise of apartheid in 1994, South Africa was then entrenched as a focal point for trade and travel (Landau, 2007:33). This led to a rapid increase of immigrants into South Africa (McDonald, 2006:46).

The new South Africa inaugurated not only a new political dispensation, but also an era in which national integration relations would qualitatively differ from the past. The end of apartheid and positive changes in the South African economy has led to a high migration of foreigners into the country. According to Crush (2005:18) since the abolishment of apartheid in 1994, South Africa has been confronted with a tide of humanity fleeing from countries north of the Limpopo River. Many of the immigrants could have been ravaged by poverty, civil wars, environmental catastrophe and political chaos. (McDonald, 2006:88). When the apartheid government ended in 1994, it was noted that there was an increase in migration into South Africa due to its social, economic and political climate (McDonald, 2006:56). The political and economic turmoil in Zimbabwe led to a high migration rate of Zimbabweans into South Africa.

1.2 Problem Statement

The state of unemployment in South Africa is rife and this has led to South African nationals blaming foreign nationals on taking on any job opportunities that come their way without considering the amount of money that will be paid as a wage or salary. The study reflected on stories of selected female migrants in South Africa, the case of Thohoyandou in Limpopo Province. Although attitudes towards migrants especially black foreigners vary across South Africa's socio-economic and ethnic spectrum, there is strong evidence that migrants living or working in South Africa face discrimination at the hands of citizens, government officials, the police, and private organizations contracted to manage their detention and deportation (Adams, 2012:13). From anecdotal evidence the reasons for this vary and include, inter alia, fear of economic competition, a beliefs that foreigners are inherently criminal and a drain on public resources (De Haas, 2010:7). Migrants have also been made the scapegoat used to justify the shortcomings of those in power. Therefore, the problem is that female migrants face a plethora of challenges that comprises of difficulties in accessing employment to fend themselves and their families, difficulties in accessing accommodation and health care. Another prominent problem is that migrants are more vulnerable to insecurity, as demonstrated by xenophobic attacks and reports of violence against women. This insecurity depends on foreigner's place of residence, and some neighbourhoods seem to offer relatively safe environments, while insecurity is more pronounced in others. Therefore, understanding the experiences of migrants living in South Africa and their challenges was the first step towards overcoming xenophobia and other challenges. This may allow effective immigration management system.

1.3 Aim of the Study

The study aimed to explore on the oral narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa, the case of Thohoyandou in the Limpopo Province.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study were to:

1. To reflect on personal experiences of female migrants.
2. To explore how female migrants are assimilated within the South African society.
3. To determine strategies to accommodate female migrants into the South African economy.

1.5 Research Questions

1. How can female migrants be integrated?
2. How are female migrants assimilated within the South African society in Thohoyandou?
3. Which strategies are used to accommodate female migrants into the South African economy?

1.6 Significance of the study

The study was significant given that, although, migration literature is rich, there seems to be a surprising gap in the literature concerning the effects of migration on women because migration has been viewed as a phenomenon that happens to men yet recent statistics show that the gap between male and female international migration between 1960 and 2000 has been much smaller than previously thought as postulated by (Zlotnik, 2003:18). In particular, this study aimed to contribute in this area by exploring on the oral narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa, the case of Thohoyandou in the Limpopo Province. In addition, this study suggested some intervention measures that can help to solve the problems that female

migrants face in their day to day lives. These intervention measures may help to improve the plight of female migrants in Thohoyandou and South Africa at large.

1.7 Definition of operational terms

1.7.1 Immigration

Immigration is the movement of people into another country or region to which they are not native in order to settle there, either on temporary or permanent basis. Immigration is a result of a number of factors, including economic or political reasons, family re-unification, natural disasters or the wish to change one's surroundings voluntarily (Burton, 2010: 50). Aliens or non-citizens who reside or seek to reside temporarily or permanently within the borders of a country are generally termed as immigrants. The term immigrant refers to someone who enters a country, while the word emigrant refers to someone who leaves a country (Adams, 2012: 50). Therefore, in this study the working definition of immigration is the one by Burton, (2010:50) which defines immigration as the movement of people into another country or region to which they are not native in order to settle there, either on a temporary basis.

1.7.2 Migration

Migration has been defined in various ways. Some scholars like (Walter, 1999:1) make a distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration. For the study the working definition that will be used to explain migration is the one by Coreblum (2012:29), who define migration as short-term departure, involving the crossing of magisterial boundaries, for purposes of seeking an income-generating activity. Migrant does not refer to refugees, displaced or others forced or compelled to leave their homes. Migrants are people who make choices about when to leave and where to go, even though these choices are sometimes extremely constrained. For this proposed study therefore, migration will be seen as a movement of people from one country to another for the purpose of an income generating activity.

1.7.3 Integration

The bringing of people of different racial or ethnic groups into unrestricted and unequal association, as in society or an organization; desegregation (McDonald, 2006: 50).

1.7.4 Migrant labourer

Migrant labourers, are defined as casual and unskilled workers who move about systematically from one region to another offering their services on a temporary, usually seasonal, basis. Migrant labour in various forms is found in South Africa (Adams, 2012: 50).

1.7.5 Female Migrant

Female migrant workers are defined as casual and unskilled female workers who move about systematically from one region to another offering their services on a temporary, usually seasonal, basis. Migrant labour in various forms is found in South Africa (Adams, 2012: 50).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the proposed study in relation to previous studies of narratives of female migrants in South Africa in order to explain and justify the research questions and objectives. It also intends to provide additional background within the Integrate Threat Theory. In South Africa, racism and xenophobia, widely recognised as human rights violations, are particularly pertinent. A long history of institutionalised racism, most recently apartheid, saw the classification, segregation and discrimination of people along racial lines. It has shaped perceptions, attitudes, identities, and relationships, and left a legacy of inequality.

In May 2008, xenophobia came starkly to the public's attention, in the form of violence targeted at perceived "foreigners", making local, national and international headlines. However, negative and discriminatory attitudes and behaviour towards migrants, or xenophobia, have long been documented as widespread and problematic in South Africa. Black immigrants in particular are victims of xenophobic attitudes and treatment (Burger, 2005:81).

The effects of apartheid can be further seen through the way that South Africans continue to define themselves and others by race. Seekings noted that South Africans still see society in racialized terms, such that there is a close correspondence between the way people classify themselves, how other people classify them, and official apartheid-era classifications, in terms of race. The spatial element of apartheid persists too, with most South Africans still living in mono racial neighbourhoods. "Overall, very few South Africans live in racially integrated neighbourhoods, and few of those that do so live in neighbourhoods that can be described as meaningfully integrated across racial lines" (Seekings, 2007: 14). Even where people from different races do share a neighbourhood, "there is little interaction, and racial othering and prejudice remain commonplace" (Seekings, 2007: 14).

The history of racial discrimination in South Africa has made it necessary to implement various mechanisms to address past inequalities. Enfranchisement policies take place on a number of

levels, in areas including economy, land and employment. The Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 has amongst its aims to “enable meaningful participation of black people in the economy”, to “achieve a substantial change in the racial composition of ownership and management structures in the skilled occupations of existing and new enterprises” and to promote “access to finance for Black Economic Empowerment”. The democratic government also has a policy of land reform governed by the Restitution of Land Rights Act, no. 22 of 1994 and the Land Restitution and Reform Laws Amendment Act, no. 78 of 1996. Employment equity as enshrined in the Employment Equity Act of 1998 tries to address “disparities in employment, occupation and income within the labour market”. These measures to address past inequalities, which were based on racial distinctions and racism, necessitate continued recognition and use of racial categories. Where these have been created and used to divide and discriminate, their continued use brings complexities and paradoxes (Berger 2004:66).

The issue of migration is not a new item to South Africa; it dates back to the 1860's with the discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State and gold in the Witwatersrand. The discovery of these minerals led to the high demand and recruitment of cheap labour from countries like Malawi, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland (McDonald, 2000:77). With the demise of apartheid in 1994, South Africa was then entrenched as a focal point for trade and travel (Landau, 2007:84). This led to a rapid increase of immigrants into South Africa (McDonald, 2006:23). The cross-border movement from Zimbabwe to South Africa has always been male dominated with labour contracts in the mining industry. The end of apartheid and positive changes in the South African economy has led to a high migration of foreigners into the country

2.1 Understanding the historic developments and perspectives on the movement of people to South Africa

South Africa is the major foreign migrant-receiving country in the region. The overall number of foreign migrants to South Africa from other countries in the region rose significantly with the collapse of apartheid, from around 500,000 in 1990s to around estimated 6 million at the present time. Since 1994, there has been a seeming hardening of public attitudes to migrants and immigrants in South Africa, or a rise in xenophobia. These changing attitudes are a reflection of changes in the political dispensation, including a new nation-building project, whereby the majority of South Africans who were excluded now need to be included in the

Governments programmes, as well as a reflection of changing migration streams and their perceived threat to citizens' rights and interests (Adams, 2012:19).

The issue of migration is not a new phenomenon to South Africa; it dates back to the 1860's with the discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State and gold in the Witwatersrand. The discovery of these minerals led to the high demand and recruitment of cheap labour from countries like Malawi, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland (McDonald, 2006:87). With the demise of apartheid in 1994, South Africa was then entrenched as a focal point for trade and travel (Landau, 2007:63). This led to a rapid increase of migrants into South Africa (McDonald, 2006: 1-2). The cross-border movement from Zimbabwe to South Africa has always been male dominated with labour contracts in the mining industry. The end of apartheid and positive changes in the South African economy has led to a high migration of foreigners into the country. The movement of people across the region into South Africa date back to the 1860s, when the first white settlers arrived in the country .This was postulated by Solomon (2008: 244), furthermore he stated that movement of black Africans in the region occurred before and after the arrival of white settlers .He also stated that labour was required for commercial farms and mines hence Africans were seen as a source of cheap labour for white farmers .Similarly Landau (2007: 1-2) put forward that the issue of migration cannot be new to South Africa it came as a result of the discovery of diamonds in Orange Free State and gold in the Witwatersrand .Furthermore she also stated that the discovery of these minerals led to the high demand and recruitment of cheap labour for neighbouring countries like Malawi ,Zimbabwe , Lesotho , Botswana and Swaziland . In addition she also stated that with the demise of apartheid in 1994.

South Africa was then entrenched as a focal point for trade and travel. This led to a rapid increase of immigrants to South Africa, male dominated cross- boarders' movement from Zimbabwe due to labour contracts in the mining industry. More so the Landau school of thought stipulated that end of apartheid and positive changes in the South African economy led to a high rate of foreign migration mainly due to the reconnection of the region with the global economy, growing rural, urban poverty, unemployment in neighbouring countries hence increasing the flow of both legal and illegal immigrants into South Africa. According to Crush (2005:16) since the abolishment of apartheid in 1994, South Africa has been confronted with a tide of humanity fleeing from countries north of the Limpopo River. Many of the immigrants could have been ravaged by poverty, civil wars, environmental catastrophe and political chaos. Migration is when people move from one country to another, it has been going on in South

Africa since the 1860's with the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand and diamonds in the Orange Free State.

The discovery of these precious stones led to the high demand for cheap contract labour by the mining industry during the apartheid era. All the countries surrounding South Africa like Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, and Swaziland acted as reservoirs for cheap contract labour (McDonald, 2006: 814). When the apartheid government ended in 1994, it was noted that there was an increase in migration into South Africa due to its social, economic and political climate (McDonald, 2006: 826). With the demise of apartheid in 1994, South Africa was then entrenched as a focal point for trade and travel (Landau, 2007:63). This led to a rapid increase of immigrants into South Africa (McDonald, 2006: 1-2). The cross-border movement from Zimbabwe to South Africa has always been male dominated with labour contracts in the mining industry. The end of apartheid and positive changes in the South African economy has led to a high migration of foreigners into the country.

2.2 Historical patterns of migration in colonial South Africa, internal, international slavery and labour policy

Early trans-national migration in Africa and South Africa in particular took place between the years of European expansionism from the 18th century and the end of colonisation or apartheid in Africa. It can be arrayed chronologically as commencing with trade, followed by slavery, and later on by the migration of Europeans to Africa. These episodes were followed by the shipment of indentured labour from India and other parts of Asia, as well as from central and southern Africa, to South Africa. To an extent, these movements were accompanied by some voluntary indigenous migration from the same source areas which existed before and during the struggles for independence. This period was followed by the establishment of the migrant labour policy initiated largely to feed the needs of large scale mining interests and, to a lesser extent, commercial agriculture (Migration and Tourism September 2007- February 2008).

According to Statistics South Africa trans-national migration policy in colonised African countries worked differently for black also known as natives back then and white who were settler people. The white population moved freely between countries, and regimes in recipient countries readily gave full citizenship to those who wanted to settle. At the same time, the citizenship of the black population was partial, and movement for them was minimal and heavily

regulated to better support colonial control. Control measures notwithstanding, a great deal of illegal migration occurred away from the eye of power. At the same time, most African women were more immediately confined and marginalised by the patriarchal principles of both the state and their own societies, which defined them as minors. There was little inter-regional migration during the days of colonialism in Africa because there was little direct socioeconomic relationship between the African regions: communication and transport networks were not readily supportive of mobility. However, some intra-regional migration did take place, often related to trade and to mobile labour (Bryceson, 2003:21).

In the post-apartheid era there is an overall trend away from labour migration towards commercial migration by entrepreneurs who are self-employed, especially in the informal sector. Post-apartheid South Africa has received an influx of such migrants from various parts of the region that is unlike the older flows of mostly unskilled mineworkers and farm labourers. These post-apartheid immigrants include street vendors and traders in the informal-sector, entrepreneurs who employ and train locals, and generally invigorate the informal sector and capitalise on the relative prosperity of the country. As fewer migrants are able to find stable and remunerative work in traditional regional destinations, circulation and repeat migration have expanded to a wide variety of alternative destinations facilitated by improvements in communication, access to information and transportation as well as the rise in awareness of and access to women of their rights (Lockwood, 2006:88).

Migration is widely recognized as a salient feature of contemporary developing economies, and it takes numerous forms (Chant, 2012:33). These forms are rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-urban and urban-rural. The most prominent type in most African countries is rural-urban migration. This type of migration has been linked to improved living conditions of both the individual migrants and their families in areas of origin (Goldscheider, 2001:10). In the African context, migration is more of a family affair than an individual activity, and the sending of remittances by migrants is one of the most pervasive phenomena in Africa's migration systems (Amuedo, 2010:14). As indicated by Arhinful, (2001:33) migration also contributes significantly to improved livelihood in areas of origin. Mendonsa (2002:18) hold a dissenting view for instance, contend that returning migrants show insignificant improvement in earning power and living standards, other scholars argue that rural-urban migration is not closely linked to economic development (Bryceson, 2003:55). The most cited impetus for migration is economic factors and the increase in internal migration associated with economic and political change in Africa that has made migration a salient feature of life in developing countries (Gurmu,

2000:66). Worth noting is the fact that migration patterns in Africa are largely influenced by the economic strategy during colonial rule. However, it should be noted that Africa had been experiencing population movements even before colonial rule (Hance, 2007:9). The remarkable difference between population movements before and after the colonial era is basically in regards to the sex of migrants, pattern, volume, intensity and direction of migration. Adepoju (2008:33) notes that sub Saharan Africa has historically been experiencing intensive migration, caused by a great variety of factors embedded in the political, economic, demographic and environmental systems. Such factors have resulted in various migration configurations including labour migration. Apart from economic opportunities, male and female migration has been and continues to be influenced by institutional, historical and socio-cultural complexities (Chant, 2012:7). Historically, colonial regimes contributed to the dominance of male migration and low coverage of female migration. Male migrants left for urban or plantation areas far away from their villages. Female migration in Africa was discouraged in the colonial period. Krane, argued that in colonial times policies were formulated and effectively implemented to ensure that women could not migrate to towns, plantations and mining areas.

2.3 Theoretical framework

The researcher's choice to use integrated threat theory was influenced by the idea that the theory attempts to describe the components that cause a perceived threat between social groups which in this case will be female migrants and South African citizens. The theory stipulates how fear of interaction with a different social group causes harm to the foreign group hence the possible reasons of them not being fully or easily integrated into the new group.

2.3. 1 Integration Theory

It is postulated that post-apartheid, the new government in South Africa were unprepared for the migration trends that began post 1990. Prior to the apartheid era, South Africa was not seen as a destination point, but soon became a desirable country to enter for those living in its neighbouring countries. The influx of immigrants was significantly different to patterns pre-1990. This influx fuelled perceptions internationally that South Africa had lost control of its borders (Crush, 2001:66). At this time, many South Africans had already maintained a strong anti-immigration frame of mind, which attributed severe negative connotations for individuals outside its borders. These restrictions placed a severe strain on African immigrants. South

Africa's history embodies one where it has been slow to re-examine and redefine its legislation regarding African immigrants.

As a result, this infringed on the rights of migrants and has slowed down immigrant's immersion into South Africa. Officials from the Department of Home Affairs have, in the past, misinterpreted the bill of rights. This has also created problems for African immigrants. These cases have been sent to court and judges have criticised the department on their failure to observe the rules of the law (Crush, 2001:43). As a result of these mis-interpretations, severe human rights infringements on African immigrants are often left unattended to in the courts. The above mentioned points have made it difficult for African immigrants to integrate into South Africa with ease and created increased negative attitudes due to prior negative attitudes associated with the group (Corenblum, 2012:44). Even though the South African government has established corrective measures to reduce and alleviate the negative attitudes towards African immigrants, it is not always possible to reduce negative attitudes. This leads to the ITT which attempts to examine whether negative attitudes are still prevalent and the possible reasons behind why these attitudes persist (Stephan, 2012:88). The Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) of prejudice, which is related to the perceived threat as well as realistic threats and other related factors such as inter group anxiety and negative stereotypes of the in-group, is an important theory to analyse in this field and provides an explanation for the negative attitudes toward African immigrants.

Several theories and terminologies have been applied to explain the state of migrants' socioeconomic integration and to understand the process of incorporation into host societies. There is need for multicultural coexistence which is a widely recognized term, concerning social integration of foreigners, among government, academia, and civil society. However, it is useful to review key concepts relating to the social integration of immigrants, including assimilation, multiculturalism, segregation and integration, to comprehend the complex reality of "multicultural coexistence" in South Africa.

According to Castles (2009:22), assimilation is the process whereby migrants adopt and merged into the host society by hiding or abandoning their original language, culture, or other characteristics while the majority group in the society remains unchanged or unaffected. (Castles, 2009: 247) In this regime, migrants' rights to maintain their culture, language, and other social practices, especially in the public spaces are rarely considered. O'Reilly (2012:11)

makes an additional clarification to this concept that there are migrants who are willing to assimilate to the majority for the sake of preventing unnecessary bias and discrimination. If migrants try to retain their cultures and other habits in a country with assimilationist policy, they are likely to experience social exclusion and marginalization as ethnic minorities (O'Reilly, 2012:33). Even under the concept of integration, which succeeded the assimilationist policy and is considered as a gradual and mutual process, it is still expected for migrants to be incorporated into the majority group in the long-run (Castles, 2009:247).

It needs to be mentioned that the assimilationist regime had more relevance in the past when immigration of individuals had more permanent characteristics. With the increase of short term and circular migration, it became difficult for host societies to expect foreign residents to develop the psychological attachment to the host society to an extent that they fully assimilate to the majority group. However, this does not mean that the host states have given up the assimilationist policies and become generous in accepting different cultural expressions. Non-assimilation to the host society can still cause friction between ethnic communities and the majority group, as observed in the xenophobic attacks that often occur in many parts of South Africa. It is more pragmatic to use the concept of assimilation to assess to what extent the host countries and communities expect immigrants to integrate through one-sided adaptation, and the degree to which the concept is embedded in the immigration and integration policies (O'Reilly, 2012:52-53).

Certain policies have a generous attitude in accepting diversity and consider themselves as multicultural societies. O'Reilly (2012:5) states "multicultural societies treat their minorities as distinct but equal" in terms of access to welfare benefits and justice, as well as expression of cultural differences (O'Reilly, 2012:53). In her view of the multicultural society, there is no distinction between passive aspects of non-discrimination, which is protection against discrimination in public spheres when migrants' maintain their cultural identities, and in active maintenance of migrants' cultural identities and communities, as well as its tolerance by the majority group. While Castles (2009:104) share the idea of equal membership to the host society, they classify two variations in regards to the maintenance and expression of minority cultures. One type of societies simply admits the presence of distinct cultural communities without state support in conservation of minority cultures, while a more progressive type of multicultural society is prepared to accept distinct cultures and to assure equality for minority groups (Castles, 2009:247-249). An extreme version of the latter type may conflict with the idea of unity as a nation state. In reality, there is a gradation in degree of multiculturalism rather than

two distinct approaches. Thus, it is useful to employ the concept of multiculturalism to understand the degree of willingness and tolerance of the host societies toward minority cultures.

The UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs suggests a broader concept of “social inclusion” and urges states to fight against both poverty and social exclusion, given the awareness that social and economic exclusion are inseparable. While this is not a concept specific to migration issues, it is a relevant framework in the present study considering the fact that migrants often experience “the involuntary exclusion from society’s political, economic and societal processes, which prevents their full participation in the society” (Atkinson, 2010: 1). The key assumption here is that minority’s experience “involuntary exclusion” due to societal factors, regardless of their intention, and sometimes ability, to become a part of the society.

In this regard, the “Segregation regime” will be considered the polar opposite of social inclusion. This model is typically realized through guest worker programs, and minimizes the contact between the host society and migrants, who often live in the country on a temporary basis. While the model is based on the assumption that social integration is unnecessary because those workers eventually go back to their home countries, there is incompatibility with the idea of democratic societies where marriage and freedom of movement are hardly restricted (Nakayama, 2009:147), allowing marriage between local and migrant population, and reunification of family members from home countries. In other words, there are possibilities for democratic states to gradually lose full control over the number of foreign-born population as well as their length of stay and degree of interaction with host the society, regardless of their original restrictive policies.

There is no single ideal model that all host countries can conform to about integration of immigrants. The forms of social integration or non-integration have been varied across countries as well as by time frame in the same country. In this research, the above concepts will be employed to examine the characteristics of South Africa immigration and integration policies and practices, as well as how these policies and society have evolved through time. The key question is whether immigrants, a group of people who are often in an economically and socially precarious status, are able to have independent lives in the host society through access to adequate information, public services, decent employment opportunities, as well as a certain level of interaction with the majority group (Goode, 2006:88).

South Africa is a prime example of the way in which racial distinctions have been created and used to promote the benefit of one group, to the detriment of others. Apartheid constituted one of the most extensive and successful experiments in social engineering in the world. Seekings outlines the three objectives of apartheid, which required such classification, as firstly, maintaining “racial purity”, secondly, ensuring and protecting the privileged economic position of the White minority, and thirdly, maintaining the political dominance of the White minority (Seekings 2008: 3-4). The system of separate development was sustained and supported through business interests in South Africa, with non-White races providing a pool of un-unionised, largely unskilled labour essential to mines and other businesses (McDonald 2006: 51). The system based on strict separation between groups of people, denied citizenship to the majority of South Africans, ensuring that only Whites had access to citizenship and its associated rights. In order to accomplish this, every person within the borders of South Africa had to be assigned a race (McDonald 2006: 60-63). Under the 1950 Population Registration Act, races were assigned on the basis of descent, language or culture and appearance.

Considerable economic and social benefits went with “Whiteness”. These economic benefits were accrued through policies that disinherited other races and exploited their labour before and throughout the apartheid period (McDonald, 2006:55). Legislation, policy and practice controlled social interaction between races and provided for differential access to services according to race, entrenching segregation in residential areas, health care, public places, education, and transport. To protect the privileged economic position of the White minority, the apartheid state reinforced policies which reserved land for White ownership and better-paid occupations for White people, and invested disproportionately in the education of White children (Seekings 2007: 4).

Institutionalised inequality continues in South Africa today. MacDonald notes that the transition to democracy may have broken the link between race and citizenship, but it did not end the bond between race and class (Lockwood, 2006: 126). Economic inequalities persist, and while these are increasing within race groups (South African Institute of Race Relations 2005), 60 percent of the Black (African) population is relatively poor, compared with 4 percent of the White population. This is despite the population being made up largely of Black Africans (79.3 percent), with Coloureds at 9 percent, Whites at 9.1 percent and Indians/Asians at 2.6 percent (Statistics South Africa, 2009).

2.3.2 Dual labour market theory

Dual labour market theory states that migration is mainly caused by pull factors in more developed countries. This theory assumes that the labour markets in these developed countries consist of two segments: primary, which requires high-skilled labour, and secondary, which is very labour-intensive but requires low-skilled workers. This theory assumes that migration from less developed countries into more developed countries is a result of a pull created by a need for labour in the developed countries in their secondary market. Migrant workers are needed to fill the lowest rung of the labour market because the native labourers do not want to do these jobs as they present a lack of mobility. This creates a need for migrant workers. Furthermore, the initial dearth in available labour pushes wages up, making migration even more enticing (Solomon, 2008:13).

The dual labour market theory as applicable to migration generally ignores micro-level decision processes and instead links immigration to the structural requirements of modern industrial societies (Massey, 2013:88). The theory states that international migration is largely demand based and is initiated by recruitment on the part of employers in developed societies or by government acting on their behalf; migration is driven by an increasing demand for “cheap” labour. The dual labour market theory pays more attention to the receiving end of migration in the destination countries or regions (Arango, 2000:33). Motivated to ‘make it’ in a foreign land, an immigrant accepts relatively low pay and is willing to endure just a little more hardship than natives, to the advantage of profit-motivated employers who gain from this cheaper labour. The theory presumes that more developed economies require foreign workers to take up jobs which local workers have refused (Arango, 2004, 2006:41).

The theory, according to Arango (2002:43) does not principally provide general explanations of the factors affecting migration but explains that international migration occurs as a structural demand for foreign workers present in the economic structure of more developed economies. The theory explains only a part of reality since it suggests that international migration is driven by demand and does not take into account the push factors from sending countries, so it is a one-sided theory. Migration in present times does not result primarily from recruitment practices, now migrants largely come based on their own planning and decision making, not always to occupy existing jobs or openings in the labour market of the destination country.

2.3.3 The new economics of labour migration

This theory states that migration flows and patterns cannot be explained solely at the level of individual workers and their economic incentives, but that wider social entities must be considered as well. One such social entity is the household. Migration can be viewed as a result of risk aversion on the part of a household that has insufficient income. The household, in this case, is in need of extra capital that can be achieved through remittances sent back by family members who participate in migrant labour abroad. These remittances can also have a broader effect on the economy of the sending country as a whole as they bring in capital. Other researchers find that the location-specific nature of housing is more important than moving costs in determining labour reallocation (Vigneswaran 2007:4).

2.3.4 World systems theory

World systems theory looks at migration from a global perspective. It explains that interaction between different societies can be an important factor in social change within societies. Trade with one country, which causes economic decline in another, may create incentive to migrate to a country with a more vibrant economy. It can be argued that even after decolonization, the economic dependence of former colonies still remains on mother countries. This view of international trade is controversial, however, and some argue that free trade can actually reduce migration between developing and developed countries. It can be argued that the developed countries import labour-intensive goods, which causes an increase in employment of unskilled workers in the less developed countries, decreasing the outflow of migrant workers. The export of capital-intensive goods from rich countries to poor countries also equalizes income and employment conditions, thus also slowing migration. In either direction, this theory can be used to explain migration between countries that are geographically far apart (McDonald 2006:814).

2.3.5 The neoclassical theory of migration

The neoclassical theory of migration is probably the most influential theory of migration. It is focused on differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries as well as on migration costs as factors causing migration. According to the theory potential migrants estimate the benefits and costs of migrating before making such decisions; hence migration

occurs if their expected return (ER) is positive (Arango, 2002:7). “This theory of migration is based on familiar tenets like rational choice, utility maximisation, expected net returns, factor mobility, wage differentials and the fact that migration results from the uneven geographical distribution of labour and capital.” (Arango, 2002:12). According to this theory, workers tend to move from countries with abundance of labour and low wages to others that are labour-scarce with higher wages - hence the principal motivation for migration is the increased welfare that individuals receive from higher labour income or wages.

However, the neoclassical theory of migration is argued to suppress the role of non-economic factors which to a large extent play a deterministic role in an individual migrant’s decision to leave his home country (Arango, 2002:27). The theory has failed to explain why few people move in view of existing and very large income gaps across countries. One would expect that massive numbers of labour would be migrating across countries (that have scarce labour) with new information or the perception of higher returns on labour but the reality is that existing barriers such as obtaining travel permits, visas and other documents which intending migrants must have, limits the degree of such exchange of labour across countries (labour immobility).

2.3.6 The new economics of migration

The new economics of migration considers conditions that exist in a variety of markets, not just labour markets. The new economics of migration evolved to dispute many of the theoretical assumptions and inferences of the neoclassical theory of international migration (Stark and Bloom 1985; Massey et al, 2013). The proposition of this new approach is that the decision to migrate is not made solely by individual actors, but by a larger unit of interrelated people - usually families or households where people act communally not only to increase expected income, but also to reduce the risks connected with a variety of market failures, besides those that exist in the labour market (Stark, 2005:22). Hence, households may have a strong incentive to diversify their risks even in the absence of wage differences that exist in various countries (Massey, 1993:18). This enlarges the scope for other integrating factors aside from an individual’s need to maximise utility, in affecting the decision to migrate (Haas, 2010:17).

The new economics of migration offers some enhancements over the neoclassical theory; it tones down the central importance of differentials in wages as a motivating factor and emphasizes the role of households’ common good as an influencing factor, paying more

attention to the complexities involved in the interdependence that exist between migrants and the different circumstances under which they operate (Arango, 2000:11). The theory is said to have limited applicability since its focus is more on the reasons for migration from the sending country with no cognisance to the fact that the receiving country also has some role to play in providing incentives that may have been the source of attraction to the migrant in deciding to migrate (Arango, 2002:22).

2.3.8 Network theory

The network theory as discussed in the study by Massey (2013:14) reflects the fact that aside from economic reasons for migrating, migrants also weigh the social effects of migrating to foreign lands. The associated costs and risks are seen to be reduced when some form of networks already exist in foreign lands. With the migration network already formed, the costs for future migrants are lowered (Rapport, 2007:15), since arriving and trying to survive in a new country is unlikely to come relatively effortlessly.

Migration studies have posited new explanations for increasing international migration which has been linked to migration networks. Migration networks are seen to facilitate chain migration, and may most times be the predictor of future migration flows (Arango, 2004:7). Bauer (2002:44) states that there is the likelihood of an exponential increase in immigration in USA as a result of network externalities having a significant effect on the migrant's decision of where to migrate. This gives credence to the fact that the more the migrants now, the larger will be the influx of future migrants.

It could be argued from research studies on migrant networks that networks rank amongst the most important explanatory factors of migration since these networks transmit information, provide financial assistance, facilitate some form of employment and accommodation and generally support migrants in various ways. "Migration networks can be seen as a form of social capital so far as they are social relations that permit access to other goods of economic significance such as employment or higher wages" (Arango, 2002:46). Many migrants usually move because other migrants with whom they are associated moved before them, hence there is an ensuing multiplier effect, and this serves as a predictor of the increasing role that social networks play in migration and that such networks play in future as a means of reducing the

associated costs, risks and uncertainty of migrating, resulting in the development of enclaves in destination countries.

In summary, the neoclassical theory emphasized the role of economic factors as a major cause of migration. The dual labour market theory states that the pull factors in receiving countries such as the chronic need for foreign workers that more advanced destination countries have are more significant in explaining the causes of international migration. It accords less significance to the push factors in source countries. The new economics of migration theory emphasises the push factors from the sending countries as a major motivation for international migration decisions. It emphasises family and households sustenance and risk calculation as the main motivator of migrants' decisions. This theory is seen to be more applicable to developing and less developed nations of Africa. Lastly, the network theory focuses more on network effects and inter-relationships that exist amongst migrants and intending migrants and how such networks encourage more migration. However, the theoretical framework of this study is based on the Integration Theory because it is more relevant and it best explains and describes the components that cause a perceived threat between social groups which in this case will be female migrants and South African citizens. However, worth noting is the fact that several theories such as the New economic migration, Network theory, the Neoclassical theory of migration and World systems have also been applied to explain the state of migrants' socioeconomic integration and to understand the process of incorporation into host societies. This helps in revealing the different forms and context that female migrations occurs in South Africa.

2.4 Problems experienced by female migrants

Research on migrants in South Africa suggests that migrant workers experience a more difficult adjustment to work life than their host counterparts (Hull, 2009:17). Amongst the problems they encounter are loneliness, hostility, alienation, fear and difficulties in language barrier and also tend to suffer from more physical complaints. Ward (2007:19) saw as a case of "migrant syndrome" which suggests that migrants tend to somatise their problems hence have also found to suffer from psychological problems, such as depression, low self-esteem and anxiety. In a study on the difficulties that migrant's face, Church (2002:29) found that language barriers, financial problems, homesickness and educational and social adjustment were the main areas of difficulty that they encountered. However, Singh noted that it is important to be aware that

there were many differences within the group of migrants and that there were many variables that affect their experiences, such as, age, personality traits, duration of stay in the country, level of study and the work they are qualified for and the work they do for a living.

Bochner (2006:18) suggested that migrants tend to face difficulties related to identity and personal development and the stressors of moving to a new environment. They also tend to face the exclusive problems that are associated with moving to a new country such as “insufficient linguistic and cultural skills, prejudice, discrimination, homesickness and loneliness’. However, similar to Singh’s findings, there were many variables that influenced the level of each category, for example, linguistic and cultural differences between the country of origin and the host country (Ward, 2001:33). What follows is a closer look at some of the psychosocial factors that can contribute to the problems that migrants encounter.

2.4.1 Psychosocial factors

As postulated by Ward (2001:11) there are many factors that can be seen to contribute to the problems that migrants encounter, such as social support, cultural differences, social relations, language and social norms.

2.4.2 Social support

Migrants may be alone in the new environment therefore, establishing social relations and social support are seen to play a key role in their psychological adjustment to the new culture (Ward, 2001:90). For example, research have found that high levels of culture shock were related to low levels of social support. There has been debate as to what type of support is more important, whether it’s the source, the quality or the quantity of the social support (Craig, 2006:33). Social support can come from immediate interacts such as neighbours or workmates, which may allow for the common understanding of cultural values. Bochner (2006:71) suggests that the optimal form of social support in order to acculturate and to learn and acquire the social norms of the new environment whilst still maintaining the culture of origin, is to have frequent contact with nationals of the host country.

Host national support is especially encouraged as this can help with learning social skills and norms. However, because the migrant's stay in the host country is temporary, they may not invest their time and energy towards acculturating and this may also influence the quality of the contact and relationships between them and the host nationals (Furnham, 2009:19). Whilst it can be difficult from the onset for migrants to build social relations and social support, the atmosphere of xenophobia in South Africa can alienate foreigners and migrants even further from the South African society and dissuade them from staying in South Africa (Harris, 2002:13). This has led to the creation of discrete networks of non-nationals of a common country of origin, such as "Nigerians" and "Zimbabweans" to "act as safe havens and comfort zones for migrants" (Harris, 2002:181).

2.4.3 Cultural differences

It has been found that migrants that come from countries that are similar to the host country, experience less alienation than those that come from countries which are dissimilar, that is the greater the cultural and social distance between the countries, the greater the social difficulty (England, 2008:11). This, together with other factors such as whether the country is homogenous or heterogeneous, individualistic or collectivistic, race, ethnicity, religion and language, can impact on the nature of contact the migrants have with the host society (Cox, 2001:15). Today, partly due to globalisation and migration, most countries have largely multicultural and diverse societies such as the U.S.A. but some countries like Japan are more ethnically distinct (Ward, 2001:8), so one could expect great differences in levels of acculturating depending on the specific country. Bochner (2009:55) hypothesize that migrants in a culturally diverse country would not stick out as much, but in the case of South Africa which is culturally diverse, the threat of xenophobia may counteract their hypothesis.

2.4.4 Social relations

Related to social support is the social relations between the migrants and the host nationals. There are many psychosocial theories relating to these relations. Firstly, in-groups and out-groups may be formed based on stereotypes and characteristics such as race, religion and language, which can affect the interaction between the groups and lead to discrimination (Duckitt, 2002:22). The interaction between groups also depends on the circumstances and the nature of the contact between the groups (Duckitt, 2002:26). For example, in the work

environment in South Africa, there have been conflicts over competition for scarce resources, whereas in the university, there have been notices and pamphlets condemning the xenophobic attacks. An important contributing factor to this is the country's institutional structures such as its immigration policy, legislations and attitudes to discrimination, in that they either support or hinder inter-group relations (Bochner, 2006:30).

2.4.5 Language and social norms

Communication barriers in the form of language and social norms can hamper migrant's ability to acculturate. (Kim, 2001:40). Whilst language barriers are self-explanatory, social norms refers to the different socially acceptable ways in which people interact, from non-verbal language such as gestures, body language, and facial expressions, to the way people express emotions, and address one another (Earley, 2007:47). Thus, anxiety, misunderstanding and friction can arise due communication problems and a lack of knowledge of the social and behavioural skills of the new environment (Ward, 2001:24).

In summary, migrants in South Africa are likely to experience a wide variety of problems and stressors, all of which are likely to impact upon wellbeing in general and psychological wellbeing in particular. As a result, a number of explanatory models have been put forward to make sense of this.

2.5 Models of understanding the effects of migration

Many terms and models have been used in the literature to try to understand the psychological impact that migration has on one. A term that has been extensively used is "culture shock" which was initially coined by Oberg (2001:39) to imply that the experience of a new and unfamiliar cultural environment causes one to experience a negative or unpleasant surprise or shock, resulting in confusion, disorientation and anxiety. The term however, has been redefined and reworked by many researchers. For example, in contrast to Oberg, Ward (2001:11) view one's reaction to culture shock as being more active than passive in the way one deals with change. Oberg listed several aspects of culture shock. The strain in trying to adapt to the new culture, a sense of loss of friends and status, being rejected by the host nationals or rejecting them, confusion in role expectations and identity, anxiety over cultural differences, and feelings

of impotence in not being able to cope in the new environment. In response to this, Oberg identified four stages of emotional reactions to culture shock. The first stage is the honeymoon stage whereby one is fascinated and excited by the new environment. The second stage is and crisis, in that there are many differences in the new culture such as language and values which causes anxiety and frustration. The third stage is recovery, whereby the crisis is resolved through learning the language and about the culture. And the last stage is adjustment where one begins to partake in the new culture (Oberg, 2001). Other researchers have made modifications to Oberg's definition and model of culture shock (Adler, 2005:71). Church (2002:63) found many of these models to be problematic as they do not apply uniformly to everyone's experience in the new cultural environment as there are many variables that influence the impact on the person, such as intrapsychic, interpersonal and social factors.

Other terms that have been used widely to describe how one deals with the new environment are "adjustment" and "adaptation", but the term "acculturation" seems to be preferred as it implies changes in "attitudes, values, and behaviour and cultural identity". (Adler, 2005:55). Ward (2001:33) presented a model of the acculturation process based on the work of other researchers. This model forms a framework that combines theory and research on the "affective, behavioural and cognitive components of cross-cultural transition and intercultural interactions" (Ward, 2001:22).

2.6 Integration Challenges

The first of the integration challenges is that most inter-ethnic crises have been associated with declining economies; the converse also holds true, in that crises have tended to diminish in proportion to the rate at which the performance of economies has improved. The second hypothesis is that such crises increase as the felt economic deprivations of significant groups increase. Solomon (2000:50) develops the argument a step further. He argues that the emergence of ethnic identification and inter-ethnic rivalry in Africa is the product of the individual's socioeconomic insecurity. He attempts to show that inter-ethnic contact in an egalitarian socio-economic situation tends to decrease the rivalry between ethnic groups. His analysis leads him to the conclusion that capitalist forms of socioeconomic organization are incapable of assisting the process of integration and that a policy of nationalization and equalitarian distribution of resources is necessary for inter-ethnic harmony.

The efficient implementation of the government policy regarding foreigners is an integral part of protecting the rights of foreign nationals in South Africa. The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) is responsible for implementing policies as well as issuing of appropriate permits and documentations to foreigners. This is to enable the applicant enjoy adequate legal protection and have access to some of the basic rights entitled to them during their stay in the country since they are vulnerable and depended on government and international community for protection.

Xenophobia may be referred to as the “hatred or fear of foreigners” (immigrants and refugees) by the nationals of a particular country (Crush, 2000:86). McDonald (2006:68) suggests that xenophobia should be seen as a form of violence. As it is believed that xenophobia is not just a thought but also behaviour that is acted out in the form of violence. In addition, calls for the reframing of the term xenophobia to include a physical act (violence, i.e. bodily harm and damage). Xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa is a major problem (Crush, 2000:32). According to a survey released in 2000 by the Southern African Migration Project, South Africa displays one of the highest levels of xenophobia in the world and also alluded to South Africa as being a country where its people are alarmingly xenophobic, which out of fear of foreigners, does not value the human rights of non-nationals. Furthermore, it was shown that Black African immigrants were increasingly the targets of such hatred.

As postulated by Leedy (2008:20) integrating foreign nationals, their families and their descendants can be assimilated to two governance issues. There is a clear mismatch between immigration and integration policies in many countries, with policies to manage immigration rarely being accompanied by strong policies to support integration. Secondly, integrating foreign nationals is a multifaceted issue which cuts across policy areas, creating a collective action problem and a lack of effective public sector action. While local stakeholders such as NGOs can attempt to fill the gaps in public services, this often leads to increased fragmentation at the local level. In order to better tackle the barriers faced by immigrants, it may ultimately be more important to increase flexibility in the management of mainstream policies relating to the issue of labour market integration for example training and education, labour market policy and economic development, rather than create new initiatives and partnerships locally.

Integration of foreign nationals is not only a national issue, but a local one. While a migrant's application to reside in a country may be dealt with at the national level, they will ultimately

need to settle in a local community and find their place in a local labour market. Integration is also a governance issue since success is likely to occur where there is a satisfactory level of co-ordination between the actions carried out, where policy is adapted to local needs, and where business and civil society participate in shaping the measures concerned. To be sustainable and effective, integration initiatives must be embedded in broader local economic and employment development strategies, build on local competitive advantages, and receive contributions from various sectoral policies (Miller, 2008:55). The integration of immigrants is one of those issues which government finds it a challenge to address. Supporting access to the labour market is typically a multifaceted issue, with both social and economic dimensions. In the case of newcomers it is not easier as it involves working with different cultures, traditions and customs, and preparing the local labour market to welcome a new source of supply. Unsurprisingly, more than one government department or agency is involved in the policy area. In fact, the stakeholders involved are many, drawn from the public service, the private sector and civil society.

It is for this reason that the Local Economic and Employment Development (LEED) Directing Committee decided to contribute to the current policy debate on the integration of immigrants. LEED has developed a unique expertise on local governance and employment, specialising in the analysis of complex problems in situations of interdependence. In 1998, the Directing Committee launched a policy research agenda on local governance and employment to explore ways to take an integrated approach to social and economic problems. The decision followed the Venice high-level conference on decentralisation, which stressed the importance of improving local governance to enhance policy outcomes, as outlined by the seminal report on Local Management of Employment and Training (1998), and identified partnership and decentralisation as two principal avenues for achieving this (Decentralising Employment Policy: New Trends and Challenges, 1999). Subsequent work focused on exploring the capabilities and limits of these two instruments (Local Partnerships for Better Governance, 2001; Managing Decentralisation: A New Role for Labour Market Policy, 2003; New Forms of Governance for Economic Development, 2004). Local Governance and the Drivers of Growth released in 2005 strengthened the foundations of local governance.

Minuchin (2012:17) put forward that integration of foreign nationals at the local level is a topic of significant interest for many countries. The growing importance of the knowledge economy means that the battle for talent is becoming as important as the battle for inward investment, and skilled migrants can offer a significant comparative advantage to local labour markets, as

long as their potential is harnessed. Unskilled migrants are also in demand, particularly where rising living costs make lower paid jobs unattractive to the native population, and where demographic change and population movement combine to reduce the self-sufficiency of local labour markets. Furthermore he indicated that for the potential advantages of migration to be maximised however, it is crucial that immigration is accompanied by integration, that is, effective mechanisms for ensuring immigrants are effectively incorporated into local labour markets. Paradoxically, at the same time that migration is increasing in global importance, there is worrying evidence that integration results do not seem to be as favourable in a number of countries as they were in the past. The integration of immigrants is a policy area where a local approach is particularly important. While immigration policy is often determined, designed and funded at national level, its impact on migrants and society are strongly felt at the local level where other policies, including labour market policy, interact. There is strong variation between local areas in terms of the number and types of migrants received. While certain agricultural areas attract large numbers of temporary migrants, migrants are more likely overall to settle in urban areas, and in certain “gateway” cities (Mkhwanzi, 2008:119). Further, within these cities, immigrants often become concentrated in particular neighbourhoods, either through following existing family or community ties, or through minimising living costs. Local policy makers are able to take into account such variation, along with variation in labour market demand. This publication highlights common principles and key factors which are important in supporting integration at the local level, particularly in relation to the development of effective governance approaches (Starke, 2005:99).

Walliman 2006:27 indicated that the integration of immigrants at the local level is principally a question of the management of change. Effective labour market integration depends on helping migrants to manage the rapid changes which are happening in their own lives, while at the same ensuring that the local community itself evolves and responds to changes in its population and in its urban fabric. While local stakeholders need to be thinking about managing the consequences of longer term change, migrants need clear road maps to guide them between the various services which will support their transition into a new life. This means that there is a need for well-coordinated and accessible local services which will meet their various needs, either through the mainstreaming of migrant- friendly approaches across all local services, or else the provision of one-stop shop approaches specifically aimed at migrants (Wilensky, 2004:65). Unfortunately the sheer number of different actors who become involved at the local level, and the fact that services have often developed on a “bottom up” basis, means that such clear route maps frequently do not exist, and provision is relatively fragmented with low levels

of communication and coordination. Such fragmentation has a number of implications. A lack of communication between the different institutions dealing with integration can reduce the ability of localities to develop a coherent strategic response. Service providers can become relatively isolated; reducing their ability to guide migrants on to other relevant support and new opportunities. Service providers can fall outside of “communities of learning” and the sharing of good practice which is essential to the development of more effective services. In addition, there is frequently a lack of communication between organisations involved in labour market supply and demand (Walliman, 2006:55). Given the speed of local labour market change it is crucial that organisations are aware of the latest labour market demands so that they can accurately guide migrants towards realistic employment routes. While this may seem self-evident, it is apparent that supply side organisations (training institutions, NGOs) often operate without up to date information about labour market needs, providing relatively generic labour market advice. This can lead to an un-necessary focus on the perceived “deficits” of the migrant (their personal confidence and generic job search skills for example) rather than on ensuring that migrants understand and respond to local demand.

Flows of migrant workers are on a steady. Like capital, labour is freer to move than before, as borders are abolished and restrictions reduced in many parts of the world. And like capital, which seeks profit opportunities across the globe, workers are looking for places where they can increase their standard of living. The power of attraction exerted by advanced economies is strong, enhanced by widespread access to communications technologies and media which project prospects of ease and prosperity. Stricter measures taken in some countries to prevent illegal immigration seem not to discourage many people from taking their chance of a better life. Immigration offers a number of clear benefits to advanced economies increase (Goode, 2006:76). In many countries, a number of sectors of the economy are already lacking the labour and the skills they need in order to meet demand. Labour is needed to ensure the direct delivery of services to the population, and these pressures are bound to increase in line with the changing demand for workers in health services and care for the elderly which will accompany demographic change. Immigration fosters the renewal of societies and of the economy, boosts innovation and brings news ideas. As a result, countries, regions and companies are competing for workers on a world scale. However, while there are many positive drivers towards immigration, integration is today a source of concern. The various waves of immigrants attracted by the booming advanced economies after the Second World War and up until the 1980s were integrated relatively smoothly into the labour market in receiving societies, at least on a temporary basis. However, in many countries, the labour market situation of immigrants started to deteriorate in the 1990s, with their rates of unemployment superseding that of the

native population. Immigrants are today relatively more exposed to long-term unemployment and social exclusion (Leedy, 2008:18). Even in countries where migrants have an employment rate similar to that of the native population, immigrants are more likely to suffer from poorer working conditions and temporary employment.

A lack of integration not only affects the low skilled but also increasingly the highly skilled (Goode, 2006:77). Partly reflecting difficulties associated with the recognition of qualifications overseas. What is more, integration problems that at first glance seemed to apply only to new waves of immigrants appear to also be experienced by second or third generations. Indeed in certain countries, it can be argued that second and third generations are less integrated in receiving societies than their parents who migrated between the 1950s and the 1970s. A study by Mkhwanazi found that many countries are failing to help children of immigrant families integrate into society through education, with immigrant children lagging more than two years behind their native counterparts in school performance. This has come as a surprise to the many who believed that the offspring of immigrant families born in the host country would not face significant obstacles of integration, having received education in the host country and speaking the language of the majority of the population. Starke (2005:55) postulated that as the population facing problems integrating into the labour market widens, the problem of integration itself becomes more complex. Immigrants suffering from poverty as a result of labour market exclusion can become concentrated in areas of low housing cost, which are often isolated from employment opportunities. In more extreme cases, immigrants become “ghettoised” in areas of high deprivation, with associated high rates of worklessness, high school dropout rates and problems of disaffection. Issues associated with social and economic exclusion in this case form a set of additional barriers for immigrants seeking to access the labour market. The problem of integration, as complex as it may have become, must be addressed now. This is an issue that concerns the social cohesion of our societies as well as the functioning of the economy. Its urgency is derived both from the recorded decline in integration outcomes, and the increasing importance being given to immigration in the context of gloomy forecasts of population decline (United Nations, 2004).

The problem of the integration of migrants, their families and their descendants can be assimilated to two governance issues. The first is the mismatch between immigration and integration policies. The second is the multifaceted nature of integration. Obstacles faced by immigrants to the labour market despite growing labour demand created by economic growth and demographic change in some countries, and the relatively high success of some highly

skilled immigrants, many still experience obstacles to accessing good quality, sustainable employment (Wilensky,2004:77). The participation rate of immigrants was on the whole lower than that of the native population. In addition, immigrants were more likely than nationals or natives to be unemployed in many countries. Likewise, immigrants had a higher unemployment rate than nationals in many countries.

As postulated by Miller (2008:46) there are a considerable number of factors which both directly and indirectly impact on the ability of an immigrant to find a job. The issues effecting immigrants who have difficulty accessing employment in many ways mirror the problems that are experienced by other unemployed groups, inappropriate skills and qualifications for the jobs on offer; a lack of skills in navigating the labour market; difficulties handling family responsibilities and other commitments, social and psychological barriers to work. However within each of these areas, immigrants are likely to face particular issues (Miller, 2008:119). While unemployed people sometimes experience problems with matching their skills and competencies to the local labour market, immigrants have the added difficulty that their education and qualifications were often acquired abroad, and employers find it difficult to judge the value of these qualifications within the local labour market. While all unemployed people may have trouble obtaining a good reference, immigrants may have only previously worked abroad and it is therefore not possible for employers to refer to previous employers for any assessment of their performance. While prejudice and the ascribing of false or stereotypical characteristics can affect any job seeker, racism and the negative portrayal of immigrants in the media can increase the chances that immigrants will not access jobs due to discrimination. Finally, as recent arrivals in a local area, immigrants are more susceptible to the indirect factors which can prevent people from accessing work, such as isolation from important social networks, geographical isolation in cheaper housing areas and other issues which derive from relative social exclusion (Miller, 2008:220).

Unemployment is not the only issue affecting immigrants. The quality of employment accessed and the prospects for career progression are equally important. While the figures appear to suggest that immigrants are relatively well integrated into the labour market in South Africa, for example, many immigrants are in fact employed in temporary jobs with low incomes and poor working conditions. The differential between the native and foreigner population in terms of the likelihood of holding a temporary job is particularly high (Starke, 2005:34). The underemployment of immigrants is also a significant issue, with immigrants often finding it

difficult to find employment in fields and at levels which fully utilise their previous training and experience.

Another issue is that immigrants are often concentrated in particular sectors and industries. A number of sectors appear to favour immigrant labour, including construction, hotel and restaurant sectors, healthcare and social services (Walliman, 2006:66). Immigrants are also over-represented in unskilled services, and, in a number of countries, in domestic services. Within the above niches, they are more likely to be concentrated in jobs that native people do not want to do, i.e. those that are low paid, and reflect the “three Ds”: dirty, dangerous and difficult (Miller,2008:74).

The International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2004) has described how, despite the positive experience of many immigrants, a large proportion still face abusive and exploitative situations. These can include forced labour, low wages, poor working conditions, virtual absence of social protection, denial of freedom association and union rights, discrimination and xenophobia, as well as social exclusion. According to the ILO (2004), a further factor that needs to be borne in mind is the importance of the informal economy within many countries. Immigrants are particularly vulnerable to being exploited by the informal economy. This is a problem in both rural areas (with a high percentage of illegal work in agriculture) and in large cities, where the large numbers of people employed in unregulated jobs at least partly reflects the difficulty of legally operating low added value services at a profitable level given the high costs (land, transport) associated with such urban environments. Participation in the informal economy produces problems of legality and unprotected and unregulated employment, and in the longer term can restrict the ability of immigrants to become integrated into the formal labour market. While regularisation exercises obviously help, they are often relatively temporary, with some immigrants having to undergo multiple regularisations as they go in and out of employment (Ward, 2001:60).

When making employment decisions about immigrants, employers do not have recourse to the usual sources of information (on educational background, previous work performance) which guide them in choosing the right employee. Local activities to ensure that employers can quickly see the potential offered by immigrants are therefore crucial, including, for example, bridging programmes that provide work experience placements for immigrants, actions to support the transferability of qualifications and projects which recognise prior competencies (Minuchin, 2012:91). In this sense employers are perhaps the most important of all the stakeholders to be

involved at the local level, both because they themselves can offer opportunities to immigrants, and also because they can be involved in designing projects which are attractive to other employers.

Communication barriers in the form of language and social norms can hamper international students' ability to acculturate and poses a great barrier to academic success, which is usually one of the key objectives of the international students (Kim, 2001:321). Whilst language barriers are self-explanatory, social norms refers to the different socially acceptable ways in which people interact, from non-verbal language such as gestures, body language, and facial expressions, to the way people express emotions, and address one another (Earley,2007:55). Thus, anxiety, misunderstanding and friction can arise due communication problems and a lack of knowledge of the social and behavioural skills of the new environment (Ward, 2001:88). In summary, migrants in South Africa are likely to experience a wide variety of problems and stressors, all of which are likely to impact upon wellbeing in general and psychological wellbeing in particular.

The scale of violence and displacement in May 2008 went far beyond any precedent in South Africa's democratic history. Yet the 2008 mobilisation against non-nationals can only properly be understood within the country's broader history of xenophobia and South Africa's "culture of violence." Despite the formal transition to equality and democracy, violence is often still viewed as a legitimate means of resolving issues. Non-nationals resident in South Africa are all the more likely to fall prey to violence, as South Africans often blame them for crime and unemployment, and view them as responsible for depriving "more-deserving" citizens of jobs, housing, and other economic goods. Outsiders are, therefore, often subject to intense discrimination and hostility from local communities (Mkhwanzi, 2000:9).

United Nations (1948), Universal Declaration of Human Rights; African Union, (1981). African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; and United Nations. (1966). International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. United Nations. (2001). Declaration of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Durban: UN, and 25 rights of non-nationals, to ensure justice for non-nationals and to combat the culture of impunity under which their rights are violated. South Africa's acceptance of these and other international human rights frameworks presents the government with a legal and moral responsibility to defend the fundamental rights of foreign nationals. A failure to deliver on this responsibility represents a threat to the rule of law and to social stability in the country as a whole. This is the

impetus for the SAHRC's investigation into issues of the rule of law, justice and impunity relating to the 2008 public violence and its aftermath. Mutual cooperation and an openness to developing a culture of transparent evaluation are crucial steps in moving toward a South Africa where risks to human rights can be effectively managed.

A considerable amount of research has been conducted on the challenges of integrating foreign migrants into South African communities. From this it is clear that a disparity still remains between the applicable legal rules and the reality confronting foreign nationals in their daily lives. Discrimination is perceived to be an important barrier to integration. Other significant integration barriers include linguistic, educational, and institutional factors. Internal factors (social, cultural, and religious norms, immigrants' own opinions about themselves, lack of motivation and intergenerational mobility) are also serious barriers to integration. Observable characteristics, such as deficits in education and training as well as knowledge of the main language, impede access to the labour market and to steady employment. In this context, labour market institutions and the welfare state are instrumental in facilitating or restricting access to employment and social integration for diverse minority groups. These factors can explain differences in integration across labour markets (Leedy, 2008:89).

On the other hand, attitudes and perceptions held by both the minority and the majority population greatly matter. In other words, the power of self-perception of the minorities as well as discrimination by the majority population can negatively interact and produce insidious pressures to socio-economic integration. In this context, many experts have highlighted the role of the media in shaping public perceptions (Minuchin, 2012:53).

An overview of what constitutes barriers to integration points out that host populations and migrants are most likely to meet each other at work. School is the next most common place where interaction takes place, via their children. The general public feel that the main barriers to interaction are language and the lack of a desire to interact on the part of the migrants. By contrast, migrants feel that a combination of cultural differences, stereotyping and a lack of understanding limits interaction. There is increasing resentment among host populations that migrants are taking employment opportunities from local people, this feeling may also have been exacerbated in the wake of the global crisis. Consequently, the general public feel frightened and threatened by migrants and there is a tendency for them to be more resistant to interaction and integration generally. The main barriers to integration from the perspective of

migrants are language, cultural and religious differences and the negative attitude of the general public towards them (Minuchin, 2012:78).

Generally, at the root of the problem are discrimination and the negative attitude of the general public towards foreign nationals, which are perceived to be the most important barriers to integration. Other significant integration barriers include: linguistic, educational and institutional factors. Socio-economic and cultural integration involves the segregation of foreign nationals into 'ghettos', where they have little contact with the native population, also has a detrimental effect on integration. Considering that cities and their districts are primary areas to foster intercultural dialogue, it is important for governments to develop and obtain the resources to combat racism, xenophobia and all forms of discrimination. It is necessary to invest in districts with a high immigrant concentration in order to fight inequality (Starke, 2005:119).

In the case of economic integration, foreign nationals are often perceived as having insufficient education and training, sometimes face problems with the recognition of their qualifications and may have a limited knowledge of the main language(s), which restricts their access to the labour market and employment. In this context, labour market institutions and the welfare state have an important role to play. In a number of cases, there is the belief that foreign-nationals are taking employment opportunities from local people. This creates a climate of hostility which can be detrimental to the labour market integration of migrants (Starke, 2005:127).

2.7 Migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa

Zimbabweans who have migrated have left a country with a collapsed economy, lack of jobs, hyper-inflation, human rights violations and persecution of members of the political opposition. McGregor notes that the consequence has been that 'families of all social classes have increasingly been compelled to send members abroad to ensure basic survival, escape brutal attacks or meet aspirations for accumulation and education' (Starke, 2005: 806). South Africa has a long history of cross-border migration from surrounding countries and is the main migrant-receiving country in the region. Migration to South Africa is often a household 'poverty reduction strategy' (Black, 2006: 116) and therefore forms part of a survival strategy for some households who depend on the remittances sent by those who have migrated. Migration to South Africa is characterized by both highly regulated contract employment in the mining industry and informal, unregulated and undocumented migration (Crush, 2003:13). Current government policy is very

focused on undocumented migrants or 'border jumpers' and efforts are made to fence and wire off the borders. Though impossible to quantify the numbers crossing the border, Human Rights Watch (HRW) documented an increasing number of deportations from South Africa to Zimbabwe that rose from 17,000 in 2001 to nearly 97,000 in 2005 (HRW, 2007). Migrants in South Africa can experience xenophobia and violence regardless of their immigration status, with some arguing that this is a consequence of the isolation caused by apartheid (Crush, 2008:28). The summer of 2008 saw especially violent racist and xenophobic attacks aimed mainly at people from Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia, and Zimbabwe, as well as South Africans from minority language groups. In total, the violence led to 62 deaths and between 80,000 and 200,000 displaced persons (Igglesden, 2009:29). Violence extends from civil society through to the police, with undocumented migrants subjected to extortion and victimization by the police (Klaaren, 2001:45). However, police brutality and deportations will not prevent South Africa being attractive as a migration destination because of its long porous borders and economic dominance in the region. Zimbabwe shares a land border with South Africa and migration from Zimbabwe has been described by the media as a 'revolving door syndrome' where migrants are deported and then return (Waller, 2006:66). Migrants cross illegally into South Africa to meet the demand for cheap and seasonal non-contractual labour that undocumented migrants can offer in certain sectors of the economy, especially on farms in Northern Limpopo, so there is a demand and a supply that deportations are not quelling. The Global Commission for International Migration (GCIM) noted in its final report that sectors, including agriculture '... have come to rely to a significant extent on migrants with irregular status, who are prepared to work in difficult, dangerous and dirty jobs with little security and low wages' (GCIM).

Globalization, global inequality, development projects, displacement, conflicts, oppression, and technological advances in transportation, media and communications will ensure that migration will continue to be a feature of the 21st century. Decisions to migrate can be individual or part of a household livelihood survival strategy, resulting in transnational obligations in the form of monetary and other remittances to kinship groups in the country of origin and elsewhere. While decisions to migrate may be complex, structural barriers including immigration controls will impact not only on decision-making but also on whether migrants enter a country clandestinely or use a regularized route. As we have seen, undocumented migration is one characteristic of migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa. The next section considers the ways in which these migrants fall outside of the international and national protection and rights frameworks and the ways in which both internal state policies and individual decisions might prohibit access to some forms of protection as well as access to rights.

2.8 Reasons for migrating to South Africa

The reasons for migrating to South Africa are indicated as social networks; the economic and political conditions in Zimbabwe, pull and push factors and the conditions in post-apartheid South Africa. According to Mello (2008:20), globalisation has led to porous borders due to growth in trade, communication and technology advancement. According to Mello (2008:20), throughout history, people have often moved from place to place in response to various factors that have compelled them to seek a better life elsewhere. The reasons that have engendered the voluntary emigration of large numbers of people are frequently divided into the two categories of push factors and pull factors. These factors have helped people to understand the underlying reasons behind mass migration. Globalisation has resulted in making push factors stronger and people migrate in large numbers to South Africa (Crush, 2008:39-49). Often people move from their countries of origin to another because of disadvantages and this has been referred to as “push factors” i.e. poverty, hardship, poor living conditions, scarcity of food, fuel, high inflation, rising cost of goods and basic necessities and drought.

There are advantages pulling them to the country where they want to move to, and this has been referred to as “pull factors” i.e. employment opportunities, higher wages, political stability, better social amenities, access to consumer goods and commodities and a better life than in the country of origin (Everett, 2007:14). Explanations of the inception and perpetuation of migration have focussed on disparities in conditions between different places driving movement. So-called ‘push-pull’ models in some of the classical literature suggested that migrants were pushed by low incomes in their countries or regions and pulled by better prospects in more affluent areas: sometimes conceptualised as equilibrium models, and initially focussed on internal migration, these approaches held that migration would result in these disparities eventually balancing out (Welman, 2005:12).

Critics of this neo-classical approach argued that long-standing inequities deriving from centuries of exploitation of poor countries by rich ones drove migration, which was perpetuated by the structures of labour markets in richer countries (Mello, 2008:65). Other explanations have been sought at the micro or meso level, in household decision-making and in social networks. Some have seen migration as a household strategy motivated by the need to spread risk, rather than an individual matter (Solomon, 2000:14). Others have underlined the

importance of chains, networks and culture in keeping migration going once established by pioneers (Payne, 2004:19).

2.8.1 Push and pull factors

Globalisation has resulted in making push factors stronger and people migrate in large numbers to South Africa (Crush, 2008:39-49). Often people move from their countries of origin to another because of disadvantages and this has been referred to as “push factors”, that is poverty, hardship, poor living conditions, scarcity of food, fuel, high inflation, rising cost of goods and basic necessities and drought. There are advantages pulling them to the country where they want to move to, and this has been referred to as “pull factors” i.e. employment opportunities, higher wages, political stability, better social amenities, access to consumer goods and commodities and a better life than in the country of origin (Everett, 2007:14).

2.8.2 Pull Factors

The positive factors that draw or attract people to settle in another location are known as pull factors. Pull factors tend to be more specific to individuals for example a married individual with children and an unmarried individual are compelled to move by different things that would attract them. Availability of jobs, beauty of a city or country and quietness of an atmosphere of a small town are examples of pull factors that can attract people to move. Push factors are responsible for dictating where travellers will settle (Vigneswaran, 2007:33).

2.8.2.1 Higher standards of living as a pull factor

Potential migrants are pulled by economic incentives. People tend to move to countries where they find the same or better work they were doing back home to be more rewarding in terms of wages and salaries, therefore migrants are drawn to countries where they can benefit more economically. (McDonald, 2005:72) For example, Zimbabwean migrants who settle in South Africa, some of them do not move due to unemployment but in fact they are attracted by a sizeable wage gap between the two countries. Hence to say that people migrate from Zimbabwe to South Africa because they are attracted by the higher hourly wages rather than the opportunity to find employment in general.

Zimbabwe has a ninety five percent unemployment rate. Out of the country's 12 million people, only 480,000 have formal jobs therefore its nationals tend to migrate to South Africa for economic purposes such as employment seeking and greener pastures. Hope for better employment, more money, better food, shelter, and hope for family to have a higher standard of living are among the economic factors pushing many Zimbabweans away from their homes (Crush, 2008:3). In Zimbabwe, the economic conditions have deteriorated badly and the lower income group people have no way to cope with the hardship and high levels of unemployment hence their decision to migrate (Williams, 2005:3-4).

2.8.2.2 Labour Demand as a pull factor

Migrants are pulled from their countries of origins by demand of labour in certain places or countries. If ever people are aware that a certain country is in need of labour they tend to migrate where much labour is needed (Welman, 2005:37). Migrant's low skilled labour force is needed to support developing countries growing economies hence low skilled employment opportunities are available in developing countries. For example in South Africa a lot of people employed in the mining industries and seasonal agricultural workers are migrants from neighbouring countries such as Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

These migrants are pulled to settle in South Africa due to the demand for labour since many South African citizen refuse to take up these low skilled and low paying jobs yet foreign migrants will be more than willing to take up these jobs since they will not be having such opportunities in their countries. (Vigneswaran, 2007:49) Migrants often come to host countries to pursue economic opportunities that are not available in their native countries; hence they are in most cases more than willing to work for lower wages than South African citizens.

2.8.3 Push Factors

Push factors are defined as reasons that drive people to move away from their place of settlement or inhabitancy. These are negative factors that result in a person to feel that the original society or environment has become unpleasant to live in, hence these factors push people away from their existing location resulting in them looking for an alternative place to move to. Other push factors can be sudden and unexpected. Examples of sudden geological push factors are natural disasters like hurricanes, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. High occurrence of crime rate, high levels of unemployment, onset of war and civil strife are also examples of push factors. Sometimes push factors leave people with little or no option except to depart from to emigrate from their home countries; they drive people out of their homes (Mason, 2006:29).

2.8.3.1 Political and Religious Freedom as a push factor

Discrimination and persecution tend to push people away from their homes; the existence of tolerant government policies that are friendly to different races, political views and various sexual orientations makes certain countries attractive to potential migrants. (Payne, 2004:40) Therefore migrants who will be escaping situations of persecution due to various reasons will migrate to countries where they will be safe regardless of their political affiliations as well as sexual orientations. Human rights violations are perpetrated by the government they have violated several key human rights, including the right to life, property and freedom of movement. There are strict restrictions on freedom of speech, assembly, and the press. Although Zimbabwe still holds elections, they are not free, fair, and are fraudulent (Everett 2007:19).

2.8.3.2 Lack of jobs as a push factor

Generally economic factors are the well-known motivation reason behind migration. The International Labour Organization indicates that half of the total population of international migrants in Southern Africa have departed their homes to find better jobs and lifestyle opportunities (International Labour Office of the Director-General, 2008). In some countries employment is unavailable; therefore people are pushed to migrate due to unavailability of jobs to settle in places where they can get jobs.

2.8.3.3 Environmental factors as a push factor

Loss of jobs, money and homes is often caused by environmental problems and natural disasters hence having been ravaged by such people are pushed to migrate therefore a cause of migration. If ever a country or a place experiences environmental hazards, people are left with no choice but to move where there is no such (Solomon, 2000:24).

2.8.3.4 Social networking as a push factor

McDonald (2006:234) defines migrant networks as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community of origin. They involve the flow of new migrants from their country of origin to the destination area and contrary flow of previous migrants returning home. Networks are said to have functions such as stimulating migration, facilitating migration and channelling migration. Social Networking

It would appear that both the presence and social impact of social networks play a role in triggering the decision to migrate, with social networks providing the links between those people who have migrated before and those who were left behind. Before individuals decide to move they usually talk to others who have migrated in order to help them make decisions on where to migrate, and how to get there. Cross (2009:34) maintain that migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and those not migrating in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origins. In other words, social networks encompass social relationships that connect people in terms of multiple sites as they try to keep the migrants involved in the life of their former birth countries and the home villages that they are leaving, and also help to ease the adaptation to their new places of residence and environments as well as inspiring them to make the move.

A migrant network starts to emerge when the first migrant from a community of origin leaves home and establishes him or herself in a particular destination area. Successful migrants feel obliged to help their family members back home to migrate in their turn because they depended on these family members when they made their first move. Migrant networks influence the migration process, by facilitating and channelling migration (Cross, 2009:34).

Boyd (2012:23) further describes the dynamics of social networks in migration by stating that networks connect migrants across time and space. Once begun, migration flows often become self-sustaining, reflecting the establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations which develop between migrants in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area. These networks link populations in origin and receiving countries and ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional or permanent (Boyd, 2012:41).

McDonald (2006:19) explains that the migrants in his study mentioned that elaborate word-of-mouth information always assisted other migrants in terms of where to look for work and what or who to avoid. In addition, he noticed that migrants often settle in places where there are many people from their country of origin. Nkau (2013:19) mentions that social networks are important for a number of reasons, such as informing the individual about the possibility of migrating to an alternative destination. This contact with former migrants helps individuals to realise that they may be better off in a certain place other than in their current residence. Reducing transport and travelling costs by sharing information on routes and the safest and cheapest roads is also easy through social networks. Also reduction of possibilities for deportation by sharing information on the safest times at which to cross the border. Social networks also help to reduce the opportunity costs of moving and increasing the long-term benefits. In addition, the social networks may help migrants to save money by enabling the sharing of living expenses and by helping financially upon arrival at the place of destination.

Pearson (2012:18) added that social networks are crucial because migrants may be able to provide other people who are intending to migrate with advice on important issues. This author pointed out that the migrated participants would definitely encourage other people from their birth countries to take advantage of the opportunities available and, thus, follow them and migrate also. This author also emphasised that through networks migrants would advise potential migrants to carry out research about the country to which they wished to migrate prior to making any decisions, as well as to try to find a job before making the decision to migrate, as this would make it easier than simply moving to a foreign country without any prospects. Networks also helps to advised those deciding to migrate to be prepared for a high cost of living, especially as regards housing costs, and also to anticipate a different culture and climate.

Documented research maintains that social networks play a vital role in the migration process as these networks inform prospective migrants of vacant positions and of the best places to search for work. Furthermore, social networks are an effective source of information sharing in

terms of which people who have already migrated are able to share their experiences and give advice to those contemplating migrating in the future, as well as connecting people and maintaining links between people who have migrated. Cross (2009:23) maintained that Zimbabwean migrants perceived social networks as playing an extremely important role in assisting them to settle in South Africa and to find work. However, social networks may also discourage migration if negative information about the possible destination is communicated to prospective migrants by those migrants already working away from home. Research conducted indicates that the different occupational classes tend to use different types of network with, for example, high occupational groups relying more on colleagues and organisations, while unskilled workers rely more on kin-based networks (Cross, 2009:19).

The two transnational networks theories, namely, the cumulative causation and migrant network theories, shed light on the role of social ties in migration. Collinson (2006:9) explain that the starting point of both these theories is a bonded social unit, such as a household. This bonded social unit is characterised by common mutual relationships and these relationships are reciprocal for everyone in the unit. This involves situations in terms of which migrants are offered support in their migrating in search of better job opportunities. In return for this support the migrants send remittances back to their families in their home communities as a way of showing appreciation. Family ties, thus, come to play a major role in facilitating temporary migrations between rural and urban households with the migration process as a group effort that, seemingly, benefits everyone.

In explaining the role of social networks, the new 'economic of labour migration' approach emphasises that the decision to migrate is not made by the individual migrant only, but by the larger family or community. According to Mafukidze (2006:39), migration is not necessarily informed by the need to maximise expected income, but also by needs to minimise risks and to loosen constraints threatening individuals, families and communities. Migration in any form, thus, comprises a household strategy and, as such, is not just the decision of the isolated individual but, rather, a collective decision. Even in situations in which migration is based primarily on economic factors, the decision to migrate still becomes a decision of the collective, in this case, either the family or the community, while issues such as gender relations often influence migration behaviour. Accordingly, both the migrant and the nuclear or extended family, and, in some cases the community, share the burden of the costs but also reap the benefits (Marchetta, 2009:57).

Therefore, the new economics of labour migration approach explains that migration is an alternative chosen by members of a household, entailing the temporary migration of some household members who, in turn, retains both a rural and an urban place of residence. The primary aims of this temporary migration include maximising expected income, minimising economic risks and increasing exposure to social resources such as education and health services. There are benefits to both rural and urban places of residence and people have, thus, built up lifestyles that span both, aiming to maximise the best utility from each (Collinson, 2006:49). Accordingly, “this theory argues that there are global economic imbalances that enable people to make rational choices in order to maximize their socioeconomic potential” (Kaya, 2007:8).

Statistics may also be used to elaborate on the way in which social networks assist in the choice and location of migration, as well as the ongoing life after migration. Alarcon (2000:59) postulated that a survey of 800 South Asian males employed in skilled or unskilled jobs in Kuwait showed the channel of migration to be a highly significant factor of migrant success. About 34% moved through friends/relatives and 50% through recruitment agents. Multivariate analyses indicate that those who came through friends or relatives earned a higher salary, found the job to fit their expectation, and were happier than those who came through agents, but more of the former came on an Azad visa which may be illegal. Personal networks are likely to encourage additional future migration and are very difficult to regulate through government initiatives.

2.8.3.5 Hunger and poverty as a push factor

Poverty was at first held to be a key driver of migration. However, since the early 1990s it has been recognised that the poorest often cannot migrate since resources are needed to do so, especially for international migration (Mello, 2008:33). It is therefore typically not the ‘poorest of the poor’ who migrate (UNDP 2009). While there may be a strong relationship between migration, poverty and its alleviation, poverty in itself may not be a driver of migration (Solomon, 2000:74).

Acknowledgement of this has led to much debate about the relationship between migration and development, in particular whether development can reduce the pressures that drive migration or in fact can stimulate more migration by giving people the resources to move. Some of these

debates have been reflected in the policy field, where there has long been concern to address the 'root causes' of migration. Essentially this has meant that initiatives aiming to reduce migration (Mason, 2006:62). In addressing the factors held to drive migration, especially violent conflict, disparities in living standards, and poverty in countries migrants come from: promoting development, alleviating poverty and reducing conflict in origin countries are thus the means to these ends. These included measures to alleviate migration pressure through development and conflict prevention.

2.9 The conditions in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, the economic conditions have deteriorated badly and the lower income group people have no way to cope with the hardship and high levels of unemployment hence their decision to migrate (Williams, 2005:3-4).

2.9.1 Economic Factors

Zimbabwe has a ninety five percent unemployment rate. Out of the country's 12 million people, only 480,000 have formal jobs therefore its nationals tend to migrate to South Africa for economic purposes such as employment seeking and greener pastures. Hope for better employment, more money, better food, shelter, and hope for family to have a higher standard of living are among the economic factors pushing many Zimbabweans away from their homes (Crush, 2008:3). Economic factors provide the main motivation behind migration. In fact, according to the International Labour Organization, approximately half of the total population of current international migrants, or about 100 million migrant workers, have left home to find better job and lifestyle opportunities for their families abroad (International Labour Office of the Director-General, 2008). In some countries, jobs simply do not exist for a great deal of the population. In other instances, the income gap between sending and receiving countries is great enough to warrant a move. India, for example, has recently experienced a surge in emigration due to a combination of these factors (Mundi, 2012:17). Many skilled workers are attracted by lucrative salary packages (Dzvimbo 2003: 6). Looking at the points noted above one can see it's true in flight of the influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa in search for jobs and indeed searching for greener pastures.

2.9.2 Infringement of Basic Human Rights

Human rights violations are perpetrated by the government they have violated several key human rights, including the right to life, property and freedom of movement. There are strict restrictions on freedom of speech, assembly, and the press. Although Zimbabwe still holds elections, they are not free, fair, and are fraudulent (Everett 2007:19).

2.9.3 Geographical location

South Africa's borders are located near Beit bridge and the borders are said to be porous as many Zimbabweans are seen jumping the border fence by crawling under the fence to gain entrance into South Africa , however Zimbabweans are believed to be only hoping for a better life in South Africa (Solomon 2000:13).

2.10 Positive effects and benefits brought to South Africa by migrants

2.10.1 Economic gains

As Mason (2006:126) postulates migrants take jobs that most citizens in the host country do not take. As migrants fill up these jobs they lighten the load of producers and consumers hence resulting in gains in economic welfare. Furthermore he stated that it is a fact that immigrants are a source of low cost labour, passing these costs reductions to the consumer thereby the host country benefits economically. In addition he put forward that the goods produced through the efforts of migrant workers can also generate additional profits since the goods can be sold at lower prices. He went on to state that depending on where smaller businesses are located and the makeup of the available labour, a steady supply of migrant candidates to fill up job openings will boost produce.

Still explaining economic gains as a positive impact of having migrants in South Africa, he also stated that migrants often come to host countries to pursue economic opportunities that are not available in their native countries; hence they are in most cases more than willing to work for lower wages than South African citizens. Similarly Crush (2005:13) also stated that migrants,

pay taxes like property taxes, social security, sales tax and income tax providing a boost for the South African economy. In fact many illegal migrants pay social security taxes and never collect it due to the fact that they give fake social security numbers to their employers hence if they try to claim it they could get caught and face deportation.

2.10.2 Increase in cultural diversity

According to Williams (2005:183) the world seem to be growing smaller by each day, with different cultures being merged. It is in this regard that this author stated that migrants increase product diversity, something that many people enjoy very much. As more migrants move into South Africa they come in with more ethnic restaurants to dine in, more cultural centres to enjoy and this would make it easy for South African citizens to learn and adopt different culture they may find enticing. For example Chinese and Nigerian food outlets allow local nationals to copy recipes. Furthermore he stated that people's dress codes could also be improved through association and interaction with migrants.

2.10.3 A younger workforce

Solomon (2000:19) was of the idea that the ratio of retired people to workers was expected to drastically increase in the coming decades. Therefore he was of the idea that migrants with their children and younger relatives some of them studying in South African universities, will bring in more young workforce that can slow down the increase of this very important ratio. More so to this he stated that South Africa was more likely to benefit intellectuals, young and fresh from colleges since they were likely to look for jobs in the country other than returning to their courtiers of origin .

2.10.4 Skilled workers in much needed sectors

As postulated by Mello (2008:65) migrants usually arrive because of employment preference. This means that they offer skills that are very scarce in host countries .To add onto that he stated that migration bring about various positive effects as far as skilled labour force is concerned . For example, if the supply of native neurologists is low influx of more migrants will significantly help the health care industry. It is in this regard that Mattes pointed out that host country benefit from the experiences and ideas of migrant workers especially experts in

different fields. Migrants were also said to be offering skills in engineering and construction, the stadiums for 2010 and Reconstruction Development Programme houses were built by Zimbabwean migrants for a less cost (Mello 2008:75). Thus to say foreigners did the hard labour and took jobs that South Africans refused to do.

2.10.5 Making services cheap and affordable

Migrants allow services to be provided for lower prices to South African citizens. According to a book by McDonald (2006:16) migrants who in most cases are largely unskilled, end up in low level jobs like agriculture, construction, housekeeping, landscaping or restaurants. He went on to state that migrants provide these services cheaper than the nationals. With most migrants concentrated in four areas, which are farming, food preparation, hospitality, tourism, construction and personal services, these services can be offered to South African citizens at considerably lower prices than they would be if they were staffed by South African workers. For example, if most housekeepers would be migrants without qualifications that would mean South Africans could pay their housekeepers less and still remain competitive. The money a family saves on this service could be then used elsewhere in the family budget.

2.11 Negative effects of migrants in South Africa

2.11.1 Job Sector

Migrants were seen to be taking jobs away from South African citizens hence increasing the unemployment rate in the country as they were seen accepting low wages for long hours of work. They were seen as depressing the remuneration of local labour. (Welman, 2005:4-5) postulated that and went on to indicate that this was due to the fact that they accepted wages below market wages which local people refused to take, therefore this was viewed as a cause of conflict and at the same time contributing to unemployment of approximately thirty- four to thirty-five percent, migrants were undermining the ability of South African labour unions to fight for better wages for their citizens. According to Crush (2005:19) the perception that foreigners steal jobs from South Africans and negatively impacted on the job sector was true to a larger extent .This was in line with the fact it is impossible to enforce legal labour standards due to the illegality of some foreigners and the fact that they avoid being identified for fear of deportation.

2.11.2 Education Sector

As indicated by McDonald (2006:8-9), migrants were seen sending their relatives and children to South African schools hence placing a burden on the South African education resources. It is in this regard that migrants staying next to borders use South African schools for themselves, for example Zimbabweans staying in Beitbridge near Musina are making use of these schools. More so Dereck indicated that most South African universities enrol foreign students and this often cause a strain on the tertiary education system. Furthermore he indicated that many South African students even fail to secure places at universities since foreigners can be more competitive.

2.11.3 Housing Sector

According to Everett (2007:27), the provision of housing for South African citizens was one of the most crucial challenges the government faced .Migrants were said to negatively impacted on the government's efforts to make this goal a reality. He indicated that migrants fraudulently and corruptly benefited from houses that were meant to alleviate the problem of shortage of housing in South Africa. He blamed mostly Zimbabweans for illegal squatting in the country as they came to the country in large numbers. Being unskilled and having very low levels of education they were unable to rent decent houses for accommodation therefore they resorted to squatting, he indicated. It is in this regard that foreigners benefited from houses meant for South Africans for example the Reconstruction Development Programme houses.

2.11.4 Crime

Excessive migrants were said to have an impact on the increase in crime therefore affecting security and safety in the country. It is believed that they create a breeding environment for survival crimes and criminal recruitment and more often terrorists make use of them. Vigneswaran (2007:185) was of the above idea, stating that an increase in antisocial behaviour and criminal activities such as drug trafficking, theft, murder and rape among many others can be blamed on foreigners as they contribute 14% of crimes in South Africa. Guardiania also indicated that migrants as they lack residency they end up in undetected movements and many

criminal activities and this will negatively impact on the utilisation of the state resources that would be channelled into fighting crime.

2.11.5 Strains on public services

2.11.5.1 Health Facilities

Solomon (2000: 39), as migrants illegally enter into South Africa there would be no information on the status of their health. This will then cause a strain on the health facilities in South Africa in the sense that some diseases are airborne and contagious and as they are spread to many South Africans the number of people who will then seek medical attention will increase since many immigrants are from 'strife –ravaged areas' where they could hardly access medical treatment due to their countries' collapsed health systems hence posing a burden on the South African health system. The issue of HIV and AIDS was also discussed by Payne (2004:68) pointing out how those foreigners as they will be desperate for jobs, money and accommodation may engage in transactional sex as a survival skill thereby transmitting the virus. Therefore the more people contract the pandemic disease the more the demand for anti-retroviral treatment thereby straining the health sector in South Africa.

2.11.5.2 Social Services

Landau (2007: 48), was of the view that foreigners were said to be collecting old age pension fund among other welfare grants from South African government .According to Landau migrants were seen to be exerting pressure on the South African government therefore making it difficult for the country to achieve its socio-economic growth strategy and meet development targets. He indicated that migrants fraudulently claim social grants such as the old age grants, disabled funds among many other benefits meant for South Africans. More on that he stated that migrants once they enter in the country they will illegally obtain identity documents and use them to apply for grants and other services hence straining the governments' social grant services.

2.11.5.3 Resources of the country

Migrants were seen to be depleting the resources of the country. Payne (2004: 38) indicated the above information and went on to postulate that illegal migrants deplete the budget for prisoners in police cells since they will be fed whilst waiting for deportation. To add onto him also stated that in as much as the South African police try to detain illegal migrants for short periods of time at times they fail to do so, meaning that they will have to feed them with food meant for prisoners thereby causing an impact on the budget allocated for prisoners .Deportation was also said to be costing the government a lot of money that would have been channelled towards other developmental programmes.

2.12 Experiences of migrants

Migrants tend to experience life in the host country in various and complex ways with skilled migrant workers often having totally different experiences to unskilled migrant workers, both in the workplace and in the community, at large. According to McLaughlan (2005:29), it must be emphasised from the outset that the problems and challenges faced by migrant workers are not uniform across all sectors and grades of occupation and unskilled and semi-skilled migrant workers and their families are the most vulnerable to both exploitation and retrenchment. Although migrant workers may face many problems in engaging with local residents, they have been known to make a significant contribution to a country's economy because they often perform jobs that the local labour force is either not willing to do, or else does not have either the skills or qualifications to do so. Accordingly, this migrant labour force is important because it plays a role in keeping most businesses alive and operating at full capacity and, thus, these businesses are not forced to succumb to the pressure of relocating overseas in order to remain competitive. Unfortunately, most of these workers face exploitation and are discriminated against by their employers, property owners and the wider community (Human Rights Watch, 2007).

The developed countries are taking steps in order to make it easier for skilled migrants to enter their countries because they need these migrant workers to provide the skills that are in short supply in their countries. According to McLaughlan and Salt (2002:32), most countries have tried to make it easier for professionals, especially highly skilled migrants, to obtain work permits and they have made provision for these workers' permits to be processed quickly because of pressure from employers. Furthermore, governments are also making provision for the spouses of these workers to gain access to the labour market, unlike in the past, when this was often an extremely lengthy, tedious process. Alarcon (2000:27) adds that, in the United

States, skilled migrants are less restricted than unskilled migrants in participating in the labour market and in gaining work permits. In addition, immigration policies and corporate power always work in favour of the skilled migrants, who find it easier to cross borders than the unskilled migrants. However, the World Bank has indicated that, if emigration of lowly skilled workers were to increase, this would significantly reduce the poverty in the developing countries. The migration of highly skilled workers may also greatly benefit the migrants and their families and help relieve the labour market pressure (Marchetta, 2009:18).

In its research into Discrimination at work in the Middle East and North Africa, the International Labour Office (2004) observed that there are many ways in which migrant workers are restricted in the labour market. They mention that, in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and Syria, the governments have the authority both to limit and to provide work permits to foreigners seeking certain categories of jobs only. Furthermore, foreign workers also face problems as regards limited rights and access to family reunification and health insurance schemes. The International Labour Office (2004) further states that countries such as Saudi Arabia have implemented measures involving taxation on the recruitment of foreigners, as well taxation on foreigners, in order to finance training programmes for the local citizens. There are also taxes on the health and surgery fees provided to foreigners in both Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.

High expectations are an integral part of migration and, when people migrate, they often have certain expectations about the places to which they are migrating. However, when arriving at their destination, they sometimes find that their expectations are not met. As regards South Africa, most immigrants have come to the country in order to escape the poverty and destitution in their own countries of origin – with unemployment being the most serious problem – as well as civil wars and political instability (Maharaj, 2004:73). In the research conducted by Pearson (2002:36), which focused on skilled workers in the United Kingdom, the results showed that the majority of migrants had found that their expectations had been met. This may have been because some of the participants had had previous experiences with their host country, so that they already had prior knowledge about what to expect. There were also those participants who indicated that their experiences had more than exceeded their expectations, although this was probably as a result of the quality of the jobs they had found and the entire working experience. Some participants had been surprised by the challenges offered by their jobs, and the style of working. However, one of the major problems that they had experienced in their place of destination was the high living costs, including housing costs, setting up bank accounts and

obtaining credit cards, especially as they had not had any United Kingdom (UK) credentials. One may assume that the high expectations of the unskilled workers may be shattered because the informal sector is usually unrestricted and, thus, these people may be exploited. However, in their study of migration experiences to Ireland, Brennan (2002:19) found that both skilled and unskilled workers were satisfied with their work situations.

Computer professionals considered themselves treated equally to others at work. At the lower end of the hierarchy, the study found rural agricultural workers, located in isolated areas in single nationality teams. Their pay was below minimum standards of pay, their English poor to non-existent and their working day very long but they did not complain (Brennan 2002: 8).

There has been much research conducted into the experiences of migrants in foreign countries. Marvakis, (2004:19) conducted a survey to examine the experiences of foreign migrants in South Africa, with the study focusing on labourers who could be classified as unskilled workers. The study showed that these migrants had usually experienced discrimination in their host country. They had been discriminated against in different situations, including at work and in public, in ways that included being refused a job, being either assaulted or harassed at work, and being passed over for promotion. Furthermore, the respondents indicated that, when applying for credit, they had been refused. In addition, they had experienced discrimination from public agencies and institutions, such as the immigration services, and employment and insurance agencies. It was also interesting that forty-three percent of the respondents who had encountered the police mentioned receiving bad treatment. Further discrimination often came from their neighbours, people in the streets or when using public transport. The study compared these experiences across a spectrum of gender and age, and also locations where the migrants lived. The results indicated that women were harassed more than men in the streets; as were older people.

As migrants move to their host countries and occupy jobs they often find themselves viewed as cheap labour by their employers, especially the unskilled workers. In South Africa these migrants are also often accused of stealing potential jobs from South African citizens, especially in view of the high unemployment rate in the country. Furthermore, exploitation of migrant workers is also quite common in South Africa and they often receive lower wages and are deprived of benefits such as pension and medical aid. In addition, in view of the fact that they are not South African citizens, they usually do not belong to trade unions and, thus, they do not

receive any form of protection from exploitation and may be summarily dismissed. Accusations that foreigners are taking over jobs may lead to xenophobia – xenophobia tends to thrive when there is competition for employment and social problems are escalating (Maharaj, 2004:39). Adepoju (2006:29) mentions that migrants, otherwise perceived as aliens, often become the scapegoat for all the problems that may arise during transitions periods, for example, during a period of economic recession. This, in turn, often exacerbates the problem and increases the social distance between migrants and local populations with the migrants being stigmatised as criminals and accused of being the carriers of diseases such as HIV/AIDS – as is the case in Botswana and South Africa. Adepoju (2006:17) adds that, in recent years, South Africa has become highly xenophobic, to the point where locals accuse foreigners from other African countries of being both a threat to their economic futures as well as being responsible for the increase in violent crime in the country. Such accusations have even led to incidents such as attacks on hawkers, burning the homes of migrants, and inhumane treatment by the police. Adepoju (2006:21) further believes that the media plays a pivotal role in this kind of treatment as the media often portrays immigrants as the culprits when it comes to crime, drug abuse and labour exploitation. Accordingly, both the media and politicians may contribute to public discontent among locals, thus fostering xenophobic tendencies.

Marvakis (2004:27) examined whether the location of migrants has an impact on their different experiences. The results of the study indicated that people living in areas that are predominantly migrant neighbourhoods experience more discrimination than those living in non-migrant or mixed neighbourhoods. In addition, Marvakis (2004:7) and Kaya (2007:9) mention that it would appear that language skills influence the discrimination experienced by migrants, particularly at work with this discrimination often taking the form of insults and harassment. It is also interesting to note that the findings that the majority of these migrant victims had not taken any action against the discrimination and harassment that they had experienced both in public and at work.

Brennan (2002:33) conducted research into the experiences of migrants in Ireland and found that most of these migrants were lonely because they missed their families and they wanted their families to join them. These migrants were recruited into different employment sectors and included both skilled and unskilled workers. They came from countries including the Philippines, Russia, India, Ukraine, Czech Republic, Poland and Lithuania. The respondents in this study indicated that they preferred to obtain assistance from their diplomatic missions rather than opt for the public services in Ireland because as foreigners, they lacked a strong support

infrastructure. None of the migrants had received any information or knowledge regarding their rights as members of the workforce in Ireland. Furthermore, most of these migrants had been recruited outside Ireland because it would have been difficult for them to enter the country without either a visa or work permit. The problems that these migrant workers faced in the workplace ranged from breaches of employment legislation, including either the non-payment or delayed payment of wages, excessive working hours, especially for unskilled workers, pay below the minimum wage and experiencing resentment from other colleagues in the workplace. Skilled workers usually address their problems by presenting their difficulties to either a trade union or employer, while unskilled workers rely on recruitment agencies, employers, friends and support outside of the workplace.

In a study conducted in 12 European Union countries on the experiences of migrants as regards racism and xenophobia Winkler (2006:26) found that the participants, who were mostly unskilled, indicated that they had been discriminated against in the sphere of employment, and in the context of commercial transactions. She identified different situations in terms of which migrants face discrimination. These situations include the workplace (employment), shops and restaurants, commercial transactions, institutions, private life or public arenas and, lastly, in the educational sphere and from the police. In terms of employment, some of the participants mentioned discrimination on the grounds of their foreign backgrounds when searching for employment, or being promoted. Some of them had also faced harassment on the streets and when using public transport. They also experienced harassment from neighbours. Most of the participants mentioned that, at some point, they had been denied access to either a restaurant or a shop while some of them had been treated badly in shops as a result of their being foreign. Furthermore, they mentioned being refused permission either to buy a house or to rent an apartment and in obtaining a loan from a bank. Moreover, they had experienced bad treatment when dealing with institutions such as employment agencies, social insurance offices and healthcare institutions. Lastly, they had also experienced poor treatment at the hands of the police with the result that they tended not to report any offences committed against them in their daily lives. As regards the views and experiences of migrants in South Africa, Timothy (2008:13) write that; two of the most economically successful SADC countries, South Africa and Botswana, both of which colluded to kill off the Free Movement Protocol in SADC, exhibit serious xenophobic attitudes at a popular level. Yet popular xenophobia must not divert attention from the fundamental point of the global issue where the tendency is for migrants, skilled and unskilled to be exploited.

This viewpoint is explained in greater depth by the Human Rights Watch (2007), which highlighted the situation of foreigners from Mozambique and Zimbabwe in South Africa, especially farm workers in Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces. These findings suggest that the employment rights and right to protection of these migrant workers may have been violated by their employers through wage exploitation, uncompensated workplace injury, bad housing conditions, workplace violence and human rights abuses. It is possible that these violations may be as a result of inadequate legal protection, illegal actions on the part of employers and state officials, and the state failing to enforce the legal protection of foreigners and bring employers and officials to task. In terms of addressing problems, Human Rights Watch (2007:7) states that: The South African government should ensure that state officials abide by the procedures for arrest, detention, and deportation in its immigration law. The government should also create a system that permits migrants to report abuses of their human rights; require labor inspectors to produce public reports documenting the number of inspections they conduct, complaints they investigate, and compliance orders they issue to employers for violations of employment law; and investigate and punish state officials and employers who violate the law. The government should remove obstacles to enable migrant workers to access the workers' compensation to which they are legally entitled.

Another research initiative studying migrants moving from Johannesburg to live in Cape Town delved into the choice of location and the views of these migrants. This research study found that African migrants first choose to settle in South Africa because of the tightening of immigration laws in Europe. Moreover, the study found that migrants often choose a city that is well known – in South Africa, this would be Johannesburg, also known as the 'City of Gold'. There were also incidences where the interviewees mentioned that they had come to Johannesburg because of the social networks they had already had with people living and working there. The aim of the research was to find out why some people preferred to move elsewhere for employment opportunities, namely, Cape Town. It emerged that it was mainly the unexpected realities of living in Johannesburg, including unemployment and accommodations problems that had persuaded migrants to move to Cape Town. It was interesting to notice that these foreigners had based their decision to move to Cape Town on social networks established in Johannesburg, as well as on networks established in their home countries. The reasons for moving often included a lack of success in Johannesburg and also because Cape Town is considered to be safer than the 'City of Gold'. In addition, the interviewees indicated that xenophobia was rife in South Africa, and that this had been the major challenge they had encountered. They attributed this problem of xenophobia to the ignorance of those South Africans who are not well educated (Lekogo, 2006:19).

North African and Middle Eastern countries have made some progress towards reducing discrimination in the workplace. In addition, they have loosened the constraints on migrant workers and free trade agreements. However, there are still shortfalls in terms of the treatment of both women and foreigners. As regards women migrants, they are found mostly in areas of unskilled work, for example, domestic labour, and this, in turn, results in exploitation, discrimination, unfair treatment, harassment, forced labour, low wages, and many other forms of abuses. Furthermore, some migrants also face religious discrimination where a state religion often excludes other religions. The International Labour Office (ILO) (2004) provides examples of countries, such as Saudi Arabia, in which other religions are shunned. This means that migrants who are not Muslim are prohibited from publicly displaying their religious symbols such as crosses or Hindu tilaka. Other forms of discrimination include job advertisements that exclude applicants from other minority religions, thus preventing people from practising their faith or religion openly. The ILO further points at the situation of the Baha'i in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the discrimination against Copts in Egypt, with these groups being denied equal access to education and opportunities in recruitment and promotion. Muslims in these countries also face harassment and offensive comments regarding their religious beliefs and practices, as well as the refusal of employers to accommodate the religious needs and requirements of individuals.

Furthermore, another issue concerning migrants is whether, when they reach their destination, they remain in contact with the family members left behind. A study conducted by Pearson (2009:33) found that most of their participants, who were skilled workers, had retained strong ties with their home countries and with their families at home. However, they point out that this may have been as a result of the fact that the participants had been in the destination country for a short time only. They also found that the links with the home country were mostly through business and property investments and that almost a third of the participants had jobs to which they could return if they went home. However, it was significant that half of the participants mentioned sending money home to their family members, thus proving that they had not suddenly forgotten their responsibilities once they had relocated to a different country.

Marvakis (2004:27) addressed the issue of social interaction. They indicated that it had emerged from the study they had conducted in Greece that the majority of their participants, who were concentrated in jobs such as construction, domestic work and industry, had pointed out that they had found it easy to interact with the Greek citizens while some had even made

friends easily. However, the participants stated that they preferred to socialise with people of the same ethnic background as themselves. Similarly, in Brennan's (2002:28) study, it was reported that it would appear that most foreigners did not socialise with the local community with those interviewed mentioning that they preferred socialising with peoples from their own cultures. There is also some evidence to this effect in South Africa.

In an interesting and revealing study about migrant children, entitled "Young AIDS migrants in Southern Africa", Ansell (2002:30) observed the experiences of orphans who had had to leave their homes to stay with their relatives. The research study focused on Lesotho and Malawi and discerned this form of AIDS related migration of young people as a result of the loss of their parents. The study established that these orphans usually found ways of coping with migration, but that they often experienced other problems. The study mentioned that some children often adopted harmful forms of behaviour such as smoking or drinking in order to fit in with their new environment. These are concerns that adult migrants might also consider when bringing children with them to a new place.

2.13 The International Organization for Migration and Zimbabwean migrants

At the end of May 2006 due to xenophobic attacks, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) opened a reception and support centre on the Zimbabwean side of the South Africa-Zimbabwe border at Beitbridge. The centre, funded by the British government's Department for International Development, is an inter-ministerial project that will involve the Zimbabwean ministries of health, home affairs, and labour and social welfare. The centre will also house offices for these ministries. A major objective of the centre is to provide humanitarian assistance to the growing number of Zimbabwean migrants deported from South Africa. IOM offers all deportees a free meal, medical assessments and information materials on HIV and irregular migration, and entitlement to free basic health care at Beitbridge Hospital upon referral. In addition, the IOM offers free transport and a food pack to deportees who choose to return to their homes. The program will also assist the government of Zimbabwe to cope with social problems in Beitbridge that are related to the growing concentration of deportees in the town (Pearson, 2012:17).

In coordination with the Department of Social Welfare in Zimbabwe, the IOM intends to establish an agency which will facilitate the placement of qualified Zimbabweans (above 18

years and with passports) on commercial farms in Limpopo province of South Africa. In correspondence, the IOM said it will work with nongovernmental organizations like Nkuzi Development Association, to ensure that those Zimbabweans who choose to work on commercial farms do so legally and are treated fairly (Nkai, 2013:87).

Most deportees seek to return to South Africa because they have few, if any, income earning possibilities in Zimbabwe and because food and basic social services are either lacking or too expensive. Sending deportees to their homes is in the interests of the government of South Africa, which for some time has wanted the government of Zimbabwe to return deportees to their home areas to prevent them from immediately re-entering South Africa (Alarcon, 2000:1).

Human Rights Watch is deeply sceptical of how the IOM's humanitarian assistance program will benefit Zimbabweans who have been forced to leave South Africa. Moreover, IOM's past failure to publicly confront and criticize the Zimbabwean government's human rights abuses in the context of international humanitarian assistance suggests it will be unlikely to defend migrants' and deportees' rights should so doing require an oppositional stance toward the government (Conroy, 2002:19).

2.14 The Legal Framework: Migrant's Status and Employment Conditions

The South African constitution is the supreme law of the country any law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid. The legislature, the executive, the judiciary and every organ of the state are all bound to respect, protect, promote, and fulfil the rights contained in the constitution. The constitution guarantees most fundamental rights to all individuals, whether they are citizens or non-citizens. Rights associated with voting, political party formation, standing for public office, obtaining a passport, entry into the country, freely choosing a trade, occupation or profession, and benefiting from state measures to foster conditions which enable access to land, are expressly limited to South African citizens. According to South Africa's Constitutional Court, when the constitution intends to confine rights to citizens, it says so. The constitution states that the Bill of Rights is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom (Constitution of South Africa, 1996).

The Bill of Rights entrenches the rights of everyone in South Africa, inter alia, to equality before the law, human dignity, personal freedom and security, privacy, and due process of law. For example, everyone, including a non-citizen, who is arrested for allegedly committing an offense has the right to be brought before a court within 48 hours after the arrest, and everyone who is detained has the right, inter alia, to challenge the lawfulness of the detention before a court, and to have conditions of detention that are consistent with human dignity. Similarly, under international law some civil and political rights must be provided on an equal basis to nationals and migrants, either because the right is absolute or because selective denial could not be justified by the government as reasonable or proportionate. Economic and social rights for migrants, however, present a greater challenge in domestic and international law as these rights are not absolute. Fair labour practices for all workers do not present the same challenge in international law: equality of employment conditions for those in the work force, including irregular migrants, is perhaps less controversial than other socio-economic rights under international law (Constitution of South Africa, 1996).

Under the constitution, international law must be considered in the interpretation of the Bill of Rights and other national legislation. South Africa has ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. South Africa has also signed, but has not ratified, the African (Banjul) Charter on Human and People's Rights. A state is obliged to refrain from acts which would defeat the object and purpose of a treaty when it has signed that treaty. (African Charter on Human and People's Rights).

The Aliens Control Act, 1991, amended in 1996, encouraged and governed permanent immigration for Europeans. African migrants from the Southern Africa region seeking legal access to South Africa were subjected to a dual system of control. The Aliens Control Act provided specific exemptions from the Act for persons who entered South Africa for employment in terms either of any conventions with the governments of neighbouring states or temporary employment schemes approved by the minister of home affairs. These exemptions were designed for the mining industry and white commercial farmers, and allowed them the right to employ non-South Africans under separate terms and conditions than those prescribed by the Act. The Aliens Control Act was replaced by the Immigration Act of 2002, which became effective in 2003.

The 2002 immigration law was developed by then-Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi and his advisors, who were not members of the governing African National Congress party. The 2002 Act and the accompanying regulations were largely inconsistent with stated government policy to remove obstacles to the entry of skilled migrants. Except for large employers, the 2002 Act together with the regulations mostly made the process of entry more complicated and time consuming. Following a 2004 directive from President Thabo Mbeki to the Ministry of Home Affairs to bring the Immigration Act into line with national policy objectives, the Immigration Amendment Act was introduced and became fully operational with the publication of new Immigration Regulations in July 2005.

The Immigration Act provides for the arrest, detention, and deportation of "illegal foreigners" and for the punishment, by a fine or imprisonment, of those who employ or aid them. With respect to foreign workers, the legislation generally promotes temporary rather than permanent residence and does not encourage family immigration. The legislation provides for thirteen types of temporary residence permit and five types of work permit. Generally, the main consideration in issuing work permits is whether the employer can demonstrate that a South African citizen or permanent resident is not available for the position. The employer is also required to demonstrate that the terms and conditions of employment will not be inferior to those applicable for citizens. The Immigration Act ends employers' access to special exemptions for the recruitment of foreign workers based on the minister's approval, but provides for bilateral agreements, thereby preserving existing treaties with governments in the region (Immigration Act of 2002).

The legal environment for farm workers has improved substantially, beginning in 1993. South African labour legislation implicitly assumes that foreign workers are legal under the Immigration Act and therefore does not distinguish between documented and undocumented workers. Additionally, South Africa's employment laws apply to all legal workers in the country, and therefore these laws make no explicit distinctions between citizens and non-citizens. Farm workers came under the protection of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, 1993. The Agricultural Labour Act, 1993 (No. 147 of 1993) recognized the right of farm workers to organize. The Labour Relations Act, 1995 (No. 66 of 1995) introduced a new framework for employer-employee relations that included the commercial farm sector. The Unemployment Insurance Act, 2001 (No. 63 of 2001) extended unemployment benefits to farm workers. Importantly, this legislation and its counterpart, the Unemployment Insurance Contributions Act, 2002 (No.4 of 2002) explicitly exclude, among others, foreign workers on contract, and hence all documented foreign migrant farm workers. Consequently, neither farmers who employ

foreign workers on contract nor foreign contract workers are required to make the mandatory contributions to the unemployment insurance fund (Labor Relations Act, 1995).

The Basic Conditions of Employment Act, 1997, which was amended in 2002, seeks to give effect to and regulate the right to fair labour practices conferred by section 23 (1) of the constitution by establishing and enforcing basic conditions of employment, and to give effect to the state's obligations as a member state of the International Labour Organization. In December 2002, the minister of labour announced a Sectoral Determination for the Farm Worker Sector, using his power in terms of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, 1997. The Sectoral Determination included a minimum wage for farm workers for the first time and regulations for the particulars of employment, hours of work, leave, the prohibition of child labour and forced labour, and termination of employment. On February 17, 2006, the minister of labour announced a new Sectoral Determination for the Farm Worker Sector that provides for an increase in the minimum wage from R785.79 (US\$113) per month/R4.03 (US\$0.57) per hour to R885 (US\$126) per month/R4.54 per hour (US\$0.64) (Area A), and from R949.58 (US\$134) per month/R4.87 (US\$0.68) per hour to R994 (US\$140) per month/R5.10 (US\$0.72) per hour (Area B), to apply between March 1, 2006, and February 28, 2007. The 2006 Sectoral Determination also prescribes minimum wage increases for 2007 and 2008 respectively.

2.15 The Immigration Act: Violations and Gaps Resulting in Human Rights Abuses

The Immigration Act, as amended by the Immigration Amendment Act, defines a "foreigner" as an individual who is not a citizen and an "illegal foreigner" to mean a foreigner who is in South Africa in contravention of the Act. Section 34 of the Immigration Act, as amended by the Immigration Amendment Act, governs the procedures for the arrest, deportation and detention of "illegal foreigners". Lawyers for Human Rights challenged the constitutionality of parts of section 34 in the Pretoria High Court, and sought confirmation in the Constitutional Court of the High Court's order with respect to those provisions that the High Court ruled to be unconstitutional. Despite these constitutional challenges, section 34 remains intact.

Human Rights Watch found violations of the procedures for the arrest, detention, and deportation of "illegal foreigners" by police and immigration officials. These violations have been documented in other research and must be understood as widespread and systematic rather than idiosyncratic and anecdotal. Human Rights Watch also became aware of legal gaps

in the Immigration Act and the Immigration Amendment Act, arising from the administration of the corporate permit provisions and the arrest, detention, and deportation process. These legal violations and gaps, and where applicable, their consequences for the human rights of foreign migrants as provided for in the constitution (Human Rights Watch).

2.16 Conclusion

A considerable amount of research has been conducted on the challenges of integrating foreign migrants into South African communities. From this it is clear that a disparity still remains between the applicable legal rules and the reality confronting foreign nationals in their daily lives. Discrimination is perceived to be an important barrier to integration. Other significant integration barriers include linguistic, educational, and institutional factors. Internal factors (social, cultural, and religious norms, immigrants' own opinions about themselves, lack of motivation and intergenerational mobility) are also serious barriers to integration. Observable characteristics, such as deficits in education and training as well as knowledge of the main language, impede access to the labour market and to steady employment. In this context, labour market institutions and the welfare state are instrumental in facilitating or restricting access to employment and social integration for diverse minority groups. These factors can explain differences in integration across labour markets. On the other hand, attitudes and perceptions held by both the minority and the majority population greatly matter. In other words, the power of self-perception of the minorities as well as discrimination by the majority population can negatively interact and produce insidious pressures to socio-economic integration. In this context, many experts have highlighted the role of the media in shaping public perceptions.

An overview of what constitutes barriers to integration points out that host populations and migrants are most likely to meet each other at work. School is the next most common place where interaction takes place, via their children. The general public feel that the main barriers to interaction are language and the lack of a desire to interact on the part of the migrants. By contrast, migrants feel that a combination of cultural differences, stereotyping and a lack of understanding limits interaction. There is increasing resentment among host populations that migrants are taking employment opportunities from local people, this feeling may also have been exacerbated in the wake of the global crisis. Consequently, the general public feel frightened and threatened by migrants and there is a tendency for them to be more resistant to interaction and integration generally. The main barriers to integration from the perspective of

migrants are language, cultural and religious differences and the negative attitude of the general public towards them.

Generally, at the root of the problem are discrimination and the negative attitude of the general public towards foreign nationals, which are perceived to be the most important barriers to integration. Other significant integration barriers include: linguistic, educational and institutional factors. Socio-economic and cultural integration involves the segregation of foreign nationals into 'ghettos', where they have little contact with the native population, also has a detrimental effect on integration. Considering that cities and their districts are primary areas to foster intercultural dialogue, it is important for governments to develop and obtain the resources to combat racism, xenophobia and all forms of discrimination. It is necessary to invest in districts with a high immigrant concentration in order to fight inequality. In the case of economic integration, foreign nationals are often perceived as having insufficient education and training, sometimes face problems with the recognition of their qualifications and may have a limited knowledge of the main language(s), which restricts their access to the labour market and employment. In this context, labour market institutions and the welfare state have an important role to play. In a number of cases, there is the belief that foreign-nationals are taking employment opportunities from local people. This creates a climate of hostility which can be detrimental to the labour market integration of migrants.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

A research design refers to the methodologies available for researchers to study certain phenomena (Ansell, 2013:15). The study utilised a qualitative research design because it is aimed at reflecting on oral narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa the case of Thohoyandou. According to (Ansell, 2013:19), a case study aims at the exploration or in-depth analysis of phenomena. The study was based on social sciences theory because social science theories provide an explanation, a prediction and generalisation about how the world operates (Ansell, 2013:27) which in the study were oral narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa the case of Thohoyandou.

3.2 Study Area

The study was conducted in Thohoyandou, an area found in Vhembe District in the Limpopo province of South Africa. The area of the study was selected because it is near the border therefore many migrants are found there. It is 150 km from the Beitbridge border and is also the first main economic area after crossing the border into South Africa. The sampling frame was drawn from individuals who were female migrants around Thohoyandou. Respondents will be selected from five places taking three respondents from each place, the places will be Maungani, Phiphidi, Muledane, Makwarela and Manini.

3.3 Population of the Study

A population is a collection of objects, events, or individuals having some common characteristics that the researcher is interested in studying (Mouton, 2009:2). Devos et al., (2011:6) also defines a population as the totality of persons, events, organisations units, case records or other sampling units with which the research problem is concerned. The respondents for the study were females who were migrants around Thohoyandou.

3.4 Sampling method

According to McDonald (2006:81), a sample comprises of elements of the population considered for actual inclusion in the study. Samples are drawn because researchers want to understand the population from which they are drawn and to explain facets of the population. The researcher made use of two non-probability sampling process which comprises of snowball and purposive sampling. These two sampling methods were combined to complement each other. Firstly, the researcher used purposive sampling method and then complemented it with snowball sampling. According to Maree (2007:3), purposive sampling is a method of sampling that is used in special situations where the sampling is done with a specific purpose in mind and where the researcher knows the population very well and also knows the kinds of units or elements to be included in the sample. Purposive sampling was suitable for this study because it enabled the researcher to first find out participants with ideal characteristics required by the study. Thereafter, the participants assisted the researcher to identify other participants with the same characteristics through the snowball procedure.

Snowball sampling process was chosen because it is less complicated and more economical in terms of time and expense (Welman, 2005:28). The researcher established a rapport in order to get respondents. The researcher contacted one respondent who then referred the researcher to other qualifying respondents who possessed the same characteristics. Snowball sampling procedure was considered applicable for the study since it was relevant in terms of getting hold of migrants for inclusion in the study. Therefore, the researcher made use of purposive and snowball sampling method to draw a sample of 15 participant's respondents who were domestic workers are considering different age groups.

3.5 Data Collection Method

Data collection refers to the process of gathering and measuring information on targeted variables in an established systematic manner, which then enables one to answer relevant questions and evaluate outcomes. The goal for all data collection is to capture quality evidence that then translates to rich data analysis and allows the building of a convincing and credible answer to questions that have been posed.

The following data collection method were utilised:

3.5.1 Semi-Structured interviews

Semi-structured interview is a qualitative method of inquiry that combines a pre-determined set of open questions that promote discussions with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses for further clarification (McDonald, 2006:8). The researcher's choice to use semi-structured interviews was influenced by the fact that questions were prepared ahead of time and this allowed the researcher to be prepared and appear competent during the interview. Semi-structured interviews are conducted with a fairly open framework which allows focused, conversational, two-way communication. Data was collected from female migrants who were the respondents in the study, through a semi-structured interview in which open ended questions were asked. The researcher used an interview guide to conduct the semi-structured interviews. Some interviews were tape recorded upon agreement with the participants. The researcher followed a guide which was the tool but allowed to follow topical trajectories in the conversation that were stray from the guide when it seemed appropriate and necessary. Additional questions were added to get more clarity and the nature of questions were altered to suit the educational level and background of respondents.

3.5.2 Documentations

Documents are in two forms primary and secondary sources. The researcher made use of secondary sources in which data was collected from reports and documents from organisations that deal with immigration issues like International Organisation for Migration, South African Human Rights Commission and Lawyers for Human Rights. Secondary sources are generally accounts written after the fact with the benefit of hindsight. They are also interpretations and evaluations of primary sources. Secondary sources are not evidence, rather commentary on and discussion of evidence (Bhutta, 2007:35).

3.6 Data analysis method

Content Analysis is a procedure for the categorisation of verbal or behavioural data, for purposes of classification, summarisation and tabulation. Content analysis involves coding and classifying data, also referred to as categorising and indexing and the aim of context analysis is to make sense of data collected and highlight the important messages, features or findings.

Content Analysis was utilised in the study to analyse data. The researcher sorted, coded and organised data in a manner that will made it easier for the researcher to interpret and understand. Text was summarised by checking key themes, phrases or passages that were used in a more detailed analysis. The researcher listened to all taped recordings and transcribed all tapes verbatim (Mason, 2009:37).

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Dealing with human beings requires ethical consideration; therefore among many ethics the researcher will made use of confidentiality and informed consent. The study was sensitive as it dealt with human beings therefore it was vital to maintain confidentiality. Participants are more likely to provide honest responses when their identity is not going to be exposed therefore the researcher maintained confidentiality of the participants. Informed consent is required in all studies and research using humans as participants. The consent to participate was clearly outlined on the purpose of the study and what the information gathered will be used for. The researcher also used pseudonyms, which is a fictitious name used to conceal an identity.

3.7.1 Confidentiality

Confidentiality refers to a set of rules or a promise that limits access or places restrictions on certain types of information (Coreblum, 2012:18). The researcher ensured confidentiality of the participants by keeping all information about their identity confidential thus it will not be reviewed to anyone for any purpose. Pseudonyms were used to conceal participant's identities.

3.7.2 Informed consent

Informed consent is defined as the permission granted in full knowledge of the possible consequences, benefits if there would be any (Burton, 2012:14). Participants were well informed about the research and consented or agreed to participate there was no coercions or use of force. Informed consent is important as it allows participants to make an informed and voluntary choice to participate or refuse to take part in the research.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS, DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the research findings, analysis and interpretations of results. The purpose of the research was to explore oral narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa the case of Thohoyandou.

4.2 Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation of Results

Fifteen (15) semi-structured interviews with female Zimbabwean migrants who are working as domestic workers were conducted in areas around Thohoyandou which were Makwarela, Manini, Maungani, Muledane and Phiphidi. Fifteen (15) female migrants were interviewed taking into consideration different age groups and taking three (3) participants from each place. The semi-structured interview guide for the female migrants had two sections, the first section was on biographical information, and section two had three questions investigating their narratives. Information collected from the female migrants on their narratives in South Africa is presented and analysed as follows:

4.2.1 Biographical Information

On the biographical information the age, sex and level of education is presented and analysed. The rationale for checking the age of respondents was to find out what age group is more likely to migrate to South Africa. The reason for probing the level of education was to determine the educational level of migrants, who were in the country because, according to literature the educational level of migrants who are in the country is very low and they have no skills to contribute to the economy of South Africa (Solomon 2003:91-92).

4.2.1.1 Age

The reason for probing the age of respondents was to determine the age group of female migrants likely to migrate into the country. The research findings indicate that a large proportion of migrants falls between the age group 20-30. This depicts that an age group that is young, employable and starting families hence their decision to migrate to South Africa so that they will find jobs to support their families back in Zimbabwe. Furthermore it may imply that most of them are young and did not leave anything at home. They might not necessarily be people with responsibilities at home.

4.2.1.2 Level of education

The reason for probing the level of education was to determine the educational level of migrants who were in the country because according to (Solomon 2003:91-92), the educational level of migrants is very low and they can't contribute to the economy of South Africa. The respondents were divided into four categories, those who had no formal education, those with primary education, those with secondary education and those with tertiary education. The research findings indicate that among those who were interviewed majority of the respondents (70%) had no formal education, 20 percent had formal education, and only 10 percent had incomplete secondary education. None had secondary or post-secondary education. These results suggest that low level of education is one of the characteristics of independent female migrants working as domestic workers. Research was conducted in areas that are mostly rural. In this regard, Thohoyandou, being a non-urban, it only attracted less educated migrants; hence most of them are those that can offer unskilled labour force. It can, therefore be concluded that those with less formal education are likely to settle in rural like areas.

4.2.1.3 Marital Status

The purpose of this variable was to probe the marital status of migrants. This helps to find which group is migrating most. The findings indicate that the majority are married individuals who came in search of jobs so that they can provide for their families. A few of the unmarried, indicated that they played the breadwinner role and are either widowed, divorced or separated from their husbands.

4.3 Overview of Results

4.3.1 Integration Challenges

A considerable amount of research has been conducted on the challenges of integrating foreign migrants into South African communities. According to Gordon, (2011:19) it is clear that a disparity still remains between the applicable legal rules and the reality confronting foreign nationals in their daily lives. Discrimination is perceived to be an important barrier to integration. Other significant integration barriers include linguistic, educational, and institutional factors. Internal factors (social, cultural, and religious norms, immigrants' own opinions about themselves, lack of motivation and intergenerational mobility) are also serious barriers to integration. Observable characteristics, such as deficits in education and training as well as knowledge of the main language, impede access to the labour market and to steady employment. In this context, labour market institutions and the welfare state are instrumental in facilitating or restricting access to employment and social integration for diverse minority groups. These factors can explain differences in integration across labour markets. On the other hand, attitudes and perceptions held by both the minority and the majority population greatly matter. In other words, the power of self-perception of the minorities as well as discrimination by the majority population can negatively interact and produce insidious pressures to socio-economic integration. In this context, many experts have highlighted the role of the media in shaping public perceptions. Jane indicated that for migrants to be fully integrated into the South African economy policies of the Home Affairs should be accommodative.

“Home Affairs should have policies that are friendly to us because they show us that we are a problem. They give you 14 days at the border and you are supposed to go to work that is when the boss will tell you that I cannot pay a lot of money for someone who do not have enough papers”¹.

Fukuyama, (2005:19) pointed out that overview of what constitutes barriers to integration points out that host populations and migrants are most likely to meet each other at work. School is the

¹ Jane

next most common place where interaction takes place, via their children. The general public feel that the main barriers to interaction are language and the lack of a desire to interact on the part of the migrants. By contrast, migrants feel that a combination of cultural differences, stereotyping and a lack of understanding limits interaction. There is increasing resentment among host populations that migrants are taking employment opportunities from local people, this feeling may also have been exacerbated in the wake of the global crisis. Consequently, the general public feel frightened and threatened by migrants and there is a tendency for them to be more resistant to interaction and integration generally. The main barriers to integration from the perspective of migrants are language, cultural and religious differences and the negative attitude of the general public towards them. Maria indicated that language and cultural differences sometimes makes it difficult to be integrated into the local societies.

“Language and culture differences are a big issue we try to learn local languages but sometimes it’s not easy because there are many languages here so every time you go to a different place there is a new language and people expect you to learn quickly as soon as you arrive in the country. There are people who will discriminate you and do not want to be friends because you do not speak their language they will tell you that they can’t speak English and if you can’t speak their language there is no way to communicate”².

According to Beauchemin, (2011:23) there is little doubt that immigrants are adding to South Africa’s economic vitality in many ways, including infusing the labour market with much needed skilled and motivated workers, often willing to take on the country’s least attractive jobs. However Beck, 2000 stipulated that there is also little doubt that many South Africans view their arrival as a serious problem rather than an opportunity. While large-scale immigration certainly throws up many challenges for host countries, how serious these challenges are depend on the policies and perceptions of host governments and populations. In the case of South Africa, the immigration regime is far from making the best out of immigration. The approach of criminalisation and clamp-down is denialist in its assumption that immigration can somehow be stopped. It is harmful in its effect on community relations, and it is ineffective in harnessing the skills and energy of migrants to the benefit of South African society. There are no easy solutions to South Africa’s immigration challenges, but the key to a more effective, rewarding and humane immigration approach lies in the pragmatic acknowledgment that international

² Maria

migration is here to stay. The question is how to manage it best for both host society and migrants. South Africa's immigration approach needs a major overhaul. Immigration should not merely be treated as a matter of policing and immigration control, as handled by the DHA, but needs to be taken into account at all levels of planning, whether schooling, healthcare, labour, agriculture, urban planning – and indeed foreign policy (especially in the case of Zimbabwean immigrants). Only then can South Africa make the best out of immigration: tap into its economic potential while remaining true to its post-apartheid goal of African solidarity and integration with the rest of the continent. There is a need to consider more avenues for legal immigration and work permits. It is much more costly, both in economic and societal terms, to harbour an unknown number of undocumented 'illegals' than an above-board immigrant population, who pay taxes and can contribute freely and without fear to the society in which they live. South Africa's asylum regime is in tatters. Asylum applications should be assessed promptly to avoid the abuse of the asylum system by economic migrants as a way to remain in the country. But the current approach of rejecting almost all applications after a cursory and faulty review undermines South Africa's hard-fought for image as a democratic country that cares about international law and human rights (Gordon, 2011:71). Trish indicated that:

“For us to be integrated the Home Affairs should make the process of applying for permits easy because if it remains difficult people will find other ways of coming here which are illegal because we need to work and survive”³.

4.3.2 Assimilation

Assimilation is a process in which persons of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds come to interact, free of these constraints, in the life of the larger community. Wherever representatives of different racial and cultural groups live together, some individuals of subordinate status (whether or not they constitute a numerical minority) become assimilated. Complete assimilation would mean that no separate social structures based on racial or ethnic concepts remained. Assimilation may be distinguished from accommodation, a process of compromise characterized by toleration, and from acculturation, or cultural change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more cultural systems or the transference of individuals from their original societies and cultural settings to new sociocultural environments. Assimilation is to be distinguished also from amalgamation, or biological fusion (Williams, 2012:303). Chido

³ Trish

indicated that, for female migrants to be assimilated local citizens should know that we are all Africans and humans so we should treat each other with respect,

“We are all humans and we should be nice to each other we are here to try and make a living not to do bad things to anyone”⁴.

Acharya, (2009:27) indicated that generally, at the root of the problem are discrimination and the negative attitude of the general public towards foreign nationals, which are perceived to be the most important barriers to assimilation. Other significant barriers include: linguistic, educational and institutional factors. Socio-economic and cultural integration involves the segregation of foreign nationals into ‘ghettos’, where they have little contact with the native population, also has a detrimental effect on integration. Considering that cities and their districts are primary areas to foster intercultural dialogue, it is important for governments to develop and obtain the resources to combat racism, xenophobia and all forms of discrimination. It is necessary to invest in districts with a high immigrant concentration in order to fight inequality. In the case of economic assimilation, foreign nationals are often perceived as having insufficient education and training, sometimes face problems with the recognition of their qualifications and may have a limited knowledge of the main language(s), which restricts their access to the labour market and employment. In this context, labour market institutions and the welfare state have an important role to play. In a number of cases, there is the belief that foreign-nationals are taking employment opportunities from local people. This creates a climate of hostility which can be detrimental to the labour market integration of migrants. Maidei pointed out that,

“Sometimes we are blamed for taking jobs and other people they just dislike you because you are not a local citizen, they generalize that we are all witches and thieves so sometimes it makes you uncomfortable”⁵.

4.3.3 Health

The health axis relates to use of public hospitals and services rendered by medical practitioners. As is the case generally in South Africa, migrants and minorities can, in theory, choose between public and private health care. In reality however, access to private health

⁴ Chido

⁵ Maidei

care relies on subscription to some form of private health insurance scheme. In practice this is available only to that section of the population in employment and whose employer provides such a scheme as part of an overall employment package. This is certainly the case for this research. The more affluent the migrant the less likely he or she is to use public health facilities. In relation to those interviewees they said they cannot afford to use private health care hence public health care where they faced dissatisfaction related to standard of service in general. The interviewee's ethnic, national or cultural background did affect the standard of care given. Three women mentioned that when they consult at the hospital they use English since they are not familiar with the local language and this sometimes upset the nurses who then become rude and insult them saying 'if you cannot speak the language why do you come here? , you should learn it because you are here in South Africa.

Yvonne complained of negative treatment:

"I once went to the hospital with a knee problem, and after waiting for hours the nurses did not take me seriously. They kept telling me not to speak in English but to speak in Venda. When I explained that I had a problem with my knee the nurse. Then I was asked which country I came from, and 'aren't there hospitals or doctors in your country? I was so angry"⁶.

Literature also supported this noting that communication barriers in the form of language and social norms can hamper migrant's ability to acculturate. (Kim, 2001:40). Whilst language barriers are self-explanatory, social norms refers to the different socially acceptable ways in which people interact, from non-verbal language such as gestures, body language, and facial expressions, to the way people express emotions, and address one another (Earley, 2007:47). Thus, anxiety, misunderstanding and friction can arise due communication problems and a lack of knowledge of the social and behavioural skills of the new environment (Ward, 2001:24).

There are a number of significant points to note here. First, migrants are entitled to public medical treatment. Secondly, the language spoken by users of public health facilities should not be a concern of medical personnel. Universal health care is by virtue of its universality, not language specific, and even if it was it is unlikely that trained medical personnel working in

⁶ Yvonne

public hospitals do not speak English. The nurse in question assumed he or she had the right to impose a language demand on the patient. Third, the assumption that the patient was in some way underhanded, seeking 'a report' in order to gain recourse to public funds, operates on a cultural stereotype of migrants and as being in some way immoral. Fourth, the patient was made to feel unwelcome because of his status as a migrant, in effect, the nurse, assumed the role of immigration officer, questioning the individual's rights. Fifth, and most importantly, the patient, having been made to feel like a second-class citizen. Literature pointed out that migrants cause a strain on public health facilities. Solomon (2000:39), as migrants illegally enter into South Africa there would be no information on the status of their health. This will then cause a strain on the health facilities in South Africa in the sense that some diseases are airborne and contagious and as they are spread to many South Africans the number of people who will then seek medical attention will increase since many immigrants are from 'strife –ravaged areas' where they could hardly access medical treatment due to their countries' collapsed health systems hence posing a burden on the South African health system. The issue of HIV and AIDS was also discussed by Payne (2004:68) pointing out how those foreigners as they will be desperate for jobs, money and accommodation may engage in transactional sex as a survival skill thereby transmitting the virus. Therefore the more people contact the pandemic disease the more the demand for anti-retroviral treatment thereby straining the health sector in South Africa. However, if considered that migrants and minorities from a poorer socioeconomic status group, they are least likely to have private medical insurance and consequently more likely to seek public health treatment, then the negative experience is more likely amplified for poorer migrants. Therefore the research found out that there is evidence to suggest that the experience of public health treatment can have a negative impact on intercultural integration.

4.4 Income Patterns

In general, domestic worker's incomes are very low throughout the Third World. With the exception of domestic service, wages have been less regular in the informal sector than in the formal sector. In the case of Thohoyandou, the situation for female migrants was serious. Along with low and irregular wages, they are constrained to have better living standards.

In addition to different rates of pay, female migrants can find themselves struggling to get a job. Lucia said:

“South Africans take 1600 rands and I take 1200 rands for the same job. They don’t like to give us jobs. Sometimes they tell you to keep coming back and check then they will tell you that because you are a migrant I cannot give you a job, you foreign people should not be trusted you are thieves”⁷.

As Mason (1996:126) postulates migrants take jobs that most citizens in the host country do not take. As migrants fill up these jobs they lighten the load of producers and consumers hence resulting in gains in economic welfare. Furthermore he stated that it is a fact that immigrants are a source of low cost labour, passing these costs reductions to the consumer thereby the host country benefits economically. In addition he put forward that the goods produced through the efforts of migrant workers can also generate additional profits since the goods can be sold at lower prices. He went on to state that depending on where smaller businesses are located and the makeup of the available labour, a steady supply of migrant candidates to fill up job openings will boost produce. Still explaining economic gains as a positive impact of having migrants in South Africa, he also stated that migrants often come to host countries to pursue economic opportunities that are not available in their native countries; hence they are in most cases more than willing to work for lower wages than South African citizens. Similarly Crush (2005:13) also stated that migrants, pay taxes like property taxes, social security, sales tax and income tax providing a boost for the South African economy. In fact many illegal migrants pay social security taxes and never collect it due to the fact that they give fake social security numbers to their employers hence if they try to claim it they could get caught and face deportation. On the contrary migrants were seen to be taking jobs away from South African citizens hence increasing the unemployment rate in the country as they were seen accepting low wages for long hours of work. They were seen as depressing the remuneration of local labour. (Welman, 2005:4-5) postulated that and went on to indicate that this was due to the fact that they accepted wages below market wages which local people refused to take, therefore this was viewed as a cause of conflict and at the same time contributing to unemployment of approximately thirty- four to thirty-five percent, migrants were undermining the ability of South African labour unions to fight for better wages for their citizens. According to Crush (2005:19) the perception that foreigners steal jobs from South Africans and negatively impacted on the job sector was true to a larger extent .This was in line with the fact it is impossible to enforce legal labour standards due to the illegality of some foreigners and the fact that they avoid being identified for fear of deportation.

⁷ Lucia

Paida said some of the problems faced by a live-in domestic worker like myself is:

“Mostly the language, when you come to South Africa local language will be new therefore communication will be difficult when you are working. Second is the food, the food is different, there are some employers who don’t care, I don’t eat achaar and they will shout if you say you do not eat certain food they will say if you don’t eat what we are eating and you think I will buy food specifically for you only, you will starve, you are staying here with us so eat our food. There are people who understand and people who don’t understand. Sometimes you are overworked, working much overtime because you stay with them they wake you up to cook for visitors who come late. Our work is more heavily supervised. They do not shout at South Africans who work for them and they expect us to do the job ten times better than the South African domestic worker or we are threatened with unemployment”⁸.

Similarly literature indicated that communication barriers in the form of language and social norms can hamper international students’ ability to acculturate and poses a great barrier to academic success, which is usually one of the key objectives of the international students (Kim, 2001:321). Whilst language barriers are self-explanatory, social norms refers to the different socially acceptable ways in which people interact, from non-verbal language such as gestures, body language, and facial expressions, to the way people express emotions, and address one another (Earley,2007:55). Thus, anxiety, misunderstanding and friction can arise due communication problems and a lack of knowledge of the social and behavioural skills of the new environment (Ward, 2001:88).

Mary, explains why she and her family moved to South Africa,

“My father was a marginal farmer with a few acres of land adjacent to the river in a village in Masvingo district. The farming land was under constant threat of erosion because of its location and the nature of the river. My father had to maintain a large family of 11. To reduce his burden, my mother had to take part-time work. Our economic condition was never stable and it became desperate when all my father’s land was eroded away by the river. He started working as a contract agricultural labourer in the village. His earnings, along with my mother’s, were insufficient to maintain a large family. My grandparents, who lived with us, were perennially ill because of their old age. All of us seven brothers and sisters were sickly and one of us was always suffering

⁸ Paيدا

from some disease because of the lack of proper nutrition. Our economic condition further deteriorated. We became destitute and our poverty became unbearable for my parents as well as for us. We all, therefore, decided to move to South Africa where all of us could be involved with some kind of work and fight poverty. My mother found two part-time jobs with my aunt's assistance within several days of our arrival, my father became a construction labourer, and I took a full-time domestic worker job"⁹.

Literature supported this by indicating that potential migrants are pulled by economic incentives. People tend to move to countries where they find the same or better work they were doing back home to be more rewarding in terms of wages and salaries, therefore migrants are drawn to countries where they can benefit more economically (McDonald, 2005:72). For example, Zimbabwean migrants who settle in South Africa, some of them do not move due to unemployment but in fact they are attracted by a sizeable wage gap between the two countries. Hence to say that people migrate from Zimbabwe to South Africa because they are attracted by the higher hourly wages rather than the opportunity to find employment in general. Zimbabwe has a ninety five percent unemployment rate. Out of the country's 12 million people, only 480,000 have formal jobs therefore its nationals tend to migrate to South Africa for economic purposes such as employment seeking and greener pastures. Hope for better employment, more money, better food, shelter, and hope for family to have a higher standard of living are among the economic factors pushing many Zimbabweans away from their homes (Crush, 2008:3). In Zimbabwe, the economic conditions have deteriorated badly and the lower income group people have no way to cope with the hardship and high levels of unemployment hence their decision to migrate (Williams, 2005:3-4).

Tsitsi said,

"When we arrived in South Africa, we had so little money that there was not enough to buy even a meal for the family of eight. I was going from door to door to get some kind of domestic work and with my determination I was successful in finding work within a week"¹⁰.

Literature postulated that migrants are pulled from their countries of origins by demand of labour in certain places or countries. If ever people are aware that a certain country is in need

⁹ Mary

¹⁰ Tsitsi

of labour they tend to migrate where much labour is needed (Welman, 2005:37). Migrant's low skilled labour force is needed to support developing countries growing economies hence low skilled employment opportunities are available in developing countries. For example in South Africa a lot of people employed in the mining industries and seasonal agricultural workers are migrants from neighbouring countries such as Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. These migrants are pulled to settle in South Africa due to the demand for labour since many South African citizen refuse to take up these low skilled and low paying jobs yet foreign migrants will be more than willing to take up these jobs since they will not be having such opportunities in their countries (Vigneswaran, 2007:49). Migrants often come to host countries to pursue economic opportunities that are not available in their native countries; hence they are in most cases more than willing to work for lower wages than South African citizens.

Most migrants indicated that it was easier to get a job in South Africa even if you are not educated; there were many job opportunities in the informal sector unlike in Zimbabwe. They also stated that the cost of living in South Africa was cheap as compared to Zimbabwe therefore it was easy to provide for their families since they will be spending less in South Africa hence allowing them to send money back home. They said that since Zimbabwe's economy had dropped the currency used is either South African rand or the US currency which is too costly for ordinary Zimbabweans. Most respondents indicated that they came to South Africa because there was high unemployment in Zimbabwe and they could hardly get a job in the informal sector and it was better to come to South Africa where you could get such opportunities. Brenda said,

“When I saw a friend who came to South Africa working as a domestic worker coming back home with groceries and other commodities, I was inspired to migrate to South Africa so I can also look after my family”¹¹.

This statement by a respondent concurs with literature (Crush, 2005:34) which indicates that social networks stimulate migration because when other migrants return home from South Africa, they brought goods bought in South Africa, and those who wished to migrate were then motivated to do so.

¹¹ Brenda

While economic theories place more emphasis on economic opportunities (Todaro, 2009), his study found out that social and family-related reasons are some of the important factors behind female migration. Selected quotes from respondents' shows that there are other reasons apart from economic ones. Conflict at the household. Vimbai said,

“My family is not in harmony. My husband used to beat me every day. Conflicts within my family made me run away to live peacefully. I had no one to support me therefore I decided to leave and work. Life was so difficult that I could not even afford body lotion”¹².

Study by Massey (2013:14) reflected the fact that aside from economic reasons for migrating, migrants also weigh the social effects of migrating to foreign lands. The associated costs and risks are seen to be reduced when some form of networks already exist in foreign lands. With the migration network already formed, the costs for future migrants are lowered (Rapport, 2007:15), since arriving and trying to survive in a new country is unlikely to come relatively effortlessly.

Sekai said,

“Farming and wood gathering were a tiring routine. That was my life and I did not like it. We used to go to bed on an empty stomach. I have a sick sibling and used to feel sorry for her. My parents have no money. I decided to work and support them”¹³.

According to literature this finding is supported since migration can be viewed as a result of risk aversion on the part of a household that has insufficient income. The household, in this case, is in need of extra capital that can be achieved through remittances sent back by family members who participate in migrant labour abroad. These remittances can also have a broader effect on the economy of the sending country as a whole as they bring in capital. Other researchers find that the location-specific nature of housing is more important than moving costs in determining labour reallocation (Vigneswaran 2007:4).

¹² Vimbai

¹³ Sekai

Various factors pushed migrants from their country of origin. They range from conflicts, hunger and poverty. These factors contribute to certain anticipation which further pushes the migrants from the country of origin. Ruvimbo,

“I was born and brought up in poverty. I grew tired of it. I therefore decided to migrate and work”¹⁴.

This finding is similar to literature. Muzvidziwa, (1998:37) supports this finding by noting that poverty was at first held to be a key driver of migration. However there are other school of thought with a different view indicating that, since the early 1990s it has been recognised that the poorest often cannot migrate since resources are needed to do so, especially for international migration (Mello, 2008:33). It is therefore typically not the ‘poorest of the poor’ who migrate (UNDP 2009). While there may be a strong relationship between migration, poverty and its alleviation, poverty in itself may not be a driver of migration (Solomon, 2000:74).

4.5 Expectations

The following are migrants’ expectations. Expectations upon migrating female migrants, just like others, they had their expectations when they decided to migrate. The majority of the respondents mentioned that they expected to get money to support their families back in rural areas. Others said they expected to get money and start up small businesses. A few said they were looking forward to going back to school. Although these expectations can be itemized, they fall into four broad categories namely to improve living standard; support family; foster further education; and gain peace of mind. Fadzai said,

“I came to find money to take care of my family, when I came I thought it will be easy making a lot of money. I expected to get a job that would give me enough money to send my family but working as a maid do not pay that much”¹⁵.

Literature also indicated the same. Hope for better employment, more money, better food, shelter, and hope for family to have a higher standard of living are among the economic factors pushing many Zimbabweans away from their homes (Crush, 2008:3). Economic factors provide

¹⁴ Ruvimbo

¹⁵ Fadzai

the main motivation behind migration. In fact, according to the International Labour Organization, approximately half of the total population of current international migrants, or about 100 million migrant workers, have left home to find better job and lifestyle opportunities for their families abroad (International Labour Office of the Director-General, 2008). In some countries, jobs simply do not exist for a great deal of the population. In other instances, the income gap between sending and receiving countries is great enough to warrant a move. India, for example, has recently experienced a surge in emigration due to a combination of these factors (Mundi, 2012:17). Many skilled workers are attracted by lucrative salary packages (Dzvimbo 2003: 6). Looking at the points noted above one can see it's true in flight of the influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa in search for jobs and indeed searching for greener pastures.

Generally economic factors are the well-known motivation reason behind migration. The International Labour Organization indicates that half of the total population of international migrants in Southern Africa have departed their homes to find better jobs and lifestyle opportunities (International Labour Office of the Director-General, 2008). In some countries employment is unavailable; therefore people are pushed to migrate due to unavailability of jobs to settle in places where they can get jobs. Similarly this study found out that migrants expected to have better living conditions due to availability of jobs.

This study also discovered that some migrants when they came to South Africa they expected to further their education or at least raise enough money to further their education when they went back home. Jane said,

“I came to get further education. My aunt promised to take me back to school after two years of taking care of her younger baby but it hasn't happened yet now all that am doing is working as a maid”¹⁶.

As indicated by McDonald (2006:8-9), migrants were seen sending their relatives and children to South African schools hence improving their education levels. It is in this regard that migrants staying next to borders use South African schools for themselves, for example Zimbabweans staying in Beitbridge near Musina are making use of these schools. More so Dereck indicated that most South African universities enrol foreign students.

¹⁶ Jane

Female migrants have their expectations which vary from person to person. Majority of the respondents aimed at improving their lives. This observation underscores the importance of migration for improved lives. Migrants' perception of income differential between countries is an important factor behind decision to migrate (Todaro, 2009:17). Suggest that the primary motivation for migration is not development but rather the need to acquire income and improve lives. However, improvements in lives of migrants is likely to be frustrated by the rules of engagement between migrant and employer as well as what the former has to offer given that they are not skilled.

Domestic work is not only an important employment opportunity for women but also a phenomenon of staggering significance in southern Africa (Cockerton, 2007:67). Domestic workers find jobs through various ways. In Thohoyandou, domestic workers are recruited through word of mouth, family connections or through relatives and friends. Others are recruited through companies. The company recruitment approach is a new phenomenon. These companies recruit young women. In some cases, they retain and train their recruits for at least two weeks before bringing them out in the market. The following presents recruitment process and terms of service, pitting them against migrants' expectations. Those who hire domestic workers through these companies have to pay an equivalent of a month's salary to the latter. Participants indicated that, the monthly salary for domestic workers stands at one thousand five hundred rands (1,500), equivalent to 107 US dollars. However, this salary is payable to maids who do not live in the same households as their employers. Those who live with their employers are supposed to be paid one thousand rands (1,000) equivalent to about 71 US dollars (African Review of Economics and Finance, Vol 5, No 1, September 2016).

A contract is signed between the company and the employer. In fact a domestic worker does not enter into any negotiations with either the company or employer. The employer is given three weeks upon which if unsatisfied by the domestic worker he or she can take her back and recruit another without having to pay an equivalent of a month's salary. Some companies are registered others are not. This complicates security and rights of female migrant workers.

In case the domestic worker quits within three weeks, the company is obliged to replace or refund the employer. There are no terms of service attached to the recruitment. The only advantage that domestic workers recruited through companies have over those recruited through a word of mouth is that the former are paid their salary regularly. This is possible

because the employer signed a contract with the recruiting company. On the other hand those recruited through families, friends or relatives, sometimes go without pay. There are several cases of exploitation and abuse of domestic workers recruited through friends and families. In terms of working hours, both company and family recruited domestic workers work long hours with no holidays. Their movements and communication with families in areas of origin are largely restricted.

Selected quotes of respondent's achievements. Maria said,

“At least I can send some money and second hand clothes to my parents, unlike when I was just seating at home I couldn't do anything for them, from the little I get paid I sacrifice for my parents its better than nothing, I am in a better placed than I was in my country. My life has improved a little”¹⁷.

Literature postulated that potential migrants are pulled by economic incentives. People tend to move to countries where they find the same or better work they were doing back home to be more rewarding in terms of wages and salaries, therefore migrants are drawn to countries where they can benefit more economically. (McDonald, 2006:72) For example, Zimbabwean migrants who settle in South Africa, some of them do not move due to unemployment but in fact they are attracted by a sizeable wage gap between the two countries. Hence to say that people migrate from Zimbabwe to South Africa because they are attracted by the higher hourly wages rather than the opportunity to find employment in general.

Although some migrants have achieved their goals, majority have not. The below quotes indicate that failure to achieve the goals is largely attributed to poor working conditions especially in meagre salary and irregular payment. Limited savings capacity of most migrants' workers is recognized as an impediment to remit money to families in country of origin. It is worth noting that, migrants working as domestic workers are normally unskilled hence failure to get a higher paying employment. However, better recruitment process and terms of service are paramount to ensuring that migrants are able to achieve their goals even if they do not have higher paying employments. Mary said,

“My life is still difficult. I have not yet achieved my goals, because I am not paid regularly. How can I change my life while the salary is so small? I get only 1000 rands

¹⁷ Maria

a month the salary is not big enough to improve my life. My intention was to study and do my own business. But this is the second year in South Africa and I do not have any hopes to realize my goals”¹⁸.

Literature postulated that migrants allow services to be provided for lower prices to South African citizens. According to McDonald (2006:16) migrants who in most cases are largely unskilled, end up in low level jobs like agriculture, construction, housekeeping, landscaping or restaurants. He went on to state that migrants provide these services cheaper than the nationals. With most migrants concentrated in four areas, which are farming, food preparation, hospitality, tourism, construction and personal services, these services can be offered to South African citizens at considerably lower prices than they would be if they were staffed by South African workers. For example, if most housekeepers would be migrants without qualifications that would mean South Africans could pay their housekeepers less and still remain competitive. The money a family saves on this service could be then used elsewhere in the family budget.

Almost all respondents indicated that they left their country due to the poor economic conditions and came to South Africa to look for employment. In this study, the majority of migrants came to seek employment. This is confirmed by a study carried out by McDonald (2006:6), which indicated that most migrants come into the country to look for employment. The high inflation rate made it difficult for them to afford basic commodities with high rate of unemployment. Others indicated that employment was there but due to the poor currency it was like working for nothing.

The study found out that female migrants are exploited and work under poor conditions in the areas around Thohoyandou. Majority of the participants that is 8 out of 10 participants, they get wages that are way below the poverty datum line. They cannot afford to buy basic commodities and access basic services such as education for their children. Fadzai was quoted verbatim:

“I only earn 50-70 rand per day and the money is not enough for me. I cannot afford to buy basic commodities for myself and the family. That amount of money can only buy a few items to eat and on top of that I have children who have to go to school. To make matters worse I have my old parents to support at home. My sister things are tough for me but I have no choice because I cannot get any other job besides part time domestic

¹⁸ Mary

work. Sometimes we are taken advantage of us because they know that we are desperate for jobs. If I quit the job today tomorrow they can get another maid”¹⁹.

This assertion supports the study by Mafukata (2015:1) which found out that the majority of Zimbabwean nationals work in the informal sector providing cheap labour to local citizens absorbed as domestic workers, security guards and taxi drivers amongst others. Mafukata (2015:7) reported that the majority of Zimbabwean nationals, unlike other foreign nationals of Ghanaian, Ethiopian and Somali origin are never involved in informal entrepreneurship such as retail and grocery shop entrepreneurship which could employ South Africans. This is in line with the findings of this study because of all the 15 participants, none of them is into entrepreneurship such as retail or have a grocery shop.

According to Mafukata (2015:1), most of the jobs that migrants take in the local communities are manual jobs that the local nationals are reluctant to partake and jobs that they despise. Therefore, similarities can be drawn between Mafukata (2015:1) study and this study. Both studies found out that Zimbabwean nationals provide cheap labour to local citizens around Thohoyandou and they are not into entrepreneurship such as retail or a grocery shops. Above all, they get wages that are way below the poverty datum line that cannot meet their basic necessities to have a good standard of living. However, to a lesser extent difference can be pin pointed between Mafukata (2015:1) and this study. Firstly, Mafukata (2015:3) study focused on illegal immigrants only and included both genders whilst this study focused on female migrants only. In addition, Mafukata (2015:1) study was conducted in the Nzhelele area of Vhembe District, whilst this study was conducted in areas around Thohoyandou but however all the areas are found in Vhembe District of Limpopo Province.

Conclusively, this study found out that female migrants are subjected to cheap labour and they struggle to make ends meet since the wages they get are not enough to cater for basic commodities and well-being.

4.6 Xenophobia

This study found out that some participants outlined that local people complain that they are taking their jobs hence they end up being attacked or verbally abused and harassed.

¹⁹ Fadzai

Trish said that:

“Many local people complain that we are taking their jobs. We are insulted and harassed in the streets and even in the taxis sometimes. However, honestly, I have never been physically attacked but the local people around here call us all sought of names. They tell us to go back to our country and fix it”²⁰.

Yvonne said:

“The most hurtful thing is that locals here complain that we are taking their jobs but what is surprising is that the kind of jobs that we are doing they don’t like them. Most of the jobs we do are menial jobs like farming and working as maids. The local people despise these kinds of jobs and my sister to be honest with you, we work very hard and these jobs are very hard and we earn peanuts. So, I am always surprised when local people say that we are taking their jobs because I think everyone around Venda knows that during rainy season jobs are available in the farms or that when its winter it’s a season to harvest for example oranges in the farms, so these kinds of jobs are open to everyone. It would make sense if I was having a degree and having a nice job but I don’t have a degree. So personally, I just think that it’s just natural hatred for us foreigners and not because we are taking their Jobs. It’s very tough being a woman in a foreign country”²¹.

Trish and Yvonne assertions shows that xenophobia exist around Venda in one way or another and maybe much of it goes unreported or unnoticed. It perfectly falls under the description of xenophobia. According to McDonald and Jacobs (2005:13) xenophobia refers to a “deep dislike of foreigners”. It is a behavior that manifests itself in government, public and the media. According to Crush (2008:36) and Harris (2001:28) xenophobic prejudice is subtle, blunt and even violent. It is said to be dehumanizing and damaging. The xenophobic violence that erupted in May 2008 in the South African areas of Alexandra and Soshanguve, is an example of how violent it can get. Xenophobia is said to thrive where there is competition for scarce resources and employment (CoRMSA 2008:26-27; Maharaj 2004:7; Mello 2008:22). It is also caused by accessible stereotypes which help justify the behavior (Crush 2001:15). However, worth noting is the fact that if xenophobia thrives where there is competition for scarce resources and employment as stated by CoRMSA (2008:26-27); Maharaj (2004:7), Mello

²⁰ Trish

²¹ Yvonne

(2008:22), then why is it in Thohoyandou, there is no competition for menial jobs and working in farms but still it exists? Therefore, this indicates that there is a plethora of reasons that causes xenophobia and it exist in different forms depending from one area to another. However, the most common basic factor for other studies and this study is that the most contributing factor is prejudice and may be hatred of foreigners.

Furthermore, literature by the following Duffield, (2009:38); Hanekom and Webster, 2009-2010; Hungwe, 2012; Isike, (2012:35) postulate that the causes of the “hatred” of foreign nationals is informed by dubious, unfounded allegations, rumors, ill-conceived perceptions propagated by the electronic media and the press, populist politicians wanting to score political points by exploiting the fears of the citizens while at the same time raising their public profiles where it matters, ignorant South Africans who are lagging behind in terms of inter-culturalism and multi-culturalism in post-colonial Africa and pure paddling of public lies about foreigners in South Africa. Some of the literature (Isike, 2012:32) argued that South Africans were Afro-phobic because their Xenophobia is mainly directed towards other Africans rather than another ethnic group from somewhere else.

On the one hand literature by (Hicks, 2011:28) argued that some South Africans claim that foreign nationals bring foreign religions and cultures into South Africa, were criminals, practice witchcraft and ritual murders to extract human body parts to bring luck to their businesses, sickness – bringing diseases over the borders to the country, taking South African women from them, illegally benefiting from various government social service dispensation – especially government grants and low-cost housing, taking over informal business space and market, and so forth. Hicks (2011:26) went on to call South Africa “a harsh climate of Xenophobia...a vestige from the apartheid era” while Valji (2003:23) calls the country “the evil story of the beginnings of fascism”. From these postulations, it is evident that issues of Xenophobia in South Africa are deep and challenging for immediate resolution before something explodes. Despite concerns by some literature such as Hicks (2011:19) who was of the opinion that the causes of Xenophobia in South Africa are, and remain largely illusive, some of the reviewed literatures demonstrate desperation to find the causes, and to provide solutions to Xenophobia in South Africa. However, worth noting is the fact that this study was carried out in Thohoyandou only, therefore some of the points raised above do not apply to female migrants around Thohoyandou but literature from other areas in South Africa is necessary to include in order to outline the different context that xenophobia exist in different South African communities. As a result, this study concludes that xenophobia exists in different forms and it is caused by unique

different causes depending with the area but above all it exists and it's a big problem in South Africa.

Assertion of Yvonne about prejudgment by locals that foreigners are taking their jobs supports the assertion by Maharaj (2004:7) who noted that foreign migrants are seen as taking jobs away from South Africans which thereby increase the unemployment rate in the country because they accept low wages. Tevera and Zinyama (2002:29-31) concurs with Maharaj (2004:7) by stating that foreign nationals are seen as depressing the remuneration of local labour. This is because they accept wages below market wages which local people refuse to take, and this causes conflict and contributes to unemployment rates of local people hence the fact that South Africa has a high unemployment rate of 35-45% according to (Simelane 1999:4-5 and Solomon 1996:9 and Danso and McDonald (2006:14).

Migrants are said to be undermining the ability of the South African labour unions to fight for better wages for the South Africans. According to Crush (2008:33), the perception that foreigners steal jobs from South Africans is not based on personal experience because 85% of respondents in a 2006 survey indicated that they have no personal experience or met anyone who lost a job to a foreigner. Organizations such as the Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) (2007) indicated that the perception that illegal migration impact negatively on the job sector is true because it is impossible to enforce legal labour standards due to their illegality nature and the fact that they avoid being identified due to fear of deportation.

The International Labour Office (ILO) (1998) do not dispute that illegal immigrants may have an impact on South Africa's employment sector; the problem is that illegal immigrants are not documented. It therefore becomes difficult to determine how they contribute to South Africa's unemployment rate due to their clandestine nature. Migrants are seen as playing a role in the country's industrial development serving as a backbone of key export-oriented sectors. They are said to have been essential in the creation of wealth and industrial expansion. Migrants help in that there is low production expenditure and thus constitute a cost advantage. South Africa is said to be getting a "docile" cheap labour especially in labour intensive sectors like agriculture and mining which makes up to 15% of South Africa's GDP (ILO: 1998). However, the findings of this study do not agree with the literature above because female migrants around Thohoyandou do menial jobs and work that is despised by locals which renders flat the point that foreigner's take jobs away from foreigners.

4.7 Consequences of Female Migration

4.7.1 Social and economic consequences

A pervasive feature of many economies is the large population segment employed in the informal sectors. Given their low level of education, female migrants are left with no option than joining the informal sector (Acharya, 2009:72). Some jobs in the informal sector require no formal training. Working in a household as a maid is one of these jobs. These jobs fall outside the legal tax system, leading to poor working conditions such as working longer with low and irregular pay without any legal protection (Hugo, 2006:89).

Problems experienced by migrants translate into failure to adequately support their families in countries of origin. The study found that female migration did not result in improved household income or improved livelihood through remittances. Migrants visit their families in their countries of origin once or twice in a year or two years. They cannot visit home more often because they cannot afford it with salaries too small and irregular. Furthermore, they cannot possibly travel without their employers' consent which, due to lack of terms of services between the employer and employee, remains unpredictable. Sometimes migrant workers visit home only after a fallout with their employers, marking the expiration of their service in a household. Some participants indicated negative consequences of their migration. Due to hard working conditions which go with low wages, some of the migrant workers become a burden to their families whom are looking after their children they left behind when they came to look for work. Some participants indicated that they regret their decision to migrate. The migrants used to assist with household chores and farm work back at home. Now that they are not at home, a lot more manual activities fall on the shoulders of their aging parents who are looking after their children at home. Lucia said,

“If I had enough money I would send my parents some to hire people to help them with rural work because they are old and I left my three children with them and I do not earn enough money to support them”²².

Literature indicated that poverty was at first held to be a key driver of migration. However, since the early 1990s it has been recognised that the poorest often cannot migrate since resources

²² Lucia

are needed to do so, especially for international migration (Mello, 2008:33). It is therefore typically not the 'poorest of the poor' who migrate (UNDP 2009). While there may be a strong relationship between migration, poverty and its alleviation, poverty in itself may not be a driver of migration (Solomon, 2000:74). Acknowledgement of this has led to much debate about the relationship between migration and development, in particular whether development can reduce the pressures that drive migration or in fact can stimulate more migration by giving people the resources to move. Some of these debates have been reflected in the policy field, where there has long been concern to address the 'root causes' of migration. Essentially this has meant that initiatives aiming to reduce migration. (Mason, 1996:62) In addressing the factors held to drive migration, especially violent conflict, disparities in living standards, and poverty in countries migrants come from: promoting development, alleviating poverty and reducing conflict in origin countries are thus the means to these ends. These included measures to alleviate migration pressure through development and conflict prevention.

If the child is in the village, there has to be financial support to help parents. In many instances, this financial support is not forthcoming. On the other hand, some families receive support from their daughters who are lucky enough to land into the hands of benevolent employers. Such workers are able to support their families, and their migration is considered to have positive consequences to their families in the country of origin.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter an analysis of the research findings was presented. Data was collected from Fifteen (15) female migrants. The aim of the chapter was to explore on narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa. Chapter five will draw conclusions from the research findings together with literature review outlined in chapter two. The following chapter will also make recommendations.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter draws conclusions based on the research findings and literature review on oral narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa: the case of Thohoyandou. Recommendations based on the findings and literature review will also be made.

5.2 Summary of Research

The research was meant to explore oral narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa. The study was undertaken in areas around Thohoyandou in the Limpopo Province. In achieving the objectives of this study, the research outlined the chapters. Chapter one indicated the nature of the research problem, aims and objectives of the study, the research questions, definition of concepts and the significance of the study. Literature review was reviewed in Chapter two which formed the theoretical framework for the research. It outlined the historical overview of migration, the reasons for migration and the impact of migration in South Africa. From the literature it became clear that there were the economic impact of the migrants on the resources of the country. Social networks and the political and economic conditions in the country of origin were seen to be playing a major role in migration to South Africa. Chapter three dealt with the research methodology, giving explicit analysis of the design used, the area under study, the population of the study, sample selection method and size, data collection methods and analysis. The study was qualitative in nature. It was conducted in South Africa's Limpopo Province in the areas around Thohoyandou. The study targeted female Zimbabwean migrant's population. It utilised purposive and snowball sampling methods. A semi-structured interview guide was used to collect data from female migrants.

Data presentation, analysis and interpretation of data was done in Chapter four. The responses gathered through the semi-structured interview guide were sorted, coded, organised and indexed, and then analysed and interpreted. The sample size was fifteen (15) female migrants. The focus was to explore oral narratives of selected female migrants in South Africa. Chapter five presented the conclusion drawn from the research basing on the literature review and the findings of the study. Recommendations were also made.

5.3 Recommendations

The recommendations in this study are based on the findings of the study and the body of literature reviewed and presented in chapter two. This study recommends a plethora of intervention measures which may help to improve the plight of female migrants in South Africa.

5.4 Policies and key concepts

5.4.1 Education

Although history of African heritage is part of the South African school curriculum, it seems like there is still need for more dissemination of information with regards to African history, culture and also current geopolitics to learners and the public. Campaigns about migrants will assist in educating the broader public and society at large understand who the foreigners in South Africa are, where they come from and why they are in South Africa. A concrete suggestion emerged to organise peer-learning opportunities for High school learners crossing cultural, class and race divides.

5.4.2 Immigration policy and integration

South Africa needs clear and concise immigration policies. Those policies need to address the question of integration because the current policy has some loopholes and shortcomings hence the reason why illegal immigration is rife. Besides reforming integration there is also need to revise the stringent measures immigrants are required to adhere to so as to curb illegal immigration. As much as South Africa does not have camps for refugees it also does not have any form of integration policies in place to ensure foreigners who arrive in South Africa are integrated into society. It is left to local communities to understand this and deal with the increased number of the influx of migrants. A key aspect to regulating immigration is a zero tolerance for corruption within Home Affairs. Comparative examples of best immigration practises need to be followed and immigration policy needs to be sensitive to economic, resource and urban planning constraints.

5.4.3 Foreign policy

South Africa needs to play a strong role in peace and security matters on the African continent. Migration is in most cases a result of conflict, war and poverty. Bi-lateral agreements between African countries should also accommodate programmes on fostering trade and entrepreneurial skills exchange so that inter-African exchange is fostered on all levels of society. There is need for creating opportunities for cultural and economic exchanges between South Africa and the rest of Africa - most South Africans do not know the rest of the continent well.

5.4.4 Understanding the problem

Accurate data should be available hence there is a need for research on migration and numbers of foreigners living in South Africa. It is crucial for South Africa to understand the employment of and by foreign nationals especially among the low-skilled workforce. What influence does migration and intercultural exchange have for the economy and cultures? Research should also focus on the aspect of violence. What is causing poor South African to rise against other poor Africans? The research should also look at issues why South Africa seems to be a very violent society e.g. police brutality, gender-based violence and xenophobia.

5.4.5 Trauma and Woundedness

South Africa needs to acknowledge that it is a deeply wounded and traumatised nation. Wounded leaders cannot lead a nation effectively. South Africa cannot afford not to deal with its past. It is key that government, the private sector and civil society puts resources into addressing the issue of trauma on a societal level to sustainably address issues of violence and marginalisation. Psycho-social support to address trauma is central for people such as refugees who are affected by conflict and then face further hardship in South Africa through xenophobia and basic survival challenges.

5.4.6 Roles and responsibilities of various stakeholder groups

The role of communities and community leadership in particular the government needs to support community leadership. Community leadership plays a crucial role in grassroots communities. The example of Masiphumelele in the Western Cape in 2008 has shown that violence can be prevented when community takes it upon themselves to counter divisive narratives. The daily realities in township communities are tough. Masiphumelele for example is facing an increased influx of foreigners because it is known for the fact that foreigners will not be attacked. This aspect puts more and more pressure on the socioeconomic realities of people living in the township. It is important for government, institutions and people living in better-off areas to understand that an influx of foreigners into already challenging living conditions will make tensions rise. Government but also society at large needs to put in more effort to understand poor communities, how the 'local economy functions' and how tensions build up to proactively intervene. Assisting communities to set up representative structures will help them to gather community intelligence and report tensions before they erupt. Make local communities the heart of any interventions strategies developed.

5.4.7 The role of business

The outbreak of xenophobic violence stems in a large part from competition for strategic resources. Townships and any community have their own local economy. It is crucial to understand these local economies which also come with hierarchies and class issues within the local context. Locally owned businesses in impoverished areas are often outperformed by businesses run by immigrants due to better business practises and knowledge. Thus it is important for both government and those who run successful businesses to aid in up-skilling and teaching business acumen at the community level so locally owned businesses can better compete. Successful business owners should be encouraged to join local business community forums as a way of offering expertise and guidance.

5.4.8 The role of policing

The breakdown of law and order creates the conditions whereby isolated incidents of violence can spread rapidly. The police need to swiftly and efficiently respond to incidents against foreigners. To guard against perceived impunity the courts need to ensure timely and decisive convictions. Furthermore, it is important that the police acts in a way to protect vulnerable and marginalized migrant communities and do not themselves contribute to xenophobia by profiling and making unlawful arrests. Overall, effective policing is crucial for citizens to feel safe and to trust in the rule of law. Zero tolerance for police brutality and for corruption among police will contribute to safer communities.

5.4.9 The role of foreigners

Foreigner communities should be encouraged to integrate by opening up business skills training programmes and employing locals. Proactive sharing of knowledge, experience and culture can also increase the understanding about the lives of foreigners in South Africans.

5.4.10 The media role

Media has an important role to play to counter xenophobia in South Africa to offer accurate narratives and also play the role of educating the public about refugees and immigrants. At the same time, media should also look into how to report more about the African continent and raise more awareness about conflicts and challenges on the continent. Media needs to constantly ensure that it remains sensitive when it reports on violence.

5.4.11 The role of individuals in South Africa

Individuals should have difficult conversations linked to the topic of woundedness and trauma calls should be made on South Africans to begin to have difficult conversations. There is need to honestly and openly talk about race, racism, white privileges, xenophobia, and the social capital of a white skin topics. The issues should not be from the outside, but debates and

engagements should be done in township communities. It is easy for outsiders to propose solutions if they stand outside the lived realities on the ground. Citizens of the middle and upper class should take responsibility to fight poverty and structural issues that are faced by the poor every day. To stand up when a crisis is happening is reactionary. Engage with and actively contribute to up-skill less fortunate communities through engaging with local community and culture groups is necessary. Citizens should understand their country and act not only when things happen but be involved consistently and participate on an ongoing basis to contribute to change in South Africa. Above all this study identified a lacuna or gap that exist within the South African society with regards to understanding the history and heritage of understanding all the African people, their cultures and status. There is need for more information dissemination to the masses to instil more pride, tolerance and Pan-Africanisation with other fellow Africans. Not that it doesn't exist, it exist but recent incidents like xenophobia shows that a lot still need to be done with regards tolerating migrants in South Africa.

5.5 Conclusion

According to the body of literature, the migration of people from the SADC region is not a new phenomenon, it dates back to the 1860's with the recruitment of cheap contract labour for the mining sector. When South Africa ceased from recruiting labour from SADC countries, the end of apartheid however increased the migration levels into the country. South Africa has a diversity of migrants including those who enter legally but overstay their visas, those who enter illegally but stay legally by acquiring fraudulent documents, those who enter illegally and stay illegally, those who enter as tourists but end-up taking work in South Africa without work permits and those who fail to secure asylum status.

Social networks, the stringent measures put in place by South Africa to control entry into the country through stricter visa requirements, pull and push factors and the perceived increased economic opportunities in South Africa has contributed to the increased migration into the country.

Migrants came to South Africa for different reasons. They are noted as trading, which is mostly done by women, the political situation in Zimbabwe which is said to have led to people migrating to South Africa. Most migrants are said to come into the country to seek employment. The

overall picture emerging from this study is that, the majority of females come to South Africa to look for employment.

According to the findings of the study, most people came for economic reasons. Social networks in the form of family and friends play a role in the migration because they tell others to come for opportunities since they will be having a better life compared to that they used to have back home. The majority of female migrants were employed in South Africa hence it allowed them to provide for their families. They do, however, contribute to the economy of South Africa through cheap labour and support the formal and informal economic sectors. Most respondents indicated that there were better employment opportunities in the informal sector in South Africa than in Zimbabwe.

The impact of illegal migration in South Africa is a contentious issue. Some researchers argue that migration has a negative impact on the economy whilst others say the impact is positive because South Africa benefits through cheap labour in terms of low production expenditure, especially the mining and the agricultural sectors. The majority of Zimbabwean migrants were employed and contribute to the economy of South Africa through cheap labour and support the formal and informal economic sectors.

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Appendix A

Consent for Participation in the Study

This study aims to explore Oral Narratives of Selected Female Migrants in South Africa: The Case of Thohoyandou, Limpopo Province. The researcher is a Masters student completing a dissertation in the Department of African Studies majoring in Sociology at the University of Venda. The purpose of this study is to make an inquiry on Oral Narratives of Selected Female Migrants in South Africa: The Case of Thohoyandou, Limpopo Province, therefore the researcher seeks to interview female Zimbabwean migrants in Thohoyandou. The interview will take around half an hour. Your conversation will be tape-recorded to help the researcher recall your comments and to analyse the data accurately. The content of the conversation will be used only for this research study and will not be shared with others, except in summary form in the final thesis and in any publication that might result from it. There are no known benefits for participating; however the researcher hopes that in the near future the research will be influential in amending migration policies. No costs or payments are associated with participating in the study. Based on the information provided regarding the research project, I understand that:

1. The time required for the interview is about half an hour.
2. The nature of my participation is interview.
3. My participation is entirely voluntary and I may terminate my involvement at any time without penalty.
4. All my data are confidential and the data will be destroyed within five years after completion of the study.
5. The discussion may be tape recorded if I accept it to be so.
6. All data are for research purposes only.
7. If I have questions about the research, or if I would like to see a copy of the final findings of the study, I can contact the researcher by calling him on the number given or write him on the address given.

I agree to participate in this study.

Name of Subject: _____

Signature of subject

Signature of investigator: _____ Date: _____

Further information is available from

Name of investigator : MUSVIPWA FAITH MAARY

Telephone : +27735610744

Email : fmusvipwa@yahoo.com

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FEMALE ZIMBABWEAN MIGRANTS IN THOHOYANDOU.

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Age

1	20-30	2	31-40	3	41-50
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2. Marital status

1	Single	2	Married	3	Divorced	4	Separated	Others specify
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3. Level of education

1	No formal education	2	Primary level	3	Secondary level	4	Tertiary education
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B. CONCEPTIONS OF INTEGRATION

1. How can we integrate female migrants?

2. How are female migrants assimilated within the South African society in Thohoyandou?

3. Which strategies are used to accommodate migrants into the South African economy?

Thank you for your time and participating in this study.

