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CHALLENGES OF "REINTEGRATION" OF ZIMBABWEAN FOREIGN NATIONALS INTO SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY: A CASE STUDY OF ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Ekanade Israel Kehinde hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work in design and execution, and all sources cited have been duly acknowledged

EKANADE ISRAEL KEHINDE.....Date 08-04-2015

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to GOD alone.

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ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIU	Aliens Investigation Unit
AU	African Union
AWOL	Absent Without Leave
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CASAC	Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry
DA	Democratic Alliance
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
ECRE	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
FET	Further Education and Training
FSMP	Forced Migration Studies Programme
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ID	Identification Document
IFP	Inkhata Freedom Party
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMISCOE	International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IT	Information Technology
IUSSP	International Union for the Scientific Study of Population
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MSF	Medicine Sans Frontieres
NDP	National Development Programme

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NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAPS	South African Police Service
STATS SA	Statistics South Africa
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZDP	Zimbabwe Documentation Project
ZSP	Zimbabwean Special Permit

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Abstract

So much has been written about xenophobic attacks against refugees (asylum seekers, economic migrants, etc) in South Africa which reached its apogee in May 2008. However, the "reintegration" process has attracted little study so far. The issue of integrating foreigners into host countries is not a South African problem, but a global one. This study examines certain factors which predisposed foreigners, from the diaspora especially Zimbabwean nationals to xenophobic attacks by South Africans in South Africa, and the wider socio-cultural meanings and implications of this crisis for the coexistence of South Africans and Zimbabweans. This work investigates efforts at "reintegration" and the various forms pursued by the South African government. Issues examined in the study include: how well this has been carried out, the responses the attempts have generated and the disposition of the foreign nationals to the gesture. Using semi-structured interviews, 53 respondents participated in the study. Competition for scarce economic resources like jobs and housing mainly confined to the informal sector was a real source of conflict between South Africans and Zimbabweans. Many participants indicated that they have not been reintegrated into the society and the major constraint was that of documentation. As done by other nations, South Africa should come up with an amnesty period during which Zimbabweans would be permitted to regularize their stay. It would be unfair to place the burden of "reintegration" on the South African government alone. SADC countries as a matter of urgency should find a mechanism to take care of their own people.

Keywords: Xenophobia, refugee, asylum seekers, economic migrants, reintegration, diaspora.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The integration of displaced persons is a cause for concern in the contemporary world. In Africa, cases of this nature are also on the increase, given how conflicts and instability on the continent have displaced millions of people. In South Africa, which has become the hub of most of the displaced persons in Africa, the discourse of integration of foreign nationals is a burning issue. South Africa, with its strong economic base, attracts many refugees and this has led to problems on its integration policies and capacity. With the political and economic problems in the neighbouring Zimbabwe, South Africa has become the highest receiver of Zimbabweans, mainly because of its proximity to the country and opportunities that abound there. Zimbabwe and South Africa are divided by the Limpopo River. The river has been used by many Zimbabweans (mostly illegal immigrants) as their passage into South Africa. To-date, it is estimated that between 1 and 5 million Zimbabweans are residing in South Africa, either legally or illegally, although these figures have been highly contested (Polzer, 2008). The ever-increasing number of foreign nationals in South Africa has contributed to the rising figures of unemployment and overcrowding in the cities. Furthermore, the country is also overstrained in its capacity to deliver quality services and other social amenities. This has created a culture of hating foreigners among South Africans as they attribute the high numbers of foreigners to some of the problems they are currently experiencing. It is from such a situation that this study seeks to explore how the South African government has approached the issue of reintegrating Zimbabwean nationals, especially in the aftermath of the violent xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans between 2008 and 2010.

1.2 Background to the Study Theme

The end of apartheid rule brought a huge relief to South Africans, especially the blacks who were politically silenced and economically disadvantaged over the years. With the enthronement of democracy, the borders of South Africa became open to a host of migrants. Consequentially, there has been an influx of diverse groups of people into South Africa, especially from the SADC states (Klotz, 2000). South Africa now became a land of opportunity for many black immigrants. The type of migration during the apartheid rule was mainly that of

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labour, migrant labourers from the SADC states trooped into South Africa to provide cheap labour. Black labour migrants were not allowed to move freely within the country and most migrant workers were hired on contractual basis, meaning that their contracts were temporary (Christie, 2000). Foreigners, particularly from Mozambique, entered into the South African labour market and got hired through contract labour. The inclusion of non-South Africans into the labour market was not done in a formal manner. This implied that Zimbabweans were not hired on contractual terms despite the fact that their migration into South Africa increased tremendously especially after 2000. The soaring number of Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa, especially Limpopo and Gauteng provinces, led to a growing number of cases of abuse and discrimination agaist Zimbabweans by South Africans and necessitated the negotiations between the governments of South Africa and Zimbabwe. The outcome of negotiations led to the establishment of the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP).The Department of Home Affairs was saddled with this responsibility in 2010. This action, by the Department of Home Affairs, had to document, regularise and legalise the stay of many Zimbabweans because of the pressure exerted on the South African economy. Apart from this exercise, the South African government has not initiated any other integration plan for Zimbabweans residing in South Africa. The Department of Home Affairs has progressed with its policy of deportation of illegal/undocumented migrants, which has a huge financial implication on the part of the South African government while at the same time, processing different classes of permit applications by Zimbabweans with asylum accounts for most of the applications.

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1.3 Description of Study Area

Alexandra Township is located in Gauteng Province, South Africa. It was established by Herbert Papenfus, a farmer in 1912 (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Since then, it has become a plethora of ethnic groups, an intersection point for peoples of different cultural persuasions. Although, located very close to the commercial capital of Sandton, it has over the decades retained its homogeneous nature in terms of class structure and the informality of the community. Alexandra is bordered to the West by Wynberg, to the North by Marlboro and Kevin, to the South by Kew, and to the east by Lombardy West and Lombardy East. Economically, it is one of the poorest areas of South Africa. It is located on the Jukskei River Bank and covers an area of approximately 800ha. The initial plan was that 70,000 people would be catered for with the infrastructure available; however, reported recent statistics updates

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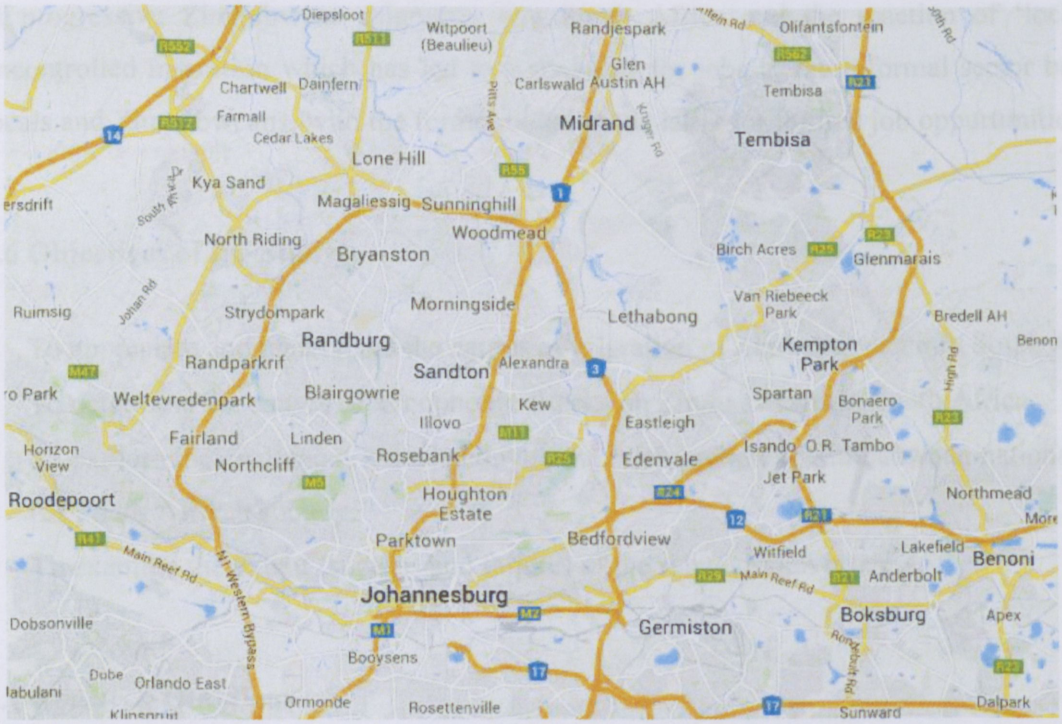
shows between 180,000 to 750,000 people living in the township. 7,000 shacks out of the 20,000 are located in "backyards" (World Bank, 2001).

1.3.1 Figure 1: Map of Alexandra Township



Adapted from http://www.worldandcitymaps.com/africa/south-africa/gauteng/alexandra/

1.4 Statement of the Problem

The issue of integrating foreigners in host countries poses problems not only to South Africa, but to all countries worldwide. With the growing numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa, the problem of settling displaced persons in the country has risen to alarming levels where the host country is overstrained and often failing to cope with the increasing number of foreign nationals, of whom some are illegal immigrants. This is the major problem the study focuses on, especially the integration of Zimbabwean nationals in Alexandra .The other problem is whether or not Zimbabwean nationals should be reintegrated into the South African society. Finally, there is a problem whereby scholars on xenophobia largely focus on the nature of violent attacks on Zimbabweans while being silent on their reintegration processes.

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1.5 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to investigate the challenges being faced in the reintegration of Zimbabwean foreign nationals in South Africa's Alexandra Township after the xenophobic orchestrated violence in 2008. The broader aim of the study is to shed more light on the effects of progressive Zimbabwean migration into South Africa and the reaction of 'locals' to uncontrolled migration which has led to a scramble for jobs in the informal sector between locals and Zimbabweans, with the former blaming the latter for limited job opportunities.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

- To appreciate and understand the causes of migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa.
- To determine the causes of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans in South Africa.
- To explore the challenges associated with the reintegration of Zimbabwean nationals into the South African society.
- To examine the extent (success and failure) of the reintegration process.

1.7 Research Questions

- What are the causes of the migration of people and more specifically, Zimbabweans into South Africa?
- What are the causes of xenophobia on Zimbabwean nationals in South Africa?
- What are the challenges associated with the reintegration of Zimbabweans into the South African society?
- To what extent are Zimbabweans integrated into the South African society.

1.8 Assumption of the Study

The research assumption is that minimum reintegration has taken place after the xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans in South Africa because after the 2008 attacks, other small scale xenophobic attacks like stoning and necklacing (putting a vehicle tyre around the victim's neck and setting it ablaze) are still happening in some parts of South Africa.

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1.9 Justification of the Study Theme

Carrying out a study on the reintegration of Zimbabwean foreign nationals into the South African society is justified because Zimbabweans are the largest migrant group in the country. The population of Zimbabwean residents in South Africa is shrouded in controversy with figures ranging between 1 to 3 million and the causes of such migration need to be scrutinised (Hammerstad, 2011). Alexandra Township was purposefully considered as a case study because it has been at the centre of many political controversies and civil unrests since its establishment. The Township also served as a melting pot for various South African ethnicities during the apartheid regime and other African nationals in the post-apartheid era.

1.10 Significance of the Study

The study is important because it explores the reasons which many may want to know, particularly on why Zimbabweans migrate to South Africa. Literature shows that many Zimbabweans think of themselves as temporary circular migrants who come to South Africa for employment and business opportunities, but they end up staying for longer periods, and sometimes their stay becomes permanent. Some Zimbabweans are regarded as trans-migrants who want to establish homes both in Zimbabwe and in South Africa as they shuttle between the two countries though much of the time is spent in South Africa. The issue of whether or not Zimbabwean nationals should be reintegrated into the South African society is also a grey area; and as such, this study is an important academic undertaking. The challenges and prospects of the reintegration process are also discussed and this contributes to the body of academic knowledge on the reintegration processes.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

Triadic Conflict Structure Theory

This theory explains the cause and structure of a conflict in a multi-dimensional way. Essentially, the framework is anchored on three intertwined components: conflict situation, conflict attitudes and conflict behaviour (Mitchell, 1981). According to Mitchell (1981), these three key factors mutually reinforce each other to create a varyingly cohesive 'web' of conflict. The theory proffers that both International and National conflicts occur in any situation where

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two or more social entities or parties (however defined or structured) perceive that they possess mutually incompatible goals. Such goal incompatibility may be over resources ownership/control/rights or control of mineral resources (Darfur oil crisis), land conflict and control of political space, poor service delivery and other democratic issues (Zimbabwean crisis).

1.12 Definitions of Key Terms

Asylum seeker

A person who seeks safety from persecution or serious harm in a country other than his own and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments. In case of a negative decision, the person must leave the country and may be expelled, as any non-national in an irregular or unlawful situation, unless permission to stay is provided on humanitarian or other related grounds (IOM, 2011).

Documented migrant

A migrant who entered a country lawfully and remains in the country in accordance with his or her admission criteria (IOM, 2011).

Economic migrant

A person leaving his or her habitual place of residence to settle outside his or her country of origin in order to improve his or her quality of life. This term is often loosely used to distinguish from refugees fleeing persecution, and is also similarly used to refer to persons attempting to enter a country without legal permission and/or by using asylum procedures without *bona fide* cause. It may equally be applied to persons leaving their countries of origin for the purpose of employment (IOM, 2011).

Refugee

A person who, "owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership to a particular social group or political opinions, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (Article 1 (A) (2), Convention relating to the status of Refugees,

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Article 1A (2), 1951 as modified by the 1967 Protocol). In addition, to the refugee definition in the 1951 Refugee convention, Article 1(2), 1969, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention defines a refugee as any person compelled to leave his or her country "owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country or origin or nationality". Similarly, the 1984 Cartagena Declaration states that refugees also include persons who flee their country "because their lives, security or freedom have been threatened by generalised violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order." (IOM, 2011)

Xenophobia

The term xenophobia comes from the Greek word 'xenos' meaning "stranger" and 'phobia' meaning "morbid fear or aversion". According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, xenophobia means "strong fear or dislike of people from other countries". The Collins Dictionary of Sociology defines xenophobia as "an exaggerated hostility towards or fear of foreigners" (Jary and Jary, 1995). These definitions depict some kind of attitude that 'locals' have against foreigners. The question foreign is relative to what or whom. Warner and Finchlescu (2003), attempted to modify their definition. They saw xenophobia as "a dislike of certain kinds of foreigners". Harris (2002) also suggests that "Xenophobia as a term must be framed to incorporate practice. It is not just an attitude: it is an activity. It is not just a dislike or fear of foreigners: it is a violent practice that results in bodily harm or damage. More particularly, the violent practice that comprises xenophobia must be further redefined to include its specific target, a foreigner".

Afrophobia

In South Africa, Afrophobia is defined as attacks perpetrated by poor black South Africans on foreign black Africans due to perceived loss of economic opportunities. Afrophobia is an off-shoot of service delivery protests and this often reinforce the issue of "black consciousness" and nationalism in South Africa (Cronje, van Wyk and Botha, 2010).

Negrophobia

Fanon (1952) defined negrophobia as a neurosis characterized by an uneasy fear and disdain of black people and black culture. Fanon sheds more light on the issue of black negrophobia which is the hatred of black people and black culture by black people.

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Assimilation

Assimilation can be defined as the process by which individuals belonging to a minority group will, through time, adopt the lifestyles, attitudes, values and cultural patterns of the dominant group. The assimilationists conceive the notion of nation-state as its ideal and rely on the fact that no polity can be stable and cohesive unless its members share a common national culture. Park and Burgess (1921) defined assimilation as "a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life".

Integration

Integration simply means the sharing of economic and social resources, the equalizing of political and territorial rights, the development of cultural exchanges and new cultural forms, between forced migrants and all other members of a society. At the local level, the entire community is actively involved, with a view of reducing social distance and encouraging cooperation and communication through creative negotiations which create new social meanings (Stubbs, 1995). Integration is the accessibility to social services and institutions. It is said to be the ability of new immigrants to gain grounds in a community and participate actively as members of that community (Fix, Papademetrio and Fox, 2005). It is also understood as the process through which immigrants are included in the institutions and relationships of the host society (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006).

Reintegration

Reintegration is said to be the return and acceptance of a person as an active member of a community, and as such, the term is used to describe the re-entry of formerly displaced people into the social, economic, cultural, civil and political fabric of their original community. According to UNHCR, reintegration, as it refers to returning refugees, requires access to reasonable resources, opportunities and basic services to establish a self-sustained livelihood in conditions of equal rights with other residents and citizens (Monson and Misago, 2009).

Social integration

Social Integration as propounded by Emile Durkheim refers to the level of connection between individuals and social institutions. Durkheim is of the opinion that a society requires intense participation in a wide range of institutions for it to maintain social integration and provide

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individuals with a sense of meaning and belonging. Social integration is the process of creating unity, inclusion and participation at all levels of society within the diversity of personal attributes so that every person is free to be the person he or she wants to be. Social integration is the opposite of social exclusion, which is broader than poverty and deprivation, and which neglects people's rights (Cruz-Saco, 2008).

Globalization

Globalization is the process of integrating nations and peoples politically, economically, and culturally into a larger community. Globalization also has a dark side. It produces economic and social dislocations and arouses public concerns over job security; the distribution of economic gains; impact of volatility on families, communities, and nations. Many also worry about a growing concentration of economic power; harm to the environment; danger to public health and safety; the disintegration of indigenous cultures; and the loss of sovereignty, accountability, and transparency in government (http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/E-N/Globalization-Definition-and-conceptualization.html)

Displaced person

A displaced person is the general term used to describe a person who has been forced to leave his/her home or birth place, due to forced migration. Forced migration gained prominence during the Second World War and this led to forced exodus of people from Eastern Europe. At that time, the term was used to specifically refer to a person who was coerced to leave his/her native country as a refugee, prisoner or slave labourer (Ogata, 1992).

Internally displaced persons

They are "persons and groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border" (Mooney, 2005).

Repatriation

The personal right of a refugee or a prisoner of war to return to his or her country of nationality under specific conditions laid down in various international instruments (Geneva Conventions, 1949 and Protocols, 1977 the Regulations Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land,

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Annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention, 1907, the human rights instruments as well as in customary international law). The option of repatriation is bestowed upon the individual personally and not upon the detaining power. Repatriation also entails the obligation of the detaining power to release eligible persons (soldiers-civilians) and the duty of the country of origin to receive its own nationals at the end of hostilities. Repatriation as a term also applies to diplomatic envoys and international officials in time of international crisis (IOM, 2011).

Magumaguma

The name given to "urchins" who perambulate Beitbridge/Musina border crossing with the aim of assisting unsuspecting illegal migrants to cross into South Africa. Potential migrants are sometimes dispossessed of their belongings and females in most cases are raped, stabbed or killed in the process.

Border jumper

It is a term used to describe any non-citizen who violates a country's border by sneaking across without proper documents, or overstaying on an expired visa (www.urbandictionary.com/define.php? term=border+jumpers).

1.13 Conclusion

The chapter covered the introduction of the topic and provided the background to the study theme. It established that people in the world are always migrating and that not only Zimbabweans migrate to South Africa. Migration into South Africa dates back to the 1860s with the discovery of alluvial diamonds and most migrants provided cheap labour especially in the mining and agricultural sectors of the South African economy (Mohr and Fourie, 2005). Many people come to South Africa mainly because of the economic opportunities the country offers, despite its high rates of crime. The major problem which also translates into the major research question identified is whether Zimbabwean nationals should be integrated into the South African society or not, and if they are to be integrated, the issue of "how" becomes problematic. In the chapter, the aim and objectives were also established and the main objective stated. The chapter also clarified key terms which are used in the study and managed to justify the study topic by showing its significance and contributions to the body of knowledge in academia and policy formulation. The next chapter focuses on the theoretical framework of the

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study, by examining what other scholars have written on matters related to the ones under discussion. Such scholarly views will then be conceptualised and contextualised to meet the target area of the integration of Zimbabwean nationals in Alexandra, South Africa.

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CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE STUDY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on preliminary studies of migration in Africa and the causes of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa. The socio-economic and political crises in Zimbabwe forced many Zimbabweans to migrate into South Africa primarily for job opportunities. Poverty and drought were also causative factors for Zimbabwean migration into South Africa. Issues centred on xenophobia in South Africa were examined because the sudden influx of migrants into South Africa after 1994 resulted into competition for jobs between South Africans and Zimbabweans, while this has further limited the job opportunities of locals' with the South Africans accusing Zimbabweans of competition in an already saturated South African labour market. It is widely held in some quarters that the history of violence in South Africa has strengthened the South African youths in organising service delivery protests which led to xenophobic orchestrated attacks against Zimbabweans and other African foreign nationals. The reintegration policies pursued by SADC and AU will be explored; the reintegration of Zimbabweans cannot be overemphasised because it fosters unity between Zimbabwe and South Africa. It also has implications for South Africa both regionally and globally.

2.2 Preliminary Studies on Migration in Africa

Migration in most cases has to do with human migration. It is the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary. An example of "semi-permanent residence" would be the seasonal movements of migrant farm labourers. People can either choose to move ("voluntary migration") or be forced to move ("involuntary migration") (National Geographic Society, 2005). The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development says that regulated international migration has positive and negative impacts on both communities of origin and destination. Migration assists in the transfer of skills and it improves the cultural heritage of a community. Today, the population residing outside their country of birth has risen to 175 million, which was more than double the number a generation ago. The vast majority of

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migrants are making significant contributions to their host countries. At the same time, however, international migration involves the loss of human resources for many countries of origin and may give rise to political, economic or social tensions in countries of destination (U.N international migration report, 2002).

Migration has to do with the movement of people from one place to another. It is mainly of two types: first, internal migration, i.e. migration within a country, and secondly international migration, which means the movement of people from one country to another. In this case, we will dwell on international migration movement from Zimbabwe to South Africa. International migration involves the movement of persons who relocate from their country of origin or the country of habitual residence, so as to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country.

Black (1998), in his article, gives reasons for migration to foreign countries and affirms that forced migration persists when nationals of a less-developed country, in which job opportunities are scarce, relocate to a developing or developed country where better living standards exist with opportunities to earn a living. In a nutshell, they are enticed by the high chances of obtaining employment in a developed and highly industrialised world. Black also identifies environmental factors in a country where catastrophic changes environmentally such as droughts or erosion, bringing about an increase in the number of migrants. For example, droughts were experienced in Somalia, Ethiopia, Mali and Zimbabwe. People who were consumers of staples like rice, wheat, maize and the like were seriously affected; animal produce too had its own fair share. Domestic animals like cattle, sheep, and goats were limited in supply due to droughts lasting for up to 5/7 years, wreaking much havoc on the land.

Kok *et al* (2003) visualise migration as a range of patterns of movement. In South Africa, the term denotes social changes which include rural-urban migration. This situation propels urbanisation. Migration is typified by labour migration-which involves the movement of workers between their 'homes' and distant employment opportunities. According to the South African census office's definition, a 'labour migrant' is: an individual who is away from home (or country) for more than one month of a year for the intention of finding work or working. This could be a mine worker, a factory worker or even a gardener or domestic worker.

Migration is referred to as spatial residential relocation over a relatively long period of time is part of population movement. It includes international migration which is a form of movement

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across national boundaries, and international migration which refers to intra-national more or less permanent changes of migration.

Migration is the crossing of the boundary of a predefined spatial unit by persons involved in a change of residence (Kok and Collinson, 2006). In every society, migration is not a strange phenomenon. In Africa, migration is a response to changes in social, economic, political and ecological conditions and processes.

Africa has often been described as a highly mobile continent, with people migrating across the borders within and outside the continent. Migration in Africa dates back to ancient times which are embedded in history. For example, Ricca (1989) depicts Africa as a "continent perpetually on the move". Studies have shown that Africans are the largest groups of migrants globally. More importantly, the movements are both intra and intercontinental. Africans move to other parts of Africa or the world for various reasons. These migrations are due to political, economic, social, religious, environmental and security situations (Hance, 1970).

There are various migration patterns, destinations and forces that stimulate migration. These are affected by colonialism and imperialism. Colonial tendencies had serious impacts on socio-economic and political development in African states (Prothero, 1968; ECA, 1981).

Despite the different stages of African history (pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era), migration is multifaceted due to its root causes, size and consequences on the economy and peoples' of Africa. Migration is influenced by economic, social, cultural and demographic factors as well as different colonial experiences. The current socio-political and economic situations across Africa are connected to migration.

2.3 Stages of Migration in Africa

The stages of migration in Africa are divided into three: Pre-colonial, Colonial and Post-Colonial migrations.

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2.3.1 Pre-Colonial Migration

Migration in Africa was based on movement of people who were in search of food, employment opportunities and better living conditions. During the pre-colonial times, international migration existed; it was however hindered by war situations. Migration in Africa varied per time and space; different types of migrations across and within state boundaries have been promoted by trade and tourism, natural disasters, wars and pastoralism and the quest for job opportunities (Addo, 1975; Curtin, 1995). These factors have grossly affected the structure, path and characteristics of such movements. The movements of Africans in the pre-colonial times as travellers and labourers were irregular and whole tribes, villages and lineage are recognised to have moved so as to escape the destruction resulting from war/civil strife or to evade harsh agricultural and climatic conditions which end in famine and drought (ECA, 1981).

The migration of people during the pre-colonial period in the African continent is traceable along historical lines. Pilgrims, traders and nomadic groups travelled along the trans-Saharan routes of North and West Africa, and seasonal migrations of pastoralists moving with their livestock in search of grazing lands in East Africa. The inhabitants of the fairly centralized kingdoms of Central Africa utilize migration as an "escapist" plan to show their discontentment with the already established political and economic structures. Free mobility of people was aided by available land on the African continent and became restricted by climatic and geographical conditions.

2.3.2 Colonial Era Migration

Colonial rule in West, East and South Africa ushered in a time of peace and political stability which was hitherto related to internecine wars, were either stopped or decreased. The economic policies of the colonial governments influenced population movements during this period. The discovery of minerals, natural resources and increased production of cash crops for exports led to a highly sophisticated and developed urban sector and the rural was left largely underdeveloped, leading to serious levels of disparities between both sectors. Migration agenda was further reviewed due to pressing labour demands for plantations and administrative purposes (Amin, 1974).

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A string of economic measures were put in place by the colonial masters to get labour in sufficient numbers and location in South Africa (Thahane, 1991). The previous French and Portuguese colonies in Western and Southern Africa made use of forced-labour and compulsory agricultural systems to obtain the labour-force required for cash crops export-cocoa and coffee in Ivory Coast, cotton in Angola and Mozambique to strengthen labour supply. Railways and roads were constructed in Uganda (Kaberuka, 1992) plantation agriculture in former Rhodesia (Stahl, 1981) and Ivory Coast (Anan Yao, 1990). The gradual seizure of African lands in Angola, Burundi, Namibia and Rwanda (Zolberg *et al*, 1989) and Rhodesia and South Africa (Thahane, 1991) made further avenues for labour migration.

Individuals and their families after a while migrated freely in search of greener pastures due to compelled conscription. Farm workers now had suitable options to ply their trade on the groundnut plantations of Senegal and the Gambia, the cocoa farms located in Gold Coast (now Ghana), the plantations of Ivory Coast led to mass migrations of unskilled labour from landlocked countries like Chad, Niger, and Mali to these coastal countries. Similar movements were also observed Mali, Senegal River valley close to the Sene-Gambian groundnut region and the urban areas of Ivory Coast and Senegal (Mabogunje, 1972; Findley and Ouedraogo, 1993). During this time, migration was temporary and it was dominated mostly by males. Prothero (1968) argue that West Africa has been characterized by greater seasonal migration than all other regions in tropical Africa. These forms of uncontrolled migrations are still rife (Adepoju, 1983).

"International" migration with reference to Africa involves the movement of workers between home and plantations (East Africa) or Coastal forest zones (West Africa) or mines (South Africa). Insufficient welfare services and poor remuneration has strengthened the series of migration culminating into the short-term type of migration observed in Eastern and Southern Africa (Mitchell, 1959; Elkan, 1967).

Population movements in Africa existed many years before the colonial era, the styles, level, intensity and trend was largely changed by colonial administrations. Colonial administration had a huge effect on the drive for migration by putting forward some pre-existing migration patterns (Thahane, 1991; Oucho and Gould, 1993). African regions had different types of colonization. Central, East and Southern Africa had many European settlers unlike West Africa that had few European settlers and few plantations of land for agricultural purposes. The effect of colonial rule on labour migration is described by these factors (Adepoju, 1988a). Ivory Coast

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and Ghana became choice destinations for West African immigrants in the mid 1970's. Many West African nationals also migrated to Nigeria in the late 1970s because of the oil-boom and thriving cocoa industry. Nationals of Togo, Mali, Guinea and Burkina Faso migrated to Ivory Coast while Ghanaians travelled to Nigeria. The export oriented economies attracted a higher demand for labour which the locals could not supply. This led to hiring of workers from Nigeria, Togo and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso). Thousands of foreigners were sent packing from Ghana in 1969 under the Aliens Compliance Order, but the economic recession which affected Ghana in the 1970s made many Ghanaians relocate to Nigeria and Ivory Coast (Addo, 1975; United Nations, 1982; Adepoju, 1991).

2.3.3 Post-Colonial Migration

Post-Colonial migration was influenced by the discovery of natural resources like minerals and crude oil. Modernization of the agricultural sector and the upgrade of the means of transportation in Africa have attracted a lot of migrants and investors. After independence, African states improved upon the legacies of the colonialists by investing in commerce education, agriculture and social infrastructures. The sudden growth of exports and massive investment in some cities led to major inequalities in regions because of an astronomical increase in rural-urban migration and rural-rural migration in regions that had plantations. This was the way migrants reacted to the existing regional inequalities in income, development, employment and living standards (Adepoju, 1988b).

Rural-rural migration which was fashioned to meet labour demands in various parts of Africa is a cyclical type of migration common to African migration (Oucho and Gold, 1993). The rural-rural type of migration is not limited to local movements; most inter-country migrations which occur particularly in West Africa are also the rural-rural type of migration. This really happens amongst border-line workers, seasonal and temporary migrant workers who refer to their movements as an extension across national borders of domestic movements and of rural-rural migration (Adepoju, 1984a). Most migrants usually tend to move to neighbouring countries and in most cases they share almost the same traits like; socio-economic, cultural and ethnic characteristics (Adepoju, 1991).

Internecine wars, famine, drought, political and economic crises and natural disasters were main motives for human migration in Africa although other factors like peasant farming and

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landlessness cannot be isolated. In Lesotho, for example, residents of rural areas form the bulk of labourers who migrate into South Africa due to decreases in arable land and landlessness of many rural households (Thahane, 1991). Many young men (single and married), in most African nations travel alone to cities, to access the available urban jobs and accommodation and to have sufficient savings in order to assist with travel arrangements and welfare of wives, children and relatives with the possibility of joining them later at the country of destination (Oucho, 1990).

Unskilled labour migrants within and across national borders usually fall within the 15- 39 age bracket, and if married, in most cases, leave their wives and children at home. This leads to division of labour among adult family members: men migrate for better job offers while the women look after the farm. This, in turn, requires regular visits by migrants to their homes (Adepoju, 1988a).

During the colonial period, migration was shaped by educational attainment. Highly educated people migrated to urban centres, while the less educated or uneducated people sought for employment in the agricultural sector (Oucho and Gold, 1993). However, this trend witnessed a dramatic change over the years as the population of the illiterate people to the urban informal sectors increased. Highly educated and young persons are attracted to urban areas, while rural-rural migrants tend to be highly unskilled persons in their middle adult years. Generally speaking, migrants who move to cities in most cases are young and educated persons. On the other hand, rural-rural migrants are more often than not in their mid-adult years: skill level and on-the-job experiences of rural sector workers are directly connected to the economic activities carried out in this sector.

Most parts of the African continent are rural. Unemployment and poverty increased due to the deplorable living conditions of rural area inhabitants. Rural residents repose confidence in risking their lives by moving to urban areas in search of jobs so as to give their children qualitative education; they end up in the urban informal sectors which absorb them at any given wage, but in most cases below the minimum wage level.

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2.4 Local and International Migration

Poor border management and policing, the similarities in the economies of close countries and the cultural resemblance between ethnic groups in different countries, especially where immigrants and host populations speak the same language and share customs in most cases, tend to cause confusion between local and international migration in Africa (Adepoju, 1991). The small size of some African states has necessitated some migrations forms to be rated as internal, though a national border is being crossed. The broad direction is the same: from very localised areas and hardly known areas of a country to the coastal areas (Mabogunje, 1972; Adepoju, 1984a).

A heavy flow of migrants across borders have been noticed to be largely undocumented and this could be attributed to long and unpoliced borders lacking physical demarcations which in turn aid the unhindered movement of migrants. For example, in Ghana/Togo and Nigeria/Benin, those who work at the border areas shuttle daily between their residences and workplace (Adepoju, 1983).

Some African states, especially the arid states of the Sahel region are just too vulnerable to environmental degradation-drought, flood and other disasters. This also translates to a corresponding increase in the rate of migration of people who have been displaced and cross national borders to settle in neighbouring countries, mainly coastal countries, to continue their normal livelihood near the borders (Adepoju, 1983). Generally speaking, West Africa is highly characterised by seasonal labour and undocumented migration (UNDP, 1992). Migrants who were desperate moved from one poor country to another to avoid unfavourable climatic conditions, economic crisis, ethnic conflicts and the like. The Sahel states have large populations of nomads, semi-nomads and stationary farmers. Among the pastoralists, the Fulani are most prominent. They reside in West African countries like Senegal, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and the Somali tribe in Somalia, Kenya, Djibouti and Ethiopia. Nomads move across borders of different neighbouring countries during the seasonal search for water, without taking cognisance of international borders (Findley and Ouedraogo, 1993). It is a hard task when classifying travellers across transnational borders. The blend of some ethnic groups across international boundaries is very interesting: the Mende-speaking people reside in Sierra Leone and Liberia, the Kroo and Vai also live in both countries. The Yoruba live in Nigeria,

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Benin Republic, the Ewe in Togo and Ghana. The Makonde also reside in Mozambique and Tanzania, and the Kakwa in Uganda, Sudan and Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo).

2.5 Female Migration

Female migration has not received much attention when placed side-by-side with male migration. But with recent happenings like prostitution and human trafficking, gender based violence, female genital mutilation and the like, it has now shifted research focus on females. Studies in Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Uganda revealed that the aim of independent female migration was to attain economic independence through wage income of self-employment: academic qualifications make it easy for women to access the organised labour market and independent migration gives women greater control over their productive resources (Vaa, Findley and Diallo, 1989; Oppong, 1980; Adepoju, 1984b). Before the late 1970s, the majority of the women migrants were referred to as being dependent on their husbands' decisions and migration motives. But things have metamorphosed and women are now in the fore front of migration and education has helped most women to migrate (Adepoju, 1983).

In Africa, men are in agricultural farms, commerce and modernized modes of transportation and as a result, often times, men do have the likelihood of migrating alone leaving their wives in their home country. Cultural factors have given male education an edge over female education thereby relegating females to the lowest levels of formal employment, since employment in the organised labour sector is directly related to the level of education. Consequently, the least educated groups are restricted to commerce.

An important part of male-led migration has resulted in an increase in the number of female-headed households in countries like Kenya, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Three quarters of all rural households particularly in the mountainous areas of Lesotho, are female-headed. Peasant farming became more "feminized" because most men have migrated from rural areas to urban areas. In the Northern area of Zambia, for example, women managed between 50 and 70 per cent of small holder farms; in the central and eastern province of Kenya, 90 per cent of women managed small holder farms. Women thus made important agricultural decisions. In many parts of Zambia, between 40 and 50 per cent of rural households are by females (Safilios-Rothschild, 1994).

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The aforementioned conditions have presented women as housekeepers and mothers within the confines of the household (Oppong, 1980; Adepoju, 1984a). But current studies carried out reveals that migration is a major tool used by women in response to the prevailing conditions. A research on female migration carried out in Mali shows that women are actively involved in economic activities to support their families simultaneously at the place of origin and destination (Vaa, Findley and Diallo, 1989).

Tienda and Booth (1988) assert that "male absenteeism, cash-cropping and declining land quality are pushing many more women out of rural areas". Rural women are discouraged from traditional agriculture because of poor land quality and inaccessibility to such lands. In Kenya, for example, married women without sons and women who are single heads of households are barred from gaining access to land because of the land reform law in the country.

In Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana, a large proportion of men who migrate to work in the mines and plantations in South Africa for a two year renewable contract periods. They travel to their home countries once in a while during their active years in the labour force (15-50 years). As a result, the number of households headed by females in Lesotho is on the increase due to the alarming migration rate of males out of Lesotho. Women cannot cope with rigours when their husbands are away, because men are absent during planting and cultivation of land. This is typical especially during seasonal labour demand at peak periods (Kossoudji and Mueller, 1983; de Vletter, 1985; Adepoju, 1990).

About 51 per cent of adult males in Lesotho work in South Africa and the women left behind are tasked with the responsibility of decision making at home and on the farm. Consequentially, decision making processes, family responsibilities and feminine roles have witnessed considerable changes. This is with respect to the land tenure system: owners of uncultivated land risk losing their lands after two years. Women have had to take up the role of their absentee husbands in cultivating the land as their husbands' relatives (male) hardly offer any help in this regard (Ware and Lucas, 1988; de Vletter, 1985; Palmer, 1985).

Autonomous migration is the response by women to the changing sets of social and economic conditions in their home countries. The life of a woman is greatly affected by migration in many ways, but in broader terms, her economic independence is further strengthened and her job opportunities are increased. Female migration is tied to the search for better employment opportunities and or responses to natural disasters or flight from conflict or internal strife. Migration, which has led to a gross reduction of male labour, also affects women left behind

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who have come up with survival techniques like migration, to manage the family farm, take care of the children, in most cases with inadequate resources and without the power to make or take decisions (Oppong, 1992).

Censuses carried out from the 1960s to the 1980s established that many African women relocated to urban areas in search of jobs. This was based on two main causes: deplorable living and working conditions of rural-based women and the instability of the marriage institution (Pittin, 1984; Findley and Williams, 1990).

As a result, East African women often move to urban areas in anticipation of self-dependence. Single women in Uganda had a better status by obtaining employment in urban areas. (Tienda and Booth, 1988). The most important factor in female autonomous migration is education. Several studies in Africa have shown that over half of female migrants have acquired some primary education: 57 per cent in Juba Sudan (now South Sudan); 54 per cent in Monrovia, Liberia (Findley and Williams, 1990).

A large number of educated women, both single and married, have relocated individually to the western world in search of better living conditions. In June 1990, for example, about 264 female medical doctors and 5,000 female nurses and midwives were recruited from Port Harcourt, Nigeria by representatives who set up recruitment centres for those interested in working in Saudi Arabia (Adegbola, 1990).

Traditional sex roles have been changed by autonomous female migration, in most cases when the female are educated and doing pretty well, gradually leads to circumstances when men are left at home to take up the responsibility of looking after the children in the absence of the female folk. Infact, female migration has increased child fostering: in Ghana during the period of economic crisis in the late 1970s through the early 1980s, children of female migrants were left in the custody of grandparents, as it is a norm in Botswana also (Ingstad, 1994).

2.6 Literature on the Causes of Migration into South Africa

Apart from economic challenges such as poverty, unemployment, and homelessness which contribute to international relocation, institutional and structural factors like civil unrest, wars, and political instability may also force people to move to other countries, and these movements hav led to an increase in the number of refugees and internally displaced persons. These figures

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are estimated at 15 million refugees and 22 million internally displaced persons worldwide (Erhabor, Williams and Wyatt, 2013). South Africa is a complex country due to the several roles it plays in terms of migration flows. South Africa experienced a dramatic change in migration at the end of apartheid in 1994. International isolation abated, leading to the opening up of its borders and made South Africa a choice destination for Southern African immigrants (Adepoju, 2006).

Zimbabwean migrants migrated into South Africa for economic, political and humanitarian reasons unlike most African migrants who migrated strictly for economic reasons (Gallo, 2008). For years, Zimbabwean migration into South Africa was triggered by political violence, mass forced evictions, and poverty because of financial hardships and the political deadlock situation in Zimbabwe. Some Zimbabwean nationals fled from persecution, while others searched for economic opportunities (International Refugee Rights Initiatives, 2009). Former South African minister of Home Affairs, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, advanced three reasons for the increase of Zimbabwean population in South Africa. He reiterated that South Africa was economically advanced when compared to other countries; South African employers don't mind employing foreigners, both legal and illegal immigrants, and that migration patterns have been shaped by historical and economic connections with South Africa (Erhabor, Williams and Wyatt, 2013).

Push and pull factors can either propel people move to a new location or oblige them to leave old residences; they can be economic, political, cultural, and environmentally based. Push factors are conditions that can drive people to leave their homes, they are forceful, and relate to the country from which a person migrates. A few examples of push factors are: scarce jobs in your home country; few opportunities; "primitive" conditions; desertification; famine/drought; political fear/persecution; poor medical care; loss of wealth; and natural disasters. Pull factors are exactly the opposite of push factors; they are factors that attract people to a certain location. Examples of these push factors are job opportunities; better conditions of living; political and/or religious freedom; enjoyment; better education; better medical care; and security (IOM, 2003; Mawadza, 2008; Pelser, 2003; Crush and Williams, 2005).

Political reasons, economic crisis and unemployment were advanced by Zimbabweans as the reasons for migrating to South Africa. The buoyant nature of the South African economy too was an attractive force that drew other migrants to South Africa. Apart from economic factors, corruption, poor governance, conflict, civil strife, and political instability create good grounds

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or reasons for migration. Until the outbreak of xenophobic violence, South Africa was relatively stable, a place where refugees were assured of protection. Owing to this, some refugees came to South Africa to feel secure, while others used it as an exit route to the Western World. Most refugees are self-employed in the informal sector which includes hair dressing, shoemaking, entertainment and construction industries where they function as sole proprietors, entrepreneurs and employ the locals.

Housing was also an important area of conflict, in informal settlements especially Alexandra Township. Competition was rife for resources like water, health and sanitation services coupled with employment opportunities. Further, conflict is worsened by employing foreign nationals especially in the domestic, gardening and construction sectors. The absence of minimum wage in the casual labour sector also implies that locals are overlooked for migrants which results in unhappiness.

Zimbabweans migrate into South Africa daily for economic and allied reasons; they come into South Africa due to the proximity between the two countries, similarities in language and cultural beliefs and porous borders. For example, Ndebele which is spoken in both countries; a small proportion of Sothos who migrated from South Africa also live in Zimbabwe; the Shona language widely spoken in Zimbabwe is similar to Tshivenda which is spoken around Limpopo Province in South Africa. In addition, both countries have strong ties as dating back to the years of liberation struggle and apartheid; both countries have also been trading partners for so many decades. Marriages have also unionised South Africans and Zimbabweans; hence, the countries are intertwined in one form or the other. Re-adjusting in to the society or receiving warm embrace from South Africans is still worrisome for most Zimbabweans after the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Alexandra is a settlement where trust has been a major issue in the reintegration process.

Kok and Collinson (2006), in their migration research in South and Southern Africa, affirmed that social networks are vital in migratory movements. Such information gives the prospective migrant the much needed information and gets his or her mind prepared and has a foreknowledge of the prevailing circumstances in the receiving country, the type of jobs available the demographics and remuneration. The cruciality of social network cannot be trivialized because of the long history of migration from both Mozambique and Zimbabwe to South Africa; social networks were created in both sending and receiving countries. These networks aided smooth migration to South Africa. Social ties with migrants in the home

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countries and with those already settled in South Africa were often used by potential migrants in Mozambique and Zimbabwe to find work, shelter and new networks of social support in South Africa.

The tradition of labour migration from Mozambique and Zimbabwe also facilitated the creation of networks. Apart from the creation of networks, the long history of movement of people to and from South Africa created perceptions of South Africa as a country of opportunities where conditions were, in at least some respects, better than in the migrants' countries of origin. The perceived and real availability of employment opportunities in South Africa was found to have played a major role in the decision of potential migrants to move to South Africa. The nature of the work available for the migrants was an important factor in facilitating migration to South Africa. Some Zimbabwean migrants stated that they were familiar with the kind of work they had to do on South African farms and were consequently readily employed by South African border farmers. At the time of the survey, skilled and semi-skilled migrants found it relatively easy to find employment, particularly in the construction industry. It seems like Mozambican and Zimbabwean unskilled labourers were particularly sought after in the construction industry, probably because they do not belong to trade unions and are willing to work for low wages.

Although, at that time, the mining industry was more interested in skilled mine workers, newly recruited unskilled workers received some on-the-job training. These trends indicated that certain niches for migrant workers were beginning to develop in the South African labour market. Labour intensive agricultural practices on farms along the Eastern and Northern borders of South Africa created a demand for workers, which the Mozambicans' and Zimbabweans' crossing the borders could readily supply. Informal recruitment of workers by kinsmen and acquaintances provided potential migrants with work on these border farms. In addition, on both borders, kinship and cultural ties with South African citizens facilitated movement into the country. Shangaan-speaking Mozambicans and Venda-and–Sotho-speaking Zimbabweans appeared to be readily assimilated by communities in the border areas concerned. Relatives and friends who had already migrated to South Africa in some cases motivated those left behind to migrate to South Africa. Some of the women stated that they had come to South Africa to find boyfriends or husbands with whom they had lost contact. These women sometimes found accommodation, made social contacts or found jobs and consequently stayed on for longer than they had originally intended (Kok and Collinson, 2006).

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Rabambi (2008), in his research on the socio-economic impact of illegal immigrants and refugees in South Africa between June 1994 and December 2003 in the Vhembe District Municipality, examined the burden shouldered by South Africa due to mass migrations of SADC nationals and other African nationals which led to much pressure on government utilities. The state was forced to deport 30,741 undocumented migrants in 278 trips between January and December 2003. Socio-economic and political factors motivated their relocation to South Africa. Political, cultural and religious conflicts in the SADC states, gross violation of human rights, plus drought induced economic crises in Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Somalia and low wages earned by nationals of those countries when compared to their South African nationals, made South Africa attract foreigners to seek employment (Rabambi, 2008).

2.6.1 Socio-Economic Reasons

South Africa remains a strong economy and is still regarded to be one of Africa's most developed countries. South Africa's tight monetary policy set the country apart and this move helped the financial services sector which was insulated from the global financial crisis. The 2010 Fifa soccer world cup also created an avenue of income for the economy and helped it weather the storms of the 2008 global financial crisis (Independent Newspapers, 2013). While other economies crumbled in the wake of the global financial crisis, South Africa has managed to stay on her feet, largely due to its prudent fiscal and monetary policies. Rated by the World Bank as an "upper middle-income country", South Africa is the largest economy in Africa, and it remains rich with promise. In 2011, it was admitted to the BRICS group of countries of Brazil, Russia, India, and China, with South Africa making it BRICS (South Africa Info, 2011).

Foreigners viewed as threats to the social and economic security of South African's: With the enthronement of democracy in South Africa in 1994, the nation had to deal with the issue of implementing an immigration policy that conformed to the urgent needs of the nation. The government was focused on curbing irregular migration (Tati, 2008). In a swift response to attacks on foreigners in Diepsloot in Johannesburg (SABC, June 4, 2013), the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) said that foreigners and asylum seekers must not be seen as economic threats, but rather as economic contributors.

Social security was an initial U.S federal programme of social insurance and benefit developed in 1935. These include: retirement income, disability income, Medicare and Medi-aid, and

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death and survivorship benefits. In most cases, it is funded by tax payers' money (Investopedia, 2013). Economic security includes basic social security, defined by access to basic needs, infrastructure pertaining to health, education, dwelling, information, and social protection as well as work-related security (ILO, 2005). The absence of any social or economic security in a state could result to lower living standards and happiness, and may increase in anxiety and stress which tend to foster strained relationships and eventually lead to chaos or violence.

Khan (2007) contributes to the discourse on migration patterns in South Africa which has become progressively complicated and multifaceted lately. The country did not only attract refugees and asylum seekers, skilled professionals from across Africa as well as environmental and socio-economic migrants were attracted to South Africa because of the vibrant nature of her economy and the stable political climate. During the apartheid regime, the Aliens Control Act was used to regulate the movement of aliens into the country. In most cases, Africans were not considered for immigration. But this did not imply that other Africans from SADC were not allowed to gain access into South Africa. However, the government implemented strict immigration measures and made other SADC citizens to enter as migrant labourers. Prior to 1994, these foreign workers were employed on contractual terms between the employing organisations, which in most situations were the big mining conglomerates, and the governments of supplying countries. Most times, workers contracts were for a two-year period and they were returned to their countries as a group at the end of their contract period. Foreign workers were not permitted to come with family members while resident in South Africa and they were confined solely to their work place (farm/mines). Most neighbouring countries supplied labour to South Africa. These neighbouring countries provided cheap labour for mines and farms, the workers were highly confined and remained undocumented (Khan, 2007).

Polzer (2010) adds to the debate on causes of migration and that the statistics of cross border migration in South Africa is unreliable, which in turn gives room for unnecessary assumptions and exaggerations. Most estimates range between 1and 8 million international migrants, but the claims cannot be substantiated. Zimbabweans are the largest migrant group in South Africa. This includes latest arrivals and long term residents. The FSMP estimates that 1-1.5 million Zimbabweans are currently residing in South Africa. Zimbabwean migration is diverse with many reasons for leaving Zimbabwe (persecution and economic collapse); legal status (documented and undocumented); skills levels; social welfare needs; length of stay in the country; and location of residence in South Africa. Given the harsh socio-economic and

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political climate in Zimbabwe, a mass, permanent return to Zimbabwe is not certain within the next 2 to 5 years (Polzer, 2010).

Kedo (2011) in his work stated that South Africa over the years accommodated economic migrants rather than war refugees and internally displaced persons, especially job-seekers attracted to its highly lucrative mining sector. The collapse of the Zimbabwean economy has increased these figures. The Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors without Borders) Report stated that about a quarter of the population has relocated, with most of them finding refuge in South Africa. No one knows the exact population of Zimbabweans residing in South Africa. The South African estimate is between 3-8 million while the Zimbabwean estimate is 1 million. As millions of Zimbabweans move into South Africa, they put a lot of pressure on South Africa's already unstable social and economic resources, like health care, education, and employment. This has incapacitated South Africa's ability to effectively handle both immigration and unemployment of locals. In addition, South Africa's role as a sub-Saharan regional peacekeeper is threatened. Its migration policy is vividly connected to wider issues of regional integration and stability. Zimbabwean migration is the largest single immigration movements in South Africa's history, and it wouldn't abate anytime soon. Population inflows put pressures on South Africa's already delicate social and economic resources, thereby crippling South Africa's ability to manage its own population, and, its capacity to broaden its diplomatic influence outside its borders. Another significant migration trend in South Africa is internal. Rural-urban migration has increased over the years. It has affected economic growth, urban conditions and domestic stability negatively (Kedo, 2011).

2.6.2 Poor Border Control

Galsberg (2012) conceptualises borders as political confines of individual nations, separating one nation from another physically, politically, and economically, and creating national identities. The Republic of South Africa shares borders with 6 countries, namely, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia. It has 72 designated ports of entry, 10 airports, 9 harbours, 53 land ports or border crossings. Our focus in this study will be on the Messina border post which connects Zimbabwe and South Africa on land and facilitates movement of persons, goods and services between Zimbabwe and South Africa. The South Africa-Zimbabwe boundary is approximately 140 miles (225.308km), the boundary follows

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the median line of the Limpopo River for the entire distance. The boundary extends between the confluences of the Limpopo with the Shashi at the Botswana tri-point and the Luvuvhu River at the Mozambique tri-point. Utilized for road and rail road traffic at Beitbridge, a single bridge spans the Limpopo River boundary (Department of State USA international boundary study, 1971).

Anderson, Boucher and Hamlin (2010) say that borders divide the geographic boundaries of a political territory. Borders are highly pertinent to a state's security and carve out its physical place in the international system. When a state fails to control its borders, derive revenue from trade that flows through them and ensure that illegal trade in commodities (and people) is minimised, the integrity of that state is undermined. Unsafe borders can ultimately tamper with stability and increase the probability of conflict. Border management according to the IOM is the enablement of lawful movement of persons, including business people, tourists, migrants and refugees, across a border and the discovery and stoppage of irregular entry of non-nationals into a given country. Border management methods include the imposition of states of visa requirements, carrier sanctions against transport companies bringing irregular migrants to the territory, and interdiction at sea. International standards require a balancing between assisting the smooth passage of legitimate travellers and foiling that of travellers entering for vague reasons or with invalid documentation (Anderson, Boucher and Hamlin, 2010).

The Democratic Alliance (DA, 2008) furthers the debate on porous borders by acknowledging the fact that South Africa is flooded by many refugees from other SADC states. Hypothetically, this inflow of refugees is being managed by the Home Affairs Department and the permit system. The existing security at the border posts weakens the system and promotes other problems such as crime and exerts pressure on the welfare system. The Border Control Coordinating Committee (BCOCC) - the body saddled with the responsibility of overseeing border security, has simply failed to live up to expectation. The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) as enshrined in the 1996 Constitution was saddled with the sole responsibility of protecting the national borders of South Africa:

"The primary object of the defence force is to defend and protect the Republic, its territorial integrity and its people in accordance with the Constitution and the principles of international law regulating the use of force"

The constitutional mandate of the South African Police Service (SAPS) makes it clear that border control is not its function:

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"The objects of the police service are to prevent, combat and investigate crime, to maintain public order, to protect and to secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property, and to uphold and enforce the law"

The transfer of border security from the SANDF to the SAPS has increased the porosity of South African borders (DA, 2008).

Booth and Vale (1995) argued that during the apartheid era, national security was only for the white minority and the black majority was excluded. The lives and safety of the whites were guaranteed at the expense of the blacks. At the end of apartheid, South Africa was excited at her re-entry into the committee of nations. Security was top on the agenda. The level of uncontrolled migration to South Africa from neighbouring countries provoked her citizens. The South African Home Affairs Department announced that 12,000 illegal immigrants were repatriated in the second-half of 1994. Of a truth, the economic success of Southern Africa is rooted in the migration of its people. However, uncontrolled migration has added to instability. On the international front, it can be deduced that when cross-border migration heightens, diverse issues arise: drug smuggling, arms proliferation, child trafficking and the like. The attractiveness of South Africa has witnessed a large influx of migrants and at the same time, migration became a source of conflict (Booth and Vale 1995).

Chiliya, Masocha and Zindiye (2012) shed more light on cross border trade between South Africa and Zimbabwe which is in turn a contributory factor to migration. The economic crisis in Zimbabwe led to an increase in the volume of trade between both countries. This is attributable to a number of factors like high unemployment, high rate of inflation, shortages of foreign currency, shortages of goods and commodities, high levels of poverty and food insecurity. Zimbabwean unemployment was 94% in 2010 and this pushed many people to the informal sector where they hoped to ply their trade as cross border traders who do business and return home with more goods and foreign currency (Mwaniki, 2011). The disintegration of education, health care and the existence of a flourishing black market due to disparities in foreign currency rates and a tensed political climate are factors aiding cross border trade. Informal cross border trade was common among low-income earners and informal traders were seen as smugglers and women were tagged prostitutes. It was estimated that 70% of Zimbabwean women of productive age were involved in cross border trade and many were compelled to have 'transnational sex' in order to obtain favours like accommodation or free transportation to cross borders. An average of 10 women is raped daily on the South African

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border. This brings the total to about 300 women raped monthly. Men were also 'sodomised' or forced to rape females travelling with them. Some of the victims were elderly women who were defiled in the presence of their spouses or children. This has also increased the spread of STD's and HIV/AIDS. Cross border traders without valid documentation entered South Africa illegally through the porous Messina border post and were at the mercy of the *"maguma-guma"*, a term which implies people who seek to make a living through dubious means. *Maguma-gumas* operate along the railway line from the border into Messina and other illegal routes taken by Zimbabwean's and dispossesss illegal border jumpers of their valuables. Cross border traders also partake in organized crimes like tax evasion resulting in huge losses to the cash-strapped Zimbabwean Government (Chiliya, Masocha and Zindiye, 2012).

2.6.3 Porous Borders

Davies (1995) in his work gives a classification of cross-border migrants or foreigners into three groups; clandestine (or undocumented migrants) who are illegal border-crossers, who cross borders to gain access into South Africa without the necessary documents like passports, visas and work permits. The second group comprises of professional migrants from other countries having scarce skills in special fields like law, medicine, pharmacy and those in the world of academia who are in possession of the necessary and valid documents that will permit them to enter into South Africa in search of work in their respective areas of specialization. The third group are refugees who are displaced from their home countries due to outbreaks of ethnic strife, civil wars, political instability and the like. These made such refugees relocate to other countries. In Davies' explanation, most refugees too, like undocumented migrants, may not have the necessary travel documents like visas, passports or even work permits (Davies, 1995).

Mbite (2012) notes that according to the projections of United Nations (UN), International Organization for Migration (IOM) and International Labour Organization (ILO), 175 million persons lived outside their countries of origin, doubling the number a generation ago. Porous borders, political instability, conflict, natural disasters, environmental changes, climate change, and the like have contributed to the upward increase in migration. Estimates by ILO state that Africa accounts for one fifth of labour migrants on a global scale and come 2025, one out of

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every 10 Africans will reside and work outside their countries of origin. With the rising number of migrants, migration management would be hard for states to handle (Mbite, 2012).

Over the years, Africa has been characterised by migratory movements, in some states, similar languages are spoken across boundaries like Ndebele in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Labour migration has helped many African countries, if properly managed both origin and destination states could benefit from it. However, mismanaged migration can spell doom for states and migrants because people's wellbeing would be affected and there would also be the fear of insecurity. It could also lead to tensions between the host community and migrants, and give rise to xenophobia as evidenced by ferocious attacks on Zimbabwean nationals in South Africa.

2.6.4 Perceived Corruption and Impropriety of Government Officials

Corruption is most commonly defined as the misuse or abuse of public office for private gain (World Bank, 1997; UNDP, 1999). It is noticeable in many ways and other types of illicit behaviour such as bribery, extortion, fraud, nepotism, graft, speed money, pilferage, theft, and embezzlement, falsification of records, kickbacks, influence peddling, and campaign contribution. While corruption is commonly attributed to the public sector, it is also found in other aspects of governance, such as political parties, private business sector, and NGO (Balboa and Medalla, 2002).

Corruption must be understood as an unlawful arrangement between two or more parties, those who give and take in exchange for mutually beneficial favours and gains (CASAC, 2011).

Corruption also has supply and demand sides. This definition also needs to recognise that corruption is a practice that occurs in the public sector, the private sector and even the civil society sector. It is also important to note that corruption is not restricted to purely commercial transactions but may also be present when people try to access social services such as health, welfare and education services. In these instances, one party may be coerced into providing benefit to another due to unequal power relations that continue to characterise our society. A more proper definition is to see corruption as a contract or attempt to secure dishonest advantage for national interests or private benefit or enrichment through sabotaging or bribing a public official or any person or entity from performing their proper functions with due diligence and probity.

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Minnaar (1999) observed that prior to 1994; South African authorities had never taken the issue of corruption seriously. After the April 1994 elections, South Africa was exposed to global trends, economically, politically and socially including high corruption levels. This grossly affected border policing as crime syndicates who smuggled drugs had a field day, illegal migrants, firearms and other goods came in to the country. It also aided illegal export of stolen cars, artefacts and endangered species. This led to a loss of revenue from customs and excise duties through fraud, corruption, smuggling of goods, non-declaration or false values, forged manifests etc. It impacted negatively on foreign direct investment and resulted into firearms deaths, in violent crime, health hazards of drug abuse and other social effects. Border police and immigration officers are prone to bribery or helping criminals and organized crime syndicates to get documents through false means or of accepting falsified documentation for several types of goods, services or activities. A vivid example was the activities of the Aliens Investigation Unit (AIU) of the SAPS. In September 1998, more than half of the 24-member National Aliens Investigation Unit was suspended for dishonesty together with sexual favours from foreign prostitutes as compensation for shielding them from repatriation as illegal visitors. Corrupt practices like bribery, fraud, embezzlement, wrongfully influencing decisions in one's own favour abound. All these acts do not obey the rule of law. Public service corruption comes into being when an employee abandons his or her duty for benefit. Put together, corruption occurs when any form of unearned compensation or benefit is given to a person for any act or omission related to his or her duty for which they receive a salary. Corruption is hidden in many crafty ways. They include:

- All-expenses-paid holidays,
- Free liquor and meals,
- Free hunting and fishing trips,
- Free invitations to sporting events,
- Sexual favours,
- Excessive discounts or free services, and
- Unearned benefits for friends, family or colleagues.

Corrupt officials allow organised crime syndicates to flourish and these syndicates live above their means, most of them do not have legal jobs. Corrupt policemen supply drug barons with police radios and keep them informed of police investigations, so that they can escape arrest.

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In 1995, members of a large criminal syndicate who were arrested by the police in Pretoria provided illegal migrants with false documentation. Hundreds of falsified identification documents, matric certificates, blank birth certificates, finger print forms and stolen or forged stamps were confiscated. In another raid in July 1995, in Berea, Johannesburg, the Aliens Investigation Unit of the SAPS arrested two Nigerians and a Ghanaian for possession of South African identity documentation worth almost R1 million. It's the connivance, internal assistance and cooperation of corrupt government officials that allows illegal business like this to thrive (Minnaar, 1999).

2.6.5 Discriminatory Attitudes

This comes into being when a person or group of persons are treated unfairly because they are members of a particular group or have a distinguishing feature. Discrimination on racial basis occurs when a person or group of persons are treated unjustly because of their race, colour, ethnic background, ethno religious background, descent of nationality (ADB, 2011).

The United Nations defines discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life (UN).

The Council of Europe sees discrimination as a plan against someone by excluding that person from the full enjoyment of their political, civic, economic, social or cultural rights and freedoms. Discrimination contradicts a basic principle of human rights. Medicines Sans Frontieres (Doctors without Borders) interviewed some Zimbabweans who faced continuous harassment and exploitation in the hands of SAPS and DHA officials. The fear of police and possible threats of deportation hinders them from seeking medical care. Some Zimbabwean patients are even discriminated against and often ill-treated by hospital staff when they go for consultation (MSF).

The Human Rights Watch (HRW) revealed that South African healthcare professionals endanger the health of the country's large foreign population by denying them access to healthcare. Harassment, improper documentation and the fear of deportation grips and hinder

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many new comers from seeking medical treatment, although they are catered for by the South African legislation. Those who seek treatment are often ill-treated, verbally abused and denied care or charged exorbitant fees by healthcare workers. In the words of Rebecca Shaeffer, a fellow in the health and human rights division of HRW said "migrants to South Africa are abused in transit, attacked upon arrival, and then denied care when they are injured or ill". "The South African government should be ensuring that those people get the care they need, and are entitled to, under the country's constitution", (Human Rights Watch, 1999).

Sigsworth (2010) in her research on the response of South Africans to foreigner influx confirmed that locals said the migrants are 'taking our jobs and our women'. Foreigners are accused, harassed, molested and blamed for taking jobs, houses and stealing South African women. Migrants are prime targets and are used as scapegoats for all manner of domestic problems confronting the South African society today, especially escalating unemployment, crime and competition for basic services. A lot of migrant and refugee women in South Africa are not gainfully employed and they end up in the informal economy of unregulated sectors. Women migrants in South Africa are discriminated against by medical or paramedical personnel; they are given substandard medical treatment, overcharged for services or directly turned away from hospitals and clinics. Women often leave their home countries to South Africa due to political crises or economic woes in their own country and would not want to become a burden on the state, but rather be productive and take care of their families. However, apart from foreign women who are vulnerable to discrimination, South African nationals and foreign nationals have clashed over South African women with black South African men accusing foreigners of 'taking our women'. Sexual violence has attracted a lot of research in South Africa and it is used as a means to control and punish women, rape is therefore administered as a weapon to control or curb them from hanging out with foreign men and as a punishment for their supposed 'lewd' nature. This translates to the fact that there is a high possibility of sexual violence or attacks against South African women who choose to tie the knot with foreigners (Sigsworth, 2010).

Norbert (2009) in his article also asserts that apart from discrimination carried out against black non-South African citizens, the use of derogatory words like *makwerekwere, magrigamba and ngagawane* abounds in South Africa. Atrocities like forced evictions, invasions, looting of properties and unlawful occupation of shacks in informal settlements are typical in South Africa. Foreigners are always accused of perpetrating heinous and raping South African women, they are lucky to escape lynching in the hands of angry mobs if the police arrive there

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on time, but if not, they are necklaced. Surveys have shown that South African men are termed abusive by their partners or spouses and the female folk hold the general assumption that foreign men are more caring, therefore they are tempted to have affairs with them, which results in marriage in the long run.

Nobert (2009) allude to the use of identity as a political tool to discriminate against black non-South Africans as they are excluded from grassroots administration or local vigilante committees. The issue of exclusion of foreigners is a common feature even in government parastatals. The politics of belonging also thrives as there are various associations which are exclusively South African and non-South Africans are not welcomed to join such associations (Norbert, 2009).

Any attempt by foreigners to change the culture of a particular community is met with stiff resistance and often time's degenerate to violence if not checkmated at inception. That is why integration is needed first at communal level, where relationships based on mutual confidence and trust are built between the host community and the foreign population resident there. The relationship then spreads to the provincial and national levels. As mentioned earlier, integration is said to be the process of including immigrants in the institutions and relationships of the host society. Integration is best done at grassroots level. In the preceding chapter, reintegration was defined as the return and acceptance of a person as a participant member of a community, as such, the term is used to explain the re-entry of formerly displaced people into the social, economic, cultural, civil and political fabric of their original community.

2.7 Preliminary Studies on Xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia is a form of attitudinal, affective, and behavioural prejudice toward immigrants and those perceived as foreign. The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary defines xenophobia as the "fear and hatred of strangers or of anything that is strange or foreign" underscores the fact that the term has been used over the years to explain the fear of foreigner influx into a society. However, current findings and research on xenophobia suggest that the fear of foreigners and their impact is highly related to ethnocentrism, which is often regarded as the superiority of one's culture to others (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary).

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Reynolds and Vine (1987) saw xenophobia as a "psychological state of hostility or fear towards outsiders". Crowther (1995) highlighted that xenophobia is carried out on individuals who come from "other countries" and toward whom locals have "an intense dislike or fear". Xenophobia appears to vividly show the presence of attitudinal and behavioural hostility toward non-locals. Furthermore, the term xenophobia is used in the human and social sciences, arts, humanities and by human rights organizations, governments and the United Nations to describe anti-immigrant sentiments.

Xenophobia is multi-faceted and obviously tied to concepts of nationalism and ethnocentrism, which are both portrayed by belief in the supremacy of one's nation or culture over others (Licata and Klein, 2002; Schirmer, 1998). Esses *et al* (2005) outlined some distinguishing features that make up xenophobia. They discovered that individual and group national identity focus is nativistic (believing that national identity is based on birth) rather than civic and cultural (believing that national identity is based on deliberate dedication to institutions) lead to stronger negative perceptions against foreigners. Their study also revealed that nationalism (affective ties to one's nation) is connected to increased negative views of immigrants (Esses *et al*, 2005).

Watts (1996) says xenophobia is a "discriminatory potential" which becomes a reality when ideas like ethnocentrism is connected to a sense of threat on a personal or group level. A clear illustration of such threat comes from the individualistic or cultural view that locals are dispossessed of their jobs by foreign workers. Watts advanced that this biases allows political xenophobia to thrive and governments put in place public policies to deny foreign individuals access to jobs (Watts, 1996). Also, Radkiewicz (2003) opined that xenophobia is related to an ethnocentric "syndrome" with two separate dimensions: beliefs concerning national superiority and harsh or reluctant attitudes towards foreign nationals.

Marsella and Ring (2003) affirmed that xenophobia comes to the fore especially during the time of economic and political crisis. Deplorable economic situations attracts individuals towards countries with the prospect of getting better wages and conditions of living, but other factors like genocide and natural disasters may push many people outward to other states (Marsella and Ring, 2003).

Esses *et al* (2001) asserted that large scale migration of groups of people across borders could give way to ill-feeling on the part of the host community who feel threatened by the presence

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of new arrivals due to feelings of competition for economic resources or cultural differences (Esses *et al*, 2001).

Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (1995) strongly believed that negative attitudes towards immigrants are based on uncertainties arising from depleting economic resources, harsh climatic and weather conditions, and the relegation of certain political groups to the background. Scholars globally have discovered that foreigners are prime targets and often scapegoated during economic and cultural upheavals (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 1995).

Warner and Finchlescu (2003), and Harris (2002) directly or indirectly connect xenophobia with black African immigrants. Notwithstanding, restricting xenophobia or xenophobic attacks to other black African nationals alone is a parochial approach, because xenophobia experienced by immigrants of other races should also be underscored. By extension, the practice will most likely include the use of violence.

According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), at the international level, there is no universally accepted definition of 'xenophobia', though it can be described as attitudes, prejudices and behaviours that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity. Xenophobia is thus simply defined as animosity and chauvinism against people who are viewed as 'outsiders' or 'foreigners'. It can also be labelled as dislike for anything which is alien or unknown, especially of strangers or foreign people. Non South Africans face global threat of violence inspired by xenophobia in South Africa and around the world. According to the Southern African Migration Project, South Africa displays one of the highest levels of xenophobia globally and the feeling seems to be racialised because Black immigrants are prime targets. Blacks from other states of African, in particular, are highly vulnerable to harassments if compared to white immigrants within or outside Africa. Xenophobia in South Africa exceeds sensitive, inert fear or hatred; instead, it leads to extreme hostilities and even vicious attacks by South Africans against immigrants from other African nations (Laher, 2009).

Kollapan (1999) warns that xenophobia cannot be separated from violence and physical abuse. Morris (1998) and Tshitereke (1999) see xenophobia as hostility towards foreigners due to a country's limited resources, like housing, education, health care and employment. Authors who wrote on xenophobia differ in their definitions as shown above, but their contributions are crucial for this study. Xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in Africa and South Africa is not

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the only country battling with issues centred on xenophobia. It is one of the symptoms of globalisation in which people migrate from country to country to better their lot and seek a brighter future. Xenophobia constitutes a potential threat to human rights and the economic importance of foreign nationals, apart from contravening the constitution of the Republic of South Africa. From the start of racial slurs and other forms of discrimination, the United Nations played a significant role by instituting the universal declaration of human rights in 1948 (Glendon, 2004).

Since the early 1990s, xenophobic violence has become a 'recurring decimal' in South Africa (Hadland *et al.*, 2008). This is shown by the long history of a series of inter-ethnic violence and rivalry on the African continent. For example, in Nigeria, it dates back to the 18th century when natives of the Oyo empire relocated en masse to Modakeke in Ife in search of safety from the internecine wars of the Oyo empire and the subsequent Ife/Modakeke crisis in the early 1980s, the late 1990s and between 2001 and 2002 (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005). In South Africa, Malan (2010) attests to the fact that in South Africa, similar ethnic violent scenarios occurred. In most cases, foreigners were banished, murdered or killed by military means and the surviving members (mostly women and children) assimilated into the society of the conquerors. The kingdoms of Shaka among the Zulu and Moshesh among the Southern Sothos were typical examples of this (Malan, 2010).

Xenophobia in South Africa is due to many reasons. Unemployed people and criminals from other countries find their way into South Africa because of her strong economy. The country also creates an enabling environment for some criminal gangs to establish links and succeed in their illicit activities. Many workers compete in their struggle with issues of existentialism and this eventually births animosity against foreigners. Illegal immigrants don't mind to work for less remuneration, at times only for food, and were accused by South Africans that they had the habit of depriving locals of their source of income (Malan, 2010).

Before the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners, South Africa had recorded some incidences of such brutal attacks on foreigners. To mention but a few of properly documented incidents: In December 1994 and January 1995, armed-youth gangs in Alexandra Township vandalised homes and properties of undocumented migrants and took them to the police station where they said they were granted a persona non grata status and as result demanded that they be evicted immediately (Croucher, 1998). In September 1998, two Senegalese and one Mozambican citizen were hurled off a moving train by a group of individuals returning from a rally organised

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by a local group blaming foreigners for the levels of unemployment, crime and even the spread of AIDS (Human Rights Watch, 1998). Alexandra residents were not the only ones that carried out attacks on foreigners. Zandspruit Township residents also attacked foreigners, burning down shacks owned by Zimbabweans residing in the informal settlement in a bid to send away foreigners whom they accused of stealing jobs meant for locals and a sudden rise in crime rate (Mohala, 2001).

In one month, seven xenophobic killings allegedly occured in the Cape Flats area of Cape Town (Independent newspapers online, 2000) in 2000. As the violence spread, victims were being treated with no dignity. In most cases, orchestrated violence against non-South Africans have been on short-term basis and are confined mostly to informal settlements.

The xenophobic attacks of 2008 were different from the past ones, with wide-spread violence. The Human and Social Sciences Research Council (HSRC) reports that the attacks began in Alexandra Township in Gauteng and then spread to other areas in and around Johannesburg, including Cleveland, Diepsloot, Hillbrow, Tembisa, Primrose, Ivory Park, and Thokoza. Violence in Mpumalanga, Kwazulu-Natal and Cape Town soon followed (Hadland *et al.*, 2008). These xenophobic attacks went viral and were replicated in about 135 different locations across South Africa leading to at least 62 deaths, two-thirds of the victims being Zimbabwean nationals. Xenophobic attacks carried out in Alexandra could also be attributed to the weak presence of government at grassroots level.

These attacks continued unabatedly for over a week and led to a major humanitarian, social and political crisis for the country. African immigrants who were mainly Zimbabweans and suspected criminal South Africans were burned /or killed in the violence and hundreds were severely assaulted. For instance, Zimbabwean nationals were attacked in June and December 2008 in Seshego, Polokwane and the police had to make use of the old wing of Peter Mokaba Stadium as a temporary camp for the displaced. Increasing levels of rape, crime and poverty were advanced as reasons for the attacks on the Zimbabweans. About four thousand people were displaced (Karlekar, 2009). Shops owned by African immigrants were looted and the government had no other option than to open refugee camps for thousands of displaced people. The President and Cabinet members had to appeal to those affected in the violence through the media making public statements, condemning and apologising for the violent acts carried out against foreigners (Laher, 2009).

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The violence was largely confined to informal settlements (Hadland *et al.*, 2008) although xenophobic attacks are not limited to informal settlements alone since such violence can occur anywhere even in urbanised areas. Svirina, (2007) asserts that violent attacks were also carried out in major Russian cities against foreigners and Russians of certain ethnic groups nearly every week by 'skinheads'.

On May 11, 2008, Alexandra was in the news because of the wave of violence and spate of attacks against foreign African nationals residing mainly in and around Beirut. Over the next three to four days two people were killed (including one South African), scores of people were injured and hundreds were forcefully evicted from their homes by a bunch of hooligans. Many foreigners had their shacks looted and some women were also raped in the ensuing melee (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh (2005), view the issue of xenophobia as the natural outcome of historical patterns of labour migration, conflict and economic hardship in neighbouring SADC states. The relative peace and harmony in South Africa has made the country a choice destination and transit point for migrants throughout the region. Although the treatment meted out to non-nationals, especially black foreigners, vary across South Africa's socio-economic and ethnic spectrum; it is widely held that non-nationals living and/or working in South Africa often face discrimination at the hands of citizens, government officials, police, and private organizations contracted to manage their detention and deportation facilities. Foreigners have also been blamed and they are often used as scapegoats in order to justify the shortcomings of elected leaders (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh, 2005).

Dodson and Oelofse (2000) in their research on xenophobia at Mizamoyethu, Cape Town asserted that xenophobia violence occurred between locals and foreigners from Namibia and Angola. The locals accused the foreigners of stealing their jobs on the fishing boats and of being prepared to work for half of the prevailing wage rate and refusing to unionise. They were also accused of crime and stealing their women by dressing smartly and flashing money around; this has promoted prostitution among the local females in that community (Dodson and Oelofse, 2000).

Ilesanmi (2011) asserts that xenophobic attacks in South Africa were as a result of anti-immigrants feeling against black foreigners crossing into the South African territory. Most often, people from Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Mozambique migrate into South Africa in search of a better life or relocate because of political strife or economic issues in their own countries.

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Poverty and failure to earn a decent living are major reasons for migration. Migrant workers and their families are often vulnerable in their host countries, because they reside and work outside their country of origin. They are more vulnerable when employed and recruited illegally, at the mercy of their employers, coerced to accept unfavourable conditions in extreme cases leading to modern day slavery or forced labour. They are unable to seek redress in the court of law due to their illegal status, since if they report such practices they are risking repatriation from their host country, South Africa (Ilesanmi, 2011).

Olukoju (2011) traces xenophobic attacks to the outcome of accumulation of aggression and frustration on the part of South African citizens. He notes that xenophobia has always been an intrinsic part of African life on the continent; the Xhosas hate the Zulus and the Hutus hate the Tutsis. But some ethnic classifications like "Hutu" and "Tutsi" are colonial creations and any kind of resentment among such groupings also was made worse by the special conditions of colonial rule. Conflictual relations exist between many African groups and people as they contend for political and economic advantage, such as exists in other parts of the world. Admittedly most Africans belonged to known political entities and they were not organised into modern-type territorial nation-states. The May 2008 attacks were as a result of previous attacks such as those in 1995, 1998 and 2007. These attacks were attributed to socio-economic grievances for which other African nationals were held ransom owing to negative stereotypes and competition with locals for limited jobs and services. Olukoju affirms that bad governance on the part of African leaders which has led to failed states was a major reason for migration into South Africa. The political crisis which engulfed Zimbabwe in the late 1990s, led to economic sanctions being placed on the country. The fragile nature of the Zimbabwean economy led it into depression, acute food shortage coupled with drought, climate change and very high levels of unemployment. The effects of these sanctions and poor living standards led to a mass exodus of Zimbabweans into South Africa. This movement therefore, was largely due to the absence of economic development in their home country, which could have created more job opportunities and reduced migration (Olukoju, 2011).

Ilevabre and Adesanya (2011) contend that xenophobia is not something new in South Africa and that there are well-documented incidents of public and institutional violence and hostility against strangers and that South Africans use violence to address both personal and social challenges. Historically, violence was used by South Africans to show their displeasure at the apartheid government and this also accounts for high levels of crime and violence in the country. The struggle for political, economic and religious power was as a result of colonial

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rule. The fear of being dominated and cheated in these areas birthed xenophobia. Issues like poor service delivery, disappointed expectations of post-apartheid South Africa, increased competition for resources and or opportunities and feelings of not being heard led to frustration and xenophobic violence. Scholars argue that colonialism brought segregation and in the pre-colonial times, African brotherhood/sisterhood existed in the form of communalism like "Ujamaa" which was practised in Tanzania (Ilevabre and Adesanya, 2011).

Matsinhe (2011) in his work posits that the history of colonial group relations cannot be trivialised. 'Citizens and non-citizens' relations are extended shadows of history and these relations should not be characterised as xenophobia. He places emphasis on the 'we-image' of South Africans and the description of other African nationals as *'makwerekwere'*. Those who carried out the attacks in 2008 were black citizens whose prime target were foreign African nationals. Over 60 foreign nationals lost their lives, over 600 were injured and over 30,000 were displaced (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Hostility towards foreign nationals was because of prolonged seclusion of black South Africans in the apartheid era from administrative posts. The death of apartheid ended this seclusion, the borders were opened and South Africans were subjected to overwhelming exposure to the world. Xenophobic attitudes arose from the unexpected and intense exposure to strangers. Matsinhe examined the imprints of colonial imbalances and put the 'we-image' against the 'they-image', where 'we' is South Africa and 'they' is Africa (Matsinhe, 2011).

Steenkamp (2009) examines xenophobia from the angle of social capital. And for social development to take place, issues of trust cannot be downplayed. She sees trust as a belief in the goodwill of others towards one's own interests and wellbeing and what violence implies about social capital. In the late 1980s, citizens of neighbouring countries like Mozambique and SADC countries flooded South Africa as contract workers to provide cheap, unskilled labour to mining and farming industries. Most Mozambicans fled their country because of the political turmoil in their country. Most pre-1990 migrants were poor, unskilled and originated mainly from neighbouring countries and were integrated into the local black population. The local population then was hospitable because foreign nationals were not obstacles to their own employment prospects, but they focused mainly on apartheid which was their major impediment to job opportunities and better living standards. As migrants increased, South Africans' became frustrated because they failed to reap the fruits of democracy promised them by their political leaders. The living conditions of many South Africans confined to the townships deteriorated in spite of the enthronement of democracy and promises of a bright

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future. Unemployment, crime, lack of formal housing, HIV/AIDS, rising food prices due to global economic recession, competition over scarce resources all contributed to the violence (Steenkamp, 2009).

Misago (2009) in his research on xenophobia violence in South Africa opined that violence against foreign nationals in South Africa did not begin with the May 2008 attacks; it has been an historical and current happening in post-apartheid South Africa. The resurfacing of xenophobic violence is embedded in the micro-politics of South Africa's townships and informal settlements. In most areas where violence was rife, community leaders orchestrated it, led and encouraged the locals to wreak havoc on foreign nationals in an attempt to strengthen their grip on power to secure their political and economic interests. The locals blamed the South African government for the mass influx of immigrants (especially Zimbabweans) and inadequate border controls. Rising price of food and other basic commodities and service delivery failures were advanced by locals as reasons for the xenophobic violence. Apart from preventing future occurrences, locals should be educated on the ills of xenophobia and the respect for fundamental human rights (Misago, 2009).

Reitzes (2009) in her work discovered that xenophobia in South Africa has its foundations in apartheid and the political economy of the country. She traced the trend of racial discrimination in South Africa from South Africa's immigration policy from 1913 to the eventual passage of the country's Immigration Act in 2002. She argued that South Africa's immigration policy has promoted the 'we' image (South African national identity) and the 'they' image, allowing racial discrimination and carrying out further attacks on foreign nationals (Reitzes, 2009).

2.8 Literature on Integration and Reintegration

From time immemorial, the issue of immigrant integration has attracted a lot of theoretical explanations in an attempt to examine the implications of immigrant inclusion into the host societies. In this connection, a plethora of concepts are always analysed in the scholarly literature, including: assimilation, incorporation, accommodation, acculturation, absorption, adaptation, inclusion and integration.

Integration is one of the common themes in the human and social sciences. The concept has various meanings and is utilized in many diverse contexts: from the old texts of Marx, via the

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inputs of Spencer, Tonnies, Durkheim and Parsons to the present day writings of Lockwood, Habermas, Giddens, Luhmann and Mouzelis; all have different models on the theme of integration. Kibreab (1989) defines integration as "an economic, social and cultural process by which refugees become members of the host society on a permanent basis irrespective of how things develop in the countries of origin". Refugees are accepted on a permanent basis. This is followed by legal integration whereby the refugees concerned acquire the citizenship of the country of their asylum through naturalization (Kibreab, 1989). Kuhlman (1991) sees integration as the ability of refugees to be actively involved in the receiving community's economy in ways equal to their acquired skills and suitable to their cultural values; make a living (economic, housing, public infrastructure, health care services, and education) that fulfils minimum cultural requirements; be able to experience socio-cultural change without losing their identity and adapt psychologically to their new condition. Their entry does not worsen the existing conditions of living and economic opportunities for the members of the host communities; they have clashes between the refugee and host community but no sad feelings within the host population itself (Kuhlman, 1991). According to UNHCR, integration is said to be a process by which the refugee is assimilated into the social and economic life of a new national community (Kuhlman, 1994).

To integrate means "to make a whole by bringing all parts together; unify" and is used in various fields like Mathematics, Electronics and Psychology (The American Heritage College Dictionary, 2002). In the ethnic relations field, the dictionary gives us the definition of integration as the bringing of people of different racial or ethnic groups into unrestricted and equal association, as in society or an organization. Integration seems to be clear from this definition, but a further probing raises a question. In what terms can 'unrestricted and equal association' be defined? Ager and Strang (2008) argue that one of the problems with developing policies or publicly debating the concept of integration is that there are so many different interpretations of the concept.

Integration as a term might be confusing because it is used as an analytical concept in academia as well as a standard opinion in national policy making (Phalet and Swyngedouw, 2003). Valtonen (1994) posits that integration occurs when a group interacts with the larger society without losing its own identity. Integration presents a positive meaning as it creates room for the adapting group's identity (Valtonen, 1994). Baubock (1994) argues that integration cuts across several academic disciplines, though it is categorised as an intangible concept, it has various definitions and theoretical applications. Hargreaves (1995) contends that because of

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the wrong use of integration in general terms, its meaning is now 'frequently poorly defined'. A broad definition of integration is concerned with the way of socialisation, through standards and formation of anticipations, adds to create social cohesion and societal stability (Brochmann, 2003). Consequentially, integration involves the learning of, and adjustment to, society's values and processes that bind individuals to society socially, economically and culturally.

Several researchers from various study fields have increased the vagueness of integration because of their uncoordinated efforts to define integration (Hosseini-Kaladjahi, 1997). Preston (1999) conceives integration as the ability of individuals and groups to relate strongly, overcoming differences without a collapse of social relationships and conflict. Refugee integration is the building of new life with dignity while becoming an independent and productive society member being able to fend for oneself. Yousif (2001) says that in the integration process refugees participate actively in all levels of society and become full citizens.

Favell (2001) alludes to the fact that there are equal opportunities, mutual tolerance and cultural diversity in refugee integration. Vermeulen and Penninx (2002) posit that integration can be used as a general concept but can also be a more specific term that varies in its degree of pluralism. Integration through a pluralistic view permits ethnic groups to retain their group identity and at the same time have equal access to the receiving society.

Integration was introduced in the 1960s and 1970s and it replaced assimilation and exhibits more tolerance for ethno-cultural differences. Integration has been criticized for ordinarily being "a cover-up for assimilationists' goals" (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2002). Diaz (1993) distinguishes assimilation from integration by describing assimilation as a process whereby immigrants become similar to natives. Assimilation is centred on learning norms, values and language of the local population. Popoola (2002) asserts that assimilation is a biased adaptation to the majority's values and behaviour. Popoola was of the opinion that if complete adaptation to certain values is required, it should be referred to as "partial assimilation" and not integration. Integration primarily has to do with social networks and contacts between immigrants and natives. Diaz defines integration as a "mainly social phenomenon that can be related to the quality of immigrants' participation in different types of social relations in the receiving society (Diaz, 1996). Immigrant integration implies accessibility to socially valuable resources at the same level as locals. However, it does not require cultural similarity (Diaz, 1993).

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Separating assimilation from integration is a difficult task because the use of assimilation has a bad connotation, while integration is not too offensive. As a result, people prefer to use integration to describe both concepts. Another contentious issue here is that both assimilation and integration are interwoven. One could be amazed how the two concepts could coexist; assimilation of the migrant group, e.g. learning the language could be a prerequisite needed to create social networks and interact with the local population, which is the main focus of integration.

According to Audrey (2000), integration can be defined as the relationship between relative newcomers and an existing population through which parts of culture are adopted and shared. Li (2003) says "integration is about incorporating newcomers into a democratic process of participation and negotiation that shapes the future, and not about conforming and confining people to pre-established outcomes based on the status quo". Heckmann (2004) defines integration as a method by which immigrants are inserted into the society's main institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving country. Heckmann further illustrates that migrant integration relates to a process whereby a new culture is being learned, rights acquired, access to positions and statuses, a situation in which personal relations are built with members of the receiving society. It is a process in which migrants and the receiving society relate with each other freely. Diaz (1996) admits the intricacy of integration and argues for the significance of acknowledging the multifaceted aspects of the integration process.

Van Tubergen (2006) in his research on integration separates economic integration from sociocultural integration, although both are important. According to Tubergen, economic integration involves "economic equality between immigrants and natives" and relates to issues centred on employment, occupational status, self-employment and income. While sociocultural integration is a mixture of social integration, which Van Tubergen defines as social interactions between immigrants and natives, and cultural integration, the level to which immigrants and natives share cultural values and patterns (Van Tubergen, 2006). Social integration manifests in contacts with the local population like marriages and friendships, and membership in organizations (Diaz, 1996; Hosseini-Kaladjahi, 1997; Van Tubergen, 2006). One of the main pointers of cultural integration is the ability to speak the language of the host community (Hosseini-Kaladjahi, 1997; Van Tubergen, 2006). Van Tubergen is of the view that, an immigrant group is considered socially and culturally integrated when "interethnic relationship, friendships and marriages are common, and when immigrants speak the destination language well" (Van Tubergen, 2006).

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In other words, integration implies that immigrants are allowed access to all aspects of the host community and do not have to necessarily relinquish existing ties with their home country. Although, some requirements like learning the language of the host community and understanding their culture may be required in order to gain access into the society. Integration is not one way; locals must be actively involved by establishing social networks and relations with immigrants.

2.9 Refugee Integration

The integration of refugees into a village, society, community, nation or state cannot be overemphasised. Refugees have become the backbone of some communities and have helped to reshape communities through their active involvements at all levels. In some societies, refugees are no longer seen as strangers; they have interacted by forming associations and some are even unionised in marriages. The prevailing conditions in the sending country may have influenced the movement of the immigrants to another country and if it is a case of protracted conflict, refugees may no longer be willing to go back to their country of origin hence they have 'come to stay'. Refugees reside in rural areas and are engaged mostly in the agricultural sector, while some prefer the urban setting even though they don't have the requisite qualifications to get 'white-collar' jobs in the formal sector of the economy. They resort to getting jobs in the informal sector which allows them to fend for themselves and escape some form of joblessness. Refugees are found in every continent and as conflicts escalate the numbers rise. Refugee integration is a meaningful solution to the refugee problem; it is cheaper and cost effective when compared to the cost of repatriation which affects the host country's budget in most cases.

Some European states have ensured the "temporariness" of refugee protection and their speedy repatriation (Frelick, 2001). Stein (1986) argues that apart from cultural or political factors which lead to a decision against permanent acceptance of refugees, low-income countries may be willing to allow refugees to remain, as there may be a scramble for jobs or arable land available. Maintaining refugees would be very expensive (Stein, 1986).

In situations where refugees are able to access basic services, some circumstances make refugee integration difficult. Kalumba and Freund (1986) discovered through their research in Zambia that even though refugees accessed basic services like schools, public transport and

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health services, this was not valuable access as they did not have national registration cards (the equivalent of the South African identity document). In this study, refugees told the researchers that not having national registration cards contributed to their being seen as aliens and they could not be fully integrated into the society. Hence, it was concluded that "the provision of services does not translate to social development and welfare of refugees but to problems of relative access (Kalumba and Freund, 1986).

Forms of integration like education and employment are utilized in the developed world, where refugees influx is small and highly regulated (Zetter, 1999). In Africa, some refugees battle to settle in urban areas while the rest move to rural areas. Conversely, Westin (1999) has argued that in Sub-Saharan Africa, the most feasible solution has been integration on self-settlement basis in local communities mainly concentrated in the border areas of the first country of reception while countries like Finland which had a population of 160,000 in 1994, offered an annual refugee quota of 500 under government supervision and chances of the refugee community growing are very minimal.

2.10 Local and International Integration

Kibreab (1989) defines local integration as a situation in which foreigners are granted full and permanent asylum, membership and residency status by the receiving state. It occurs through a process of legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees, ultimately leading to the offer of citizenship (Kibreab, 1989). Jacobsen (2001) argues that local integration is not the sole responsibility of the host government; it will become a reality if the host governments, the local communities and refugees work in concert to ensure its success (Jacobsen, 2001). The possibility of implementing local integration or not in South Africa as we speak is a controversial issue because other issues also need to be addressed. "The promotion of local integration for refugees depends on the degree of understanding of their plights on local land, at the very least, an acceptance of their presence. That acceptance is still very rare in South Africa..." (UNHCR, 2000). It is also important that this acceptance becomes more than a legal promulgation as Mupedziswa (1993) affirmed that for integration to be successful, there is a need for cooperation of local community, and the government (Mupedziswa, 1993). Jacobsen (2001) has argued that serious efforts should be made to determine the true effects of local integration and to authenticate to the host government that local integration can be beneficial

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to both refugees and host communities, as a result making the government to cooperate in assisting refugees (Jacobsen, 2001).

Majodina and Peberdy (2000) in their research on a Somali community in Johannesburg examined the extent to which they had been infused into the South African society. The study concentrated on the socio-economic, demographic and psycho-social conditions of the community (Majodina and Peberdy, 2000). The relationship with the local community or the eagerness, including integration, was not thoroughly examined; as a result, a wide gap has been left with regards to addressing the issues of integration. Timngum (2001) in his research on Cameroonian urban refugees in Johannesburg examined the socio-economic status of this community. He observed their migration history and demographics together with their housing profiles. He also examined their access to social services. The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) in their 2003 study looked briefly into the issue of refugee interaction with local communities. Although, the study looked into the interactions between the receiving communities and refugees, however, it failed to describe the quality of interaction.

The kind of host community where social integration will take place is a very vital factor that will support or discourage social integration. In a study carried out by the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) in 1992, it was discovered that Belgium and Luxembourg appeared to top the chart of integration of refugees and making them feel socially accepted by giving them a sense of belonging despite economic shocks and saturated labour market conditions (ECRE, 1992).

Bulcha (1998) assert that situational factors could influence the integration of refugees into the receiving community. Heterogeneous societies tend to accommodate, interact and relate with refugees more than homogeneous societies. In most cases, both heterogeneous and homogeneous societies blame foreigners for their socio-economic woes, especially if the foreign population is large and it results into violence against foreigners (Bulcha, 1998). In some cases, the number of foreign nationals has been inflated and this has been used to provoke public opinion, create false perceptions about foreign nationals leading to violence. The host community's factors are not the sole determinants of social integration; the socio-cultural background of the refugees and the refugees themselves are also factors that determine social integration. Refugees who belong to a homogeneous group may encounter troubles in a heterogeneous society (Bulcha, 1998).

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One can easily argue that several factors influence social integration either positively or negatively. Economic, social, cultural and religious factors can affect social integration. The host community and refugee community also have roles to play in the integration process. Refugees are well received by host communities when resources are enough and there are no forms of competition for jobs, refugees are therefore regarded as important community members.

In a study carried out by Bakewell (2000) in Kanongesha, a Zambian village having self-settled Angolan refugees were seen as highly beneficial to the community. Bakewell alludes that the refugees in that host community were not seen as refugees, rather they were seen as real members of the host community and they hadcompletely mixed with the host community. Refugees were not discriminated against on the basis of nationality; this had enhanced marriages between the refugee community and the host community. Occasions like weddings, circumcision and funerals were attended by all and sundry irrespective of nationality (Bakewell, 2000). A question that arises from this is "why is there no conflict when it comes to local integration in the rural areas or villages when compared to the urban areas or cities?"

Westin (1999) in his research on refugee integration affirmed that members of a Tanzanian local community assisted refugees who sought protection in their community. However, a study carried out by Sommers (2001) on Burundian refugees in the Tanzanian capital showed that the refugees were not accorded reception; the average Tanzanian had reservations about Burundian refugees because they felt their economic opportunities were being hampered by the presence of Burundians in the capital city (Sommers, 2001). This is a common situation that occurs mostly in urban areas, especially big cities.

Valtonen (1994) posits that places like offices and schools facilitate social integration and interaction with the members of a receiving community. Vietnamese refugees in Turku, Finland could not mingle freely with the Finnish host-community because of language barrier and communication problems. Interaction and social integration only occurred at the work place and schools (Valtonen, 1994).

The character of a refugee plays a vital role in the integration process. Some refugees are good mixers and their sterling qualities have made them to be accepted by the members of the host community. Some remain positive even if they had bitter experiences in the past; they easily fit into the host community (ECRE, 1992). Options for interaction and adaptation into the host

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community abound; however, some refugees prefer to interact with their own country-men rather than relate with the natives in the host community.

Morris (1999) in his study on Francophone Africans residing in Hillbrow revealed that French-speaking Africans were bonded together due to same culture, nationality or common language. The resultant effect was that they found it very hard to mingle with South Africans (Morris, 1999). Nevertheless, Bulcha (1988) contends that the disintegration of kinship ties, friendship and the like due to displacement, is being mended by restoring personal relations in the receiving communities (Bulcha, 1988).

Dijkstra; Geuijen; de Ruijter (2001) argue that the integration of refugees in a new society is important, though having positive and negative effects. During the course of integration, internal unity among both refugees and host community strengthens cooperation and social control and to a certain degree obedience to group norms. Simultaneously, strong internal solidarity leads to animosity towards the external which results in xenophobia or much more deadly scenarios (Dijkstra; Geuijen; de Ruijter, 2001).

Harrell-Bond (2002) in her research on Liberians who migrated to Ivory Coast, noted that the Ivorian government championed Liberian reintegration. The government allowed Liberians to settle freely among the local population instead of residing in refugee settlement camps (Harrell-Bond, 2002). Kauffer Michel (2002) in her research on local integration of Guatemalan refugees in Mexico who were offered an option of local integration by the government of Mexico confirmed that Guatemalan refugees were happy to take up the Mexican government's offer of permanent residence in Mexico after spending 15 years as refugees. She dwelt on the significance of legal integration which promoted a higher level of social and economic integration. This is true of Guatemalans in Mexico who lived in fear of deportation and took up menial jobs; but with legal integration they participated in the economy. She also discovered that local settlements aided integration; it gave refugees security through permanent housing, arable land, better social services and infrastructure and helped to create awareness among the local population about the presence of refugees (Kauffer Michel, 2002).

Polzer (2004) in a study conducted on the integration of Mozambican refugees in rural South Africa noted that Mozambicans who were displaced by the conflict in Mozambique in the mid -1980s have found solace in Bushbuckridge, a rural community located on the north-eastern border of South Africa. The close relationship between refugees and locals was made easy by the shared Shangaan language and culture. The community had a long history of cross-border

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labour migration and a "homeland" government which allowed refugees to settle in already existing villages. Many refugees intermarried or got adopted by local families and these social contacts were used to get South African identity documents. This gave the Mozambicans access to formal employment, housing, and freedom of movement and political participation which was the same for black South Africans. Crèches, churches, shops, taxis and auto-mechanic workshops were owned and financed by integrated former refugees. This class of "self-integrating" refugees did not wait for government help, but utilised their associations with the locals to earn a living and excel in an unfriendly national environment. From 1993-1996, over 176,500 Mozambicans became permanent residents in South Africa due to an enabling legal environment (Polzer, 2004).

UNHCR (2004) in a research carried in Serbia discovered that the government of Serbia allowed refugees to have access to services, employment, housing assistance and income generating activities. The Development through Local Integration found that government and local authorities supported refugee access to education, income generating activities and health services. As a result, the integration of refugees in to Serbia became a success. Refugees are able to become citizens in Serbian law (UNHCR, 2004). According to Khan (2007) local integration is a structured plan which allows the refugee or asylum seeker to move freely without being harassed and has a means of livelihood within the host state. It is most certain that the process of human potential will not be obstructed. This does not necessarily imply that the refugee is granted permanent residence or citizenship. In Khan's research on urban refugees in South Africa, the author noted that South Africa does not have a policy that restricts refugees to camps. Refugees reside in different parts of South Africa, especially in the major urban centres in the midst of local communities. South Africa plays host to a large number of refugees from other African states and there is a high probability that the majority of these refugees are planning to stay in South Africa for longer durations due to the lingering nature of conflicts in their home countries (Khan, 2007).

2.11 Problems Encountered by Refugees

Morrice (2007) said that the problem facing refugees when entering a host community for the first time is the need to apply for asylum seekers' documents and refugee status which will allow them to remain in the country and be recognised as refugees. The waiting period might

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last for several months or years, and during this time they do not enjoy any rights. Asylum seekers have limited opportunities to be productive members of the new society and it is difficult to make any future plans. With a prolonged wait, they remain largely inactive and are excluded from mainstream activities. The result is that refugees are unable to learn new skills and the process of integration becomes more difficult. Family size has been found to have an impact on economic integration; the bigger the family, the lower the chances for economic integration (Morrice, 2007).

Lenaerts (2008) in a study carried out on refugees posit that refugees usually leave their countries of origin at very short notice and go to unknown destinations. It is a hard decision to take; they risk losing all. They experience pre- and post migration trauma and the asylum procedure and the waiting period make integration into an unfamiliar society very stressful. A long waiting procedure is a cause of psychological trauma. Even after the asylum application has been successful, the integration process results in stress. The refugees have to go through multiple changes because they enter a new society with different social, cultural and economic structures. They often have to learn a new language, and get used to different ways of thinking and behaving (Lenaerts, 2008).

2.12 Challenges of Refugee Reintegration in South Africa

Monson and Misago (2009) added to the reintegration process in South Africa arguing that the government failed to monitor and evaluate the reintegration process and did not engage host communities in preparation for the return of displaced foreigners. This meant that victims returned to the initial conditions of unresolved crisis. Displaced foreigners who had reintegrated themselves back into host communities from which they were initially displaced were killed or injured by South Africans while attempting to reintegrate and others were coerced by locals to pay protection fees. The reintegration of foreign nationals in South Africa could be likened to a mere simple return or resettlement. In Gauteng Province, reintegration was involuntary and unmanaged and most of those who were responsible for the 2008 attacks have not been prosecuted. 'Reintegration' was imposed upon the displaced foreign nationals through the closure of temporary camps and the withdrawal of support by government (Monson and Misago, 2009).

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Misago, Landau and Monson (2009) affirmed that many victims of the 2008 xenophobic violence in Gauteng Province sought for refuge in the police stations closest to them. While some remained at the police station, others were housed in local community halls temporarily before onward transfer to Centres of Safe Shelters provided by government and those of Alexandra Township were advised by the locals not to return because their return would be suicidal. Alexandra Township locals were of the view that foreigners had access to social grants fraudulently, were known for spreading unknown diseases, did not involve themselves in peaceful demonstrations or partake in service delivery protests; but they wanted to gain from the efforts of other locals when the protests yielded positive fruits. The locals contended that government did not have any dialogue with them before requesting Zimbabweans to return to Alexandra.

2.13 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed scholarly literature from scholars in the field of migration, xenophobia, reintegration, integration, local integration and refugee studies. It was based on a global perspective, the African continent and later streamlined to the focus of the study which is Alexandra Township in South Africa. The reasons for migration and why South Africans no longer want foreign nationals to compete for scarce resources were also explored. The porous borders and the alleged extortion of money from Zimbabweans, coupled with the scramble for RDP houses between South Africans and Zimbabweans became a major source of conflict also. The attempts made by government to integrate Zimbabweans and other nationals back into the society were also highlighted. The next chapter discusses the research design and methodology used in this study.

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CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on research design and methodology procedures used in this study. Methodology plays an important role in implementing a research study and gives direction to its design and implementation. In the case of this study, it is a qualitative one. The choice of qualitative methods is premised on the fact that Zimbabweans would love to bare their minds on issues relating to xenophobia and integration back into Alexandra Township. The research questions centred on causes of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa, the challenges of integrating Zimbabwean nationals and the extent this has been achieved. It is a true life situation and the eyes of the researcher would be open to real-life experiences of these Zimbabweans resident in Alexandra Township. The research objectives, problem statement, research questions and assumptions are tied to the research methods. The chapter is important because it presents the specific methods used in the study. It focuses on the description of the research methodology, research design, population, sample selection method and size, data collection and analysis methods, limitations of the study, delimitation of the study and ethical considerations.

3.2 Qualitative Research Methodology

De Vos *et al* (2011) define 'qualitative research' as a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It comprises of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices tend to change the world into a series of presentations, which include field work notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recording and memos to the self. This implies that qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, and attempt to make sense of it or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative methodology allowed the respondents to describe their relationships before, during and after the 2008 xenophobic attacks. This was based on feelings and reactions which could not be quantified. Coping mechanisms and survival methods were made known and were based primarily on narrative information obtained from respondents through semi-structured interviews which gave perceptions of Zimbabweans in Alexandra Township.

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3.3 Research Design

To satisfy the information needs of any study, an appropriate methodology has to be selected and suitable tools for data collection and analysis have to be chosen (Mouton, 2001). A research design is a plan for collecting and analysing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions he or she poses to the target population (Flick, 2006). There are two main approaches that inform the gathering of data in any given study, namely, the quantitative approach and the qualitative approach. The nature of this study is qualitative. A research design refers to a strategic frame work plan that guides research activity to ensure that sound conclusions are reached (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2012). The study utilised a qualitative research design. Qualitative research is naturalistic, holistic and inductive. Qualitative research was used because the study aimed to give a better understanding of the feelings and challenges faced by foreign nationals, especially Zimbabweans, as they talked about their integration into the South African society with reference to the Alexandra Township.

A case study approach was employed. Case studies are intensive investigations of a particular phenomenon; they may be studies of single families, units (for example, NGOs dealing with HIV/AIDS), communities (for example, an informal settlement), or social policies. Case studies are defined as ideographic research methods, that is, methods that study individuals as individuals rather than as members of a population. Case studies are usually descriptive in nature and provide rich longitudinal information about individuals or particular situations. They have the advantage of allowing new ideas and hypotheses to emerge from careful and detailed observation. Rich ideographic information about cases has been the start of many grand theories in the social sciences, and has also been used to promote critical reflection on existing theories. Case studies do have limitations; there may be problems with the validity of information, causal links are difficult to test, and generalisations cannot be made from single case studies. However, case studies often generate hypotheses that may be more rigorously tested by other research methods (Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2012). An inductive qualitative approach was used in this study because the purpose was to investigate the reintegration of diasporic Zimbabwean nationals into post xenophobic South Africa in Alexandra Township.

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3.4 Population

The target population is the concretely specified large group from which a researcher draws a sample and to which results from a sample are generalized (Creswell, 2009). The main purpose of sampling is to achieve representativeness that is the sample should be assembled in such a way as to reflect the make-up of the population from which it is taken. To achieve this, the sampling units may be randomly selected, with population defined as all the study objects or study units that are the focus of the project. A population is defined as the abstract idea of a large group of many cases from which a researcher draws a sample and to which results from a sample are generalised (Newman, 2011). The population for this study will be diasporic Zimbabweans resident in Alexandra Township, documented and undocumented.

3.5 Sample Selection Method and Size

Newman (2011) defines sample as a small set of cases a researcher selects from a large pool and generalizes to the population. Samples are drawn because researchers want to understand the population from which they are drawn and to explain facets of the population. A combination of non-probability sampling processes was employed in the study. These are snowball, purposive and accidental sampling. These sampling processes are suitable because they are less complicated, more economical in terms of time and expense. Unlike a probability sample that requires a pre-planned approach based on a mathematical theory, non-probability sampling often gradually selects cases with the specific content of a case determining whether it is chosen. Both male and female participants were included in the study because they would be able to share their experiences or what they went through in Alexandra Township before and after the xenophobic attacks. This would in turn aid the researcher when discussing the issues in the dissertation and recommendations to be made or policies to be implemented to forestall a future recurrence of violence in Alexandra Township and other informal settlements in South Africa. This thesis will suggest other avenues of reintegrating the Zimbabweans back into the community so as to restore the level of friendship between the Zimbabweans and South Africans.

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Snowball sampling was used to get hold of undocumented Zimbabweans. Snowballing involves approaching few persons who are undocumented Zimbabweans in this study so that information will be retrieved and people will be selected to make up the sample until a sufficient number of cases have been included(DeVos *et al*, 2011). For this study, fifty-three respondents were interviewed so as to get enough responses from the affected victims on their views on reintegration into the fabric of the South African society.

Accidental sampling was used to get hold of documented Zimbabweans for inclusion in the study. The method involves any case which happens to cross the path of the researcher and has anything to do with the phenomenon being included in the sample until the desired number is obtained (De Vos *et al*, 2011).

3.6 Data Collection and Analysis Methods

The following data collection methods were utilised in this study

3.6.1 Semi-structured interviews

Data was collected from documented and undocumented Zimbabweans who were respondents in the study, through a semi-structured interview. It comprised of causes and appreciation of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa, causes of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans, reintegration challenges and the extent to which Zimbabweans had been reintegrated back into Alexandra Township. The researcher or research assistants asked the participants the questions aforementioned. Semi-structured interviews were usually conducted with one respondent at a time. The advantage here was that the researcher had more control over the rate of response of the respondents. Respondents do not want to disappoint the researcher and are more likely to respond. It is suitable in cases where respondents have low literacy rates or find it difficult to read and complete a questionnaire (De Vos *et al*, 2011). The reason for using a semi-structured interview schedule is that the respondents will not find it hard to respond to the questions and if language issues arise, the researcher would employ the use of an interpreter. A language interpreter would be of great advantage because he/she would explain the aims, objectives and purpose of the study in rudimentary terms to the respondents and would also assure them of

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confidentiality and privacy of information as well as safety and security of the participants and their properties.

3.6.2 Documentation

Secondary data was sourced from reports and documents from organisations that handle immigration issues like the International Organisation for Migration, the South African Human Rights Commission, and Lawyers for Human Rights, Forced Migration Studies Programme, Human Sciences Research Council, and the Institute for Security Studies, the Southern African Migration Project and Human Rights Watch and Government documents and reports from Government Departments that deal with immigration issues. Information about what has been documented on xenophobia, migration and integration of Zimbabweans into South Africa; information about measures taken by the South African Government to handle the migration problems, with reference to undocumented Zimbabweans was obtained from the same sources.

3. 7 Data Analysis

Data was sorted, coded and balanced so that it is precise, fair sufficient and in a detailed enough manner to allow an informed evaluation by the researcher and cotributen towards the general body of scientific knowledge. (De Vos *et al*, 2011). The researcher and research assistants did the sorting based on certain groupings and other variables thematically in the research findings. Themes like causes of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa, causes of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans, challenges associated with the reintegration of Zimbabweans into the South African society and the extent of integration revealed the successes and failures of the reintegration process. Qualitative data analysis was done through an inductive approach where raw gathered data was read through thoroughly to identify themes and categorise so as to condense it. The semi-structured interviews focused on the main research questions and objectives tied to it.

As noted by Creswell (2003), qualitative research is based on the development of themes like demography, issues related to migration to South Africa, employment status, relationship with South African neighbours, access to basic healthcare and South African grants through the

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collection of open-ended data. Basically, the following steps in the collection and analysis of data were adhered to: data was gathered through qualitative methods such as in-depth semi-structured interviews and open-ended responses questionnaires together with texts. Then, note-taking of main ideas either during data collection, immediately after data collection, or during a review of an audio or video recording of the data collection. Coding of the noted ideas subsequently followed focusing on highlighting ideas, categories or themes that help to answer the research questions and the more general query of the study. Themes were then illustrative quotes that were precise and accurate texts exemplifying a particular code or theme.. Once a theoretical saturation which was a point of diminishing returns in the collection and interpretation of data as reflected above was researched, noting of hypotheses that arose about potential themes or relationships between categories followed. Finally, sorting which was compilation and arranging of themes, codes and illustrative quotes in the outline of a narrative that explained the study was embarked upon.

3. 8 Limitations of the Study

In 1987, the population of Alexandra Township was over 120,000 people (42,000 men, 48,000 women and 30,000 children). A major obstacle here is that Alexandra covers an area of over 800ha. Attaining the best representative sample also would be hard, time and resources would also pose major constraints.

3. 9 Delimitation of the Study

This study was carried out within Alexandra Township and was based on the affected Zimbabweans in and around Alexandra Township.

3. 10 Ethical Considerations

Challenges of re-integration of Zimbabwean foreign nationals into the South African society have been characterised by arguments from South African nationals, Zimbabweans, other African nationals and citizens of various countries resident in South Africa. Reintegration needs to be resolved. Approval was sought from the relevant authorities like the University of

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Venda ethical clearance committee, the Department of Home Affairs and the South African Human Rights Commission before participants were involved.

There was no financial inducement and participants were not coerced into participating in the study. Xenophobia, which has come under serious condemnation and heavy criticism both locally and internationally, has given rise to the sensitive question of reintegrating the displaced Zimbabweans. Therefore, it requires a high degree of confidentiality and privacy as required and requested by every individual participant. The lead researcher and research assistants guaranteed it for the safety and security of participants and their properties. Any particular direct reference on gathered data is based on the consent of the participant. Since the participants in the study were adults, under aged children will not be respondents in any way. All secondary sources of data are acknowledged and the results of the study will be communicated to the participants before publication.

3.11 Conclusion

The chapter described the methodology adopted for this research used the qualitative research method. The topic is about the feelings, interactions and behaviour of both South African and Zimbabwean nationals. It also affirms that data was gathered by means of semi-structured interviews, as they left room for probing. A case study was also purposefully chosen to have a deep and localised understanding of the experiences of Zimbabwean nationals in Alexandra Township. Research ethics were also discussed. The next chapter focuses on the research findings.

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CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses the research findings. The discussion focuses mainly on meeting the research objectives and addressing the research questions. In line with this, the chapter is divided into sub-sections for purposes of comprehensive interpretation of the main study themes. The first sub-section addressed the causes why Zimbabweans migrate into South Africa. The second section discussed the findings on the causes of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans in Alexandra Township. The third section dealt with the challenges associated with the reintegration of Zimbabwean nationals into the South African society. Finally, the fourth section addressed the extent to which Zimbabweans were integrated into the South African society, showing the successes and failures of the reintegration process.

4.2 Findings

4.2.1 Findings on the Causes of Zimbabwean Migration into South Africa

The researcher found out that the major push factor and causes of Zimbabweans' migration into South Africa were economic-driven. Unemployment which rapidly rose in the country as a result of disinvestment as a result of violent land reform led many to seek for greener pastures elsewhere, and South Africa was the destination because of its proximity to Zimbabwe. Interviews with most Zimbabweans, especially those in the economically productive category (between 20 and 45 years) showed that they were in South Africa to seek for employment. A 25 year-old who declined to give his name for security reasons explained his situation:

> I am married with two children and I had no hope of finding a job at home after the white commercial farmer I used to work for lost his farm and we were left with no option except to follow others in the job hunt in South Africa. Now I can look after my family who are also here because I am working as a gardener for a certain Whiteman in Midrand (Interview with anonymous male, 02/02/2014).

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Another Zimbabwean who preferred anonymity, a former resident of Harare, worked at a poultry farm and recalls his experience:

> I worked as a poultry manager and was able to meet all my obligations as a father and by extension to my in-laws and friends. But a downturn came in year 2000 when the Zimbabwean economy nosedived, we were being owed salaries for five months and the poultry farm closed up. I had to sell my belongings to raise some money for my onward journey to South Africa. I could not afford to process travelling documents for my wife and four children, I told them that I would go first and they will join me later. My children also dropped out of school because I was unable to afford the fees. On my arrival in South Africa, I got a job in Turffontein as a barman and I sent money home regularly. Two of my children are schooling here in South Africa, while the remaining two are with my wife. They will join me here when they are through with their primary school education (Interview with anonymous male, 02/04/14).

Poverty was also a strong factor in pushing Zimbabweans out of their country. After the land invasions and consecutive droughts in the country, basic commodities were in short supply and where they were available, they were sold on the black market, and therefore were exorbitantly priced. Between 2002 and 2008, it was reported that more than half of the country were surviving of donor hand-outs. The situation forced many Zimbabweans into South Africa for accessing food and for survival reasons. Mrs Sango (not real name) confirmed that if she did not cross the Limpopo through illegal means, she did not know what was going to happen to her old parents and young children who were close to starvation. The first thing she did in South Africa was to do 'anything' to raise money and buy small groceries for her starving family (Interview with Mrs Sango, 02/04/2014).

Another factor that led to a mass exodus of Zimbabweans was low wages and salaries. Public sector workers, were poorly remunerated due to worsening economic conditions, most government schools were closed which led to a total disruption of the Zimbabwean academic calendar and a rot in the educational sector. A respondent, Mr Hector (not real name) said he earned $10 a month as a high school teacher and had to abscond his appointment because he

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felt he deserved to earn more. He works in a government high school in Gauteng and earns $1,600 a month (Interview with Mr Hector, 02/04/2014).

This mass exodus of teachers contributed immensely to the brain drain syndrome in Zimbabwe. Inflation also soared uncontrollably to its highest levels during this period with prices skyrocketing. Staples were largely unaffordable, many Zimbabweans travelled to South Africa and Mozambique to buy groceries and household items. Inflation led to gross devaluation of the Zimbabwean Dollar, the U.S Dollar, South African Rand and Botswana Pula were used as currencies. This was referred to as the "dollarization" of the Zimbabwean economy. Ms Mutarika (not real name) affirmed to the above stating that she comes regularly to South Africa to buy groceries, apart from buying groceries and she was also secretly searching for a place where she could reside in South Africa. She now does small petty trade here in South Africa (Interview with Ms Mutarika, 02/04/2014).

The unstable political climate in Zimbabwe made people run for their dear lives, especially supporters of the MDC (Movement for Democratic Change). They were being targeted and victimised by the ruling ZANU-PF and therefore sought political asylum in South Africa. Mr Sithole (not real name) was a victim of political violence. He was a resident of Bulawayo who told the researcher about his ordeal:

> The Zanu-PF youths came to my house to attack me because I was a member of MDC. They broke my door, beat my hands and back with wooden poles. I went to the hospital where they gave me paracetamol. My mother nursed my injuries. After five weeks I felt better and I said to myself 'if these Zanu-PF people know that my wounds are healed, they might want to launch a more vicious attack on me'. During the time of my recovery, I had taken enough photos which showed the extent of my injuries. I crossed the border through some of the help of the *Magumagumas* paying the prescribed 'processing' fees and upon my arrival in South Africa. I showed them the pictures, removed my shirt and when they saw the sores on my back they were moved and offered me asylum on political grounds without going through the herculean interview process. I work at SPAR as a security guard in Alexandra which is just a walking distance of about 10 minutes from where I live. I am no longer living in fear, I am free from any form of political victimization (Interview with Mr Sithole, 02/04/2014).

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Another Zimbabwean who was affected by the political violence narrated his experience and kept his identity secret for safety reasons had this to say:

> A Zanu-PF councillor in our ward gave money to the youths to vote for his party. I declined and told him that I was a staunch member of the MDC. Afterwards he started hunting for me and sent thugs to harass me on several occasions. Seeing that I was resolute, he organised a rally which had many Zanu-PF stalwarts in attendance. He framed me up by saying I stole a phone at the rally and the police were on hand to arrest me for a crime I never committed. After spending three days in police custody, I was released by the police who acted on the councillor's orders. Two weeks later, my parents' home was torched by a group of Zanu-PF thugs. I was not around, so, they left a message saying we want you dead. My parents and siblings had to take refuge in a neighbour's house and they advised me to leave the country which I did. I got employed as a cleaner at the Sandton Mall and South Africa is my new home (Interview with anonymous male, 03/04/2014).

The researcher also discovered that the poor salaries also affected members of the Zimbabwean National Army as a former soldier who craved confidentiality recalls the reason for his going AWOL (Absent Without Leave) from Zimbabwe to South Africa.

He said that he was recruited into the Zimbabwean National Army after completing high school education in 2006. I had great hopes of being a career officer in the army by contributing my quota to the development of Zimbabwe, but we were poorly remunerated and some fellow soldiers resorted to some sharp practices to supplement their take-home pay which could hardly take them home. I did not want to be jailed and also wanted to take care of my fiancée who was waiting for me because our marriage plans were in the offing. I raised some money for my journey to South Africa and jumped the border into South Africa through Beit Bridge. After some months, I saved money in order to get passports for me and my fiancée. I am now married to her, we have a kid and I am gainfully employed in the security sector as a guard with the Fidelity Group. I am better-off as compared to when I was in the Army in Zimbabwe (Interview with anonymous male, 03/04/2014).

The researcher also spoke to another Zimbabwean called Donald (not real name) who holds a Master's degree in Food Science who joined the Golden Fleece to South Africa for the reasons below:

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> I worked as a professional food scientist for a beverage company in Harare (as manager), but in 2001 the company closed down due to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe. All the workers were automatically laid-off, forcing them into an already over-saturated labour market and the level of unemployment was at an all-time high of 80% according to labour market analysts. I travelled to South Africa leaving my wife and two kids in Harare to search for a job which I eventually got with a higher pay due to my years of experience. My family has joined me in South Africa, the South African economy has the capacity to employ professionals and I am enjoying my job as we speak (Interview with Donald, 03/04/2014).

Another victim of a purported clean-up of slum areas known as *"Operation Murambatsvina"* (operation drive out rubbish), also officially known as Operation Restore Order tells us about his own experience:

> Many Zimbabweans refer to the operation as "Zimbabwe's Tsunami". Sambo (not real name) says I lived in Mbare Township and I was a die-hard supporter of the MDC. I still stand on the premise that *Operation Murambatsvina* was politically motivated to dislodge supporters of the MDC from urban centres to rural areas. The "urban renewal campaign" by Mr President was a ploy to disenfranchise MDC members from voting because Mbare was an MDC stronghold. The police, army and members of the National Youth Service singled out MDC party members, 50 of us were forced to destroy our homes at gun point and we quickly complied. We were told to go back to our rural homes because there is "nobody in Zimbabwe who does not have a rural home". It looked like it was the end of the world for me, for security reasons; first I had to relocate to my rural home and then established contact with my friends who had moved to South Africa. They said it was a welcomed development and they assisted me with cash for my journey, they accommodated me until I was employed and financially stable. I am happy that I relocated to South Africa at that material point because it ended my suicidal thoughts and I am proud to say that this is my newly found home (Interview with anonymous male, 03/04/2014).

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Many Zimbabweans fled due to the economic crisis that engulfed the whole of Zimbabwe and they found a safe haven in South Africa. The researcher ran into a Zimbabwean woman in her early 20s and she disclosed that though she left Zimbabwe due to the economic crisis, she has the entry qualifications into a university but lack of funds has stalled her academic progress. Ms Linda (not real name) jumped the border into South Africa with the hope of getting a job with her 'A' level certificate, but when her hopes were dashed she resorted to prostitution. She says she makes up to R300 per day and charges R500 for a night session if business booms. However, police raids and other hitches hamper her kind of occupation (Interview with Ms Linda, 03/04/2014).

4.2.2 Findings on the Causes of Xenophobic Attacks on Zimbabweans in Alexandra Township

The Zimbabwean respondents in this study indicated that competition for scarce resources (e.g. housing (RDP), healthcare and employment) was the major reason for the xenophobic orchestrated carried out on them by the South Africans in Alexandra Township. Tied to this is the issue of "taken our women", increase in crime rate, creating a 'ghetto' condition, carriers of terminal diseases like Aids, TB and cancer, propaganda by 5th columnists and political parties like the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) in Alexandra Township which held a meeting at 'Beirut' citing the drain on scare public resources on foreigners especially Zimbabweans which led to service delivery protests and the violent attacks. A 30 year old Zimbabwean narrated his harrowing experience;

> I lived on 12th avenue by Selborne it was around 12 noon on the 11th of May 2008 the noise I heard in the neighbourhood woke up from my sleep because I had worked night shift the previous day. I saw lots of people carrying machetes, clubs, daggers, axes, stones and guns. A lady who was smoking dagga (local name for Indian hemp) said I am looking for *amakwerekwere* (a derogatory term used for foreigners) who have taken our jobs and turned this place to their country..... She asked, 'Who are you and where do you come from?' This is South Africa, go back to Zimbabwe was what she said, immediately her group members pounced on me, looted my shack and told me to leave immediately or else they would kill me there and nothing would happen. This near-death experience made me run for my dear life to the Alexandra police station to seek

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refuge as there was commotion everywhere in Alexandra Township (Interview with anonymous 30 year old Zimbabwean male, 10/04/2014).

The issue of competition for jobs and violent attacks carried out by South Africans on foreigners especially Zimbabweans was corroborated by a Zimbabwean gardener employed in the informal sector. He advocated for confidentiality with regards to his identity which the researcher complied to. There is a lot of competition for jobs in the informal sector, this sector is mainly for unskilled labour and this is a highly volatile sector because the number of workers in this sector outweighs the number of jobs available in this sector He is of the opinion that;

> Most South Africans in this sector charge exorbitant fees for services, many a times they do not satisfy their clients and this situation has made most clients to look for alternatives. They now prefer Zimbabweans to mow their lawns at cheaper rates and most of them are satisfied by the services offered. Many South Africans in this sector play truancy on the job and they expect a full pay even when they fail to do the job given to them by their employers. I had a terrible experience with a South African gardener who accused me of taking up his job while he was still willing and physically able to do the job. I told him that I was hired by the owner of the house and I was not involved in his sacking, the funny thing was that I never knew this man from Adam. He kept on threatening me for months saying 'you stole my job and I will deal with you', when his threats became unbearable, I told my employer and we notified the police. The police say it's not a serious case and because I was a foreigner, there is nothing that they could do because I have not been physically assaulted (Interview with anonymous Zimbabwean gardener, 10/04/2014).

Another Zimbabwean Mr Lucas (not real name) an Alexandra Township resident in his mid-thirties who was attacked on his way from work explained that;

> I came into Alexandra in 2002 from Zimbabwe so that I could get a job to take care of myself and my family; I made friends who loved me in my neighbourhood infact the relationship between me and my neighbours was highly cordial. I was not aware of the planned attacks because everything in Alexandra Township was normal on that fateful day. When I heard "clap him he has money, he always buys booze for us at night". I thought it was just one of the normal jokes but it turned out to be true and I was shocked because it was

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> my South African friend (Bongani) that made this statement. I was given the beating of my life and was dispossessed of my personal effects; I was left unconscious at the scene of the attack only to wake up the next day at the hospital. I was discharged from hospital 3 days later but was still horrified by the event and was scared to return to my apartment. I went to my work place, my colleagues were shocked at my predicament the company gave me an accommodation within the premises pending the resolution of the crisis (Interview with Mr Lucas, 10/04/2014).

The issue of 'women' was also a causative factor that breeds xenophobic feelings between South African men and foreign African nationals. A South African who did not want his name to be mentioned said that the popular belief associating foreigners to women snatching is true to some extent, but bulk of the fault lies in the hands of South African men. Most South African men are not caring, they are highly abusive and that is why their wives look for other men or foreigners who can take good care of them. A Zimbabwean Patrick (not real name) who was having an affair with a South African lady beared his mind on the issue;

> I met Gugu who just broke her relationship with her boyfriend owing to issues that had to do with physical abuse and double dating. We just started by being friends and our friendship grew with both of us having strong feelings for each other. When I asked her out, she was overwhelmed and promised to be faithful if I was not the abusive type. Unknown to me, her ex-boyfriend had been trailing our movements for a while and this was what happened: After seeing her off at night during one of her visits to my apartment, I walked back into the neighbourhood and was accosted by two young men armed with knives. I was sandwiched in-between them and one of them said 'what are you doing with my girlfriend'? You this foreigner leave my girlfriend alone, go and look for a stranger like you because she is mine. I was stabbed on the buttocks with a promise that I will be hacked if I don't desist from hanging out with her. Upon my discharge from hospital, I narrated all that happened and she wanted to press for charges on my behalf against her 'ex', I told her it was not necessary because my life was at stake. Painfully, I had to leave her so as to forestall future attacks or even death because my life is very precious to me and my parents look up to me for financial assistance amongst other things (Interview with Patrick, 10/04/2014).

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Mr Tokyo (not real name) a Zimbabwean who works in a tavern was involved in an argument with his South African friends about the issue of foreigners stealing South African women from their men;

> Men are special beings from God and they need to mate with women in order to carry out God's commandment as directed by God in the bible. That was how I started my conversation with a South African friend who agreed with me and twisted the conversation by saying 'did God allow women to mate anyhow'? I told him that we must look into the bible, and then he comes with this funny accusation 'you foreigners love to steal our women, and the more we invest on them, the more losses we acquire'. I said that statement was true to some extent but not applicable to all situations because it takes two to tangle. I said there must reasons as to why South African women ditch their men and enter into a relationship with Zimbabweans or other foreign nationals, it is multi-faceted. He failed to agree with me and concluded that South African men will continue to unleash terror on Zimbabweans if the trend continues; I had to end the conversation before it degenerates into something else (Interview with Mr Tokyo, 10/04/2014).

Competition for housing was also a serious issue between local South Africans and foreigners. With the former blaming the latter for woes on housing delivery problems saying, 'these people must go back to their country, Alexandra is not a squatter camp we will force them to Lindela for their journey back to their country. They claimed that foreigners, mostly Zimbabweans are hindering government efforts to provide public infrastructure like sanitation and access to clean water. A Zimbabwean widow Mrs Gezani (not real name) recounts her ordeal in the hands of aggressive South African protesters;

> I left Zimbabwe for South Africa at the peak of the economic crisis in 2003, prior to that time; I lost my husband and was denied any benefit from his company. I was told he was not a full-time staff; therefore, he was not entitled to any compensation or death benefits. I moved to Alexandra with our only kid from my late husband and operated a spaza shop by 7th avenue. I am from the Ndeble tribe in Zimbabwe and I speak Ndebele, Zulu and Xhosa languages fluently. With the proceeds from my spaza shop I was able to take care of my only child and also build a small room with substandard materials close to my

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spaza shop. I soon became the envy of neighbours because I made profits from my business. My spaza shop was looted during the 2008 violence, I pleaded with the looters in Zulu language and they said 'you don't belong here, we are proudly South African and you are a border jumper from Zimbabwe'. I was also led to my shack and was informed that they had taken over my small room without fear from any quarters. I left with my child immediately for Eastern Cape to stay with a relative of mine, I only returned from Mthatha last year. For now, I will remain in South Africa because I don't have any intentions of going back to Zimbabwe (Interview with Mrs Gezani, 10/04/2014).

Another Zimbabwean Mr. Bindura (not real name), in his early 40s, who owned a RDP house was also involved with a group of South Africans in an incident that almost claimed his life. He shared his true life experience in Alexandra with the researcher;

I relocated to South Africa with my family in 2005, I was a successful welder at home in Zimbabwe but the economic crisis drove us down here. I established a welding shop at the East Bank which is just about a 30 minutes' walk from my house here in Alexandra and I had a lot of clients, this situation compelled me to hire more workers as my business grew tremendously. I made a lot of money from my business and purchased a RDP house in Alexandra from a South African in 2007 at the cost of R30, 000. At the beginning of the 2008 xenophobic violence, I was accused by a group of South Africans that I acquired the house illegally because according to them, they had been on the waiting list since 1999. I tried to explain to them but it fell on deaf ears, I was called so many bad names and advised not to return there because they said they would lynch me. I reported the matter to the police and moved my family to a friend's house at Sunnyside in Pretoria. Alas after 3 weeks, I came back and was denied access to my property. I took the case to court in 2010; I won the case in 2011 but was advised to sell the house. I sold the house the same year, and bought a house in Pretoria central. I travel to daily to Johannesburg by rail and connect Alex via Sandton except on Sundays'. My business in Alex still thrives because of the large client base that I service; I don't think I can stay in Alex again except coming here for business (Interview with Mr Bindura, 11/04/2014).

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The issue of harassment is also rife in the health sector as healthcare professionals either insult, abuse, and neglect or charge Zimbabweans higher fees before they are attended to. It is a form of 'medical xenophobia'; some workers in the healthcare industry intentionally speak a different language to their Zimbabwean patients, thereby causing communication problems. Ms Mutasa tells the researcher her story;

> I had a serious cough condition that did not abate for 1 week, and then I decided to consult a doctor at the Alexandra health clinic on 1st avenue. I got there as early as 5 am and the nurses on duty attended to me, when they found out that I was a Zimbabwean, I was told to go bring my identity document. In fact one of them said 'go away with your TB we don't treat sick foreigners like you here'. Another one said, are you sure this girl is not HIV positive? I was stunned by their utterances and delayed for 4 hours until I narrated my issue to the matron who assisted me promptly (Interview with Ms Mutasa, 11/04/2014).

A pregnant Zimbabwean, Mrs Bujumbura (not real name) disclosed to the researcher how she was discriminated against on the basis of her being Zimbabwean;

> I was pregnant in 2009 so I decided to go for the necessary check-ups at the Alexandra municipal clinic on the 8th avenue. I was attended to during the period of pregnancy by the medical staff at the clinic, but in January 2010, when I was expected to deliver the baby, I got to the hospital and I told them that I was Shona and I have been residing in South Africa since 2002 and that I don't want anything to happen to my baby. I was being interrogated as if I were a criminal and when my husband sensed that they were of Zulu extraction, he spoke to them in Zulu and they said he was speaking the fake version of Zulu language. My labour pains were underway, it took the intervention of the guard on duty before I was attended to and the nurses were like 'you want to collect a child grant for this one'? (Interview with Mrs Bujumbura, 11/04/2014)

A Zimbabwean, Mr Columbia (not real name) who works in the construction industry told the researcher about how he was attended to by a nurse at the 4th avenue municipal clinic in Alexandra;

> I sustained an injury on the construction site, so I decided to go for treatment at the clinic since it was a minor wound. I accosted a nurse who told me to join the queue in order to get a card and I complied immediately with the directive. After

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that, they checked my temperature and blood pressure and I was told to sit at a particular place to wait for the doctor. Others were being attended to while I was neglected for about 3 hours, then I decided to ask one of the nurses that attended to me initially the reason for them not allowing me to see the doctor. I was told that the doctors on ground only attended to emergencies and that I should come the next day. One of the nurses called me secretly and told me that if I could part with R80, I would be allowed to see a doctor. I asked her what the whole delay process was meant to achieve and she responded by saying, once they discover that you are not a South African, you chances of being attended to are very slim. I finally negotiated with her and gave her R50 before I was allowed to see the doctor (Interview with Mr Columbia, 05/05/2014).

Ms Constance (not real name) told the researcher what she went through after she sustained multiple injuries in a taxi accident;

I relocated to South Africa from Zimbabwe in 2003, I moved from one odd job to the other before I got a job as a maid at East bank in 2007. In 2009, on a certain public holiday, I was involved in a serious taxi accident on my way to Pretoria. The police and emergency services arrived to rescue us and we were moved to a particular government hospital in Pretoria. On arrival at the hospital the nurses spoke to us in Tswana and Zulu languages and asked for our ID's. They said 'leave the South Africans here and take the other foreigners to the ward behind us'. I was shocked at their comments, but I just needed urgent medical attention because I was bleeding. The ward where I and other non-South Africans were taken to was in a state of disrepair , after 4 days, I was discharged and as I walked out of the hospital, I saw the initial place where the South Africans were treated I was amazed because the serenity there was different to where we 'so called foreigners' were being treated. Anyway, the bottom line was that I got out of hospital feeling much better (Interview with Ms Constance, 05/05/2014).

Mr Gerald (not real name) told the researcher how he was being discriminated against on the basis of nationality at the East bank municipal clinic;

I am Zimbabwean residing at the 19th avenue close to the East bank. I work as a security guard and do play soccer whenever I am off duty. In 2010, just before

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the world cup tournament, I played a football match with my friends at the Alexandra stadium and after some few days, I started experiencing excruciating pains on my back so I decided to seek medical counsel. On getting to the hospital I told one of the nurses about the pains and I was told to bring my ID, I told them that I was a refugee from Zimbabwe and showed them my refugee documentation. A particular male nurse told me bluntly that 'we don't treat refugees here, go and look for treatment at a refugee camp'. I had to go to the municipal clinic on the 8th avenue where I was able to get proper treatment (Interview with Mr Gerald, 05/05/2014).

The researcher interviewed a Zimbabwean who did not want his name to be mentioned if he had access to basic healthcare in Alexandra. This was the outcome of the interview;

'I don't need their pills or medication, I am done with them' those were the words that emanated from the mouth of Zimbabwean. When the researcher probed further, the respondent said he has witnessed a lot of bias against Zimbabweans who go to the government hospitals because of the affordability of the services been rendered but were discriminated against on basis of nationality. The respondent said 'what am I looking for in South Africa if not that the government of Zimbabwe has failed us and some of us had no choice than to relocate to South Africa, I and my fellow countrymen can't be treated like that in our own country. I pray that the Zimbabwean economy stabilises, so that I can go back home to Zimbabwe and leave these funny people with their ideas, insults and funny way of life he concluded (Interview with anonymous male, 05/05/2014).

Alphonso (not real name) is a cobbler in the heart of Alexandra, a Zimbabwean citizen who was harassed by street boys in Alexandra recalls an ugly episode that happened to him;

I repair shoes on 7th avenue in Alexandra, I arrived in South Africa in 2006 through the Beit bridge border, I jumped the border with the help of the *magumaguma* after I had paid R150. I already had my friends in Alexandra who were anxiously waiting for me to come to South Africa. I had been briefed about the jobs available, since I was a cobbler from Zimbabwe, there won't be any problem to carry on with my business in South Africa. A certain South African lady came to repair her shoes at my mini work-shop; I charged her R30 and

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promised that it would be ready for collection in 3 days. She paid R20 deposit saying she was going to give me the balance when I've repaired the shoe, she came and started asking me questions like 'where is your business permit'? She said; I won't give you any balance, I will report you to the municipality you this bush man from Zimbabwe. She came with 3 hefty men who beat me destroyed my small kiosk and made away with all the money I had made since morning. My friends heard of the incident and rushed to the scene, the South African men were armed with knives so my friends beat a retreat. After a while, I resumed with my business but all of a sudden the 3 hefty men came 4 weeks later to ask for corner fees, I was amazed because I never heard of such before, but they told me to cooperate if I loved my life. I gave them R50 and I was told that I would be paying that amount weekly if I don't want to be repatriated. I complied for a month but afterwards, I couldn't afford the amount, so I moved my tools to my shack and worked from there with my customers' continued patronage (Interview with Alphonso, 05/05/2014).

A Zimbabwean lady who was a baby-sitter told the researcher about her ordeal in the hands of her employer. However she told the researcher to conceal her name for security reasons;

I was employed as a baby-sitter by a Sotho lady who agreed to pay me R2000 monthly and she did as she promised, but after 8 months she started behaving strangely to me. First she said since I started taking care of her baby, the baby had been falling ill, she said maybe I was possessed and promised to take me for deliverance at a certain church. She later levelled allegations of theft against me and often conversed in Sotho language when she reported me to her husband. In our agreement, I was to work from the hours of 8am till 5pm Monday to Friday no work on weekends and public holidays. Gradually, she compelled me to come on Saturdays saying she wouldn't pay me if I don't come on Saturdays. On one of those Saturdays, she sent me to the mall to but some groceries for her and when I arrived; she started shouting 'my R4000 has been stolen'. The neighbours came to search the house; they asked for my bag and found the money there. To prove my innocence, I told the neighbours that I was sent on an errand to the mall; they disagreed, tore my clothes and pushed me out of the house. A Good Samaritan came to my rescue and when I narrated my ordeal, she wanted to get a lawyer for me but I told her that I had no papers

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> because I entered into South Africa through the back door (Interview with anonymous female, 07/05/2014).

A Zimbabwean cold-drink vendor Innocent (not real name) who was directly affected by the 2008 xenophobic attacks in Alexandra Township tells the researcher;

> I was in the township on May 11th 2008 busy selling cold-drinks to my customers then I saw people shouting '*makwerekwere masi hambekhonke'* meaning 'all foreigners must go'. I am an *Ndebele* speaking Zimbabwean and since I spoke Zulu fluently, I conversed with them in Zulu language. One of them said 'you this vendor, you are from Zimbabwe you are not a South African'. They pounced on me took my drinks and beat me to a pulp shouting 'go back home Mugabe must feed you' another one said 'you Zimbabweans are too many here and you have brought us ill luck'. No one came to my rescue save the police who took me to the clinic on 1st avenue, on arrival, the place was overcrowded by Zimbabweans and other foreign African nationals who had various injuries this necessitated my onward transfer to the Johannesburg hospital at Parktown. I was there for a week and after I was discharged, I left for my uncle's place at Marikana in the Northwest Province. I returned to Alexandra in 2012 and since then I have been working at the Jo'burg Theatre in Braamfontein as a security guard (Interview with Innocent, 07/05/2014).

Some Zimbabweans migrated to South Africa for reasons other than economic or political. It was not surprising that some of them fled Zimbabwe because of persecutions either from family, friends or society because of practices not endorsed by the Zimbabwean constitution. Practices like homosexuality is forbidden in Zimbabwe and most offenders are either molested or imprisoned; this rejection aided the migration of some Zimbabwean nationals to come to a liberal society like South Africa where such practices are entrenched in the constitution. The researcher met a Zimbabwean Mr Gold (not real name) he was 33 years of age as of the time of the interview. He relocated to South Africa because of persecution from his family members owing to the fact that he was gay, he said;

> My Father was a high ranking member of President Robert Mugabe's cabinet and I grew up with a 'silver spoon', lacking nothing. I was born into a family of 4 children, 3 girls and a boy, since my childhood I felt like a girl but was rejected by my family and the society. My parents beat me up on many occasions, after

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completing high school, I was taken to a psychologist for advice but I was bent on being gay. The trend continued at University where I became an outcast and was ostracised from the University community. I was discriminated against and was rejected by many companies because I was gay, I could not also go to church because the worshippers looked at me in a funny way. I remained jobless for 7 years and it seems that all hope was lost, I ran into a friend who told me about Amnesty International, I approached the human rights group and my movement to South Africa was subsequently facilitated and I am currently working with human rights groups in the NGO sector dealing with issues of Lesbians, Gays, Bi-sexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) in Gauteng Province (Interview with Mr Gold, 07/05/2014).

4.2.3 Findings on the Challenges Associated With the Reintegration of Zimbabwean Nationals into the South African Society

The researcher observed that the major challenge facing the integration of Zimbabwean foreign nationals into the South African society has to do with documentation. The researcher found out that many Zimbabweans did not have passports or the necessary travel documents as they were aided by *magumagumas'* to jump the border and as such it would be difficult to integrate "paperless persons". Most Zimbabweans are just in South Africa to avoid hunger and starvation, they are here to survive. As long as there is food in the stomach and a place to lie down, they are comfortable; they are not interested in savings or making remittances in the interim. A Zimbabwean Ms Siena (not real name) was a hairdresser in Zimbabwe; she experienced a lull in her salon business and relocated to South Africa. This was her discussion with the researcher:

> I had to close down my salon business because customer patronage was at its lowest ebb, I could not pay rent and I was afraid of being sued if I defaulted. I also had many responsibilities to shoulder and there was nowhere I could source money to try something else. Getting a Zimbabwean passport was a process and my friends in South Africa were expecting me to find a means of coming down. I was introduced to Mr Mohammed (not real name) a trans-national truck driver who ferries people across borders in the SADC region who promised to assist me for free. The only thing he said was that 'you will be my friend with a

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benefit'. I pondered upon it and asked him about the meaning, he said what he meant was the he would have a carnal knowledge of me. I bluntly refused; subsequently I got another link which did not include any sexual favours. I finally made the trip to *Mzansi* and was received by my friends who connected me to another lady that owns a salon at Randburg, where I now work as a stylist. My only fear is that I'm not in possession of a Zimbabwean passport or any document that validates my stay in South Africa and I don't want to be arrested by the police or immigration officers because going back to Zimbabwe is not on my agenda for now (Interview with Ms Siena, 20/05/2014).

The researcher got hold of a 22 year-old Zimbabwean who did not want his name to be mentioned. He said,

I dropped out of high school in Form 5 because of financial difficulties and relocated to South Africa. How I got here is none of your business because I have been deported twice, I still made my way back to South Africa. I am here to survive and I can do any type of job as long as I am paid. I left Zimbabwe because I did not want to be a burden, even in South Africa I don't want to be at anybody's mercy. I work, eat, sleep and drink with my friend in the room we share. I can't be integrated because and don't need any integration, I will go to another country if I am tired of South Africa (Interview with anonymous male, 20/05/2014).

Ms Gabaza (not real name) from Masvingo Province told the researcher about her situation in South Africa:

I travelled to South Africa using my twin sister's Zimbabwean passport because we look very much alike. Since the passport belongs to my sister, it will be difficult for me to hold on to it for long. I did not have a problem crossing the border, but with the dawn of biometrics, there would be a problem for me if I don't get a Zimbabwean passport. Acquiring a Zimbabwean passport in South Africa could be hectic and going to Zimbabwe to get one would also be a problem because I never had one. My plan is to remain here and maybe after 5 years, I will figure something out (Interview with Ms Gabaza, 20/05/2014).

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Mr Zubar (not real name) was at the entrance of Alexandra FM, a radio station in Alexandra Township at the time of this interview. One of the South Africans around the area kept telling us that Mr Zubar is Zimbabwean, but he tries to conceal his identity saying,

> 'I am a Shangaani from Mozambique' and what do you want from me? The researcher informed him that it was a study on reintegration, he would not be harmed in anyway and confidentiality and privacy shall be adhered to as stated in the ethical consideration. He now opened up saying he was a Zimbabwean and that he perceived that the researcher was an undercover working for the department of home affairs. To start with, I came into South Africa without any passport, visa or permit. I don't want trouble, but I have a South African girlfriend and I am planning to have a baby with her so that I can legitimise my stay. However, she says she knows I will dump her after having a valid permit and I must pay her R10000 before she takes in for me. I negotiated and we agreed on R5000, she moved into my room, got the money and disappeared after three weeks. It's about 7 years since she left me, I can't give any lady money again because of papers, worst case I would rather buy the passport of a dead South African national than fall into the hands of any fraudulent woman (Interview with Mr Zubar, 20/05/2014).

The researcher also encountered some few Zimbabweans who were desperate to regularise their stay in South Africa, but ended up falling into the hands of permit racketeers who promised to get them different classes of South African permits or IDs which failed to materialize at the end of the day and some of them lost huge sums of money to these 'sugar coated' agents who in most cases changed phone numbers and addresses or both. A Zimbabwean even corroborated it and alleged that the scammers in some cases had the backing of the South African police. Mr Mavambo (not real name) narrates his ordeal:

> I departed for South Africa in 2006 with a Zimbabwean passport; the duration of intended stay was three months. I moved to Johannesburg where I got a job as a cashier with spar. I spoke to a colleague about getting the job on a permanent basis, he told me that I needed a work permit which the company cannot process on my behalf but there are agents who fast track the issuance of a work permit at the department of home affairs subject to payment of

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prescribed fees. I met an agent who promised to help me, he charged me R8000, I gave him a deposit of R5000 and he would get the balance when the permit is ready. The agent collected my Zimbabwean passport because he claimed that he would personally get the permit on my behalf, so I don't need to appear physically. After two weeks he demanded R10000 which he said would be used to fast track the whole process. I opposed the idea because that was not part of our initial agreement; he sent me a text that he was travelling for two weeks to Mozambique, I called him after two weeks and he said he would call me back. I went to his house in Tembissa and was told he had relocated to Durban, I called him to please return my passport but he didn't respond to my call. I thought of going to the police station to declare my passport missing, then I realised that the possibilities of being deported to Zimbabwe would be very high. Since then, I have been living in fear without a passport and I hope I won't be repatriated to Zimbabwe (Interview with Mr Mavambo, 10/06/2014).

A Zimbabwean lady in her late 30s who fell into the hands of a fraudster that promised to help her secure a work permit opened up to the researcher:

I have been residing in South Africa since 2008 and it has not been very easy for me. I left Zimbabwe due to economic problems and that my husband divorced me, life became very unbearable for me because I was a fulltime housewife, although I had a degree in teaching, majoring in natural sciences, I never thought I would go back to the classroom to teach. I entered South Africa legally and got a teaching job with a private school, I was given three months to process a work permit so that I could get some other benefits. I spoke to a friend who advised me not to do the documentation by myself, but should get an agent that would assist me to get it on time. I got one who promised to get it done on time; he demanded R10000 payable in two equal instalments to which I consented. I was told to submit my passport alongside the initial payment and it would be ready in one month. I called the agent after five weeks but he said it was still in the process assuring me that he had helped many people in the past and mine was not an issue. I called him after another five weeks and he started telling me so many stories, I asked for my passport and money, he said it was non-refundable and the passport was not in his possession. My employers

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started asking for my work permit, but I could not produce it, I had to go to the Department of Home Affairs at Marabastad to apply for an asylum so that I would be free from police or immigration harassment for the time being. My application for an asylum was successful and I told my employers that I would get the work permit as time progressed. After six months, I went to Marabastad to renew my asylum, but it was upheld, I pleaded with them and I was told to leave the premises before I got arrested. I spoke to a Congolese friend to help me get fake asylum documentation so that I could still be in South Africa, I got it but I was afraid because I was in possession of a forged document which has severe consequences if apprehended by law enforcement agents and I still live in fear (Interview with anonymous female, 10/06/2014).

James (not real name) who also fell into the hands of permit racketeers had this to say:

I migrated to Swaziland in 2006 from Zimbabwe and got a two year work permit in Swaziland. I moved to South Africa before the expiration of my Swaziland permit and got a job as a security guard in centurion, after two months, I got a job at an FET college. My new job required a work permit and I was told that the FET cannot file in a permit application on my behalf; I had to do it myself. My cousin told me of his friend who got a work permit through a contact and I told him that I was interested. I saw the contact who charged me R12000 payable in three equal instalments and I gave him the first instalment. He said it would be ready in four weeks, after four weeks, he called to tell me that it was ready and I was very happy. We went to the Department of Home Affairs to confirm the permit and on getting there, the permit number was genuine, but it was not in my name. It implies that I have been swindled, when I asked for a refund, the agent was mute and if I report the matter to the police, I may be deported back to Zimbabwe (Interview with James, 10/06/2014).

Mr Pako (not real name) when approached if he had the requisite papers in South Africa said:

'I don't have any paper or document that makes my stay in South Africa legal'. The government of Zimbabwe and South Africa should give all of us the same passport because I can speak most of the South African languages and I don't

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> have money that I would use to process a permit. I just want to continue to work and eat so that I won't fall sick (Interview with Mr Pako, 10/06/2014).

The researcher also discovered that some Zimbabweans were into fraudulent activities like internet scams, credit card theft and the like in order to survive. Most of them said they had no option but to engage in such criminal activities because they could not find jobs in South Africa. They also had to fend for themselves, pay their bills and at times send money home to support their families in Zimbabwe.

Ms Pretty (not real name) told the researcher that she left Zimbabwe in order to find green pastures in South Africa and that the pasture was not green for her. This was what she said:

> I relocated to South Africa in year 2000, armed with a degree in Information Technology. I had the belief that I would get a good job in South Africa. I went for a couple of interviews and after two years of being jobless, I became a hustler. I had a Ghanaian friend who told me that I could make big money with my qualifications, I asked how? That was how I was introduced to internet fraud, I showed my disapproval initially, but when I remained jobless, I had to join them. I believe that I have used my IT skills in the wrong way, although I have made money and many friends in the process. My worry is, if I am caught, it may carry serious punishment because it is a crime against the state (Interview with Ms Pretty, 10/06/2014).

Mr Abiathar (not real name) told the researcher what his job was:

> We are three guys who do business to survive; the nature of our business is not too strange. We specialise in all forms of documentation, taxi permits, bus permits, asylum and other types. We do bribe the police from time to time in order to evade arrest, we know that what we have engaged in is illegal, but it is better than carrying knives or guns to steal (Interview with Mr Abiathar,10/06/2014).

Mr Shupi (not real name) explained to the researcher how he has been surviving in South Africa:

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> I do online business by using stolen credit cards to make online purchases for clothing, shoes and other accessories be it male or female. I even buy baby wears, just give me your size and specification and I will get back to you with your order in three working days (Interview with Mr Shupi, 10/06/2014).

Ms Lovedalia (not real name) told the researcher that 'in Mzansi, it is a survival of the fittest'.

> I survive by taking things out of shops, I go to the toilet, remove the price tag or bar codes with the help of my security friends I have been so lucky not to have been apprehended. That is how I am surviving in the interim although I hope to get a job with time but I don't have a passport. Once I am able to regularise my stay I will leave this unhealthy job for a more befitting one because I don't want to be imprisoned or bring the name of my family and country into disrepute (Interview with Ms Lovedalia, 12/06/2014).

4.2.4 Findings on the Extent to Which Zimbabweans Have Been Integrated into the South African Society

Many Zimbabweans have not been fully reintegrated into the South African society because a large number of them do not have passports or documents legalising their stay. How do you integrate someone without legal documents? Only a few of the Zimbabweans have been fully reintegrated, while many of them are still lacking the necessary skills or academic qualification for them to be fully integrated into the system. Some Zimbabweans still think that xenophobia still exists in South Africa either overtly or covertly; they are being discriminated against because words like *makwerekwere, magrigamba and ngagawane* are still in use in some parts of South Africa. Apart from frequent harassment in the hands of police and immigration officers who extort money from them, some are discriminated against on the basis of nationality at the hospitals by healthcare professionals and the Zimbabweans await decisive measures to be taken by the South African government against xenophobia and other forms of hate crimes.

Skiddo (not real name) says that there is nothing like integration. 'Is it a noun, verb or adjective'? Many Zimbabweans here are seen as outcasts and I for one cannot stand the insults received on a daily basis from these South African immigration officials. It is obvious that we are not wanted here, if not for the crumbling state of the Zimbabwean economy, I would not

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have come to South Africa. My coming to South Africa was based on the proximity and costs involved as compared to Europe or other parts of the world. If I had a university degree, going to Europe would have been a wise idea because I [will] be able to get a job after furthering my studies over there. But I did not progress beyond Form 3 and this made it difficult for me to migrate to another continent. I will remain here without papers as long as I get food to put on the table; going to Zimbabwe is not in my plan for now. However, if the economy improves, I may go back home depending on what is obtainable or on offer for me in Zimbabwe (Interview with Skiddo, 12/06/2014).

An Engineer who did not want to disclose his name told the researcher:

> I think I have been properly integrated because I have a quota permit as a skilled professional, which is valid for 5 years and after that period I will probably apply for a permanent residence. I have helped some of my former colleagues at work in Zimbabwe to come into South Africa through legal means and getting high profile jobs in the engineering sector. There have been no complaints so far, I just love what I am doing. The nature of my job is good with so many fringe benefits attached to it and I have no regrets for leaving Zimbabwe when unemployment was very high. My family is here, I reside at East Bank and my neighbours are at peace with me. There are no sentiments at my work place; my colleagues relate nicely with me in the office; all is going smoothly for me and I can call this place home. If you are a professional, I don't think you can experience any hitch getting the necessary documentation, just go through the normal process and avoid the use of these middlemen called agents, one might get into trouble if they resort to the use of agents (Interview with male engineer, 12/06/2014).

A female teacher Mrs Shivambu (not real name) is a Mathematics teacher in one of the public schools in Johannesburg, feels xenophobic hatred still exists in some areas in South Africa and as such, the reintegration of foreign Zimbabwean nationals into the fabric of the South African society is still far from being achieved. Her views were:

> I have been residing in South Africa since 2002 and I got a teaching appointment with a public high school as a Mathematics teacher in the same year with a valid work permit. There are so many issues I had to deal with on my part as a

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> Mathematics teacher, from my learners and from my South African colleagues who have not been of any help to me. I spent five months before I could get an office space, the principal even told me that some teachers who came before me spent a year before they could get an office. As if that was not enough, my colleagues gossip about me in Zulu. Although I am Shona, I understand Ndebele which is very close to Zulu. I would have asked for a transfer to another high school, but getting one could be pretty difficult because I am not South African and there are so many imbalances in the system. I hold a Master's degree in Mathematics Education and the head of department possesses a diploma and gets a higher pay than me - this ought not to be. I am not even interested in applying for a permanent residence in South Africa because I will be discriminated against on the basis of nationality should I get a permanent residence. I will keep on renewing my work permit and if the situation improves in Zimbabwe, I will go back home. If the condition back home fails to improve, I might leave South Africa for a better country where mediocrity at work is not celebrated (Interview with Mrs Shivambu, 12/06/2014).

Mr Bakuti (not real name) feels Zimbabweans have not been integrated into South Africa:

> I am of the view that Zimbabweans are not welcome to South Africa, we are seen as potential threats and as people who have come to steal jobs or women but this is not true. I was a business man before I left Zimbabwe, I had the intention of doing business in South Africa but I don't feel this is the right place for me to do business because getting a business permit is a war. My application for a business permit was turned down for no just reason, the department of home affairs said I failed to submit the proper documents. I had gone through the checklist and to the best of my knowledge I did not omit anything, a friend advised me to bribe the home affairs officials, get an agent to process another business permit or register the business in the name of a South African and share the profits with the South African. I have lodged an appeal which has no fixed date of reply, the home affairs official just said 'we will get back to you in due course'. I am thinking of going to Botswana if I fail in my quest to get a business permit in South Africa, it could be a better idea because I still have the bulk of

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my capital with me; this whole issue is just annoying and frustrating (Interview with Mr Bakuti, 12/06/2014).

Striker (not real name) is a footballer who plies his trade in South Africa and feels South Africa is a good place but getting a permit is a tough issue. 'It's like a camel passing through the eye of a needle';

> I left Zimbabwe for Swaziland in 2004 with the intention of taking my soccer career to greater heights. I signed a 3 year contract with Mbabane Swallows; I had a good time in Swaziland and never wanted to leave save for the poor remuneration and low standard of the Swaziland football league. I arrived in South Africa in 2007 with high hopes of getting a better contract because it has a highly developed premier soccer league. I play for one of the local football clubs in Gauteng and train most times at the Alexandra Stadium. However, I have not been able to get a work permit and I have been placed on 'earn as you play basis' which is very unfair to me. I travel to the Musina border once every 30 days to extend my stay in South Africa; this has been the trend since I arrived in South Africa. Given the nature of the game and the risks involved, coupled with the fact that age is not on my side, I may be forced to go into retirement and travel somewhere else or find something else to do apart from football. I doubt if the government of South Africa really wants the Zimbabweans residing in South Africa to be reintegrated into the society because they are making documentation a tedious and discouraging activity (Interview with Striker, 24/06/2014).

Michael (not real name) is married to a South African lady and has not been able to regularise his stay in South Africa:

> I got married to Irene (not real name) in 2006 and the marriage was blessed with 2 children. However, obtaining a proper documentation has been a challenge for me because I thought that being married to a South African woman whom I truly loved would brighten my chances of getting a permit or ID. The last time I went to the Department of Home Affairs to find out the status of my application, I was told that it was still pending and that I should attach a sworn

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> affidavit from Zimbabwe stating that I have never been married. I can't go to Zimbabwe because I may be attacked by Zanu-PF based on the fact that I was an active MDC member when I was in Zimbabwe. It is an unpalatable situation, I don't have enough money and if I had I would have employed the services of a lawyer to help me seek redress in the court of law. I earn small money from selling newspapers on the street and this can hardly take care of my wife and I and our two children. If I had the necessary documentation, I would apply for jobs in the banking sector because I have a diploma in accounting but it is possible for now (Interview with Michael, 24/06/2014).

Ms Lavumisa (not real name) is a medical doctor in one of the government hospitals in Johannesburg. She is of the opinion that the reintegration process has been a success in South Africa:

> I work as an optician in a government hospital in Gauteng Province. Work could be so hectic at times but all in all I have no regrets taking up an appointment in a South African hospital. Mind you, there are other colleagues at my work place who are Zimbabweans and we are highly respected and appreciated here at the hospital, in fact we are accorded more respect than our South African colleagues. The atmosphere at my work place is very conducive for me, the equipment are modern and I am enjoying every bit of it (Interview with Ms Lavumisa, 24/06/2014).

There is nothing like integration in South Africa so says Mrs Danbaba (not real name):

> I work in the Social Development Department as a counsellor, being Zimbabwean; I am discriminated against on the basis of my nationality. My colleagues use abusive words against me almost on a daily basis, I reported them severally but the management was quiet about it so I decided to endure it. There was an incident that happened and I would have shown a colleague of mine my true colours if not for the people present. I would have given her a beating of her life. We had gone for a three-day workshop; on the third day, it was time for lunch, we were seated, and while we were eating she said Zimbabweans are too much in this country, they are limiting our chances, they must return to their country. They are like ants gathered at a sugar source; they steal from shops,

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stab people, hijack cars and do many bad things here in South Africa. She continued, but I refused to talk and left the venue so as to avoid a clash (Interview with Mrs Danbaba, 24/06/2014).

My children are abused by their classmates because they are Zimbabwean so says Mrs Malaika:

> My children attend one of the public primary schools around Johannesburg but most times they complain of being abused by their classmates because they are not South Africans. They are called so many funny names, in fact my last daughter said 'mama, I want to go back to Masvingo' I told her that the situation in Zimbabwe would not warrant us to go back for now and the fact that I have a job makes me connected to South Africa in a way. I can't quit my job now because, I don't know if I will get the same salary I earn here in South Africa in Zimbabwe the cost of relocation would also be huge (Interview with Mrs Malaika, 24/06/2014).

Mr Putso (not real name) is a barber, he doesn't believe in integration. He says integration of Zimbabweans in South Africa is a dead issue. 'It is like a dry bone'. I cut peoples' hair, that is what I do for a living and I make between R100 –R250 per day depending on customer patronage. I have been harassed severally by the officials of the municipality to get a permit, but my argument is I am using the roadside, so why do I need to get a permit from the municipality? I am only using the land, I don't use electricity and I make use of car batteries to charge the hair clippers. I had the intention of getting a business permit but the paper work is too much, they are asking for so many documents and this makes it difficult for me and other foreign nationals in this sector to get business permits. The only way is to bribe the Department of Home Affairs officials or get forged documents, but submitting them would be an offence. So for now, I am not interested in applying for a permit because I can't get all the documents I need. I am personally appealing to the people responsible for the issuance of permits to relax the conditions so that Zimbabweans who have legitimate businesses would get the necessary permits and avoid harassment in the hands of law enforcement agencies or the risk of being deported from South Africa (Interview with Mr Putso, 25/06/2014).

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Mr Gatuso (not real name) is a worker in the construction industry he has been residing in South Africa for 14 years and says integration has not been achieved by the South African government:

> When I arrived in South Africa, by my own assessment the first three years showed harmony between South Africans and other African nationals, but as time progressed they started resenting us and the most affected were Zimbabweans. They started unleashing terror on us, even before the 2008 crisis they chased us, used several weapons and abusive language on us. The police also did not help. When we reported a series of attacks to them they said 'we don't involve ourselves in matters that involve foreigners, just behave'. The Zulus in this area have serious hatred for Zimbabweans and they have said it times without number that we are not wanted in Alexandra and in South Africa. The government is silent on the reintegration issue and there have been calls by some Zimbabweans for regional integration where they said we want a common travelling document for all citizens of SADC member states. The way many Zimbabweans are treated in South Africa is very unfair; anyway we need more NGO involvement in the issue of reintegration since the government has not yielded to our concerns, we need to look up to the NGOs for help (Interview with Mr Gatuso, 25/06/2014).

Mr Kelly (not real name) says the reintegration process is not successful and can never be because it is only for a select few. What will happen to those without skills or those commonly referred to as unskilled labourers? How do we get integrated into the society? Are there work permits for these classes of people? I don't have any skill, I am not a professional in any field, tell me how to get a permit (Interview with Mr Kelly, 25/06/2014)?

Mrs Daso (not real name) says getting a permit in South Africa is a difficult and harrowing experience:

> I have applied for a work permit a few years ago but I was told several stories that my documentation was incomplete and I resubmitted the required documents. After one month, I was told it was pending, I had a receipt from the home affairs and I kept checking with the Department of Home Affairs but was

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told that it was still pending. It is close to two years now and I cannot go anywhere (Interview with Mrs Daso, 25/06/2014).

4.3 Conclusion

The discussion of the research findings was based on the experiences of Zimbabweans living in Alexandra Township. Most Zimbabweans migrated into South Africa purely on economic reasons and this migration cuts across all professions. Political reasons and displacement due to *Operation Murambatsvina*, poverty, unemployment, droughts and low remuneration were advanced as migratory reasons as they were in South Africa for better job opportunities due to the fact that South Africa has the fastest growing economy in Africa.

Competition for scarce resources, like housing and jobs that required little or no skill, mainly in the informal sector was a major source of conflict between South Africans and Zimbabweans. An increase in crime rate, carriers of terminal diseases like HIV and Aids, TB and alleged snatching of South African ladies also fuelled xenophobic attacks carried out by South Africans on Zimbabweans. The unprecedented influx of Zimbabweans put more pressure on public utilities which had been overstretched before their arrival.

So many challenges were associated with the reintegration of Zimbabwean foreign nationals into the fabric of the South African society. Top on the list was the problems of documentation. It was discovered that many Zimbabweans did not possess proper or valid documents; as a result, they got into South Africa clandestinely. Some of them employed the services of *magumaguma* who ferried or assisted them into South Africa at an agreed fee. This also furthers the debate on the porosity of the Musina-Beit bridge border crossing owing to poor border management on the part of the South African government. Some of them are employed, while others are committing different types of crimes like shop lifting and internet fraud. Some Zimbabweans have also been swindled in the process of obtaining permits through the so-called 'agents'.

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The extent of reintegration revealed that only few Zimbabweans had been integrated mainly because they had valid documents. Others said that there was nothing like reintegration because they were still seen as outsiders. The majority of the Zimbabweans interviewed did not have any skills thereby making it difficult for them to get work permits. Some were of the opinion that xenophobic hatred still existed because of the use of derogatory language against Zimbabweans. They complained that even when they applied for permits, it took longer and they hardly got permits at the end of the day. The next chapter focuses on recommendations and conclusion.

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CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study on the reintegration of Zimbabwean foreign nationals into South African society, using Alexandra Township as a case study discussed the research findings in the previous chapter. Reasons for Zimbabwean migration into South Africa, causes of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans residing in Alexandra Township, challenges faced by Zimbabwean nationals with regards to the issue of reintegration into the fabric of the South African Society and the extent to which Zimbabweans were reintegrated was dealt with extensively. This chapter presents the recommendations and concludes the study. It sums up the whole discussion as informed by the research findings.

5.2 Recommendations

- This work recommends that since the process of reintegrating foreign nationals is tiresome and demanding, the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa needs to develop immigration policies that would enhance the goals of regional integration, especially when people are running away from human security threats in their countries. This will go a long way into demonstrating the virtues of South Africa as a democratic state which can even extend its hand to neighbours for a humanitarian cause.
- The government and private sector need to provide more jobs to alleviate the current level of unemployment in South Africa which end up fuelling xenophobic feelings and actions against foreigners. Linked to the above, for a genuine process of reintegration to take root, there is need for the South African government to provide first preference in employment to their citizens so that they will not feel that foreigners are taking up their jobs. Also, the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), the National Development Programme and other government schemes aimed at improving the wellbeing of the indigent population need to be pursued vigorously to minimise poverty and increase self-employment in South Africa.
- There is a necessity for the South African and the Zimbabwean governments to increase their cooperation especially in curbing illegal migrants and other illicit cross-border

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operations which end up threatening the security of the two nations, mainly due to the increase of trans-border crimes. This makes a strong call to police from both countries to cooperate in this cause. The South African Police Service, Department of Home Affairs and other agencies concerned with immigration issues need to urgently address illegal practices by stemming the tide of corruption amongst personnel handling immigration issues and allowing the law to take its due course against officers who arrest individuals in possession of valid immigration documents or demand bribes from migrants.

- The Department of Home Affairs whilst regularising Zimbabweans (and other nationals) in South Africa, needs to be informed that other types of employment like informal employment, self-employment and casual employment should also be considered for work permit applications. Conversely, the South African government through the Department of Home Affairs should develop quicker methods of processing the various classes of permits so that Zimbabweans and other migrants get responses about their permits on time.
- Inability to handle migration has resulted into unbearable situations for all South African residents. On the other hand, internal migration makes service accessibility easier; it strengthens the labour market and the labour force, and serves as a poverty reduction mechanism. It also helps in protecting workers' rights. International migration should not bring about conflict or tensed situations, but should help to provide the much-needed skills and entrepreneurial ability, and at the same time enhance trade in the SADC region and integration, which goes a long way to assist post-conflict reconstruction in countries of origin.
- The South African government needs to task the Department of Human Settlement to set up an adhoc committee on the issue of RDP houses, so that those who qualify legally for the houses will not be deprived of owning them. The government should also set up an audit committee that would carry out a census and give feedback on the number of informal settlements spread across South Africa. This would assist government to plan and effectively eradicate informal settlements gradually because it is in these informal settlements where most illegal immigrants are harbouring and committing various crimes which put the lives of innocent people at risk.
- Whilst it is common sense that South Africa is not responsible for taking care of the citizens of another country, this study suggests that the Department of Home Affairs

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need not abolish the asylum system they have extended to Zimbabweans for this works positively in the reintegration drive. The South African government should come up with the possibility of an amnesty period during which undocumented migrants, without fear of being repatriated back to their home countries would show up and apply for residence permits to regularize their stay.

5.3 Conclusion

The first chapter looked into the integration of displaced persons, which has become a heated debate lately. This could be attributed to the nature of protracted conflicts on the African continent which have resulted into displacement of millions of people. South Africa plays host to most of the displaced persons in Africa. Due to the robust nature of its economy, many refugees have been attracted to South Africa. Zimbabweans are the highest migrant group in South Africa due to its proximity to South Africa and it has been estimated that about 3 million Zimbabweans (legal and illegal) reside in South Africa; the end result of this is the jostling for jobs between South Africans and Zimbabweans. Apart from this, overcrowding has exerted much pressure on social amenities and has affected the quality of service delivery by government to locals residing mainly in informal settlements. It was on this premise that this study sought to investigate the role played by the South African government on the reintegration of Zimbabwean foreign nationals after the 2008 xenophobic orchestrated violence on Zimbabweans.

It was also established that migration is a global phenomenon and cannot be restricted to the African continent alone. Zimbabweans are not the only migrant group in South Africa. Economic opportunities were a key factor that motivated Zimbabweans to migrate into South Africa in spite of the increasing crime rate. A major problem which was also a major research question was, "Should Zimbabweans be reintegrated into the South African society or not?" And the main objective was to explore the challenges faced in the course of reintegrating Zimbabwean foreign nationals into the South African society.

The second chapter focused on preliminary studies of migration in Africa and the causes of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa. The post 1994 South Africa saw a huge influx of foreigners into South Africa and the socio-political and economic crisis which engulfed

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Zimbabwe in year 2000 led to a mass exodus of Zimbabweans into South Africa. Poverty and drought were also drivers of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa. There was an extensive review of scholarly literature from renowned scholars in the field of migration, xenophobia, reintegration, integration, local integration and refugee studies. The reasons for Zimbabwean migration into South Africa and the reason why South Africans are tired of the competition for jobs between them and foreigners were also highlighted. The activities transpiring at the border posts, especially at the Musina-Beit Bridge and competition for RDP houses among other factors were also explored. Government efforts aimed at reintegrating Zimbabweans and other foreign nationals back into the South African society were also highlighted.

The third chapter adopted qualitative research methodology for the study. Qualitative research methods are based on real life experiences; this would allow Zimbabweans to express themselves freely on the issues centred on xenophobia and reintegration into Alexandra Township. Data was gathered by means of semi-structured interviews. A case study approach was intentionally adopted to give a profound and restricted understanding of Zimbabwean foreign nationals resident in Alexandra Township. Research ethics were also dwelt upon, its adherence was highlighted.

The fourth chapter discussed the research findings. It was categorised into four sub-sections: reasons for Zimbabwean, causes of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans in Alexandra Township, challenges of reintegration of Zimbabweans into South Africa and the extent to which Zimbabweans were integrated into the South African society, revealing the success and failures of the reintegration process. Most Zimbabweans living in Alexandra Township were economic migrants and this applies to all professions. Political victimisation, poverty, low wages, unemployment, drought and displacement due to operation *Murambatsvina* were also advanced as reasons for migration.

Competition for scarce economic resources like jobs and housing mainly restricted to the informal sector was a real source of conflict between South Africans and Zimbabweans. Increase in crime rate, the carriers and spread of terminal diseases like HIV/AIDS, TB, coupled with the alleged snatching of South African ladies also promoted the execution of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans by South Africans.

A major constraint of reintegrating Zimbabwean foreign nationals into South African society was the problem of documentation. Many Zimbabweans did not possess valid documents; this

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made them to employ the services of *magumaguma*. Connected to this was the porous border debate. Some Zimbabweans were also into criminal activities and this restrained them from getting proper documentation. Only few Zimbabweans possessing valid documents had been reintegrated. Other Zimbabweans disagreed with the notion of reintegration because they were referred to as outsiders by South Africans. The use of derogatory language against Zimbabweans still existed; some Zimbabweans did not have the requisite skills, while others who were interviewed complained bitterly about the permit process which was delayed and most of them eventually hardly got their permits.

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Oral Interviews with Respondents

Particulars of Respondents Interviewed by the Researcher

Date 02-04-2014	1 Male Zimbabwean (anonymous), 25 years old gardener at Midrand
Date 02-04-2014	2 Male Zimbabwean (anonymous), barman at Turffontein
Date 02-04-2014	3 Mrs Sango, Zimbabwean national
Date 02-04-2014	4 Mr Hector, Zimbabwean high school teacher in Gauteng Province
Date 02-04-2014	5 Ms Mutarika, Zimbabwean Trader in Gauteng Province
Date 02-04-2014	6 Mr Sithole, Zimbabwean security guard at Alexandra Township
Date 03-04-2014	7 Male Zimbabwean (Anonymous), cleaner at Sandton mall
Date 03-04-2014	8 Male Zimbabwean (Anonymous), security guard with Fidelity group
Date 03-04-2014	9 Donald, Zimbabwean Food scientist in Gauteng Province
Date 03-04-2014	10 Sambo Zimbabwean employee
Date 03-04-2014	11 Ms Linda, Zimbabwean commercial sex worker in her 20s
Date 10-04-2014	12 Male Zimbabwean (anonymous), 30 years old
Date 10-04-2014	13 Male Zimbabwean (anonymous), gardener
Date 10-04-2014	14 Mr Lucas, Zimbabwean Alexandra Township resident
Date 10-04-2014	15 Patrick, Zimbabwean Alexandra Township resident
Date 10-04-2014	16 Tokyo, Zimbabwean, Tavern employee
Date 10-04-2014	17 Mrs Gezani Zimbabwean national
Date 11-04-2014	18 Mr Bindura, Zimbabwean welder at Alexandra Township
Date 11-04-2014	19 Ms Mutasa, Zimbabwean national
Date 11-04-2014	20 Mrs Bujumbura, Zimbabwean national
Date 05-05-2014	21 Mr Columbia, Zimbabwean construction worker
Date 05-05-2014	22 Ms Constance, Zimbabwean maid at East Bank
Date 05-05-2014	23 Mr Gerald, Zimbabwean Alexandra Township resident
Date 05-05-2014	24 Male Zimbabwean national (anonymous)

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Date 05-05-2014 25 Alphonso Zimbabwean cobbler at Alexandra Township

Date 07-05-2014 26 Female Zimbabwean baby-sitter

Date 07-05-2014 27 Innocent Zimbabwean security guard at Jo'burg Theatre

Date 07-05-2014 28 Mr Gold Zimbabwean 33 years old NGO employee in Gauteng

Date 20-05-2014 29 Ms Siena Zimbabwean hairdresser at Randburg

Date 20-05-2014 30 Male Zimbabwean (anonymous) 22 years old

Date 20-05-2014 31 Ms Gabaza Zimbabwean national

Date 20-05-2014 32 Mr Zubair Zimbabwean resident in Alexandra Township

Date 10-06-2014 33 Mr Mavambo Zimbabwean cashier at spar in Johannesburg

Date 10-06-2014 34 Female Zimbabwean teacher in her 30s

Date 10-06-2014 35 James Zimbabwean FET college employee

Date 10-06-2014 36 Mr Pako, Zimbabwean national

Date 10-06-2014 37 Ms Pretty, Zimbabwean national

Date 10-06-2014 38 Mr Abiathar, Zimbabwean national

Date 10-06-2014 39 Mr Shupi, Zimbabwean national

Date 12-06-2014 40 Ms Lovedalia, Zimbabwean national

Date 12-06-2014 41 Skiddo Zimbabwean national

Date 12-06-2014 42 Male Zimbabwean engineer in Gauteng Province

Date 12-06-2014 43 Ms Shivambu, educator in Gauteng Province

Date 12-06-2014 44 Mr Bakuti, Zimbabwean businessman

Date 24-06-2014 45 Striker, Zimbabwean footballer in Gauteng Province

Date 24-06-2014 46 Michael, Zimbabwean newspaper vendor in Gauteng Province

Date 24-06-2014 47 Ms Lavumisa, Zimbabwean optician at Government Hospital in Gauteng Province

Date 24-06-2014 48 Mrs Danbaba, Zimbabwean counsellor at social development department

Date 24-06-2014 49 Mrs Malaika, Zimbabwean national resident in Gauteng

Date 25-06-2014 50 Mr Putso, Zimbabwean barber in Alexandra Township

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Date 25-06-2014 51 Mr Gatuso, Zimbabwean worker in the construction industry

Date 25-06-2014 52 Mr Kelly, Zimbabwean national

Date 25-06-2014 53 Mrs Daso, Zimbabwean national

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CONSENT FORM

I, Ekanade Israel Kehinde a Masters student of the Department of Development Studies at the University of Venda majoring in Political Science is carrying out a research on the topic: "Challenges of "Reintegration" of Zimbabwean Foreign Nationals into South African Society: A Case Study of Alexandra Township". I am inviting you as informants to voluntarily participate in this study and you are free to opt out at any stage with no consequences. The information collected from you would be for study purposes only and it will be private and confidential according to research ethics at the University of Venda.

Name

Signature

Date

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