ACRONYMS

AFM - Apostolic Faith Mission

ANC - African National Congress

BSAC - British South Africa Company

BBBEE - Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment

CCMA - Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration

DHA - Department of Home Affairs

ESAP - Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

FMSP – Forced Migration Studies Programme

HRW – Human Rights Watch

JPM - Jesus Promotion Ministries

MDC - Movement for Democratic Change

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

PASSOP – People Against Suffering and Oppression

RNLB - Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau

SADC - Southern African Development Community

SAMP – Southern African Migration Project

SARS - South African Revenue Services

SAQA - South African Qualifications Authority

SDA - Seventh Day Adventist

UDI - Unilateral Declaration of Independence

WNLA - Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

ZAOGA FIF - Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa Forward in Faith

ZANLA - Zimbabwe National Liberation Army

ZANU (PF) - Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)

ZAPU - Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZCTU - Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

ZDP - Zimbabwe Documentation Project

ZIPRA - Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

ZPS - Zimbabwe Prison Services

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the socio-economic context that Zimbabwean migrants face daily in South Africa. It also justifies the reasons for understanding the social exclusion of migrants citing some of the negative consequences such as: lack of access to proper employment, hospital care and protection by the police. The study explores coping mechanisms of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. It starts from the premise that Zimbabweans are largely excluded from the South African society and labour market. The coping mechanisms are therefore necessitated by the different forms of social exclusion they suffer. It also analyses their level of participation in both the formal and informal sectors of the South African economy. The study incorporates both 'documented' and legal Zimbabwean migrants and 'undocumented' or illegal Zimbabwean migrants. It analyses how variables such as immigration status, gender, age, sector of employment, area of residence, period of residence in South Africa, level of networking, and ethnic background affect the extent of inclusion into and exclusion from the South African labour market and society. The study explores all the dimensions of social exclusion of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg.

The main task of this research is to analyse the survival tactics of Zimbabweans in the South African labour market and society given:

- the potentially changing official policy towards Zimbabweans (Polzer 2009).
- the high rate of poverty and unemployment among South Africans themselves (Adepoju 2008, StatsSa 2011).
- the tendency of locals to blame foreigners for job 'snatching' (Danso and McDonald 2000; Harris 2001; Posel 2003; Mosala 2008; Kalitanyi and Visser 2010).
- the high level of crime and violence in South Africa (Harris 2001).
- the high level of xenophobia and general frustration among most South Africans in South Africa (Human Rights Watch 1998; Mattes, Taylor, McDonald, Poore and Richmond

1999; McDonald, Mashike & Golden 1999; Danso and McDonald 2000; Harris 2001; Crush, Williams & Perberdy 2005; Adepoju 2006; Crush and Tawodzera 2011). This xenophobia is expressed to all migrants regardless of whether they are documented/regular/legal or undocumented/irregular/illegal.

- that Zimbabweans are estimated to be the largest group of foreigners in South Africa (Harris 2001; Muzondidya 2008; Polzer 2009).

- the active participation of certain government departments and local government authorities in deciding who gets excluded from or included into the South African community. This is supported by the reluctance to assist migrants by certain government personnel (Harris 2001; Palmary 2002; Solidarity Peace Trust 2004; Human Rights Watch (HRW) 2006; De Guchteneire, Pecoud and Cholewinski 2009; Vigneswaran, Araia, Hoag and Tshabalala 2010).

- that migrants are exposed to potential human rights violations. They generally exist in a 'fragile situation' and migration is associated with the violations of migrants' physical integrity and dignity (HRW 1998; HRW 2006; Betts and Kaytaz 2009; De Guchteneire, Pecoud and Cholewinski 2009:3; Vigneswaran et al 2010).

This study is very important in that it is being carried out at a time when the South African economy and society and indeed the global economy is going through a lot of challenges (increase in unemployment, poverty, deindustrialisation, increase in the number of undocumented foreign migrants, demand for skilled labour and the increasing participation of South African leaders in Zimbabwean politics).

My main question is: how do Zimbabweans cope with social exclusion?

Literature reveals that most Zimbabweans think of themselves as temporary circular migrants who come into South Africa for employment and income generating opportunities but they end up staying for longer periods, sometimes permanently (McDonald, Mashike and Golden 1999; Dodson 2000; Posel 2003; Makina 2010; Matshaka 2010). Some Zimbabweans can be regarded as trans-migrants who want to establish homes both in Zimbabwe and South Africa as they spend their lives moving across the borders of these two countries though much of the time is spent in South Africa (Maphosa 2010; 2011). There could also be another section of Zimbabweans that wants to settle permanently in South Africa. If citizenship is defined in terms of place of birth, then migrants are naturally considered outsiders, so the questions that
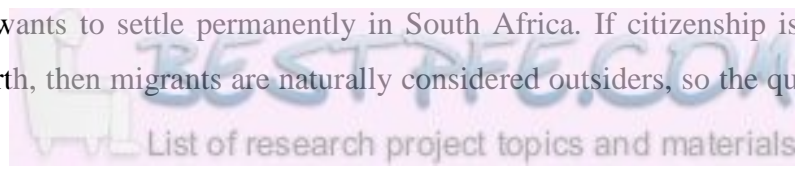
need to be asked are: How are they included? What resources are used by these outsiders to be included or integrated? Do these resources remain the same over time? Do these resources change by social class or by gender? As they stay in South Africa, do they have an opportunity to lead dignified existences and participate fully both economically and socially as members of the community? How do they navigate in a largely exclusionary environment?

1.2. Background of the study

Although South Africa gained democratic rule in 1994 its policy towards regional international migrants changed little, above and beyond an offer of amnesty to migrants from SADC countries. Foreigners, particularly from Mozambique, continued to participate in the labour market via contract labour. There were no formal ways of including other foreigners in the labour market such as Zimbabweans who were not part of contract labour. This was despite the fact that the numbers of Zimbabweans were fast increasing especially after 2000. There were assertions by the media that Zimbabweans were the largest cohort of migrants in South Africa especially in the Limpopo and Gauteng Provinces (Danso and McDonald 2000). The growing numbers and cases of abuse and discrimination (especially on South African farms) of Zimbabweans necessitated the negotiations between the Zimbabwean and South African governments leading to the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP) carried out by the Department of Home Affairs in 2010.

The Department of Home Affairs (2010-2011) report highlighted that the main reason for the regularization process (ZDP) which started in September 2010, was to avert the pressure exerted on the asylum seeker management process. This was because most Zimbabwean immigrants were applying for asylum in South Africa and the system could not cope with the huge numbers. By the end of December 2010 the DHA had received 275 762 applications from Zimbabweans who wished to regularise and legalise their stay in South Africa. These mainly applied for the following types of permits: business, study and work permits. In this process some Zimbabweans who already had asylum papers surrendered them in favour of having any of the three aforementioned types of permits. By the end of January 2011, 42779 applications had been approved while about 22817 were awaiting assessment (DHA 2011). The approved applications constitute 15,5% of the total applications. By the same time, (end

of January 2011) 49255 asylum permits were surrendered by Zimbabweans. The number of the surrendered documents far exceeds those whose applications were approved. The consequences of this discrepancy have created new problems of legality. These are discussed in Chapter Eight.

1.2.1. An overview of the consequences of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa

The following subsections will discuss the main effects of the presence of Zimbabwean foreigners in South Africa from both the standpoints of the locals and the migrants. From the perspective of locals, the major consequences (which have largely been negative) relate to an increase in the competition for jobs on the labour market and competition for public services such as health, education and housing. From the migrants' perspective the consequences of migration are both positive and negative. The positive aspects have to do with the prospect of leading a better life and being able to look after family members in Zimbabwe through remittances. The negative effects concern the heightened visibility, surveillance, discrimination, xenophobia and ill-treatment. All these negative consequences necessitate the need to conceal one's identity in order to avoid discrimination and social exclusion.

1.2.1.1. Competition for jobs, xenophobic attacks and ill-treatment of Zimbabweans

This thesis argues that in South Africa xenophobia is largely a rational response of the lower social classes to the perceived threats posed by foreigners to the economic security of locals, and a reaction to their fear of depletion of public benefits and services by foreigners. The resultant stiff competition for jobs partly accounts for the high levels of xenophobia. The public rhetoric of politicians and government officials also fuels xenophobic sentiments because of their use of foreigners as scapegoats for difficulties faced in the economy. The political discourse of these officials portrays foreigners as threats in all the spheres of society (see section 2.6. for further discussion of this issue).

In general black migrants from other parts of Africa are negatively evaluated as the *makwerekwere* who come to steal women, jobs and other economic opportunities from local

South Africans and on top of that congest hospitals by having many babies (Danso & McDonald 2000; Harris 2001, Harris 2002; Zinyama 2002; Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti 2009; Neocosmos 2008; Matshaka 2010; Crush and Tawodzera 2011. Foreigners have been targets of anger, violence and crime by local South Africans because they are perceived to be too many, thus siphoning the resources and partly reversing the gains of democratic majority rule (in terms of access to public services). This perception is actively and sometimes subtly encouraged by South African politicians (such as Maggie Maunye and Mangosuthu Buthelezi), the police and the media (Danso and McDonald 2000; Crush and Williams 2001; Mawadza and Crush 2010; Hungwe 2012a). Thus local South Africans seemed to act with impunity towards foreigners who are considered as a threat (Monson and Misago 2009). Violence against foreigners in South Africa was documented as early as 1994. These foreigners include Angolans, Congolese, Ugandans, Nigerians and Somalis (Morris 1998; Crush 2000; Harris 2002; Palmary 2002; Tevera and Zinyama 2002; the Democracy and Governance Programme Human Sciences Research Council (DGPHSRC 2008). In 2008 these xenophobic attitudes led to mass attacks and killings of foreigners resulting in 62 deaths and the displacement of between 80 000 and 200 000 people (Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti 2009; Bloch 2010). It should however be noted that xenophobia is not peculiar to South Africa. Most countries in the West that have become receiving countries also experience xenophobia. Regionally Botswana has high levels of xenophobia against Zimbabweans (Kiwanuka and Monson 2009). However, it is in South Africa where these xenophobic sentiments have been acted upon leading to numerous deaths of foreigners in May 2008. In 2008 there were cases where during the xenophobic attacks, the police joined mobs looting goods and harassing foreigners (Monson and Misago 2009).

As the numbers of Zimbabweans increased and the crisis in Zimbabwe deepened, so did the adjectives describing Zimbabweans change from being just "illegal aliens" to "hordes", "infestations" "*makwerekwere*", "floods" "Zim Tsunami" and "barbarians" (Mattes, Taylor, McDonald, Poore and Richmond 1999, Solidarity Peace Trust 2004; Mawadza and Crush 2010, Scheen 2011). This made the situation of most Zimbabweans in South Africa desperate as they became the target of scorn and blame for most economic hardships, particularly unemployment of local South Africans. Up to now, Zimbabweans still face xenophobia on a daily basis (Harris 2002; Dumba and Chirisa 2010; Crush and Tawodzera 2011). Zimbabweans have had problems accessing accommodation, health and educational facilities. Because most are desperate for money and need to save as much as possible in order to remit

meaningful amounts of money back home, Zimbabweans live in shacks or in areas that are characterised by overcrowding, lack of clean water and lack of electricity (Dumba and Chirisa 2010). The other reason for being confined in such areas is lack of documentation leaving such areas as the only reasonable option for one to continue staying in South Africa as these are easy to access.

Xenophobic attitudes abound in government officials such as the police, immigration officers, health workers and education officials (Veary 2008; Crush, Williams and Nicholson 2009; Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti 2009; Lefko-Everett 2010; Crush and Tawodzera 2011). In hospitals such discrimination has been termed "medical xenophobia" by Crush and Tawodzera (2011). This medical xenophobia is characterised by insults, non recognition of foreign identity books, delays in treatment and sometimes outright denial of treatment. This means that even when migrants have rights to certain services like basic health and education it may be difficult to enjoy these rights as access is impeded by service providers.

In the labour market South African employers have also capitalised on the precarious existence of the Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa by either offering them unattractive salaries or in some cases not paying them at all (and giving them food instead), thus exploiting them fully (HRW 1998; HRW 2006; Bloch 2008). In some cases employers (such as farmers) hand the 'undocumented workers' over to the police for deportation without paying them (Bloch 2008; HRW 2006; Dumba and Chirisa 2010; Rutherford 2010). Beyond the farms, Zimbabweans increase competition for jobs in an economy that already suffers high unemployment rates of between twenty five (25%) and forty percent (40%), (Kingdon and Knight 2006; Mosala 2008; Statistics South Africa 2010; South Africa, Department of Labour 2011).

The xenophobic and exaggerated media reportage of the numbers of illegal (undocumented) Zimbabweans in South Africa is largely unscientific and unfounded. It is a result of sensationalisation on the part of the media (Danso and McDonald 2000; Crush and Williams 2001). There have been rumours of undocumented Zimbabweans in South Africa being between 1,5 or 3 million. These figures are nothing but sheer figments of imaginations of individuals such as journalists, politicians and police officers who have their own selfish agendas to pursue, at the same time justifying their existence and roles. Included in this category are Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) who continue using such estimates (for example the Solidarity Peace Trust and PASSOP June 2012 report which asserted that

there are 1,4 million Zimbabwean refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa).These much exaggerated estimates had been refuted by the DHA (2011). In his media release on the 6th of January 2011, the Director General Mkuseli Apleni stated that:

> "Colleagues we are on record as saying that this number of 1,5-2 million illegal Zimbabwean nationals in South Africa is not our number. We have been saying throughout this process, that we do not know where this number comes from. It is not a scientific number. We do not know how this figure is arrived at because illegal Zimbabweans have not been entering the country through official ports of entry. So when people talked of this number we challenged them asking for proof. We have until today not received this documented proof from any quarter".

The current exact numbers of Zimbabweans (both legal and illegal) in South Africa are unknown and may remain so for the foreseeable future. However, the attempt to document Zimbabweans through the ZDP is the first major effort to systematically know and trace Zimbabweans in South Africa. Apart from this exercise, there have been no attempts by the South African government to integrate Zimbabweans into the South African society. The DHA has continued with its policy of deportation of illegal/ undocumented migrants while at the same time considering asylum applications. However, the department faces challenges in implementing these. What is clear is that the DHA faces major challenges of inadequate infrastructure for detecting, arresting and deporting undocumented migrants (Motsitsi, DHA Limpopo Province 2012). This creates lacunae for all sorts of negotiations between the undocumented migrants and the police and immigration officers, who must, to some extent, use their ingenuity to implement immigration laws. Thus, the bulk of these illegal/undocumented migrants do not get deported but continue staying in the country through bribing government officials. Some scholars have argued that the situation encourages corruption among these bureaucrats, thus eventually weakening the power of the South African state in policing migration (Vigneswaran et al 2010; Vigneswaran 2012).

1.2.1.2. Remittances from Zimbabweans in South Africa

While remittances have the potential to uplift the living standards and quality of life of those that receive them (Taylor 1999; Kothari 2002; Davis 2007), in Zimbabwe these remittances

have mainly been accessed via informal channels (Pendleton et al 2006; Chikanda 2011; Makina 2010; World Bank 2011; Makina 2012). Informal channels are facilitated by a high level of trust that exists between migrants and the conveyers of these remittances such as taxi and bus drivers. The other reasons for the use of informal channels include lack of bank accounts and adequate formal channels, high transaction costs and fear of apprehension and deportation by undocumented migrants (Adepoju 2006: 43). In his 2007 study of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, Makina (2010) discovered that 60% of respondents had no bank accounts.

However, the use of informal channels could slowly be changing because of increased access to formal money transfer facilities such as Western Union and *mukuru.com* (a private company which operates in Botswana and South Africa and sends money to recipients' bank accounts on behalf of remitters). A study of Zimbabwean migrants in Botswana by Mutsindikwa (2012) revealed a preference for formal money transfer facilities rather than informal methods of remittance.

It must be noted that the use of informal channels has the following problems: it limits the amount of remittances, it does not benefit both the sending and receiving governments and it exposes migrants to risks of muggings by criminals who know that foreigners keep their money at home. Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti (2009) reiterate that foreigners are 'seen as moving Automated Teller Machines [ATM]' because they usually carry money on their bodies. It also increases their chances of harassment and requests for bribes by the police, thus threatening their security (HRW 2006). In line with international requirements for fighting money laundering and terrorism, the banking system in South Africa does not allow undocumented migrants to remit money through banks, as it requires a bank account, valid passport and work permit (Ncube and Hougaard 2010). While these requirements are rational, they nonetheless lead to the exclusion of undocumented migrants. Exclusion from opening a bank account not only affects remittances but also opportunities to borrow and other life chances that come with having a bank account.

1.3. Problem statement and study objectives

The research analyses the coping mechanisms of Zimbabweans in the South African labour market and society and the extent of their social exclusion and inclusion. It investigates the

possibility that the majority of Zimbabwean migrants are caught in a vicious cycle of poverty and exclusion in South Africa such that some may not be able to remit meaningful earnings to their families back in Zimbabwe (Mosala 2008; Worby 2010). Thus, their situation does not benefit their country of origin while at the same time they lead disadvantageous lifestyles in South Africa. Chapters 5 and 6 discuss these issues showing how most migrants earn meagre wages resulting in small amounts of money being remitted. Migration may not necessarily make the migrants better off as individuals may find themselves faced with difficult circumstances in a strange area (Kothari 2002; McGregor 2010; Worby 2010). Migrants may find themselves in lower level jobs that do not match their qualifications and thus pay less (Ellis 2008; Mosala 2008; IOM 2009; Gordon 2010; Makina 2010 McGregor 2010). Eventually such jobs lead to loss of skills and 'brain waste' as a result of underutilisation of skills (Castles and Miller 2009). Family breakdowns, divorce, increase in HIV/AIDS statistics are just some of the effects of the migration of Zimbabweans to South Africa. Some migrants are involved in harmful anti-social behaviours such as prostitution, heavy drinking, crime and corruption due to frustration and discrimination (Muzondidya 2008; Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti 2009; Gordon 2010; Worby 2010). Such behaviours are detrimental to their health and the South African community in general as they become difficult to eradicate. Studies already reveal how legality is being negotiated between desperate migrants and corrupt government officials (Vigneswaran et al 2010; Lefko-Everett 2010). Such behaviours weaken the legal system of the country creating loopholes in the bureaucratic system of the government. These 'negotiations' may also expose migrants to exploitation, rape and harassment.

In terms of gender, studies have revealed that women may be more excluded than men due to the unfavourable terms of inclusion in the labour market, such as working in export processing zones where they are trapped in marginalised and insecure lowly paid jobs, (Carr and Chen 2004:132). Among the domestic workers in South Africa, Perberdy and Dinat (2005) discovered that migrant domestic workers lived isolated solitary lives because of the nature of their jobs which required that they live at the residence of their employer while separated from their friends and family. These observations should, however, not relegate to obscurity the professional female migrants who also face social exclusion to the extent that they end up performing menial jobs due to difficulties in registration in their appropriate professions, for example, Zimbabwean nurses in South Africa (IOM 2009). However, McGregor (2010) revealed that regardless of gender, Zimbabwean migrants in the United

Kingdom, particularly those in care work, were trapped in low status shameful jobs. It is therefore prudent to understand how Zimbabwean men and women are faring in South Africa, especially considering that women may face further problems of exclusion specifically because of the existence of certain gender norms. The combination of gender inequality, race and being foreign can create multiple disadvantages for women (Kabeer [sa]).

In 2006 Adepoju established that 60% of Zimbabwean doctors had moved to Botswana and South Africa. According to Polzer, Kiwanuka and Takabvirwa (2010) twenty two (22) percent of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa are skilled graduates. This statistic corroborates Makina (2010) whose 2007 study revealed that 22% of Zimbabwean migrants had a university or postgraduate degree. Therefore, Zimbabwe is experiencing a brain drain. This is a negative development in the sense that South African employers recruit the brightest and the best of the Zimbabwean population, thus draining Zimbabwe of its most enthusiastic and able citizens. The scarce and expensive human resources of Zimbabwe are transferred to South Africa which benefits from their abilities. The sending country bears the costs of raising and educating the emigrants in their unproductive years with limited benefits from its investment and the skills that those persons could contribute to the country. However, Zimbabwean migrants tend to be a mixture of the educated and skilled and the uneducated and unskilled. An analysis of how these different groups fare is necessary to understanding the dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion in the South African labour market.

Because of processes of exclusion from the formal labour market, some human resources may not be fully utilised, to the detriment of both the sending and receiving countries. The South African government may not be benefiting from the investments of migrants since they may have little or no access to banking facilities and limited employment opportunities. Demands for SAQA certified documents (which can take up to four months to process and require a fee of R500) can limit chances of employment and further education. Zimbabweans may also face limited access to health care facilities thus leading to poor health (Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti 2009; Crush and Tawodzera 2011).

Studies on migrant networks have highlighted tensions, frustrations and inability to help kinfolk by members of these networks. In some cases, tensions have been so severe leading to the severing of ties between newcomers and old established migrants (Menjivar 1995; Worby 2010). In other cases, rather than helping members settle in a new country migrant networks have worked differently by redirecting aspiring migrants elsewhere, providing them

with the necessary information (Collyer 2005; Korinek, Entwisle and Jampaklay 2005). The change in the functions of migrant networks is facilitated by the "structure of opportunity" in the receiving country (Menjivar 1995; Kloosterman and Rath 2001; Nauck 2001; Van Nieuwenhuyze 2009). I define the structure of opportunity as conditions in the receiving country enabling or disabling migrants from helping themselves and their co-ethnic members. Such a study is particularly relevant in South Africa especially considering the widely acknowledged high level of xenophobia. There is a need to understand the "structure of opportunity" created in such an environment.

Therefore, in light of the foregoing discussion, the major question that this research seeks to answer is: What are the coping mechanisms used by Zimbabwean migrants to be included in the labour market in South Africa?

1.3.1. Specific objectives

1.   to identify the various groups or categories of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa-those with network support, those without contacts, those unable to find jobs and thus need help , those with stable jobs, those accessing social security funds etc. The research will trace how, when and why they came to South Africa, especially to Johannesburg.

2.   to explore the extent to which Zimbabweans are excluded from some types of jobs (and associated rights which depend upon a person's employment status) and confined to others. The research will identify the factors that determine inclusion/ exclusion of Zimbabweans from the labour market from their own perspective.

3.   to examine the economic, cultural and social processes and mechanisms of inclusion of certain sections of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. The research aims to reveal the institutions and actors identified by Zimbabweans as mostly responsible for their inclusion/exclusion in and from the labour market and South African community.

4.   to establish the effects of exclusion from the labour market exploring the alternative ways of living available to Zimbabwean migrants. The research will reveal how Zimbabweans respond to exclusion from the labour market. It establishes the role of social networks in facilitating participation in the social and economic sphere.

5.   to examine the gender dimensions of all these forms of inclusion and exclusion of Zimbabwean migrants. The research also establishes how gender affects participation in social networks as a mechanism for dealing with social exclusion.

1.4. Rationale of the study

This study is justified in various ways; first conceptually, by its attempt to give a theoretically based explanation of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa and its effects on the Zimbabweans' inclusion into and exclusion from the South African labour market. Notwithstanding the various leading scholars' arguments on Zimbabwean migration (such as Block; Crush; Landau; Maphosa; Makina; Polzer; Rutherford; Tevera; Zinyama), these arguments have not been strongly supported by theory. While they present anecdotes of Zimbabwean migrants' experiences in South Africa, these are not interpreted and discussed within a clear theoretical framework. Therefore, while there is now a plethora of publications on Zimbabwean migration, this development has not been backed by a strong theoretical explanation. This research intends to close that gap by discussing Zimbabwean experiences within the context of the concepts of social exclusion and social capital. This study also goes beyond mere narration of the horrors most Zimbabweans suffer in South Africa but explores how they invent ways of coping with the largely exclusionary South African environment. This research is mainly concerned with how migrants fare within the receiving country, thus the interest in social exclusion and the functions of social capital in surviving this exclusion. This interest in the condition of migrants in their destination country is necessitated by the shift in the academic focus towards issues of migrant rights, integration, assimilation, social exclusion and transnational communities. Therefore, the question to ask is no longer about why people migrate, but how they settle in their destination countries. Considering the attention being given to individual rights, migration studies have shifted to include the effects of legality or illegality of migrants in their host countries.

Secondly, this study is justified by its attempt to reveal how institutions and actors such as government departments and employers engage in processes and practices that exclude foreigners from participating fully in the South African labour market. The study reveals the effects of exclusion from the formal labour market. It also shows how exclusion in one area may lead to exclusion in another area, thus exposing migrants to multiple deprivations and closing off avenues for leading a better existence. It explains how Zimbabwean migrants respond to these processes of exclusion showing their agency in dealing with constraining forces. It also highlights the extent, processes and terms of inclusion, of Zimbabwean migrants into the South African labour market showing the characteristics of those that are included in and excluded from participating. The study reveals the alternative and informal ways of survival of Zimbabweans who are excluded from participating in the formal labour market.

Thirdly, the xenophobic attacks on Zimbabwean and other foreign nationals in May 2008 by South Africans reveal that there is discontent among South African nationals on the inclusion of these foreigners in the nation and in the labour market. These attacks might be more than just social ills but could reflect on the structural economic factors of the country. The foreign nationals increase competition for jobs and reduce the chances of some South African nationals getting jobs (Mosala 2008). According to Mosala (2008) this is especially true for most Zimbabweans whose fluency in English is an added advantage in the labour market. There are fears that this eventually compromises the bargaining power of South African trade unions, which must contend with Zimbabwean migrants who can settle for lower salaries and wages. The reaction of South African locals must also be analysed in light of the increasing levels of unemployment, poverty, demand for skilled labour and the drive towards flexibility and casualisation of labour in the South African labour market. It must also be analysed from the point of who benefits from immigrant labour. While capitalist employers stand to benefit, poor, low skilled and unskilled workers stand to lose from increased immigration. These strongly resist Zimbabwean migration and express their resistance through xenophobia.

The fourth justification is that so much still needs to be known and discovered concerning Zimbabwean migrants. Polzer's (2008) study revealed that Zimbabweans experience discrimination and exclusion from public services to which they have a moral right. While in

a strict legal sense, undocumented migrants have no legal rights to public services, which are restricted to citizens; morally and pragmatically they have such rights (if one considers international human rights conventions and declarations by the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation and also, if one considers the fact that these migrants are mostly young, healthy and employed, which means that they would not really be a drain on these public services). On the other hand documented migrants have legal rights to these public services. This line of argument on moral, pragmatic and legal grounds is further expanded in the subsection 2.2 (which deals with the international legal framework for the protection of migrants) and in Chapter Three (where I justify using the concept of social exclusion in this research).

Polzer's study also revealed that some Zimbabweans were better able to deal with exclusion than others because of their level of networking. However, Polzer (2008: 19) recommended further research to understand whether "some ethnic or regional groups have stronger networks than others and whether such networks lead to greater dispersion or concentration of new arrivals in the parts of the country". This research, therefore, addresses this aspect in detail, showing the extent to which networks assist migrants deal with social exclusion. It also uncovers the perceived (by Zimbabwean migrants) role of individual South African citizens in the exclusion and inclusion of Zimbabwean migrants, through their participation in transporting, accommodating, protecting, identifying, going to church with and working with Zimbabweans. This research analyses the veracity of Polzer's (2008: 19) claim that Zimbabweans could themselves be participating in their own exclusion through their "general transfer of conflict and distrust", especially between the Shona and Ndebele. This analysis is done through exposing sources of exclusion within the Zimbabwean ethnic networks themselves, revealing how they unwittingly lead to exclusion of their members through encapsulation.

The change of official policy towards relaxation of South African laws on illegal Zimbabwean immigrants resulted in 275 762 Zimbabweans seeking proper documentation in order to live and work legally in South Africa. Such a move has both social and economic effects which need to be studied. This is against the background that recent migration studies reveal (Massey 2003; Levitt 2006; Maphosa 2010) how migrants who originally intended to migrate for shorter periods end up staying for longer. These same individuals want to identify with both their home and destination countries as transmigrants. This means that

Zimbabwean migrants could be in South Africa for the long haul. Therefore, a study on how they are integrated or excluded is pertinent.

1.5. Thesis overview

The thesis is divided into nine (9) chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which sets the background, outlining the rationale and objectives of the study. Chapter Two is the literature review that serves to give an overview of the historical development of Zimbabwean migration over a hundred years from the colonial era to date. The chapter also gives an understanding of migration, firstly globally and secondly, regionally with specific emphasis on how citizens of southern African countries have always been drawn towards South Africa.

Chapter Three provides a conceptual framework of the study, showing how the concepts of social exclusion and social capital are employed to understand the situation of Zimbabweans in South Africa. An in-depth analysis and history of the two concepts is given as well as their critiques. In the same chapter, I propose that the social exclusion of Zimbabweans can only be understood by taking a cosmopolitan approach, acknowledging that Zimbabweans are global citizens in South Africa. While the concept of social exclusion (in European studies) mainly referred to certain groups of nationals, the concept can be extended to analyse the situation of non-nationals (migrants) whose mobility has been necessitated and facilitated by processes of globalisation. At the end of Chapter Three, I propose a framework for studying Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa within the context of social exclusion and social capital. This proposed framework contains ten (10) propositions which are used to analyse the lives of Zimbabwean migrants. The framework is applied to the empirical material in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

The research methodology is contained in Chapter Four. The research follows a qualitative approach on the basis that qualitative research enables the researcher to construct meanings and interpret the behaviours of Zimbabwean migrants in Tembisa and Kempton Park. The research adopts an inductive form of reasoning. The main aim of the research is to present a thick description and in - depth understanding of the migrants' lives. From this perspective,

the truth can be known only by immersing oneself for a longer period in the culture of the participants under study.

Chapter Five outlines and interprets migrants' demographic profiles, analysing their trajectories and how they settle. It articulates and gives a description of who the Zimbabwean migrants are in Tembisa and Kempton Park. It shows why they came, their current living arrangements, how they fare and what they think about their present and future in South Africa.

Chapter Six discusses their participation in the labour market and the typical sectors that employ Zimbabweans. Chapter Seven identifies the various coping mechanisms employed by migrants to gain social acceptance and ensure survival.

The main agents of social exclusion identified by migrants are discussed in Chapter Eight. The chapter also analyses the major forms of social capital and how these either ease or worsen social exclusion. The chapter highlights how migrant ties are being severed and explains migrants' engagement in deviant behaviour as rooted in the social exclusion they suffer.

The conclusion and recommendations are offered in Chapter Nine which also shows how the study contributes to the broader literature on social exclusion. It also buttresses the need for closer cooperation between Zimbabwe and South Africa and advocates for a change in the attitudes of local South Africans. Further research is needed to understand the functioning of transport networks of *malayitsha* and how these facilitate undocumented migration.

1.6. Chapter summary

This chapter sets the roadmap by outlining the research questions, objectives and the justification of the study. The chapter lays the necessary background for the study outlining the research methodology and stating clearly why the situation of Zimbabweans in South Africa needs to be studied. It details how the thesis is structured in the chapters to follow. Studying social exclusion is necessary given the xenophobic and discriminatory attitudes that local South Africans have towards foreigners vis-a-vis the potential desire by Zimbabweans to stay for longer periods in South Africa and also the reality of globalisation processes (that South Africa has no control over) which encourage migration.

CHAPTER TWO: UNDERSTANDING MIGRATION REGIONALLY AND GLOBALLY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses how regional (SADC) migration has been unfolding and moving towards South Africa since the late 1880s, lured by the mining and farming employment prospects. It traces the migration of Zimbabweans to South Africa over the past 100 years. The discussion also focuses on the policy response of both the South African and Zimbabwean governments to this migration leading up to the regularisation process that took place in 2010 and whose consequences some migrants are still dealing with. The chapter also traces the development of the migration state, appreciating the global complexities and contradictions surrounding migration management and migration policy formulation. There are varying contestations and interested parties when it comes to dealing with migrants. Populations of host countries generally prefer stricter and tighter controls while transnational communities would require that the rights of migrants be observed. The capitalist employers stand to benefit from the cheaper labour offered by migrants.

In this chapter, South Africa is regarded as a migration state that struggles to reconcile the interests of the local citizens, capitalists and the migrants. The challenges of globalisation, (including international laws governing migrants and de-industrialisation) are also discussed. The chapter highlights that there was an increase in regional migrants which was facilitated by the policies of the post apartheid government. This increase made the situation of poor unskilled South African more vulnerable because they were already going through economic changes again brought in by the new government. Locals therefore responded negatively to increasing numbers of migrants most of whom were Zimbabweans fleeing an economic crisis in their country. This lays a background for understanding social exclusion as an outcome of competition for scarce resources.

2.2. A historical perspective of Southern African migration to South Africa since the early 1900s

This section outlines the growth of migration in South Africa and the southern African region starting from the early 1900s. It is argued that at the height of the mineral production in South Africa in the early 1900s, migrants came as far afield as central Africa encompassing countries such as Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and Zimbabwe. Migration is an everyday experience in southern Africa such that Crush, Williams and Peberdy (2005) have described southern Africa as a region on the move. Of particular note is the fact that over time African migration has shifted to incorporate women, children, the young and the old, the educated and uneducated. While the migration of women was largely ignored by literature, there is now a growing realisation of the unbalanced nature of migration studies which mainly concentrated on male labour migrants. Recent studies have been incorporating and focusing on women migrants not as partners of their male counterparts but as migrants in their own right.

2.2.1. Regional migration to South African farms and mines in the early 1900s

2.2.1.1. Introduction

African migration in southern Africa during the colonial era was mainly facilitated by the need to satisfy colonial obligations such as taxation and also the need to acquire new goods introduced by the colonial regime. In many ways, African migration was largely shaped by colonial forms of control and practices (Castles and Miller 2009). Mafukidze (2006) also notes that after colonisation there were intra country and international migration in southern Africa. Intra-country or internal migration was as a result of various laws passed by the colonial state which saw the movements of people either from areas designated for 'development' or the movement of people into 'reserves' or Tribal Trust Lands' in the case of Zimbabwe and Bantustans in the case of South Africa. International migration was not only a

response to the labour demands of the colonial states but also a result of wars (liberation struggles and civil wars) especially in the 1970s and 1980s. This was especially true for Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa.

Migration in the early 1900s tended to be male dominated and circulatory. During the colonial era the capitalist production that developed required labour in huge amounts such that the local labour provided by South Africans was inadequate. White mine owners and farm owners first experimented with a host of methods for getting extra migrant labour. Feinstein (2005) argues that whites first used slavery to obtain labour in 1658. When slavery was abolished in 1834 they turned to indentured labour of the Khoikhoi women and children captured through special raids. Some children were said to have been traded for food, land and other goods by the Khoikhoi. These children were known as the *inboekselinge* (Feinstein 2005: 54). With the development of the sugar industry in the late 1800s there was use of indentured labour of Indians who worked on 5 year contracts. Chinese labour was also brought into the Witwatersrand in 1904 and in 1906 there were about 50 000 Chinese working in the mines. Indentured labour mainly returned to their country of origin at the end of their contracts, though a few (Indian) remained in South Africa as 'free labour' (Feinstein 2005:55). However, the increasing demand for labour in the mines and farms led to the use of prison labour, pass laws and taxation as strategies to expropriate labour from Africans. A hut tax of 7 shillings was introduced in Natal in 1849 while 10 shillings were charged for the same tax in the Cape (Feinstein 2005).

Feinstein further elaborates that Africans were induced and encouraged to develop new wants such as European goods, clothes, liquor, guns and ploughs. He states that Africans were "steadily drawn into a cash nexus, their self contained subsistence economy was broken down and their traditional crafts...were destroyed. When they wanted cash to satisfy these newly inculcated needs they had little alternative but to enter the market to sell their labour" (Feinstein 2005:59). The needs of the growing mining industry could not be satisfied by local labour that came haphazardly. There was need to find an organised way of satisfying labour demands.

That led to the formation of a Native Labour Department in 1893 in-order to access labour from Mozambique. This subsequently led to the setting up of the Rand Native Labour Association in 1896 (Prothero 1974). This association was succeeded by the Witwatersrand

Native Labour Association (WNLA) in 1900. According to Prothero (1974) WNLA was originally planned to recruit for all industries though it subsequently limited its activities to the gold mines.

2.2.2.1. The activities of WNLA

The discovery of gold led to labour demands that could not be met internally, thus labour had to be imported. The use of Chinese and Indian indentured labour did not do much to ease these labour demands. In 1893 the Native labour department was set up to recruit labour both in Transvaal and Mozambique (Prothero 1974). In 1896 the Rand Native Labour Association was set up to organise the supply of labour and curb competition between individual employers. This organisation was later succeeded by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA). The legal mandate of WNLA was to recruit labourers from Mozambique on the basis of bilateral agreements made with Portuguese authorities in 1901, 1904, 1909 and 1913. In 1928 a new labour agreement called the Mozambique Convention was signed permitting an increase in the number of labourers that were recruited ranging from 85000 to 100000 per year (ibid 1974:385). Bilateral agreements were negotiated with neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland in order to provide labour.

In the 1930s WNLA recruited labour from Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho and Namibia. Thus central Africa witnessed a great move down south in search of better economic opportunities. This was facilitated by a variety of bilateral agreements and conventions with the above mentioned countries. In Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) WNLA had an agreement with the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) in 1901 where the terms were such that WNLA would not recruit in Rhodesia, Ngamiland or Zambezia in return for exclusive recruiting rights in Portuguese East Africa and also supplying 12 ½ percent of the workers recruited there to Rhodesia (Van Onselen 1980:85). This agreement never materialised in reality because South Africa did not send any worker to Rhodesia as it claimed that migrants were not interested in working for lower wages. In 1936 the Johannesburg Agreement was signed by Southern Rhodesia,

Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia with the aim of securing South Africa's co-operation in controlling clandestine migration from north of the Limpopo. It allowed recruitment of labour by WNLA in Nyasaland and Barotseland on an experimental basis until it was established to the satisfaction of the three governments that there was no objection on health grounds to the continued employment of Africans from north of 22 degrees latitude on the rand (Mutisi [sa]).

WNLA contracts usually ranged from 12-24 months whereupon the labourer was repatriated although he could return under a new contract as many times as possible (Prothero 1974). Labour was mainly transported by rail through the South African Railways, where WNLA paid the rail tickets for migrants in advance (Ellsworth 1985). The labour supply from Mozambique became the largest such that by 1952 30% of the migrant labour-force was from Mozambique (Prothero 1974).

The table below shows the regional impact of South Africa in the 1970s as it employed foreigners from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Analysis of this table reflects how Lesotho and Mozambique were the biggest labour suppliers between 1975 and 1986. These labourers mainly worked in gold mines. This was a result of the labour agreements made between South Africa and these countries. The table also shows how Zimbabwean migration increased during the civil war of *Gukurahundi* from 1982.

TABLE 1: FOREIGN BLACK WORKERS LEGALLY EMPLOYED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Country of origin	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Angola	623	804	69	120	68	48	44	22
Botswana	3016	29528	29169	26262	25963	26439	27814	28244
Lesotho	152188	136395	150422	140719	145791	136443	139827	138193
Malawi	39308	31772	30602	27558	29612	29268	30144	31411
Mozambique	150738	60490	59391	59323	61218	60407	68665	73186
Swaziland	16390	11981	13418	13659	16773	16823	22255	21914
Zambia	914	914	727	787	743	1274	833	2421
Zimbabwe	8897	20540	16965	11332	7742	7492	7428	7304
Other	8512	3102	995	2512	71105	71072	73998	75430
Total	414586	295026	301758	282272	358012	351260	271008	378125

Source: Leistner and Esterhuysen (cited in Mlambo 2010: 69).

During the late 1980s, however, there was a decline in the number of legal foreign workers as they were laid off from the mines. This marked a rise in undocumented or clandestine migration as regional workers still sought a better life in South African mines.

2.2.3. Zimbabwean migration between the 1880s and 1980

In the 1800s Zimbabwe was both a sending and receiving country of migration. However, it was largely a receiving country (Mlambo 2010). It mainly received migrants displaced by the Mfecane wars from Nguniland in the 1820s and 1830s. These streams of migration led to the establishment of the Ndebele kingdom in South-western Zimbabwe and the Gaza kingdom in

List of research project topics and materials

present day Mozambique. They displaced and incorporated defeated local groups in the process of their settlement such that the Ndebele state included the local Rozvi groups while the Gaza state also included sections of the Manyika and Ndau people in Zimbabwe. So when Europeans came and established borders they divided ethnic groups and communities creating artificial boundaries.

In the 1880s Zimbabwe also received migrants in the form of European explorers, missionaries and traders, eventually leading to the colonisation of the country in 1890. Thus, migration between the late 1880s and early 1900s was largely a result of this colonisation, while black migration into Zimbabwe was also partly a response to the establishment of these colonies and partly a continuation of normal routines. Zimbabwe received migrants from South Africa (white), Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi. However, Zimbabweans also migrated; first internally to work on white farms and mines and later, they moved to South Africa in search of better economic opportunities. This early migration, especially into the mines, was largely male.

Zimbabweans started off generally reluctant to work on colonial farms and mines, such that these had to rely on foreign African labour. However, when Zimbabweans eventually engaged with the colonial farms and mines they were so put off by the deplorable conditions of labour that they terminated their contracts early. Locals also preferred seasonal engagement rather than long term engagement. While both Southern Rhodesia and South Africa had mines and farms, workers preferred South African mines because of higher wages and better working conditions (Van Onselen 1978). Prospectors from the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and other European countries came to Southern Rhodesia in search of the 'second rand'. The hope for a second rand was not fulfilled as it was discovered that there were smaller mineral deposits dotted around the country. The Rhodesian mining activities took place on a smaller scale. Van Onselen (1978: 3) highlights that "the average output of a large Rhodesian mine was only one tenth of that of a Witwatersrand mine". The Rhodesian mines were also noted to generally offer lower wages, poor food rations and poor living and working conditions. Most of the deaths on Rhodesian mines were caused by diseases such as scurvy and pneumonia. Van Onselen (1980:51) comments that in the early 1900s "the greatest killers of all Rhodesian mines were diseases which could be directly attributed to the inadequate diet and poor standards of accommodation for workers". These were some of the reasons why workers moved from Rhodesian mines to South Africans mines.

The workers that migrated down south were not only from Southern Rhodesia but also from Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), Malawi (Nyasaland) and Mozambique who had worked in Rhodesian mines. Some of these workers came through recruitment by the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) while others voluntarily came to Rhodesia in order to fulfil economic and social obligations of their communities. These workers deserted Rhodesian farms and mines, migrating to South Africa where there were better wages. Foreign miners also deserted Rhodesian mines as an expression of their hatred of *chibaro* or forced labour which was characterised by long contracts for the poorest wages and conditions of labour. Commenting on the motivation for migration from Rhodesia to South Africa Van Onselen (1978:11) elaborates that:

> "....the objective of the migrant worker was to get as far south as possible. His ability to sell labour in the highest market was directly proportional to the amount of savings (in the form of food and cash) which he could muster at the outset of the journey. The more money and food he commanded the further south he could travel. The further south, the larger the wage packet he was likely to receive".

In the 1930s and 40s Zimbabwean out-migration was minimal as in-migration continued to dominate. There was an increase in white migration and an encouragement of female migration in order to fully establish the colony. The 1960s witnessed out-migration which was in response to the liberation struggle that started in 1966. This migration was largely white. This continued up to the early 1980s. The table below depicts these trends.

TABLE 2: SEX RATIO OF WHITE POPULATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA IN THE EARLY 1900S

Year	Sex ratio (male: female)
1901	2,78
1904	2,46
1911	1,94
1921	1,30
1926	1,26
1931	1,20
1936	1,16
1941	1,13
1946	1,16
1951	1,11
1956	1,07

Source: Rogers and Frantz (cited in Mlambo 2010: 59).

2.3. Regional migration to South Africa from the late 1990s to the present

The 1990s saw the post apartheid South African government signing bilateral agreements with some neighbouring countries and also signing the SADC draft protocol on the facilitation of movement of persons within the region. As a result, South Africa mainly received migrants from Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. Some migrants tended to be undocumented while others were asylum and refuge seekers from countries

within and outside the SADC region. By 1999 there were black migrants from up to 28 countries (McDonald et al 1999).

In the 1990s migrants continued to move to South Africa because of economic hardships caused by structural adjustment programmes implemented during this period. At the same time the South African gold mining industry was shrinking and laying off migrant workers (Crush and Williams 2010). Therefore, while 'legal' employees were being laid off, there was a rise in 'illegal undocumented' migrants entering South Africa. During the same period the post apartheid government announced three major amnesties to foreigners:

(i) The miners' amnesty announced in 1995. This allowed for migrant miners who had been working on contract in South Africa since 1986 to apply for permanent residency.

(ii) Amnesty for SADC nationals. This was announced in July 1996 and was meant to benefit SADC citizens who had stayed in South Africa for five years or more with the conditions that they were involved in some economic activity, had no criminal record, had married a South African spouse or had dependents born or residing in South Africa legally (Crush and Williams 2001).

(iii) Amnesty offered to Mozambican refugees who wished to stay in South Africa permanently. This took place between December 1999 and February 2000 and benefitted up to 200 000 Mozambicans (Crush and Williams 2001).

After 2000, the Immigration Act of 2002 (as amended in 2004) encouraged the migration of skilled and semi skilled workers to South Africa under the provisions of the corporate permit, quota work permit and the general work permits. South Africa and Lesotho signed a bilateral agreement (2004) that would facilitate cross border movement of migrants from Lesotho (Crush and Williams 2010).

That same period also saw a rise in female cross border migration and studies began to note a growing feminisation of migration (Adepoju 2006; Pendleton, Crush, Campbell, Green, Simelane, Tevera and De Vletter 2006; Crush and Williams 2010). These women tended to participate in the informal sector and stayed for shorter periods as compared to men who stayed longer and mostly participated in the mining industry. The rise in immigrants to South Africa was also as a result of the end of the apartheid era in 1994.

2.3.1. The causes and trends of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa between 1980 and 2009

Zimbabwean migration between 1980 and 2009 was caused by a combination of socio-political and economic factors ranging from the *Gukurahundi*, to harsh economic reforms, *Operation Murambatsvina*, the growing political intolerance and eventually the economic crisis. The early 1980s saw a rise in black migration especially from Matabeleland due to the purging by the Fifth Brigade. This purging of the Ndebele is called *Gukurahundi* and was meant to consolidate Mugabe's claim to power and silence all dissenting voices especially by destroying the ZIPRA forces which were led by Joshua Nkomo. Unfortunately, the purging took its toll on local non-military people who bore the brunt of these gruesome attacks. This consequently resulted in massive killings in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces thus setting off migration streams to South Africa and other countries. Joshua Nkomo himself fled to Britain and later came back to sign the Unity accord of 1987 which brought an end to these killings (Nkomo 2001; Stiff 2002). After 1990 migrants came from all parts of Zimbabwe pushed by the growing political intolerance and the economic crisis. These migrants were a combination of skilled and unskilled workers.

2.3.1.1. Migration of Zimbabwean skilled professionals

The causes of brain drain particularly among professionals tend to be the same throughout the various professions. The draft National Migration Management Diaspora Policy by the government of Zimbabwe (2009) outlines the reasons for migration of skilled workers as follows: "unfulfilled expectations relative to political freedoms, uncompetitive salaries, poor working conditions, limited career development and opportunities, issues of governance and social security and attendant benefits". These same reasons were identified by Chikanda (2005; 2011) regarding the flight of nurses and doctors from Zimbabwe. In the late nineties Gaidzanwa (1997) had reported that among medical professionals the causes of migration included poor working conditions (such as shortage of personal protective clothing and equipment e.g. gloves), poor opportunities to specialise, poor pay, lack of adequate supervision for junior doctors, poor technology and equipment, corruption in health services

and overworking of junior doctors. Other factors were: poor management, lack of incentives (such as staff and housing loans and other fringe benefits), frustrating grievance handling procedures, non-participation of employees in decision making on matters that concerned them and lack of career prospects.

The propensity to migrate increased if the potential migrant had friends, relatives or employment agents that give information and provide transport channels to the attractive areas. Sibanda (2001:118) maintained that among the professionals who left the country in the 1990s most had abundant information from friends and adverts as well as easily available transport facilities. This was particularly true for medical and engineering professionals.

2.3.1.2. Migration of semi skilled and unskilled Zimbabweans

At the height of the crisis in Zimbabwe, Pendleton, Crush, Campbell, Green, Simelane, Tevera and Vletter (2006) discovered that migration was no longer a rite of passage but a livelihood strategy and a career. They also noted a growing feminisation of migration in Zimbabwe where female migrants made up 44% of the Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. These were mainly involved in informal low skilled employment activities.

Generally unskilled low wage earners tended to migrate through informal, risky and irregular means. Most of these migrants entered South Africa without the necessary documents and through being smuggled by *malayitsha*, truck and bus drivers, etc. (Zinyama 2002; Solidarity Peace Trust 2004; Araia 2009). Some, among these same migrants did not seek asylum because of the prohibitive costs of doing so. Bloch (2008:06) argues that "the prohibitive costs of seeking asylum including reaching the refugee reception office to make a claim, translation costs and fees to file claims (though they are meant to be free) mean that some who might try to seek asylum end up dropping out of the system and staying in South Africa as undocumented migrants instead".

Migration literature was for a long time silent on gender issues since gender was not viewed as an important variable in understanding migration studies (Mahler and Pessar 2006). While gender does not mean female, researchers have noted the paucity of data regarding female migrants. There has been a dearth of studies on female migrants despite the fact that women have long participated in both internal and external migration (Schmidt 1988; 1990; Djamba 2003). Schmidt (1988; 1990) Barnes (1992) and Cockerton (2002) have shown that female migration into urban areas could just be as old as the urban areas themselves. Dodson (2000) states that even in migration research where gender was the primary focus, attention tended to be given to women left behind by migrant labourers rather than female migration per se. Although female migration was for a long time heavily resisted, this does not mean that females did not migrate. Historically, females did migrate even if own account migration was resisted by both colonial authorities and rural patriarchs who had varied reasons for resisting it (Schmidt 1988; Barnes 1992).

However, when female migrants were acknowledged in literature there tended to be two polar views. The first explains female migration as associational migration where women are seen as accompanying men who are the primary migrants (Mahler & Pessar 2006; Donato, Wagner and Patterson 2008). The tendency has been to view women as accompanying male migrants thus being defined as 'the family or partners' (Djamba 2003).The other view is that of female migrants as 'own account' migrants who are unattached and thus have the economic motive of fending for their families since they are almost always viewed as heads of households (for example see Muzvidziwa 2001; Lefko-Everett 2010). The problem of viewing women from these two dimensions only is that females do not always fit neatly into these categories. There are cases where married women who migrate to unite with their spouses may have their own qualifications which they seek to use in the destination country and therefore, to some extent, they have an economic motive. These are however, not recognised in literature, neither are the problems they face in trying to access the labour market. Whereas those who are said to have own account migration trajectories also have marriage aspirations. In any case, as Thadani and Todaro (1979) note, marital status is quite a fluid category. One may start the migration process as a married individual and end up divorced while another may start off single and reach their destination married. The other

problem of separating female migrants into two main categories is the tendency to view own account migration as essentially survivalist and characterised by a low level of skills of these women. Unskilled women are said to dominate the informal sector (for example Dodson 2000; Muzvidziwa 2001). This can lead to a relegation to obscurity of skilled women who migrate as professional nurses, teachers and other kinds of professionals (Pessar, 2008). Such obscurity flies in the face of growing evidence that women migrants could be facing social exclusion to the extent that they end up in non-skilled jobs and menial tasks which are below their qualifications (ibid, 2008). This was exactly what the IOM (2009) occasional paper revealed regarding female nurses in South Africa who had difficulties in registration to the extent that they ended up in menial jobs. A related problem of viewing women migrants from this perspective is to conclude that women's stay in South Africa tends to be temporary, shaped by their informal economic activities. This evaluation does not acknowledge female migrants as long term residents of South Africa. Such a view is contrary to what is currently obtaining where female migrants stay longer and participate in the formal labour market of South Africa.

The rise in female migration after 1990 was fuelled by economic decline within the region and particularly by the economic structural adjustment programmes which resulted in the retrenchment of men from the formal sector. In the 1990s female migration from Zimbabwe was very much recognised as females became cross border traders. This increased female migration resulted in greater economic independence of women thus threatening the largely patriarchal African societies (Dodson 2000; Muzvidziwa 2001). There were also female migrants who migrated as skilled professionals in the fields of nursing and teaching while others engaged in domestic and service work.

2.4. The policy of the Zimbabwean government towards emigrants

Governments are institutional agents that can affect how and when migrants are included. Government policies determine how its citizens are received in other countries, where, for example, having a concern for emigrants could result in certain bilateral agreements and political negotiations. Its policies also affect the consequences of migration, such as procedures for sending and receiving remittances (Massey 1999; Kothari 2002). Brand (2010)

discusses how a nation may choose to respond to emigration by creating different national narratives "ranging from complete exclusion to a full embrace of the development of a Diaspora" (2010:80). Variables that determine whether emigrants are embraced or ignored include the volume of migration, the destination countries they choose, the extent to which they represent a threat or challenge and the extent to which they represent a source of power or point of reference for the ruling elite. Brand (2010:85) further argues that "if emigration evolved as part of the colonial relationship, the bitter memory of this experience alone may underpin a leadership's disinclination to incorporate the emigrants in the national story". This is especially so for emigrants who went to the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada; who were at first viewed as "sell-outs" by the leadership of Zimbabwe.

Zanamwe and Devillard (2010) stress that the capacity of the Zimbabwean government to manage migration is hindered by its lack of a coherent, comprehensive, legal institutional and policy framework for implementing migration practices in an integrated manner. The actual number of migrants is not known, thus guesstimates and other crude measures are used to estimate the number of Zimbabweans outside the country. This is because of problems in data collection in national households, labour surveys and the border crossing points. However, the government is collaborating with the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in order to enumerate and build a data base for Zimbabweans in the Diaspora (IOM Newsletter 1st quarter 2011). The problem of lack of data is not confined to migration management but cuts across ministries, departments and sectors in the whole country as acknowledged by the Zimbabwe country report of 2010 (GoZ 2010).

It was only in 2004 that Zimbabwe signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with South Africa concerning Zimbabweans working in the farms of the Limpopo province. In 2007 the government established a 'home-link' programme that was mainly meant to facilitate remittances through formal channels and investment by Zimbabweans in the Diaspora and participation in migration dialogue workshops.

In 2009 Zimbabwe again met with South Africa and signed another MOU allowing for free movement between the two countries in line with the SADC protocol on facilitation of movement whereupon Zimbabweans were eligible for three months temporary visas in South Africa (Betts and Kaytaz 2009). In the same year, Zimbabwe drafted and adopted the National Migration Management Diaspora Policy. The objective of the National Migration

Management Diaspora Policy is to combine measures aimed at the retention and return of highly skilled nationals with the promotion strategies aimed at opening new channels for legal migration of low and semi-skilled workers (Draft National Migration Management and Diaspora Policy 2009; Zanamwe and Devillard 2010). Still in the same year the Zimbabwean government launched the 'human capital website' in conjunction with the International Organisation for Migration. This again mainly targets skilled workers and professionals by advertising the opportunities existing in the country (Zanamwe and Devillard 2010).

Zimbabwe's policies towards emigrants have changed from total non acknowledgement, to a realisation of their positive impact through remittances. Recognition of migrants' positive contribution especially during the Zimbabwe crisis, led to the formation of the "home-link" programme that was meant to encourage migrant investment in properties back home. There are current efforts to lure back skilled migrants, for example, in the medical, teaching and engineering profession. However, the process of re-engagement or re-appointment has been viewed as cumbersome, difficult and elitist especially for teachers and doctors (Chikanda 2011; IOM 2011 Masengwe and Machingura 2012). The other problem which may make re-engagement difficult, is the fact that the salaries of most civil servants, particularly teachers, remain low, thus discouraging would-be returnees.

2.5. The international and the South African legal framework for the protection of migrants

Globally migrants are protected by a host of international human rights conventions. These include those enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights that are meant to be enjoyed by everyone regardless of status, UN Conventions and International Labour Organisation Conventions. There are also regional (SADC) and African (AU) initiatives meant to protect migrants and refugees.

South Africa has acceded to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. It has also ratified the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, the Protocol against

the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air and the Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97) and the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143) of the International Labour Organization (Bustamante 2011).

Since joining the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1994, South Africa has adhered to the OAU Charter and to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and has acceded to the 1969 Organisation of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. South Africa is also a party to the SADC protocol on the facilitation of movement of persons (article 14) which allows Zimbabweans to enter SADC countries on a visa free visitor's permit of up to 90 days.

The following ILO and UN conventions govern the employment of migrants:

(a) the Migration and Employment Convention (revised) number 97 of 1949

(b) the Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers Convention number 143 of 1975 (De Guchteneire et al 2009).

(c) the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members (ICRMW) of Their Families of 1990. The Convention offers a range of employment and civil rights to all migrants and their families regardless of whether they are documented or undocumented.

Unfortunately to date both South Africa and Zimbabwe are not signatories of these conventions, (Bloch 2008; Crush, Williams and Nicholson 2009; Zanamwe and Devillard 2010; Crush and Tawodzera 2011). Until 2004 Zimbabwe and South Africa had no bilateral agreements concerning migrants. The situation changed in 2004 when a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) regarding Zimbabweans working on commercial farms in the Limpopo province of South Africa was signed. The MOU provided for the issuing of emergency travel documents (ETDs) which were cheaper and faster to produce than passports to Zimbabweans wishing to work on South African farms. It also provided the assurance that South African farm owners would comply with labour standards and the provisions of the 2002 Immigration Act (HRW 2006). In 2010 the two governments agreed and worked

together in the documentation process of Zimbabweans that aimed to provide legal stay for Zimbabweans that qualified for business, work and study permits.

Legislation regulating migration issues in South Africa includes the Refugees Act (1998) amended in 2011, the Immigration Act (2002) amended in 2004, the Criminal Procedure Act (Act No. 51 of 1977), the Defence Act (Act No. 42 of 2002) and the Child Care Act (1983) for minors (Bustamante 2011). Apart from these instruments, the constitution of South Africa guarantees certain fundamental rights (such as equality before the law, human dignity, security etc.) of all individuals regardless of whether they are citizens or not, though certain rights (such as voting, holding a political office etc) are reserved for South Africans (HRW 2006).

Zimbabweans can enter South Africa using any of the following avenues laid out in the Immigration Act of 2002 (amended in 2004):

(a) visas

(b) transit visas

(c) visitor's permits- where one needs to provide evidence of financial support and may not exceed 3 months or 3 years (if it is a study permit).

(d) Business permits- where one wants to establish a business venture. However, there are stringent conditions for this kind of permit as it requires a certification by a chartered accountant that the applicant has up to R2,5 million cash value among other requirements (Willand 2005).

(e) Relative's permit- where one is a family member of a citizen or a permanent resident of South Africa. An individual who uses this permit is not expected to look for work.

(f) Work permit- there are two main types of permits in this category as provided for in section 19 of the Immigration Act of 2002. These are the quota work permit (for specified professions) and the general work permit. However, in the case of the general work permit the employer must prove that after advertising the post, they are unable to employ South African citizens with the requisite skills and experience. The qualifications of the foreign workers must be evaluated by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA). The employer is also expected to provide the salaries and benefits that prevail in the market to the foreigner without discrimination. The foreign applicant must also 'provide a valid air return

ticket covering the period of stay or a deposit to the value of the same return ticket' (Willand 2005).

(g) Zimbabweans have also entered South Africa through the corporate permit as provided in section 21. This permit is issued to an organisation that wishes to employ foreigners. It is the duty of the employer to make sure that the foreigners employed comply with the Immigration Act and also to notify the director general if they have reason to believe that the foreign workers are breaching the conditions of engagement or when they are no longer needed. Again the employer is expected to provide fair labour conditions. The Department of Labour is expected to enforce these fair labour conditions. However, Bloch (2008:12), HRW (2006) and Rutherford (2010) highlight that Zimbabwean farm workers have been discriminated against as farmers ignore these provisions and there is lack of enforcement by the Department of Labour.

(i) Most of the undocumented Zimbabweans have entered South Africa on the basis of asylum seeking in the last ten years. The Immigration Act of 2002 as amended in 2004 provides for a 14 day asylum transit permit after which the individual applies for asylum as outlined in sections 21 and 22 of the Refugees Act (130 of 1998). A person may be issued with an asylum seekers' permit pending the outcome of their application for asylum according to section 22 of the Refugees' Act. That permit allows the individual to temporarily stay in South Africa pending the outcome of their application.

However, some of these Zimbabweans have been 'smuggled' into South Africa through a variety of agents that include cross border transport operators, immigration officers, South African Police officers and a host of illegal middle agents (Tevera and Zinyama 2002; Solidarity Peace Trust 2004; Araia 2009; Vigneswaran et al 2010; Maphosa 2011). These Zimbabweans are the 'illegal' foreigners who are defined as 'undesirable' and thus must be deported as set out in section 32 of the 2002 Immigration Act.

Sections 34, 41, 42 and 49 provide for the arrest and deportation of undocumented migrants either by the immigration officers or the police or both. Section 34 (1) specifically states that:

> "without the need for a warrant, an immigration officer may arrest an illegal foreigner or cause him to be arrested, and shall, irrespective of whether such foreigner is arrested, deport him or her or cause him or her to be deported and may pending

his/her deportation, detain him/her…..for not more than 30 days without a warrant of court"

However, acquisition of the warrant of court may lead to detention for up to three months (90 days).

In terms of section 41 of the Immigration Act of 2002, immigration and police officers have the power to request that individuals produce some form of identification on demand. The Immigration Act (section 41 subsection 1) provides that " …if on reasonable grounds such an immigration officer or police officer is not satisfied that such as person is entitled to be in the republic…..such immigration officer or police officer may take such person into custody without a warrant ..."

Section 38 clearly articulates that no persons shall employ illegal foreigners while section 42 of the same Act also states that illegal foreigners must not be aided in terms of housing, education and in business. According to section 49 of the Immigration Act of 2002, it is a crime to help or employ illegal foreigners.

However, there are exemptions provided in the Immigration Act of 2002 where the minister may decide to exempt certain individuals/ groups of individuals from being defined as undocumented migrants provided there are 'special circumstances' surrounding those individuals. Section 31 (2) (b) has that provision.

The Refugees Act (130 of 1998) sets out the procedures for applying for and the granting of refugee status. Section 3 states that a person qualifies to apply for a refugee status if:

"that person owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted by reason of his race, tribe, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country, or, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his/her former habitual residence is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it (country of nationality)".

The granting or rejection of refugee status is done by a trained refugee status determination officer as provided in section 22 (3a) of the Refugees Act. Section 5 (d) of the same Act states that an individual who is granted refugee status may cease to be one if he or she 'voluntarily re-establishes' himself or herself with his/her country. Most Zimbabwean migrants (who left at the height of the political and economic crisis from 2000 onwards) were compelled to move by economic necessity and thus could not be defined as refugees using the above definition. However, a few were indeed victims of political oppression in Zimbabwe.

Given the provisions of section 5 (d) most Zimbabweans did not want to apply for asylum because it meant that they would not return to their country, which was rather unfavourable since they had to remit money and material goods to their families. The South African government officials' perception that 'there is no war' in Zimbabwe often militated against Zimbabwean migrants' application for political asylum even though some of these applicants were victims of certain political and humanitarian crises such as the purging of Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) supporters and 'displacement' through *Operation Murambatsvina*/ Restore Order (Solidarity Peace Trust 2004; Human Rights Watch 2006:8; Hammar 2008).

The precarious situation of Zimbabwean migrants is captured by Betts and Kaytaz (2009:4) who highlight that Zimbabwean migrants neither fit in the legal definition of refugees nor are voluntary economic migrants. They can be defined as "survival migrants". Survival migrants are defined as people fleeing an existential threat to which they have no domestic remedy. This threat could be a result of livelihood collapse, environmental disaster or state failure.

However, section 35 (sub sections 1 and 2) of the Refugees Act allows for the designation by the minister of a certain group of people as refugees following a 'mass influx' and their accommodation in areas identified by the minister as areas for temporary reception and accommodation of asylum seekers pending the regularisation of their status in the country. The provisions of this section empowered the then Minister of Home Affairs in 2008 to create receptions centres for Zimbabweans after the outbreak of cholera although Zimbabweans were never really defined as refugees. Some Zimbabweans were granted asylum status but following the congestion of the asylum system the South African

government then announced provisions for twelve-month special dispensation permits to Zimbabweans in April 2009.

After the announcement concerning the special dispensation permits to Zimbabweans in April 2009, Zimbabweans could apply for work or study permits in South Africa provided they qualified to do so. In September 2010 the then DHA embarked on the ZDP to encourage Zimbabweans to regularise and legalise their stay. According to the DHA (2010) in order to get a work permit the applicant needed to satisfy the following conditions:

1. Have a valid passport
2. Prove that they were in South Africa prior to 31 December 2010
3. Stamped passport showing that they entered the country legally
4. Letter from the employer stating that they are employed by a registered company
5. Documents proving that the employer is a registered company
6. Affidavit from the police stating that the applicant is employed at the previously mentioned company.

This is the current state of affairs regarding the legal framework of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. There are obvious problems with such provisions thus facilitating the use of various coping mechanisms to deal with the new socially exclusive institutional requirements. These problems reflect elements of as institutional bias as discussed by Kabeer (2000) in Chapter Three, where genuine unintentional institutional requirements disadvantage certain sections of the population which fail to meet the criteria. For example, the conditions outlined above do not cover those in informal employment or those employed by non registered companies. This is with the full knowledge that even in the formal employment sector some employers have been reluctant to write letters of proof that they employ Zimbabwean migrants- a fact acknowledged by the Director General (South Africa, DHA 2011). This is because the employers may not meet the provisions for employing foreigners through the corporate permit and the general work permit.

2.6. The migration state

Migration scholars deem the current era as the 'age of migration', while the modern state is viewed as a migration state (Massey 1999; Castles and Miller 2009; Skeldon 2010). This research adopts the concept of the 'migration state' by Massey (1993) to show how modern states differ from the ones that existed before the 1950s, much of the difference being attributed to processes of globalisation, changes in international laws and changes in the needs of capitalists. By using this term I want to emphasise the global nature of migration issues and the rise to prominence of supra-national bodies, sometimes curtailing the power of the modern nation state. I argue that the term migration state can be applied and used to describe South Africa and understand migration processes in the country from this perspective.

Tracing the history of migration globally, Massey (2003) delineates four historical periods characterising migration. These are: the mercantile period (1500-1800s) characterised by migration from Europe which stemmed from processes of colonisation and economic growth under mercantile capitalism. The second stage is that influenced by the industrialisation of Europe in the 19th century. This again was stimulated by economic growth in these countries as Europeans immigrated to colonies as a result of the growth and spread of capitalism. The third historical era is the 'period of limited migration'. This roughly falls between 1910 and 1950s where because of the two world wars and the Great Depression there was limited economic growth. The migration that was there tended to be that of refugees. The fourth historical moment is the post-industrial migration. This, according to Massey (1993), was characterised by immigration to rather than emigration from European countries. The immigrants came from less developed countries that were in their earliest stages of development. This started in the 1960s. This fourth historical era has deepened and characterises current migration flows where "immigration is a natural consequence of broader processes of social, political and economic integration across international borders" (Massey 1993:24). From Massey's perspective (ibid) we are still in the fourth era where migration is a consequence of complex social, economic and political factors. That this also applies to Zimbabwean migration to South Africa is evidenced by the discussion of the historical trends in section 2.2 and 2.3.

The current era is deemed to be the 'age of migration', while the modern state is viewed as a migration state (Massey 1999; Castles and Miller 2009; Skeldon 2010). South Africa can be classified as a migration state if one considers some of the main characteristics of such a state as outlined by Castles and Miller (2009). These authors maintain that the migration state is characterised by the following general tendencies: (a) the globalisation of migration where immigrant countries are receiving migrants from many source countries, (b) the growing volumes of migration, (c) different groups of migrants - for example, refugees, labour migrants, students and trafficked individuals, (d) the growing feminisation of migration, (e) the politicisation of migration issues and (f) the growing number of receiving countries that now serve as both immigrant and transit countries, for example, Spain, Italy and Greece.

In his argument concerning the 'postmodern paradox', Massey (1999:310) argues:

> "While the global economy unleashes powerful forces that produce larger and more diverse flows of migrants from the developing to developed countries, it simultaneously creates conditions within developed countries that promote the implementation of restrictive immigration policies. These countervailing forces intersect at a time when artificial constraints to emigration from several populous regions have been eliminated... and when developing countries increasingly find it in their interests to promote international labour migration".

This condition is also referred to by Hollifield (2004) as the "liberal paradox thesis". Hollifield (2004: 2010) posits that migration is both a cause and consequence of political and economic change. Whereas the 20th century was dominated by what Hollifield (2004) refers to as the garrison state, contemporary migration movements are threatening the security of this state through the opening of national borders. Thus, the modern state has now increasingly become a migration state. Hollifield (2004:901) asserts that migration, particularly irregular migration, poses a security and sovereignty challenge. He further argues that "states are trapped in a liberal paradox" - where in order to maintain competitive advantage, governments must keep their economies and societies open to trade, investment and migration. However, unlike goods, capital and services, the movement of people can violate the principle of sovereignty which requires a degree of territorial closure. Thus, the modern developed state, finds itself in a very uncomfortable situation where it must regulate migration while allowing for some degree of 'openness'. Moreover, Beck (2000) argues that

the world has entered a 'second age of modernity', where human rights precede international law and where the power of the nation-state is increasingly being curtailed by supra-national bodies. This is increasingly making it difficult for the nation state to regulate migration, resulting in contestations regarding migration management policies.

In some cases, these contestations have resulted in the crafting of restrictive migration policies which involve increasing deportations, surveillance and the harassment of migrants. This has, however, not lessened the migration flows, especially those of irregular migrants who have also crafted more and more dangerous and costly strategies of migration (Lyberaki, Triandafyllindou, Petronoti and Gropas 2000; Donato, Wagner & Patterson 2008; Broeders 2009; McDowell and Wonders 2010; Lefko-Everett 2010; McGregor 2010; Bloch, Sigona and Zetter 2011; Sigona 2012). While these repressive immigration laws may not be effective in the long run, they serve the political purpose of ensuring the 'visibility' of the state through law enforcement state agents. They also represent technologies of control by the state. Such a move is popular with citizens and ensures their vote. These citizens' voices have with time become louder and louder as most citizens in Canada, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Russia, Botswana and South Africa are generally hostile to immigration and mildly xenophobic (Massey 1999; Massey 2003; McDowell and Wonders 2010; Minter 2011). However, it is not easy to deal with migrants.

2.6.1. Why it is not so easy to deal with migrants

The central argument is that migration policy is an often contradictory response to pressure from a variety of interest groups. Castles (2004) highlights how the migration state struggles to reconcile the interests of various stakeholders such that migration management policies tend to be contradictory and contain hidden agendas. This is partly because migrants offer cheap labour without social and welfare costs to the state and also because of the various stakeholders involved in the process of migration. These various stakeholders such as the sending country, the receiving country, citizens, migrant groups and international and domestic agencies have different interests that affect the formulation of migration management policies (Massey 1999). Castles (2004) further maintains that the modern migration state contains a host of transnational communities which also have an influence on

migration management policies. The various factors shaping state migration management policies render the whole process a complex exercise of compromises and contradictions (Castles and Miller 2009; Polzer, Kiwanuka and Takabvirwa 2010).

2.6.1.1. The postwar settlement: the rise and fall of the welfare state

The rise in immigration and the interest in migration in Western countries can be understood by evaluating the post World War Two settlement and the rise and fall of the welfare state. These events ushered the 'fourth era' of migration leading to the migration state. After the Second World War Western countries engaged in the reconstruction of their economies - a process that was characterised by state regulation of the market and intensification of welfare and social protection mechanisms. This became known as the 'postwar settlement'. During this time western economies went through the 'golden age' which lasted up to the late 1960s and early 1970s. The 'golden age' was characterised by mass production and consumption, high levels of economic growth and collaboration between the state and trade unions. The 'postwar welfare state' as it came to be known was characterised by a mixed economy which comprised Keynesian welfare states and social democratic policies (Gelderblom, Martin and Mendelsohn 2012:54-55). In Britain during this period there was compulsory and free secondary education until the age of 15. There was the passing of the National Health Service Act which made health care free at the point of access while social protection was increased through the passing of the Family Allowance Act, National Insurance Act and National Assistance Act (Dixon 2005). Between 1945 and 1970 there were generally strong trade unions that co-operated closely with the state.

The welfare state started declining in the 1970s as Western countries' profits and growth rates began to fall. The full employment and high wages offered to workers had made trade unions more powerful and militant while at the same time they enjoyed social protection through various welfare schemes. The oil crisis and competition from Asian countries such as Japan and China reduced profits ultimately leading countries to curtail welfare benefits and worker power and increasing the deregulation of the economy and privatisation of state enterprises (Dixon 2005; Gelderblom et al 2012). As governments loosened their hold over the economy

the interests of capitalists became important. Some of these interests involved increased transnational activities. This necessarily involved immigration of cheap labour.

While South Africa's history is different from the one narrated above concerning the postwar settlement, the same argument can be made about the needs of capitalists the world over. Capitalists favour a more open policy towards immigration to increase the labour supply, reduce wages and keep labour markets flexible, whereas the interests of the poor require a more restrictive policy (Massey 1999). This means there is a contradiction between the interests of capitalists and the poor workers. These contradictions are exposed clearly in Chapter Six which discusses the interests of employers in their preference for foreign (in this case Zimbabwean) workers vis-a-vis the perceived reactions of local South African workers.

It is therefore essential to consider the responses of receiving societies, such as South Africa, in terms of the unequal distribution of advantages and disadvantages flowing from migration. Big capitalists/Multi national corporations' ideas are related to their capitalist interests, while the poor people's interests are at risk because of massive migration. Massey (1999: 307) explains that "unskilled native workers lose most when immigration expands". This is because most immigrant workers make the precarious position of local workers in the labour market even more insecure as they have become actual or potential competitors for unskilled and semi- skilled jobs and the few benefits of the welfare state.

2.6.1.2. The interests of transnational and migrant groups

In countries such as the USA, migrants can help determine the presidential vote. In the recently ended 2012 presidential elections, a contest between Obama and Romney, migrants helped sway the vote for Obama based on his promised relaxation of the migration management policy and his instruction to stop the deportation of undocumented migrants just before the vote. The sheer numbers of undocumented migrants in the USA make it difficult for any policy maker to ignore them. In the USA migrants make up 50 million or 16,3% of the population where 1 in 6 Americans now claims Latino heritage. Such numbers can easily swing votes in any particular direction (Swong 2012).

Migration and migration management issues have taken centre stage in this new migration state such that migration has become big business. The World Bank (2011:ix) estimates that there are more than 215 million international migrants in the world while South- South migration is higher than the migration from south to developed countries. This means that most migrants tend to stay within the region rather than travel across regional boundaries.

Castles (2002; 2004) posits that migration is a booming industry that is self perpetuating. This migration industry is facilitated by migrant networks (Massey 1987; 1990; 1993; 1999). Castles and Miller (2009: 201) argue that the migration industry "embraces a broad spectrum of people who earn their livelihood by organising migratory movements". The migration industry incorporates agencies in the place of origin that assist with job search, travel offers by both legal and illegal transporters, as well as businesses and services at the destination country (for example businesses selling goods such as clothing and food 'from home') (Elrick 2008:2; McGregor 2010). Bankers, lawyers, labour recruiters, interpreters, housing agents and brokers are among the many agents that have a direct stake in the industry and they would like it to continue despite state efforts to restrict migration. Therefore, migration (especially undocumented migration), may ensure continuation of the services of some of these agents as it has become a lucrative business and also because the migration process becomes one of cumulative causation (Donato, Wagner and Patterson 2008).

The theory of cumulative causation by Massey (1990) states that as more and more individuals migrate and create network connections in the destination country, this lowers the costs (psychic and monetary) and risks of migration, which induce additional migration and ultimately create more network connections. These networks create social structures that maintain and sustain migration. Massey (1990:17) argues: "networks bring about cumulative causation of migration because every new migrant reduces the costs of migration for a set of non- migrants, thereby inducing some of them to migrate, creating new network ties to the destination area for another set of people, some of whom also are induced to migrate, creating more network ties and so on".

A deeper understanding of the South African economy could reveal why Zimbabweans are socially excluded and account for their different forms of inclusion in the sectors where they participate. In this section I argue that xenophobia is a rational response of the poor unskilled locals who have to contend with competition for jobs from many foreigners who may sometimes have better human capital than them, thus attracting employer preference. In some cases, the foreigners become the preferred type of workers because of their vulnerability (inability to exercise their labour rights) and the flexibility employers have in engaging and discharging casual labour.

Upon attainment of majority rule in 1994, the South African government inherited a labour market characterised by racial inequality, international economic isolation, economic policies that favoured capital over labour, high rates of unemployment and underemployment and low rates at which productive employment was being created in the economy (Standing, Sender and Weeks 1996; Posel 2003; Burger and Woolard 2005). In 1996 Standing et al reported that poverty and inequality in South Africa have 4 main dimensions - race, gender, age and region. In 2006 Pillay, Tomlison and Du Toit highlighted that in the African and coloured labour-force 38,7% were without employment while 56,5% were without formal employment. In the same year Kingdon and Knight (2006) reported the unemployment rate to be at 40 per cent. Leibbrandt, Woolard, McEwen and Koep (2009) noted that in 2008 whites still earned 4.4 times more than Africans on average earnings. Blacks and women tended to be concentrated in the 'secondary labour market areas' such as domestic work and they tended to be less educated.

The new government embarked on a mission to address the socio-political economic challenges generated by the apartheid regime. The efforts by the new government to redress the apartheid-generated imbalances are what I am referring to as the post-apartheid settlement. This settlement is discussed in the section below. Among the changes brought in by the new government were new labour laws which created inflexibility on the part of employers, making permanent labour costly and unattractive as compared to casual and part-time labour.

The post-apartheid government inherited a deeply stratified society characterised by discrimination, unemployment, lack of education and skills and poverty especially among blacks. It then had the task of building reconciliation and integration while extending welfare, public services and basic needs (such as education, housing, transport, electricity, health, nutrition and water) to the hitherto marginalised black population. These goals were pursued through the economic policies of the new democratic government.

The period 1994-1996 saw the introduction of two different macroeconomic policy frameworks: the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 and Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996. The main aims of RDP included the redistribution of resources, democratisation of institutions and meeting the basic needs of the people through government initiatives (South Africa, White Paper 1994). The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy of 1996 mainly slanted towards less government intervention and more neoliberal reforms to attract private investors. This policy shift combined with the global economic crisis had negative outcomes for the poor as government concentrated on economic discipline rather than further redistribution and poverty relief (Terreblanche 1999). Consequently, such a move resulted in the massive loss of unskilled jobs with competition for them becoming even fiercer.

Unfortunately, these same individuals had to contend with regional migrants who were allowed by the new government to settle in the country through three main amnesties to foreigners (amnesty to miners, SADC nationals and amnesty to Mozambican refugees. This has been discussed in section 2.3). Part of the post apartheid settlement was the recognition of regional nationals through these amnesties. These developments made the situation of poor South Africans desperate as they could not enjoy the fruits of their new found freedom alone because part of the 'settlement' with those offered amnesty were promises of permanent residency and the resultant equal access (with locals) to services and resources in the country. It is not surprising then that some locals saw migrants as adding to their economic problems. This situation is exacerbated by politicians such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Maggie Maunye who have taken advantage of the locals' perceptions of vulnerability inciting them to call for stricter border controls for fear of 'losing RDP benefits' (Hungwe 2012a). It is also in

the same context that many Zimbabwean immigrants entered South Africa pushed by unfavourable socio-economic and political factors.

The effects of globalisation and the inclusion of South Africa in the world economy (in the early 1990s) brought positive and negative outcomes for employers and workers. For the poor unskilled workers, they have mainly been negative. The reactions of most local semi-skilled and unskilled South Africans to the competition for jobs and services from foreigners have been characterised by xenophobia. On the part of the big capitalist employers, the reaction is that of exploitation of cheap immigrant labour.

2.6.2.2. New labour laws and the South African labour market

This section summarises the changes in labour laws highlighting what I consider to be the most important pieces of legislation. It also shows the effects of these labour laws on the attractiveness of permanent labour (largely local labour) versus casual and part-time labour (largely dominated by migrants). The section ends by revealing the current situation of the South African labour market showing how the employer demands have shifted towards a preference for skilled labour and the increasing rates of discouraged workers. Some have responded to the harsh economic situation by engaging in self-employment.

Burger and Woolard (2005:3) argue that the new government introduced labour laws that were meant to cater for the previously excluded groups of workers. The following were passed:

1.   The Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997. This Act provides for the improvement of labour market standards through the setting of minimum wages by the Minister of Labour and the bargaining council. It extended the coverage of labour standards to workers in sectors that were previously unprotected such as farm workers. The Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Act of 2002 was passed to further extend its coverage, clarify, regulate and substitute definitions of certain terms such as a 'day' 'benefit fund' and an 'employee'. It sets the ordinary hours of work at 8 hours for employees who work more than 5 days a week and not more than 9 hours for employees who work up to 5

days a week. The Act also provides for 21 annual leave days for each annual leave cycle (section 20). These provisions are the most violated by employers of migrant workers.

2.   The Labour Relations Act of 1996 promotes collective bargaining as a means of wage determination as well as statutory councils and strengthening union rights.

3.   The Employment Equity Act (55 of 1998) requires employers to reduce 'disproportionate' wage differentials between workers, including the implementation of firm level employment equity plans that must be drawn up and reported on by all employers other than small firms (Burger and Woolard 2005:3). Chapter two of the Act prohibits unfair discrimination on the basis of race, gender, colour, pregnancy, language, culture etc. The Act also seeks to achieve workplace equity by affirmative action of previously disadvantaged groups (referred to as designated groups- including blacks, women and the disabled).

According to Leibbrandt, Woolard, McEwen and Koep (2009) the South African labour market has often been viewed by employers as characterised by inflexibility and strict labour legislation concerning hiring and firing of workers, adhering to bargaining council agreements and labour laws covering permanent workers. This has made employers opt for casual and part-time workers. There has indeed been an increase in casual and part-time work between 1993 and 2008. This has made migrant labour more attractive as migrants provide the bulk of casual, part-time labour.

The characteristics of the South African labour market according to Statistics South Africa (2010) and South Africa, Department of Labour (2011) are as follows:

(a)   the unemployment rate was 25%.
(b)   the number of discouraged work seekers increased by 51,4% between 2009 and the first quarter of 2010. The Quarterly Labour-Force Survey (Statistics South Africa 2010: 17) defines a discouraged worker as a person "who was not employed during the reference period, wanted to work, was available to work/ start a business but did not take active steps to find work during the last four weeks (prior to the survey) provided that the main reason given for not seeking work was any of the following: no jobs available in the area; unable to find work requiring his/her skills, no hope of finding any kind of work".

(c) a large percentage of the labour-force only had a primary education. More than two million did not complete secondary education. Kingdon and Knight (2002) argue that due to apartheid and prior discrimination in the education system, black children received inferior education to white children. These could be the adults that are participating in the labour market using their primary education.

(d) more and more people remain unemployed for periods longer than one year.

(e) the South African economy is in a transition towards demand for more skilled than unskilled labour.

(f) employment opportunities that were created during the FIFA World Cup were those mostly in the informal and construction sectors, they were mainly temporary and they ended after the event (Statistics South Africa, 2010:17).

(g) the rate of unemployment was very high in the 15-34 age group.

(h) the whites and Indians/Asians generally had lower rates of unemployment than blacks/Africans.

(i) generally the unemployment rate of men was lower (23,4%) than that of women (27,3%).

Analysis of the South African labour market reveals that there is a high rate of unemployment among blacks and there is competition for jobs in especially the semi-skilled and unskilled areas while the skilled areas have a shortage of labour. There is also a rise in self employment and entrepreneurship especially among migrants.

The developments in the post apartheid South African economy have rendered unskilled local labour vulnerable and open to competition from foreign labour whose numbers have been increasing. The challenges in the economy have created despair on the part of the poor who face difficult access to public resources and jobs. Migrants have become easy targets and scapegoats for the economic challenges that the poor face. This is linked to the main problem of post apartheid South Africa's failure to deliver economic progress and basic services to the majority of poor black South Africans (Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini and Kirsten 2011). This problem has been compounded by the added burden of taking on huge populations of economic migrants from neighbouring countries, thereby stretching the limited economic resources even further.

2.7. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to trace the global and regional contexts of migration, while also discussing the forms of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa over the past hundred or so years. Zimbabweans have not always been the largest group of migrants in South Africa. This is because in the early 1900s Zimbabwe was largely a receiving rather than a sending country. Political instability and economic crises have been responsible for the migration of Zimbabweans to South Africa and other countries in the late 1900s. Zimbabweans seem to be largely motivated by economic gains more than anything else in South Africa. The challenges of the post apartheid South African economy have been discussed showing the precarious position of poor, unskilled and semi-skilled local workers who have to contend with the increasing casualisation of jobs and competition from migrant workers. These are the major sources of xenophobic attitudes of some South Africans. This creates a context for understanding why Zimbabweans and other foreigners are at risk of social exclusion in South Africa, raising the need for various coping mechanisms.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUALISING SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1. Introduction

In conceptualizing social exclusion of Zimbabweans the thesis raises five main arguments: (a) social exclusion is about competition and distribution of scarce resources, (b) it is about lack of social cohesion and bonds, (c) it is about disadvantaged participation, or inclusion on unfavourable terms, of members belonging to devalued groups. Social exclusion is about inequality and having a devalued identity, (d) the Zimbabwean identity is a devalued identity. This explains why some migrants are motivated to quickly shed it off or conceal it and (e) social exclusion is facilitated by activities of individuals and institutional processes. These are agents of social exclusion.

Social exclusion can be negotiated to some extent. The process of negotiation represents the migrants' tactics for survival. These tactics depend much on an individual's command of social capital. Nevertheless, the type of social capital may also plunge an individual into social exclusion especially where this social capital, in the form of social networks, functions negatively to limit an individual's horizon and creativity. Social capital in the form of strong migrant ties may only help the individual to get along with those belonging to their group rather than the larger society. To that extent therefore, social networks themselves may function to exclude individuals belonging to them from the larger society thus reducing chances of integration and increasing levels of encapsulation.

This chapter provides a broader understanding of the concept of social exclusion as it applies to immigrants. While social exclusion is largely a European concept that was meant to explain the marginalisation of citizens within certain national boundaries (such as the poor, disabled, sexual minorities, divorced people), there are merits in extending this argument to understanding migrants as citizens of a globalised world. In order to advance this argument, I make use of the concepts of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism which explain the consequences of globalisation. The International bodies such as the United Nations and the

International Labour Organisation (which were discussed in Chapter Two) have also come up with legal instruments that define the rights of workers and human beings in a broader perspective that transcends national boundaries. This sets the scene for the understanding of social exclusion from a global perspective.

At the end of the chapter, I suggest an analytical framework to study the forms of social exclusion faced by Zimbabwean migrants. The framework discusses how institutions create rules of participation and how these rules are exclusionary. It also argues that public officials in government departments participate in social exclusion of migrants through their differential treatment of them. These represent the state and may sometimes go beyond the call of duty in the execution of their tasks either to the advantage or the detriment of the migrants.

3.2. Defining social exclusion

3.2.1. The history of the concept

There is such a variety of definitions of and debates on social exclusion such that the term has been viewed as vague and not worthy of use in any serious academic debate. Social exclusion has become a concept discussed sometimes as an alternative for such concepts as poverty, deprivation, marginalisation, isolation and multiple disadvantages. However, the merits of the concept outweigh the confusion that surrounds it.

The term social exclusion gained currency in the late 1960s and early 1970s when most European countries were dealing with the crisis of the welfare state, high unemployment and slow economic growth. It is mostly associated with the French policy maker Rene Lenoir who in 1974 discovered that a large number of people, almost a tenth of the population, were not protected by social security (Atkinson 1998; Percy-Smith 2000; Saith 2001; Lelkes 2006). These were the 'excluded' ones. Daly and Silver (2008) contend that social exclusion can be traced to French republicanism, social Catholicism and social democracy. They further argue that "the influence of democratic and social catholic thought is to be seen in the

concept's interest in respectively, redistributive state policies and the strength of familial groups and social ties and obligations" (Daly and Silver 2008:541). In sociological studies, social exclusion is mainly founded on the ideas of Emile Durkheim concerning social solidarity and Max Weber concerning status groups and social closure (Silver 1994; Levitas, Pantoras, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd and Patsios 2007).

The concept of social exclusion was adopted in the European Union in 1989 when the council of ministers of the EU passed a resolution calling for action to combat social exclusion. A research network, 'the observatory', was then set up to monitor national studies and policies on social exclusion (Room 1999:166). It became very popular in European countries, such that in Britain a social exclusion unit and a centre for analysis of social exclusion were formed in 1997 (Atkinson 1998; Percy-Smith 2000).

The British policymakers came up with the Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM) which contains domains that can be used in social exclusion studies. These are:

Resources: material/economic resources, access to public and private services; social resources.

Participation: economic participation; social participation; culture, education and skills.

Quality of life: health and wellbeing; living environment, crime, harm and criminalisation.

Levitas (2004) proceeded to classify the discourse of social exclusion into three categories:

(a)   the redistributive discourse (RED) - this approach views social exclusion as a consequence of poverty. According to this approach social exclusion can be ended through raising benefit levels to reduce poverty.

(b)   the social integration discourse (SID) - this approach views social exclusion as resulting from nonparticipation in the labour-force. Therefore paid work is viewed as the integrative force for all individuals of working age in society. The excluded are those that cannot participate in the labour-market. This seems to be the discourse in

the United Kingdom where social exclusion is mainly defined in terms of unemployment. However, the problem with this approach is that it does not consider how paid work may exacerbate exclusion through long asocial working hours that may block other forms of social participation. Again it glosses over issues of poorly paid jobs. It also devalues unpaid nonmarket jobs.

(c)   The moral underclass discourse (MUD) - this approach emphasises moral and cultural causes of poverty and the moral problems of households whose members are viewed as moral hazards. From this perspective poverty and social exclusion are said to be a result of attitudes, behaviours and culture of certain classes, neighbourhoods and households. Atkinson and Divaudi (2000) noted that in Denmark the socially excluded were those that displayed deviant modes of behaviour such as drug addicts, criminals and the mentally ill thus the morally depraved individuals.

While there has been an adoption of analysis of social exclusion in various European countries, there have also been various versions of social policies crafted in line with how different countries understand and define this concept. For example, Atkinson and Divaudi (2000) noted that in Denmark the socially excluded were those that displayed deviant modes of behaviour such as drug addicts, criminals and the mentally ill, while in the United Kingdom social exclusion was mainly defined in terms of unemployment.

Many groups may be said to be socially excluded in a society. In fact, Peace (2001) identifies more than ten categories of the excluded. Such may include: women, those belonging to certain religious and linguistic groups, the long term or recurrently unemployed, the low paid and poor, the landless, child labourers, the mentally ill, the politically disenfranchised, those needing, but ineligible for public assistance, the lonely, without friends or family; those on public assistance, the handicapped, refugees and migrant labourers, those with criminal records and substance abusers (Silver 1995: 85). Social exclusion is an important factor in understanding the complex disadvantages and inequalities that a variety of groups, including migrants and ethnic minorities face in modern society. In relation to migrants, the argument is that if they are excluded and disadvantaged particularly in their participation in the labour market, this may affect their children who may inherit their marginalisation. Social exclusion is a process that is facilitated by certain agents such as the employers, banks, hospitals and government departments. Atkinson (1998:14) argues that:

> "Exclusion implies an act with an agent or agents. People may exclude themselves in that they drop out of the market economy or they may be excluded by the decisions of banks who do not give credit, or insurance companies who will not provide cover…. In terms of failure to achieve the status of inclusion, we may be concerned not just with the person's situation, but also the extent to which he or she is responsible".

While certain individuals may exercise their agency and voluntarily exclude themselves from others (which is what Barry [1998] refers to as social isolation), Barry (1998) cautions that what may be deemed as voluntary isolation may sometimes be a reaction to experiences of discrimination and hostility. In such a situation while the act of withdrawal is voluntary the context does not offer an individual much choice thus socially excluding them. Atkinson (1998) and Kabeer (2000) further highlight that social exclusion entails discrimination and unfavourable inclusion.

3.2.2. Understanding social exclusion as it applies to Zimbabwean migrants

I conceptualise social exclusion as being about lack/denial of access to opportunities /advantages because of an individual's identity. My starting point is identity where I argue that who you are determines the resources that can be availed to you, such that ultimately who you are ends up determining what you have or can have. That is why Zimbabweans respond to stigmatisation and marginalisation by concealing their identity or lessening Zimbabwean identity markers. Adopting South African identities determines what Zimbabweans can have or what they can claim as theirs.

I further argue that belonging to a devalued group is not voluntary. In this case being Zimbabwean is not voluntary although one can do something about it by adopting South African citizenship and South African culture. This is where social connections become important in providing the individual with the needed social and financial resources to change or conceal identity. Social exclusion is actively promoted by individuals and institutions and sometimes by networks of the excluded. So while social networks can lessen lack of integration, if they do not span ethnic boundaries, they may not promote integration. Therefore, whether or not one is documented may not really be as important as knowing that

one is still Zimbabwean. The problem is with being Zimbabwean (but in some cases it is with being Shona or Ndebele in different circumstances - the exclusion of Zimbabweans by other Zimbabweans).

3.2.2.1. The main perspectives informing this study

This thesis analyses three main perspectives of social exclusion. I adopt the third view as the conceptual framework guiding the study. The first view is that of social exclusion as relational - concerned with social bonds, attachment and social cohesion (Room 1999). The second one is about social exclusion as an outcome of distributional injustice which leads to adverse incorporation (Kabeer 2000; Sen 2000). This means that some individuals may not have adequate access to resources and may thus participate in the economic sphere on unfavourable terms. This perspective acknowledges that no individuals can be totally excluded. There is an element of inclusion which involves 'unfavourable terms of inclusion' or 'adverse incorporation' in the labour market that tends to perpetuate social exclusion, (Sen 2000; Carr and Chen 2004). This idea is further developed by Kabeer ([sa]: 9) who highlights that social exclusion does not entail a binary model of distinguishing 'those who are in from those who are out'. Social exclusion must be analysed from the perspective where the socially excluded may participate on 'disadvantaged terms', participating in poor, dangerous, very harsh working conditions.

The third view is that social exclusion incorporates both relational and distributional aspects. This perspective is pursued by Levitas et al (2007: 9) who regard social exclusion as a complex and multidimensional process:

> "It involves the lack of or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole".

I adopt the third view to social exclusion where I combine the arguments of Levitas et al (2007) and Kabeer (2000) to define social exclusion of migrants as: lack of, denial of or inadequate access to resources, goods and services and the inability to participate in the common activities of the host community, facilitated by certain institutional rules, processes and mechanisms as well as the activities of other individuals. From this perspective social exclusion incorporates discrimination and stigmatisation of migrants because they have a devalued identity as *makwerekwere*. This view is supported by a growing body of literature in Greece which reveals the connection between racism and social exclusion of and discrimination against Albanian migrants (see King and Mai 2004; Mai 2005; Hatziprokopiou 2006; Lazaridis & Koumandraki 2007).

This argument on devaluation and stigmatisation is further developed by Reidpath, Chan, Gifford and Allotey (2005). These authors link social devaluation and social exclusion to competition for limited resources. They argue that the devaluation of certain groups causes them to be defined as out-groups and become socially excluded. They further trace this social devaluation to an individual's failure to reciprocate a good deed. For example, the poor may experience a decrease in their social value because of their inability to reciprocate good deeds. They maintain that:

> "It is the very limitation of social resources that creates the need for the development of rules to govern their equitable allocation. Stigmatisation appears to be both a powerful mechanism for controlling the flow of social resources and an enormous hindrance to social justice" (Reidpath et al 2005:472).

This implies that in times of stiff competition for resources, we can expect more and more individuals to be stigmatised as a way of limiting the few scarce resources to the people who belong to the 'in-group'. This is a deliberate measure of boundary maintenance that allows insiders to monopolise these resources (Silver 1994). Drawing from this analysis Reidpath et al (2005) came up with the following three groups of the individuals that are likely to be excluded from society:

> 1.   People who can, but will not reciprocate acts of kindness. With reference to migrants, such people are those portrayed by the media as

criminals, untrustworthy and elicit a strong moral response from citizens of the host country. These are the undocumented migrants and 'border jumpers', asylum seekers who try to gain entry into the country by unscrupulous means, thus cheating the system. In South Africa, Crush and Tawodzera (2011) noted that most South Africans believed that the majority of refugee claims are bogus.

2.   People who are unable to reciprocate acts of kindness. With regards to migrants these would be the refugees or those granted asylum, who because of certain regulations tied with their status, cannot participate fully in the economy and thus remain poor and fail to reciprocate.

3.   People who will leave a community before they have an opportunity to reciprocate an act of kindness. This category would refer to all migrants in general who by virtue of their migrant status tend to be impermanent. "This makes the provision of social services and resources to be readily characterised as a wasteful expenditure, because as impermanent members of the community, they have diminished capacity to reciprocate in the future any kindness offered now" (Reidpath et al 2005:473).

The above views by Reidpath et al (2005) reveal how social exclusion is about the distribution of scarce resources and the devaluation of certain group who end up being perceived as 'outsiders' of a community. Therefore social exclusion constrains both access to resources, goods and service and participation in social life threatening social cohesion and integration.

To further elaborate this notion is Kabeer's (2000) argument that social exclusion arises from two main forms of disadvantage: economic and cultural disadvantage. Consequently, the disadvantages lead to injustice in society. Kabeer (2000:84) states that social exclusion results in two forms of injustice: "economic - (that is, through exploitation, marginalisation and deprivation of the poor) and cultural (through attempts by dominant groups to routinely devalue, disparage and 'invisibilise' certain social groups)". She further argues that in between the economic and cultural forms of injustice are hybrid forms of injustices giving

rise to what Fraser (cited in Kabeer 2000:84) calls bivalent collectivities. These are social groups for whom economic disadvantage is tied up with cultural disadvantage. She gives an example of gender which creates cultural disadvantages for women. Gender is a bivalent category that has a political economic dimension of structuring the distribution of labour, property and other valued resources in society. Other examples are race, ethnicity and caste. These categories are bivalent because there are already cultural valuations of certain races, ethnicities (for example blacks in most European countries and the United States of America) and gender (for example women). In this list I am adding migrant status or foreignness as a bivalent category which leads to the devaluation of foreigners and thus causing their exclusion in the economic and social spheres. This is especially important in a situation where migrants are devalued as "*makwerekwere*". Therefore the starting point is having a devalued identity which leads to discrimination and disadvantaged participation in the social and economic spheres eventually leading to social exclusion. Public and private institutions and their officials can increase devaluation and social exclusion. These actors actively participate in the creation and perpetuation of a devalued identity which results in further social exclusion and the cycle continues.

3.2.3. Agents of social exclusion

The thesis analyses social exclusion as an active process that is facilitated by individuals, private and public institutions. Kabeer (2000) argues that social exclusion is facilitated by institutions. She states that institutions distribute symbolic and material resources and also determine rules about membership and access. What is critical in Kabeer's (2000) analysis is the active nature of institutions in perpetuating social exclusion. She articulates the three ways in which institutional practices maintain the social exclusion of devalued groups:

(a) institutional bias - where the procedures and predominant values of institutions operate systematically and consistently to benefit certain persons and groups at the expense of others. She further points out that "institutional bias may operate to exclude those who might threaten the status quo without conscious decisions being taken by those who represent the status quo or indeed any awareness on their part (those who represent the status quo) that they are under threat" (ibid: 91). She gives

an example of a job opening that is presented as gender neutral but whose demands make it difficult for women to occupy because of their multiple and especially reproductive roles, thus only making it attractive to males who could withstand its demands because of their limited roles.

Basok's (2004) study of Mexican migrants in Canada appropriately captures this phenomenon. She highlights how Mexican migrants were excluded from attending church services because of the language barrier. Although public English classes were available to everyone, the migrants could not attend them because of long working hours and also because for one to enrol in these classes one needed to pass a Tuberculosis test. However, migrants again could not take the Tuberculosis test because their employers were not required by law to take them to a physician for any reason other than illness or injury. The other reason was the reluctance of these migrants to take time off to have the test as they could not communicate with physicians. This became a vicious cycle that consequently excluded them from participating in church and public English lessons and visiting the doctor.

In South African schools Crush and Tawodzera (2011) noted how school heads demanded birth certificates and immunisation cards for registration. These were difficult to get for Zimbabwean migrants because "apart from the general inefficiency of the home affairs bureaucracy, parents need to obtain birth records from the institution where the child was born. Migrants reported that some local hospitals refuse to provide them with birth records on the grounds that they were "undocumented migrants" when they gave birth and their children are therefore not entitled to identity documents (ibid: 13). Such practices by hospital officials close off avenues for schooling for migrant children and accounts for the 43% of children of irregular migrants who do not go to school (Crush and Tawodzera 2011:10).

(b) social closure- this is a deliberate strategy where social groups restrict access to resources and opportunities to a privileged few on the basis of some criteria such as race, language, social origin and educational qualifications. The discussion in Chapter Six, Seven and Eight reveals how Zimbabwean migrants perceive elements of social closure in accessing employment and public services.

(c) unruly practices- this happens when there is a gap between the rules and their implementation which occurs in practice in all institutional domains. Kabeer (2000) states that one cannot assume that publicly provided goods and services will be allocated strictly according to bureaucratic or administrative rules. Public officials may have certain unofficial norms that may restrict people's ability to gain access to public goods to which they are officially entitled. Social exclusion becomes an issue in public institutions and government departments such as health, education and home affairs because these "are officially contracted to meet social needs and address social exclusion within the community. Thus unruly practices as mechanisms of social exclusion are much more likely to apply in the public sector precisely because the official rules dictate otherwise" (Kabeer 2000:93).

For example, a study by Crush and Tawodzera (2011) revealed how school heads in Johannesburg and Cape Town made claims that schools were 'full' when it came to recruiting children of migrants. Landau ([2010: 62]) claims that police often engage in "extra legal forms of harassment and immigration control". Veary (2008) observed that government clinics constantly referred non-citizen patients in need of anti-retroviral provision to private hospitals and non-governmental clinics for medication and care. This resulted in the formation of a dual healthcare facility serving different kinds of people: public hospital serving locals while foreigners were directed to non-governmental organisations. This is corroborated by Lefko-Everett's (2010) claim that Zimbabwean women seeking medication were told to 'go back to Zimbabwe'. In all these cases the public health officials were effectively abrogating their public duty to provide healthcare. This aspect is discussed in detail in Chapter Eight which provides an in-depth analysis of the health and police departments.

To conclude this section it is important to emphasise that the study of social exclusion of migrants heightens our understanding of why they do not/ may not participate fully in the activities of mainstream society. In their study of the Chinese in Britain Chau and Yu (2001:107) reiterated that "the study of social exclusion can raise our awareness of the conditions that hinder ethnic minority groups from enjoying the kind of life customary to mainstream society". Using the concept of social exclusion to study migrants aids our understanding of how they are devalued and stigmatised in society, thus affecting their

participation in social life. This helps us understand how the stigmatisation of Zimbabweans in particular and foreign migrants in general leads to their exclusion.

3.2.4. Towards a broader understanding of social exclusion of immigrants: cosmopolitanism and transnationalism

The discussion of social exclusion must be broadened to understand the exclusion of 'foreigners' or non-nationals who ordinarily do not fit neatly within the definition of the 'excluded' within the boundaries of a nation since the very definition of a nation is exclusive. The social exclusion of migrants must be understood from the perspective of the world as a global society and migrants as citizens of the world. Attending to the social exclusion of migrants is a way of acknowledging processes of globalisation and the resultant cosmopolitan societies. Such a discussion is realistic as it acknowledges that in every nation state, there are increasing numbers of people who are not nationals (defined as strangers) who work and spend their lives there.

The major question therefore, is: how can these people be incorporated or integrated so that they participate meaningfully in the social and economic life of countries in which they find themselves? Migration is a feature of globalisation and global inequality. So with the intensification of these two processes, we can expect an increase in migration. Since immigration is inescapable, there is therefore a need to find ways of meaningful co-operation and integration with migrants.

According to Beck (2000) we now live in cosmopolitan societies that are characterised by some of the following features which relate to migration:

(a) high mobility - as "more and more people live in a kind of place polygamy (they are married to many places in different worlds and cultures)" (Beck 2002),

(b) Dual citizenship,

(c) High activity in transnational initiatives and organisations - basically a transnational way of life and,

(d) Criminal activities and political intensities.

Beck (2000) further states that we now live in the 'second age of modernity' where boundaries of nation-states are being blurred by the activities of supra-national bodies. In the 'first age of modernity' the boundaries of nation states were defined and strengthened. Social exclusion happened among equals - or those belonging to the same nation. However, the current processes of globalisation are leading to cosmopolitanisation within nations. "Cosmopolitanisation means that ethnic identities within a nation become plural and relate in a plural and loyal way to different nation-states" (Beck 2000:83). Beck (2000) argues that in such societies, social exclusion happens to individuals defined as strangers/non-equals - by virtues of not belonging to the nation. A solution to social exclusion of these 'strangers' is to appeal to a social solidarity that stems from the recognition of universal human rights. In such cases, social solidarity is the solidarity of strangers, rather than the solidarity of equals (ibid: 93). Therefore the participation of migrants in the social life of their host communities is on the basis of universal and international human rights.

A broader scope of social exclusion that incorporates migrants is not only realistic but necessary to encourage social cohesion in increasingly diverse cosmopolitan communities. Understanding how migrants (whether documented or not) are excluded gives an insight into issues of discrimination, social integration, cohesion, xenophobia, violence and even racism. Social exclusion affects their quality of life (Sen 2000; Cholewinski 2005; Levitas et al 2007; Kalitanyi and Visser 2010). Dealing with social exclusion of migrants will not only require tolerance and strengthening of diverse social bonds, it also requires a reorientation and sensitivity training on the part of bureaucrats who deal with migrants most of the time.

3.3. A critique of the concept of social exclusion

Social exclusion has been viewed as an elusive term that means different things to different people (Atkinson and Davoudi 2000:428; Percy-Smith 2000; Peace 2001; Levitas 2004). While in some cases it is viewed as the antithesis of social integration and cohesion; in other cases it is linked to poverty and lack of participation in the labour market. It has been viewed

as having many dimensions such as the economic (income, goods and services), the social (participation in decision-making for certain marginalised groups) and political (freedom of expression, democratisation in general) (Bhalla & Lapeyre 1997: 18). Social exclusion has been used to define 'new forms of poverty' and marginality in European countries, particularly in the EU where it was felt to be a more acceptable and politically correct term than poverty (Marsh & Mullins 1998; Percy Smith 2000; Peace 2001; Levitas et al 2007; Daly [sa]).

Social exclusion has been critiqued for taking people's attention from issues of class conflict (Silver 1994; Marsh &Mullins 1998; Colley and Hodkinson 2001; Levitas 2004; Daly [sa]). Others argue that it is a concept better suited to explaining what is happening in European developed countries rather than in African and Asian developing economies. For it to apply to developing countries, according to Saith (2001:7), it must be redefined and operationalised properly. For example, the concern for social security support needs to be defined in a way different from European countries because in developing countries the poverty levels are so high that almost half of the whole population would be eligible for social security support. Saith (2001) also strongly believes that approaches to tackling social exclusion in developing countries have always existed even though these approaches had different names such as such as the basic needs, capabilities approach, entitlements, sustainable development, etc. Therefore the debate on social exclusion in the developing world is not really something new in so far as understanding poverty in developing countries is concerned (Saith 2001).

In this thesis I also argue that the concern for social security support may not really be a good indicator of social exclusion since more than half the populations in developing countries do not have adequate social security. More than half the population would then be defined as socially excluded. If the literature of social exclusion is to be relevant to South Africa, the concern must be on how certain groups are devaluated and stigmatised leading to their lack of access to resources and social bonds. However, I agree with existing notions that social exclusion is much more than just poverty, therefore existing frameworks of poverty may not necessarily be able to tackle social exclusion.

3.4. Coping mechanisms for dealing with social exclusion

3.4.1. Introduction

In general, migrants are resourceful, knowing when and how to manoeuvre in their host country. Migrants engage in a variety of ways for coping with exclusion such as: reliance on kin and ethnic networks, creating friendships and fictive kin relations and fake identities/identity books, denying their place of origin, marriages of convenience, applying for political asylum permits, theft, prostitution and informal employment, using social networks to access accommodation and employment, learning local languages and culture (including dress styles and mannerisms) and having cosmopolitan identities (Muzvidziwa 2001, 2010; Mai 2005; Muzondidya 2008; Fangen 2010; Lefko- Everett 2010; McGregor 2010; Worby 2010). Selection of any of these coping mechanisms is dependent on the migrant's history, social status and settlement patterns (Muzondidya 2008: 5).

African migrants in South Africa appeal to discourses of Pan Africanism and reciprocity to negotiate their stay in South Africa. Some argue that South Africans ought to return the help they got during the apartheid era, while others (Zimbabweans) claim cultural and linguistic ties between the Zulu in South Africa and Ndebele in Zimbabwe (McDonald, Mashike and Golden 1999; Raftopolous 2009).

In dealing with social exclusion some authors invoke the use of two popular concepts: social networks and social capital (Spoonley et al 2005; Spicer 2008; Fangen 2010). According to Fangen (2010) inclusion in a social network may sometimes protect individuals against racism. She regards social networks as some form of social capital that helps reduce social exclusion.

Social exclusion entails relational issues such as social and political participation, social integration and lack of power. Dealing with relational issues addresses the level of detachment of an individual from society. This therefore focuses on the kinds of relationships individuals have with one another. Room (1999:170) cites Perri 6 (1996) who distinguished two kinds of social bonds individuals have: "those that link us to people in the same position as ourselves - or family members, people in the local neighbourhood, our immediate

colleagues at work - and those that link us to people in very different positions from ourselves, especially those people who are in contact with opportunities which they can bring to our attention but of which we are unlikely to be able to avail to ourselves without their help". Perri 6 (cited in Room 1999) recommends that social policies should help disadvantaged individuals make the second link thus providing them with ladders to move out of their situation.

Such thinking is similar to Burt's (2004) argument that individual group networks would be strengthened if there are 'network bridges' between different groups of people. Relationships between migrants and locals lessen detachment and stigmatisation. This view also lends support to Granovetter's (1973) argument that individuals need both intercommunity and intra-community ties. Intercommunity ties help society and distract groups from pursuing their narrow sectarian interests. Social links and networks are important to strengthen social bonds.

The discussion of social exclusion is also necessarily linked to that of social capital as most authors view involvement and participation in social networks (which are evidence of social capital) as a mechanism or strategy for reducing social exclusion. Such is the case when social exclusion is understood from a relational perspective where exclusion is caused by lack of social bonds. This is, however, not to ignore the downside of the same networks that on their own, can lead to encapsulation and exclusion of members belonging to them. Thus to this end, social networks can either increase or decrease social exclusion depending on whether the networks are closed off from other networks or whether they offer opportunities for individuals to build weaker ties with individuals outside their main networks. These weaker ties would then function as bridges to pass on information, resources etc. to members of different network groups thus reducing the exclusion of certain groups.

3.4.2. Origins of the concept of social capital

The philosophical underpinnings of social capital can be traced back to arguments by Durkheim (on mechanical and organic solidarity), Marx and Weber (on bounded solidarity, Portes 1998; Wilson 2006). Social capital can also be traced back to the arguments of

Bourdieu (1985), Putnam (1995) and Coleman (2000). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) trace social capital back to Hannifan (cited in Woolcock and Narayan 2000: 229) and Granovetter (1973). Studies on social capital were later popularised by Burt (1992), Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), Portes (1998) and Lin (1999; 2000). The concept of social capital has been utilised in studying development, poverty, education and also migration. Spicer (2008:493) argues that there are three notions closely tied to social capital. These are social bonds (connections within communities that are defined by ethnic, national or religious identities); social bridges (connections between communities defined by ethnic, national or religious identities) and social links (connections with institutions, agencies and services). Putnam (2000 cited in Wilson 2006:349) distinguishes between 'bonding' and 'bridging' forms of social capital where bonding refers to the connections between like minded people and therefore reinforces homogeneity, while bridging capital refers to connections between heterogeneous groups.

Hannifan (cited in Woolcock and Narayan 2000: 229) defined social capital as:

> "those tangible substances (that) count for most in the daily lives of people; namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit....if (an individual comes) into contact with his neighbour, and they with other neighbours, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement in the living conditions in the whole community"

Coleman (2000: 16) argues that: "social capital is defined by its function and it is not a single entity but a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure and they facilitate certain actions of actors - whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible". Although this definition has been criticised by Lin (2000) as tautological because it explains the cause by its effect or function, I view it as important since it clarifies how social capital is capital - that is, in terms of what it can do for people.

Bourdieu (cited in Daly and Silver 2008: 543) defines social capital as:

"the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - in other words, membership in a group - that provides each of its members with a backing of the collectively owned capital,....... a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word"

Another definition of social capital is given by Woolcock and Narayan (2000: 225) who refer to it simply as the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively. Portes (1998: 6) highlights that social capital is about the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social ties. According to Putnam (1995:665), social capital is about "social connections, the attendant norms and trust". Portes and Landolt (2000:531) outline three ways that social capital has been defined: as a source of social control, a source of family mediated benefits and a source of resources mediated by non-family networks. From all these definitions, it is clear that social capital is about: connections and networks between individuals, access to different forms of resources, relationships of reciprocity and trust, rules of conduct developed among individuals belonging to a network and improving people's situations in life. The sources of social capital include families, friends and voluntary associations.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) argue that there are four main views to understanding social capital. These are: the communitarian view, the networks view, the institutional and the synergy view. The communitarian view equates social capital with local organisations such as clubs, associations and civic groups. It states that social capital is inherently good and that more is better (ibid: 229). The networks view emphasises the importance of intra-groups as well as intergroup relations among groups and firms. Studies of such networks have dwelt on strong and weak ties or bonding and bridging ties, (Granovetter 1973; Burt 1994; Portes 1998). The institutional view of social capital contends that the vitality of community networks and civil society is largely the product of the political, legal and institutional environment. This means that the formation of social capital is constrained by formal institutions. This is the line of argument pursued by Ostrom (2000). Ostrom (2000:172) argues that government institutions affect the level and type of social capital that individuals can have in order to pursue developmental goals. From this perspective, institutions have a role in aiding the development of trust among individuals interacting in groups and associations. The synergy view combines arguments from the networks and institutional perspectives. Its popular notions are those of complementarity and embeddedness (for

example; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Kloosterman and Rath 2001; Korinek, Entwisle and Jampaklay 2005).

3.4.3. The benefits of social capital

There are clear benefits of social capital in the form of social networks which help the settlement of a new migrant in the receiving country. They lower the costs of migration and offer psycho-social support to the new migrant. Migrant networks help with the acquisition of information on the migration process itself, in the host country networks aid in providing employment, accommodation, food, security and even capital for businesses (Menjivar 1995; 1997; Dolfin and Genicot 2010; McGregor 2010). They may also serve as conduits for information which can ultimately lead to further migration (Collyer 2005; Korinek et al 2005).

Religious networks whether within the community or between communities have been viewed as lessening social exclusion and emphasising Christian universalism, thus creating alternative forms of belonging other than ethnic or kin groups (Levitt 2003; Glick Schiller, Calgar & Goldbrandsen 2006). Aydin, Fischer and Frey (2010:742) discovered that socially excluded persons reported significantly higher levels of religious behaviours than comparable non- excluded individuals. This was said to be a result of the desire by all human beings to be accepted and create stable and lasting connections with the social world.

3.4.4. The downside of social capital

A growing number of authors have claimed that social capital must not be romanticised as being always advantageous and positive but that it needs to be viewed as a double edged sword cutting both ways or having both a 'sunny and dark side'. Social capital in the form of social networks presents both benefits and blights (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Menjivar 1995, 1997; Hagan 1998; Portes 1998; Adler and Kwon 2000; Lin 2000; Ostrom 2000; Portes and Landolt 2000; Woolcock and Narayan 2000; Burt 2004; Akcapar 2006, Wilson 2006; Daly and Silver 2008; de Haas 2010).

Sometimes bonds to migrant networks and families may lead to co-ethnic exploitation, especially for the extremely marginalised members of the group thus entrenching them in never ending financial and emotional indebtedness (Hagan 1998; Portes and Landolt 2000). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) highlight that while social networks may provide valuable services such as childminding and emergency cash, they may also place considerable noneconomic claims on members' sense of obligation and commitment. They further argue that:

> "group loyalties may be so strong that they isolate members from information about employment opportunities, foster a climate of ridicule toward efforts to study and work hard or siphon off hard-won assets (say to support recent immigrants from the home country)".

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) cite a study by Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) which revealed cases of prosperous Asian immigrants who anglicised their names in order to divest themselves of communal obligations to subsequent cohorts. Another example is the successful Balinese businessmen studied by Geertz (Portes and Landolt 2000:533) who "were constantly assaulted by job and loan seeking kinsmen on the strength of community norms enjoining mutual assistance. The result was to stunt the growth of business initiatives and eventually bankrupt them". Portes and Landolt (2000) highlight four negative consequences of social capital: exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms and downward levelling norms. Terms such as negative social capital (Portes and Landolt 2000) and perverse social capital (Woolcock and Narayan 2000) reveal the costs and dangers of social capital as it creates bondage rather than bridges for individuals to use to get ahead. Powell and Smith-Doerr (Adler and Kwon 2000:106) succinctly state that "the ties that bind may also turn into ties that blind".

Granovetter (1973:376) refers to this as encapsulation, where the individual's network is composed of only those individuals directly known to the person. Strong intra-group ties breed local cohesion and lead to overall societal fragmentation. Granovetter (1973) views weak intergroup ties as more progressive because they lead to the manipulation of networks from different groups. Weak ties act as bridges between different networks. Granovetter (1973) argues that no strong tie can be a bridge. The strength of an interpersonal tie "is determined by the combination of the amount of time, emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding) and the reciprocal services which characterise the tie" (ibid: 361). Strong

ties are characterised by high levels of emotional intensity, investment in time, intimacy and reciprocal services, while weak ties are defined by the relatively low levels of emotional involvement, time invested in the relationship and low reciprocity. A study by Spoonley, Peace, Butcher and O'Neill (2005) in New Zealand revealed that the strong or dense social relations existing within the migrant community built relational embeddedness and local social capital for the migrant group and did not contribute to social cohesion in the wider context.

Arguing from the same perspective, Burt (2004: 353) also contends that being confined to a single network creates homogenous information which results in "holes in the information flow within different groups". He further argues that holes are "buffers which act like insulators in an electric circuit". Relations that span these structural holes create bridges that get rid of redundant information which results from cohesive intra- group contacts. Such relations are attractive for individuals who want to act as brokers between different groups and networks. These individuals exercise their agency and benefit from access to different ideas as their networks "bridge the structural holes and information gaps existing in different groups" (Burt 2004: 353).

Social networks do not represent an endless seam of generosity. Their capacity to aid members is also constrained by the structure of opportunity and challenges within the receiving country. Newcomers may fail to get help if network members exist in an extreme state of marginalisation resulting in the severing of ties and tense relations among co-ethnic members, (Menjivar 1995, 1997; Nauck 2001; Collyer 2005; Worby 2010).

3.5. A proposed framework for analysing migrant social exclusion in the South African context

I have come up with the following analytical framework comprising ten propositions listed below to demonstrate my conceptualisation of how the concepts of social capital and social exclusion interact in relation to Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. These propositions are placed within the current 'bonding' (helping individuals to get by) and 'bridging' (helping individuals to get ahead) approaches to social capital which recognise the facilitative role of

social capital. At the same time the propositions acknowledge the Janus face of social networks as forms of social capital. As argued earlier, I define social exclusion of migrants as: lack of, denial or inadequate access to resources, goods and services and the inability to participate in the common activities of the host community, facilitated by certain institutional rules, processes, mechanisms and activities of other individuals. Discrimination and stigmatisation are part of the social exclusion of migrants whose identities are devalued. I argue that being legal in South Africa does not necessarily lessen social exclusion because social exclusion is about belonging to a devalued social group. The legal status itself is a fluid and contested category in the sense that one may have the necessary documentation to show that one entered the country legally but that does not guarantee access to resources and services.

It becomes a fluid status when the police or other government officials create further rules and definitions of legality that are not necessarily contained in any government rulebook (engaging in unruly practices). Thus, one may be legal but that does not stop the police from harassing somebody (I allude to McDowell and Wonders' [2010:56] argument about 'border performances' [of searches and demands for identification] which may occur in locations very far away from the actual geographic border). Neither does it stop local neighbours from charging protection fees to migrants (see Monson and Misago 2009). This justifies the assertion that most migrants exist in liminal legality as determined by these government officials, locals and how migrants negotiate the demands of these parties. Having proper documentation does not guarantee getting a job or if one already has a job it does not guarantee that one will not be harassed or discriminated against on the job.

Propositions of the analytical framework:

1. Migrant characteristics determine the level of social exclusion and whether they suffer covert or overt social exclusion. Low class and unskilled migrants are likely to experience more social exclusion in accessing public services such as health and transport than middle class and skilled migrants who can afford using private services.

2. Getting the first job for all the migrants (whether skilled or unskilled) is facilitated by family and friends networks (strong ties) rather than agencies, although the individual eventually moves and makes a career

change later on. Among skilled migrants subsequent jobs may be facilitated by weak ties while low skilled migrants are likely to continue using bonding social capital to get subsequent jobs.

The jobs of low skilled migrants help them to 'get by' rather than 'get ahead' or improve their livelihoods. As Lancee (2012a: 668) argues, "bonding social capital may help to find a job, however, it does not necessarily help to find a better job". This is due to the limitations of bonding social capital and the fact that some of the migrants are unskilled and undocumented. They get low status jobs in security, domestic service, construction and the hospitality industry. They therefore do not remit meaningfully to their families back in Zimbabwe.

Conversely the relatively skilled migrants are expected use more 'weak ties' (for example agencies) to access jobs and opportunities (such as registering their businesses). They are therefore 'getting ahead'. These migrants are fully documented; either possessing all the necessary Zimbabwean documents or the relevant South African identity books.

3. Migrant networks may lead to social exclusion of their members. For example, religious networks may lead to the exclusion of their members when they emphasize their differences and uniqueness from everyone else in society who is viewed as a 'sinner'. Another way which religious networks can lead to social exclusion is when they (networks) seem to be little concerned with the legality of their members by not encouraging them to attain legal migrant status. Members of such religious groups may continue to lack access to necessary resources because they have no legal right to them. Therefore social capital (in the form of social networks) is a double edged sword. It is both a blessing and blight in that while migrant networks offer protection, employment, housing etc. they also limit the 'horizon' of migrants in them. They limit their freedom of movement and choice and can be to a large extent constraining.

4. Social exclusion could also be a function of institutional processes of the receiving country (through unruly practices of government officials and institutional bias). Government officials perpetuate social exclusion when they engage in overzealous and extended application of the law or when they define themselves as the ultimate law by redefining legality or illegality. Police officers can demand bribes from both documented and undocumented migrant groups.

   Institutional bias through strict government laws concerning employment of foreigners, employment equity and BBBEE policies reduce the structure of opportunity for migrants, increasing their levels of social exclusion. Therefore, government officials and institutions can perpetuate the devalued migrant identity while at the same time their differential treatment of migrants leads to social exclusion.

   However, it must be acknowledged that the government's response/ to migration is not static, but directly influenced by the extent of in-migration. If in-migration increases then the government response can be negative and harsh. The government response affects migrants' level of inclusion or exclusion and their coping mechanisms. These coping mechanisms feed onto the local residents' reactions to migrants and the extent to which the Zimbabwean identity is devalued.

5. Low skilled migrants are more likely to acquiesce to institutional processes of exclusion than high skilled migrants who may object (these will report covert social exclusion in the form of frustrated or blocked career development and other personal aspirations). The acquiescence of the low skilled migrants is reflected through adoption of fake South African identity books and trivialising and downplaying discrimination.

   Low skilled migrants are more likely to engage in the use of fake identities and name changes because they have less to lose when they change or switch identity. They are also more likely to downplay, tolerate, ignore or

trivialise actions of South African locals that are overtly exclusive and discriminatory. This is because of their already precarious financial state and sometimes undocumented status; thus the awareness and definition of the self as the 'other' who does not belong to the 'nation'.

6. Low skilled women are less networked than men (both high skilled and low skilled). Therefore it is expected that low skilled women will have fewer bridging ties than men due to the different jobs and employment environments that male and female migrants find themselves in. Since most female migrants become domestic workers, they are less connected than male migrants and are more likely to report social exclusion than men.

    However, while domestic workers are less networked into their ethnic groups and more linked to their employers, they end up trusting their employers more than their ethnic group members. These employers help domestic workers move across the domestic sector by identifying their friends who would like domestic services. They may sometimes help sponsor one's move from the domestic sector to better jobs such as teaching or starting a small business.

7. Desperation leads to criminal activities especially where criminality is combined with some form of 'normal' everyday menial jobs. Worby (2010) agrees that hard times dehumanise people. This is expected to be common among low skilled migrants who may engage in petty theft and prostitution.

8. Participation in self employment is evidence of having made it for the skilled and documented migrants who use bridging capital to solicit ideas and start up capital. However, for the unskilled and undocumented migrants, participation in self employment is a result of blocked opportunities. The resultant business tends to be small and only employs the owner.

9. As the economic pressure increases on the migrant families, it is expected that they will start repelling new migrants. Tough competition in the labour market and strict employment laws and government policies on migrants lead to fewer jobs for migrants, consequently causing a rejection of new migrants and the disintegration of migrant families. Thus the opportunity structure directly affects the family network, where some family members may be viewed as a cost and more demanding and thus may be told openly to 'go back home'.

    Therefore there are many feedback mechanisms between continuing in-migration, Zimbabwean migrant households and the macro economic and political environment (which determine the opportunity structure). The increasing repelling pressure of households is a factor of continuing in-migration which shows that once a saturation level has been reached, households become far less welcoming towards new migrants needing help.

10. Among the *malayitsha* (migrant smugglers), as the risks of being caught increase so do their fares charged to potential migrants thus reducing the motivation to migrate. However, if family ties are strong and a job is assured upon arrival, individuals will migrate no matter what costs, provided the *malayitsha* agrees to be paid in instalments and accepts credit. *Malayitsha* agree to such arrangements because they trust family members in South Africa who will pay off the debt. The *malayitsha* may agree to other kinds of negotiations if there is stiff competition among the migrant smugglers themselves.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter has explained the origins of the concept of social exclusion. It has outlined how this concept can be used to analyse the lives of migrants in South Africa. The benefits of studying social exclusion have been given while the possible weaknesses of the concept have also been outlined. While the concept of social exclusion was previously confined to citizens in a particular country, the concept can be used to analyse the situation of migrants in a host country. This can be done by appreciating the cosmopolitan societies that characterise our contemporary situation and the processes of globalisation which operate beyond the control of nation states. It has been argued that the solution for social exclusion as identified in existing literature (especially concerning relational issues) is participation in social networks and possession of social capital. However, social capital has its own problems. For example, while possession of it (social capital) creates certain opportunities, it may also close other avenues, especially if migrant networks have stronger bonding rather than bridging ties.

It has also been argued in this chapter that the tendency to view social exclusion and inclusion as opposites is flawed as an individual may both be excluded and included in different contexts. There are varying degrees of social inclusion which is what leads to adverse incorporation or what has been discussed as disadvantageous participation. Unfavourable incorporation is inclusion but it is participation on disadvantaged terms which is not 'real' social inclusion since it does not increase social cohesion and integration. Real social inclusion must lead to an increase in social cohesion and integration.

The chapter ends by giving an analytical framework which can be used to study the social exclusion of migrants. This framework has ten propositions which state the assumed relationships between institutions, public officials, locals and the migrants themselves. These propositions reflect how social capital and social exclusion are assumed to function in relation to Zimbabwean migrants in Tembisa and Kempton Park. It is important to note that the macro and meso level structures and the individuals themselves are not static. Policies can change and people's perceptions of themselves and their situation can change too.

This chapter also emphasises that the locals' reaction to migrants is a function of many factors including government policies, the perceived level of in-migration of foreigners and the economic environment. As argued in Chapter Two, the response of locals is a reasonable

reaction to the increase in Zimbabwean in-migration throughout the Zimbabwean economic crisis years. It can be reasonably assumed that locals will start complaining only once the penetration of Zimbabweans into the local labour market reaches a certain threshold where locals find it difficult to access jobs. The result is that there is a similarity between the reaction of local Zimbabwean households (which reject newcomers) and the reaction of the general South African population (who discriminate against migrants). Thus social exclusion becomes an outcome of the behaviours of locals, institutions and structures and that of Zimbabwean migrants themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

As the focus of migration research has changed over time so have the research methodologies. Early migration research mainly focused on migration as one way movement from less developed to developed areas. There was a focus on economic models and migrant statistics. Nowadays, migration has become more complex as people move from origin to destination via transit countries repeating this process many times throughout their lives. The focus of migration research has broadened to include transit countries: also acknowledging that new migrants are often transnational. This has led to new research designs of comparative cross cultural multi-sites research, incorporating origin, transit and destination countries (Beauchemin and Gonzalez Ferrer 2011; Berriane and de Haas 2012). Attention has also been paid to migrant agency and coping mechanisms in the transit and destination countries (Akcapar 2006; Levitt 2006; Van Nieuwenhuyze 2009; Maphosa 2011; Castles 2012). These developments have led to a movement away from quantitative to qualitative research designs and also experimentation with newer research methods (Berriane and de Haas 2012). Castles (2012) advocates a mixed methods approach to tackle contemporary migration research problems.

Migration research is mainly different from other forms of research in that the populations involved are usually not fully known. The sampling frames are almost absent and if present they may not be accurate. Adding to the complexity is the fact that traditional methods of data gathering may seem inappropriate, offensive and insensitive. This means that the research methods in such a study need to ensure sensitivity and sometimes creativity on the part of the researcher in order to access research participants who may be unwilling to be heard or known. This justifies recent calls by Berriene and de Haas (2012) for innovative context-based research methods peculiar to the circumstances confronting migration researchers, particularly in Africa. Studying social processes and people's attitudes requires use of in-depth qualitative research methods. This research therefore follows a qualitative

approach in order to analyse, understand and describe in detail how the lives of Zimbabwean migrants are affected by social exclusion in Johannesburg.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline and justify the research approach, delimitations, research methods, sampling methods and basically the research design. The merits of qualitative research are explained in terms of getting in-depth understanding. It is equally important to appreciate the weaknesses of qualitative research in terms of inability to offer generalisations to the whole Zimbabwean migrant population or even the whole Zimbabwean population in Johannesburg. This results from the use of a small sample size.

4.2. Research approach

The research approach is about the methodology or the underlying logic of the study. Castles (2012) highlights that methodology and methods are different. "Methods are the specific techniques used to collect and analyse data such as interviews, life-histories... (while) methodology is about the underlying logic of the research". It seeks to answer epistemological questions such as: "What is knowledge? How is knowledge acquired? How can we know something to be true?" (Castles 2012:18). Since the selection of a particular methodology implies a particular type of logic, the type of reasoning used in this study is inductive with an attempt to come up with explanations for the migrants' perceptions concerning their life in Johannesburg. The assumption of this approach is that there is no one objective reality that is waiting to be discovered but that, participants make and interpret their multiple realities as they interact in everyday life. Therefore the way to get closer to the truth is to be attached to research participants and spend more time with them in order to gain an empathetic understanding of their lives. This way of viewing reality stems from the interpretive paradigm that relies much on the arguments by Max Weber on "*verstehen*" (or empathetic understanding) and *hermeneutics* (or interpretation).

It must be acknowledged that the choice of any research approach or methodology shows the researcher's worldview, aims and assumptions about the world and phenomena under study. Morgan and Smircich (1980:49) elaborate that "the case for any research method whether qualitative or quantitative cannot be considered or presented in the abstract, because the choice and adequacy of a method embodies a variety of assumptions regarding the nature of

knowledge and the methods through which that knowledge can be obtained, as well as a set of root assumptions about the nature of phenomena to be investigated". Therefore due to the interpretive perspective that heavily underlies this research the researcher uses research methods that aim to understand how migrants perceive social exclusion and frame their lives in the context of this exclusion. The other aim is to describe fully the lives of Zimbabwean migrants in part of Johannesburg. Denzin (2002) and Yin (2009) maintain that interpretive research is best for answering the 'how' question. In this case the major 'how' question is: How do Zimbabweans perceive their lives in South Africa given the largely exclusionary socio-economic environment? The other one is: How do they survive in this environment? This research uses a small sample of fifty eight (58) migrant men and women who were studied in-depth. An in-depth study allows the researcher to understand the participants' perspectives and their lives in detail. It allows the researcher to move away from superficial explanations about phenomena to deeper meanings of events. This type of logic differs from the deductive way of reasoning; where the main aim is to test already existing theories or formulae in order to falsify them. It is also different in that the aim of the research is to understand rather than to measure participants.

There are generally five qualitative approaches identified by qualitative researchers. These are the: ethnographic, phenomenological, case study; grounded theory and narrative research (Huberman and Miles 2002; Punch 2005; Creswell 2007). These various approaches tend to study phenomena differently emphasising certain research methods. For example, ethnographic research emphasizes participant observation and understanding culture, while narrative research emphasises interviewing. However, the methods are not wholly exclusive and may sometimes overlap (Punch 2005). This particular study is placed within the framework of a case study where the aim is to understand Zimbabwean migrants as a case that is holistic and bounded. This research can be defined as an intrinsic case study. An intrinsic case study is defined by Stake (cited in Punch 2005:144) as a study undertaken to gain a better understanding of a particular case or a single case. A case study is defined by Yin (2009:18) as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident".

The research adopts a case study research design. This qualitative case study explores and describes in detail the lives of Zimbabwean migrants in Tembisa and Kempton Park. One crucial advantage of any in-depth research is the ability to 'zoom in', "that is getting closer and closer until your descriptive task is manageable, then zoom out again to regain your perspective" (Wolcott cited in Silverman 2000: 79). Be that as it may, qualitative research and quantitative research are not mutually exclusive (Van Maanen 1979). While the differences between quantitative and qualitative studies are often exaggerated and oversimplified, these two approaches seem to be different to some extent in the following ways:

TABLE 3: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

QUANTITATIVE STYLE	QUALITATIVE STYLE
Measures objective facts	Constructs social reality, cultural meaning
Focuses on variables	Focuses on interactive processes, events
Reliability is key	Authenticity is key
Value free	Values are present and explicit
Independent of context	Situationally constrained
Many cases, subjects	Few cases, subjects
Statistical analysis	Thematic analysis
Researcher is detached	Researcher is involved

Source: Neuman (cited in Mikkelsen 2004:157).

The above table shows how qualitative research focuses on the construction of meanings attached to people's lives. Therefore a qualitative approach gives an insider' or the 'emic' perspective. Qualitative methods are the most desirable in this context because they allow the participant to freely express himself/herself. Most studies on migrants and socially excluded people have mainly taken the qualitative approach (Sinclair 1999; Landolt 2001; Perberdy and Dinat 2005; Tevera and Chikanda 2009; Chikanda 2011; Bloch and Schuster 2006; Fisher 2007; Lazaridis and Koumandraki 2007; McGregor 2007; Cherti 2008; Spicer 2008; Veary 2008; Lefko-Everett 2010; Bloch, Sigona and Zetter 2011; Maphosa 2011; Sigona 2012). Levitas et al (2007) recommended the qualitative study of social exclusion because of its ability to explore individual experiences and offer deeper insights into the complex interplay of factors responsible for the exclusion of various individuals. Iosifides (2003) argues that in migration studies qualitative research methods are the best when one addresses issues of "how" social processes, mechanisms and meanings are generated.

4.2.2 Previous studies on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa

Zimbabwean migration research is dominated by research institutes and NGOs such as the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), Forced Migration Studies Programme, (FMSP), Solidarity Peace Trust (SPT), People Against Suffering and Oppression (PASSOP) and Human Rights Watch (HRW). These organisations have their own agendas for carrying out research among Zimbabweans and the publications on the fate of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa have been growing thanks to these organisations. They commonly carry out surveys of Zimbabweans in various parts of South Africa and produce reports that mainly provide policy recommendations on Zimbabwean migration to South Africa. Because of such organisations, there has been a growing body of literature on Zimbabwean migration streams to South Africa and their participation in the South African labour market. This growing body of literature needs to be criticised, since sometimes estimates, numbers and the conditions of Zimbabwean migrants may be exaggerated. This is certainly not to relegate to obscurity the great strides made by such organisations in increasing awareness and drawing attention to the conditions of Zimbabweans in South Africa, particularly on issues of abuse and

discrimination. These organisations usually employ Zimbabwean researchers to study the Zimbabwean migrants for obvious practical reasons such as easy acceptability and trust.

Previous research studies of Zimbabwean migrants by other Zimbabweans have made use of covert/overt participant observation, informal group discussions, personal histories, 'hanging out', 'casual conversations', and in-depth and key informant interviews, (for example, Muzvidziwa 2001; Dumba and Chirisa 2010; Lefko-Everett 2010; Matshaka 2010; Crush and Tawodzera 2011). In terms of sampling, snowballing seems to be the common method thus sample sizes tend to be small (Dumba and Chirisa 2010; Crush and Tawodzera 2011) except for Bloch (2008) who studied 500 migrants using snowballing. So far the research with the biggest sample size is that by Makina (2007) which involved 4654 respondents. From these studies, it is clear that research on Zimbabwean migrants has mainly been limited to central Johannesburg areas such as Hillbrow and Yeoville and other parts of South Africa such as Cape Town.

4.2.3. Identifying the gap

Although Tembisa and Kempton Park have a lot of Zimbabwean migrants, I have not come across any published study of Zimbabweans in these areas. This research is well placed in describing the lives of Zimbabweans in these areas that have not been studied before. To this extent, therefore, this study is both refreshing and explorative as it shows how Zimbabweans give meaning to their lives in Tembisa and Kempton Park.

4.3. Delimitations/ scope of the study

In terms of geographical area, the research is confined to Tembisa and Kempton Park in Johannesburg and only includes Zimbabwean migrants. These two areas are located north of Johannesburg on the East Rand. Kempton Park was traditionally a 'white' area established in 1903 while Tembisa is a township that was especially established in 1957 to accommodate blacks who were removed from the 'white' areas of Kempton Park, Midrand and Germiston. Some blacks were relocated to ease overcrowding in Alexandra (SAHA 2012). These blacks were relocated in such a way that the Zulu, Pedi, Tswana and other ethnic groups stayed in

different sections. Up to now, there are sections known to be populated by these specific ethnic groups. Members of these groups used to fight each other when they were found in sections that they did not reside in. They were viewed as 'foreigners' (SAHA 2012). The specific areas/ sections of Tembisa where research participants stayed were as follows: Endayini, Umfayaneni, Umthambeka, Moedi, Phumlong, Oakmoar, Ndulwini and Esangweni. In Kempton Park the research was limited to flats in the central business district (CBD) and suburbs of Birchleigh and Edleen.

These migrants were studied between April and December 2012 in a non-continuous manner. However, I spent two months (June and July) participating daily in the activities of migrants in Tembisa and Kempton Park. The fifty eight (58) participants are a mixture of the documented/legal and the undocumented or undocumented migrants. Thus, the term migrant in this study, refers to both documented and undocumented Zimbabweans in South Africa. The research includes the small entrepreneurs, the formally employed and unemployed. This research excludes cross border traders and visitors who have been in South Africa for less than six months. Theoretically, the research confines itself to theories of migration, social exclusion and social capital.

The exact numbers of research participants and their current place of residence are reflected in the table below.

TABLE 4: CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	Frequency	Percent
Kempton Park	15	26
Tembisa	43	74
Total	58	100

As shown in the above table, the majority (74%) of participants resided in Tembisa while a quarter (26%) stayed in Kempton Park. While some conduct their businesses and work in Tembisa, most Zimbabwean migrants staying in Tembisa work in Kempton Park (for example in Isando and Croydon) while others work in Edenvale, Midrand, Centurion, Fourways and business areas along the way to Pretoria and Johannesburg.

The selection of Johannesburg as an area of focus is premised on the fact that it is the largest South African city and economic centre and the fact that 46% of about 3 million international migrants are found in the Gauteng province (Veary 2008; Landau, Wa Kabwe-Segatti and Misago 2011). The 2011 census estimates that the population of South Africa is 51,7 million and Gauteng has the highest number of people (12 272 263). Of these individuals, 7,1% have been specified as non citizens (Statistics South Africa 2012). These are, therefore, the foreign migrants. This translates to about 871330, 7 migrants in Gauteng. Zimbabweans are included in this figure. In 2001 Statistics South Africa (cited in Crush and Tevera 2010) had indicated a total of 131 886 Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, with 68,6 (52%) living in the Gauteng province. Though these statistics may not be accurate, they give a rough indicator that many Zimbabwean migrants are found in the Gauteng province, especially in Johannesburg.

4.4. Negotiating entry: the insider/outsider debate

This research was carried out by a Zimbabwean female academic. I assumed that since I am Zimbabwean I would be able to reflect on my own experiences as a foreigner in South Africa. I thought that this would gain me easy entry into the community of Zimbabwean migrants and thus become an insider. This was predicated on the assumption that, being Zimbabwean, I would gain better acceptability among other Zimbabweans who can identify with me as foreigners (Ndebele, Kalanga, and Shona) in South Africa. This was not as easy as I had assumed because some migrants wanted to fully understand the purposes of the research and how they stood to benefit from it. They also wanted to verify that I was not sent by the South African government to spy on Zimbabweans in order to deport them (especially those who were waiting for the approval of their permits and those that had not bothered to apply for the work permits for various reasons). I had to answer fully all their questions and convince them that this research was specifically for academic purposes. This I did by showing them my ethical clearance letter from the Department of Sociology, UNISA, my UNISA student identity card, my Midlands State University staff identity card and my passport. This was mainly done for two interviewees who had doubts about my identity as a researcher.

However, even after showing them all these documents one proceeded to say that Nigerians can make such documents and she had only agreed to participate in the study because she is naturally inquisitive and that she trusted my key informant who introduced me to her. However, with time this woman got used to my visits and started recommending her friends to participate in the research. Sharing common national and ethnic characteristics may not be enough grounds for accepting a researcher (Cherti 2008). Sometimes migrants trust your key informants and agree to participate on that basis (Van Nieuwenhuyze 2009).

Even after clearing this hurdle, I still needed to show them how important this research was to them. This was quite difficult. One woman who refused to participate in the study told me point blank that: "You are doing the research so that you get more educated and earn more money and what about me? How do I benefit from this research? Since you are saying it's not politically motivated then the government may never know how much we are suffering, so what's the point?"

This happened after I had interviewed her neighbour successfully and she (the neighbour) had volunteered to introduce me to this woman. However, not all experiences were this difficult. Some migrants were so welcoming and forthcoming that I felt ashamed that I had nothing to offer in exchange for their valuable insights and information. This lends support to the observations by Bourke, Butcher, Chisonga, Clarke, Davies and Thorn (2009:102) that it is quite unsettling when one realises that the research is more beneficial to the researcher than the researched. The comforting experiences were certainly with those individuals who took the research as an opportunity to unburden and tell their stories to a listening ear without any fear of being judged. Fortunately, that was the majority of the interviewees. This arose from their perception that I was an independent researcher not affiliated to any political party and not related to them in any way. They could create their narratives; justifying, explaining and describing their migrant experiences and trajectories as they pleased.

Being an insider of the migrants' groups demanded much more than just being Zimbabwean. I needed to demonstrate that I was Shona or Ndebele and show knowledge of Zimbabwe by relating to the areas where migrants claimed to come from. Some readily accepted me when I showed that I knew the rural area where they come from. However, I could not gain total acceptance due to issues of social class. Most participants passed comments about how good and fit I looked (probably signalling to them that the economic situation in Zimbabwe had improved) which I think made it difficult for them to continue justifying why they were still

in South Africa when things in Zimbabwe had seemingly improved. They went on to justify this by arguing that it was because I was more educated than them and that even if they were in Zimbabwe, they would still earn much less than me and therefore live disadvantageous lifestyles. Some openly stated that Zimbabwe is good to the educated and skilled and harsh to the uneducated and unskilled who could at least lead better lives in South Africa. These individuals were interested in knowing how much I earned.

Researchers are never fully insiders because participants know that the researcher is there for a purpose. I was never fully an insider because it was always known that I would leave some day. Although I bought some clothes (jeans and T-shirts) from South African stores, I was always teased for buying 'cheap' clothes (especially takkies) that identified me as a Zimbabwean (in their eyes). Surprisingly though, I was never stopped by the police for identity papers. In terms of language, I continued to speak Ndebele and Shona and although I would drop in one or two Zulu words, I remained 'Zimbabwean'.

However, the advantage of having this research done by a fellow Zimbabwean was that as a foreigner (and thus insider to this Zimbabwean group) issues of translation and language barriers did not bog down the research. This was much better than a situation where the research would have been carried out by a native South African who would have had to negotiate language barriers, trust and acceptability (and sometimes racial issues) which can really slow down the research process. Iosifides (2003:442) states that "it is extremely difficult and sometimes impossible for an outsider to see and understand fully the world we live through the eyes of 'others'". This is the case with cross cultural research where the researcher may impose his/her meanings and interpretations on the data. This observation was also made by Van Nieuwenhuyze (2009) who had to negotiate racial, language and gender barriers in her study of African Senegambian men in Amsterdam. Hatziprokopiou (2006) also had a hard time trying to gain entry among Albanian migrants in Greece. They regarded him with suspicion because he was a native Greek.

4.4.1. Trade offs

Zimbabwean migrants are busy people with tight working schedules (especially those in the formal sector). It becomes difficult then to disturb their routines. Most interviews were done after 6pm when they were back from work or during the weekends after church when relaxing and preparing afternoon meals. However, the guilt of appropriating this limited free time to oneself requires more than just saying that the research would benefit the researcher academically. I found that I needed to be 'useful' to the research participants in one way or the other even without them asking for such trade offs. Thus:

> "Despite the good intentions of research methodology and scrutinising how research may impinge on or contribute to participants, time and time again we find that in order to contribute, we require a trade off...You allow me to interview you and I will assist by giving you a lift to the clinic or helping you fund raise for a community event...and so on" (Bourke et al 2009:102).

In my case, I ended up buying wares sold by hawkers (who move from one section of Tembisa to the other street by street). I did my hair in the local salons owned by Zimbabweans and spent lots of time in an internet cafe owned by another Zimbabwean who was a key informant. Here, I gained valuable information from other Internet cafe users and conducted some interviews there. As trade offs, I gave information on how to apply and get places at the Midlands State University (where I work) to those that had relatives requiring such information.

After being accepted as a community member I was expected to attend church services and women's meetings. While this was good for rapport, such expectations made it difficult for me not to attend (because of other appointments with other interviewees) as individuals felt let down. Therefore I found myself attending church services on Saturday (with the Seventh day Adventists [SDA] and on Sundays (with members of Jesus Promotion Ministries and ZAOGA Forward in Faith Ministries).

However, SDA church members were uncomfortable with the idea that I attended Sunday services in other churches and with my wearing of trousers during the week. I found out about my dressing style when one of my key informants passed a comment that I looked better and smarter when wearing skirts and dresses than when wearing jeans. I tried to vary

my dressing because members from other denominations had problems with the wearing of skirts and dresses during weekdays; these kinds of clothes are viewed as markers or signs of being Zimbabwean. They were, thus, uncomfortable talking to me when I was dressed like that. Dressing is quite tricky in a population that is trying very hard to conceal their Zimbabwean identity.

4.5. Data collection techniques

4.5.1 Introduction

Research methods used were mainly semi structured and in-depth life history interviews based on a sample of 58 that was purposively selected. These were supplemented by moments of participant observation by the researcher as I stayed with the participants for the duration of the study. The research is mainly based on life history interviews/narratives and participant observation. Life history interviews are geared towards understanding the migrants' whole life course (Van Nieuwenhuyze 2009). The use of the word narratives here is to emphasise the focus on how migrants create 'their stories' in explaining their life courses. This understanding is guided by, but a bit different from Riessman's (2002; 2008) strict outline of narrative research as the major research method. The use of the semi-structured interview is justified on the basis of having a flexible guide or framework for interviewing (Patton 1990).

4.5.2. Interviewing

Interviews generally move along the continuum of structured to unstructured. The purpose of the interview is to have an appreciation of another person's perspective which is regarded as 'meaningful' (Patton 1990; Polkinghorne 2005). Interviews have been hailed for having the following advantages (Hammersley 2008: 91): (a) providing a source of 'self analyses by

informants'; (b) providing an indirect source of evidence about the participants' orientations; (c) being a source of witness accounts about events and settings in the social world; (d) being a source of evidence about the constructional or discursive work engaged in by participants (and perhaps by the interviewer) through which interview data are produced. These advantages outweigh the weaknesses of interviews which include the interviewer bias and errors caused by the research participants' definitions of what they consider appropriate to be spoken about or what they think the researcher wants. The quality of the information obtained through interviews depends on the interviewing skills of the researcher who is the main instrument of the research (Patton 1990; Polkinghorne 2005).

The aim of this research was to get participants' narratives of their lives as foreigners in South Africa. Riessman (2008) argues that the advantage of narratives is that they generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers or general statements. She defines narratives as stories told by research participants and interpretive accounts developed by an investigator based on interviews and field observations. Narratives tend to be interpretations of how participants view their lives and how these are also viewed by the researcher. Narratives have diverse functions such as helping individuals remember, argue, justify, persuade, engage, entertain and even mislead an audience (Riessman 2008:8). This research reveals how Zimbabweans construct their stories and understand their lives with regards to social exclusion from the South African labour market and society.

The researcher used the questions outlined in appendix 10.1 as the guiding framework though the researcher asked additional questions to collect more information. These included the respondents' recommendations on what the governments of South Africa and Zimbabwe can do to make their existence more dignified.

4.5.3. Participant observation

Participant observation is mainly associated with ethnographic research. In this particular study participant observation was used to gain a deeper understanding of migrants as groups with a culture that was different from the rest of the South African society. This strategy was used but only to a lesser extent. I observed and participated in those communal activities such

as church gatherings on weekends. I attended one session of the book club frequented by middle class migrants. I also visited some migrants at their workplaces observing their work environments. I also shared meals with some migrants who invited me for dinner. Here I observed their homes (mainly one room accommodation) and saw the kind of property, furniture and material possessions they had. According to Polkinghorne (2005) researchers can observe participants' behaviours, facial expressions, clothing and other nonverbal indications. They can also observe the environments such as homes, offices and furniture.

4.5.4. The pilot study

The importance of testing research instruments before the actual study can never be overemphasised. Testing helps detect errors, possible ambiguity and reveals how respondents will understand the questions asked. I tested the interview schedule through a pilot study before the actual data collection in June. For the purposes of this pilot study the researcher selected ten participants who did not participate in the actual study. These stayed in Tembisa and Kempton Park. Observations from the pilot study led to the refinement of the interview schedule and the decision to abandon the consent form after using it on five interviewees. As a result of the pilot study I added questions on recommendations of migrants to both the Zimbabwean and South African governments. This was caused by the migrants' own need to proffer solutions particularly to the South African government and their sentiments concerning the economic situation in Zimbabwe.

The pilot study also led to a radical departure from the originally stated plan. Prior to the fieldwork I had indicated that I would use a consent form (see appendix 10.2) where interviewees would sign to show voluntary consent. Interviewees in the pilot study showed reluctance to sign the form even after my explanations that the research was purely for academic purposes. I then decided to drop the consent form.

The pilot study provided an estimate of the duration of one interview and the suitability of the interview questions especially with regards to the self employed who could not talk about being members of a union and employee rights. The longest interview was 70 minutes long while the shortest was 10 minutes long. I noted that the use of the tape recorder was much

appreciated after I had shown that I was not interested in their names and after explaining the reasons for using the recorder rather than the notebook, where I said that the notebook would slow me down and make it difficult for me to capture everything. I also assured them that nobody would listen to it except my research supervisor. So I maintained the tape recorder while I also used a notebook and kept a diary to record other important activities. In the actual research all except two interviews were tape recorded.

During the same study, I was approached by one Nigerian migrant in Kempton Park who begged me to interview him. This was despite my explanation that the study only targeted Zimbabweans. He begged and insisted that I interview him to the point of embarrassment. I gave in and interviewed him. While this interview is not part of the study, it helped me appreciate that his experience was no different from his Zimbabwean counterparts I had interviewed. Although his eagerness to express himself could be interpreted as probably a personality issue, it could also reveal the general need for migrants to be heard, listened to or to simply unburden.

In terms of the direction the research would take, the pilot study revealed the importance of church membership in facilitating the integration of individuals into the migrant community. It also revealed family dynamics and how these changed as family members tried to help, compete, outwit and shun each other in Johannesburg. These, became the focus of the actual research.

4.6. Sources of data

Polkinghorne (2005) identifies three sources of qualitative data: interviews, observations and documents. These fall within two broad categories of primary and secondary sources of data. The research combines both primary and secondary sources of data, where primary sources are those where the researcher directly collects the information from the research himself or herself whereas secondary sources are those that the researcher does not have control over since the data exists prior to the researcher's particular study. It is already existing material. This is usually in the form of archival data. Primary data were collected from the interviews and life histories of the selected migrants. The researcher used notebooks and an audio tape recorder to record data. I also kept a diary where I recorded activities such as church sermons

and other critical events. The use of the tape recorder only happened after the participants' approval that they were comfortable. At the end of the interview I would play back the recording in order for them to hear how their voice sounded on the recorder and approve of the recording. Some insisted on this, while others did not want to hear themselves on the recorder.

The research also involves secondary data analysis of literature, documents, statistics and records of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa from institutions such as government offices, the Internet, the International Organisation for Migration and other research centres such as SAMP and FMSP. Because of the mix of primary and secondary sources of data, the research entails an element of triangulation of data sources which increases the validity of the study.

4.7. Sampling methods

Qualitative research designs use non probability sampling methods such as purposive, deviant or extreme case, typical case, maximum variation or heterogeneity, snowballing and convenience sampling methods. The main reason for the choice of a particular sampling method is its ability to lead to the selection of cases with rich, deep data. While sample size matters (Sandelowski 1995), the major aim in qualitative research is not representativeness of the sample to the whole population but "the provision of full saturated descriptions of the experience under investigation" (Polkinghorne 2005:139) and elucidation on the "particular and the specific" (Creswell 2007:126). The sampling methods and sample size are determined by the purpose of the research or the kinds of data the researcher is looking for. If one's purpose is to provide a snap shot of the current situation of a large population then a quantitative large scale sample survey would suffice. However, if one wants to provide meaning and analyses of people's lives, processes and beliefs, then they may select qualitative sampling methods using a smaller sample for a deeper analysis. Sandelowski (1995:183) reiterates that:

> "an adequate sample size in qualitative research is one that permits - by virtue of not being too large - the deep, case oriented analysis that is the hallmark of all qualitative

inquiry and that results in - by virtue of not being too small - a new and richly textured understanding of experience".

Again in a situation where one deals with mostly elusive, difficult to find, populations that do not want to be known and has no sampling frame, then one cannot use probability sampling methods. These are mainly premised on the assumption that there is a sampling frame and some of the characteristics of the population are known.

Therefore, in this research I used snowballing and purposive sampling methods and a deliberately small sample of 58 in order to allow for an in-depth analysis of participants' life histories. Other factors that affected the sample size included the fact that the research was carried out by one person and issues of saturation. Since this was individual research, I could not cover more than these two areas (in any case these are huge areas themselves having many suburbs and sections within them), neither could I engage in a quantitative research for practical purposes. While Creswell (2007) has attempted to provide rough guidelines on sample size (for example less than thirty for phenomenological research), I believe that there is no prescription concerning the size of the sample in qualitative research. What may be more important is the ability to reach saturation - a point when the researcher feels that there is no new information generated by the interviews. This is the stage when one should stop sampling (Sandelowski 1995).

Initial contacts were made through my personal connections with Zimbabweans in Tembisa. One of these was my cousin who became my assistant cum roommate for the duration of my stay. She accompanied me to all the sections of Tembisa and Kempton Park as we criss-crossed these areas interviewing Zimbabwean migrants. Since there is no sampling frame of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg and most undocumented migrants are difficult to access, personal connections and referrals assisted in accessing participants. Migrants have migrant networks and these greatly facilitated snowballing and identifying participants. Sometimes interviewees would go with me and introduce me to their relatives and friends. This same strategy was adopted by Muzvidziwa (2001) who used his sisters-in-law as entry points into the circle of female cross border traders in Zimbabwe.

The sampling methods were purposive in that attempts were made to approach knowledgeable individuals such as those who had been in Tembisa for a long period of time

(for example, more than 10 years) or those with special circumstances such as being entrepreneurs, or those who had successfully changed their identities and citizenship to South Africa through naturalisation and other methods. This was a deliberate strategy to involve 'information rich' individuals. The other deliberate purpose was including as many different men and women as possible to achieve heterogeneity. The gender ratio was maintained such that eventually there were 33 males and 25 females that participated in the study. This roughly corresponds to the male-female ratio of migrants in Johannesburg (Polzer 2008; Veary 2008; Crush, Williams and Nicholson 2009).

Literature on migrants in South Africa suggests that migrants tend to live in clusters (as a security measure against hostility and crime) in selected areas of Johannesburg such as Alexandria, Benoni, Berea, Hillbrow, Orange Farm, Tembisa, Rosettenville, Windsor, Yeoville, (Morris 1998; Sinclair 1999; Harris 2001; Makina 2007; Veary 2008; Betts and Kaytaz 2009; Makina 2010; Worby 2010; Crush and Tawodzera 2011). A study by Vigneswaran et al (2010) revealed that most Zimbabweans cluster in inner city Johannesburg areas such as Berea, Hillbrow and Yeoville. This trend was also visible in Tembisa where certain family members were found in the same section or nearby section of Tembisa, for example; Umthambeka and Endayini or Ndulwini and Phumlong.

Snowballing has the disadvantage of exposing the researcher to participants who have similar characteristics and a similar perspective. Therefore, to cater for biases that could arise from use of this method the researcher employed purposive sampling and deliberately left out certain family members whose life histories tended to be similar or who were in similar professions. This method brought the variety needed in the research and ensured that there were more male participants than female participants in the sample since there are generally more male than female Zimbabwean migrants.

4.8. Method of analysis

The research uses the Miles and Huberman (1994) approach to data analysis. This approach aims to trace out stable relationships among social phenomena based on the regularities and sequences that link these phenomena. While it is a qualitative method of data analysis, it allows for a bit of quantification through data displays such as tables and graphs. In Chapters

Five, Six, Seven and Eight, I extensively use tables to display data. The Miles and Huberman framework has 3 main components which are interactive and occur concurrently and continually throughout the research. These are:

(a) Data reduction - in the early stages of data analysis data reduction occurs through editing, segmenting and summarising the data. Because I used a tape recorder, I started off by transcribing the data onto a notebook. After that I then engaged in a phase of familiarisation where I read through the data many times in order to know the data and identify tags and labels. In the middle stages it happens through coding and memoing (memoing is the writing up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding) and associated activities such as finding themes, clusters and patterns (Polkinghorne 2005; Punch 2005). In later stages it happens through conceptualising and explaining, since developing abstract concepts is one way of reducing the data. A list of the emergent themes, categories and patterns in the data is provided in the introduction of Chapter Five.

(b) Data display - here data are displayed through graphs, charts, tables, networks and diagrams of different types (Venn etc.). This enables data to be assembled and summarised. Qualitative analysis involves repeated and iterative displays of data. In order to create data displays such as tables, I ran a software programme called Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and entered data after coding and creating 58 variables. All the tables and figures in Chapter Four, Five, Six, Seven and Eight were generated by this SPSS programme.

(c) Drawing and verifying conclusions - also takes place more or less concurrently with the above two stages. Some conclusions may have been drawn at the early stages of the research, but I regarded them as tentative pending further work and finalisation. In the end, conclusions drawn provide explanations for the inclusion and exclusion of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. Some of my conclusions are shown through the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter Three which shows the observed linkages of certain variables such as having a devalued status, the role of public and private institutions and officials and social exclusion.

4.9. Validity issues

While qualitative researchers agree that qualitative research must be valid they argue that the criteria for qualitative validation are different from those used in quantitative research. Instead of such terms as internal and external validity qualitative research is judged on the basis of 'authenticity', 'transferability' and 'credibility' (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Maxwell (2002:42) argues that validity is not a characteristic of a research method but of research reports that are "reached by using that particular method in a particular context for a particular purpose". He came up with three types of validity in qualitative research. These are: descriptive (concerned with giving an accurate account of what is studied), interpretive validity (having the ability to provide the proper meaning of events as perceived by participants - i.e. providing an emic perspective) and theoretical validity (refers to categories identified, relationships existing between these categories and abstractions and explanations built by the researcher from the interpretations and descriptions given).

Judging the validity of qualitative research is often a difficult task since the research is mainly based on the interpretations of the researcher's understanding of the participants' interpretations of their lives, such that the researcher's story tends to be an interpretation of interpretations of participants. Besides, every research report is written from a particular philosophical, racial, gender and class standpoint informed by certain values (Maxwell 2002; Riessman 2002; Polkinghorne 2005; Creswell 2007). Riessman (2008:29) warns that all participants' stories gathered by researchers tend to be selective and perspectival, reflecting the power of memory to remember, forget, neglect and amplify moments in the stream of experience. Indeed qualitative research has come under sharp criticism for not guaranteeing validity, reliability and other criteria for judging the objectivity and scientific nature of research.

Hammersley (2008) argues that qualitative researchers must not accept what participants say at face value because sometimes what people say in interviews is not necessarily what they do neither does it sometimes reflect their true feelings. He argues that:

> "In everyday life when people tell us things, we tend to take what they say on trust unless it conflicts with what we already believe, or unless we have some reason to

doubt what they say. By contrast, the researcher must be less 'charitable' in this sense; in other words he/she must adopt a more sceptical attitude towards the information provided by informants. This is not just a matter of taking precautions against deliberate misrepresentations, though that is certainly part of it, but also recognising that people do not necessarily know what they think they know, that interpreting what they say is not always straightforward, and so on. Above all we need to recognise how both informants' accounts and researchers' interpretations of those accounts always depends on assumptions, some of which may turn out to be false" (Hammersley 2008: 99).

These sentiments expressed by Hammersley were clearly reflected in the case of one migrant who had responded by saying 'no' to my question about whether he would consider marrying a South African woman. The migrant proceeded to do the exact opposite. After a fall-out with his Zimbabwean live-in girlfriend with whom he had 2 children and whom he had stayed with for four years, he went on to live with a well to do older Zulu woman. He had an engagement party after two months and now plans to marry her. Another example is that of a man who had told me that landlords treat tenants the same way and that there was no discrimination between individuals. The same man moved out of his room at the end of the month stating that the landlord did not want married tenants with children and that he now planned to live with his girlfriend with whom he had a young child.

In order to guard against some of the seemingly contradictory situations and pitfalls identified above and also to increase the credibility of this research report, I adopted the following ways (adapted from Denzin 2002; Maxwell 2002; Mikkelsen 2004; Creswell 2007; and Hammersley 2008):

1. I engaged in observation in order to compare what a person says at one point in the interview and what they actually did and said at other situations outside the interview, taking into account the different context. I would compare what they said in the interview with what they said when I met them on the streets, at church and in the internet cafe or shopping centre.

2. I compared what a participant said with what other participants said in the same situation to detect possible errors of interpretation. This happened through

comparisons of stories of undocumented migrants which were compared with each other while stories of documented migrants were also compared with each other. I tried comparing stories of house-maids vis-a-vis other maids while I did the same for security guards and small business owners.

3. I carried out second or third interviews to provide a check on my analyses. This is in line with Polkinghorne's (2005) recommendation, since 'one short' interview (where participant is only interviewed once) may not afford the researcher the needed full and detailed descriptions that form the hallmark of qualitative research. This happened with twenty four interviewees.

4. I ensured thick description providing detailed accounts of the participants under study and their situations making extensive use of verbatim quotations. Hopefully this will increase the confidence of the readers in the data. Creswell (2007:182) argues that there are three types of quotes: short quotations that are eye catching by virtue of being indented, embedded quotes which are quoted phrases within an analyst's narrative and long quotes that contain many ideas and that may require the researcher to guide the reader 'into' and 'out of' the quote to focus the reader on what the writer wants them to see. All these three are used extensively in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

5. I involved transparent documentation of procedures so that information relating to the time and location of the data collection, procedures and methods of analyses are clear. This happened through the use of notebooks and diaries where I entered my observations and remarks regarding the research.

6. The research is validated by the data sources and theoretical triangulation that the researcher employed. Data sources triangulation was employed through the use of primary and secondary sources of data. Theoretical triangulation was used as the researcher explored various theoretical explanations on social exclusion and migrant networks and social capital in understanding the lives of Zimbabwean migrants.

7. I also guarded against certain stereotypical answers (such as South Africans hate us or beat us) by asking whether the participant actually experienced this at a personal level. Surprisingly some answers pointed to the contrary.

Generally threats to the validity for qualitative projects mainly result from the inability of the researcher to give a complete and accurate description of events or phenomena. They also relate to reactivity (especially for interviews) and the researcher's theoretical or ideological biases permeating through the research. The best way to solve such problems and curb these threats is to try as much as possible to capture everything thus giving a detailed 'thick description' of the participants' lives. The researcher was constantly aware of how her conduct of the interviews affected interviewees' responses. Such an understanding allowed for reflexivity.

4.10. Ethical issues

Credible research is one that upholds certain moral standards. Although some researchers may have reasons for paying respondents for providing sensitive information (for example, Chin's [2007] study of Asian and Latino migrants in New York), I decided not to pay participants for fear of sending the wrong signals to them. I wanted participation and acceptability to be natural and not economically driven. Throughout the study I endeavoured to be sensitive to migrants' unique cases and treat them with respect and dignity. While my research obviously invaded their privacy in terms of asking for private and sensitive information and also in terms of entering their one roomed forms of accommodation where mostly one had no other option than to sit on the migrants' beds, this was done in a respectful manner. The specific guidelines I observed are outlined as follows:

1.   In order to get access to participants it was necessary to use an introductory letter from the Department of Sociology, UNISA. Therefore, I requested a cover letter from the supervisor that clearly articulated the purpose of the study and identified the researcher as a doctoral student of UNISA. I also got ethical clearance from the departmental higher degrees committee which was satisfied with my proposed ethical conduct in the field. These documents were used together with my UNISA student identity card, my MSU staff identity

card and my passport. All these were used at various stages of the research to negotiate access to certain interviewees.

2. Voluntary informed consent was sought from participants. This means that the researcher explained fully the purposes of the research to participants and made it clear that participation was voluntary and not coerced. Those that refused to participate were left alone. I had designed a consent form which outlined my intentions and which was meant to be signed by the participants before starting an interview. However, I stopped using the consent form after participants in the pilot study showed that they were uncomfortable with its use.

3. I did not mislead participants through promises of money, jobs, beer or connections with the Department of Home Affairs as a condition of participation. However, I tried to be useful to the participants by giving them information they needed about where I work and about how to apply to study for a degree at both UNISA and MSU. I also helped sell goods in one spaza shop in Moedi, Tembisa, while I used local salons and an internet cafe owned by the research participants. I also participated in some church outreach programmes (for SDA) where we went around Umthambeka section in Tembisa preaching the Christian gospel door to door.

4. The researcher endeavoured to protect the participants' privacy and confidentiality at all times. The researcher only used the audio tape recorder after getting the consent of the participants. I then played them back (those that requested) the recording to show that what was recorded is what we had agreed upon. In the write up the researcher uses pseudonyms to refer to participants such that their privacy is protected at all times. However, sometimes pseudonyms may not be enough to protect the privacy of participants. Van Nieuwenhuyze (2009) argued that pseudonyms may not totally protect the participants especially in narrative studies where a detailed description is given to the extent that those that are familiar with the person can easily tell who they are even without seeing the name.

5. The publication of findings will only take place after getting the consent of respondents involved in the study.

4.11. Conclusion

This chapter provided an outline of the qualitative research methodology pursued in this research providing the necessary justification for such a research strategy. Qualitative research methodology is justified by the researcher's quest to understand, describe and explore in detail the lives of selected 58 Zimbabwean migrants in the areas of Tembisa and Kempton Park. The need for flexibility is emphasised because the direction of the research constantly changed as the research progressed. The need to capture the respondents' stories also justifies the deliberate strategy to give them room to air their views on how they feel excluded from the South African society and their various strategies of surviving or dealing with social exclusion in their quest for dignified lives in a foreign country. This qualitative approach is best in answering questions such as: How do Zimbabwean migrants evaluate the quality of their lives in South Africa? Or how do they interpret the treatment they receive from nurses or local South African neighbours? Such questions cannot be answered using a quantitative research approach as the deeper meanings and interpretations are not always the focus of such researches. This study cannot provide estimates and generalisations concerning all Zimbabweans in Tembisa and Kempton Park since it is not representative enough. It was never the intention of the researcher to provide a representative sample, but it is the purpose of this study to provide a detailed rich in-depth appreciation of the lives of the 58 Zimbabwean migrants under study.

CHAPTER FIVE: PROFILES OF ZIMBABWEAN MIGRANTS IN TEMBISA AND KEMPTON PARK

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents descriptions of migrants; showing where they live, why they came, how long they have been in Tembisa and Kempton Park and how they live in these areas. It traces the origins of the migrants and shows the role of non-migrants, in this case, parents, siblings and partners, in the facilitation of the migration trajectories. The demographic profiles of migrants reveal that the majority are younger males and females who are below the age of 45. They largely engage in live-in arrangements which are semi-legal marriage arrangements. These tend to be more flexible than the formal marriage systems. In this chapter I use the words 'locals' to refer to native South Africans while 'migrants' refer to Zimbabweans. I also use the words 'Johannesburg/Joburg central' to mean the city centre.

The chapter shows that while there is an equal number of Ndebele and Shona migrants in the sample, Ndebeles have been in Johannesburg longer than the Shonas. The chapter reveals that 74% of the migrants have Ordinary level education only and a few have Advanced level certificates and degrees. Some migrants engaged in step migration in order to get to Johannesburg.

The chapter analyses the function of the family network in aiding newcomers with accommodation, food and job search, especially when these family members are aware of the newcomers' arrival. When the newcomer's intentions to migrate are unknown to the established migrants, the new comer may be rejected. However, in some cases even when the newcomer's arrival is well known, he/she can be rejected if the economic situation of the established migrant is poor. This then explains the severing of ties and the social exclusion of migrants by other migrants.

This chapter also exposes the role of human smugglers (malayitsha) and their contribution to the migrants' social capital - where if they are known to the newcomer or his /her family members in both countries transport money may be paid in instalments. This confirms

proposition number 10 of my analytical framework outlined in Chapter Three. The discussion of malayitsha and bus drivers also sheds some light on the negotiations between the border officials and these transporters exposing the corruption of these officials and their ability to redefine the legality of migrants.

The reasons for coming to Johannesburg are given as largely economic, especially for males while some women also migrated to combine job search and joining family members who had migrated earlier. The chapter discusses in detail the living and sleeping arrangements of migrants and the pressures they face every day. These may help us understand why some may resort to crime and deviance to cope in difficult situations (this will be discussed in Chapter 7). The findings reveal a high percentage (85%) of migrants who remit at least once a year. This shows how remittances are connected to the survival of migrant households in Zimbabwe and explains why Zimbabwean migration is indeed by and large, a household coping mechanism.

5.2. The current distribution of Zimbabwean migrants in Tembisa and Kempton Park

Of those I interviewed, currently 74% stayed in Tembisa while just a quarter lived in Kempton Park. These migrants are found in the following sections of Tembisa: Endayini, Esangweni, Umfayaneni, Umthambeka, Moedi, Ndulwini, Oakmoar and Phumlong. In Kempton Park migrants stay in flats, Edleen and Birchleigh. Of the 15 migrants that live in Kempton Park, 10 of them never stayed anywhere else. There are 4 participants who once stayed in Kempton Park but now live in Tembisa. The move to Tembisa is usually undesirable as the township is looked down upon compared to Kempton Park. A fall in a person's fortunes could be responsible for the move to Tembisa. Rentals are cheaper in Tembisa (where one can get a room for R500 or R600) than in Kempton Park (where renting a room can cost between R1000 and R1500 per month). In other cases the explanation could be that an individual requires bigger accommodation space (maybe two rooms) for R1000 or R1500 which could only be sufficient for a room in the Kempton Park flats.

The same could be argued for migrants whose first area of residence was Tembisa. 50% of the migrants, whose first stay in South Africa was Tembisa, are still in the township. There are only 2 participants (3,4%) that started by staying in Tembisa and then moved to Kempton Park. These are admired by residents of Tembisa because their movement is perceived as upward social mobility. In a few cases, it is not easy to connect residential area with socio-economic status because there are individuals like the security company owner who is financially able to stay in Kempton Park but he continues to stay in Tembisa because of the convenience it offers in terms of being closer to his pool of labour - the security guards. He also argues that he does not want to waste money in high rentals and would thus invest the money in his businesses in Zimbabwe. The same argument was put forward by the owner of the internet cafe (Paradzayi) who has two internet cafes in Tembisa. He prefers to be closer to his business premises.

5.3. Age, gender and ethnicity characteristics

In terms of the ages of participants most of them (91,4%) are in the economically active age groups of between 20 and 40 while five of them (8, 6%) are over the age of forty but below fifty nine. In this sample there are no Zimbabwean migrants above the age of sixty. The table below illustrates these percentages.

TABLE 5: AGE OF PARTICIPANTS

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
20-29	22	38%	38%
30-39	31	53.4%	91.4%
40-49	3	5.2%	96.6%
50-59	2	3.4%	100%
Total	58	100%	

While these migrants are still in their prime years they came to Johannesburg when they were already over eighteen. This is different from what Maphosa (2011) found when he discovered that most migrants migrated when they were younger than eighteen.

Of the fifty eight (58) participants, thirty three (33) were male while twenty-five (25) were female. There were twenty nine (29) Shona speaking participants (20 male and 9 female) and twenty nine (29) Ndebele speaking migrants (13 male and 16 female). The current state of migrants in terms of ethnicity depicts the same numbers of Ndebele and Shona speaking Zimbabweans in Johannesburg. The above statistics show that among the Shona participants, males are dominant while among the Ndebele participants, the numbers are almost the same though Ndebele women (16) are more than men (13).

5.4. Level of education of migrants

Most migrants (74%) had attained the Ordinary (O) level of education while 19% had Advanced (A) level education. This was combined with a host of certificates and national and higher national diplomas in various fields such as human resources, library science, engineering, nursing, teaching, computers and administration. There were two migrants with first degrees while one migrant had a masters' degree. There was one migrant who had not reached ordinary level (form four), he held a junior certificate and argues that his education was disturbed by the liberation struggle in the 1978-79 period. He was the oldest in the group. Most educational qualifications were attained before migration. Some migrants continued to further their education in South Africa by attaining certificates in the areas of accounting, catering, security and drivers' licences. There are a few migrants that are currently pursuing degrees with UNISA. These are documented migrants.

TABLE 6: LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF PARTICIPANTS

Level of education	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Junior certificate level	1	2%	2%
Ordinary level	43	74%	76%
Advanced level	11	19%	95%
First degree	2	3%	98%
Masters degree	1	2%	100%
Total	58	100%	100%

Migrants generally regard access and content of South African Education as easy but expensive. For example, Bongani is currently doing a Bachelor of Education degree at UNISA. He says he always gets distinctions because "it's more of revision here" for someone who did a Diploma in Education in Zimbabwe. Bongani has also done a year long course in estate agency to the point that he has reached the level where he is allowed to register his own company. Edwin is also studying for a Diploma in Information technology at UNISA. He, however, struggles to raise the required fees per semester. Migrants prefer UNISA because of its flexible arrangements of studying at home. There are migrants that are continuing education using fake South African documents. For example, Farai acquired a fake South African ID through his cousin. He is currently a shift supervisor at a restaurant. He started off as a waiter and has been promoted twice. He has done many courses in hotel and catering using that fake South African name. Migrants who have managed to use their fake documents to study for certain courses run the risk of losing all their qualifications once they are caught.

There is another group of migrants who have acquired certificates in computers, secretarial and administration (some even without documentation and legality in the country) from private colleges. Daniel reveals that "private colleges don't care whether your asylum is valid or not". However, they cannot use these credentials because there are 'no jobs' or they are told that they do not have 'experience'. Theresa says: "When I came here I did matric and passed. I also did a diploma in computers but I have never landed a permanent job. They always say its full". Some migrants learn on the job. Unfortunately this training is not supported by documents and is ultimately referred to as 'experience'. It disadvantages them on the labour market as they have no proof of training.

5.5. Last place of residence in Zimbabwe

In answering the question on where Zimbabwean migrants come from, the following table shows the migrants' last place of residence in Zimbabwe. This is the place where they last stayed before moving to South Africa. It may not necessarily be the place of birth of the migrants. In some of these places migrants pursued work and educational opportunities before deciding to migrate. For Zimbabweans, there is still so much importance given to having a rural homestead. Even when one resides in an urban setting he/she will still want to have a rural homestead in the village. There are, however, growing numbers of individuals who prefer to settle permanently in urban areas without building a rural homestead.

TABLE 7: LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF PARTICIPANTS

Last place of residence	Frequency	Percent
Bulawayo	21	36.2%
Gokwe	1	1.7%
Gweru	4	6.9%
Harare	9	15.5%
Hwange	2	3.4%
Lupane	1	1.7%
Mutare	5	8.6%
Masvingo	4	6.9%
Marondera	1	1.7%
Mberengwa	1	1.7%
Nkayi	5	8.6%
Silobela	1	1.7%
Tsholotsho	3	5.2%
Total	58	100%

It is clear that some migrants came straight from the rural areas (such as Silobela, Tsholotsho, Lupane, Mberengwa, Nkayi and Gokwe) while others first migrated to urban areas (such as Gweru, Bulawayo, Harare, Marondera and Mutare) and then moved to South Africa. For example Aaron is originally from Mberengwa but when he migrated to South Africa in 2008, he was coming from Bulawayo where he did a course in motor mechanics, which he did not finish. Therefore international migration was the ultimate step for individuals who were already engaged in internal step migration.

The above table shows that rather than migration being concentrated in the western parts of Zimbabwe (such as Bulawayo, Tsholotsho), migrants in Johannesburg now hail from all over Zimbabwe. While the bulk are still based in major cities and towns (Bulawayo, Harare, Mutare, Gweru) some migrants come from rural areas of Zimbabwe such as Gokwe, Mberengwa and Nkayi. The effect of the economic crisis is clear in that rather than migration being limited to the traditional routes in Zimbabwe, all parts of the country were affected in the same way and thus people moved to South Africa to ensure survival.

FIGURE 1: MAP OF ZIMBABWE
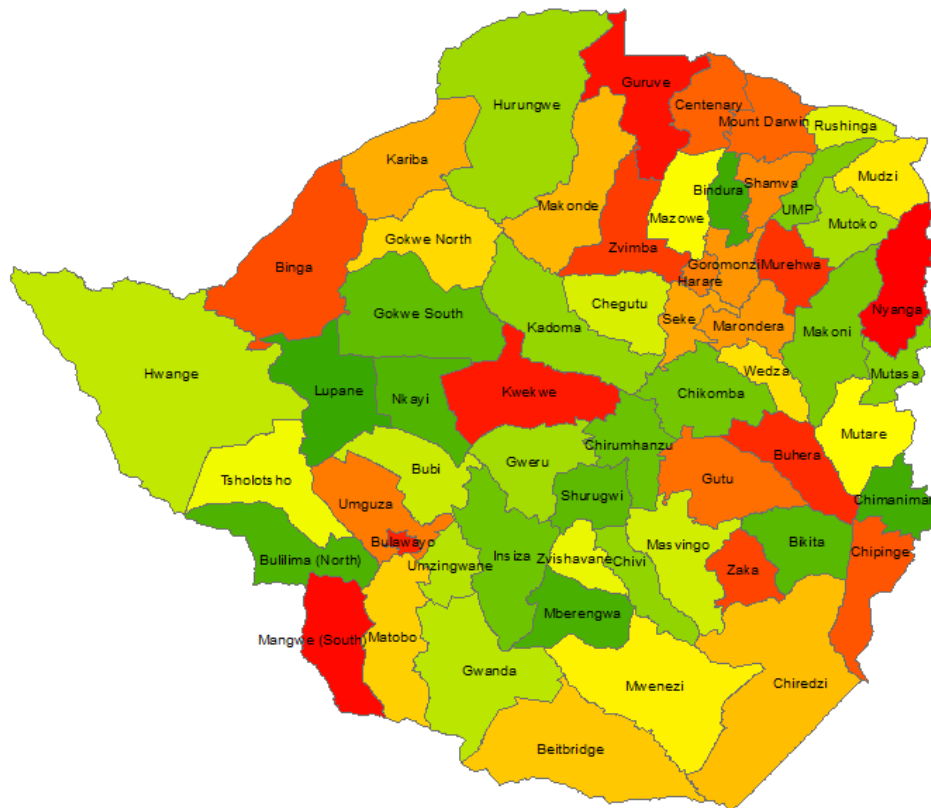
The above map of Zimbabwe shows the areas where migrants come from. These are Matabeleland North (which includes areas such as Lupane, Hwange, Bulawayo, Nkayi and Tsholotsho), Matabeleland South (including Gwanda, Mwenezi), Midlands (including Mberengwa, Zvishavane, Gweru, Silobela and Gokwe), Masvingo province (including Chiredzi, Chivi, Mwenezi), Manicaland (including Mutare, Nyanga and Rusape), Mashonaland East (including Marondera and Mutoko), Mashonaland Central (including Mt Darwin and Bindura), Mashonaland West (including Chinhoyi and Kadoma) and Harare. The provinces are roughly divided along ethnic lines, where the Matabeleland provinces are dominated by Ndebele speaking people while Mashonaland, Manicaland and Masvingo provinces are also dominated by Shona speaking people with different dialects such as Karanga (Masvingo), Manyika (Manicaland) and Zezuru (Mashonaland). The Midlands Province is a province with mixed ethnic groups of the Shona and Ndebele.

5.6. Length of stay of migrants in Tembisa and Kempton Park

In terms of the length of stay in Johannesburg, it is clear that among the research participants, Ndebele speaking people have been there longer than the Shona. This is evidenced by the percentage of Ndebele speaking people (31%) who have been in Johannesburg for over ten (10) years while only 10,4% of Shona migrants are in the same category. Most Shona speaking Zimbabweans have been in Johannesburg for less than nine (9) years. This corresponds well with the period that the Zimbabwe crisis lasted starting in the late 1990s and worsening from 2000 to 2009. There were no Shona speaking people who have been in Johannesburg for more than fifteen years while there were 5 (17,3%) Ndebele migrants in the same category. Among those Ndebele speakers that came to Tembisa in the early 1990s were William and Bernard. William came in 1992 and he says that Tembisa used to be a dangerous place full of criminal gangs while Bernard argues that there was no electricity when he came in 1995 and he shared a room with eight men.

TABLE 8: LENGTH OF STAY IN JOBURG * ETHNICITY CROSS-TABULATION

How long have you been in Joburg?		Ethnicity of respondent	
		Ndebele	Shona
less than a year	Count	1	1
	% of Total	3,4%	3,4%
between one and four years	Count	5	10
	% of Total	17,3%	34,5%
between five and nine years	Count	9	15
	% of Total	31%	52%
between ten and fifteen years	Count	9	3
	% of Total	31%	10,4%
above fifteen years	Count	5	0
	% of Total	17,3%	0%
Total	Count	29	29
	% of Total	100%	100%

This table reflects that the Ndebele people in this study have been in Johannesburg longer than Shona. These come from Western Zimbabwean areas that have been traditionally migrant sending places, where migration has become a career and a rite of passage. Maphosa (2011) argues that people from western parts of Zimbabwe now have a culture of migration and all their values and behaviours are associated with migration. This is particularly true for areas such as Gwanda, Tsholotsho, Plumtree, Lupane and Nkayi. These are the same dry, famine-prone areas of the country. Among the participants, the migrant who has lived here the longest is a fifty four (54) year old Ndebele male who came to Johannesburg in 1992. He has been in Johannesburg for twenty years.

5.7. Step migration

While most migrants came to Johannesburg straight from Zimbabwe, a few first stayed in Musina and Pretoria while others had short stints in Botswana. Edwin first stayed with his aunt in Pretoria in 2007. He then moved to a farm outside Pretoria where his friends worked. He worked as a welder welding greenhouse tunnels. He then drifted to Johannesburg after getting in touch with his cousin in Tembisa. Daniel first stayed in Musina when he crossed the border in 2007 and stayed with his relatives for eight months before moving to Johannesburg. There was one migrant who came to Johannesburg via Mozambique using a Mozambican Identity document. There are five females who had worked in beauty salons in Botswana as hair dressers but when they came to South Africa some started their journeys from Zimbabwe. Ruth had been working piece jobs in Botswana and she moved with her husband straight from Botswana to Johannesburg. Tapera had acquired a work permit in Botswana and had been working there since 2006. He moved to Johannesburg in 2011 following a friend who had also moved to Cape Town. For these migrants the decision to migrate to South Africa could have been made easier by their acquired 'foreign experience' in Botswana.

There are other migrants who have tried moving to further areas such as Cape Town. These found Cape Town unfavourable and came back after job promises faltered. Among them is

Tapera who had moved from Botswana. He moved from Botswana to Zimbabwe then Pretoria via Johannesburg to Cape Town and back to Johannesburg.

> "My friend had promised me a good job in Cape Town so I went there. I found that he lied when I arrived at his place and discovered that his sister did not know about my coming. He avoided coming home till late and we confronted each other...he later chased me away so I returned to Joburg. I walked some 15km and I had R40 only. It was in December and I narrated my ordeal to a Zimbabwean truck driver who agreed to ferry me from Cape Town to Johannesburg on the understanding that my nephew in Joburg would pay the transport costs once we reach Joburg and that's how I came to stay with him in Tembisa" (Tapera).

Another migrant who came back from Cape Town was Farai. He was already in Tembisa when he decided to try his fortunes in Cape Town in 2006 when he was aged twenty-one.

> "I met a friend who told me that Cape Town has many job opportunities. We agreed to go and try, so we went together. I wanted to go away because of the ill-treatment I received from my uncle. When we arrived in Cape Town my friend's relatives couldn't answer their phones. We ended up at a police station. We spent a week there as the police were trying to locate my friend's relatives. Surprisingly the police couldn't tell that we were Zimbabweans. I remembered a distant relative in Cape Town and phoned him. He came and gave us bus-fare back to Joburg. That's when I was disowned by everybody and I started living in the park".

Cape Town was found to be a harsher environment economically because there were no friends and relatives willing to house and help the migrants. Without the family network migrants were vulnerable there.

5.8. Migrant families in Johannesburg

Migrants tended to have a family history of migration. They also tended to have somebody they knew first before coming to South Africa. This person was either a relative or a friend. For most individuals it was the presence of relatives that gave them confidence to travel to South Africa. No one was completely clueless when they came. 91% of the migrants agreed

that they had family members in Johannesburg. These were relatives such as parents, siblings, cousins, uncles and aunts. Migrants also made use of extended family ties including distant relatives. Only five had no relatives. They had friends living in Johannesburg. Some migrants had both family members and friends in Johannesburg, so they had a wide choice in selecting whom to stay with. For example, Godfrey says:

> "I first stayed with my friend in Tembisa. My mom was also here but I didn't want to stay with her. I had many options. My friend had been here for a long time. I stayed for two months with my friend and then moved out to stay on my own".

Felix also had part of his family in Johannesburg. When he came he stayed with his mother and siblings in the two rooms that they rented in Tembisa.

Another indication that these migrants already had connections in Johannesburg is the fact that the majority (53%) of migrants first stayed with family members such as brothers, sisters, cousins and partners. Eight (14%) first stayed with uncles and aunts. A sizeable number of migrants (22%) first stayed with friends. Four (7%) even stayed with their parents when they first moved to Johannesburg. Only two participants (who made up 45 of the participants) were housed by people they did not directly know. Of these two one man (Moses) first stayed at the Methodist church in Johannesburg central while another (Aaron) first stayed with the brother of a friend.

For those who already had parents and siblings in South Africa it was difficult to talk about their first trip as they had always visited during school holidays, leave and vacation. In their case the first trip was taken to refer to the trip they made after deciding to live in South Africa as workers or students. This meant that for some participants the whole family had over time moved to South Africa. When they eventually migrated they were joining a bigger and well co-ordinated family in Johannesburg. A good example is that of Bongani who comes from Tsholotsho. He used to visit his mother and brothers in South Africa during school holidays from 2001 up to 2004. Bongani was a school teacher in Zimbabwe for thirteen years. He then decided to look for a job in South Africa after resigning in 2004. While most of his family members are in South Africa, some are in South Korea. There is no longer anyone from his immediate family remaining in Zimbabwe.

5.9. How did they come?

5.9.1. Introduction

This section describes how migrants prepared for their first journey to Johannesburg after deciding to move and stay there for longer periods. It discusses how potential migrants got their information and raised their money for the journey, how they were transported across the border by *malayitsha* and how they arrived in Johannesburg. It also details how they were received following their relatives or friends' knowledge that they had arrived. Most migrants did not have enough transport money so their relatives in Johannesburg paid the remainder of the money upon their arrival. In some cases the relatives were aware of the migrants' plans to travel while in others they were taken by surprise.

5.9.2. Raising transport money

There was little resistance to the idea of migrating to Johannesburg. In some cases migration was suggested by family members. A good example is that of Tatenda whose mother suggested that she migrates to Johannesburg for a better future in 2008. She even sought bus-fare for her daughter. There were few women who stated that there was resistance from their parents. This resistance was not directed towards the idea of migrating to Johannesburg but on the mode of transportation used. For the safety of their daughters, parents tended to prefer buses or closely related *malayitsha* whom they could trust rather than unknown *malayitsha*. Grace was one such daughter whose mother did not want her to come with *malayitsha* in 2007. Her sister in Johannesburg had paid *malayitsha* to bring Grace to South Africa but her mother demanded a refund preferring that Grace travels by bus. When *malayitsha* refused to refund them they had no choice but to take up his offer although the mother was upset. Therefore in raising transport money there was always a preference for a safer (in terms of not going via forests) mode of transport even if it cost them more money.

While some migrants had travel costs catered for by relatives in Johannesburg or Zimbabwe, some stole the money from relatives in Zimbabwe. This was the story told by Bernard who came to Johannesburg in 1995:

> "I worked odd jobs in Zimbabwe before coming to Johannesburg. I used to sell foodstuffs at a bus terminus. I also once worked as a tout for local taxis. One day I stole my brother's money that was meant for paying electricity and utility bills. I also stole my other brother's passport which I used to cross the border".

Sometimes potential migrants stole from their employers. This was what Farai did. He used to work at an internet cafe where he stole a computer and gave it to *malayitsha* as payment for transport. Another migrant, Edgar, stole motor spares from his employer and sold them to raise bus-fare. I noted that the migrants who had stolen goods or money for transport costs were all male. While the act of theft created tensions, especially among relatives, migrants were quickly forgiven when they remitted money back home. However, for those that did not replace the stolen money through remittances, there was a strong connection made between their misfortunes in Johannesburg (not getting good jobs) and the perceived anger of their former employers. This belief was so strong that Paradzayi, the brother to Farai, ended up repaying Farai's former employer four years after Farai's migration. This was because his Farai could not get good jobs over that period and they feared that he had been bewitched by his former employer.

There was another small group of migrants that raised their own transport money without assistance from family members. These individuals saved money from their meagre salaries in Zimbabwe. For example Bongani saved his bonus in 2003 so that he could travel to Johannesburg in 2004. Vongai had saved her money from the Netherlands where she had been an international student. From the Netherlands she spent a month in Zimbabwe and then came to Johannesburg where she stayed with her friend contributing to household requirements. Godfrey also had some money when he came in 2006. He had saved it for some time when he worked in the Zimbabwe Prison Services. He was even able to board the *Greyhound* coach, considered one of the luxurious cross-border buses in Zimbabwe.

Migrants came by buses and *malayitsha* cross - border taxis. Migrants were given transport money, information and tips on how to travel either by their relatives in Johannesburg or their families back in Zimbabwe. This made the travel smoother although a few still complained of being badly treated by their transporters, especially the *malayitsha* taxi operators. Buses were generally believed to be safer than the *malayitsha* taxis because if one had an adequate amount of money (which includes money for bribing officials) they could cross the border properly without going through the bushes by just remaining in the bus while others had their passports stamped. The immigration officers who inspect buses ignore such individuals when they have been given a 'reasonable' amount of money of up to R200. Buses and *malayitsha* usually charge between R1000 and R1500 for such cases. However, *malayitsha* were the favourite mode of transport especially used by undocumented migrants without money for bribing officials.

Undocumented migrants mostly prefer using *malayitsha* or migrant smugglers who have ways of getting across via the bush. The *malayitsha* employ individuals called the *impisi* (literally meaning hyena) who help potential migrants to cross the Limpopo River and walk through the bush. They engage in risky business where they help migrants cross the huge crocodile infested Limpopo River. These human smugglers can be compared with the Mexican *coyotes* who smuggle undocumented migrants across the USA-Mexico border (Krissman 2005; Donato, Wagner and Patterson 2008; Dolfin and Genicot 2010). A coyote is a prairie wolf. Surprisingly the names *impisi* and *coyote* are names of wild animals that are fierce, carnivorous and hunt in packs. I suppose the imagery is meant to give confidence in their clients that they can handle the jungle because they live in it like predatory wild animals. But, it could also mean that the clients run the risk 'of being eaten' by the same animals because they are easy prey.

Fifty percent of the migrants agreed that their first journey after deciding to stay in South Africa was illegal. They either did not have a passport or the visa that was required for legal entry. Therefore the entry was illegal and some travelled via the bush or forests. Travelling via the bush is commonly called *dabulapu.* The literal meaning of this word is not known although one could say the word derives from *dabula* - which means to tear or cut wide open.

Migrants could be viewed as cutting through the forests to move from one country to the other. D*abulapu* is common among undocumented migrants in South Africa and Botswana. Migrants who use *dabulapu* are always afraid of *magumaguma* (men who waylay potential migrants in the forests in order to loot goods, money and clothes from them. They sometimes rape and kill would-be migrants) and wild animals. For female migrants rape by *magumaguma* is their greatest fear. Male migrants commonly joke about not wanting to marry female migrants who came via *dabulapu* because some of them would have been violated by *magumaguma.* The table below shows how the migrants first entered South Africa.

TABLE 9: LEGALITY OF FIRST ENTRY

Was the first entry legal?	Frequency	Percent
no	29	50%
yes	29	50%
Total	58	100%

Some migrants recalled harrowing stories of how they crossed the Limpopo River in the company of the *impisi* and how they were lucky to have escaped the *magumaguma.* According to Maphosa (2011) the *magumaguma* mainly operate in two ways: (a) offering assistance to potential migrants in crossing the border unofficially and later robbing the same individuals or (b) waylaying the potential migrants in order to steal, rape or kill them. For female migrants it was particularly dangerous as they were also afraid of being raped along the way. Those that used this strategy (*dabulapu*) recounted how they spent at least 2 days walking through the forest. One particular lady (Tatenda) who crossed the border in 2008 recounted how they spent 2 weeks in the forests after being duped by the *malayitsha* that had ferried them. Her story is as follows:

> "I had R600 at the border and one *malayitsha* tricked us saying he could help us cross the border directly without going through the forests. I gave him R300 and hid the other R300. We stayed in the forest for two weeks. The man provided food but he was stingy because we only ate pap and cabbages while other people belonging to other *malayitsha* ate pap and meat. There were groups of people belonging to different

malayitsha who were already there. In our group there were 14 of us and we were told to wait until we were twenty because the *malayitsha*'s car needed to carry a full load of twenty. I discovered five more groups belonging to other *malayitsha*".

The story was the same for Mary who broke into tears narrating how they stayed for two weeks in the forest after her first attempt to cross was foiled by the police at Musina in 2008. She discovered that there were more than seventy (70) people in the forests belonging to different *malayitsha*. She was even more perturbed to discover some individuals who had been in the forests for two months waiting for their *malayitsha*'s cars to have the needed full load.

5.9.4. Crossing the Limpopo River

There are myths associated with crossing the Limpopo River. In some cases migrants stated that there were medicine men that would jump into the water to chase away crocodiles. In all the cases men and women were made to cross the river stark naked. Rituals of crossing the river involved: crossing the river in the early hours of the day, for example at 2am; killing, beating or leaving behind small children who cried at the river; removing all the clothes and holding hands while crossing. A vivid description of how the river was crossed came from Scott who crossed the river in January 2012:

"We crossed the river at a site called *Kwamumbengeyi* which is near a soldiers' camp. The water in the river was just above the waist of a tall adult male. Women cried. Some had children. I grew up in rural areas so I knew how to swim. I was not really afraid. What I was afraid of was the fact that they said we should hold hands with women and cross the river in a single file. We were arranged in such a way that men would support women and help carry their weight as we crossed. No one was harmed by crocodiles because there were men who were hired to help us cross the river. These men jumped into the water to test it and then told us it was ok for us to cross. Those women who had crying babies were beaten up and made to stop their children from crying. The *malayitsha* are very harsh and hard hearted. They were hurling insults and vulgar language. We crossed the river at around 3am".

All the migrants that came to Johannesburg via the river agreed that they were made to remove their clothes for ease of crossing. In some cases they crossed safely while in others children were left behind or some people drowned. It was important to choose the timing of migration so that one crosses the river at a time when there was little water, for example in the months from June to October. However, some crossed in January when the river was almost full. Desperation tended to be the major factor. For example, Aaron crossed the river in January 2008 "when the water came up to my chest. There were many of us, maybe 400 people crossed that day". While there might have been some exaggeration on the exact numbers (400) there were many desperate people during that time whose crossing of the river was not determined by a rational calculation of what the level of water might be in the river.

5.9.5. Awareness of the journey by relatives in Zimbabwe and South Africa

Not all journeys were planned properly with the knowledge of relatives from both sides of the border. In some cases, individuals ran away from home and left people looking for them while in others they arrived to unprepared relatives. Those that stole money made it a point that their departure was kept a secret especially from the victim of the theft, but there was always somebody whom they shared the secret with and who approved of their decision to go. In some cases, mothers would know while in others, some brothers and sisters knew about the migrants' plans to leave for South Africa.

One female migrant (Hillary) ran away from home without telling her father whom she knew would resist her decision, but her mother knew. The father panicked and thought that something had befallen his daughter such that he inserted a notice in the local newspaper looking for his daughter. This particular migrant left without notifying her aunt and uncle whom she intended to stay with in Tembisa. When she arrived they were unprepared for her and since they shared a room with their child she became an extra burden and was not received well. To make matters worse, her bus-fare was not enough such that when she arrived and notified her aunt about the deficit the aunt was not furious. They stayed together for a month but relations were strained to the extent that a neighbour told her to move away rather than destroy her aunt's marriage. Her aunt and uncle openly told her that she should have stayed in Zimbabwe where she worked as a nurse at a public hospital.

The first migration trip was shrouded in secrecy either at the departure or arrival point. However, this period was perceived as stressful to the migrant, the family in Zimbabwe and the relatives in Johannesburg who had to stretch their meagre resources to accommodate yet another poor dependent. Depending on luck and level of preparedness prior to the arrival a new migrant could be unemployed for up to two months. This is a long time to try the patience of an unprepared and struggling migrant.

Coming unannounced and uninvited is a big risk as one may be rejected by relatives (this illustrates proposition number nine regarding the repellent mechanisms of the family network). For women, rejection could lead to rape (there were rumours of this though none among migrants told me they were raped) and abuse by the *malayitsha* who would keep them until the migrants' relatives changed their minds. It is in the interest of the *malayitsha* to keep them in-order for him (the *malayitsha* are always male) to get his transport charges (in most cases these same migrants would not have paid their transport costs in full hoping that their relatives would pay off the remainder). To make matters worse, sometimes new migrants brought along their own friends and relatives. Tatenda had a similar story:

> "We arrived in Joburg in February 2008 and stayed in Yeoville in the *malayitsha*'s flat. The driver would phone people's relatives to bring money and collect their relatives. Some would switch off their cell-phones. In my case my distant uncle did not know that I was coming. I got his details from his sister. He did not even know me. He is a distant relative. When they phoned him he said he had no money and was not ready for my arrival. I had my mothers' friend with me who was also hoping she could stay at my uncle's place. We spent a week in Yeoville waiting for him to come and fetch us. The *malayitsha* was already complaining that we were wasting his food. He thought of returning us to Zimbabwe but then decided to take us to my uncle in Tembisa. My uncle promised to make a bank deposit for the *malayitsha*'s money at month-end. I also promised to give him the money when I got employed. I never gave him anything up to now. I still have his phone numbers and bank details".

Not all migrants got off so easily. At the height of the economic crisis in 2008 Aaron was among those that were rescued by the police after being locked up in a garage for two days by a *malayitsha* for non payment of the full transport costs. Fortunately, among the seven male arrivals (he took away the women) who were 'imprisoned' by *malayitsha* was one young man who phoned his father who stayed in Hillbrow. The father alerted the police who then
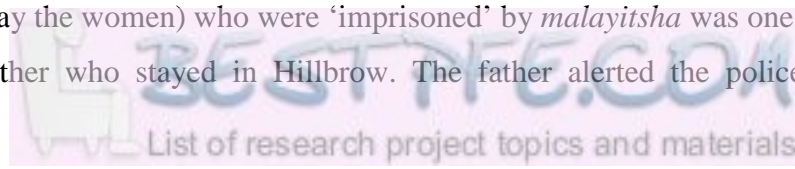
facilitated the release of these migrants. They were not deported. The police gave them food and allowed them to phone their relatives while at the police station and simply let them go.

5.9.6. At the mercy of *malayitsha*

Throughout their journey migrants were at every stage at the mercy of *malayitsha*. At departure point the *malayitsha* would charge unreasonable transportation fees and demand half or the full amount depending on whether the migrant had a trustworthy story about having relatives in Johannesburg. At the border the *malayitsha* would change his story about crossing the border using the bridge and the normal border post. At that stage it would be too late for the potential migrant to demand their money back since their agreement would have been based on the belief that they will not use *dabulapu*. The potential migrant is forced to accept the new terms set by *malayitsha*. This is what happened to Grace who says: "my sister had paid for me to come straight through the border but as we approached the border *malayitsha* told me that the people he knew/was connected to at the border were off-duty so we had to go through the forests".

Going through the forests in some cases (such as that of Tatenda and Mary) means that migrants would have to stay in the forests for days with up to fifty or more people as the *malayitsha* leaves them behind to look for other people to cheat and increase their number. Food supplies become a problem in a situation where each *malayitsha* must feed 'his people'. Shortages of food would mean that in some cases the *malayitsha* would demand more money in order to buy food for 'his people'. In the forest the migrants were also in danger as the *malayitsha* would phone the migrants' relatives to confirm that he would get his money upon arrival. Migrants narrated stories of other potential migrants who were left in the forests after their relatives refused to commit themselves to paying for transportation. In other cases, the new arrival would be stuck with *malayitsha* in Hillbrow or Yeoville, when their relatives had disowned them. Again, this would be exposing them to abuse by the irate *malayitsha* who would be demanding his money. The *malayitsha* were believed to overcharge migrants, capitalising on their desperation. For example, when Aaron used *dabulapu* in 2008 he was charged R2500 (although he did not pay it in full and ended being abducted by the angry

malayitsha) when the 'normal' fee was around R1500. He argues that some potential migrants paid with two or more cattle.

5.9.7. Arrests and deportations

There were migrants who had been deported at least once in the various stages of their journeys. Most were caught at the border while others were arrested along the way and even when they were in Johannesburg. For example, Aaron was arrested the first time he attempted to come as an undocumented migrant in 2008:

> "I was arrested when I tried to come the first time. They caught me in Makhado and deported me. I had to start afresh. I sold my starter pack (for cellular phone) to come here".

Bongani was also deported in 2005. They arrested and deported him in 2005 for coming without a visa in Polokwane. Farai was arrested and deported in 2010 at a roadblock just after the border. He argues:

> "I was coming from visiting family members in Zimbabwe and there was a roadblock just after the border. They arrested and deported me but I soon found a bus at Beitbridge and lied to the bus driver that another bus (that had my luggage) had left me while I was still sorting out my issues at the border. I showed him my ticket and he agreed to transport me. It was a South African bus so the police did not search it. South African buses are not known to carry illegal immigrants".

Dan was arrested in Johannesburg central on his way to look for a job.

> "I used to stay in Joburg central and they arrested me in 1998 when I was on my way to *ukumaketha* (looking for a job). They checked for vaccination marks that appear on the left shoulder of every Zimbabwean and caught us. We were deported but I came back".

Migrants who came before 2000 argue that arrests and deportations were much more frequent then than those that happened after 2000. Lwazi came to Johannesburg in 1994. He argues

that "we came during the apartheid era. It was difficult. We were always arrested. In November 1995 I spent the whole month in jail for not having a pass. When I got out, I looked for friends from Durban who helped me get South African documents". Thabani who came to Johannesburg in 1996 also explains:

> "...It's getting better now. In 1997 it was worse because you couldn't go to work wearing your own clothes. You would be arrested for being a foreigner. So we wore school uniforms. Now it's over....I was arrested many times and I would end up at Lindela but my brother would come and give me his ID. He got South African papers faster than me though I was the first to come here, so he would slip the ID through for me when he came to visit me at Lindela. I would then show this ID to the police and they would release me".

This story buttresses the argument about arrests and deportations having been very popular before and soon after majority rule in South Africa. It also shows the inability of the police to notice that the South African ID did not belong to Thabani but his brother.

Migrants believe that nowadays police are no longer keen to deport them such that even when they reach Lindela they can still negotiate and bribe the police. Daniel came in 2007 and was arrested in the same year. He was sent to Lindela where he was kept for two weeks. He managed to pay a R200 bribe and was released. He came back to Johannesburg. The second time that he was caught was in a train in 2009 where he refused to be arrested: "the policeman asked for an ID and I told him I did not have it. I told him I am a South African citizen born in Tembisa and staying with my mom. He got confused. I told him I was Venda".

5.10. Reasons for coming to Johannesburg

There are many reasons for coming to Johannesburg, although the major cause was the harsh economic reality. Migration tended to be an outcome of a combination of macro (economic environment) and micro or interpersonal factors such as the availability of information and money, encouragement and lack of resistance from family members and the individual's own curiosity and aspirations to improve themselves. These tended to be facilitating factors in the migration process. The following four examples illustrate this point clearly.

"After my wedding in 2001 the economy had changed. I couldn't buy a four plate stove or even a cow with the money. I had friends and relatives here. They told me that doing art is lucrative business in South Africa. All my family members are here" (Bongani).

"I used to work in the retail industry and rose through the ranks to the highest levels until the company closed. I started cross border trading selling petrol, chickens and other goods until I eventually decided to settle in South Africa. My wife came to Joburg in January and I followed her in December 2006" (Morgan).

"I didn't really choose to come. My sister facilitated everything. But we had already heard good stories about South Africa and also seeing them sending groceries, so it was easy for me to agree" (Grace).

"The teacher was the poorest person in Zimbabwe ...my children couldn't go to school. There was no food. My husband was a driver but there was no fuel in Zimbabwe. He moved to South Africa but was unemployed for one year...I was ashamed to be called a teacher...here I got an opportunity to come out and show my passion as a teacher again" (Maureen).

Migrants generally argued that "things were bad" referring to the harsh economic situation that prevailed in Zimbabwe from the late 1990s onwards. For those that came after 2007 migration tended to be the last resort after all other avenues failed to deliver. The Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) country report of 2010 reveals that in 2003, 72% of the Zimbabwean population were living below the total consumption line. This percentage increased with the deepening of the economic crisis between 2007 and 2008. At the height of the economic crisis in Zimbabwe the inflation rate reached an official level of 230 million percent (Raftopolous 2009:220). The formal sector employment shrunk from 1,4 million in 1998 to 998000 in 2004. In 2006, 85% of the population was below the poverty datum line (ibid, 2009). The situation of Zimbabweans was desperate and some responded by migrating. Therefore the reasons for migration were largely economic. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of the respondents stated that their migration was in search of better economic opportunities and

the ability to look after themselves and their families. While a few migrants stated that they came to join their family members, this decision was related to perceived better economic opportunities.

TABLE 10: REASON FOR COMING TO SOUTH AFRICA

Reason for coming to South Africa		sex of participants	
		male	female
Economic factors	Count	30	16
	% of Total	91%	64%
Joining family	Count	0	2
	% of Total	0%	8%
Economic and joining family	Count	1	7
	% of Total	3%	28%
Education	Count	1	0
	% of Total	3%	0%
Other	Count	1	0
	% of Total	3%	0%
Total	Count	33	25
	% of Total	100%	100%

There are more females (28%) than men (3%) who came to South Africa to join their families while looking for jobs. Survival was the push factor for both male and female migrants. This is evidenced by the mixed nature of migration where migration included men and women and the fact that their migration was not resisted by family members.

Some reasons for migration were a bit different though still related to the harsh economic reality obtaining in the country. For example, Edgar came to South Africa because he was running away from his responsibilities as a father and husband:

"I had impregnated a woman while staying with another one who had a small child. It was difficult. I was running away from these responsibilities. I told myself that those left in Zimbabwe will look after them (women and children)".

Anita came to South Africa after becoming a single mother and realising that she had added extra strain on her father's meagre salary:

"I had a child. My father couldn't look after us all including my child. When my child started going to school she didn't have school shoes. We did not have enough food, clothing and soap".

Thabani came to Johannesburg in 1996 in order to further his education. He never worked in Zimbabwe. Soon after finishing his Advanced level education, his father gave him money to do a Diploma and later a degree in catering in South Africa. Thabani was the only one who came to South Africa initially to further his educational studies.

However, to further buttress the fact that migrants were economically motivated to move the South Africa is the analysis of the numbers that were employed in Zimbabwe. 74% of the migrants were previously employed in Zimbabwe. The rest (26%) had never worked in Zimbabwe. The reasons for migration are not related to unemployment but probably under - employment and the high inflationary environment that rendered salaries and wages meaningless. Norbert argues that he came to Tembisa in January 2009 because the Zimbabwean money was 'valueless'. Paradzayi came in September 2006 because:

"What pained me most was that my uneducated uncles would come back from South Africa boasting that they can employ me and pay me better. You are told that he is a security guard and he gets R1200. At that time R1200 was far much more than my salary because my salary was equivalent to R100".

The specific sectors of employment for those that had employment in Zimbabwe are displayed in the table below. It shows that the majority of migrants (52%) were employed in the formal sector. They left their jobs because they felt vulnerable as their jobs could not offer them any form of survival.

TABLE 11: SECTOR OF EMPLOYMENT IN ZIMBABWE

Sector of previous employment in Zimbabwe	Frequency	Percent
Administration/formal	8	13.8%
Informal	11	19%
Military	2	3.4%
NGO	2	3.4%
None	15	25.9%
Other	2	3.4%
Retailing	11	19%
Teaching	7	12.1%
Total	58	100%

The signs of the crisis are clear when one studies the types of jobs previously occupied by migrants while in Zimbabwe. Twenty six percent were unemployed while nineteen percent were in the informal sector. This reflects the shrinking in the formal employment sector that took place during the Zimbabwe crisis. The formal sectors that were left by migrants did not offer any attractive salaries, for example: teaching, military and retailing. The only attractive sector that paid employees in foreign currency was the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Unfortunately these organisations were also relocating, downsizing and no longer renewing old contracts thus leaving individuals without jobs. This is what brought Lionel to Johannesburg. The NGO he used to work for relocated and he was left without a job.

The reasons for coming to Johannesburg are economic rather than political. These findings are different from Chikanda (2011) who discovered that some migrants had moved away from political persecution. Migrants seem to have come to South Africa starting in the early 1990s and then up to 2009 as a result of the first and second 'wave' of the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe (Pasura 2006; Crush and Tevera 2010; Makina 2012). The first wave of the economic crisis started in 1990s with the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme. It led to massive retrenchment and inflation. The second wave was a combination of further economic downward spiralling and political repression characterised

by land invasions on farms (beginning in 2000 through the fast track land reform), the Operation Restore Order and the general decline in the rule of law.

Even after the Global Political Agreement between the three main Zimbabwean political parties (ZANUPF and the two MDC formations), and the introduction of the US dollar into the Zimbabwean economy in 2009, Zimbabweans continue to migrate to South Africa. They argue that it is not easy to get hold of the US dollar. Moses came to Johannesburg in 2009 and is a hawker who sells brooms and other household goods. He says there are better opportunities in South Africa than in Zimbabwe. Scott came to Johannesburg in January 2012 because his brother invited him and promised him a job.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the migrants under study did not migrate as a result of the *Gukurahundi* and other factors that took place before 1990. Migration was caused by financial difficulties and also the fact that some migrants belonged to communities that had a migration culture. Migration among Zimbabweans is a family coping mechanism that is facilitated by family networks. This is evidenced by the fact that for all migrants there was little resistance from the family members 'back home'. Family members such as parents and siblings encouraged and facilitated new migration of family members. This evaluation is also justified by the constant need to remit funds to family members, even though some migrants (15%) have eventually stopped remitting. Thus, this survivalist mentality would render Zimbabwean migration (as evidenced by the participants under study) as better explained by the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory (Stark and Bloom 1985). This is notwithstanding the criticisms of the NELM theory which assumes that there is consensus in selecting migrants to fend for the family and that the family head is always male. It is important to argue that Zimbabwean migration to South Africa is neither wholly determined by individual nor by family decisions. There are varying levels of individual and family interests that are considered. Thus, migration is neither a selfish individual decision nor an altruistic selfless act. To some extent, migrants have individual considerations and expectations of a life that is better than that of their kin (this is what I refer to as great expectations in the following subsection). All these considerations are then facilitated by family, ethnic and friendship networks. In some cases, especially the western parts of Zimbabwe that have a longer history of migration than all the other geographical areas of Zimbabwe, migration is a function of cumulative causation.

> "It was tough. I remember phoning my mother and she said come back my child and grow sunflowers with us in the rural areas. I almost returned home" (Bernard).

Most came with great expectations of making quick money and going back rich. Stories circulating in Zimbabwe generally reflected Johannesburg as a place full of wealth where one could easily get ahead regardless of whether one is educated or not. However, participants then realised that life was not so easy. The reality was shocking for most migrants who learnt to bath in small basins inside their rooms for the first time, staying with three or more people in a room. Going back to Zimbabwe was not a better option so they then decided to stick it out. Sometimes migrants feel they cannot go back without anything to show for having been to a foreign country (Van Nieuwenhuyze 2009). The reality was not as good as the images portrayed by friends and relatives who already stayed in South Africa. Karen had this to say about her great expectations when she came in 2008:

> "I thought that if you are in Joburg you are in heaven. We were told stories about good life and thought you would pick money on the streets".

Some migrants were deliberately misinformed by their relatives. The same story was narrated by Farai who was an 'A' level graduate who stole a computer from his previous employer in Zimbabwe.

> "I had so many difficulties here. I came with so many expectations and discovered the reality was different. I did not find what I thought would be easy. I had problems of accommodation. I sometimes slept in people's cars and in the park during the day for two months. I knew some of the car owners from Zimbabwe but they could not accommodate me because they had their own families. During the night I would enter pubs and stay there till they closed and would start roaming around the streets. One time I spent two weeks without bathing. As for food I just ate what came my way. It was difficult for someone this educated to face such challenges. I felt like going mad. I was lucky I did not do drugs or crime but some of my friends engaged in crime".

For almost all the participants, the first few months were disappointing as the expectations did not match the reality. Some had left formal jobs such as nursing and teaching and could not stomach the harsh reality. However, they felt they had not much choice considering the economic situation in Zimbabwe and also that others had left improperly (after stealing, or without notifying their employers and relatives, so they could not face them).

Among some of the harsh realities was the rejection by their relatives who had initially lured them into coming to Johannesburg. Rejection is what led Farai to sleep in the park (this was after his escapade to Cape Town and probably after his uncle, whom he was running away from, felt that Farai was troublesome). Spiwe also narrated how she ended up accommodating a woman she met in a bus from Zimbabwe:

> "I met the woman in the bus to Johannesburg. When we arrived in Johannesburg she phoned her sister telling her that she had arrived. The sister told her to go back to Zimbabwe. She couldn't return as she was already in Johannesburg. I pitied her and took her in. I offered her accommodation".

Relatives that rejected the migrants gave excuses of not having been notified about the new migrant such that they were caught unaware. They chose to reject the new arrival insisting that they go back home, but in most cases they relented and took the new migrant in.

For those relatives that did not out-rightly abandon the new migrant, life was not easy as they had to share the already overcrowded accommodation and the meagre salaries. The situation in some cases was very bad. For example, one day Paradzayi became so hungry that he begged for an apple from a fruit vendor promising to give him his R2 when he got a job. The fruit vendor gave him and sure enough after getting a job he looked for the vendor to give him the R2. This man is an Information Technology expert who used to work for the Zimbabwe Prison Services. He had been encouraged to migrate by his uncle (Bernard) who had promised him a supervisory post in his security company. Upon arrival the man had to wait for a month to get a job from his uncle who claimed that there were no "new premises" requiring additional security guards. Eventually when there was an opening he was employed as a simple security guard and never given the supervisory job promised. He argued:

> "We were happy in the first few weeks. But because I stayed with him unemployed he started changing his attitude and life changed. Where we used to eat three meals a day they reduced to two and then eventually, one at 9 pm".
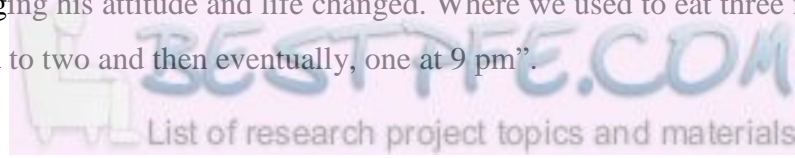
The problem of food shortages was also faced by Farai who once stayed with his cousin when he was unemployed: "his character was bad. He used to drink a lot. He would buy food when he felt like it. If you have no money even if you are older you become the younger one".

5.11. Living and sleeping arrangements of migrants

5.11.1. Sharing accommodation

Migrants in Tembisa can share accommodation such that 4 or 5 adults can sleep in one small room regardless of sex and social distance. This means that one room can house men and women who are relatives and friends sometimes including brothers and sisters-in-law or uncles, aunts and nephews and nieces. For example, Norbert first stayed with his uncle who was already staying with his brother-in-law. Karen also currently stays with her husband, her child and also her brother who recently arrived from Zimbabwe. They live and sleep in the same room. Such individuals are culturally expected to maintain a certain social distance which becomes difficult when people sleep in the same room. There is lack of privacy and decency and it can hinder the proper fulfilment of conjugal rights. To cope with the situation migrants take turns to bath and dress while others go outside the room and just stand or walk around the house. Grace explains how she first stayed with her sister, brother in-law and their children in one room:

> "I first stayed in Tembisa with my sister and her Zimbabwean boyfriend and his children in one room. In the first days it was alright but family members can exploit you. In the end the relationship was sour. Her boyfriend made advances on me. He would give me pocket money like R100 to buy food. When I told my sister she couldn't believe me and thought that I had encouraged him. I got a stay-in job and left them. I then found a room and went away. The relationship was spoilt forever."

Tapera also explains how his friend could not trust him with his wife to the extent that he chased him away:

> "My friend said I could come and stay with him. So I moved from my nephew's room where I had shared accommodation with my nephew, his wife and child...My friend later changed his mind and chased me away saying he couldn't leave me with his wife as he was going for night duty".

The two cases presented above reveal how this co-residential strategy sometimes leads to conflicts based on issues of (or fear of) inability to satisfy conjugal roles, household responsibilities and day to day survival. Staying with friends and sleeping in the same room was only viable when none of the friends had a partner of the opposite sex. The presence of females as wives or girlfriends put a strain on friendships leading to some friends being chased away. This was not the case among relatives. Although there were strains on the relationships, relatives did not out-rightly chase away their kin, they acted in rude manners until the target got the message to move out and stay alone.

Some migrants are better off, renting two rooms. This makes it easy for other family members to be accommodated. In other cases, old migrants (those who are already established) find other relatives for the new migrant to stay with, especially in the first month when the new migrant has no blankets and other material goods that could enable him/her to stay on his/her own. The main problems, however, were about the family members not relating properly because in most cases it involved distant relatives. For example, a husband and wife may have their relatives coming to join them, say a brother of the wife and a nephew of a husband. These are then made to sleep in the same room. Problems arise when these two individuals meet for the first time and do not like each other's personalities. This is what happened when Farai who came to Johannesburg to stay with his uncle. He argued:

> "I was made to share a room with his wife's cousin. This man ill-treated me and manipulated me. He would not buy food or pay rent. I did everything. I ended up without money".

There are migrants that also rent flats in Kempton Park. In most cases they share the flat where three or four individuals (who always have other family members with them) take a room each and then communally use the kitchen. In fewer cases concerning middle class migrants like Vongai, Miriam, Trish, Morgan and Maureen, the whole flat or house would be used by one family. For example, Vongai stays with her son and a maid in her flat. These

migrants argue that there are few days where they stay alone without any visitors. Miriam said:

> "There is not even a single day that I did not receive a visitor. I have made it a point that the reason why I came was also to help other people. I have lived with up to twenty people in my house. Most people dump each other".

Morgan also stated that:

> "I had decent accommodation and a better job so I took in my mother, sister, brother-in-law and their children to come and stay with me. At one point we were ten in a three roomed flat. The caretaker was sympathetic. I would tell him I have people coming from Zimbabwe. We had problems of cutting keys for everyone".

5.11.2. Do not overstay your welcome

Generally migrants believed that one should not overstay one's welcome. Whether living with friends or relatives there was urgency to quickly move and establish one's life alone. This normally happened in the first two or three months or after the new migrant got a job. Moving out was a way of: moving away from strained relationships, trying to save relationships from becoming bad and sometimes just to gain independence. Explaining why she moved out of her friend's flat after a few months, Vongai argued that:

> "You still have a family back home. You need to be a stepping stone for someone who wants to come to South Africa and you can't be a stepping stone while staying with other people".

Vivienne clearly articulated that "when you are accommodated by friends you can't overstay your visit. You have to quickly move and find your own little room". In Hillary's case the process of moving out was hastened by her aunt who insisted that she moves out without a single blanket. She stated that:

"I started staying alone without a blanket, without anything. My aunt did not have enough blankets, so when I moved out I had no blankets of my own. Here it's very cold. They told me to buy a blanket when I get paid".

There was one case that was different from the ones discussed above where the process of moving out was resisted by the host migrant. Eric stayed for two years with his brother and sister in-law. The brother rented one room but he insisted that Eric should not move out until he had bought all he needed to start a new life alone and earning a better salary. Eric was a security guard. Even when he moved out, he continued to come and eat at his brother's place upon the brother's invitation.

The discussion of the living and sleeping arrangements of migrants reveals why migrant households may choose to repel newcomers. The households are under strain and face food and accommodation challenges. In such situations, rejection is a coping mechanism to the increase in in-migration by fellow household members. This lends support to my proposition number nine which states that rejection is a response of especially poor migrants and this unfortunately may lead to the disintegration of families where those that are ill-treated may eventually move out and establish themselves but the family bonds are weakened.

5.12. Communication and remittances back home

5.12.1. Communication and visits to Zimbabwe

Almost half (48%) of the migrants have returned to Zimbabwe at least once, while 35% have never returned ever since they came to Johannesburg. The rest (17%) go to Zimbabwe every year and sometimes every month. Migrants are generally not very keen to go to Zimbabwe. However, they do communicate by telephone with their kin at least once every month (79%), some use both the telephone internet services such as *WhatsApp* and *Facebook* (19%) while one migrant (2%) stated that he writes a letter which goes through surface mail to communicate with his family in the rural areas of Nkayi since they have no telephones and cellular phones.

In terms of remittances, migrants no longer remit food stuffs as much as they did in the crisis years before the introduction of the US dollar in Zimbabwe. They argue that food is now readily available in Zimbabwe and they would rather send money. Some migrants (21%) argue that they remit once a year, while others (36%) remit two to four times a year. There are migrants that do not remit anything (15%) while a sizeable number (28%) remit every month. Those that remit every month have children or parents that solely depend on them for their survival. Some have workers looking after their homesteads who must be paid every month. While the percentage of migrants who remit is very high (85%) most migrants made no meaningful financial remittances even though they claimed to remit three to four times a year (where they remitted less than R1000 at one time). This is related to their lack of access to better paying jobs. This confirms proposition number 2 of my analytical framework which states that the low status jobs migrants get from using bonding social capital directly affect the level of remittances. The highest amount of money remitted per month was R3000 usually sent by the self employed business people like Alex, Lwazi and Bernard.

Migrants still favour informal ways of remitting money although a few have welcomed formal agents such as *mukuru.com* and Western Union. The majority (47%) use *malayitsha* and buses to remit money, while 22% use friends and family members. Cumulatively 69% use informal channels to remit money. 15% do not remit anything while the remainder (15%) use *mukuru.com* and other formal agents including banks. These findings are in line with what Makina (2010; 2012) discovered concerning the reluctance by Zimbabwean migrants to use formal channels of remitting money. He attributed this reluctance to the lack of access to banking services and accounts. I would attribute the preference for informal channels to the limited availability of formal remittance services, since *mukuru.com* started operating in South Africa in 2011, while Western Union is hardly known by most migrants. The other reason could be the strength of the trust in family and friends.

There is a slight movement from *malayitsha* and buses towards formal agents in transmitting money because of their (*malayitsha* and buses) high charges. *Malayitsha* and buses charge R30 for every R100 while *mukuru.com* charges R20 for every R100. This is still more expensive than family and friends who do not charge anything for transmitting the money

back to Zimbabwe. The only problem of using friends and relatives is that sometimes there may not be anyone going back to Zimbabwe at the time that the migrant wants to remit.

The *malayitsha* and buses still remain the favourite mode of remittance of groceries and material goods for which they charged less than transporting money. Some migrants conceal money inside clothes or other goods. For example Hillary highlighted that she puts money (between R500-R1000) in a packet of sanitary pads and then sends groceries with *Malayitsha*. Sometimes she puts it inside a pair of stockings or inside a frozen chicken in a cooler box. That way she avoided charges for transmitting money by *malayitsha*. There are risks in using *malayitsha* where sometimes the goods may not be delivered for certain reasons. For example, Dorothy narrated how a certain *malayitsha* failed to deliver her groceries claiming that he was involved in a road accident. She did not believe him. She is now using another *malayitsha*.

Besides the quasi-institutional structure of the *malayitsha* and buses, Zimbabwean migrants do not enjoy a strong migrant support system from their origin to their destination country of South Africa. Besides the family, ethnic and religious groups there are no hometown associations or other formal institutions that function as transnational structures to help migrants move from origin to destination with ease. This is a radically different situation compared to their migrant counterparts in other parts of the world, for example Nigerians in the United States of America (Osili 2007), Mexicans and Salvadorans in the USA (Menjivar 1995; 2010). Such formal or quasi-formal institutions would help increase the bargaining power of poor Zimbabwean migrants and also possibly increase the flow of remittances. There are countries like El Salvador, Croatia and Yemen where remittances are far much more than the official capital inflows (Levitt 2006). The reason for the lack of hometown associations could be related to the fact that 71% of the migrants have been in Johannesburg for less than ten years while cumulatively 91% have been in Johannesburg for less than fifteen years. The length of stay could be a major determinant of whether migrants form an association or not.

5.12.3. Pressure from back home

The pressures from home that migrants face can be better understood if the migration process is viewed as a family survival or risk diversification mechanism. This is properly articulated in the new economics of labour migration theory which evaluates migration as one of the mechanisms of ensuring household or family survival (Bloom and Stark 1985, Taylor 1999). The migrants and their families enter into an informal contract of co-insurance to ensure family survival. Thus, the pressure to work hard and remit stems from feelings of responsibility, altruism and pure self interest (for example, where migrants would want to be looked after when they eventually get sick or in old age), (Taylor 1999).

5.12.3.1. Pressure to remit and stay in South Africa

Some migrants have responsibilities to look after the children and parents they left in Zimbabwe. Thus they feel the pressure to remit frequently in order to meet needs for school fees, rent and food among other things. To some extent, they feel 'forced' to stay in South Africa in order to meet the demands of the family back in Zimbabwe.

> "I am thinking about going back to Zimbabwe to do tobacco farming...My mother doesn't want me to go back and stay in Zimbabwe. Whenever I tell her that I want to come back home, she prays and fasts so that I stay in South Africa" (Ruth).

The pressure on migrants is also seen through the way migrants were encouraged to come in the first place, especially where parents played a major role in sourcing information and money for the migrant.

5.12.3.2. Pressure to 'achieve something'

'Achieving something' entails buying property back in Zimbabwe. This includes buying housing stands and or homesteads. Alternatively, it means starting a business in Zimbabwe. Whilst these are their aspirations, there are only a few migrants who have succeeded in this

regard so far. In terms of businesses, there is one migrant (Bernard) who runs a successful bus company which plies the Bulawayo-Nkayi route in Zimbabwe. Of interest is the function of these aspirations in keeping the migrants in South Africa, even in the face of the stark reality that migrants may never achieve them. Grace acknowledged this fact when she said: "we thought we would easily buy a house and go back but now it's impossible". Tatenda also reiterated the same point:

> "I want to have good things. Maybe when I have a car or a house that's when I will go back to Zimbabwe, but life here is no longer fun...I wish to buy a house in Zimbabwe".

These seemingly contradictory statements by Tatenda reveal the pressure that migrants feel. It is the pressure to bring or build something as proof that one's migration was not in vain. Migrants are embarrassed to go back home without anything to show for having been to South Africa. This pressure is caused by how migrants would have created an image of South Africa back home; and how the non-migrants themselves back in Zimbabwe evaluate South Africa as the land of opportunities or the place of gold. The image of South Africa is reinforced by perceptions of both the migrants and non-migrants. Generally, migrants are viewed by non-migrants as privileged and thus 'enjoying themselves' in South Africa.

There is also the fear that not bringing something back home is proof of irresponsibility or having been carried away by the pleasures of a foreign country. Zimbabweans have the negative label '*umadliwa*' (literally meaning one who gets eaten) reserved for migrants who come back at the end of their working lives, without any money or property and not having remitted during their prime years. Such people are shunned and are viewed as failures.

The other reason for the pressure to achieve something is related to migrants' confusion as to where they belong or want to belong. Very few migrants are clear about where they want to be or stay forever. They may imagine themselves in South Africa in the next five years, but they do not want to belong to South Africa for their whole lives. Vivienne says:

> "That's one confusing thing. That's why you find yourself investing here and there. We are still so uncertain about the future. So, in case something goes wrong here, your home (in Zimbabwe) must be properly organised. I bought a house in Zimbabwe and am leasing it to people who pay rent. I still want to invest more in terms of business, although I don't really know where my future would be. If everything was

to end here in South Africa at least I have got a house to go back to, in Zimbabwe. I won't go back there and be a burden to anybody. People would say; oh look at her, she stayed in Joburg all this time only to come back to be looked after by us here!".

Another reason for achieving something before one goes back home is the fear of returning home as an HIV/AIDS patient. The whole argument of not 'being a burden' is invoked where migrants fear negative evaluation by family members in Zimbabwe, when they come back sick and without money. Thabani argued that:

"People should not forget where they come from. Some are just drunkards and they love women (especially locals), they forget about AIDS and become a burden to their parents".

However, not all migrants felt this pressure to remit. For those whose family members were now in South Africa or in other countries, they had no pressure or obligation to send anyone anything or to invest in Zimbabwe. For example, Trish stated that: "I don't have anyone I am obliged to give anything. My whole family is here". Miriam argued: "My mom is in the UK, one sister is in the UK, my brother is in South Africa; there are only two sisters in Zimbabwe. I have never felt any pressure to do something for them".

5.13. Conclusion

This chapter has provided descriptions and analyses of profiles of Zimbabwean migrants in Tembisa and Kempton Park, tracing their origins and migration patterns. The role of *malayitsha* and bus-operators has been clearly outlined. The risks of undocumented migration have been discussed. The reasons for migration strongly point towards issues of desperation, survival and relative deprivation. This falls within the ambit of the new economics of labour migration theory. The existence of migrant networks facilitates migration by reducing the costs of migrating and ultimately leads to further migration.

The chapter also highlights the everyday struggles of most Zimbabwean migrants showing the pressure they face. This provides a context for understanding some of the reasons for repellent family networks. This discussion also depicts cases of local South Africans whose

behaviour opposes the stereotype of violent discriminatory citizens, for example, Morgan's caretaker who sympathised with him and overlooked the fact that Morgan had many dependents living in his flat, and the police who rescued Aaron from malayitsha and also Farai and his friend in Cape Town.

The main point contained in this chapter is the importance of the family network as a source of social capital and the fact sometimes that this social capital may not benefit the migrants if family members are in difficult economic circumstances leading to the rejection of new family members. This proves the point that families can reach a saturation point after which they cannot be expected to be useful to a new migrant.

Because migration is a household coping strategy migrants are under a lot of pressure. The pressure to remit and be successful could make some Zimbabweans deviate from certain social norms or endure all kinds of exploitation and discrimination on the labour market. This is the subject matter of the following Chapter 6.

CHAPTER SIX: PARTICIPATION OF ZIMBABWEAN MIGRANTS IN THE LABOUR MARKET

6.1. Introduction

In understanding the extent of participation of Zimbabwean migrants in the South African labour market the questions I attempt to answer are: How did they get their first jobs? What kinds of jobs do migrants have? Where do they work? With whom do they work? What are the relations like at work? And what kind of contracts and benefits do they have?

This chapter discusses how Zimbabweans engage in job search. This is summarised in the section that discusses the concept of ukumaketha. The discussion of ukumaketha provides empirical confirmation of proposition number 2 that the first job is usually not good although it is facilitated by relatives and friends without much choice from the migrant himself/herself.

While Zimbabwean migrants are found in very diverse fields such as: the clergy, administration, teaching, accounting, marketing, security, information technology, motor mechanics, engineering, driving and the service industry, some sectors are more receptive to Zimbabweans than others. These are the Zimbabwean dominated sectors. Zimbabweans rarely move out of these sectors. However, these sectors are characterised by easy entry and easy exit. They are also characterised by poor conditions of service and wages with no migrant employee participation. Most migrants (69%) earn less than R6000 (approximately USD$600) per month with no other benefits available at work.

This discussion on the participation of Zimbabwean migrants in the South African labour market succinctly confirms my argument about adverse incorporation/ unfavourable participation where migrants are not barred from entry into the labour market but they find their way into low paying sectors. This is regardless of whether they are documented or not.

The capitalist interests in migrant labour are exposed clearly in the discussion of migrant perceptions regarding employer preference. Migrants perceive that on average employers would prefer hiring migrant labour because of the exploitability nature of these migrants and

also because of their perceived better investment in human capital and positive attitudes towards work. However, there are few exceptions to this rule as would be revealed in this chapter.

This chapter further discusses relations at work which are mainly perceived as riddled with racial discrimination and xenophobia. These factors are some of the reasons for some migrants' decisions to engage in self-employment. Of much emphasis is the fact that successful self-employment hinges on the migrants' ability to acquire legal identity documentation which may include shedding off the devalued Zimbabwean identity.

6.2. Getting a job: *'ukumaketha'*

The methods used by migrants to get a job are: going and standing at strategic points (such as traffic lights at road traffic intersections) carrying a placard or sign describing what one can do; going door by door in shops asking for employment; using agencies to send a curriculum vitae to prospective employers or having a relative refer you or sometimes take you to the prospective employer. The most common methods among the unskilled migrants include standing at strategic points (especially those targeting the construction industry and other odd jobs such as painting and plumbing) and moving door by door (for those targeting the retail and food industry). The whole process of looking for a job is called *ukumaketha* (literally meaning marketing or advertising). Van Nieuwenhuyze (2009) calls this 'the asking strategy' where migrants move around looking for vacancies. Vivienne explains how she got a job as a waitress:

> "I found the job on my own. I had no relatives here except friends. So I went shop by shop, door by door looking for a job getting rejected but I kept my faith never getting discouraged".

This asking strategy can be stressful as an individual is never guaranteed of good reception where s/he goes looking for jobs. It can also be a process that is potentially embarrassing and degrading especially for the more educated migrants.

Here is another description of *ukumaketha* by Bernard who got odd jobs while standing by the traffic lights:

> "You would stand at a robot (traffic light) and signal with a finger that you are looking for a job and you are alone. The white man would stop and you quickly jump into his car. There was competition so you needed to be the first to jump into the car. You would then spend the whole day painting or plumbing or doing anything required by the employer. But you needed to be careful in raising the proper finger and signal properly otherwise using the wrong finger would be an insult that elicits anger from the prospective employer".

For most migrants this process of 'marketing' was largely guided by seasoned migrants (relatives and friends) who would go with the new migrant to the robot so it was less stressful. However, for some individuals who had no relatives to orient them (like Bernard who was unfortunate in that his brother who had invited him got very sick and had to be transported back to Zimbabwe three days after his arrival) they had to use ingenuity to survive although other friends would help in one way or the other. There was not much choice exercised by the migrant in getting his/her first job lending support to my proposition number two that strong ties facilitate getting the first job.

6.3. The current employment status of Zimbabwean migrants

Of the 33 males, 21 (64%) of them are currently employed in the formal sector while 10 (30%) are self employed and 2 (6%) are employed in the informal sector. There are no unemployed males. This means that male migrants engage in all kinds of jobs in order to earn a living. Among the females nine (36%) are also employed in the formal sector while twelve (48%) work in the informal sector and some are self employed. Females work as domestic workers/ housemaids while others work in retail and food outlets, teaching and administration. There are 4 (16%) female migrants who are currently unemployed. It can be argued that women seem to have fewer opportunities than men when it comes to working in the formal sector. Female migrants mostly seem to have opportunities in the informal sector either as employees or self employed entrepreneurs. The informal sector is characterised by part-time casual jobs.

Although there are seemingly huge numbers of migrants employed in the formal sector, this does not translate into better salaries and job security. Most jobs are contract-based lacking any insurance and pension. Migrants' jobs are characterised by long working hours (of more than 8 hours) and low wages and salaries. The following table shows estimates provided by migrants regarding their monthly earnings.

TABLE 12: EARNINGS PER MONTH

Earnings per month	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
None	4	6.9%	6.9%
Less than R1500	7	12.1%	19%
Between R1500 and R3000	16	27.6%	46.6%
Between R3001 and R6000	13	22.4%	69%
Between R6001 and R10 000	6	10.3%	79.3%
Above R10 000 but less than R15000	6	10.3%	89.7%
Above R15 000	6	10.3%	100%
Total	58	100%	

Migrants do not earn much per month. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of the migrants take home less than R10 000 (which is about USD$1000 using an exchange rate of 1USD is equivalent to 10 ZAR) per month while the rest (21%) earn more than R10000. Of this 79% that earn less than R10000, 69% earn less than R6000. Almost half of the migrants under study (47%) earn less than R3000 (about USD$300). This means that they are barely surviving. These same individuals must pay rent of about R600 per month for a single room and spend almost the same amount in transport costs. That is why some migrants prefer to share accommodation with friends and relatives. This co-residential strategy was also common among the Senegambian migrants in Belgium (Van Nieuwenhuyze 2009).

6.4. Employer preference

6.4.1. Introduction

There are positive and negative reasons given by the majority of Zimbabweans as to why employers prefer Zimbabwean migrant workers more than other workers. The common argument put forward by participants was that employers prefer Zimbabwean migrants because they are hard-working, intelligent, can speak English, respectful and maintain consistency in terms of coming to work and executing their tasks. This was compared to local South Africans who were portrayed as unreliable workers who after receiving their salaries, would not report for duty consistently. The participants further highlighted that some local South Africans tended to be vocal when it came to their rights and benefits at work. This was in sharp contrast to Zimbabweans who did not insist on having these. Thus Zimbabwean employees were perceived by employers as generally quiet, contented and unlikely to cause trouble by complaining. The migrants are aware of the exploitation and abuse they suffer at the hands of employers but seem to have less choice. That is why some end up using fake identity books so that they can be viewed as South African and can be eligible for certain benefits and rights at work.

6.4.2. Zimbabweans consider themselves as eager to learn

Migrants argued that among the characteristics that gave them a competitive advantage over locals were: their hard-work and eagerness to learn and adapt quickly. They argued that these tended to be valuable characteristics that Zimbabweans are praised for among all migrants. Scott narrated how he expressed his zeal to learn on the job:

> "After two weeks the white man asked if I could use machines. I agreed and started using a grinder for the first time. I did it for a week and he called me again and asked if I could use a cutter and I told him I will read the instructions and use it. He tested

me for two hours and saw that I was able. He was satisfied and then made me the operator of the machine. Other local colleagues got jealous and started asking why the machine was given to a newcomer after three weeks only. They knew I was foreign because I used my real Zimbabwean name"

This willingness to learn on the job was a tenet shared by both men and women. Karen explains how she became the envy of her colleagues when she became the favourite employee because of her ability to operate a machine:

"I was working at a Fish and Chips outlet and I showed my ability to clean a washer which was believed to be a man's job. So I was able to clean it in the absence of male employees and the employer was happy. Nobody had taught me to do it".

In her previous employment, Karen had also managed to excel in a guesthouse where she worked as a maid. She had not done that job before but she distinguished herself to the extent that she was given a permanent post. She had started as a temporary worker who was holding fort for someone on maternity leave. She was now constantly being referred to other jobs by her former employer because of her good conduct.

The willingness to learn was also shown through the need to improve oneself through acquisition of diplomas and certificates in various fields. Bernard says:

"When I did a driving course some of my folks laughed at me saying whose car will you drive? Where will you drive it in South Africa? Why drive a car when you don't have a house? But this became my advantage over others when there was a post that required a security guard with his own gun and a drivers' licence. That was my opportunity and I was appointed supervisor. I upgraded myself with courses in supervision, management and administration".

This was mainly the case with documented migrants, especially those that had acquired permits and South African identity books. Currently there are a few migrants that are pursuing degrees with UNISA while the majority have acquired diplomas and certificates in various fields. Acquisition of a South African qualification is viewed as an added advantage when looking for a job because they will not have to endure the hassles of qualifications

evaluation by SAQA. Even those migrants with degrees already had added certificates and diplomas acquired from South African institutions.

However, in some cases the documents and certificates were acquired fraudulently. Bernard explains his case:

"In 1998 after I got my pass (SA ID) I left the construction industry and 'bought' grades in security. I did not enrol for the security course but I bought the certificates and also bought a gun. When I got a job as a security guard it was discovered that I had 'bought' the certificates. They discovered that my name was not appearing in the system and almost fired me. They made me go through a proper training programme and that's how I trained as a security guard".

6.4.3. Zimbabweans perceive themselves as hardworking

The majority of migrants (76%) stated that employers prefer Zimbabweans because they work harder than South Africans and they are willing to experiment with machines and new methods of doing work. Participants provided negative stereotypical perceptions of local South Africans as lazy, uneducated and unwilling to learn. They used these stereotypes as reasons why employers preferred foreign workers.

Tapera had this to say:
"South Africans are lazy. If foreigners go on leave the employer has a problem. You see the boss hugging a Zimbabwean when he comes back from leave, this shows Zimbabweans know their jobs. If it is a local South African coming back from leave the boss is not bothered...so when they get paid they do not come to work next Monday. They drink a lot".

Migrants generally insinuated that Zimbabweans have a work ethic that was different from South Africans. This work ethic entails hard-work, dedication and reliability. This perception exaggerates the qualities of Zimbabwean migrants. A typical stereotypical view of local South Africans is presented by Bongani who is a real estate agent:

"South Africans are lazy that's why they say we take their jobs. They want the government to provide them with food, shelter and everything. They don't want to work. They protest about everything, for example child grants, houses etc. these things destroy the economy...if you take Zimbabweans and put them in any inhospitable [he actually said 'desert'] environment they will survive. Take South Africans and put them in Zimbabwe they will die in masses. They can hardly work. They just want to be spoon-fed".

Zimbabweans argue that they are talented and dedicated workers. This makes them more preferable than other groups in the labour market. It can be argued that having such perceptions about the exaggerated differences between foreigners and locals functions as a defensive mechanism for the Zimbabweans.

6.4.4. Ability to speak English considered an added advantage for Zimbabwean migrants

Migrants under study believed that their command of the English language was far much better than local black South Africans. They argued that they could speak English better and thus had an advantage over locals. They generally believed that they were also more educated than South Africans. Vivienne expressed this point clearly when she said:

"I believe that coming here in South Africa it was an advantage for me because a lot of people couldn't speak proper English, so if you are a waitress you must be able to communicate with customers. In Zimbabwe we were taught English. Even today Zimbabweans have an advantage when it comes to speaking English. It was not difficult for any manager to hire me. I would go there and speak my (her emphasis) English which was far much better than a real South African".

Mosala (2008) agrees that Zimbabweans have in some sectors gained an advantage over locals because of their command of the English language. However, that better English of Zimbabweans sometimes landed them in trouble with locals who could easily tell that one was Zimbabwean because of the accent. Vivienne further explained:

"...but that also became a disadvantage because if you are able to speak English well the locals would start asking; where do you come from?, while you are serving them and then you become afraid to tell them that you are from Zimbabwe because of the negative reaction you will receive from people".

6.4.5. Zimbabweans evaluate themselves as desperate and easily exploited

"...we don't have as many opportunities as locals. Foreigners are perceived as desperate. They see films of desperate foreigners jumping the fence and think we are desperate. The employer can sack you any time thinking you are not going to take action and it's mostly true" (Morgan).

Research participants believed that the preference of Zimbabwean migrants above all other groups was also because they can be exploited easily without any financial and legal implications. This was related to the images and information that was conveyed by the mass media which portrayed Zimbabweans as desperate and willing to do anything for low wages. The images portrayed convey the message of a fortress South Africa that Zimbabweans desperately want to enter.

Farai argued: "we are desperate and stranded. They prefer us and at the same time mistreat us because they think we are so desperate".

The willingness of Zimbabweans to accept any job and impress employers can on its own be dangerous because regulations could be ignored and flouted to the benefit of the employer. This means that Zimbabwean workers could be exposed to dangerous working conditions endangering their health in the process of securing employment. A good example concerns my key informant Tatenda, who is currently working as a waitress at a food outlet. Almost every day she has nosebleeds and she says it is because of the chemicals they use to clean the cooking space. However, she has no option but to continue enduring these as the other option would be to leave the employer and find another job, which on its own is a mammoth task. The employer pointed out to her that she will not receive any help from the organisation in rectifying this problem. She was told to "either take it or leave".

"Some jobs are reserved for South African locals. They don't want foreigners, for example, they wanted drivers in Pretoria. I went there but we were told they don't want Zimbabweans" (Edgar).

"I attended and passed an interview at Tembisa hospital but they said that they were told not to employ Zimbabwean nurses and doctors because Zimbabwean hospitals do not have nurses and doctors. They said if I had a South African ID they would take me" (Hillary – she is a trained Zimbabwean nurse who now works at a crèche as a teacher).

There are migrants who believe that employers prefer South African locals in recruitment and selection and even when it comes to promotion.

"...currently I feel I deserve a managerial position but I don't have it simply because I am a foreigner, yet I have achieved the educational levels required for management...For some jobs, it is out-rightly written that foreigners should not apply even if you qualify, for example in financial management and accounting. In some websites when you register for employment they ask for a South African identity book and if you don't have but you possess a work permit the minute you write passport and permit then you don't get a response. In some cases it's stated that in this job we are not considering anyone with a work permit" (Trish).

"They preferred South Africans there. I was the only Zimbabwean and I worked as a receptionist. I would be the last to get paid. They would say they forgot to pay me. They would start by paying whites, then local blacks and then me. If I didn't ask I would not get paid" (Hillary).

Whereas the majority (76%) of participants argued that employers preferred Zimbabwean employees, those that said employers prefer South Africans (7%) argued that there are new policies by government favouring the employment of local South Africans. They said that some jobs are clearly indicated that foreigners should not apply. These migrants thought that even in terms of promotions, locals' received them more easily than foreigners who were overlooked in such issues. These views lend support to proposition number 5 of my analytical
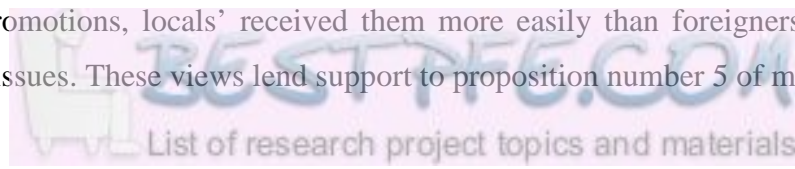
framework which states that high skilled migrants report social exclusion in the form of blocked opportunities for career growth. Migrants alluded to the BBBEE Act of 2003 which encourages employers to promote blacks (South African citizens) into management positions. However, what migrants could be witnessing is the implementation of the Employment Equity Act of 1998 which advocates for affirmative action towards historically disadvantaged groups, defined as designated groups, which are the blacks, women and the disabled South African citizens.

> "Government policies are quite clear. They are encouraging South Africans to take managerial posts. Employers love Zimbabweans but government policies are constraining. They give you permits but they change policies in the workplace, you end up without a job. Now they want to employ people with permanent residence and citizenship" (Barbara).

The above quote from Barbara reveals how migrants perceive the government as shifting goal posts - where migrants now have work permits but cannot access employment. This still has the effect of excluding them from the labour market. Other migrants (14%) said employers have no special preference and 3% said employers prefer other groups like Malawians, Mozambicans, Swazi, Nigerian and Indians. This was mainly the case when the employer was also a foreigner. For example, at a private school where Dorothy teaches, the owner is Malawian. Dorothy thinks that there is an element of nepotism where the employer prefers Malawians whom he also promotes to head of department positions. However, there were Zimbabweans who claimed that the workplace was a neutral ground where the employer did not have a special preference for any ethnic group since the workplace had a mix of Nigerian, Congolese, Ghanaian and South African workers.

There were few cases of migrants who worked or used to work for Zimbabwean employers. These employers were mostly whites who left the country because of the land grabbing during the third *chimurenga* (land revolution) that started in 2000. These white Zimbabweans were happy to recruit black Zimbabweans whom they positively evaluated as reliable and at the same time identified with as 'homeboys'. The migrant workers for the same employers also positively evaluated their employers as understanding. An example of such a case was Thabani who worked at a local hotel. His employer was a white former farmer from Norton, near Harare in Zimbabwe. He liked Thabani and the workplace "was full of Zimbabweans". There was one case of a female migrant who worked for a middle class Zimbabwean black

couple as a domestic worker. This woman (Lydia) praised her employers for being good to her. Recently they gave her an almost new Nokia C3 cellular phone and a double bed.

6.5. Zimbabwean dominated employment sectors

Migrants gain entry in private organisations and employers that do not strictly require identity documents. These organisations provide access to employment to migrants using asylum documents or those without general work permits. However, migrants who do have permits may still find employment in these private companies where both entry and exit tend to be easy. In some cases, there are interviews that migrants attend (especially waitresses) which they pass easily after being coached by their relatives who would have found them the jobs in the first place. In other cases, there are no interviews, the curriculum vitae is adequate to get one employed. Females dominate in domestic services (as domestic workers), hairdressing and hospitality industry (as waitresses), teaching and training, while males are predominantly found in the hospitality (as waiters and drivers), information technology and computers, motor and security industries. Domestic workers can either stay in or stay out (meaning they travel to work rather than live with their employers). Stay-in domestic workers would go to Tembisa and see their families on weekends since they spend the week staying at their employer's residence. Stay-out housemaids, on the other hand, can work for up to three or four employers per week since they have designated days they work for particular employers. The table below shows the various areas of employment for Zimbabweans.

TABLE 13: CURRENT JOB OF PARTICIPANT

	Frequency	Percent
Food service	9	16%
Welding	2	3%
Driving/transport industry	8	14%
Hairdressing	3	5%
Domestic	4	7%
Unemployed	4	7%
Retail	4	7%
Construction	1	2%
Security	3	5%
Teaching	3	5%
Training	1	2%
Accounts and finance	2	3%
IT and computers	8	14%
Other	6	10%
Total	58	100%

Some of those who practised hairdressing had come via Botswana. There are many Zimbabwean women who worked as hairdressers in Botswana as observed by Mutsindikwa (2012).

While migrants may change jobs they rarely change their industry. The table below shows the jobs that migrants did when they first arrived in Johannesburg. It is clear that these are still the same industries receptive of migrants. However, there are clear cases of upward movement where one moves from domestic work to office work. This shift tended to be facilitated by sympathetic domestic employers. This was certainly true for female migrants who are 'O' level certificate holders with Diplomas, for example former teachers who started off as domestic maids. The case of Maureen, the businesswoman who owns a crèche, is a

clear example. She got the domestic job through her sister-in-law but then got the teaching job through her domestic employers whom she had good relations with. She then got advice on how to open a crèche through help from the Zambian former owner of the crèche who helped her with documentation and other connections. Maureen's case renders support to the analytical proposition number 6 where I argue that some employers facilitate the upward mobility of their female domestic workers. The same argument can be made for former employers of self employed migrants who facilitate migrants' acquisition of human capital (see discussion of self employed migrants in section 6.9). Such employers defy the stereotype that employers always facilitate the social exclusion of their migrant workers.

TABLE 14: WHAT WAS YOUR FIRST JOB?

Your first Job	Frequency	Percent
Construction	10	17%
Domestic	11	19%
Security	5	9%
Hairdressing	4	67%
Office	8	14%
Other	13	22%
Waitressing	7	12%
Total	58	100%

Most men started by working in the construction and security industries as well as office work, while most women started in the domestic, office, waitressing and hairdressing sectors. The category of 'other' includes jobs in the retail, motor and service industries. Migrants worked as drivers, motor mechanics, graphic designers, engineers, teachers and sales agents. There was one case of a migrant who changed her profile completely by starting off as a hairdresser and now she is a banker who is finishing her course as a chartered accountant. The change was facilitated by her friends who are also already established accountants. Miriam says:

"while working as a hairdresser at a salon I met these Zimbabwean young girls living a beautiful life and driving beautiful cars. They were the same age with me and had started with the same educational qualifications as I had. That's when I decided to change course and decided to go to school".

Miriam eventually did diplomas in book keeping, office administration and started a course in chartered accountancy. Another migrant who changed jobs is pastor Lloyd who came to Johannesburg as an administrator but worked in various piece jobs until he eventually 'got the calling' from God and trained as a pastor.

6.6. Employee rights

6.6.1. Introduction

"Foreigners have no rights. The moment you express yourself you expose yourself" (Alex).

"My previous employer was from Israel and he preferred Zimbabweans. But we got less money and more working hours. We would work from 7am to 6pm or from 6pm to 7:30am. There were poor working conditions. When it was winter we would spend some time on the street, handing out pamphlets, they wanted us to wear company T-shirts on top of our clothes so that limits the kind of clothes you wear especially during winter. We were not allowed in office until after 11pm we would wait outside at night. One girl was hit by a car while distributing the pamphlets" (Mary).

There are generally few or no workers' rights for most Zimbabwean migrants. The worst areas are security and waitressing where they endure long working hours that are not considered in the calculation of salaries. Workers work up to 12 hours a day but still get less than R2000 per month with one day off per week. They usually knock off well into the night (between 11pm and 3am). In some cases transport is not provided (thus making it dangerous to travel at night) and contracts are verbal agreements. While this situation also affects locals who are in the same industry, it is a serious one for migrants who are the majority in these

sectors, which in any case, tend to be shunned by locals. A worker can be dismissed without notice in the same way that he/she can also disappear without notice. Absence for more than two days is interpreted as loss of interest in the job and the worker is easily replaced. This is what happened with Pauline when she went to process her asylum documents for two days. She found that her employer had replaced her with another domestic worker. Most Zimbabwean migrants do not belong to any worker associations. They shun union activities. While the Immigration Act of 2002 (as amended in 2004) states that it is up to the employer to ensure that migrant workers with permits receive fair salaries and enjoy the same rights as their local counterparts, employers usually do not comply. Lack of enforcement of this provision leads to the exploitation of migrant workers by their employers. Furthermore, ignorance combined with "reluctance to cause trouble and lose their rights" cause migrants to accept unfair situations.

6.6.2. Type of contract

"If you have no identity papers you can even be bullied by a woman", Tapera.

The type of contract tends to be tied to the legal status of the migrant. Those that are illegal or use asylum papers tend to have verbal contracts, while those whose stay is legal or who have acquired South African documents, have formal written contracts and get payslips. On verbal contracts Scott describes how he was engaged:

> "When I first joined the job I did not know whether it was permanent or not. I just heard workmates saying they would be working with me permanently. I never signed any contract. But my white boss showed interest in me".

Norbert also started the same way:

> "When I started I just worked for months without signing a contract even though I knew I was entitled to one. I could not ask for fear of jeopardising my job. The employer formalised the situation and gave me contract this year."

Norbert got the job in 2009. He only signed a contract this year (2012) after almost four years of not knowing how long he was going to be at that organisation. This was also complicated by the fact that he was employed as an asylum permit holder. He got a work permit in 2010.

The problem of a verbal agreement is that it is not binding and enforceable. In Scott's case there was no agreement at all. Scott had been brought by his brother to the job and negotiations had been done by this brother. Unfortunately, he did not last at the job as he was sacked at the end of the month for lack of identity documents after locals had complained of favouritism on the part of the employer.

Paradzayi had this to say about his experiences prior to acquiring a passport and a permit:

> "I used to work for a South African white man. When I told him the truth that I am a Zimbabwean he would shout at me saying you are Zimbabwean and you don't have identity papers, I can call home affairs people any time. He always did this at month-ends, so every time I lived in fear of being deported...but this only happened to those without identity documents".

Morgan also had this to say:

> "The employer can sack you anytime thinking you are not going to take any action and it's mostly true. People don't fight, unlike the locals who are very unions conscious (they know CCMA). I have a cousin who is working 18 hours a day in a restaurant. There is no over-time. Last month, he was paid R500. I told him to record all the hours he had worked so that the day he is fired he can demand his money... he uses asylum papers".

Desperation makes Zimbabwean undocumented migrants accept almost any kind of contract and quietly endure it. While they are aware of exploitation and abuse they have no better choice than to accept the terms and consider themselves lucky to get the jobs in the first place. They only change jobs or become vocal about their conditions once their status has been legalised. Those who are not legal, find that their educational qualifications do not matter as they occupy low, degrading jobs (Van Nieuwenhuyze 2009). That is why many Zimbabweans in South Africa will argue that education does not really matter (Maphosa 2011). The above case by Morgan also reveals that, sometimes, even legality may not matter because an asylum holder can still be exploited and underpaid.

6.6.2.1. Lack of union representation

Whether documented or undocumented, Zimbabweans largely do not participate in union activities. This is either out of "not wanting to create trouble" or in most cases not having access because they do not qualify or they are simply ignored. Ruth has a passport and work permit but she is not a member of the union at her workplace. She says every time there are union meetings at her workplace, Zimbabweans are left outside. They are only told afterwards what transpired at the meetings.

6.6.2.2. Informal employee rights

There were cases of migrants who were lucky to work in organisations that were dominated by migrants to the extent that they could enforce their rights informally, even though these rights were not written down. This was facilitated by their influence in middle management that was dominated by Zimbabweans. Kevin explained that:

> "We have rights here. Our managers are Zimbabwean....(and) the South Africans cannot complain against us because all the management is Shona".

The clustering of Zimbabweans in this particular truck company shielded them from discrimination by locals and actually threatened the locals who were few in this organisation. In such situations locals were afraid to express themselves and could not be xenophobic for lack of support from management. Lower level migrant employees (the truck drivers and mechanics) could enforce informal norms on their Shona managers by reminding them that they come from the same country. In a related case Norbert explained how Zimbabweans dominated a steel and engineering department of a company to the extent that they felt safe from local competition:

> "South Africans have no option but to like us since our department is very powerful. We earn more money than them and recruit each other as Zimbabweans".

Karen also explained how they relate with the Pedi woman they work with at her workplace where she is employed as a tailor:

"the white woman says she wants Zimbabweans only. There are four (three Shona and one Ndebele, [Karen]) Zimbabweans and one South African. The Shona women and I are united. We understand each other. The Pedi woman doesn't like us".

All the cases narrated above reveal how migrants can enforce certain norms (even when they are not written down) by virtue of being a majority in a department and also by having management support to some extent.

6.7. Benefits available at work

The purpose of this subsection is to explain what else was offered at the job. This includes such factors as medical aid, funeral fund, housing allowance, transport allowance, fees for school children, opportunities for growth, fees for further study and food on the job. The table below shows some of the benefits enjoyed by migrants at work.

TABLE 15: BENEFITS AVAILABLE AT WORK

Benefits at work	Frequency	Percent
Funeral fund	5	9%
All benefits are there	2	3%
None	35	60%
Not applicable	11	19%
UIF	5	9%
Total	58	100%

It is clear that the majority of migrant workers (60%) had nothing offered to them except their monthly salary. The salary becomes very important in a situation where one has no other security mechanism to cushion him/her in times of trouble. This means that when migrants get sick they must fork out their own money and when they die there is nothing their relatives get from the organisation. A few individuals (9%) stated that they contribute to the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) which would cushion them in case they lose their jobs. There were two individuals who stated that they have all benefits including UIF, medical aid and funeral fund. These individuals are among those that have gone through the naturalisation

process and are now viewed as citizens in South Africa. They had parents who were already in South Africa. Sections 26 and 27 of the application for permanent residence permit allows for a child (without age restriction) of a South African citizen or a relative 'within the first step of kinship' to apply for permanent residency and naturalisation.

The category labelled 'not applicable' reflects those that are either unemployed or self employed. It is a pity that the self employed cannot afford to pay for their own self protection. But even among those that can afford to pay (e.g. the security company owner and training company owner) migrants thought that having medical insurance was a waste of money, preferring to pay cash whenever medical attention was needed.

6.8. Racial discrimination and xenophobia at work

Migrants complained of racial discrimination at work and xenophobia from fellow black workers.

Concerning racial discrimination, Brian who is a haulage truck driver and mechanic argues:

> "Workers' rights are there but whites are a problem. They always make sure that you don't enjoy them. They lie to government about their operations and when the government relaxes that's when we get exploited. They make super profits exploiting us. In every organisation where there are good benefits the positions are reserved for whites only".

The same sentiments were echoed by a 54 year old self employed welder who maintained that:

> "I used to work with young white technicians doing the same job but I earned R3000 while they got R8000-R9000. I was actually more experienced than them and had taught them the job".

Another Zimbabwean female migrant Theresa also had the same concerns regarding the retail shop owned by an Indian that she used to work for. She highlights that:

"I worked at an Indian shop with my friend for 7 years and got R150 per week. There was no overtime. We normally got a salary raise of R20 per week. There was an Indian that was recruited as a supervisor and he did not know computers. We taught him and he eventually became our manager and was paid more than us. We eventually left the organisation".

Two female migrants who worked as housemaids complained of ill-treatment from their employers who made them mop the floors while kneeling rather than standing and made them eat their food from plates normally used for dog food. Grace explains:

"I once worked for a white employer who did not want me to use a mop. She said I should kneel and mop the whole house while kneeling. It was a big double storey house... As for food I would be given two slices of bread without Rama and milk, just plain black tea. This one knew I was Zimbabwean. I left her".

Another former domestic worker Karen said:

"My previous employer would give me food in the same plate that they used for dogs and cats. This plate was kept outside the house. My friend also had the same story".

Migrants also experienced discrimination from their fellow local black workmates who complained of migrants' overzealousness and their eagerness to please the white employers at any cost. They also felt that migrants were favoured by white employers. Dorcas who became a South African citizen through naturalisation explained what happened at her workplace:

"There was this man from Zimbabwe who had a degree in Quantity Surveying. He was promoted and given a car whereas locals who had been at the organisation for a long time were not promoted. They did not like it and didn't care that he had better qualifications than them. They talked very badly saying foreigners are taking our jobs and (if they are so educated) they must go and improve their country rather than crowd us...I felt hurt but I couldn't show it ...you must not show that you are Zimbabwean to be on the safe side".

Usually such cases do not last long as the migrant is harassed until they leave their job. Daniel narrated his ordeal:

"I got promoted quickly and got hated by people. I became supervisor but I couldn't manage the locals. I was also too young. I was the only Zimbabwean. I got threatened.

I was insulted. I felt uncomfortable. They gossiped. I was told I am a foreigner. I was bullied and I left".

Sometimes locals would try to find fault in the migrant and when they succeeded the individual got sacked. Relationships at work were characterised by jealousies and lack of trust between migrants and locals. Employers were perceived as lacking interest in protecting migrants such that they would rather sack the migrants than agitate the locals. However, employers benefited from the divisions between migrants and locals at work.

6.9. A discussion of self employed migrant entrepreneurs

The following is a discussion of the challenges and opportunities self employed migrants face and how this is connected to social exclusion. The challenges reveal xenophobia and lack of acceptance therefore the inability to create social bonds, which is relational social exclusion. This social exclusion is as much a product of the locals as it is the fault of the migrants. While locals have their own negative stereotypes of migrants, the migrants themselves have very negative stereotypes of locals as employees. This hampers social cohesion.

Another insight coming from this discussion is the relative ease with which to start a small business (In terms of the formal requirements and local regulations). This shows the absence of social exclusion in terms of the institutional macro and meso level structures. The only problem is lack of access to bank loans. Exclusion from accessing bank loans affects the growth and size of the resultant small businesses.

The discussion will also show that while entry into migrant entrepreneurship might have been facilitated by negative factors such as poor jobs and wages, self employment is a positive outcome. This thesis will also highlight that the very fact of belonging to a devalued identity group which is perceived as possessing certain work traits can work to the migrants' advantage eventually opening up good avenues for training and business ventures. Therefore employers in South Africa are not always on the look-out to exploit Zimbabwean migrants. They sometimes train these migrants providing them with rare opportunities for economic development. For such migrants, South Africa is really a land of opportunities for the less

educated Zimbabwean migrants who have made it as self employed entrepreneurs. These migrants use bridging social capital with former employers to get ahead.

There is a growing number of Zimbabweans that opt to work for themselves and rent space in order to offer certain services and goods such as training, teaching, security and retail. There are 17 self employed Zimbabweans who constitute 28% of the research participants. In terms of gender 6 are female while 11 are male. Of these, 7 (three female owned) had registered businesses while the rest (10, of which 7 are owned by men) were unregistered. In terms of educational levels one (1) has a Zimbabwe Junior certificate education (ZJC), twelve (12) have Ordinary level education and at least a certificate or diploma in the field that they were pursuing their business, three (3) have advanced level education while one (1) had a masters degree and several certificates. There were sixteen (16) whose ages range from 20-40 and one fifty four year old man. He is the one with ZJC education. He argues that his education was disturbed by the liberation struggle in 1978 when Zimbabweans fought against British colonial rule. He never resumed schooling.

The businesses of Zimbabwean entrepreneurs can largely be evaluated as micro enterprises. In South Africa micro enterprises "are businesses consisting of only the owner, some members of the family and at most one or two paid employees. They usually lack formality in terms of business licences, value added tax, registration and accounting procedures, Most of them have a limited capital base and only rudimentary technical or business skills among their operators" (Radipere 2012:15). On the other hand, small businesses may operate from a business or industrial premise but they employ less than 50 full time employees, have a turnover of between R2 and R6 million, they are registered for tax and meet all other formal requirements (ibid 2012). Migrants' businesses range from professional information technology services, training, educational services to mechanical electronics, welding, hair dressing salons, security services and spaza shops. The self employed migrant Zimbabweans engage in businesses that are not very different from the jobs they have had in South Africa. For example, if one was employed as a teacher at a crèche, one then starts a day care centre or if one was employed as a security guard one eventually starts a security company and if one was employed in human resources one forms a business in training and human resource development.

There are push and pull factors in self-employment. Among the reasons for starting a business are: the opportunities available (or not available) in the employment sector, perceptions of unfairness at work (especially about racism and xenophobia. William argued that he earned less than inexperienced white technicians), having accumulated the required resources (knowledge, money) and a desire for growth (wanting much more than can be offered by the employer and fulfilling a dream or destiny or vision). Some Zimbabwean migrants also ventured into self-employment because of the existence of clear markets for their particular services and the perceived reluctance of the South African locals to engage in such business ventures. The following case shows some of the reasons for self-employment:

> "Working for someone else was so stressful because as highly educated as I was, I reported to people who had barely matriculated. All they had was experience which I didn't have in South Africa. My experience in Zimbabwe didn't count here. So I had to cancel my Masters degree from my CV in order to get a job... The moment you speak about the Masters you become overqualified and lose the job.....nothing can all be bad. That's where I learnt a lot of the things that I do now" (Vongai).

The reasons for self-employment given above reveal a combination of frustration with what the employer was offering and the general working conditions and a positive outlook of seeing the work experience as an opportunity to learn so that one can be independent.

Analysis of the lives of the self employed entrepreneurs reveals that no one can be totally excluded, supporting Kabeer's (2000) argument on disadvantageous participation. It is clear that even within an exclusive macro environment some migrants could still identify opportunities to start businesses and better their lives. Their participation in small businesses turned out to be an advantage as it gave them opportunities to know everything necessary to start a business. So while working for a small company could have been a result of inability to find jobs with big organisations (probably as a result of social exclusion), that yielded positive results in the end. Vivienne argued:

> "I learnt everything on the job. The good thing about working for a small company is that you become a jack of all trades in accounts, sales, supervision etc....after spending six months in the UK being trained at the organisation's headquarters, I felt confident that I could start my own company. My products are similar to those of my previous employer. I gained the product knowledge from that company".

This was the same story shared by Bernard, Paradzayi, Vongai and Maureen who developed an interest in creating their own businesses as a result of the training they received from their employers. They had the necessary knowledge, connections and requirements of establishing a business and thus it was easy to start businesses. Bernard explained how he developed his 'vision' to start a security company:

> I had been working in the security business for three years and had become a supervisor. In 2000 a white senior manager decided to form his own security company and persuaded me to join him. There were twelve of us. I did everything and over time I occupied every position in the company. It eventually became a very big organisation. I then developed a vision to start my own security company.

The above case of Bernard also reveals his ability to use bridging social capital in order to start his business. It also reveals an important issue about the stereotypical literature that exists concerning employers of migrants in South Africa. In this case rather than the employers exploiting and discriminating foreigners, they actually trained them and that is how the migrants eventually became self employed. Thus the desire to be one's own boss was predicated on the confidence and belief that one could do it, which came as a result of training and experience. What seems clear is that the migrants would have previously worked for small to medium firms themselves. Such environments created by small and medium firms offered migrants the requisite tacit knowledge to be able to venture out on their own.

6.9. 1. Start- up capital and explanations for success

According to the self employed Zimbabweans, they raised their capital by working very hard sometimes holding two jobs. They had no access to credit and could not rely much on family and friends. They therefore started very small, and up to now some are still very small having invested less than R1000 to start the business. There are few Zimbabwean entrepreneurs so they have no role models, neither do they have good financial support. What keeps them going is their engagement in businesses that they are well versed with. These self employed entrepreneurs do not venture into complex business activities but stick to what they know and keep it simple. Those who do training have qualifications for it. However, those entrepreneurs who are in the food business (selling kotas, owning spaza shops) engage in trial

and error as they had never done it before. However, the advantage is that the tasks are mundane and routine that they can be learned quickly. They explain their success in terms of sheer hard work and determination. Bernard, who is one of the owners of the security company which employs up to 40 security guards, argued that as a business owner:

> "Your performance must be fifty times more than that of other people because you know that you are affected directly by losses".

Most of these entrepreneurs described how they rose through the ranks as employees in their various fields and how they felt they had gathered enough experience to venture on their own. This means that all entrepreneurs started off as employees and then left to start their own businesses. For some, like Bernard, rising through the ranks also entailed cheating the system by getting fake educational certificates, drivers' licence and eventually identity books.

It is important to note that migrants used bridging social capital to help kick-start their business ventures. For example, Vivienne got the knowledge from her former employer who had approached her when she was waitressing at a certain organisation. She got the required experience and was sent for further training in the UK. When she came back, she had enough confidence to start her own company. Bernard also got the needed experience after his former manager started a security company and called him to be a supervisor. That is when he developed his vision to start his own company. Maureen got money (R 1 million) to apply and register for a business permit from her Ghanaian church pastor.

6.9. 2. Their preferences as employers

The recruitment decisions of these Zimbabwean entrepreneurs reveal the general negative stereotypes that some Zimbabweans have about local South African workers. These impede social cohesion with locals. These perceptions facilitate social isolation. Here are some of their views concerning the calibre of employees they want:

> "I don't care about nationality but South African locals are a problem....they have an attitude towards you. They would say what can he tell us? He is a foreigner and because I use fake South African identity documents I become afraid that they are

suspicious of me and might report me to the police. That's why I don't recruit them...blood is thicker than water. I treat Zimbabweans as brothers and sisters. I consider them first". (Bernard).

"Our industry requires hard workers. I once employed South Africans and got frustrated. I have since stopped. We have different work ethics". (Vongai).

"Congolese women are better workers. They are humble. When you give them their wages at month-end they show extreme gratitude. Zimbabwean workers are greedy. The moment they see clients paying for their children's fees, they think you have lots of money. They don't care about the bills you must pay...they want to open their own crèches and compete with you. Some of them are snakes!" (Maureen).

Zimbabwean entrepreneurs generally prefer Zimbabwean employees. This is not necessarily facilitated by feelings of camaraderie but by the profit motive. It is facilitated by bonding social capital. Bonding social capital seems to help the self-employed migrants to acquire cheap labour from co-ethnics. For example, Bernard's wife works as a part-time secretary at Bernard's security company, she is not paid anything, although she may be given money at home to buy what she requires for the family. Employing Zimbabweans means that one may be able to pay them late and less or not paying them at all, expecting them (migrant employees) to 'understand' the situation. They also thrive on relationships of obligations or patronage. These relationships range from obligations about bus-fare (from Zimbabwe to Johannesburg), accommodation, employment, church membership and issues of illegality. While employing co-ethnics affords those worse-off Zimbabweans to at least get a means of survival, it might also lead to co-ethnic exploitation.

The above quotations reveal one employer (Maureen) whose preference was for other foreigners who are not Zimbabwean. She felt that Zimbabwean employees were jealous of her business and could jeopardise it. Such feelings cause divisions and show that even if Zimbabweans face the same adversities these may not necessarily increase their bounded solidarity. I discuss this argument further in Chapter Eight where I consider the effects of tribalism and regionalism.

The observation that most of these self-employed migrants started their business ventures only after acquiring fake South Africa identity books further reinforces my argument on the

devalued Zimbabwean identity. In all cases the acquisition of such identity documents was also based on bridging social networks. However, there were some self employed migrants who started businesses using their passports only - without any work or business permit and that is illegal. These are the owners of small spaza shops who sell *kotas*. The research findings provide support to proposition eight (8) stated in my analytical framework. The proposition states that self employment for documented migrants is a consequence of pull factors in self employment rather than the existence of blocked opportunities in the labour market. According to this proposition documented migrants benefit from bridging social and human capital from former bosses and their resultant businesses tend to be bigger than the undocumented migrants who have less exposure.

6.9.3. Bounded solidarity and co-ethnics as a ready market

Zimbabwean migrant entrepreneurs seem to relate much better with other foreigners than locals, e.g. Nigerians, Congolese, and Zambians. This could be a result of a perception of bounded solidarity where they share a common fate as foreigners in South Africa. For example Maureen got access to her first business premise from her former Zambian boss. She employs Zimbabweans, Nigerians and Congolese. Paradzayi is employed by a Nigerian entrepreneur on a part-time basis. Paradzayi also has Nigerian friends who supply him with computers and spare parts.

While such situations lend support to the 'ethnic facilitation argument' (although in this case these foreigners are not from the same ethnic group) and be a source of social capital, it may sometimes lead to the abuse of foreigners by other foreigners, where foreign employees may be paid less than locals (for example, in the case of Paradzayi who pays his part-time employees R50 a day) or where foreigners sell each other stolen goods and land themselves in jail and where some foreigners benefit from other co-ethnics' unfortunate circumstances (for example during the ZDP Paradzayi became famous for his ability to fraudulently provide proof of residence and employment documents to other co-ethnics for a fee of R150). While Paradzayi was able to solve his co-ethnics' problems they provided him with a ready market that he was happy to tap into. Paradzayi has since diversified his activities to include

recruitment and advertising for co-ethnics who are looking for jobs as domestic workers, waiters and drivers. To some extent, these represent Paradzayi's captive market.

6.9.4. The neighbourhood and socio-political environment

> "I saw someone urinating on the wall of my shop. When I confronted him he said *makwerekwere* had no right to establish businesses in South Africa when the locals can do the same...I could tell that he was looking for a fight" (Paradzayi).

> "The challenge is that they are currently looking for BEE candidates. They are looking for black South Africans....they look at your BEE status (for example how many South Africans do you employ)...it becomes a challenge in terms of the business opportunities you can get" (Vongai).

> "The big problem here is corruption....if you don't have a *khaki* envelop you won't succeed. Business is not really based on merit...if you are not connected to certain people you won't succeed. It's not easy" (Vivienne).

Migrant entrepreneurs generally perceive the environment as characterised by xenophobia and lack of government support of migrant businesses. However, it must be acknowledged that it is fairly easy to start a business in Tembisa and Kempton Park, especially hair salons, spaza shops and hawking. There seem to be no local by-laws that migrants have to deal with concerning these. Establishing any of these is a matter of negotiating with house-owners who have backyard rooms or who have space to accommodate mobile shops (ship containers). The most important actors at this level are the local South Africans who provide the space and buy goods and services from self-employed Zimbabweans. Their reactions and attitudes largely determine these business ventures. So far, this study reveals that locals present no specific big problems for the self employed migrants, except for the occasional negative statements indicated in the above first quotation. This happened in Tembisa. There are no such incidents in Kempton Park. The local police are remotely involved as they visit these business ventures at least every six months, searching for undocumented migrants.

6.10. The unemployed

All the unemployed migrants studied were wives who depended on their husbands for their day to day upkeep. They also did not have work permits. However, they had been unemployed for less than a year and were actively looking for employment. They all agreed that staying at home was not an option since life is not easy in Johannesburg. For example, Pauline, who has a diploma in Human Resources, came to Johannesburg in October 2010 to join her husband. But she soon realised that "staying as a housewife was impractical". She found a job as a domestic worker through the help of a church elder. However, she lost the job when she spent two days in Pretoria where she had gone to apply for asylum documents. When she came back, her employer had found a replacement. The unemployed risk facing a domino sequence of social exclusion; where lack of 'documents' leads to failure to access jobs, which eventually leads to disadvantageous life chances. For example, Pauline argued that:

> "We want jobs. We want office jobs but without a permit it's problematic. If you want to have a drivers' licence they refuse people with asylum papers. I don't have a permit because I am unemployed. Permits are difficult to get, they only give them to employed people. You also need money to apply for a permit and R700 to get your certificates evaluated by SAQA".

The above quote reveals the vicious cycle of social exclusion, where lack of proper documentation leads to lack of a good office job. This in turn makes it difficult for one to raise money to get one's certificates evaluated by SAQA, thus leaving the individual stuck in an unfavourable job that is easy to get without a permit but discourages upwards social mobility.

6.11. Conclusion

Zimbabwean migrants mostly participate in contract, casual, menial jobs that do not pay much but ensure their survival. The research reveals that migrants are not totally shunned from employment, but they participate on disadvantaged terms. Therefore rather than facing social exclusion due to unemployment, they experience adverse incorporation, exploitation and abuse. This tallies with Silver (1995)'s argument that migrants can be trapped in "bad" jobs which, unfortunately for them, are the only easily accessible ones. The employment sectors that are open to migrants have no job security and other related benefits. There is stiff competition for semi-skilled and unskilled jobs between migrants and locals. This increases chances of conflict between the two groups which end up shunning each other. For most migrants their exploitability is their competitive advantage as employers tend to prefer employing migrants over locals. Employers benefit from the low cost of migrant labour.

This chapter has also revealed the reasons for some Zimbabweans venturing into self employment, arguing that this entry is facilitated by a combination of factors such as discrimination and poor jobs on the labour market and also the experience that migrants had gained from their previous employers. Therefore rather than facilitating social exclusion these employers encourage acquisition of social and human capital eventually making it easy for some migrants to be successful entrepreneurs.

CHAPTER SEVEN: COPING MECHANISMS FOR GAINING SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE AND ENSURING SURVIVAL

7.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give a broad outline of the various tactics used by Zimbabweans to gain social acceptance. It broadens the discussion from Chapter 6 by exploring coping mechanisms of Zimbabweans in and beyond the labour market. It also lays the foundation for understanding Chapter 8 where there is a discussion of how the specific coping mechanisms (for example church membership) identified in this chapter could either increase or decrease the level of social exclusion of individual migrants.

The major point is that Zimbabweans are aware of the devalued migrant identity as *makwerekwere.* Most of them do not seek social acceptance as 'foreigners' living in South Africa but they want to negotiate social acceptance with locals as South Africans through disguising their Zimbabwean identity. As such they use tactics such as changing their style of dressing and walking as well as collusion with local South Africans to conceal their Zimbabwean identities gaining social acceptance and jobs in the process. Migrants also use church and family networks and connections with former classmates and schoolmates to get jobs, accommodation and marriage partners in Johannesburg. Some migrants have also tried marrying South Africans as a way of blending in and gaining acceptance among the locals.

There are two coping mechanisms that I discuss which show how some migrants have given up trying to gain social acceptance among both their migrant networks and the locals. These strategies are: 'keeping to yourself' and 'living within your means'. These mechanisms reflect the level of social isolation that some migrants experience.

The chapter ends by giving an appraisal of the migrants' perceptions of their present circumstances and the future. This discussion of the future is part of understanding the extent of migrants' social exclusion. In this regard, as Atkinson (1998) argues, if people's current way of life does not ensure better future prospects then they can be regarded as socially excluded.

7.2. Friendships and marriages with local South Africans and fellow migrants

Friendships and marriages with locals are some of the best ways of creating bridging social ties for individual migrants. They increase the level of acceptability into the local community even at work. Brian uses friendships with locals and this has gained him acceptability at work. He says:

> "In 2010 when I applied for my leave I invited one South African colleague of mine to go with me to Zimbabwe. He was surprised to see that we are organised, we have good homes even in rural areas. He appreciated our lifestyle. In the Harare city he saw how my brothers lived. He saw that Zimbabwean police assist foreigners and do not ask for identity books. They don't terrorise foreigners. He was told how South African leaders were helped during the apartheid...I have two South African colleagues whom I trust. They can visit my house in Harare even when I am not there".

Some migrants have tried having sexual relationships and even marriages with South Africans. Migrants sometimes use marriage to gain citizenship and accommodation (Van Nieuwenhuyze 2009; Lancee 2012b). Among the research participants were two men who once married South African women, but the marriages soon ended in divorce. Those that said they could consider marrying South Africans (9%) were either already having relationships or had had relationships with South African women. South African women are generally perceived as sexually appealing to Zimbabwean male migrants. However, Zimbabwean female migrants do not consider South African males as prospective partners. Barbara had this to say about South African men:

> "I have dated South Africans. They don't know love. South Africans are rough. I will get married to a Zimbabwean man".

The majority of Zimbabwean migrants (88%) say they would not consider getting married to South Africans. This is because Zimbabweans have negative stereotypes about South Africans, especially local men. Therefore, while male Zimbabweans could have fleeting

relations with South Africa women, they mostly have no considerations for serious relationships leading to marriage.

Migrants argued that South African women were very attractive and could divert the attention of migrant men. According to Maureen:

> "Marriages are under attack, the divorce rate is too high. It's like Zimbabweans have never seen mini-skirts, fat and light skinned women before. They are so shocked. They run away from their wives".

> Pastor Lloyd believes that:

> "Marriages of Zimbabweans and locals are about convenience...it's about this person helping me to cross a bridge or reach a certain stage and that's it...it's because of different cultures. At first there may be genuine love, but as time goes on, it changes. South African women love a good life, they are not taught about responsibility; whereas Zimbabwean women know their duties".

Pastor Lloyd gave several reasons for the failure of Zimbabwean-South African marriages: (a) instrumental calculations where a relationship is forged by someone who wants to get ahead using a relationship with a local woman (b) differences in culture and (c) the possible inability of local women to remain in the marriage when the migrant men become unemployed or experience financial problems. Male migrants argued that being married to a South African woman was demeaning because South African women have no respect. They will resist going to Zimbabwe, have problems conversing (language barriers) with the migrants' family members in Zimbabwe and would discourage investment in Zimbabwe. They argued that marrying a local woman meant that 'one becomes the wife'. The two migrants that tried marrying South African women were disappointed when these women showed lack of respect and an interest in money. Bernard argued that:

> "I found a lady who came from Natal and stayed with her for four years. When she discovered that I am a foreigner she looked down upon and despised me. I then met a Zimbabwean woman whom I married. I compared the level of respect that was shown by the two ladies and discovered that I was respected more by the Zimbabwean. I paid *lobola* for her while staying with the South African whom I eventually left".

Bernard had not paid any lobola for the Zulu woman. What he did not realise was that the Zimbabwean woman was in a desperate situation concerning accommodation and life in general and therefore could be expected to be more respectful (deferential) and understanding compared to the local woman who had no such pressures. Thabani is another migrant who stayed with a Zulu woman for eight years. He said he left her because; "she prevented pregnancy without my knowledge. I wanted a child and she undermined me". Generally, migrants prefer 'shacking up' or 'just living together' arrangements with local women. Sometimes such arrangements become permanent and produce children (Maphosa 2011).

Moving in with migrant male partners was a common strategy among female migrants who were quick to find men to live with. This practice is commonly known as '*ukuhlalisana*' (which literary means living together). This draws parallels with the '*mapoto*' marriages which were a common phenomenon in early urban settlements in Zimbabwe. Female migrants became 'wives' that way, without any formal negotiations involving other family members. With time, the arrangement may either be formalised as partners become more involved, or destroyed, as partners drifted apart. Among migrants in Tembisa and Kempton Park, this practice could be facilitated by the expectation of relatives to move out quickly while the individual is unprepared or by low wages and sometimes unemployment. This is one of the reasons why some migrants severed relationships with their relatives. For example, Scott argued that he had a sister whom he did not communicate with often.

> "We have problems with sisters who live with men without the payment of *lobola*. My brother doesn't like it. My sister had a child with a man who hadn't paid any *lobola*. When the child died my brother never went to pay condolences because he said she was 'just shacking up with a man' and the child was illegitimate. I pleaded with him saying let's relate well since we are in a foreign country. We are now trying to reconcile".

Sometimes women had boyfriends who helped them pay rent even though they did not stay together. This was the case for Hillary who was single but had a boyfriend (Paradzayi) who helped her pay rent for a room in Kempton Park, while he stayed in Tembisa with his wife Grace.

Having multiple partners is dangerous and could easily spread HIV/AIDS. Pastor Lloyd argued that:

"Life in South Africa is hard... It is very fast and free. It mainly affects females who end up in relationships that destroy (kill) them. When they get desperate for accommodation, they end up staying with strange men or end up in unplanned marriages".

7.3. Church membership

"Even if I was to wake up tomorrow and there was no heaven, I wouldn't regret having gone to church because it moulds you as a person. That's why my children also go to church. I want to be disciplined. I want them to be disciplined. It keeps me rooted. You don't just live without knowing where you come from" (Vivienne).

Zimbabwean migrants are very religious. The church was believed to be the moral compass guiding migrants. Going to church was viewed as important for the following reasons: spiritual guidance and protection from God, access to information on accommodation and jobs and also acquisition of friends. Church members tend to be from the same network that provides work and accommodation. It is in these churches that migrants form revolving social and grocery clubs. They also marry within the same cliques.

90% regularly go to church while only 10% do not go to church. Migrants mostly attend Pentecostal churches which originate from Zimbabwe. They have not been integrated into South African churches. In these Zimbabwean originated churches they preach in Ndebele and Shona and sometimes reminisce on the days in Zimbabwe. Few attempts are made to convert their South African neighbours to join them. Because of this, churches must be viewed as sources of social exclusion, thus showing the darker side of bonding social capital. Such an analysis lends support to propositions 3 of my analytical framework, where I argue that migrant religious networks may lead to the social exclusion of their members.

TABLE 16: WHICH CHURCH DO YOU GO TO?

Which church do you go to?	Frequency	Percent
Seventh Day Adventist	18	31%
ZAOGA Forward in Faith	4	7%
JPM Pentecostal	5	9%
AFM	3	5%
Other Pentecostal	14	24%
Catholic	1	2%
Vapostori/ Masowe	7	12%
None	6	10%
Total	58	100%

Research revealed that 31% of the migrants are members of the Seventh Day Adventist church, 4% belong to ZAOGA, 5% go to JPM, and 5% are members of the AFM. There were migrants who belonged to various inter-ethnic Pentecostal churches that largely included other migrants like Ghanaians, Nigerians and Congolese. These constituted 24% of the sample. Migrants seem to shun traditional churches such as Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist and Roman Catholic which are dominant in Zimbabwe. The reason could be proliferation of Pentecostal churches in Johannesburg and the lure towards what these churches purport to offer. The new Pentecostal churches are well known for miracles and the ability to help individuals who have different problems. In fact, there was one migrant (2%) who claimed to be Catholic while 12% belonged to the Apostolic church sects such as *Johane Masowe* or *Johane Wechishanu* or *Mugodhi*. These are strictly Zimbabwean indigenous Protestant sects. Members of these churches wear white or other colourful garments on Saturdays and Sundays when they go to church. They are also visible because male members attend church services carrying staffs/rods and their services are conducted in open spaces (usually in the bush) outside buildings.

Migrants who attend Apostolic/*vapostori* church services benefit from prophetic messages and visions that are relayed to them. This is where their future is foretold; identifying future troubles and fortunes. Strategies to deal with future problems are mapped out. The uncertain future can somehow be controlled through prayer and petitions. Prophetic messages provide

explanations to situations that trouble migrants. That way, migrants can cope with these situations better. Daniel stated clearly that:

> "I used to go to Baptist church but then decided to go to the *vapostori*. I had family problems. A friend of mine invited me. They prophesy here. I was told things by prophets, for example how I lost my job. I was told people hate me".

Sheunesu is another migrant who goes to *Johane Masowe* Apostolic church. He says:

> "Problems befall everyone. We go to church because of problems, difficult situations and circumstances".

Maphosa (2011) concurs that the challenges of migrant life are usually dealt with via churches that prophesy and foretell the future. Some prophecies are about impending return journeys and the dangers associated with them. Prayers accompanied by fasting are usually recommended to deal with the challenges of migrant life.

The church is critical in that God is viewed as the protector against police, especially for those without proper documentation. They pray so that the police cannot arrest an undocumented migrant. One forty six year old male migrant (Tapera) argued that "If I get deported it doesn't matter. God knows my situation. I know I am being unfair to God because I am breaking the law by being illegal". Another male migrant (Farai) argued that local South Africans do not need to pray:

> "As a foreigner you know your problems, when the going gets tough you have to focus on God. You are desperate...Locals are at home and relaxed, they have no need to go to church. They have relatives all over".

Farai's argument points to the belief that God is very important to people without relatives and friends. He also gives a better identity (being called a child of God) to those whose identity is devalued. He is the relative and friend to the lonely, desperate and needy.

This perception was clearly portrayed in one of Pastor Lloyd's sermons, where he admonished people to continue seeking God even after getting jobs. He said there was a tendency of people to relax after getting jobs, only to seek God again when they became unemployed and desperate.

There was a small number of migrants (10%) who stated that they are Christians but they do not go to church. They sometimes spend free time drinking beer. Among this small group was Eric who ends up engaging in public fighting when drunk. He has been arrested several times for public fighting. His most recent arrest was in early 2012 when he beat up a security guard at the Tembisa Plaza. He paid a R1000 fine which he got from his brother.

7.4. Crime and deviance

7.4.1. Introduction

Migrants believe that some Zimbabweans engage in criminal activities. These activities range from obtaining fake South African identity books, petty thievery, prostitution, to serious crimes like embezzlement of funds or robbing at gunpoint. They argue that these people are desperate and have no other acceptable channels of making money. The majority of migrants under study (84%) know of Zimbabweans involved in crime. In some cases, migrants witnessed crimes committed by Zimbabweans. Alex witnessed a crime in a retail shop where people were ordered to lie down while the robbers spoke to each other in Shona. He also argued that he knew Zimbabweans who made a living out of cloning other people's credit cards and withdrawing their money. These criminals had posh lifestyles and drove the latest car models. However, there were also arguments by the same migrants that those criminals who moved around in gangs tended to be a mixture of Zimbabweans and South African locals, so it becomes difficult and stereotypical to say that Zimbabweans are 'the' criminals in South Africa. Migrants were quick to say that the majority of criminals resided in Hillbrow and not in Tembisa.

7.4.2. Use of fake South African identity books

Among the popular strategies used to survive in South Africa is the use of South African identity books. Most of these are falsified, having been stolen from or lost by South African

citizens. A key informant of mine, Tatenda, told me that she did not steal but 'picked up' someone's lost identity book, removed the photo and replaced it with hers. What this means is that the details of the person whose identity book is missing will be used by Tatenda including the name. This strategy of using another person's identity book is called "*khupha faka* - literally meaning remove and replace". In some cases, there is genuine consent from the owner of the identity book where the agreement is that the migrant uses the identity book to get a job but pays a small fee to the local South African. They also agree that there will not be any debts or police fines acquired for the period that the migrant uses the identity book. This is what Eric did to get a job as a security guard. However, this mechanism is no longer popular as there is a nationwide campaign against it and arrests are being made for people caught using others' identity books. A month after I interviewed Eric, he lost his job when it was discovered that he used another person's identity book. He opted to leave his job when one day he was invited to the manager's office and, without notice, was subjected to a lie detector test. They asked him a battery of questions about his name, age and area of origin. He stopped going to work after that day. Some of his colleagues who remained were arrested for fraud and fined R3000 or imprisoned. Eric regards himself as having been lucky to escape by absconding from work after that exercise.

There was one male migrant(Tendai), who stated that his employer had a large batch of identity books that he gave to foreign migrants to use at his workplace, such that whenever there was a new recruit, he automatically got an identity book from the employer. The migrant himself was a recipient of such an identity book as he was still waiting for the adjudication of his application for a worker's permit. However, one of the conditions of using the identity book was that the migrant agrees to remain on probation until he got a permit.

More commonly, migrants made use of connections with officials in the DHA to actually produce identity books. It was a whole chain of corrupt officials who participated in the production. The process was costly with migrants paying between R4 000 and R 10000 for a South African identity book where one would be given a South African name. Women got Zulu names like Siphokazi or Nozipho or Pedi names such as Lerato, Karabo and Lesedi. There was also a tendency to alter the year and place of birth. Most Zimbabwean migrants who used this route claim to come from Mpumalanga or Natal. Of note is the fact that these migrants were low skilled, giving credence to proposition number five which explains how low skilled and undocumented migrants acquiesce by obliterating their Zimbabwean identity.
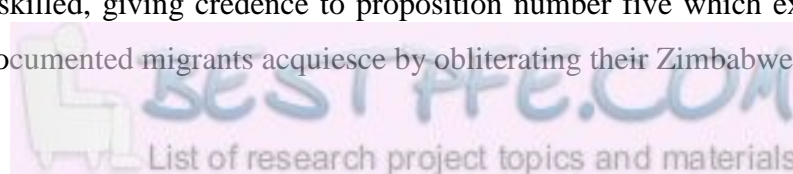
However, these documents sometimes did not prevent arrests by the police. In some cases, the migrants would not even be keen to reveal their 'south African identity' to the police when they are arrested. For example, in 2009 Theresa was arrested for loitering in Hillbrow. She was visiting relatives. When the police demanded identification she was afraid to show her South African identity book although she had it with her. She preferred to phone her husband who came and paid a fine of R200 for her release.

Nowadays there are Zimbabwe-South Africa identity books that can be produced via the same networks. These documents will identify the person clearly as Zimbabwean but as having permanent residence. One can get them for roughly the same price as the South African ones.

While some migrants out-rightly agreed that they use fake identity books, others were not so overt. All the participants that said they use South African identity books got them through unorthodox means. However, those that have permanent residence either got it through naturalisation or again faking identity. There was only one migrant (William) who got permanent residence through the amnesty for SADC citizens in 1996. The following table shows the current legal status of migrants.

TABLE 17: IS THE CURRENT STAY LEGAL?

Is the current stay legal?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	22	38%
No	3	5%
I have a passport but no permit	12	21%
I have asylum papers	2	3%
yes I have South African documents	11	19%
I have permanent residence	8	14%
Total	58	100%

Those that said their current stay is legal are using passports with work permits. The permits were acquired either directly by personally going to the DHA offices in Pretoria (during the

ZDP) or indirectly by use of agents. Those who accessed them directly sometimes had to endure long hours of waiting in the queue for application forms. Hillary argued that:

"We were ill-treated. They threatened to phone the police to come and take us to Lindela. Those without passports were actually taken to Lindela. We were told that we were making noise and they would phone the police".

Middle class migrants like Vongai, Miriam and Trish used agents to access work permits. These agents are expensive. Vongai says:

"When you use an agent you pay more - R15000 for the whole process. If you go directly you pay R1500 so the R13500 is for the agent. But you see, the agent involves a whole chain of other people, it's him, somebody in the department (DHA), and maybe five more people. They share the money".

In the sample, there are only two participants that still use asylum papers. Most migrants surrendered the asylum papers during the Zimbabwe Documentation Project of 2010. There are a number of migrants (20%) that have passports without permits. These are currently illegal and conceal their identities through adopting local languages, dressing styles and other South African mannerisms. However, even some of the documented migrants disguise their identity because legality does not necessarily translate into social acceptance.

7.4.3. The concept of ukuzama (trying)

A common concept among migrants was that of '*ukuzama*' - literally meaning 'trying', which entailed elements of being clever or being smart in a mischievous way. Those engaged in criminal activities were seen as 'trying', although they were mostly not emulated. Maphosa (2011) noted a similar concept of '*ukutshaya iscore*' - literally meaning 'to score' as referring to success in criminal activities where an individual engages in a big criminal activity that gives him (mostly male) lots of money which they use to establish businesses back in Zimbabwe. That is how most *malayitsha* were believed to have acquired start-up capital to buy cars and buses that they used in their cross-border transport businesses (ibid: 2011). This

is what Edgar, one of my research participants, hoped to gain when he robbed his nephew's employer. He was unsuccessful. His narrative is as follows:

"A nephew of mine who worked as a gardener had called us to come and steal from his employer's safe. I went there with my friend during the night. We did not find any money. We only found his employer's gun. We got arrested after my nephew confessed everything to his employer. The employer had threatened my nephew with being arrested and possible deportation".

This man was a driver during the day and a thief during the night. He had also stolen motor spares from his employer in Zimbabwe in order to get transport money for migration. He seemed to have continued his criminal activities in Johannesburg. He was a habitual criminal who sometimes stayed in jail.

In another case, Pastor Lloyd revealed how uncomfortable he was in Hillbrow, when he discovered that his brother, whom he stayed with, was a criminal. He prayed to God for a job so that he would move out and leave his criminal brother. When he eventually got the job, he moved out and went to stay in Tembisa.

There was a tendency by migrants to show elements of tribalism and regionalism in identifying Zimbabwean criminals. Ndebele speakers tended to think that Shona people were criminals while Shona speakers said the Ndebele were the criminals. One Shona speaking man, Norbert, argued that prostitutes in Kempton Park spoke Ndebele and Shona. Kevin, who comes from Mashonaland East, vehemently argued that criminals are from Masvingo. He said:

"It might be true that some criminals are Zimbabweans. They are from Masvingo. I saw it when I went to apply for asylum documents in Pretoria. They would hit us and take things from us. I could tell from the dialect that they were Karanga, from Masvingo. They told us that they are taking money from us because they have no jobs...But gangs tend to be a mixture of Zimbabweans and South Africans".

When I further questioned Kevin, I discovered that he was not beaten by these people as he claimed, but he witnessed other Zimbabweans being beaten and their money taken by these Shona speaking men. Participants revealed that between 2010 and 2011 (during the ZDP period), they were generally more afraid of the Shona, than anyone else, when they went to secure legal documents in DHA offices in Pretoria.

7.4.4. Bribing the police

Among the research participants, in all the cases involving bribing the police, it is the police that initiated the bribes. One woman (Karen) was approached by the police officers in Johannesburg central who demanded a bribe saying "*Ingwenya ihlala emanzini* - literally meaning that "a crocodile lives in water". This was their language for asking for a bribe. She could not understand their language at first until they told her that she was under arrest for loitering. Karen had gone shopping in one of the Chinese shops in Johannesburg Central. She thought she was easily spotted by the police because she wore a long dress. She also carried a child on her back wrapped in a distinctively Zimbabwean cloth. The police first asked for her identity book and when she stammered, they told her she was under arrest for loitering and in the process solicited the bribe.

Most arrests made on migrants pertain to issues of illegality in the country where the individual either has an expired passport/ asylum document or does not have any of these documents at all. This is understandable given the fact that half of the participants entered South Africa illegally the first time. What is disturbing is that the crime and the charge did not tally. All the cases to do with lack of documents were charged with loitering, which is a term that means something different. Both male and female migrants were charged with this crime of loitering.

The arrests were mainly done in Hillbrow, Yeoville and other central parts of Johannesburg, while 14% were arrested at the border or along the way to Johannesburg. This was true for migrants who were deported as they tried to get to Johannesburg. Some migrants were arrested in Tembisa and Kempton Park, though in these cases a few arrests did not concern documentation but were about other issues such as public fighting, theft and crossing a freeway. Kevin was arrested for crossing a freeway although he pleaded with the police that he did not know that it was a crime since Zimbabwe does not have freeways. Paradzayi was arrested in Kempton Park in 2007, before he had a passport. He argued:

> "When I disembarked the train, the police asked for my identity book. I lied and said my passport had expired but they insisted on seeing the expired passport. As they

searched me they saw R200 and took it. I pleaded with them and they took R100 and released me".

Most arrests took places in public areas such as business centres, taxis, trains and buses. The table below shows that in total, 38% of the respondents have been arrested while 62% said they had never been arrested.

TABLE 18: HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED?

Have you ever been arrested	Frequency	Percent
Yes in Joburg central	7	12%
Yes in Tembisa/Kempton Park or other areas	7	12%
No	36	62%
Arrested in other parts of South Africa	8	14%
Total	58	100%

Migrants believed that police arrested and demanded a bribe even when the migrant's papers were in order. They also believed that the police usually spotted migrants when they carried their luggage to Park Station where they went to seek buses to ferry their remittances back to Zimbabwe, or when they went shopping in Johannesburg central. One male migrant (Edwin) narrated how he was arrested in Johannesburg central:

"I was arrested for public loitering. I had gone shopping in Chinese shops in Johannesburg central. These shops sell goods without giving receipts. The police demanded proof of purchase of the goods I had. I told them we could go back together to the shops where I bought the goods so that they could verify whether I was telling the truth. They refused and started asking for a bribe. I said I did not have any money. They said I should accompany them to the police station. They asked for a bribe the

second time after I had shown them my asylum papers. I paid R150 and they let me go".

This migrant ended up paying a bribe even though he had relevant asylum papers. Another female migrant (Tatenda) who is Edwin's cousin was arrested while walking with her aunt towards Park Station. She was carrying some of her aunt's luggage. The aunt was en route to Zimbabwe. Tatenda had left her passport and work permit at home because she thought no one would notice her. When they caught her, the police asked for a bribe and openly told her they did not want 'small money' like R20 and R50. Her aunt ended up paying R100. The police had threatened to hold the migrant in police cells over the weekend since it was a Friday.

7.4.5. Bhudi handei (my brother let's go): prostitution in Kempton Park

Female migrants were generally believed to resort to prostitution when faced with hard times of unemployment. However, among the migrant interviewees, none admitted that they were in prostitution although they knew Zimbabwean prostitutes. Daniel knew of Zimbabwean prostitutes in Kempton Park. He said "it's painful to see Zimbabwean prostitutes, you feel ashamed to be Zimbabwean in such situations". Norbert also said:

> "I know of Shona prostitutes in Kempton Park. They speak Shona on the streets, they can see you wearing Zimbabwean takkies and other identity markers and they tell you point blank '*bhudi handei* - my brother lets go'. They originally did not mean to prostitute. Women must be educated when they come here looking for jobs".

Karen reiterated the same point by arguing:

> "Some people are not used to working hard. I know women who prostitute in Kempton Park. They can even beat you for walking with a man because they want clients. They openly tell you they want a man. You can tell they are Zimbabweans".

Analysis of the above quotes shows that migrants generally believe that 'hunger forces people to do bad things'. They are therefore not quick to judge their fellow migrants who

engage in deviant behaviour although Karen thinks that those who engage in prostitution take the easier way out - they are generally lazy. The quotes also reveal the level of desperation of these prostitutes who brazenly approach their potential clients and sometimes beat up female counterparts of the male Zimbabwean migrants.

The above discussion of crime and deviant behaviour lend support to my proposition number 7 which maintains that desperation causes migrants to become deviant, thus deviance is mainly economically motivated. It is indeed among the low skilled poor migrants that petty theft and prostitution are common. When paths to desired economic goals are blocked, the poor respond by engaging in crime and deviance in order to meet the societal goals of success.

7.5. Languages, dressing and style of walking as disguise tactics

Zimbabweans feel motivated to conceal their identities through the following methods: some walk alone, dress and talk like South Africans while others pray for protection every day. Some wear long sleeved shirts in-order to hide vaccination marks on shoulders. Police usually identify Zimbabweans by looking at the vaccination mark that appears on the left shoulder of every Zimbabwean. Migrants with permanent residence are not motivated to engage in any ways of concealing themselves since their stay is legal. They are not afraid of the police. The same can almost be said for the majority of migrants with permits. This is because most migrants that participated in the study (74%) are legally living and working in South Africa. That is why 60% of the migrants stated that they would not deliberately and intentionally do anything to conceal who they are. While this is what they said in the interviews, in reality most of these same migrants were not really willing to be known as Zimbabwean. This behaviour reveals that it is not enough to have legal documents. For one to be accepted into the South African community one must cease belonging to a devalued identity group, that is stop being Zimbabwean.

Migrants agreed that the ability to speak at least one local language was an added advantage that helped escape stigmatisation and arrests. They emphasised the importance of learning local languages for new migrants. The first weeks after arrival were usually used to learn the local languages and dressing before venturing to look for employment. The speed at which they learn is tremendous. One Shona male migrant, Scott, who came to South Africa in January 2012 was already fluent in Zulu by the time he participated in this research in July of the same year. Before coming to Johannesburg, he could not speak Ndebele which Zimbabweans believe to be linguistically closer to Zulu.

There were only 8 people (14%) that stated that they could not speak any local language. Of these eight, the majority could speak Ndebele, while a few were Shona speakers who could not even speak Ndebele. Vongai was one of them. She highlighted that: "local South Africans don't understand why I talk to them in English when I am black. It irritates them". The popular language that migrants learnt easily was Zulu though they still argued that their Zulu was not as good as that of local South Africans. Some migrants spoke more than one local language to the extent that they had even learnt Afrikaans, Pedi, Sotho, Tswana and Venda. Speaking local languages was an advantage which gained migrants a bit of tolerance among locals. Some locals would then start evaluating migrants positively saying that they 'do not really look like Zimbabweans'.

TABLE 19: DO YOU SPEAK ANY LOCAL LANGUAGE?

Local languages spoken	Frequency	Percent
Zulu only	32	55%
Zulu and another local language	11	19%
More than two local languages	7	12%
None	8	14%
Total	58	100%

The motivation to quickly learn new languages hinged on acquisition of proper documentation; where the undocumented migrants were more motivated to learn than the documented migrants.

7.5.2. Dressing

> "I now wear jean trousers. I saw that if you wear skirts and dresses you can be easily seen that you are Zimbabwean. I decided to imitate South Africans" (Lydia).

Migrants were self conscious in terms of determining how they appear to others. There was a tendency to shy away from 'Zimbabwean forms of dressing'. The Zimbabwean style was described as wearing loose fitting, formal, cheap and long clothes, whereas the South African one involved wearing tight fitting, smart, casual expensive clothes. There was a clear preference for the South African style which was also viewed as smarter. While there were migrants who argued that they did not consciously choose their clothes the researcher still noticed how they preferred wearing tight fitting jean trousers (than loose dresses for women). The connection between loose fitting clothes and arrests by police was made by Scott. He maintained that:

> "When I came here I used to wear oversize T-shirts and clothes from Zimbabwe. I had brought three T-shirts, two formal shirts and two pairs of trousers. My brother advised me never to wear them because I would be deported very fast as everyone could see that I was foreign. He said South Africans wear tight fitting clothes and not loose ones. I had difficulties adjusting but now I am ok".

Migrants did not only talk about the length and tightness of clothes, they also agreed that the quality of clothes worn by South Africans was better than that of Zimbabweans. They stated that South Africans wear clothes with labels such as *Jeep, Puma, La Coste, Reebok, Adidas*, *Quicksilver, Roxy, Levi, Umbro, Nike* and *Billabong*. These were said to be expensive and most Zimbabweans could not afford them as they preferred cheap clothes sold in Chinese and Indian shops. However, they said if one wanted to blend in and avoid being caught by the police and even being suspected by locals then one had to buy expensive clothes. They looked down upon Zimbabweans who bought from Chinese shops and described them as

dirty. Migrants use dressing to disguise their identity (Muzondidya 2008; Broerders 2009). Kevin commented that:

> "...sometimes I don't carry my passport especially here in Kempton Park. I don't carry it because I dress properly. Zimbabweans can be noticed by bad dressing, some are dirty, especially those from Masvingo and Mberengwa rural areas. Rural people are a problem".

Pauline also said: "I no longer buy clothes from Chinese shops. I now buy expensive clothes. You can be seen on the streets (if you are wearing cheap clothes). They call you *kwerekwere* or Shangaan".

However, there were migrants who were members of the SDA and Apostolic churches whose church doctrine did not allow the wearing of trousers by women. Such women continued to wear skirts but they made sure that these were tight and of medium length. In any case, they argued that dressing was not a full-proof strategy to evade the police and avoid discrimination, since inability to speak local languages could sell out a migrant. They spent their energies improving their local language proficiency.

7.5.3. Style of walking

In terms of style of walking there was no consensus on whether the way Zimbabweans walk was different from that of black South Africans. Those that said there was a difference still could not agree on their descriptions of how black Zimbabweans and black South Africans walked. Some said Zimbabweans walked faster than South Africans while others said the opposite is true. Some went on to say that Zimbabweans are timid in their way of walking, while others said Zimbabweans walked with pride and confidence. Thabani said:

> "Zimbabweans walk with arms spread out, like rich men. They also talk fast while South Africans talk slowly".

Farai said that: "Zimbabweans show fear when they walk. Their bodies are stiff".

Although there was no consensus on the actual descriptions of styles of walking, it is important to note that, depending on their definition of the Zimbabwean and South African style of walking, some migrants were using the style of walking to blend in and disguise their Zimbabwean identity. It is also necessary to pinpoint that the issue of style of walking tended to be confined to migrants in Tembisa rather than those in Kempton Park.

7.6. Downplaying xenophobia at work

As part of coping mechanisms, some migrants downplay situations that are clearly xenophobic. This is explained in proposition number five (5) of my analytical framework, where I argue that low skilled individuals are likely to downplay, trivialise or ignore actions of South African locals that are overtly exclusionary and discriminatory. This is due to their weak bargaining position, even when they are documented. An example is what happens to Lionel at his workplace. Lionel works for a company that creates software for GPS devices. He says:

> "I have never been insulted as *makwerekwere* but at work people call me *makwerekwere* in a jocular manner. These are just jokes....We are treated the same. We work under CCMA. But I am not a permanent worker because I am a foreigner. They said it would cause tensions among South Africans...I am not afraid of the police. I just carry my passport everywhere I go for easy identification in case of an accident".

The above quote reveals three contradictory situations where the migrant consistently evaluates South Africans in a positive manner; disregarding the reality which points to the contrary. This could be his way of dealing with cognitive dissonance. To reduce cognitive dissonance, Lionel downplays all the negative information about being called *makwerekwere* by workmates, about not having a permanent job and also about constant demands for identification by the police.

7.7. Revolving clubs, book clubs and professional organisations

There were only six better off migrants that were members of professional organisations and clubs. Five of them belonged to a local book club while one claimed to be a member of a golf club. These are using bridging social capital to get ahead. They confirm proposition two (2) of my analytical framework that skilled and better-off migrants use weak ties to get ahead. Among the five was Vongai who was also a member of the Institute of Personnel Management in South Africa. Being part of this organisation was strategic for her as a trainer and motivational speaker. I attended one session of the book club and noticed that it is fairly expensive. Members hold their meetings fortnightly, where they invite prominent authors and critique their new book/ publication. Members pay R150 per meeting which goes towards buying good food and sustaining their club. Participants in the club were accountants, sales persons and middle managers.

Some migrants stated that they participated in revolving savings clubs or *stokvels* where they pay subscriptions of between R300 and R1500 per month. This money was invested and functioned as social security. Cindy participates in a revolving club which has five members. They pay R1000 per month and it is composed of Zimbabweans only. She says they trust each other and they do not include locals whom they fear will "run away with our money". Participating in revolving clubs was common among both sexes, although it was largely associated with women and cut across socio-economic classes. There were also a few Ndebele speaking migrants from Tsholotsho (for example Bongani and Dorcas), that participated in a viable burial society. Membership of that society was mainly confined to migrants from two specific wards in Tsholotsho. They were, therefore, exclusive. SDA church members also had a burial society which allowed non members to join. They paid R60 per family, per month. In case of death, their subscriptions would cover the member, their spouse and children under the age of 21.

7.8. Keeping to yourself as a coping mechanism

This tactic best exemplifies Barry's (1998) argument on social isolation where one chooses to be secluded because of fear of negative evaluation and discrimination. It involves avoiding public places and avoiding friendships, especially with local South Africans. It is mainly used by undocumented migrants or those documented ones that are pretending to be South African. They fear that close relations could expose their disguise. Such migrants limit conversations as much as possible and stay in their rooms, only leaving work or sometimes church. These individuals prefer walking alone and generally not disclosing much about themselves, except to close trusted relatives. They argue that people who walk in groups attract the attention of the police. One woman, Ntombi, believed that police arrest people "who talk loudly and move in groups". This seemed to be the general sentiment among lower class migrants who believed that Zimbabweans are characteristically loud. At home, keeping to yourself usually means staying in your room as much as possible. Some migrants did not even know the occupants of the rooms next to theirs. This was because of their attitude of minding one's business and keeping to themselves. Tatenda told me how she limited her interaction with locals as a way of disguising herself:

> "You only greet them, talk about the weather and go back to your room or go away. That way they will never know who you are... you also tell your friends or relatives to talk in Zulu or Xhosa when they visit you. If your relatives from Zimbabwe phone you, close your door and speak with a low voice so that they (*mastanda*) never hear you speak Shona".

In the public places, keeping to oneself as a coping mechanism means avoiding contact with others as much as possible. In a taxi, it means being quiet throughout the journey. Tsitsi highlights that in a taxi "I try not to talk. I just listen. I don't speak in a taxi". Keeping to oneself is a form of voluntary social exclusion that results from a hostile social environment.

7.9. Living within your means or sometimes borrowing?

'Living within your means' was the constant phrase that migrants used to describe how they were able to survive financially. This seemed to contradict their love for fashion. However, living within one's means meant strict budgeting. When one wanted to buy expensive clothes one arranged to put them on lay-bye and pay over three or four months. In terms of food, 'living within your means' entailed eating pap with cabbage most of the times.

Migrants did not like 'being a burden' to their relatives, although they certainly resorted to the same individuals when they were in dire financial situations. They argued that conflicts were the likely results of borrowing money, especially from relatives. Businessman Alex argued, "friends are better than family when it comes to money. I would rather approach friends than family members when in a financial crisis". Another businessperson, Vivienne, said that her 'policy' was "never borrow from or lend money to relatives. Family members do not repay money. If it's a friend it is easy to insist on a formal agreement". Friends and church members were sometimes preferred to solve financial problems over family members, for fear of being shunned and negatively evaluated by them.

7.10. Zimbabwean migrants and local house-owners

South African landlords/house-owners are known by Zimbabweans as *mastanda* - literally meaning one who owns the stand - basically it is the owner (even though in some cases the person is a caretaker and not the owner. The singular term is *umastanda*, while the plural is *omastanda*). Zimbabwean migrants think that local landlords are just concerned with money and nothing else. They are therefore largely indifferent to the migrants. This means that their relationships are largely instrumental such that as soon as the migrant fails to pay his/her rent he/she is quickly thrown out and replaced by another one that can pay. This tends to create cold, calculative relations that are devoid of emotions. Therefore, in times of crises, migrants do not count on their landlords for help or sympathy. Migrants have many stories of some of their folks who were chased away by landlords for inability to pay rent or who had their property (such as refrigerators, television sets and beds) seized in lieu of rent. Pastor Lloyd explained:

"If you can't pay rent then you have no place. They don't care about why you don't have money. Last week, I attended a case of a Zimbabwean who had stayed for more than 4 years at a certain house paying his rent consistently. When the company he worked for was sold and the original owner went away without paying the employees, the man could not pay his rent. He defaulted and after a week he was thrown out by his *umastanda*. The *umastanda* was now demanding a television set and a radio as payment for rent. I had to take my own money and give it to him so that he could pay rent. I knew him for a long time and trusted him...it took another week and he got his salary. He paid me back my money. The *umastanda* couldn't be patient for just one week".

Among the participants 16% of migrants think that their landlords treat them well. These few are the ones that can count on the same landlords for help when they lose their jobs or against xenophobic attacks by local South Africans. The same percentage of migrants (16%) argue that their landlords treat them badly by: restricting the number of visitors they have, making constant requests for money to buy electricity, instituting a no child 'policy', increasing rent for each visitor that is accommodated for over a month (for example R50 for every additional adult) and complaining that the yard is dirty each time a Zimbabwean female migrant sweeps it when it is her 'duty'. In some cases migrants argue that Zimbabweans are the ones given such duties disregarding some local females who could be staying at the same house. Sweeping the yard is a gendered activity that only involved females. I witnessed a case in Umthambeka where the landlady complained that Zimbabweans 'finish electricity' by switching on all their electrical gadgets at the same time. Barbara evaluated the *mastanda* as parasitic. She said:

"Before its even month-end they will ask for part of the rent. They sometimes ask for mealie-meal, sugar and cooking oil. If you don't give them, they say you have an attitude and they end up chasing you".

While one may not necessarily be chased away for not giving the *mastanda* the food items they require, as Barbara insinuates, the *mastanda* may then look for excuses to chase the migrant. That behaviour would have been triggered by the negative perception of the *mastanda* who would have perceived the migrant as mean.

The majority of participants (52%) say their *mastanda* are indifferent to migrants - neither hating nor liking them. The 16% whose responses were recorded as 'not applicable' stayed in flats or houses with absentee landlords. What must be appreciated is the issue of socioeconomic class; where most complaints of negative relations with *mastanda* came from residents of Tembisa. Plausible explanations for the negative relationships could relate to differences in age and financial status.

In terms of age, most migrants are young (38% below the age of 30 and cumulatively, 91% are below the age of 40), while their *mastanda* are mostly older men and women (above the age of 50). The two age groups may have differences in their preferences and ideas, where the younger migrants may want 'their freedom', for example, in having visitors; while the older generation could be more conservative. These differences are also heightened by cultural divergences.

In terms of financial status, most migrants work and earn an income, while the older *mastanda* may be unemployed, relying heavily on rentals for their own subsistence. Therefore, even if the migrant may not be earning much (as shown in the section on migrants' earnings), he/she could still have more disposable income than the *mastanda*. These migrants mainly stayed in the backyard rooms of their *mastanda's* houses, using the same ablution facilities, thus to some extent, occupying the same social space. The level of contact with migrants was therefore high and the *mastanda* got to see what migrants brought home everyday. Some *mastanda* openly envied migrants, saying they had lots of money, while others would always ask for money that they never returned, arguing, like Tatenda's *umastanda,* that; 'you people have lots of money because you work'. This goes back to the old argument that 'migrants take our jobs'. Therefore, rather than the high level of contact ensuring good interaction, in some cases, it bred jealousy and hatred, sometimes eventually the migrant moved away.

The length of stay at a particular house was related to the treatment received from the *umastanda* and the size of the rooms available. There were a couple of migrants who had stayed for close to five years at the same house (even after being robbed once) because they were treated like family. They felt free and comfortable.

Concerning room sizes, bigger rooms obviously accommodate more property and ensure better comfort than smaller ones. However, they cost more in terms of rent, (for example, R800 or R900 compared to R500 for small rooms), so when the fortunes of the migrant fell,

s/he moved to a smaller room and when they improved the migrant sought a bigger room. Issues of accommodation were governed by laws of supply and demand, with the supply of rooms outpacing the demand. Therefore, when a migrant was chased from one room, s/he could quickly find another room from a desperate *umastanda*. To some extent, migrants had some leverage.

Not all relations with locals were negative. There were cases of collusion to beat the formal system by both migrants and local residents. Such cases included being given documents such as drivers' licenses and identity books so that migrants could use them to find work. This of course happened for a fee. There was a unique case of a migrant who was helped by a local South African woman to get a birth certificate and an identity book in exchange for getting employment for her sons. Here is how the migrant (Thabani) explains what happened:

> "I talked to a landlady where I used to rent a room. She took me as her child and we arranged to go and get a birth certificate in Natal. She 'made me her son' and up to now they are my relatives. This happened after I had offered to get jobs for her sons. I also used to give them food and we would help each other...they (sons) talked to their mother who agreed to help me get a birth certificate. I now have an identity book and a passport. They are now my family...they said I did not show that I am Zimbabwean".

A closer interpretation of this quote reveals the survivalist mentality that governs relationships between foreigners and locals. Locals were willing to help because he could offer something - jobs through his connections. It also shows what it means to be Zimbabwean for the locals: being different, possibly through speech and dressing and also not sharing what one had with the locals. However, I want to stress that from this perspective, being Zimbabwean is less about difference than it is about competition for scarce resources, (for example being a perceived threat to local *omastanda's* "children" and kin at work) When Zimbabweans showed concern and helped the locals, they suddenly became 'less Zimbabwean'. All the migrants that had friends or acquaintances among locals were told that they were different from other Zimbabweans. They were positively evaluated as smart and lighter (in complexion) than the rest of Zimbabweans. South Africans could identify with them. This lends support to Lancee 's (2012b:66) argument that building bridging social capital may set an individual apart from other migrants and by connecting with local individuals, the migrant shows that they are 'good', 'able' and positive.

The same quotation reveals Thabani's ability to create bridging ties. Bridging ties are those that span structural holes and depend on thin trust (Lancee 2012b:28). According to Wuthnow (cited in Lancee 2012b:29) there are two forms of bridging ties: identity and status ties. Identity ties are those that connect cultural and ethnic differences while status ties connect lower status with higher status individuals. The case of Thabani and his landlady is an example of identity bridging ties with a resource rich group. It shows his ability to tap into the Zulu ethnic group and gaining from it through his *umastanda* and her sons. The same tie also worked in his favour by improving his status, because, in this case, gaining South African identity is interpreted as moving up the social hierarchy. Indeed, it resulted in him getting better jobs and accessing other resources reserved for South Africans. By changing his identity, he became less excluded.

7.11. Evaluation of the present and the future

Migrants are clear that there are more economic opportunities and technological advantages in South Africa than in Zimbabwe. Therefore, they want to continue living in South Africa. However, they are not sure about the rest of their lives. They do not know where they would want to spend the rest of their lives, although the majority are sure that they want to be buried in Zimbabwe when they die. Some have created homes in South Africa and would like to stay there for a long time, but they are uncertain about the socio-political environment in the country that they perceive as characterised by high xenophobia.

7.11.1. Migrants' definition of home

While migrants still acknowledged Zimbabwe as their place of origin (and therefore their 'roots') by communicating with their relatives regularly (phoning at least once a month) and sending remittances, some no longer consider it as their home; preferring to make a home wherever they find themselves comfortable. Female migrants were more vocal about staying in South Africa. Some migrants said their home is where they currently found themselves, while one woman openly stated that: "Zimbabwe is just my entry point into the world"

(Vongai). Other migrants said that South Africa was their home, 'for now'. Such perceptions could mean that some Zimbabwean migrants do not want to go back to their country; neither do they view South Africa as their destination. These are the cosmopolitans who are not rooted anywhere (Beck 2002).

Zimbabwean migrants under study are mostly trans-nationals who have varying levels of belonging in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. Migration is no longer an issue of moving from one country and staying in another for good, but it is increasingly about belonging to two countries simultaneously - transnationalism (Levitt 2006). Thus, although migrants may not want to go back to Zimbabwe they are still actively involved in the activities of their families back in Zimbabwe (Chikanda 2011). Sometimes, migration is about not belonging anywhere - cosmopolitanism (Beck 2002).

Some migrants do not feel at home in both countries. Vivienne captures this feeling of being in between by arguing:

> "We feel like foreigners in South Africa and in Zimbabwe. It's like there is no longer a place for you (in Zimbabwe), it's like you are dead. You feel there is no longer room for you".

The above view by Vivienne is supported by Maphosa (2011) who highlights that transnationalism creates exclusion in both the home and destination countries

7.11.2. Future prospects

Part of understanding social exclusion of migrants is to analyse their future prospects. Atkinson (1998) argues that people may be socially excluded if their current way of life has no better future prospects. Generally Zimbabweans are not secure. They believe that South Africans do not like them. They are afraid of outbreaks of xenophobia in the future. Most of them were not directly affected by the xenophobic attacks in 2008 but they believe that the attacks can happen any time. However, they still prefer a future in South Africa than Zimbabwe which is perceived as economically unstable.

Seventy nine (79%) of participants believe that the future may be characterised by xenophobic attacks. They, therefore, live in fear of what the future may hold. Only a few (21%) argued that they were not afraid of xenophobia in the future. These are individuals who have been in Johannesburg for more than ten years and have acquired South African identity books. To some extent, they have strong connections resulting from the long time they have spent in South Africa. It is unsettling to know that, regardless of area of residence, Zimbabwean migrants (79%) are afraid of future eruptions of xenophobic attacks. While those in Kempton Park might argue that xenophobia happens in poor locations, they are afraid of it too. The following statements by Simba reveal the insecurity he has about a having a future in South Africa.

> "I want to raise money to start my business here...(but) I don't feel comfortable buying property. What if xenophobia comes back?".

Although the majority of Zimbabweans are afraid of xenophobia in the future, they still want to be in South Africa in the next five years. Fifty seven percent (57%) stated that they would be in Johannesburg in the next five years. 29% were uncertain of where they would be in the next five years. One person, (2%) said he would be in the UK. Very few individuals (12%) were certain that they would be in Zimbabwe. The reluctance to go back to Zimbabwe is informed by economic calculations, where individuals evaluate the economic benefits existing in Zimbabwe as lesser than those found in South Africa. It is also informed by the reality that, for some migrants (like Bongani) there is nobody to return to as the whole family has emigrated to South Africa and other countries.

To show that most Zimbabweans still consider a future in Johannesburg were the recommendations that they gave on how they could be assisted by the South African government. Migrants were concerned about the difficulties of accessing asylum documents and what they perceived to be the slow feedback on the adjudication of applications for general work permits. That is why 47% recommended that the South African government should provide faster mechanisms of getting identity documents to legalise their stay. Some migrants (19%) were specifically worried about getting jobs. Cumulatively 66% are worried about their participation in the labour market. This means that even for those whose primary
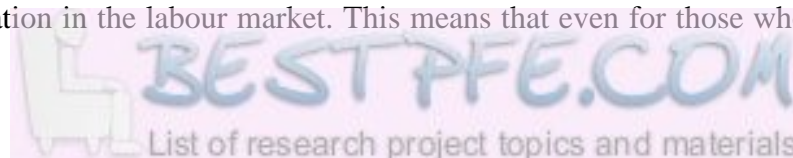
recommendation is the issuance of work permits and identity documents, their ultimate goal is participation in the South African labour market.

As they stay in South Africa, 24% of migrants are concerned about being treated as less human than others. That is why they recommended that they be perceived and treated equally as fellow Africans rather than aliens. Tsitsi argued:

> "In Zimbabwe we also had foreigners coming from Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. We treated them well. There wasn't a distinction. We are all people. We were created in the same way by God. Who knows? Maybe in twenty years South Africans will want to come to Zimbabwe when their country goes bad too".

These migrants were the same individuals who evoked the discourse of pan-Africanism, while others stated that their countries helped South African refugees during the apartheid era and they rightfully expected the same dignity that was afforded to these South Africans by the Zimbabwean government then.

Concerning South African locals, migrants argued that locals should appreciate foreigners and learn from their hard work. Vongai had this to say:

> "They are still dreaming while all the good opportunities are passing by. It's not the foreigner that is the problem, it's the mindsets. They (locals) have more opportunities that they are not using. They even have laws that give them these opportunities. They still don't use them. Instead of looking at foreigners as a problem, they should see them as role models. To these locals I say; ask yourself what is the foreigner doing differently that I can imitate or learn so that I can transform my own life? I don't doubt that there are South Africans that are doing well. I think these have learnt well from foreigners".

The above perception by Vongai reflects the general tendency by some migrants to exaggerate the differences in the work ethic of Zimbabweans and South Africans to the extent that the Zimbabwean work ethic was viewed as the best practice that others can learn from. This is a rather disturbing perception considering that these migrants want to continue staying in South Africa because holding such views hinders cohesion and encourages negative stereotypes.

7.12. Conclusion

The various coping mechanisms employed by migrants have been discussed in detail showing that they mainly address problems of social acceptance encountered in dealing with employers, *mastanda* and government officials such as police officers. Local South African *mastanda* were viewed as less welcoming and mainly concerned with how much they could get out of their Zimbabwean tenants. In terms of future prospects, migrants expressed an interest in continuing working in South Africa, although they wanted to be treated with dignity (like fellow Africans).

The discussion has revealed that some mechanisms of gaining social acceptance among fellow migrants discourage social integration with locals (such as marriages and church membership in migrant networks), while others encourage social integration with locals on the basis of shedding off or concealing the Zimbabwean identity (e.g. faking South African, identity documents and adopting local languages and culture), thus proving that the Zimbabwean identity is devalued. Other mechanisms (e.g. 'keeping to oneself' and 'living within your means', point directly towards social isolation which is an indicator of social exclusion.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SOCIAL NETWORKS AND AGENTS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

This chapter begins by appreciating the role of two main migrant networks: the family and the church. It shows how these facilitate the migration and settlement of new migrants. It then discusses how these same networks may be an inhibiting factor and eventually unwittingly lead to the social exclusion of their members. The family network is revealed as especially repellent of new migrants as the competition for jobs on the labour market gets fiercer. Feelings of jealousies, anger, tribalism and regionalism exclude Zimbabweans from other Zimbabweans.

The chapter then discusses the main agents of social exclusion as identified by Zimbabwean migrants. These are the police, hospitals, employers, *omastanda*, teachers, pupils and sometimes taxi operators or fellow commuters. In most public places migrants (both the documented and undocumented) prefer not to 'create trouble' by keeping to themselves as much as possible and generally, limiting visibility and attention to themselves. This makes them not participate fully in the different places they find themselves. To that extent, they are excluded.

The chapter ends by discussing how social class as a variable affects social exclusion. I argue that middle class status can shield migrants from stigmatisation by *omastanda*, where those migrants who stay in Kempton Park do not report nasty experiences with their house-owners or caretakers. However, when it comes to banks migrants from all social classes report different forms of exclusion, from denial of access to loans to inability to open a savings account. There is a section in this chapter where I identify the effects of social exclusion. I attribute habits of secrets and lies, poverty and superficial relationships with locals to social exclusion. Social exclusion may not wholly explain all these factors but it is to some extent responsible for the above mentioned factors.

8.2. Social networks and Zimbabwean migration to Johannesburg

Strong ties relating to bonding capital are certainly useful in helping the migrant move from Zimbabwe to Johannesburg. These ties provide the needed shelter, food and comfort, especially in the first months soon after arrival. They also help with the entry into the first job. However, they make have the negative impact of being so overwhelming that they may limit the choices of migrants within them, thus functioning to exclude migrants (see proposition number three (3) of my analytical framework).

8.2.1. Church networks

Studies on religion and migrants reveal how churches function both as a means of integration in the receiving country and also as a migration strategy in transit countries (Akcapar 2006; Levitt 2006). Migrant churches in Tembisa and Kempton Park mainly help migrants deal with their receiving country. They help them in various ways. However, their functionality is constrained as they do not have institutionalised methods of dealing with migrants' issues. Pastors deal with each individual case differently. The churches tend to be small, with an average number of forty congregants. Church branches are relatively new, having been established in the last two to ten years. However, the networks that are created at church tend to be just as strong, or even in some cases stronger than family ties as the individuals pay homage first to the church and then to the family. Sometimes, individuals prefer church ties to family ties.

Akcapar (2006) and Aydin et al (2010) argue that church membership provides spiritual healing, helps and empowers individuals to deal with loneliness and other challenges faced by migrants. Christian churches also encourage individuals to see themselves as belonging to a bigger nation/ kingdom which has no boundaries (however, this could still be exclusionary where members of other religions such as Islam, are not perceived as belonging to this kingdom [Levitt 2003; 2006]). They exhort individuals to work hard, endure and change their lives in the same way that the Israelites conquered throughout their history in the Bible.

The churches themselves have become transnational and have membership across the borders. Pastors officiate at weddings and funerals in Johannesburg and Zimbabwe. They also

pray for jobs and accommodation for their members. Sometimes they help by providing advice, counselling and decision-making on issues that appear complex to migrants. Migrants tended to attend protestant or evangelical churches where the majority of members were Shona and Ndebele Zimbabweans. These churches compare very well with those described by Menjivar (2010) where evangelical churches put more emphasis on conversion and religious rituals. But the churches also responded to the practical concerns of their members. The pastor took the role of the father in admonishing his flock while offering counselling, advice and sourcing money to pay rent for some church members. All the three main churches studied (JPM, SDA and ZAOGA) relied on Zimbabwean pastors. The founding leaders and headquarters of JPM and ZAOGA are in Zimbabwe.

There are five (5) functions of religiosity identified by Leman (cited in Akcapar 2006:838). The church functions (a) as an institutional conveyor of ethno-cultural bridging; (b) as a medium of socio-cultural integration; (c) a medium of affirming original culture; (d) a celebration of cultural and religious syncretism and (e) as an engine of non-adaptation. Using these categories, religion among Zimbabwean migrants can be evaluated as fulfilling function (c) - that is, affirming original culture.

Although, church ties help in creating a comfortable environment for an individual, they do not necessarily expose him/her to a different reality as migrants attend their Zimbabwean based churches. This means that the migrant moves in the same circles and is rarely exposed to any newer information since it is the same people they stay with whom they meet at church. The church membership tends to be small (around 40) especially for migrants in Tembisa, thus not exposing the migrants to the wider society. There are many church activities that take place throughout the week thus creating strong relations among church members. While these smaller groups ensure bonding social capital, they may insulate the individual from accessing newer information and opportunities outside their social network. The situation is different for those that attend multicultural churches in Kempton Park. These churches have the potential to expose migrants to the wider society. However, their weakness is that migrants may have superficial relations with other church members and thus eventually feel lonely and detached.

There have been arguments about the church as both a facilitator and inhibitor of migrant integration and assimilation (Menjivar 2010). The evangelical churches studied in Tembisa and Kempton Park could be said to inhibit assimilation in the following ways:

(a) Preaching - while there was an attempt to preach in Zulu and Ndebele with an English interpreter, examples given by preachers were from Zimbabwean places and the Zimbabwean history. For example in a sermon given on the 16th of June 2012 by an SDA preacher, reference was made to the Zimbabwean liberation struggle and how the two main political leaders; Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, fought fiercely to win back their countries from British colonialists. The preacher drew parallels with the Christian faith where he encouraged Christians to jealously guard their Christianity. In another sermon at the same church on the 23rd of June 2012, a preacher gave examples of Zimbabwean dairy farms explaining how people work on these farms. My argument is that if such preaching becomes the norm, it has the potential to de-motivate those that have no knowledge of Zimbabwe and do not share this common memory.

(b) Another source of exclusion concerns some songs that were sung in Shona (this was true for ZAOGA and AFM churches), making it difficult for those that cannot understand Shona to participate. Church members also made constant reference to how things were done in their parent churches in Zimbabwe.

(c) In line with proposition number 3 of my analytical framework, perhaps the biggest potential source of social exclusion is the insistence by church members that they are different from those that do not go to their church. This is especially true for SDA members who pride themselves in being morally upright and wanting nothing to do with the rest of the community members who are viewed as 'sinners'. Such views can hinder attempts to integrate for fear of bad influence. There is a tendency to judge local South Africans as the bad influence who would lead migrants to partying and forgetting about their homelands.

(d) Exhortations of belonging to a new family - all the churches emphasised that migrants now belong to the new family of Christ or family of God and had responsibilities to look after their brothers and sisters in Christ. Although such values encourage unity within the church, they do not necessarily encourage the same attitude towards other individuals that do not belong to the 'family of God'. The church therefore functions to strengthen bonding rather than bridging social capital. Church members may also end up being drawn closer to fellow

members even at the expense of their own family relations, especially with those that do not share the same faith.

(e) The church does not seem to question illegality or lack of documentation - rather than encouraging members to legalise their stay and conveying the same message to potential migrants in Zimbabwe, the church concentrates on praying, healing and attending to other practical needs of the migrants, without necessarily questioning why migrants are illegal. Therefore, instead of encouraging some undocumented members to go back to Zimbabwe and apply for passports and legalise their stay, the church concentrates on praying for the same members so that God protects them from the police. Maphosa (2011) made similar observations when he studied members of the Zion church. He noted how church members never really opposed an undocumented migrant's journey, preferring to pray for protection of the member instead. This stance becomes problematic when the same church does not offer any kind of legal services and facilitation of application for regularisation of stay to its members. This means that the undocumented migrants remain like that as there is no deliberate strategy to encourage them to be legal. They may, remain in their precarious position in so far as the law is concerned. This provides empirical confirmation of the proposition number 3 regarding migrant networks as actively promoting the social exclusion of their members. Bonding social ties bind but sometimes they 'blind' network members.

8.2.2. Family and ethnic networks

As agents of social exclusion, family and ethnic networks mainly exclude migrants through their rejection of migrants. This rejection is, however, involuntary as these networks, especially the family, experience a lot of pressure from in-migration and their own hardships on the labour market. The main problem revolves around the provision of food and accommodation to unemployed migrants. The following three quotations highlight how some migrants feel about this issue.

> "Life in South Africa is expensive...they will love you for the first few months. As time goes on if you don't get employed they get frustrated. Both of you have the burden of looking after relatives in Zimbabwe. Low wages affect relationships. You

become an extra expense. Love drops and drops until he tells you point blank (to) look for a job. Don't just sit. They start ill-treating you. You will, either, go back home (Zimbabwe) or move out and live your own life. It's rare for such people to come back together (reconcile) again" (Pastor Lloyd).

"To get somebody coming and staying with you and the person does not take responsibility for everything that needs to be taken care of...that really strains relationships especially concerning food. I stayed with two of my brothers and the experience was not nice....I have stayed with people I ended up throwing out because I couldn't handle it anymore. They didn't have money for rent, food and were unemployed. I couldn't carry on forever. They had become a burden. They couldn't find jobs and had no permits. It's a foreign land, it can get hectic" (Vongai).

"It was terrible. I stayed with them (uncle and aunt) for one month. In the first days they would leave eggs and bread for me. Around the third week they started ignoring me, not talking to me. Later the husband started beating up the wife (who is my relative) until the neighbours told me to move out. Sometimes they would shout at each other for small things like sugar and bath soap...Maybe they were angry that I just came without informing them." (Hillary).

Rejection by family members and friends is among the major themes of this research. The kin network is now repelling people. This is related to the structure of opportunity in the receiving country (Menjivar 1995; 1997). Worby's (2010) study of Zimbabweans in central Johannesburg pursued the same theme of rejection by family members. Menjivar (1995:220) argues that: "the structure of opportunity in the receiving country affects how one is received and their ability to help others. These include the state's reception of migrants, local labour market opportunities, the receiving community, which includes the history of particular migrations flows and the internal dynamics of the migrant groups". This notion is depicted clearly in proposition number four (4) of my analytical framework where I argue that the structure of opportunity is not static but changes with the macro political and economic environment and also with the rate of in-migration. This then determines the level of social exclusion experienced by migrants.

Migrants deal with rejection through staying in open spaces such as parks or sometimes living with friends in less habitable places like shacks. Some move away to other townships where they can identify sympathisers. In other cases, migrants manage by themselves limiting

visits to those that would have rejected them, even when their fortunes change for the better. Relationships may be severed forever.

8.2.3. Bridging ties that help migrants get ahead

The argument on bridging social capital is that an individual gets connected to individuals that belong to other ethnic, cultural and status groups to the extent that the tie is able to close a 'structural hole' (Burt 2001; 2004; Lancee 2012b). A structural hole is a gap in information flow existing between different networks that give individuals the opportunity to broker or create connections in networks that are not connected. Such individuals stand a greater chance to benefit from this 'structural hole'. Ties with employers and colleagues helped migrants move ahead and sometimes change jobs. Migrants that have moved up the social hierarchy did not necessarily rely on their family members. For example, Miriam got her current job of accountancy through an acquaintance she used to board a taxi with while Bongani got his estate agency job through his former students in Zimbabwe who now became his supervisors. Sympathetic and understanding employers helped migrants to open bank accounts, access permits, find better jobs and do better in life. Entrepreneurs were able to get 'good ideas' through their bridging ties with former supervisors and bosses. Maureen the owner of a crèche, was able to register her company by getting advice from her Malawian former boss. She also got R1 million from her Ghanaian Church Bishop in order to get a business permit which needed R1,2 million. Another entrepreneur was Bernard who moved from the big security company where he was employed and helped his former supervisor to start a company. It was at this company that he developed an idea to form his own security organisation. Paradzayi is another entrepreneur who owns internet cafe shops. He uses his identity bridging ties with his Nigerian boss to tap into ideas of Nigerians and gather information on latest computer technologies. He got his recent job (working for his current Nigerian boss) through casual acquaintances with clients at his former work place. Vivienne used her relationships with restaurant customers to move from the restaurant where she worked as a waitress, to a private company where she started as an administrator, eventually getting enough training to start her own export company. Many migrants were able to use former bosses and especially customers, to move from one level to the other. They made use

of both identity and status bridging ties (Lancee 2012). All these migrants were able to move ahead because of tapping into relationships that span their cultural, ethnic and status positions and in the process becoming privy to information that their fellow kinfolk do not access.

As argued earlier, while the first job tended to be facilitated by friends and relatives, migrants' subsequent moves from one job to the other are facilitated by former workmates, employers and customers. Though shallow in emotional involvement these links usher migrants into new careers and jobs opportunities, thus showing the strength of weak ties (Granovetter 1973).

8.2.4. Social networks and the facilitation of migration: creation of migration desire

The desire for migration is created by stories that potential migrants receive about Johannesburg. These stories are brought by visiting migrants on their annual visits to Zimbabwe. The returning migrants usually come back with new cars (largely borrowed) and look good enough to create a positive image of where they are coming from. They then go on to talk at length about how easy life is and how one can move from one job to the other to the extent of convincing non migrants to make a decision to leave. However, these migrants tend to sometimes misinform their kin or downplay the realities of difficulties in a foreign country (Van Nieuwenhuyze 2009). Sometimes the zeal to migrate among potential migrants is too much that any negative information is ignored and those who pass this information risk being viewed as jealous and trying to discourage others from being successful through migrating.

In some cases stories of good living are seen through television. This is especially true for most Zimbabweans in Matabeleland and Midlands who tend to watch free SABC channels via satellite. As they watch television programmes they create perceptions of how life in South Africa is and they desire that life (Maphosa 2010, Hungwe 2012a). The television creates an imaginary but desirable world (Mai 2005). Levitt (2006:50) argues that "non migrants hear enough stories, look at enough photographs and watch enough videos...to begin imagining their lives elsewhere". The migrants themselves create and perpetuate migration through their stories to non migrants while the mass media also plays a role in creating the desire to migrate. The perception of Johannesburg that is created is always an exaggerated
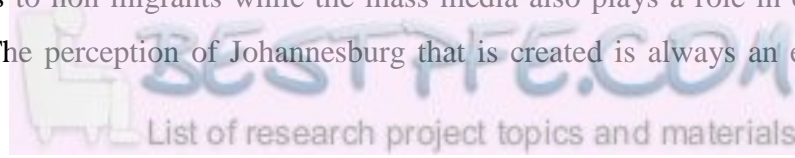
one such that the reality is a rude awakening for most migrants. This situation is the same as what was observed by King and Mai (2004) and Mai (2005) concerning Albanian migrants in Italy who not only perceived that life was easy but also that Italian women were loose. The reality was rather shocking.

8.2.5. *The role of social networks in the settling in and perpetuation of life in Johannesburg*

The most active social networks are those involving family members, friends and the church. Family relations seem to help more during the initial stages of arrival and settling in. As soon as an individual finds their way, the church becomes more important, sometimes because of strained relations with family members. Respondents' allegations about family members tend to be related to perceived jealousy and resistance to another migrant's success or generally neglect. As Daniel explains:

> "Relationships are strained by jealousies and hard times. If you don't have money you won't want visitors and if you have money you will not want any disturbances from family members".

As the individual is more and more enmeshed into the web of relations in South Africa, especially after acquiring the necessary legal documentation, there is a tendency to free himself or herself from the family connections (or even family relations) thus moving towards the wider networks. This may sometimes even mean moving a bit away from the residential area of the family members who helped with settling in. Although migrants may not necessarily move away from Tembisa or Kempton Park (which is their first place of stay), they tend to drift from one section to the other. This drifting is a sign of independence of the individual that must be managed properly, lest one may be labelled defiant. There is insistence on deference and gratitude to the family members and employers (if they are Zimbabwean) and lack of this may have economic costs in the long run. Insistence on deference and expression of gratitude can lead to creation of patron-client relationships. Family and ethnic networks may be characterised by never ending feelings of indebtedness (Krissman 2005). This is especially true in situations where one feels obliged to do free

printing and typing services (Paradzayi) for an uncle (Bernard) running his own company or where one must not demand a commission that s/he rightfully deserves.

8.3. Jealousies and tribalism

8.3.1. Introduction

While most Zimbabweans do not trust local South Africans at work, they sometimes distrust Zimbabweans even more. They fear being exposed, outwitted and out-competed by fellow Zimbabweans at work, especially when it is Shona versus Ndebele. When jealousy is combined with tribalism and regionalism this could lead to the social exclusion of Zimbabweans by Zimbabweans, as stiff competition for survival ensues.

8.3.2. Jealousy and competition among Zimbabweans

For the self employed Zimbabweans, while employing other Zimbabweans might cut costs of salaries, they argue that these same individuals are stubborn and jealous of their small businesses. The other problem with employing Zimbabweans, especially relatives, is that conflicts do not end in Johannesburg. They are carried across the border back home to their families such that they end up becoming big and complicated affairs. Bernard argues that:

> "I tell them that employment at my company is only until they find their feet, I encourage them to look for other jobs because we might end up hating each other. They are difficult to correct at work and they spread rumours to their parents. It causes a lot of problems".

The other case of a Shona business woman who runs a day-care centre below highlights these issues:

"I have discovered that the Congolese ladies who work for me are very humble. They are different from Zimbabweans who think we are fellows. They are nice. You give them their salary they say thank you very much. But you say it's nothing...they are just too grateful. Zimbabweans are too greedy. The moment they see parents coming to pay they think you have lots of money, they don't care about the rent you pay. They want to open crèches for themselves. They will steal your children and open a crèche next door... I had one case of a Zimbabwean lady who used to work for me. She would negotiate with parents by the gate as they came dropping their kids. She would divert them to her house where she had opened a crèche of her own. She nearly took all my kids. She went away with 40 kids in 2011 ....One parent alerted me and said why are you keeping a snake in your business? She told me about the activities of this woman and said please remove her from your business. She did that just after working for me for three months. Her business didn't succeed...her place was closed by inspectors. I don't know how they realised but it was discovered that the place was too small and the children were too many. In any case the crèche was located too close to the health inspectors' offices.

I had another Zimbabwean woman who also worked for me but left to open her own crèche. This one left properly with my blessing. She told me of her plans and I advised her how to do it. Up to now we still communicate and recommend children for each other. She trained someone before she left. She went nicely and did not steal my clients. I gave her all the tips to succeed. We are friends. We sometimes join each other for school trips. I taught her everything I know" (Maureen).

Besides revealing competition for clients and the pressure to succeed at any cost, this case also shows how the businesswoman wanted to maintain a hierarchy of some sort. She hated the innovative Zimbabwean woman who left without her consent thus without acknowledging her seniority in this business. She supported the second woman because the woman approached her properly with deference rather than defiance. She therefore interprets the success of the second woman to listening to her advice and allowing her to be her mentor. The success was also facilitated by the second woman's knowledge of boundaries in as far as clients were concerned. Cooperation rather than competition with the business woman led to her success. This could also have been the recognition of the hierarchy and a difference in

knowledge between the two in so far as running crèches is concerned. Innovation and entrepreneurship are accepted as long as they do not disrupt the power relations which recognise the original entrepreneur as more innovative and knowledgeable than the newer one. This lends support to Portes' (1998) argument about social networks having an inhibiting factor on certain members. Whether the businesswoman really had nothing to do with the subsequent closure of the rival business of the first woman that left her, is neither here nor there. What is clear is that the businesswoman celebrated the failure of the woman who defied her authority and acted immorally by stealing clients.

Lack of "respect" by Zimbabwean workers was also an issue for Vongai, a Zimbabwean businesswoman who runs a training company, where most of the times workers do telesales, marketing the organisation. She narrated how a male employee who did telesales had attracted a contract of R150 000. Soon after that, he started demanding his commission rudely. He also went on to say that he needed to pay his rent on the 25th (whereas generally workers are paid on the 30th). The woman felt that the demands were unjust and motivated by knowledge that the business had made profit through his efforts and was, therefore, in a position to pay him anytime. This worker ordinarily got a salary of R1 500 a month without any benefits such as medical care.

8.3.3. Tribalism

Miriam, who is a Shona female accountant, had this to say about Ndebele-Shona relations at work:

> "The problem is Zimbabwean vs. Zimbabwean. You want to show off that you have this or that. I get along with South Africans but I have a problem with the Ndebele. I have clashed with the Ndebele because you come here and communicate in English and they (Ndebele) have a problem with that... I grew up in Manicaland, I don't speak Ndebele and I don't have any Ndebele relative. When I meet Ndebele speakers and communicate in English and they get pissed off. Ndebele speakers argue that if they

can speak Shona then why can't Shona speakers learn Ndebele? I am careful with Zimbabweans".

Tribalism seems to have been carried over from Zimbabwe to South Africa. Godfrey had a very strong negative attitude against the Shona. This stemmed from deep feelings of injustice that he felt at his previous employment that was dominated by the Shona. For him the Shona language is a sign of domination. He argues:

> "I hate the Shona language. When I trained at the Zimbabwe Prison Services (ZPS) they discriminated against us and forced us to speak Shona. They addressed us in Shona. The treatment I received was worse than what I experienced in South Africa. Even Ndebeles at ZPS would speak Shona and address us in Shona. They would beat us if we didn't understand. I learnt Shona in three months. It was forced. I feared being beaten. So I hated it. Recruitment was also biased. Eighty percent (80%) of recruits were Shona. Ndebeles have always been sidelined. Out of about 1200 people Ndebeles were less than 50. When I grew up I was told about *Gukurahundi* in rural areas of Matopo and I understood it when I was cruelly treated at work......I have Ndebele and Shona friends but I won't speak Shona. My best friend is Ndebele but his father is originally from Malawi. We grew up together in Bulawayo".

What is interesting to note is the continuous tense used when he said 'Ndebele have always been sidelined'. This means that, for him, the inequality between Ndebele and Shona is a continuous process. Unfortunately, during the *Gukurahundi*, the same mechanisms of domination and control were implemented; for example, where Ndebele people were forced to dance on the graves of their relatives while singing Shona songs. Their relatives were killed by the Shona speaking 5th Brigade. Stiff (2002:189) shows how the 5th brigade introduced "re-education in Matabeleland...The anti-ZAPU or pro-ZANU-PF songs they were forced to act in were all in Shona, a language most Ndebele did not speak". While the exact numbers are unknown there are speculations that the figure of the mass executions that took place during this time were between 16000 and 20000.

The feelings of anger against *Gukurahundi* transcend generations among the Ndebele, such that Godfrey (who is thirty-one and was born in 1981) evaluates his relations with the Shona from that perspective of anger and sense of injustice. Such feelings were further perpetuated by the harsh treatment that he received during the 6 months training programme at ZPS.

While he might have exaggerated the numbers of trainees, the narrative still indicates the perceived inequality and injustice between the Shona and Ndebele.

The same argument was put forward by William who is a fifty four year old Ndebele man. He had problems of accommodation when he came to Johannesburg in 1992. Though he had a Ndebele friend who offered him accommodation, resistance from other Ndebeles made the stay unpleasant and he eventually moved out. He argues:

> "When I came here I first stayed with friends. It was bad. My friend was from Plumtree and had many friends from Plumtree. These friends from Plumtree thought that people from Silobela are not really Ndebele, they are more of Shona. So they looked down upon me because they said I was related to Shonas even though I am Ndebele. The treatment was bad. These Plumtree guys hated me. We stayed together for three months and they chased me away".

The above story by William shows how regionalism combined with tribalism led to his exclusion by other Zimbabweans. Silobela is a rural area in the Midlands province. The Midlands province contains a mixture of Ndebele and Shona speaking people. According to Williams' narrative, Ndebele speaking people from Midlands were not deemed as wholly Ndebele. They were discriminated against by those that called themselves hard-core Ndebele speakers from Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South.

8.3.4. Crimes of Zimbabweans against other Zimbabweans

In almost all the cases of crime that were reported by participants, Zimbabweans tended to steal from other Zimbabweans. They tended to know or suspect certain individuals for theft of their property especially those whose property was stolen when they had visited Zimbabwe. However, no one was eager to report these cases to the police. This was especially true for the undocumented migrants, while those that are legal thought that it was pointless to report to the police.

Lydia provides a narrative of how thieves entered her room the night her husband left for Zimbabwe:

"Thieves entered the room while I was asleep. My husband had gone to Zimbabwe and I was alone. They pointed a gun at me and demanded money. I think these people had information that my husband was not there. They took R200, a radio and my cellular phone. They did not even hide their faces, but the faces looked unfamiliar. I did not report the case...It doesn't help reporting to the police. They never come. They come only when a woman has been raped or when it is a domestic violence case".

Lydia suspects that Zimbabweans stole from her since the theft coincided with the absence of her husband who had gone to Zimbabwe; they are the ones that could have known that she was alone. Her perception of the police and their ability to help was biased by the fact that she did not have a permit. Therefore, she could have been afraid to report the theft because of her status as an undocumented migrant.

In another case, Cindy also narrated how her Zimbabwean neighbour was killed by another Zimbabwean:

"A Zimbabwean man wanted to buy a car. He approached his friend who had a South African identity book so that he could take a bank loan and the car in his (the one with an identity book) name. The friend agreed and got the loan. They had agreed that the friend without a bank account would pay monthly instalments to the one that had a bank account. However, the man did not honour the promise. He took the car but never paid anything. When his friend (the one with a bank loan) realised that he had been duped, he reported the car as having been stolen since it was registered in his name. The man with the car got angry and shot and killed his friend".

8.3.5 Is blood thicker than water? Or: are Zimbabweans easy to manipulate?

"...South African locals are a problem. They suspect that I am a foreigner, so I have decided to stop hiring them. Again, blood is thicker than water. I treat Zimbabweans as brothers and sisters. I accommodate them first. South African locals have an attitude towards you. They say: what would a foreigner tell us. Because I use a fake South African identity book, I am afraid that they will report me and reveal my secrets" (Bernard).

All self employed entrepreneurs argued that they preferred employing Zimbabweans. This was not a result of sympathy only, but a fear of being 'found out" by South African employees that s/he is not genuinely South African. The other reason could really be a genuine need to help out fellow Zimbabweans. However, when evaluating the behaviour of migrant entrepreneurs as employers, they seem to be just as exploitative as any other employers. They thrive on the ignorance, fear and feelings of obligations, especially of the newly arrived Zimbabwean migrants. That is why, when these migrants eventually establish themselves, they move away from Zimbabwean businesses.

8.4. Agents of social exclusion

The following are identified as agents of social exclusion of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa: the government through its economic policies such as the BBBEE; employers; banks; police; hospitals; Schools; South African locals, especially landlords; Churches and Zimbabweans themselves through tribalism and regionalism (churches and Zimbabwean family and ethnic networks have already been discussed). These factors are discussed one by one in the sections to follow.

8.4.1. Government policies

8.4.1.1. Introduction

The macro economic and political environment is designed by the state as it defines who is welcome to enter through its immigration laws. It also determines who participates in the labour market by labour laws that afford more rights to certain individuals. When a state openly and elaborately puts in place laws that make it difficult for foreigners to participate in the labour market it is essentially telling them that they have no part to play. The Immigration Act is making it more and more difficult to employ even skilled migrants because South African employers must demonstrate their inability to get such skills locally. Not only that, but the South African government has gone on to provide incentives for hiring local South Africans citizens through its Black Empowerment Policy and Employment Equity provisions.

These are laudable moves for correcting past injustices to black South Africans. However, this does not change the fact that the situation of foreigners becomes more desperate as they find it difficult to participate in the formal labour market. The macro economic and political environment narrows their structure of opportunity and may unintentionally channel them towards illegitimate means of survival. The businesses of Zimbabwean migrant entrepreneurs are potential sources of employment which could even benefit local South Africans, if they have adequate financial support.

8.4.1.2. Legal limbo

Although the Zimbabwe Documentation project (ZDP) was meant to increase the number of legal migrants in the country, it has created another monster. The process has created a new group of migrants that are in limbo - they are neither legal nor illegal - at least in the eyes of the police and it is up to them to define legality on the streets. When the South African government announced a moratorium on deportations and encouraged Zimbabweans to apply for permits in 2010, it also removed the legality of others. In the same process, migrants were encouraged to surrender their asylum and fake identity documents to government officials. Some migrants surrendered their fake identity books and asylum documents with the hope that general work permits would be easily available. However, up to now, some still do not have permits though they have their passports. They have receipts showing that they applied for permits. To that extent therefore, their legality depends on the government officials' interpretation of situations.

To some employers, they are illegal and cannot be employed, or if employed cannot be promoted. To the police, legality is negotiated. In some cases, migrants pay bribes, in others, the police accept receipts of payment for permit applications. To the banks, these migrants are illegal. This research shows that banks are the most exclusive of all institutions. There are cases where migrants opened bank accounts using asylum documents, but now that they no longer have them, they cannot withdraw their money. Migrants that surrendered their asylum papers and currently do not have permits, talk about their money being 'frozen' in banks. This means they do not have access to any banking facilities. Social exclusion in one area could mean exclusion in other areas too; such as access to housing, loans, cars, durable goods, further education etc. Exclusion in one area could have a domino effect in all other spheres.

8.4.2. Banks and social exclusion

8.4.2.1. Introduction

Banks adhere to international anti-laundering and anti terrorism policies that require that they have full details of potential clients such as housing and employment details. However, these requirements expose migrants to social exclusion where some employers refuse to write letters as proof of employment or where house-owners refuse to provide the needed proof of residence. The inability to access banking facilities is related to what Atkinson (1998) refers to as social exclusion in consumption. Migrants whose legality is questionable have no access to banking facilities. This is in line with the international banking laws. However, even those that have the necessary documents cannot fully enjoy banking facilities.

8.4.2.2. Access to bank accounts and trapped money

More than half of the migrants (66%) under study have bank accounts in their names while 34% do not have them. Most migrants who held asylum documents were refused by banks when they applied to open bank accounts. What must be clarified is that, while 34% said they do not have bank accounts, this does not mean that all of them do not use bank facilities. They may still access banking facilities using other migrants' documents, especially ATM cards. Some of those that do have bank accounts in their names used fake identify documents to open bank accounts in other people's names. Migrants also make use of cellular phone transactions where an individual with a bank account can send money to someone without a bank account via the cell phone. The recipient can get their money at a nearby ATM using a temporary pin code designed by the bank. Migrants mentioned FNB as the bank that was popular in serving them this way.

There was one person (Tendai), whose money can be described as being 'trapped' in a bank. He stated that he was allowed to open a bank account using an asylum permit but after

surrendering the asylum documents he no longer has anything to identify himself with at the bank. I met him one day at the Tembisa Plaza sullen and angry after the bank officials had refused him access to his money despite the fact that he showed them his application for permit receipt. He is still waiting for the adjudication results on his application for a general work permit. In the mean time, he cannot access his funds because his account was 'frozen' and since the bank officials insisted that he produces a valid work permit. This means that he may languish in poverty while his money is in 'frozen account' that cannot be withdrawn. This is another form of social exclusion that Zimbabwean migrants face. The questions to ask for such cases are: will the account remain open or will it eventually close? Will the account earn interest and if so, will the migrant have access to it?

8.4.2.3. Access to bank loans

Migrants are not eligible for banking loans no matter how long they have stayed in South Africa. Some have been told point blank that loans are only available to residents and citizens of South Africa.

> "If you go to a shop they will demand credit history. How will you get the history when you are not allowed to open an account (credit account)? They will even phone you and say we see that you have a good bank record or airtime record so you qualify for certain credit services but when you apply they deny you the moment you tell them that you are not using a green book, you are using a permit" (Bongani).

> "Some banks ask for permanent residence if you don't have a green book. If you want to buy a house they will ask you to raise 60-90% cash. I tried and they said I should raise 60%. I wanted to buy a house. I gave up. I will raise the full amount by myself. Everything that I have I bought for cash including the car parked outside" (Vongai).

> "I tried getting a loan to buy a car and they said because I am a foreigner on a work permit they couldn't give me. It's discrimination. The thing is; you are working in South Africa that's where your life is, you cannot get the facilities that everyone else gets. That we can't get opportunities to buy cars and other goods on credit is pulling us down" (Trish).

The three cases present similar problems based on lack of access to banking facilities. The first case of Bongani shows a combination of exclusion which is a self perpetuating cycle; where lack of citizenship leads to lack of access to credit, and lack of access to credit leads to lack of credit history, which lessens chances of being given credit. The cases of Vongai and Trish show how lack of access to loans limits the type of goods and services migrants can have. Lack of access to loans also means that migrants may have difficulties buying durable goods and even cars since they have to pay cash for everything. While some migrants are enjoying access to credit facilities on clothes, they do not have the same access when it comes to buying bigger material goods such as stoves, refrigerators and cars. They thus mostly remain property-less. Those that have had access to loans of any kind are those that use fake South African identity books. To some extent, therefore, the banking requirements may lead to deviant behaviour on the part of migrants who end up faking identity in order to benefit from bank facilities.

8.4.3 Employers and social exclusion

8.4.3.1. Introduction

While legality can clearly ease a migrant's stay, this does not mean that the migrant is free from social exclusion. This lends support to proposition number two of my analytical framework. Documented migrants still face exclusion and discrimination in the labour market as a result of employment practices and the creation of irregular jobs. The employment environment is also riddled with discrimination and xenophobia where some local South Africans will approach migrants telling them point blank (like what happened to Alex) that 'if it were not for you my son would be occupying this same position that you have' even if in reality the son is not as qualified as the migrant. Exclusion at the workplace happens through poor quality jobs, underpayment (includes long working hours without commensurate payment), not having a contract (thus not knowing what one works for and for how long), non provision of benefits (including non provision of protective clothing and generally proper tools for use in the execution of a task) and sometimes outright non-payment (when the employer reports the employee to the police).

8.4.3.2 Poor quality jobs and abuse by employer

Employment may not necessarily solve social exclusion if the quality of jobs offered is poor. Migrants may be unfavourably included when they are constantly reminded of their illegality, as a means of keeping them in check (this is what happened to Paradzayi when he used asylum papers, before acquiring a permit). This provides room for abuse of employees by employers. Therefore, employers participate in the social exclusion of migrants. Employers are also responsible for non- payment of extra hours of work and engaging in verbal contracts that change anytime (see Scott's narrative in Chapter Six). Employers tap on the vulnerability of migrants, knowing that they have no recourse to the law (for the undocumented migrants) or are afraid to jeopardise their job through legal battles (for the documented migrants). The narrative concerning Morgan's cousin (in Chapter Six), who works 18 hours a day further strengthens the argument about the exploitation of foreign migrant workers. Long hours prevent social interaction outside the work environment. This means that migrants may be socially unhealthy as they have no time to socialise with other people outside the work environment. Some may not even have time to go to church as they work on weekends, while others may not have time to visit the hospital when they are sick. Their health and social ties may end up weak, because, they simply do not have time.

8.4.4. The police as a source of social exclusion

According to Kabeer (2000) social exclusion is a product of processes of interaction. Social exclusion by the police is created by the way they interact with migrants. Therefore social exclusion is an everyday product of how the police deal with migrants. Vigneswaran (2012) views the South African Police as generally insensitive, violent, abusive and corrupt in dealing with migrants. The following ways of exclusion are discussed in relation to the police; public embarrassment and name calling; soliciting for bribes and lack of protection for migrants.

8.4.4.1. Use of the Makwerekwere label for foreigners

Although the police have no monopoly over the use of the stigmatising name *makwerekwere*, they have used it in dealing with foreigners. This negative labelling stigmatises and devalues all migrants regardless of whether they are documented or not. All foreigners are *makwerekwere*. It also limits their freedom to engage in social activities as migrants become too self conscious and fear being conspicuous. Devaluing migrants in such ways represent them as undeserving of humane treatment. Reidpath et al (2005) concur that negative labelling leads to stigmatisation and devaluing of individuals. Being called *makwerekwere* has the effect of setting the foreigners apart, as the 'other'. Such defamation has led to xenophobic attacks and murders of foreigners in general and Zimbabweans in particular, especially in the poor areas of Johannesburg (Morris 1998; Sinclair 1999; Monson and Misago 2009, Landau and Freemantle 2010; Hungwe 2012b). Mai (2005) observed the same processes of stigmatisation of Albanian migrants in Italy who were referred to as 'shitty' Albanese. This stigmatisation is what motivates some migrants to conceal their Zimbabwean identity.

8.4.4.2. Police have too much power over migrants

Analysing the role of the police as perceived by the Zimbabwean migrants, one gets the feeling that police seem to act with impunity and to be the one and only government arm in so far as migration control is concerned. This is not supposed to be the case in so far as migration control is outlined in the Immigration Act of 2002. The practice of migration control has left so much power in the hands of the police who seem to reinterpret the law in ways that suit them. There is no consistency in treating the cases of migrants. That is why migrants argue that getting arrested is just a matter of being unfortunate and that every police officer has a price. They only need to name it. There is rampant corruption in as far as migrants are concerned, such that Vigneswaran et al (2010) argue that there is informal immigration law enforcement. They further went on to argue how such informality weakens state power. One migrant, Norbert argued that:

"The police are a problem with or without identity documents. When they want a bribe they will tell you that your identity documents are fake. Because you are rushing and cannot afford to spend a night in police cells, you just give them a bribe and go away. The bribe can be R100 or R200... My friend was put in a cell and he paid R1000 to get out after 7 days.....These days police do not deport you, they just put you in detention until you can pay the bribe".

The police officers' love for bribes is also reflected in Worby (2010) who highlights how Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg central have adjusted their lifestyles to avoid police by limiting their activities in the city centre or by changing the times that they are seen outdoors. Police seem to be notoriously busy during their lunch hour in Johannesburg central (ibid: 2010). That is why, even among my research participants, those who claimed they were once arrested had been arrested in Johannesburg central. By dominating the public spaces police eventually force migrants into hiding where they live in fear. This does not only refer to undocumented migrants, but to documented migrants too who will tend to avoid certain areas for fear of being embarrassed by the police demanding identity books where police institute 'border performances' at any given public place and time. This lends support to proposition number 4 of my analytical framework which states that the overzealous application of the law by the police perpetuates the social exclusion of migrants. It also increases the internalisation of the security gaze such that migrants end up policing themselves (McDowell and Wonders 2010).

8.4.4.3. Police harassment and reluctance to protect migrants

Migrants generally do not view the police as a source of protection for them. They actually fear reporting cases to the police as they believe that they might be arrested for something concerning their legality. A study by Monson and Misago (2009) also revealed how the police drag their feet in cases concerning the protection of migrants.

There were cases of harassment reported by migrants. There was a common perception that the police were always after bribes and were not genuinely carrying out their duties as

government officials. One female migrant called Trish (an accountant) described how she was harassed by a group of policemen:

> "They asked for my passport. I gave them a photocopy because I don't move around with my original copy. I am scared that if I lose it that's the end of my life. They shouted at me saying; you come in this country and you want to change the laws. They said they will put me in prison because I have no documents. So I said take me to the police station. They said I was being rude to them. They gathered around me. They were about ten men against one woman. They shouted at me telling me to go back to Robert Mugabe. I told them that I am not a thief and the fact that I am a foreigner doesn't mean I am a thief. I responded because they were abusing me. The more I responded the more they got frustrated and someone wanted to hit me but another policeman said this is a woman leave her alone...My policy is that I don't pay them bribes. They were being difficult because I did not offer them money".

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from this row between the police and the female migrant:

(a) the connection that was drawn between migrants and their political leaders. This is an exclusionary tactic where that identity serves to distinguish the migrant as different or 'belonging elsewhere'. This is so rampant in many government offices where if one is known to be from Zimbabwe one is immediately asked questions such as: How is Mugabe? How is Tsvangirai? Do you still support Mugabe to rule your country? Such questions are patronising, because, ordinarily, how many citizens get to see their president? How would an ordinary person be expected to know how his/her president is doing without any personal contact with them? To make matters worse, the questioning is done in public and in a sneering, mocking way, much to the delight of some local South Africans who may find it amusing. Very few migrants find this amusing. Reference to political leaders is a position marker which sets the migrant apart. This increases the extent of social exclusion because, in some cases, the migrants themselves are not big fans of their political leaders; more so where their reasons for leaving the country in the first place are linked to their perceptions of the same political leaders having failed to manage the economy and political factors properly. Their migration was to some extent their way of expressing a vote of no

confidence in the same leaders, thus they were voting with their feet (Gaidzanwa 1997).

(b) the possibility that male and female migrants could be treated differently with males being more prone to violent police behaviour than females.

(c) the view that police do not want to be challenged at all. The statement that the migrant wanted to change the laws could be further interpreted to mean that as far as the police were concerned, they made the laws; so, rather than implementing and enforcing the law they saw and interpreted themselves as lawmakers. The police became very angry because the woman seemed to challenge them as lawmakers, in so far as migrants were concerned.

The discussion of the police is always connected to money. Migrants felt that police officers could be bribed and thus could not be relied upon to carry out their duties impartially. Therefore, migrants believed they could negotiate with the police if they offered bribes. It was only those that were not willing to pay bribes that found the police problematic.

However, the police were not always negatively evaluated by migrants. Among the participants' narratives were stories of two migrants who recounted how they were helped by the SAPS. In one case, a Shona Zimbabwean male migrant, Daniel, was given shelter for more than three months by a Venda police officer in Musina. The police officer was friends with the young man's relatives so he found it easy to house this migrant. In another case, Aaron was rescued by police officers in Yeoville after being abducted by a *Malayitsha* who claimed he would not release him until he paid his full transport fees.

It was generally agreed by migrants that while the police may not necessarily harass individuals, they are not proactive when it comes to responding to calls for help. Some migrants perceived the police system as corrupt and disinterested in pursuing migrants' issues. Migrants were quick to argue that police only responded in cases of rape or domestic violence (see Lydia's case in the preceding sections). In some cases, migrants argued that they were afraid to enlist the help of the police for fear of being arrested themselves as undocumented migrants. Pastor Lloyd commented:

> "If you get your property stolen and once the police know you are Zimbabwean they
> don't do their duties properly. They also have an attitude, they end up asking

questions like where do you come from? Where are your identity papers? You end up getting arrested. You then have to bribe them to release you".

8.4.5. Hospitals as institutions of social exclusion

Findings reveal that there are few individuals who have actually experienced discrimination in hospitals. Most have heard stories of other people. However, the majority tend to use private doctors rather than public clinics and hospitals. This is not an indicator of wealth but exclusion in the sense that the 'self exclusion' of these migrants is a direct result of fear of discrimination and xenophobia. It is, therefore, social exclusion. Because migrants are a closely knit group, if an incident of ill-treatment happens to one person, the news quickly spreads to others such that even if they have not experienced ill-treatment in hospitals, they become aware of it and shun public hospitals.

8.4.5.1. The use of foreign documents as exacerbating social exclusion

Hospitals have been viewed as institutions that tend to exclude migrants (Crush and Tawodzera 2011) especially for holders of foreign documents. Migrants argued that nurses would angrily claim that they do not know what an asylum is. Mary went to a public hospital twice. The first time she was received well. The second time:

"...the nurse asked: What is an asylum? They (nurses) started talking about Tsvangirai. They talked to me in Pedi. They said I am rude and they threatened me saying since I am going to theatre I should behave myself. They were really discriminatory".

Migrants highlighted that they were shouted at while being attended, denied medicines (being simply given pain killers when one expected more specific forms of treatment) or sometimes the nurses did not create a personal file for them. This meant that each time they went there they were treated as new patients, without a treatment record or history. That jeopardized

their chances of getting good treatment. Dorothy was a high school teacher in Tembisa. She narrated how she was treated when she sought medical attention at a local clinic:

> "The treatment was ok, but the nurses told me that they don't open a file (for medical history) for foreigners because it's against the law. If you don't have a medical history it's difficult to be treated well. But I know of other foreigners who have files...I didn't complain because in the end they will chase you".

In some cases migrants were not afforded an opportunity to see a doctor.

Perceptions of ill-treatment could be justified by the percentages of those that use private doctors (31%) and those who neither go to hospitals nor private doctors (17%). Among those that do not go to hospitals were individuals who said that if they were sick they would just go and buy medicines they thought would heal them. Alternatively, they would go and describe their symptoms to a pharmacist and get medicines over the counter. These seemed to be of much help. The preference for expensive private doctors might not be evidence of wealth but the fear of being negatively discriminated against, in government clinics and hospitals. This fear is clearly shown when migrants eventually shun government health facilities.

8.4.5.2. Language barriers in hospitals

Migrants were easily identified and stigmatised by their inability to speak local languages. Nurses address migrants in local languages like Pedi, Xhosa and Zulu and the moment an individual expressed inability to speak these languages (by preferring to speak in English) they became targets of abuse and insults. Vivienne explained:

> "They like to speak their own languages. Someone would speak to you in Venda and you can't continue with your English. They will tell you that there are 11 official languages in South Africa".

Barbara took her cousin to hospital one day and narrated what happened:

> "I took a cousin of mine to hospital and I had to interpret everything since she couldn't speak any local language. They (nurses) would look at me and then her (cousin). They asked what my relationship was with her. They would be harsh with

her and easy going with me. They would say *tshela lomuntu wakho-* (literally meaning tell your person), this or that. They never tried to accommodate her".

Barbara has acquired permanent residence through naturalisation because her father has South African citizenship. She can speak Zulu and Sotho.

8.4.5.3. Gender and social exclusion in hospitals

Women are more socially excluded than men when it comes to hospitals which they naturally frequent by virtue of their reproductive roles. Female migrants complained of second class treatment in public hospitals. Nurses engage in unruly practices when they shout "go back and scream in Zimbabwe" or when they create their own smaller policies of 'one woman one child' (see Vongai and Karen's stories below). Stories of ill-treatment of Zimbabwean women in hospitals are also captured by Veary (2008) and Crush and Tawodzera (2011) who argue that some health institutions have a two tier system - one for the locals and the other for foreigners. Research participants argued that they could not access proper medical and hospital care when they identified themselves as Zimbabwean.

> "When I gave birth in Hillbrow the nurses were quite horrible. They were shouting; you foreigners, you Zimbabweans, go back to your country. Why do you come here to have babies? You are wasting our resources. I didn't respond" (Vongai).

> "I had asked my friend to go with my child to the clinic for immunisation. So she took her child and mine. The nurses refused saying one mother one child. They said Zimbabweans have many babies. They refused to attend my child demanding that I needed to be there. I was tied up at work and could not go with the child. Up to now my child has not been immunised. I hear that the process can be done at Clicks but it costs R60 (Karen).

Although it might be argued that even South African women may be shouted at and ill - treated in hospitals, it seems that Zimbabwean migrants are at a bigger risk. In the two quotations presented above, the common factor was that migrants were identified as

Zimbabwean (which in this case is viewed as a negative label) and as wasting resources by having many babies.

Contrary to claims by some government officials and South African locals, Zimbabwean migrants (at least those that I studied) do not have many babies. The table below depicts the number of children migrants had. Twenty four percent (24%) of the migrants did not have any children, while 67% had between one and three children. Only 9% had more than three children. These tended to be over the age of forty and their children mostly stayed with relatives in Zimbabwe.

TABLE 20: NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of children of migrants	Frequency	Percent
no children	14	24%
between 1 and 3	39	67%
more than three children	5	9%
Total	58	100%

There were few migrants who stayed with their children in Johannesburg. This was a result of two main issues: the limited space for accommodation (as migrants mostly stay in single rooms) and the migrants' evaluation of the quality of education in South Africa. Again, life was generally deemed to be very expensive in South Africa. That is why they preferred sending the children back to Zimbabwe rather than actually staying with them. The other reason could have been the fact that children of undocumented mothers cannot access birth certificates in South Africa. When they want the child to acquire a birth certificate, they will send the child back to Zimbabwe where it is easy to acquire one. The child ends up learning in Zimbabwe. For example, Eric had a child who was in crèche. He told me that he will send the child to Zimbabwe for his grade one. The child does not have a birth certificate because the mother of the child is undocumented. Another migrant whose child did not have a birth certificate was Ntombi who said that she has asylum documents and thus could not process a birth certificate for her child. Lydia had already sent her two children back to Zimbabwe where they were now attending primary school. In Zimbabwe children can attend school

without a birth certificate, up to grade seven. By then, Lydia hopes to have come back to apply for birth certificates for her children.

There were few individuals (36%) who said they were treated properly in hospitals. These were either in possession of South African identity books or were just among the lucky ones. What is important to note is that all the cases of ill-treatment by nurses took place in public clinics and hospitals. These public institutions expose health officials to too much work pressure and poor working conditions. The health officials could themselves be suffering from burn- out and thus venting their frustrations on the most vulnerable - the migrants.

8.4.5. Taxis and trains as vehicles of social exclusion

Individuals may be socially excluded if they feel they cannot fully participate even in taxis and public transport. The inability to speak Shona and Ndebele while in a taxi or train reveals the extent to which Zimbabwean migrants are not free to express themselves. This applies to both the legal and undocumented migrants. When they receive phone calls from relatives speaking in their vernacular they usually switch off their phones or pretend not to understand until the caller eventually gives up. They argue that they fear being given 'dirty' looks by other people in the taxis.

> "You can't speak Shona in a taxi. It's like a dog barking in a taxi. They will wonder where the dog has come from...you are not welcome. You feel inferior and you cannot answer your phone" (Brian).

Migrants further argued that they do not put Shona or Ndebele ringtones in their cellular phones for fear of being insulted or 'bad looks' by locals. This means that as a coping mechanism, migrants do not speak Shona in public transport. Those who are free to speak their language do so in their cars. These constituted 17% of the research participants.

Bongani explains his anger in not being able to express himself in a train:

> "They say whatever they want. I remember one incident during the xenophobic attacks in 2008 I was in a train. We passed through an area where we saw foreigners

trapped in between the police and the locals. One food vendor in the train shouted; why are the police protecting them, they should leave them to be killed so that they can go back to their country. I resolved never to buy food from that man. I stopped that day".

The majority of migrants (57%) feel safe in taxis and trains. There were migrants who said they never felt safe (14%), while 12% stated that they sometimes felt safe in public transport. This was said against the background that the police sometimes stopped taxis to search for undocumented migrants. In such cases taxi drivers helped the police in apprehending undocumented migrants. They thus function as vehicles of social exclusion. Migrants can only speak their mother tongue at home (in their rooms), in their cars or at church. This discussion and the preceding one on social exclusion in hospitals lend support to proposition number one about the poor feeling socially excluded in accessing public services.

8.4.6. Schools and xenophobia

This discussion of schools and xenophobia advances the same argument being made through-out the thesis - that xenophobia largely concerns access to resources and how Zimbabweans are perceived as threatening the local people's access. Among the participants were three parents who complained that their children had experienced xenophobia at school. Vongai had a son who was in a day care centre. She explained how she had an altercation with one of the teachers at the day care centre:

"I had one nasty experience with his teacher. He has been through three teachers in the three years that he has been in day care. The first two teachers were white and there were no problems. This year his teacher is a black South African. She started telling me things I had never known about my child from the two white teachers. She said my child was naughty, this and that and I really think that was a xenophobic attack. I ignored it and it just died down. There was a time when I really got angry and I wanted to tell her off but I thought of my son. I could feel that it was because this child is Shona and Zimbabwean. You can feel the vibe that it's not really about the child...the child is a foreigner".

Another case was that of William's daughter who was called *makwerekwere* by a fellow classmate at school. He explains that:

> "The girl child was in grade 9 and complained of harassment by other students but because I was a long serving member of the School Governing Body (SGB) it was easy to confront school authorities and the problem was solved. I am close to the principal so I voiced my concern. There was one boy who used to call her *makwerekwere*. I lodged a complaint with the head".

The last case was that of Mary's seven year old son who was teased at school by being called Tsvangirai. Tsvangirai is the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. The child did not know who Tsvangirai was and came home asking "Mama who is Tsvangirai?" Mary and her husband did not confront the school authorities and preferred to ignore the situation, hoping it would eventually fizzle out. In the two cases of Mary and Vongai, ignoring the situation was felt as a better strategy to avoid the escalation of conflict. There was fear that the child would be further stigmatised. This avoidance could have been a result of the non- existent relationship between the parents of the migrant children and the school authorities. The situation was different from William who was well known by school authorities as a member of the SGB. He could easily approach the headmaster when his child was victimised. Parental involvement in the affairs of children at school is a form of social capital which helps decrease social exclusion of children of migrants (Turney and Kao 2009).

However, not all schools presented problems for children of migrants. The situation was totally different for Maureen's children who attended a public school in Kempton Park:

> "My eldest daughter is in grade 9. She wins awards here. The kids are brighter. Zimbabwean education was a good foundation for them. The kids catch up so fast. They write Afrikaans, Zulu etc. they have friends who are Zulu... They did a surprise birthday party for my child at school".

While it is difficult to explain the difference in attitudes of both teachers and students at this public school that Maureen's child attends, this serves to show differences in socio-economic positions of people in Kempton Park vis -a- vis those in Tembisa It also serves as a reminder

that not all public schools are problematic and therefore we should not make sweeping generalisations about local teachers and students as xenophobic.

There was one Zimbabwean teacher who had problematic South African students whose parents also had negative attitudes. She avoided direct confrontation with these parents. Dorothy argued that:

> "parents are full of attitudes. They know you are a foreigner and when dealing with a problem child they always assume you are wrong. We normally don't respond to such cases. We let the principal deal with them".

8.5. Social class and social exclusion

Having access to higher incomes opens more avenues for freedom in terms of accessing better housing. This means that better off migrants can move from Tembisa, where they have everyday encounters with their landlords. They can go and stay in Kempton Park flats, where they deal with agents rather than landlords. Those that earn more than R10 000 are freer at home than those earning less. They can have parties in their rooms without necessarily seeking approval from house owners. They can have visitors anytime and have better privacy. Social exclusion is not pronounced among individuals staying in Kempton Park in so far as accommodation is concerned.

However, migrants from all social classes seem to have problems accessing credit facilities in banks. The most frustrated migrants are the business owners who cannot expand their businesses because of lack of adequate capital and support from banks and those that cannot save their money in banks but must keep it at home risking being targeted by criminals.

In terms of health facilities, the better off go for private doctors. They avoid government clinics and hospitals. The poor bear the brunt of exclusion and xenophobia since they have no better options than visit the government clinics and hospitals. These are the ones that report more social exclusion in public hospitals.

Some migrants with lower levels of socio-economic status have fewer indirect ties. They are encapsulated in family and church networks where they marry, find jobs, accommodation and friends within the same groups. This limits their worldview (Granovetter 1973).

8.6. Effects of social exclusion

The effects of both relational and distributional forms of social exclusion among Zimbabweans are mainly identified as: creation of habits of secrets and lies, superficial relationships with locals, engagement in self employment and informal employment and increasing poverty. The first two factors deal with aspects affecting social cohesion and social bonds while the last two are about access to economic resources.

The tendency to lie is necessitated by the harsh treatment that migrants see being experienced by those that disclose their foreign status. For those that would have started friendships, relationships and marriages based on lies they feel motivated to continue lying in order to maintain the relationship. Migrants usually lie about who they are and where they come from. This is especially true for undocumented ones who run the risk of losing jobs, friends and lovers if they reveal their true selves (Sigona 2012). Disclosing who they truly are could lead to the painful end of a cherished relationship. That is why most migrants would rather not have any relationships at all with the locals. The following quotation from Tatenda explains why she lies to her landlady and local friends.

> "My landlady hates foreigners .... She knows that I am Zulu. I speak Zulu. I have local South African friends. I tell them I am from Mpumalanga. I lie to them. I have many friends. They never suspect that I am from Zimbabwe. I don't know what I would do if they knew I am Zimbabwean....that would be the end of our friendship because wherever we go they mock Somalis and other foreigners in my face...they say they need xenophobia (referring to the 2008 mass killings and tortures of foreigners) to deal with them (foreigners)".

Most migrants have commercial, instrumental and superficial relationships with the locals. Landau and Freemantle (2010) noted how little migrants were interested in having sustained relations with locals, preferring self exclusion. This was said to be a deliberate coping mechanism. In my study, migrants were interested in having deep, meaningful relations with locals but felt they simply could not trust the local South Africans. They were also afraid of being ill-treated by the same individuals and thus kept their distance for fear of being violated in one way or the other. Felix explains how he was let down by his local friend:

> "I had this man whom I regarded as my best friend. One day we were visiting another friend and he introduced me as his *kwerekwere* friend. I ended the friendship as it became clear that he didn't like me. It's better to hide your identity".

What irked Felix was the fact that his supposed friend called him *kwerekwere* in front of another South African. He blames himself for telling the truth about his foreign status. From his perspective he would have maintained the relationship as long as he lied about his identity. Another example is that of Grace who argues:

> "I used to have local friends but they talked badly about foreigners so I stopped being friends with them. They would say; we don't mean you...you are different from them".

In both cases of Grace and Felix, locals were portrayed as openly disregarding the feelings of migrants by talking badly about foreigners in their presence. Because the migrants could not physically fight them, they simply ended the friendship.

Engaging in self employment could be taken as an indicator of difficult access into the formal labour market. This is the perspective of Kloosterman et al (1998:250) who argue that self employment among migrants is a consequence of strict government employment laws and restrictive policies in general. They further define an informal economy as "a form of self employment which is characterised by low entry barriers in terms of skills, capital and organisation; by family ownership, by a small scale of operation, by labour intensive production with unsophisticated technology. The ILO (cited in Carr and Chen 2004: 132) defines informal employment as a situation without secure contracts, worker benefits and social protection. There are two forms of informal employment: self employment and paid employment in informal jobs. The majority of Zimbabweans employed as waitresses,

hairdressers, security guards, drivers and shop assistants fall within the rubric of informal employment as they are employed on a short term irregular contract basis without any worker benefits and social protection. All these individuals cannot afford social protection and they do not receive any from the South African government.

However, the findings from this study also reveal that self employment could be a result of opportunities (pull factors) being identified by migrants who would have invested in both human and social capital over some time. Therefore self employment is not always an indicator of social exclusion.

In this study poverty is identified as another effect of social exclusion. All Zimbabwean migrants maintained that they knew and had seen poor Zimbabweans. In most cases these poor resorted to begging on the streets in order to survive. For them being poor meant lacking any of the following: accommodation, food, employment and help from relatives and friends. Poverty and staying on the streets was largely a result of being rejected by relatives and unemployment. Barbara said:

> "People are starving. They can ask for tea bags, mealie meal or sometimes R5. Many people are poor. Where I stay they eat pap with cabbages everyday. I tell them, 'Go back home".

Migrants were not really inclined to help the poor because they were also hard pressed in terms of money. They therefore preferred to tell the worse off to:

> "Go home and start a different life. Change your life course. People back home will laugh at you today and it will be all over tomorrow. Don't stay here and lose your life because of what you think they will say about you. You tell them, 'Listen I tried and failed. I am here to start again '" (Vongai).

In some cases, migrants were not inclined to help their fellow poor Zimbabweans because they thought that the poverty was not genuine. This was especially so for beggars on the streets. Some migrants believed that beggars were employed to go and beg on the streets; they were on a payroll. Alex argued:

> "I used to help beggars and I stopped when I realised that the 'beggars' were employees on a payroll. I saw them being dropped off by their employer".

This story about beggars seemed to circulate among most migrants. Whether this is actually true or not is difficult to say but the story certainly served to ease the consciences of migrants.

8.7. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the major sources of social exclusion identified by migrants. Xenophobia and discrimination are part and parcel of the everyday lives of migrants as they manoeuvre in hospitals, schools, taxis and at work. This research highlights that in most cases there is a deliberate attempt by the police officers, bank workers, nurses, teachers and other local individuals to stigmatise and deny migrants' access to certain valued services.

The above discussion reveals that while the police may be viewed as agents of social exclusion, there are cases where some officers go out of their way to help migrants. There are also other cases of employers, teachers and house-owners that aid rather than exclude migrants. This challenges the sweeping generalisation that South Africans are xenophobic. In some cases extreme work pressure (especially with reference to nurses in public clinics and hospitals) may lead to negative attitudes which may then be interpreted as xenophobia and exclusion.

Some migrants themselves are also facilitators of social exclusion when they perpetuate jealousies, tribalism and regionalism and thus isolate each other in Johannesburg. The migrant networks sometimes produce unintended consequences: for example, churches that insist on separation or on praying rather than encouraging their members to be documented. Social networks help alleviate exclusion but in some cases they expose individuals to exploitation by fellow kin. Migrant networks may also lead to encapsulation limiting the opportunities available to network members.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

9.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explain and describe how Zimbabweans survive in Johannesburg despite the exclusionary environment they face every day. I discussed the coping mechanisms they employ, explaining the consequences of some of these strategies. The study employed a qualitative methodology in its bid to answer the main question: how do Zimbabweans survive social exclusion in Tembisa and Kempton Park? The study goes beyond narration of various stories and attempts to build an explanation of these issues by proposing an analytical framework comprising ten (10) propositions based on the concepts of social exclusion and social capital. While I appreciate the complexities (in that there is still no agreement on what social exclusion is among various authors, for example) of employing the two concepts in such a study, I still think they are useful in understanding the situation of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. The thesis argues that modern societies are cosmopolitan. The way forward is acknowledging migration as a permanent feature of globalisation in modern societies. The challenge becomes that of social solidarity through incorporating the stranger. This would certainly reduce their social exclusion.

The propositions of the analytical framework are summarised as follows:

Proposition number one states that migrant characteristics (such as being skilled or unskilled, poor or middle class and documented or undocumented) determine the kinds of social exclusion they suffer. This is clear when one considers how public institutions are evaluated by different groups of migrants (see Chapter 8, especially section 8.5). Proposition number two shows the functions of bonding and bridging social capital, highlighting who is most likely to use which type of social capital. This proposition is mainly supported by the discussion in Chapter 6 which shows how migrants acquire their initial and subsequent jobs. Proposition number three states that migrant networks may lead to the social exclusion of

network members. This is validated by the discussion in Chapters 7 and 8 concerning the role of migrant religious networks.

Proposition number four maintains that social exclusion is facilitated by institutional bias and unruly practices of public officials. This finds resonance in Chapter 8 which identifies the major agents of social exclusion as government structures and public officials. Proposition five reveals how low skilled and undocumented migrants are likely to acquiesce rather than directly question institutional structures. This proposition finds support in Chapter 7 which discusses some coping mechanisms that entail obliterating and concealing identity. The acquiescence is also revealed when migrants trivialise and ignore overt discrimination. Proposition six argues that some low skilled women who mainly work as domestic workers are less networked than their fellow male migrants. However, it further states that these women may have the advantage of being close to their employers thus opening up avenues for future career shifts and more job opportunities. This is exemplified by the lives of migrants such as Maureen (discussed in Chapter 6) who climbed the social ladder using their employers.

Proposition number seven states that desperation leads to deviant behaviour. The coping strategies on crime and deviance outlined in Chapter 7 render empirical support to this proposition. Proposition number eight is about self employment and how those with high and low social capital engage in it. For documented and highly connected migrants self employment is a sign of success while for undocumented migrants it is an indicator of blocked opportunities and is the last resort for migrants. This proposition is supported by the discussion of self employed migrants in section 6.9 of Chapter 6.

Proposition number nine concerns the repellent effects of the migrant family network. This finds empirical support in the discussion contained in Chapter 5 which outlines the migration trajectories providing a context for understanding rejection. The same chapter shows the pressures migrants face, thus increasing the propensity to repel newcomers. The final proposition concerns the role of *malayitsha* in migration journeys and how family networks relate with *malayitsha.* The element of trust that exists between the *malayitsha* and migrant family networks facilitates migrant journeys - even on credit. The *malayitsha* are both shrewd and 'harsh' businessmen. This is articulated in Chapter 5.

9.2. The contribution of this study to social exclusion and social capital literature

9.2.1. Similarities with existing theories

In my proposed analytical framework I trace social exclusion back to having a devalued migrant identity of *makwerekwere*. I argue that the migrant status or foreignness is a bivalent category because migrants suffer cultural and economic disadvantages. This devalued identity leads to unfavourable participation in the labour market while public officials and institutions further exacerbate social exclusion through the way they function. This research provides empirical confirmation for Kabeer's (2000) views on bivalent collectivities which are groups of people that suffer both cultural and economic disadvantage. It also confirms her argument that social exclusion is an outcome of distributional injustice which leads to adverse incorporation or participation on disadvantaged terms. The research further confirms Kabeer's (ibid) claims that social exclusion is facilitated by institutions.

The study adds to the literature (see Menjivar 1997; Worby 2010) concerning harsh economic environments that create a narrow structure of opportunity of family networks that end up repelling and rejecting newcomers. The elasticity of the family networks is determined by the structure of opportunity prevailing in the host country.

The study also reveals how voluntary social exclusion or social isolation (as identified by Barry 1998) is a direct outcome of fear of discrimination of the migrants by the host community. Thus migrants directly withdraw from public hospitals (whose services are largely free) and opt for private hospitals and doctors in order to avoid ill-treatment.

The study shows that social exclusion is facilitated by both intentional and unintentional activities of institutions and individuals. This is in line with Atkinson (1998) and Kabeer's

(2000) arguments that social exclusion is an active process facilitated by actors and agents, especially institutional bias.

The social exclusion literature is incomplete without an appreciation of social capital since social capital, especially bonding social capital (which seems to be the solution to social exclusion) can sometimes further exacerbate social exclusion as has been shown in this study. Bonding social capital must be viewed as both a solution and a source of social exclusion.

The research lends validation to Kabeer's (2000) claim that no-one is completely excluded from society, thus a binary view of social exclusion and social inclusion is problematic. What must be appreciated is that there are different levels of inclusion and exclusion, especially when considering participation in the labour market. Individuals may be employed in unfavourable conditions thus participating on disadvantaged terms.

9.2.2. Differences with existing theories

The research in Tembisa and Kempton Park reveals a lack of spatial social exclusion of Zimbabwean migrants. In Tembisa migrants live among locals, in the backyards of locals' houses. So while migrants cluster in certain areas, these are not strictly migrant dominated areas because locals also stay there as house-owners. In Kempton Park the ability to pay high rentals was more likely to determine where one stayed than processes of spatial exclusion.

The findings of this study are to some extent different from those of Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) who proffered the argument on bounded solidarity (a type of solidarity born out of common challenges or adversity). This research has revealed that although the Ndebele and Shona Zimbabweans may face the same adversities, this does not necessarily cause them to be united because of deep seated feelings of tribalism and regionalism. This renders support to Polzer's (2008) claim that Zimbabweans participate in their social exclusion through general transfer of conflict and distrust and through tribalism. In such situations migrants would rather choose to unite with the local strangers and other foreigners than fellow Zimbabweans. To this extent therefore, the research reveals that the disadvantaged could cause their own social exclusion through their own small differences of

tribalism and regionalism. This relational social exclusion (lack of bonds) is facilitated by migrants themselves.

The Eurocentric nature of social exclusion literature has been exposed in the study where conceptualising it from the perspective of social security does not work. This is because it would mean that almost all societal members are socially excluded since a large majority of locals do not have social protection. So the migrants' situation may not necessarily be unique as locals may face the same situation.

Overall a general criticism that can be levelled against the social exclusion literature is that is it difficult to distinguish between factors that are actually exclusionary, and others that have a negative impact but do not flow from social exclusion per se. For example, the fact that some undocumented migrants are unemployed is surely as much the result of general macro-economic factors than it is of social exclusion. The same can be said concerning the casualisation of labour. This is more in line with global economic forces than with social exclusion.

9.3 Major research conclusions

9.3.1. The low level of integration of Zimbabweans into South African communities

Generally, the level of integration into South Africa is low. While the ZDP facilitated the regularisation and legalisation for some Zimbabweans, this has not translated into social acceptance because these migrants are a source of competition (on the labour market) for low skilled South Africans. For other Zimbabweans, the ZDP created new problems, leaving them in legal limbo. Social exclusion is facilitated by employers, government officials and local South African residents. The media perpetuates the negative image and discourse of migrants as desperate, illegal and an economic threat to locals.

Zimbabwean migrants try as much as possible not to create 'trouble' in the taxis, homes and at work. While almost 1 in every 2 houses in Tembisa (at least those that I saw)

accommodates at least two Zimbabweans, this has not really changed the relations between migrants and locals. Migrants are mainly viewed as sources of money. Their relations only go as far as they can pay rent. Relations are superficial and have no depth. Although these purely commercial relationships are products of the modern, capitalist way of relating to those that are not intimately related to an individual, they lead to loneliness. This explains why most migrants claim that they have no local friends. Almost all migrants under study do not trust South Africans, do not wish to marry them and do not want to work with them. Migrants still attend their own churches carried over from Zimbabwe and relate with locals 'when necessary'. Stereotypes abound about South African men as lazy and violent while South African women are viewed as loose and only interested in money. Such attitudes especially among the lower classes create barriers of integration.

9.3.2. Zimbabweans are in South Africa for the long haul

This study reveals that Zimbabwean migrants will still be in South Africa for a long time because they believe the economic opportunities are still far much better than those that exist in Zimbabwe, even though they participate in the South African labour market on disadvantaged terms. They have created networks and relationships that help them to survive. For some migrants, even if they decide to move, they may not necessarily go back to Zimbabwe. They have become trans-nationals and cosmopolitans who belong to different countries. While trans-nationality might have its advantages, I concur with Maphosa (2011) that the situation of most Zimbabweans in South Africa is largely that of multiple exclusions rather than multiple involvements. Migrants do not enjoy the full benefits of belonging in any of the countries they find themselves. They belong neither to South Africa nor Zimbabwe. They are in-between and they feel like strangers everywhere. One migrant argued: "as soon as you go (from Zimbabwe) it seems like you are immediately replaced".

9.3.3. The major agents of social exclusion

The research revealed the major agents of social exclusion as the hospitals, banks and police and other Zimbabwean migrants. At home and in public transport, local South Africans are perceived as discriminatory. The South African government itself has passed strict immigrant and economic policies that have had the effect of excluding Zimbabweans by limiting their structure of opportunity. Zimbabweans themselves exclude each other by engaging in tribalism and regionalism. Petty jealousies create disharmony and disintegration. The stereotypes that they have as Ndebele vs. Shona and as Zimbabweans vs. South Africans have not helped the case for inclusion or integration either.

9.3.4. The common coping mechanisms used by Zimbabwean migrants

Social capital lessens social exclusion. Social networks such as family, friendship and religious ties, help migrants survive social exclusion by aiding such tactics as faking and changing identities, sourcing accommodation and employment and provision of cash as and when it is needed. But these have their darker sides. Church networks do not question lack of documents and some forms of deviance such as the faking of documents by migrant church members. They seem to 'understand' that migrant life is difficult. However, by not problematising this behaviour, they may be ultimately doing a disservice to their members, who remain excluded as long as they do not have proper documentation. Some migrant networks themselves enmesh migrants in patron-client relationships that may be difficult to escape. The migrant patrons mainly take advantage of newly arrived migrants who are the most vulnerable. Migrants believe that sometimes relatives are their 'worst enemies' in so far as abusing them is concerned.

9.4. Policy implications and recommendations

9.4.1. Policy implications

- South Africa must come up with proper integration mechanisms for migrants since migrants are there to stay. The covert support that politicians render to locals in their bid to force Zimbabweans to 'go back home' will not solve the Zimbabwean issue. These actions will only have the negative effect of hardening Zimbabweans and driving them even further underground where they may even engage in bad behaviours in order to survive. They already see death in South Africa as part and parcel of what they have to deal with as foreigners. It is part of the calculated risks of being a foreigner. Therefore death will not deter them.

- Migrant entrepreneurs are potential sources of employment even for South African locals. It would be in the interest of the South African government to support these activities with capital and other resources rather than ignoring them.

- Migrant workers are potential sources of tax. The government must come up with ways of engaging them in order that they contribute to SARS. That way, their use of public services can be legitimated. In any case, migrants are mainly of the younger, hardworking, and self sufficient age groups (below 40); they are not the most demanding when it comes to using public funds.

- There must be a proper migration management strategy that de-emphasises the power of the police and curbs corruption.

- The police and nurses as public citizens are undermining South Africa's constitution that values equality without regard to a person's creed or status. They are also infringing on universal human rights.

- There is a need for a paradigm shift among South African officials whose definition of a foreigner is that of a black migrant. There is generally no distinction between a documented and undocumented migrant in terms of the harsh treatment they receive in the hands of these bureaucrats and locals. More specifically, public officials (for example nurses) need to be trained in dealing with migrant-specific issues. They are evaluated by migrants as insensitive.

- The Zimbabwean government must show interest in the migrants' welfare in South Africa. An appraisal of newspaper articles reveals that every month at least one Zimbabwean dies brutally at the hands of South African mobs. The Zimbabwean

government has never protested formally against this behaviour. The Zimbabwean government officials may be evaluated as vindictive if they lack eagerness to intervene on behalf of migrants; thus, further entrenching the migrants' perception of a home government that does not care about them, thereby abandoning them to their fate at the hands of South African mobs.

- Even where the Zimbabwean government has tried to show enthusiasm for migrants, it has mainly concentrated on skilled migrants such as teachers, doctors and engineers only. But even these complain of strict re-engagement processes for returnees (Chikanda 2011).

- There still is a need for proper documentation and creation of a database of Zimbabwean migrants by the Zimbabwean government which currently uses guesstimates.

- If the strategies of attracting Zimbabweans back to their country are to succeed, then the salaries of civil servants in Zimbabwe need to be raised. This is especially true for teachers, who are still lowly paid compared to their counterparts in South Africa. The Government of Zimbabwe (2010) revealed that 90% of teachers are demoralised by their poor salaries. The situation is still the same; teachers are among the lowest paid civil servants.

- The government of Zimbabwe must strongly consider allowing dual citizenship for those in the Diaspora and create opportunities for the same people to participate in the economic and political affairs of their country. They are currently not allowed to vote. Under current circumstances those that acquire foreign citizenship must renounce it if they want Zimbabwean citizenship.

- In order to facilitate meaningful remittances, the Zimbabwean government must help Zimbabweans to participate meaningfully in the South African labour market by brokering relationships and agreements that protect Zimbabwean workers against abuse and exploitation in employment. Remittances come from meaningful jobs. Some migrants are not employed in their professional capacity, thus their skills are not being fully utilised. Zimbabwe could learn from Asian countries like Bangladesh and India which have administrative structures set to help recruit and protect migrants. In Bangladesh there is the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training

(BMET), while in India there is the India's office of the Protector of Emigrants which operated under the Ministry for Indians Overseas (Castles and Miller 2009).

- Ultimately a regional macro-economic convergence is recommended since there is no escaping the fact that problems in one country affect other countries. The reality of SADC's existence must begin to be felt. During the economic crisis of Zimbabwe migrants scattered regionally to Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, Zambia and South Africa thus affecting the whole SADC region.

9.4.2 Recommendations for further study

- The cross border transport networks must be further studied to show how potential migrants use social and migration specific capital, to determine the patterns of crossing the border used by undocumented migrants. Further research must collect data from the *malayitsha* and the *impisi* (migrant smugglers) themselves to understand more about their operations.

- There is a need to find out if there are gender specific differences in the routes and methods used to cross the border by undocumented migrants.

- Further research must be carried out to find out if South Africa is still a destination country or it is now being used as a transit country as migrants move towards other countries. In my research some migrants argued that South Africa was not their ultimate destination as they were aspiring to go elsewhere, for example, the United Kingdom.

- In terms of the living and sexual practices among migrants, research must determine how the process of 'shacking up' or 'just living together' as migrants call it, affects the marriage and family institutions and the children that result from such arrangements. Research must be directed towards understanding the quality of life of children of Zimbabwean migrants both in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

- Coping mechanisms involving the obliteration or disguise of migrant identities are quite stressful. Research must begin to understand the health impacts of these migrant strategies.

- Further research needs to be carried out on the self-employed Zimbabwean migrants and their potential to create employment in the South African labour market. There is already evidence of entrepreneurship among Zimbabweans (26% of the sample are entrepreneurs) and research must be directed towards understanding the challenges and opportunities faced by these individuals and the role they play in the South African labour market.

9.5. Conclusion

This study of Zimbabwean migrants in Kempton Park and Tembisa reveals their perceptions on social exclusion in the labour market and the general South African society. The study proposes an analytical framework with ten propositions that aim to show the causes, agents and solutions to social exclusion. It shows that migrants have a devalued stigmatised identity. The study reveals how migrants cope with this situation through several coping mechanisms that involve use of social capital and social networks with local South Africans and other Zimbabwean migrants. Migrants use family/kin, friendships and religious networks to sponsor the migration costs, housing and employment. The structure of opportunity in South Africa is narrowing, forcing migrant networks to repel new migrants, weaken and terminate relationships. The majority of Zimbabwean migrants are just 'getting by' rather than 'getting ahead' in Johannesburg. The institutions that are largely exclusionary towards Zimbabweans are hospitals, banks, police and to some extent, schools. Employers capitalise on the precarious positions of migrants whose legal status is weak and unclear (such as those waiting for regularisation or using asylum papers) and exploit them, exposing them to poor working conditions and little pay. Therefore migrants are not totally excluded from the labour market; they participate on disadvantaged terms. Be that as it may, most migrants still think that their economic situation is much better in South Africa than it would be in Zimbabwe. And not all of their struggles can be attributed to social exclusion; some are just consequences of harsh global economic trends.

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APPENDICES

10.1. Research questions

The questions mainly revolve around three themes; the individual's biography; their appraisal of their situation in South Africa and how they fare in the South African labour market; their coping mechanisms (these were studied through understanding their participation in social networks).

10.1.1. Interview questions for Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg

The individual's migration trajectory

1.   Demographic characteristics-age, sex, race, religion, educational qualifications, marital status (are you married to a Zimbabwean or not? If not married would you prefer to be married to a Zimbabwean?).
2.   Length of stay in SA
3.   Reason for leaving Zimbabwe and reasons for choosing South Africa
4.   Prior to coming to South Africa were you employed? In what sector?
5.   Are there any friends/ relatives (both here and back home) that aided your entry in finding accommodation and jobs and generally settling in? What specific support did you get and from whom?
6.   Did you experience any opposition back home from people who did not want you to come (especially in the case of female migrants)?

7.   Did you move directly to Johannesburg, or did they approach Johannesburg in steps, that is, did you perhaps first work on farms on Limpopo to earn some money to finance the last step to Johannesburg (assuming that Johannesburg is indeed their final destination)?
8.   Does the migration experience differ for men and women?
9.   How often do you return to Zimbabwe? When last have you been back? Any constraints in returning to South Africa once you have visited home? Are these constraints perhaps a factor in your not visiting home?

10.   How do you communicate with friends/family members back home? How, and how often, do you manage to remit money/goods back home?

The individual's appraisal of their situation and how they fare in the South African labour market

11.   How many options do you have in terms of places to stay and work in South Africa? Friends and family elsewhere? Is there a possibility of a place to stay or a job elsewhere?

12.   What is your sector of employment in Johannesburg? What proportion of Zimbabweans is employed at the same organisation?

13.   What rights do you enjoy as a worker in this sector?

14.   Which areas of employment do you feel you included into or excluded from due to your being foreign? Why do you think that is so?

15.   Do you know of any Zimbabweans that are worse off or better than you?

16.   What pressures come with being a foreigner- in the community, at work or any other area?

17.   What is the reaction of SA locals towards you? Other Zimbabwean migrants?

18.   Do you have a permanent job, or do you work on an intermittent/piece job basis? Any other possibility (self-employed, housewife, dependent, student, unemployed and looking for work).

19.   Do you contribute to any social security/social insurance or pension fund?

20.   Do you have a bank account in your name? Is it possible to get a bank loan?

21.   What do you think of the climate for doing business in South Africa? Do you foresee any constraints to being self-employed?

22.   Would you say that some South African employers prefer Zimbabwean workers? Why? In which sectors are those employers? Alternatively, do some South African employers prefer to employ South Africans? Why? In which sectors are these employers?

23.   Have you made any use of public services (such as health and education facilities) in South Africa? What was your experience of that? Any constraints? Hostility?

24.   Do you feel the secure situation in South Africa? Do you feel discriminated against? Have you had any experience of common crime, Xenophobia?

25.   What are your future prospects in South Africa?

Coping mechanisms

26.   How do you try to -fit in, manoeuvre in a foreign land? Do you speak any local South African language? How does speaking a local language help you?

27.   What are the relationships like among Zimbabweans in South Africa? Supportive or not? Do you trust co-ethnic members? Are these your friends?

28.   If you have job now, how did you hear about that job?

29.   Where do you sleep at present? How permanent/secure is your access to that place? Do you own or rent this place/part of the place?

30.   Are your neighbours also from Zimbabwe? What proportion of the neighbourhood where you stay is inhabited by Zimbabweans/other foreign Africans?

31.   How do you get to work/place to study from where they sleep? Do you make use of public transport? What is your perception of it (safe, reliable, cheap, or not)?

32.   Are there any other members of your immediate and extended Zimbabwe family living with you? If you have children do they go to school?

33.   Do you belong to any church group? Does that church cater only for Zimbabweans or also for other groups? How helpful has the church been to you?

34.   Have you made any local, South African friends or other foreign non-Zimbabwean friends? Do you trust them? Do these friends help in dealing with: police officers, Home Affairs, employers, finding accommodation etc.?

35.   Have you joined any local organisations, such as cultural, sporting and political associations, trade unions/ workers' association etc.?

36.   Are you a member of a local savings club? Is this for Zimbabwean Shona or Ndebele only? Does it also include local South Africans?

37.   If you have a financial or social problem, who would you approach?

38.   What is the frequency of your contact with family members/Zimbabwean friends/relatives in Johannesburg per week?

39.   How often do you share meals or have get together activities with your relatives/friends from Zimbabwe?

40.   Have you ever been arrested? What happened?

41.   How do you avoid being arrested or deported?

42.   Have you ever been deported? What happened?

43.   Is your stay in South Africa legal/illegal?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

10.2. Consent form

My name is Chipo Hungwe and I am a doctoral student in the department of Sociology at the University of South Africa. As required by my studies I am conducting a research on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. The aim of the research is to understand the lives of Zimbabweans and their feelings of inclusion into and exclusion from the South African society. I would like to interview you asking questions relating to your life history. This interview will take approximately 1 hour and if you are agreeable I would like to record our discussion on audiotape.

Since this is a purely academic exercise I guarantee that your information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and anonymity. Your name will not be used in any part of the report that will be produced by this research. Your participation in this research is voluntary and where you feel uncomfortable you may refuse to answer questions and opt out of the research.

Consent

Researcher: I Chipo Hungwe will not implicate any individuals by discussing the details of our conversation.

Signed: ....Date

Participant: I understand that the information I provide in the interview will not be linked to me personally. I agree to take part in the research ☐

I agree that our conversations can be recorded ☐

Signed   Date