Migrants access to the labour market and Ethnic Niching: Case study of Zimbabweans employed in the Cape Town restaurant industry

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:_____   Date:_____

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Abstract

This research used a qualitative method of enquiry to examine observations and theoretical claims made about the ability of migrants to secure employment. These claims indicated that migrants of the same ethnic groups are able to enter into the job market of their countries of residence, to the extent that they become concentrated in specific industries. The ethnic niche theory, the segmented labour theory and social network theories were taken as the point of departure. These theories were further broken down into four key factors that were believed to be integral to understanding how migrants gain entry and consolidate themselves in different industries. The key factors identified were job search methods, social and family networks, recruitment/employer practices and migrants characteristics.

A case study approach focusing on interviews with employees, managers and owner in the Cape Town was used to examine how the different factors contribute to the process of how migrants secure employment. Face to face Interviews were conducted with five male respondents, and comprised open-ended questions. Questions covered the migrants' personal and educational background, migration and employment history, social activities and residential location.

The findings confirmed network theory claims that Migrants have been able to use the social capital gained from their social and family networks, to benefit from job related information and access to jobs through referrals and vouching. It was also found that as argued by the segmented labour theory, jobs are differentiated into different sectors, and migrants are more likely to secure employment in the secondary sector. Moreover, as suggested by the ethnic niche theory, migrants did become concentrated in specific sectors as a result of networks and the use of methods such as referral hiring.

An important finding that emerged was that while social and family networks play a major role in the creation and maintaining of ethnic niches, there are other contributing factors. Significantly, the structural and institutional context in the host country also plays a major role in the insertion of migrants into specific industries.

This goes further than segmented labour theory analysis, which stops at how jobs are differentiated in the market, to acknowledge the role played by the context of the specific industry, the state of the local labour market and the immigration legislation. It was found that it is beneficial to use theory in conjunction with the case context and immigrant characteristics. Thus a multidimensional approach focusing on job search methods, social and family networks, recruitment/employer practices and migrants characteristics is required to understand migrants' access to employment.

Chapter 1

1. Introduction

Previously, literature emerging from western countries argued that migrants are likely to experience trouble securing jobs and they tend to be unemployed for longer. It has been purported that those migrants that are employed, often have jobs in the secondary sector, which are less-esteemed and lower-paid (Borjas, 2004; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). This literature argues that migrants are at a disadvantage in the labour market because they possess lower education levels than natives; they experience language barriers or do not have the work experience or educational qualifications commensurate to those required in the host countries (Friedberg, 2000). Other explanations given proposed that migrants have difficulty entering the labour market due to the fact that they have less social capital than the locals (Aguilera, 2003; Aguilera and Massey, 2003).

Additionally, migrants are presumed to have fewer contacts, and most of their contacts are presumed to be with members of their migrant group, who are believed to have minimal information about job opportunities. As a result, migrants experience challenges entering the labour market. These explanations are derived from research conducted in the context of 'North' bound migration, and are thus largely aimed at understanding the employment and occupational status of migrants in that specific context. North bound migration involves migrants from less developed countries of the 'South 'traveling to 'Northern' countries in Europe or the United States. However, studies have emerged indicating that in some instances, migrants are increasingly able to secure employment and improve their access into the labour market to an extent that they become concentrated in specific industries. Migrants are believed to do this in a variety of ways, thus challenging the notion that migrants tend to have poor labour market outcomes.

Reports in South Africa have indicated that due to lax enforcement of immigration controls for work in the unskilled employment sector, 26, 9% of the total workforce employed comprised well educated migrants from Botswana, Namibia and,

particularly Zimbabwe (ADCORP, 2010). Moreover, research on xenophobic sentiments in South Africa found that many locals feel that foreigners 'take their jobs' (Namnjoh, 2006; Maharaj, 2009). Wide spread media reports and the growing xenophobia discourse have cited that local South Africans are discontented with the competition for jobs that has come as a result of an influx in migrants in South Africa. These sentiments and statistics quoting the rising number on migrants in employment, paint a different picture than that of literature stating that migrants are unable to access jobs. This research was therefore interested in a deeper exploration of this area of study in the South African setting.

As aforementioned, most academic literature has been directed towards understanding migrants entry into the job market in the 'South to North' migration flow context. This necessitates an exploration of the access to labour markets for migrants in the 'South to South' context, which has largely been overlooked. In light of this, the main research question posed by this study was; 'How do migrants, particularly Zimbabweans access employment in the South African labour market?' To adequately examine the main question, this study asked the following sub-questions;

1. What are the job search techniques that migrants use?

2. How do job search techniques affect migrant's occupational/employment outcomes?

3. What role do networks play in immigrant's access to employment?

4. Are there any personal characteristics that make migrants more favourable in the South African labour market?

5. What is the role of an organisation's recruitment and selection for Immigrant's employment opportunities?

6. How do ethnic niches form?

The sub questions posed above highlighted four key aspects to be examined in relation to immigrant's access to the labour market. These factors were job search methods, recruitment/employer practices, migrant characteristics and networks. Waldinger (1994) asserted that understanding the expansion of immigrant employment should involve looking at the broader factors that influence the structure

within which migrants are located. It was therefore necessary to take a holistic approach, which the study was able to do by using a framework based on these four key factors. In addition to this, this study looked at the personal history, educational background, migration history, employment history and social activities of the respondents, in relation to the four aspects identified. This was found to be relevant for the provision of contextual foundation, and useful in understanding the functioning of social networks, mechanisms of referral hiring and the formation of ethnic niches. The respondents selected and interviewed were Zimbabwean migrants who have been employed by Cocoa restaurants in Cape Town

Several authors have conducted research and put forward that membership to one's ethnic group substantially influences the labour market entry and location of co-ethnic members (Wilson, 2003; Waldinger, 1994). Migrants' entry into the labour market is therefore attributed to group affiliations. In line with this, research on ethnic and occupational niches, ethnic economies and ethnic enclaves have been discussed in this study to highlight the different explanations for high concentrations of migrants in specific industries (Hofmeyr, 2010).

In addition to this, some theorists have relied on the theory of social capital to explain immigrant's life chances. The theory of social capital has been used to explain sources of employment and occupational attainment (Portes 1998). This is based on the understanding that social capital is the benefit accrued from relationships among people (Coleman, 1998). More specifically, in relation to migration, social capital is understood as the networks of connections, loyalties reciprocal relations and obligations to each other that encourage people to assist one another (George and Chaze, 2009).

Social capital is therefore the networks and linkages between individuals and organizations, which is argued to increase migrants' ability to access employment opportunities (George & Chaze, 2009; Waldinger, 1994). The social capital an immigrant possesses depends on what social or family networks that immigrant has, and how they use these networks. Following from this, it can be said that to find and secure a job, migrants are required to have social capital, and to have social capital depends on immigrant's possession and use of networks. In this way, networks are

important to providing access to employment. Understanding social networks, how they are formed and how they are used has therefore been an integral part of this study.

The paper is structured as follows. Chapter 2 is the literature review on South Africa and migration, Zimbabwean migration to South Africa, social networks, migrants and employment and ethnic niches. Chapter 3 discusses the empirical methodology and methods of data gathering used. Chapter 4 presents the findings, outlining the role played by social and family networks, job search methods, recruitment and employer practices and migrant characteristics play in creating and maintaining ethnic niches. Chapter 4 also briefly discusses the limitations of the study. Chapter 5 concludes and provides recommendations for future research.

<center>**Chapter 2**</center>

2. A review of literature

2.1 Migration Overview

The topic of international migration is currently dominating the international relations discourse and has increasingly become one of the most important questions of domestic politics worldwide. The growing popularity in the migration discourse can be attributed to the increase in volume and significance of international migration since 1945 and more-so, since the mid 1980's (Castles, 1998). Since then, international migration has continued to grow and gain momentum. Migration can be attributed to political factors such as repression, persecution, conflict or economic factors (Mosala, 2008). Migration reports have indicated that large flows of migrants are increasingly found to be migrating for the following economic reasons; to escape poverty, unemployment, inflation and high cost of living (Mosala, 2008). Thus, economic reasons account for the largest flow of migrants. As a result, migrants will select countries with a comparatively more stable economy, but which are still experiencing labour or skills shortages.

World Migration Report (WMR) statistics in 2010 estimated a number of 214 million persons in the international migrant stock (WMR: 2010). This figure is almost double the estimate of 120 million that was recorded in 1994 (Castles, 1998). Moreover, it has been argued that the character of migration is likely to change in its "scale, reach and complexity, due to the effects of environmental change, new global political and economic dynamics, technological revolutions and social networks (WMR, 2010: 20). This change is shown further in growing literature on the 'feminization of migration' which takes into account the active role women play in migration processes, an area that had largely been overlooked (Kihato, 2007) The implication of which is the establishment of migration as one of the key factors in global change and social transformation (Castles, 1998). Migration therefore is believed to have considerable

consequences for social, political and economic relationships, in the societies of both sending and receiving countries, thus making it an important area to explore.

Migration is not a new phenomenon. There are documented historical accounts of major migratory trends dating back to the earliest of times. Movements of people across boarders have contributed to shaping states and societies we see today; spurred by a search for a better life and greater opportunities, or forced by political instability, conflict or natural disasters. Thus it can be said that throughout the history of mankind, leading up until the present age, human beings have migrated for a number of complex reasons. Castles and Miller (1998) argue that the complexity and variety of reasons for migration can be explained by the differentiation of migration. This means that most countries experience more than one type of migration, not just a single form such as labour migration, refugee or permanent settling (Castles & Miller, 1998).

Kihato (2007) states that migration studies have been dominated by economistic models that measure the costs and benefits of the process on a variety of levels. This has placed focus on remittances and the aspects of material or financial costs and benefits for migrants, households, hosts and sending countries. As a result, other aspects relating to migrants livelihoods and every day experiences are ignored.

The literature documenting movements of people has largely remained limited to the northbound migration flows, originating from Africa to either Europe or the United States. The term 'North' is used to describe the wealthy developed countries while the poorer developing countries are termed as the 'South' (WMR: 2013). What is significant is that this migration is not only to the countries of the North. De Haas (2012) argues that the majority of African migration is not directed to the global or more prosperous North, but towards other African countries. The World Migration Report states that South-to-South migration is an overlooked phenomenon, especially because of the difficulties in finding reliable statistics and in quantifying the number of illegal migrants (Castles, 1998). Migration to countries in the North is likely to have been matched and exceeded by South-to-South migration (WMR: 2013). An examination of the SADC migration flows gives evidence of the increasing south-to-

south migration, revealing various simultaneous and overlapping types of migration, with South Africa being the ultimate destination (Mosala, 2008).

2.2 South Africa and Migration

In the context of South-to-South migration, South Africa has emerged as a popular destination for many African migrants, particularly those from the neighbouring Southern African Development Community (SADC). According to a survey by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), 81% of Lesotho's adult population has been to South Africa, 83% of Lesotho's citizens have parents and 51% have grandparents who have worked in South Africa. The equivalent figures for Mozambique are 29%, 53%, and 32%. For Zimbabwe the corresponding figures are; 23% of Zimbabwe's population has been to South Africa, 24% have parents who have worked in South Africa, and 23% have grandparents who have worked in South Africa (Crush, 2008).

During the apartheid era, South Africa's borders were tightly controlled. Rigid mobility restrictions were used by the apartheid regime as a tool to control segregation as well as access to spaces and resources. Confining people to restricted areas was the quintessential tool of power and oppression. Domestic migration was as tightly controlled as well as regional and international migration. The migrant labour system ensured that foreign migrants would only be able to stay in South Africa on short-term contracts, thus encouraging temporary rather than permanent stay. African migrants were brought in as either commercial farm workers or mine workers; African migrants' presence in the urban areas was rather restricted. (Crush, 1999).

During this time, refugees and asylum seekers were not permitted entry. Only white skilled Europeans were allowed in the country and encouraged to stay and become citizens (Crush, 1999). After the fall of the apartheid regime, and with the democratization of South Africa, immigration policies were changed; for the first time, asylum seekers and refugees were granted safe haven (Crush, 1999). Prior to 1994, it is evident that migration was strictly demand driven, but since 1994, with the fall of apartheid, it has become driven by supply (Mosala, 2008).

The labour market that migrants are now entering into has many challenges, characterized by a shortage in high-skilled workers and excess in low-skilled workers (Mosala, 2008). Rasool and Botha (2011) define a skill shortage as the occurrence of any one, or a combination of the following situations: shortage of workers in a particular occupation, when labour demand exceeds availability of skills, or workers lack appropriate qualifications. In the case of South Africa, education is one of the factors relating to workers lacking the appropriate qualifications. The number of South Africans completing school was found to be below the norm compared to other developing countries, and South Africa's neighbours. Only 30.9% of South African adults had completed high school whilst 69.8% of adults in developed countries complete high school (Rasool & Botha, 2011).

The challenges characterizing the current state of the labour market can also be attributed to the significant increase in the number of documented and undocumented migrants in South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2006). The growing influx of foreign migrants to South Africa can be attributed to a number of factors. The Human Rights Watch (2006) states that the border posts that South Africa shares with its SADC members (Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana) are long and permeable borders. This makes them difficult to control and regulate and easy for migrants to cross over. Furthermore, South Africa's economic dominance and its perceived stability and peaceful democracy make it an attractive destination (HRW, 2006). Moreover, South Africa is believed to have well developed infrastructure, a relatively good educational system and it provides opportunities for migrants to build human and social capital (Blakewell, 2009). The relative political and economic stability South Africa experience is attractive because it is interpreted as opportunities for better education, good living conditions and more importantly, education prospects of raising money. The focus for many migrants is to improve their livelihoods and raise their standards of living.

Determinants for south-to-south migration, particularly the intra-regional form, vary with income differentials and proximity. In addition to this, networks based on ethnicity, community and family ties facilitate movements and are seen as major determinants of migration (Ratha & Shaw, 2007). These factors reduce costs and

uncertainties associated with migration, thus making it an option more people are likely to consider.

While the number of migrants to South Africa is seemingly increasing, the number of people entering legally on temporary work permits has declined. In 1996, 52,704 work permits were issued, a number that fell to 15,834 in 2000 (Crush, 2008). The decrease in the issue and reissue of temporary work permits is argued to be more as a result of government policy than it has to do with labour market demand. Employers have found it increasingly difficult to hire migrants, even temporarily, and foreign workers have found themselves caught in extensive application and vetting processes with the Department of Home Affairs (Crush, 2008; ADCORP, 2010).

Currently, the 2002 Immigration Act is the legislation that elaborates the conditions and requirements for migrants to enter into the labour market and ultimately determines the duration an immigrant can remain in South Africa. This legislation has made provision for thirteen types of temporary residence permits and five types of work permits (HRW, 2006). To have a work permit issued, the employer in most cases has to demonstrate that there is no South African citizen or permanent resident who is available or qualified for the position. Failure to adhere to the demands stipulated by the legislation often results in heavy fines and penalties. Understanding the policy of migration in the receiving country facilitates understanding of the way in which migrants are able to participate in the labour market. The migration policy determines who does and does not have the legal right to work and live South Africa, referred to in this study as the 'documentation' status. In turn, documentation informs which jobs an immigrant can and cannot apply for and thus determines access to employment.

2.3 Zimbabwean migration to South Africa

A Human Rights Watch Report indicated that in 2006, Zimbabweans arguably constituted the biggest group of foreign nationals in South Africa (HRW, 2006). Zimbabwean migration since 2000 has been the largest concentrated flow in South African history. It has been tentatively estimated that between one million, and one

and a half million Zimbabweans were in South Africa in 2008; a number that was three times larger than the estimated migration of Mozambican refugees into South Africa during the Mozambican civil war in the 1980's. The migration from Mozambique had been previously recorded as the largest migration volume in recent history, but has now been overtaken by the influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa (Polzer, 2008). Other reports indicated that Zimbabwean migrants in 2008 constituted the highest number of deportees, with an average of 200 000 per year (Mosala, 2008).

Although mixed motivations for migration are the norm, migration from Zimbabwe has taken place for many different reasons and created many different 'types' of migrants (Polzer, 2008). Significantly, one of the factors seen to have fuelled migration to South Africa from Zimbabwe is the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe (HRW, 2006). The political oppression without outright civil war and collapse of the economy has created mixed types of migrants (Polzer, 2008). The different categories of migrants include politically persecuted refugees, economic migrants (both skilled professionals to unskilled persons), humanitarian migrants, who include unaccompanied minors, traders, shoppers and transit migrants, (Polzer, 2008; Mosala, 2008). It is evident that Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa do so for a combination of economic, political and humanitarian reasons. The term migrant in this context is therefore used to describe all people of Zimbabwean origin who have entered and are currently residing in South Africa. This includes those who have applied for, or received asylum or refugee status. This also includes those who have been denied refugee status, or 'overstayed' meaning they have exceeded the number of days permitted in South Africa, thus are in effect undocumented (Polzer, 2008).

Having clearly defined who a Zimbabwean migrant is, it is important to distinguish between those legal and illegal, also referred to as documented and undocumented. Many Zimbabweans like other migrants groups, use informal methods to cross the boarder, avoiding formal documentation processes and thus remain undocumented. In addition to this, other documentation issues result in large numbers of undocumented migrants. These include the delay in the processing of asylum or refugee permits by the Department of Home Affairs and the difficulty in accessing work permits due to stringent requirements. The individuals who fail to or choose not to adhere to the requirements of the Immigration Act, by not having documentation in the form of

either permanent or temporary residence permits, valid work permits or refugee/asylum seeker status are therefore illegal.

The nature of Zimbabwean migration is believed to have changed over time. Preceding the year 2000, young job seekers migrated alone, often motivated by the humanitarian needs of their families in Zimbabwe, made up the majority of the Zimbabwean migrants (McDonald et al., 2000; Tevera & Zinyama 2002 as cited in Polzer, 2008). Between 2005 and 2008, at the height of the Zimbabwean economic and political crisis, there was an increase in humanitarian migrants in search of basic food and health care. Larger percentages of women, children and elderly were recorded to be migrating into South Africa during this time.

Ultimately, Zimbabwean migrants move to South Africa with hopes for a better life, which in most cases involves securing employment in order to make a living. Mosala (2008) points out that accessing work is a fundamental imperative among Zimbabwean migrants. It is primarily the motivation to make money to send home coupled with the presence of existing social networks that has led to Zimbabweans dispersing throughout the country (Polzer, 2008) These migrants have begun to move to urban areas rather than remaining concentrated in the rural border area (Polzer, 2008). This is illustrated in the table below, which indicates the different needs that Zimbabwean migrants have expressed. The high frequency in the need for job related assistance indicates that majority of Zimbabweans prioritize access to the labour market.

Table 1: **Zimbabwean Migrants Assistance Requirements**

Assistance Requirements	Frequency %
Securing Refugee Status	57%
Assistance with self-employment (small business start-up's)	46%
Acquiring work permits	37%
Finding employment that corresponds with qualifications	35%
Voluntary Repatriation Assistance	4%
Medical Assistance (Treatment In Government Hospitals)	4%
Legal related matters advice and counselling	3%

Source: adapted from Polzer (2008)

Documentation issues create barriers for entry into the local labour market and inhibit migrants from being self-employed or starting small businesses. Despite this, studies have found that foreign migrants enjoy high labour participation and employment rates (Zuberi & Sibanda, 2004). This finding is echoed in the sentiment shared by many local South Africans that foreigners are stealing jobs that are meant for them. Moreover, research conducted revealed the following; documentation is important but not essential to finding employment, that migrants are able to find jobs quickly through networking, and the general trend is towards upward mobility despite initial access barriers and high unemployment in South Africa (Mosala, 2008:27). These research findings reinforce the idea that despite the numerous barriers presented by lack of documentation, legal requirements and the high level of unemployment, migrants in South Africa have been able to gain access to the labour market. Consequently, it can be argued that regardless of reasons for migrating (political or purely economic), migrants seek work in the countries they reside in even if their status (documented or undocumented) affects their ability to legally seek employment (Mosala, 2008).

Polzer (2008) maintains that Zimbabweans use their social networks for assistance with initial accommodation, information about accessing documentation and introduction to various forms of employment. Social networks therefore play a key role in Zimbabwean migrations. These Zimbabwean networks start off with people who have been living and working in South Africa for many years. These individuals would have started living in South Africa either prior to the current political and economic crisis, or would have arrived relatively early on in the crisis (Polzer, 2008). It is these networks that provide social capital, which facilitates migration to South Africa, and helps Zimbabwean migrants overcome the structural and legal barriers to employment. Moreover, it has been argued that there are some issues unique to Zimbabweans in South Africa, which in most cases prove advantageous. The first is that Zimbabwean Ndebele speakers have cultural and language similarities with South African Ndebele and Zulu speakers; this allows many Zimbabweans easily 'fit in', and to 'pass' as South Africans in day-to-day interactions. The second is that Zimbabweans' are believed to generally have a good command of English and relatively high education levels. These characteristics facilitate their entry into service sectors such as the hospitality industry. These factors enable Zimbabweans to secure

employment in specific industries more easily than many other migrant groups (Polzer, 2008).

2.4 Migrants and Employment

Descriptions of the prevailing conditions of the South African labour market, and the Zimbabwean immigration to South Africa have set the foundation and contextualized migration and labour in South African context. In addition to this, the characteristics that Zimbabweans are presumed to possess, that facilitate access to the labour market have been discussed. While this information is relevant, it is important to underpin and locate these claims in relevant theory.

2.4.1 Segmented labour market theory

The segmented labour market theory asserts that the job market is divided into two sectors: primary and secondary. The jobs in the primary sector are associated with good working conditions, opportunities for upward mobility, job security and stability and high-negotiated wages. Employment in the secondary sector on the other hand is characterized by little job security, lower wages, and few opportunities for career advances, poor working conditions and high labour turnover. Individuals in the secondary sector are rarely taught the skills needed in the primary sector, as a result opportunities to move from the secondary sector to the primary sector are limited (Gordon, 1964). It is argued that minority groups, women and other vulnerable groups which include migrants, are more likely to secure employment in the secondary sector because of the following factors; discrimination, skills, experience and education. In the South African context, the issues of documentation and strict immigration legislation can be added to this list. Migrants therefore have limited or no chance of being able to break into the primary sector (Gordon, 1964). It can be argued the minority status that foreign migrants, (particularly the illegal migrants) hold pushes them into the secondary labour market.

According to the segmented labour theory, the majority and minority groups in society are concentrated in different areas of the labour market. The majority group has power and preference in the society, so is able to occupy jobs in the primary

labour market, while the minority groups are left with the undesirable jobs (Gordon, 1964). Studies have acknowledged that the segmentation of the labour market provides employment opportunities, and in some cases economic advancement for migrants, who may have difficulties finding such opportunities elsewhere. The reason for this is that differentiating between jobs and labelling some as undesirable, creates a situation where some jobs are unwanted, and therefore rejected, leaving them available for migrants who otherwise would have remained unemployed.

It is argues that access to the labour market also depends on the level of skill the migrant possesses. Skilled migrants, most broadly defined as those in possession of tertiary degree or extensive specialized work experience, are more likely to be able to access the primary job market (Vertovec, 2002). These professions include architects, accountants, finance experts, engineers, technicians, researchers, teachers, health professionals, chefs and increasingly, specialists in information technology (Vertovec, 2002). Generally, skilled migrants are viewed as having the capacity to bring important contributions to the economy of the country they are in (Mattes et al., 2002). These skilled migrants are therefore able to access jobs through formal methods such as recruitment and relocation agencies. Using these formal channels enables migrants to gain access to the primary job market but involves many processes. Processes necessitated by use of formal methods involve interaction of several intermediaries for the purposes of: becoming familiar with immigration rules and procedures, interacting with immigration authorities, ensuring that one is employable, and that their qualifications are transferable, negotiating wages as well as organizing travel and arranging accommodation (Vertovec, 2002).

Moreover, South African migration policy has largely focused on promoting migration of skilled workers in order to mitigate the loss of skills from the country (Kabwe-Kabwe-Segatti & Landau, 2008). This can be seen in the effort made to attract skilled migrants to South Africa by making provisions for permanent and temporary residents permits like the general work permit, skills quota, intra-company transfer work permit, treaty permits and the special skills permit (HDRP, 2009). These options can be seen as efforts to allow skilled migrants meaningful participation in the labour market. However in many cases, the inconsistency in application and implementation of these options undermines these efforts. Despite

this, it is evident that skilled migrants have a somewhat clear path to accessing the labour market and securing employment. It is presumed that the migrants, who make use of these channels, are in possession of the necessary documentation and in compliance with the Immigration Act and legislation governing immigration and working in South Africa.

As aforementioned, many migrants from Zimbabwe are undocumented or illegal in South Africa because of how they crossed the border (border jumping, bribing officials) or the difficulty in securing documentation upon arrival and thus exceeding the duration of legal stay. The channels described which skilled migrants use can be costly or take a very long time. Thus many migrants are likely to forego these channels and opt to look for immediate employment. The implication of this is that migrants have to find ways other than formal recruitment and selection to access jobs, or they have to look for jobs that allow them to work despite their 'undocumented' status. Mosala argues that the lack of legal or appropriate documentation makes it difficult for Zimbabweans to be self-employed or start small businesses, as these require interaction with the state for registration processes (Mosala, 2008). As a result of this, many Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa seek and obtain informal jobs primarily in the secondary sector. This has been argued to partially explain the high concentration of Zimbabweans in the commercial agriculture, construction, hospitality and security industries (Mosala, 2008).

2.4.2 Ethnic Niche theory

A substantial volume of research has been amassed arguing that group affiliations have a major influence on labour market entry and location of co-ethnic members (Wilson, 2003). Central to this, are discussions on the extent to which co-ethnic members concentrate in the same labour market sectors and the reasons for this concentration. The role of group membership is a key part of this discussion, with debates on whether group membership facilitates access to information and social networks that link one to specific sectors of the labour market, or because they facilitate access to group based resources that facilitate pursuit of entrepreneurial activities (Wilson, 2003). In this instance, migrants are referred to as minority groups because of the claim that in most cases they are new to the society, the culture, and

ways of living and often don't speak the local language, and are therefore marginalized.

Explanations for high concentrations of migrants in specific industries have been discussed in literature using the terms ethnic niches, ethnic economies and ethnic enclaves (Hofmeyr, 2010). There is uncertainty as to how best to characterize clusters that migrants have established- ethnic economies, ethnic enclaves or ethnic niches? Each concept denotes a somewhat different phenomenon, each varying in nature and extent; there is therefore a need for clarification to avoid confusion.

Loosely the term 'ethnic occupational niches' has been used to describe co-ethnic concentrated workplaces (Hofmeyr, 2010). Ethnic in this instance refers to a group of people where the members have some awareness of group membership, common origin and common culture (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). The word niche, in this context is used to describe labour specialization involving the tendency of members of a specific group to be highly concentrated in an activity or job (Wilson, 2003). In Sociological terms, an ethnic niche is described as follows:

> …A socially constructed formation or collectivities in which members are
>
> linked by ties of culture, shared ideology and history, race, or national origin.
>
> These linkages are believed to provide the basis for collective social action,
>
> involving sharing information, resources and the provision of social support
>
> for the purpose of exploiting labour market opportunities related to the
>
> production of goods and services (Wilson, 2003:431).

In light of this, ethnic niches are recognized as concentrations and specialization of members of ethnic groups in particular industrial or occupational activities (Hofmeyr, 2010). An ethnic economy refers to the "concentration of co-ethnic owners and workers in one or more related industries, the sum of which is an ethnic economy" (Hofmeyr, 2010:5). Similar to an ethnic economy, the minority or ethnic enclave can be understood as the organization of different kinds of businesses by minority groups

to serve their own ethnic group or the general population (Fong &Shen, 2010, Hofmeyr, 2010).

A minority enclave is based on the co-ethnicity of owners and workers, so that co ethnic owners hire co-ethnic members in their business, which are spatially concentrated or clustered in similar locations (Fong &Shen, 2010; Hofmeyr, 2010). The minority enclave is therefore argued to provide mechanisms and resources for minority groups to advance their socio economic position despite discrimination and limited resources (Bates, 1994 as cited in Fong &Shen, 2010).

In addition to this, a minority enclave fosters access to the labour market and economic opportunities for minority members without the necessity of knowing the language of the new country or contacting people outside the ethnic group. This reduces a considerable number of barriers for migrants. However, it is argued that there are only a few cases of minority enclaves, such as Somalis in the Western Cape, who own a variety of small shops and enterprises. This perspective does not account for how other migrant groups access the labour market. It is therefore limited in its application, with arguments that a minority groups are more inclined to establishing an entrepreneurial or employment niche than an enclave (Fong & Shen, 2010).

Fong and Shen (2010) have identified the dual labour market perspective, in addition to ethnic niches and ethnic enclaves, as a useful theory that highlights specific issues that assist in understanding how minority groups concentrate in specific sectors. The dual labour market perspective, which is similar to the segmented labour market theory, emphasizes how the labour market puts jobs into sectors that are distinctively different (Fong &Shen, 2010). These sectors as previously mentioned are the primary labour market, characterized by desirable jobs, and the secondary labour market with lower wages and less secure employment, however easier access (Fong &Shen, 2010). The dual labour market is significant because it assists in understanding the types of industries in which migrants gravitate towards, thus identifying the space in which migrants are more likely to cluster in.

The different perspectives have demonstrated the ways in which various demographic, income and occupational characteristics of industries are related to

minority concentration in industries (Fong & Shen, 2010). However, while most literature on immigrant employment argues that migrants are usually clustered in a select few occupations or an industry that comprise a niche, there has been limited research on how migrants enter and establish these niches (Waldinger, 1994). The mechanisms that facilitate the formation of ethnic niches, how migrants enter a niche and what makes these niches work still remain unclear.

2.4.3 Social network theory

In principle, the formation of ethnic niches can be partly attributed to social networks (Morales, 2004 as cited in Hofmeyr, 2010). In order to attain employment in an ethnic niche, social networks are particularly important (Hofmeyr, 2010). It is essential at this point, to discuss the role that social networks play in the labour market outcomes of regards to migrants. Understanding the impact that networks have on individuals' employment opportunities will provide insight into how migrants are able to access employment amidst widespread unemployment and stark income inequality in South Africa.

Many researchers emphasize the importance of social networks and advise that the social network approach is the best tool to use for approaching the issue of ethnic niches (Waldinger, 1994). The use of the social network approach for the study of international migration is due to the longstanding view that networks provide channels for the migration process (Vertovec, 2002). It has been argued that social networks are more useful for explaining job search behaviour because they incorporate how information is shared and complex interactions between individuals. These complex interactions and information spill-overs are prevalent in contemporary labour markets, thus theories should account for them (Hofmeyr, 2010).

The network approach has been summed up as follows;

> …Networks connect migrants across time and space. Once begun, migration
> flows often become self-sustaining, reflecting the establishment of
> information, assistance and obligations, which develop between migrants in

the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area. These networks link populations in origin and receiving countries and ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional or permanent. (Boyd, 1989:641 as cited in Vertovec, 2002).

Social networks matter because they facilitate the transmission of job-related information between individuals (Hofmeyr, 2010). This is useful for obtaining employment and facilitates the creation of ethnic niches, because information regarding job opportunities is more likely to be shared between or among persons belonging to same ethnic group. As a result, more individuals from a particular ethnic group will be employed in an organization as information about job prospects and vacancies in that organization will be passed on those belonging to the specific ethnic group, in that way excluding outsiders (other nationalities). In short, ethnically segregated social networks lead to ethnically segregated workplaces (Hofmeyr, 2010; Waldinger, 1996).

Fong and Shen (2010) also found that social networks are required to facilitate minority concentration in labour market activity, where co-ethnic members are able to access employment opportunities through interpersonal connections. Moreover, social networks are also crucial for finding accommodation, circulating goods and services, as well as provide psychological support and continuous social and economic information (Vertovec, 2002). The importance of social networks is further highlighted in statistics identified in both the economics and sociology literature, which indicates that, on average, 30-60% of workers use social networks to obtain their jobs (Hofmeyr, 2010).

While it is documented that employees use their social networks to receive and disseminate job-related information, research indicates that employers in some cases rely on the employee's social networks to when looking to fill vacancies (Hofmeyr, 2010). Some of the reasons why employers find social networks useful for recruitment purposes have been identified. First, employers can enlarge the pool of applicants by drawing on the referrals of existing employees. Second, owing to the

tendency of migrants to bond and associate with those similar to them, the employer who has already screened the quality of his employees is more willing to hiring referrals because they are likely to be of a similar quality. In this way, employees' referrals reduce the problems associated with information irregularities; this is where information given by prospective employees about themselves is contradictory. Third, employees are afraid of damaging their reputations so they are likely to only refer a qualified candidate. This reduces the costs of recruitment and selection of applicants (Hofmeyr, 2010).

The fourth mechanism that makes referral hiring beneficial to the employer is that referrals are likely to provide a better match between employer and employee. Employees are likely to share valuable information to employers about the individuals that they have referred, which is often difficult to obtain through formal recruitment procedures, and they also provide tacit information to candidates about the job for which they are applying. Finally, the benefits of referral hiring are present even after the job has been filled. The idea is that incumbents who referred an applicant will help the newcomer get acquainted with the organization and even provide him with some on-the-job training, thereby boosting his productivity. In sum, there are numerous benefits to employers and employees from using social networks in the hiring process (Hofmeyr, 2010). Additionally, individuals recruited through personal contacts are less likely to quit and have a longer tenure on the job (Hofmeyr, 2010). In short, insider referrals arguably provide a larger and better pool of applicants.

Research conducted on referral hiring and ethnically homogenous jobs revealed three key findings (Elliott, 2001). It was found that insider referrals accounted for nearly all ethnic/immigrant variation in informal job matching in the United States. Secondly, newly-arrived members of a minority immigrant group, for example the Latino's, was found to be more likely than some of the native-born population to enter jobs through referrals. Lastly, the correlation between insider referrals and ethnically homogeneous jobs was positive, meaning that insider referrals play an integral role in securing employment for minorities. It can be inferred from these findings that migrants access jobs through their social networks as a result of referral hiring. In order to result in positive employment outcomes, social networks require the cooperation of employers, and their willingness to circumvent immigration requirements.

Fong and Shen (2010) argue social networks have limitations that arise out of their informal nature. Social networks are therefore useful for accessing jobs that require lower levels of skills and education, which are largely in the secondary market (Fong &Shen, 2010). This is because for such jobs, the hiring processes often are more informal. In contrast, people applying for jobs requiring high skills are usually expected to go through formal procedures with certificates and credentials. As a result, minority occupational niches will usually consist of low-paying occupations with low educational requirements (Wilson, 1999). Drawing from this literature, it can be argued that while the social networks used by migrants will contribute to securing employment, the same social networks will often restrict migrants to secondary sector jobs. Examples are given of Asians in the US who are concentrated in low-skilled, manual service occupations ,Koreans in Chicago in Beauty aid occupations or grocery store workers (Fong &Shen, 2010) or Vietnamese manicurists in the United States (Eckstein & Nguyen, 2011). Similarly in South Africa, Makina (2007) has shown that migrants work in various low-skilled service sector jobs, ranging from sales to serving to domestic work, although the exact figures are unknown.

The ability for migrants to secure employment and entry into the labour market using social networks is argued to depend on their social capital. In the context of immigrant employment, networks comprise a source of social capital, providing social structures that facilitate action, such as job search, hiring, recruitment, and training (Waldinger, 1994). Social capital was defined by Bourdieu as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of durable networks of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition (Portes, 1998:3). In practice, social capital relations exist only on the basis of material or symbolic relations of exchange (Thieme, 2006). Bourdieu emphasizes that the degree of the social capital one possesses depends on the degree of social relationships which they can mobilize, that permits access to resources possessed by their associates and the quantity and quality of social capital of the individuals the person is in contact with (Thieme: 2006).

Lin (1999) describes social capital as the resources embedded in one's social networks; these resources can be accessed or mobilized through ties in the networks. It can be inferred from this, that embedded resources found in social networks are what enhance the outcome of an individual's actions. Three explanations have been given for the expected benefit. Firstly, the facilitated flow of information based on social links and secondly, the possibility for the social links to exert influence on the areas of interest. Thirdly, the social ties that vouch for the individual may be seen as social credentials that can improve the individual's social standing (Lin, 1999). It stands that social ties located in strategic locations or hierarchical positions provide individuals with useful information about opportunities otherwise not available, resulting in improved outcomes (Lin, 1999). Following from this, the argument that migrants utilize social capital to secure jobs through the informal methods described can be made. Social capital thus forms the foundation of social networks and the mechanisms that result in the creation of occupation niches and facilitate referral hiring.

Although it has been acknowledged that the literature on immigrant employment relies on the network approach, it is argued that this approach does not account for the insertion and consolidation of immigrant networks in industries that have previously been dominated by the already existing native workers (Waldinger, 1994). Moreover, the social network approach ignores the broader institutional framework within which immigrant employment occurs (Waldinger, 1994). In addition to this, critics have argued that this approach does not take into account that the ability of immigrant networks to function as social capital, may be constrained by the rules imposed by established institutional and structural factors (Waldinger, 1994).

It is with these limitations in mind, that the current review of the literature has looked collectively at factors ranging from; the history of the South African labour market, the institutional and legislative frameworks before and after apartheid, an overview of migration from Zimbabwe, the characteristics of Zimbabweans and finally the different theoretical explanations for migrants entering and clustering in specific industries.

2.5 Conceptual framework

There are various theories outlined describe the different ways in which migrants are able to access the job market. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, the research question was examined using the different theories collectively. The approach to understanding immigrant's access and entry to the job market therefore took into account aspects of the theories outlined. These were assessed in relation to each respondent, based on the four factors of immigrant characteristics, employer/recruitment practices, job search methods and use of networks. A holistic approach to understanding immigrant entry into the job market is important because it captures the nuances of this multi-dimensional issue. While a focus on immigrant niches tells only part of the story, describing categorically distinctive workers into a distinct set of jobs, the social network approach tells only another part, describing how migrants share job-related information. An approach that relies on the ethnic niche theory, and social network approach but incorporates explanations from the employers' side and is located within the social and legal structures, tells a more comprehensive story. This was deemed essential for this study. These factors collectively, for the purposes of this paper are termed the social structures of migration. It is therefore hypothesized that the social structures of migration facilitate job search, hiring, recruitment and ultimately entry for migrants into the labour market because they fulfil the needs of workers and employers alike.

Chapter 3

3. Methodology

It has been declared that the quality of research findings, and ultimately of a research report is directly dependent on the accountability of the research methodology followed (Nassimbeni, 2011). The following chapter gives a description of the method used to gather data, select respondents as well as the research design and structure used. The rationale for selecting a qualitative over a quantitative method of inquiry will also be discussed. Concluding this chapter is a discussion of the limitations of the research as well as the ethical issues that were taken into account.

3.1 Qualitative Research

Research on ethnic niching argues that migrants tend to be concentrated in specific industries, and they find employment in these industries through social networks and referral hiring. The current research is aimed at understanding how ethnic niches form in the South African labour market, asking the question 'how do foreign migrants, particularly Zimbabweans, find jobs in the South African Labour market?' The intention is to learn about the ways in which Zimbabwean migrants search for jobs, what factors play a role in this and what kind of jobs these migrants end up securing. In short, this research is purposed to describe the situation and dynamics as they are observed. Neuman (2006:34) states that descriptive research serves the purpose of providing a detailed accurate picture, expounding a sequence of steps and stages, documenting a mechanism of causality and reporting on the context of a situation. In light of this, it can be said that the purpose of this research necessitates the use of a qualitative methodology.

The decision to employ a qualitative rather than quantitative methodology is not based on a perceived superiority or preference of a particular approach, but because the qualitative approach is well suited to capturing the essence of the research question posed (Mavarsti, 2004; Neuman, 2006). The qualitative approach provides a

large volume of information and is useful in capturing and understanding the complexities of respondents' experiences (Weiss. 1994). It has been argued that the qualitative method is essential for studying the experience of people, especially because there are particular issues that other methods cannot adequately document (Weiss, 1994) The qualitative approach provides a detailed description and analysis of the qualities or characteristics of human experience; this differs from the aim of quantitative research methods, which simply put, involve the use of methodological techniques that represent human experience statistically or in numerical categories (Mavarsti, 2004:7). While quantitative methods condense data in order to make statistical generalizations about large populations, qualitative methods are argued to enhance data, in doing this, make it possible to view important aspects of cases more clearly (Neuman, 2006:14). The strengths of the qualitative approach include its ability to provide a thick description, to contextualize, naturalism and the focus on the insiders perspective (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In addition to this, the qualitative approach lends itself to this research because it places value on authenticity, fuses theory and data and encourages the researcher to get involved in the process (Neuman, 2006:13).

As briefly mentioned, a key strength of the qualitative approach is the contextual nature of the data collected. To expound on this, qualitative research uses a contextualist or holistic strategy which focuses on understanding events, actions and processes in their context (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). This approach allows the researcher to understand, and locate the experiences of respondents in context-specific settings. This is based on the belief that context confers meaning, and thus enables a deeper understanding of the experiences. The qualitative approach is in contrast to the atomistic approach of quantitative research, which seeks to analyze variables and relationships between them in isolation from the context or setting (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Quantitative data is therefore useful to make generalizations, but it cannot provide contextual descriptions. As a result qualitative methods can be used for the following; to enhance understanding of processes or events about which little is yet known, to gain new perspectives on things where there is already a large volume of information, or to gain more in-depth information that may be difficult to convey quantitatively (Hoepfl, 1997). Thus, qualitative methods are appropriate in situations where one needs to first identify the variables that might later be tested

quantitatively, or where the researcher has determined that quantitative measures cannot adequately describe or interpret a situation (Hoepfl, 1997). Data collected qualitatively is therefore able to provide detail and insights into a respondents' experience of the world, because of the holistic methods employed.

Qualitative research employs a process termed Verstehen, a term used to describe a process that is intended to describe and understand, rather than explain human behavior (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). This view is located within the interpretivist epistemology, defined as "the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct and detailed observation of people in their natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds (Neuman, 2006:88). This is useful as it allows for understanding actions and processes in their context, which gives a richer, fuller and more dynamic picture (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:272). The research question examines issues and topics that do not exist in isolation, thus a holistic research strategy that provides for a more contextual understanding is important (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

The qualitative approach is not only useful to make contextual descriptions, but also encourages the perspective of the insider. This social research approach is premised on the 'emic' perspective, which puts emphasis on studying human action from the perspective of the insider or the social actor himself or herself (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:270). This approach is concerned with understanding reality, actions, behaviors, practices and decisions based on the perspective of the individual under study or observation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). As a result, the qualitative approach allows for the gathering of in-depth knowledge and the elaboration of concepts and phenomena, thus it is especially appropriate for the goals of this research (Amoroso and Ragin, 2011:113). Qualitative study compels the researcher to interpret the data gathered from the description given by respondents.

Furthermore, an interpretive researcher makes use of data collection techniques such as participant observation and field research (Neuman, 2006:88).

3.2 Sampling

This research made use of non-probability, purposive sampling method. Having established myself as a regular customer of the restaurant selected and in possession of a loyalty card, I had made some observations and formed relationships with some of the employees. The relationships formed enabled me to identify a key respondent. This respondent was chosen for the following reasons; the rapport that had been established between us, membership of the proposed sample group, his apparent good relations with other employees as well as the employer and his position as a long serving employee (3 years), who was knowledgeable about the dynamics in the restaurant. I deduced from this that he could assist me with gaining access and navigating the field (Mavarsti, 2004). The respondent was useful in providing relevant information about key contacts and details of the owner in order to secure permission to conduct interviews, and to identify the employees suitable for the criteria required.

I was interested in interviewing individuals who were in low skilled jobs, particularly in the restaurant industry and who are of Zimbabwean origin. As a result, I used the purposive sampling method because it enabled me to select a sample based on my knowledge of the population, and it suited the nature of the research aims (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). My main objective was to find cases that would illuminate the processes of the respondents' social life in a specific context as prescribed by the research question (Neuman, 2006). Moreover, it was not my intention to do a large scale, statistically-representative study. This made the choice of a probability sampling method inappropriate, as it would compromise the ability to get responses that describe the social processes under study over time and in their social contexts.

In this research, a sample including both the employer and the employee's were required in order to get a holistic understanding of the recruitment practices as well as the job search methods that have been used. The employer (owner) and the manager were therefore selected to provide information about the employment practices. Further considerations in the selection of the sample were the ability of respondents to spare time to participate in interviews, and if they were easily accessible for follow up interviews. This was very important due to the demanding nature and long hours

required in the restaurant industry, and the fact that the employer requested that interviews had to be done off the premises, outside shift times.

The final sample consisted of five people; Jason, who is the employer and owner of the restaurant, Ethen Bere, who is a manager at the restaurant, Bongani, a chef and works in the kitchen and Enock who is a waiter and works at the front of the restaurant. Tendai at the time of the interview was no longer with the Cocoa restaurant but had been a waiter at the restaurant for over three years. He had been selected as the respondent and was therefore a vital source of information. All respondents selected with exception of Jason the owner, are Zimbabwean. The sample size was limited to five people, which allowed me to collect extensive detail from the individuals being studied (Creswell, 2007). This small sample allowed me the time to have more than one interview with each respondent.

I set up interviews with the respondents at their convenience. All respondents worked night shifts so I was able to meet with them at midday before their shifts began. The interview with the owner also took place at lunchtime, while in the restaurant.

3.3 Data collection method

The research made use of the case study method, which is the idea that a chosen example (the case) will be studied in detail, in order to develop as full an understanding of that situation as possible (Silverman, 2005:126). I was interested in the ways in which Zimbabwean migrants who were employed in the restaurant industry have been able to find and secure their jobs. The case selected was therefore a restaurant and coffee shop; Cocoa Cha Chi. This restaurant is one of 4 Cocoa restaurants in Cape Town and is situated in Observatory. The Cocoa Group is a small independent group of restaurants, which opened up in 2005 (www.cocoa.co.za). The four restaurants; Cocoa Cha Chi in Observatory, Cocoa Wah Wah in Rondebosch, Cocoa Oola in Tamboerskloof and Cocoa Expresso in Cape Town city center together have seventy employees who comprise of kitchen staff and waiters. These employees often rotate among the restaurants depending on the need. As aforementioned, I

selected Cocoa Cha Chi based on the relationship I had previously established with the manager who works there. Having narrowed the case down to a specific restaurant and location, I chose to focus on the Zimbabwean employees and the owner of the group, as my units of analysis. The case study approach was selected as the data collection method due to its ability to provide insight into the issue presented as the research question.

I used a semi-structured, face-to-face interview method with my respondents. All interviews were recorded with a recording application on a mobile phone and transcribed. Interview schedules had been previously developed, which covered the key areas of personal history, general migration history, migration to South Africa, understanding networks and employment experiences. Interviews are useful in providing information about the nature of social life. Through interviewing the correct people and asking the correct questions, information about places that aren't accessible, settings that are unfamiliar and the quality of neighborhoods or what happens in workplaces can be gathered (Weiss, 1994).

A flexible approach was taken, allowing for alterations in the sequence and phrasing of questions. This was to accommodate the respondents who are not very articulate or confident (Arthur & Nazroo, as cited in Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). I initially asked broad open questions, in order to allow the respondent to take the lead and shape the description. Using open-ended questions allowed respondents to give more detailed responses. At the same time, I probed in depth asking pointed questions, aiming to uncover the perceptions, personal experiences and interests of the research respondents (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Questions about the life history of the research respondents were included, rather than just focusing solely on questions their work and job searching experiences. This was done in an effort to get a much detail and information as possible, while retaining a focus on the research question. The rationale for this was also that having a contextual overview enhances understanding and illuminates the responses given. From my point of view, the employment and job search experiences of migrants do not happen in isolation, but could be influenced by numerous factors including migrant's educational, social, family and cultural background, personal history as well as the economic and political climate in the

country of residence. It was therefore imperative for me to focus on the context as much as on the actual content relating to the research question in order to gain a holistic picture.

The interview with the owner of the restaurant was done using a topic schedule. This was a document that identified the key issues and the topics I wanted to discuss. I chose to use a topic guide because it allowed me to focus on outlining topics concerning particular issues I was interested in. The topics I focused on were personal and family background, educational history, and employment history as well as current employment practices. This would allow for interesting findings to emerge that could be used to complement themes evident in the employee's responses. The use of these qualitative methods allowed for a variation of responses, which were vital for the discovery of new concepts and ideas relating to this area of research. Babbie and Mouton (2001) maintain that such qualitative methods allow for an inductive approach, which may result in the production of new theories and the filling of gaps in the literature. Induction, in this instance, refers to a form of reasoning where genuinely supporting evidence such as empirical data can possibly lead to highly probable conclusions (Babbie & Mouton, 2005:643).

Most interviews were conducted off the work premises and outside of shift hours. The restaurant owner, who did not want any disruptions at the workplace, requested this. It was important for me to interview the research respondents at their convenience because the restaurant industry is very busy, consisting of long and strenuous hours and only a single day off. I therefore had to go to the respondents at the times they stipulated. In most cases, they requested that I meet them in observatory, in coffee shops close to their workplace, at 14:00hrs which was an hour before shifts began. The owner had initially requested that I interview him via email, but after further correspondence, I was able to sit with him at the restaurant in Rondebosch. This was useful because he was able to interact with, and take cues from his surroundings. The respondent was comfortable and it allowed him to be free and give detailed responses.

3.4 Data analysis

Analysis of findings from a qualitative study requires interpretation, summary and integration (Weiss, 1994). Spencer, Ritchie and O'Connor as cited in Ritchie and

Lewis (2003:200) argue that there are no clearly agreed rules or procedures for analyzing qualitative data. Similarly, this research made use of different methods in the process of analysis. After transcribing the interviews that had been recorded, descriptive and interpretive storylines were written for each transcript. Data reduction was an important tool used to identify the overall structure of the data and to make the extensive transcripts more manageable (Ritchie & Lewis 2003:202). Moreover, through data reduction, I was able to gain the coherence, depth and density of the material each respondent had given (Weiss, 1994). Thereafter, I began to identify key themes, categories and concepts. As part of the interpretive process, the general categories, key themes, and the relationships between them were noted. This was done by looking at particular parts of the data separately to gain a sense of the distinctiveness of particular sections of the material, to understand each narrative and process distinctly, as well as to organize data around themes, which don't appear in all parts of the data (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:203). The non-cross sectional data organization was done initially in order to avoid comparing the data outside of the context in which they occurred (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:203). While it was my intention to portray the subjective experience of respondents, I was cautious to not remain purely descriptive. As a result, the analysis was taken to an inferential level by locating the description in concepts and themes from the literature.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

As a researcher, I was aware that research studies raise ethical considerations, and I had a responsibility to ensure that respondents were not harmed as a result of the study. I employed the principle of 'informed consent' and provided respondents with all the details relating to the study. Anonymity was an option given to respondents, although none requested it (Lewis, as cited in Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:66). All respondents were made aware that their participation was entirely voluntary. In order to protect employees from trouble at work, I first requested permission from the employer and ensured that I stuck strictly to his conditions, which as abovementioned were that interviews should not coincide with shift times, or run too long resulting in a participant being late for work or affect the business operations in any way. It was also important to remain honest and transparent both with respondents and in the way the   data   received   was   represented.

Chapter 4

4. Findings and Discussion

It has been argued that social networks are important for labour market outcomes, although the extent to which they contribute to the formation of ethnic niches is unclear (Hofmeyr, 2010; Polzer, 1998). This study has found that referral hiring functions through social networks. In other words, in order to be told about an employment opportunity and referred for the position, there needs to be someone within your network that shares information and then vouches for you to the recruiter. In the same way, the more referral hiring that takes place in a specific industry, the more likely it is for an ethnic niche to form. This view makes the assumption, as was found in this study that social networks compromise of social capital gained from ethnic ties or family relationships. Zimbabwean migrants in the restaurant industry South Africa, therefore rely on their Zimbabwean social and family networks, to access the labour market through referral hiring. The reproduction of this method creates ethnic niches. Additionally, a key finding that emerged was that while social and family networks play a major role in the creation and maintaining of ethnic niches, there are other contributing factors. These factors as cited in the literature include recruitment/employer practices, migrant characteristics, and job search methods. Significantly, the structural and institutional context in the host country also plays a major role in the insertion of migrants into specific industries. This refers to the state of the specific industry, the labour market, and legislation. The following discussion will begin with a description of the Cocoa Group, which is the group of restaurants from which the respondents were selected. Following that will be a discussion of the findings in relation to the questions that have been posed, and the topic under study.

4.1 The Cocoa Group

This Cocoa Group is a small independent group of restaurants in Cape Town that started trading in 2005. The Cocoa Group currently comprises four restaurants. The

first restaurant to be opened was Cocoa Wah Wah on Main Road in Rondebosch. This expanded to Cocoa Cha Chi on Lower Main Road in Observatory, Cocoa Oola in Tamboerskloof and finally Cocoa Expresso [sic] in the Foreshore area of the Cape Town City Centre. All four restaurants are located in areas where there are 'shopping centres', marked by the presence of other restaurants, coffee shops, grocery stores and other stores that provide different kinds of service. As a result, there are substantial volumes of people that frequent those areas. Additionally, being situated on Lower Main Road, Main Road, and Cape Town city centre, the Cocoa restaurants are close to major transport facilities and are easy to access. The Golden Arrow bus, Metro Rail train, and commuter omnibus stations and stops are located within ten minutes of each restaurant. The Cocoa restaurants are also situated near residential areas; this means that those living in Rondebosch, Observatory and Woodstock or the City Centre are able to walk to access the restaurant.

The Cocoa Restaurants serve both food and beverages and offer quality food in a relaxed dining setting. Cocoa is a popular for its wraps, salads, burgers, baked goods, coffees and iced crushes. A favourite at Cocoa is the 'giant cookie' which is a large chocolate brownie served with ice cream or cream. The owner of the restaurants boasts that this cookie has drawn customers and orders from as far as Johannesburg. The dining setting in Cocoa restaurants is both interactive and fun, with baskets filled with board games for the 'free spirits' and daily newspapers for those who like to keep up to date. In addition to the restaurants, Cocoa also provides catering services for event dinners, executive lunches and brunches, tour groups and gift cakes.

The customers and clientele base is determined by the location of restaurant. Cocoa Wah Wah and Cocoa Cha Chi because of their proximity to the University of Cape Town, Varsity College and other local colleges cater mostly to local students, semester-abroad students, those on holiday and residents of that area. Cocoa Oola and Cocoa Expresso cater mostly to young professionals working in the city centre. However, Cocoa also has corporate customers such as University of Cape Town, Absa Bank, Vodacom, a mobile phone company and Grandslots, which is a gambling company.

Work at Cocoa restaurants is divided into day shift and night shift. The day shift runs from the opening of the restaurant at 9am to 3pm. The night shift goes from 3pm to 10pm. The employees can work as kitchen staff ('at the back'), taking the roles of dishwashing, cooking, baking or preparing orders. The front staff comprises waiters, waitresses and cashiers. When staff is first employed, they usually start off in the kitchen on dish bay as a dishwasher. During the probation period, each employee is required to learn how to perform all the tasks required in the restaurant and to demonstrate the key characteristics of punctuality, hard work, being reliable and possessing the ability to learn quickly. After the probation period, the employee can select to work in the kitchen or as a waiter, depending on their skills and preference. The employees often rotate among the restaurants depending on the need. This will usually take place between restaurants in similar location such as Rondebosch and Observatory.

If employees display the desired characteristics, they have opportunities to be promoted to positions of leadership. An employee can move from being a dishwasher, to waiter, to headwaiter, to restaurant manager and finally senior manager in that particular restaurant. The owner of the Cocoa group holds the most senior position as a manager of all the restaurants. The owner is responsible for the strategic direction of the restaurants and implementing any desired changes or expansion of the group, as well as having the final say on all decisions concerning the restaurants including recruitment and selection. All the senior managers in each restaurant report to the owner, however, he delegates tasks such as training, supervision and in some cases recruitment to the managers of each restaurant, who report back to him.

The four restaurants together have a total of seventy employees. Jason, who is the owner and majority share holder of the restaurant group and referred to as 'the boss' explained that he has two major groups of employees, people from Mannenberg and Zimbabwe. This means that of the people employed by the Cocoa group, the majority are people from either of these two places. When the restaurant was first opened, there were only four people; one gentleman who left the restaurant in the initial stages, Lucretia, a coloured lady from Mannenberg, together with the owner Jason, and his wife. The need for more staff resulted in Jason asking Lucretia if she knew, and could recommend someone to work in the restaurant. Lucretia referred her

cousins and immediate family members to Jason, resulting in a growth in the number of employees from Mannenberg.

At the initial stages, the workforce was completely made up of people from Mannenberg. Soon after the restaurant opened, Jason met Ethen Bere, who at the time was seeking a job using the 'door to door' method, where he would walk to different places and submit his CV. After a short interview Ethen was hired, and twenty days after he arrived from Zimbabwe, he became the first Zimbabwean person to be employed by Cocoa. As the restaurant became more popular, the need for employees increased. Ethen was tasked to refer people for possible employment, in the same way that Lucretia had done. He was given the additional role of interviewing and assisting in hiring. Ethen began to refer and his family and other relatives to Cocoa. This soon expanded to hiring other Zimbabweans in general. Ethen states that for a period after he arrived, and while he was involved in hiring, there were only Zimbabweans being hired. The number of Zimbabwean employees increased rapidly, in the following months and years. When asked to estimate, the employees interviewed in this study all expressed that over half of the employees currently at Cocoa are Zimbabwean. It can be seen that the workforce has transformed into one that increasingly comprised migrants from Zimbabwe in addition to those from Mannenberg. To date, Mannenberg and Zimbabwe are still the major groups of employees but there has been an insertion of employees from Malawi, Zambia and very few local Xhosa men or women.

The discussion will now focus on the different factors found to affect the ability of Zimbabwean migrants to access the job market, and the formation of ethnic niches in the Cape Town restaurant industry. The findings are presented in such a way that they address how job search methods, social and family networks and recruitment/employer practices function (albeit in different ways and to different extents) through aspects relating to the migrants personal and educational background, migration and employment history, social activities and residential location.

4.2 Personal Background

The growth of the immigrant population in South Africa can be attributed to a number of reasons including political and economic reasons. In many cases migrants are fleeing economic instability or war in their countries of origin, and are in search of a better life. South Africa is a favourable destination because it promises opportunities to work, to live freely and to make a living. Amidst these reasons or 'push and pull factors', personal history has been found to have an essential role. Personal history refers to where one was born and raised, and details of how and where they lived. It also includes family structure and relationships, as well as details of family members' occupation and location. Personal history is important because it is the basis of family networks and social networks, which are an important source of social capital (Lin, 1999).

Prior to migrating, people often rely on pre-migration networks, which are connections with earlier migrants (Vertovec, 2002). These connections are important because they provide many resources including information about technical and legal procedures, emotional support, and economic support, administrative help and significantly, job prospects (Vertovec, 2002). The resources are necessary to mitigate the cost and risks associated with migration. In addition to this, these resources affect the economic outcomes of migrants. It has been argued that the most important sources of these resources have been family networks (Boyd, 1989; George & Tsang, 2000; Hao & Johnston, 2000; Short & Johnston, 1997). In line with this, Enock stated pointed out:

"…You know what they say is that if you have someone you know in South Africa, it's very easy to get a job, it's very easy to get a place to stay and even to travel, so you just have to know someone. If you don't know anyone, it will be very hard because you need assistance for everything including crossing the border to finding a place to stay and getting a job…"

Enock found that someone in his position, who had a relative or a contact in South Africa before moving, was better off than someone without a contact. This is because with a contact, he found it is easier to get a job, to find accommodation, to travel and

he had emotional support to help him manage the culture shock. The reason is that these contacts already possessed the useful information that he as a newcomer did not have yet. Whereas as a newcomer with no relationships, has to discover everything on their own, which is difficult and takes time. This was what Enock's brother experienced when he Cape Town, because he was a newcomer with no relatives, friends or contacts.

Similarly for Ethen, the choice of South Africa, out of all the other neighbouring countries, was based on the fact that he had existing relations in Cape Town. Ethen's cousin brother had relocated to South Africa to look for a job. This cousin had actually found a job so was already working in a restaurant. As a result, Ethen received accommodation, information about how to search for a job, where to look and what kind of job to look for. It was the same for Tendai who although coming for school, only came to South Africa because he had a cousin here who provided him with technical and legal information and emotional support.

Moreover, in the case of Enock, Bongani and Ethen, their brothers provided essential support for job prospects, in ways that will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sections. A common theme that emerged from their responses was how having family that was already established here provided relevant job search information, information on industries to approach, access to employment through vouching and referral hiring or information about how to navigate recruitment systems. Additionally, those with family had access to free accommodation.

These family networks are useful because the respondents were born and raised in a society which has family structures that regard cousins and other extended family as 'brothers' or immediate family, and one that values familial relationships. This makes for stronger ties. This is significant because it has been proposed that access to resources in networks depends on the nature of individuals' ties in the network (Lin, 1999). Those who benefit most are presumably those with strong and reliable ties, such as but not always family ties. With close family structures, the respondents' connections are presumably more reliable, so they are able to benefit from family networks, which are argued to be the most important source of social capital for migrants (Boyd, 1989; Lin, 1999).

In addition to this, in a study of the economic experiences of Iranian migrants' in the United States, it was found that family ties provided migrants with social capital, which had a significant influence on economic outcomes such as the time taken in finding initial employment and income of the immigrant as well as changes in the occupational status (De Martirosian, 1997). A similar pattern emerges when studying the experiences of the respondents in this paper.

In some cases, you have people migrating, relying on the word of a friend who promises to receive them and help them. However, as soon as they arrive this friend is not reachable, or denies responsibility, leaving them helpless and with no access to the resources they need to navigate the new system. This ultimately results in poor economic outcomes for the new immigrant. Thus illustrating how the nature of the networks determines the amount of social capital that a migrant has. The stronger and more reliable ties, the more social capital they provide, and the more positive the outcome. In this case, it is evident that family networks were indeed beneficial for the migration, job prospects and economic outcomes of migrants.

This paper asserts that personal background and history provides social capital through family networks. Moreover, family networks as argued by the literature, play an important role in the migration decision, through provision of resources such as information on job prospects and assistance with access to employment. Based on this assertion, a link can be drawn between personal history as a function of family based pre-migration networks, and access to employment.

It can tentatively be said at this point, in response to the some of the questions asked above, that networks are formed through personal background and history. In this case, family networks are comprised of an individual's family structure, the family relationships, siblings or cousins, the location and occupations of family members. It can also be said that family networks lead to jobs because they provide social capital, which are the resources necessary for entry into the job market and positive economic outcomes. Social capital is not restricted to family networks, but can also be found in broader social networks, which will be discussed in subsequent sections.

4.3 Educational Background

It has been argued that migrants are at a disadvantage in the labour market because they possess lower education levels than natives, compounded with their inability to speak the language of host countries and their lack of work experience or educational qualifications commensurate to those required in the host countries (Friedberg, 2000). While this may be true in other societies, it is questionable in the discussion of Zimbabweans in South Africa.

An International Labour Organization (ILO) report on the work experiences of just over one hundred Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, drawn from a survey of eight hundred and ninety African migrants, indicated that in comparison to other nationalities, Zimbabweans are the highest (57%) nationality with people who are educated above high school level, with just below 30% in possession of tertiary education qualification (Mosala, 2008:11). Moreover, Zimbabweans are believed to have the advantage of receiving education based on the British model of 'O' and 'A' Levels. This model of education is considered to be of a very high standard (Mosala, 2008: 12). Another quality that is said to be an advantage for Zimbabweans is their ability to speak good English; in some cases they are argued to speak better than other nationalities and even locals (Mosala, 2008: 12).

It was found in this study that each respondent had a minimum of 'O' Level qualification. Bongani, although living in South Africa benefited from the Zimbabwean education system as he spent some of his foundational years at primary school in Zimbabwe. Although he did not do 'O' Levels, Bongani completed his matric, thus also attaining a recognized secondary school qualification.

All respondents reported to have completed 'O' Levels, with three out of the four having some form of tertiary qualification. Bongani completed his security qualifications training; Ethen holds a three year Marketing Diploma and Tendai has completed his Postgraduate Diploma in Marketing. These respondents attended schools that used English as the primary language, so are therefore all able to converse comfortably in English. With exception of Enock who can speak English but is not confident, respondents indicated that they are fluent English speakers.

Moroever Bongani is able to speak local South African languages including Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana and Venda so well that people often assume that he South African, until he tells them he is Zimbabwean.

It can be argued that Zimbabweans' educational background and their ability to speak English makes them desirable among employers and allows them easier access into the job market. It has been noted that despite their qualifications, Zimbabweans are less likely to be self-employed. This is argued to be because self-employment requires a well-established immigrant community, and having immigration status that allows you the legal right to work (Mosala, 2008). This is more prevalent with communities such as the Somali people who in most cases hold refugee permits, which allow them equal rights to South Africans citizens and have a well-established community in South Africa. This raises the issue of documentation and highlights that access to job market is not uniform, but changes according to industry and employment type. It is therefore important to differentiate between the employment types within the job market, as prescribed by the segmented labour theory, when discussing access to employment. It can be argued that the educational background and language proficiency that Zimbabweans have is only beneficial in specific industries such as hospitality and restaurant industry as examined in this case.

In this study, it was found that Zimbabweans working in Cocoa restaurants had characteristics that were desirable in the restaurant industry and characteristics required by the owner. This is evidenced in a comment made by the Jason, owner of the Cocoa Group.

'Ethen Bere was my first employee here; I met him purely by chance, he was coming down the street, he had a CV with him and he asked me if there was work. I found him to be a well-spoken guy, well-educated and he came across quite well…'

Moreover, the employees are aware that there are certain characteristics they need to exhibit in order to be hired in the Cocoa restaurants. This is because the employer places more emphasis on the culture and work ethic that exists in Cocoa restaurants more than the actual skills required for completing the tasks, which are taught on the

job. Ethen a manager at Cocoa restaurants, who was also in charge of recruitment, stated that:

'…Key competencies required for work in a restaurant are good communication, hard work, punctuality and the good work ethic judged by your commitment, effort and ability to learn fast. '

In addition to this, Tendai specified that to be employed at Cocoa, an individual had to be punctual, friendly, hardworking and reliable. Similarly, Bongani indicated that education levels have an impact on employment opportunities, because someone who went to school reasons and understands better than someone who is illiterate or does not have a qualification. Furthermore, Enock was required to write an exam that covered questions on customer service, coffee making, wines and serving food. Although what he had learnt on the job played a major role, his educational background and ability to read and write gave him an advantage and contributed to him passing the exam.

Although the skills required at Cocoa restaurants such as being hardworking, punctual or reliable are not directly related to education or language proficiency, it can be argued that those skills that are instrumental in access to the job through interview and test are. For example, a migrant initially has to provide a CV, attend an interview or write a test in order to get the opportunity to work. Moreover, a migrant is judged on his ability to interact with customers during probation. This is where language proficiency and education level make a difference. As a result, it can be said that immigrant characteristics, particularly the educational background that Zimbabweans have, is advantageous in accessing employment and excelling in the restaurant industry, especially in the Cocoa restaurants case.

4.4 Migration History

Migration history refers to the different places that respondents have lived in or travelled to, as well as their reasons for migrating up until their decision to settle in South Africa. This assists in the classification of migrants, which is an important

determinant for documentation and ultimately their ability to secure employment and the type of employment they can access. Migrant history in this study is conceptualized as the classification of migrants. The different classifications include shoppers, who are concerned with shopping for basic goods and food and return to Zimbabwe quickly; Traders, who move frequently between Zimbabwe and South Africa to buy and sell goods; transit migrants, who come to South Africa with the intention of moving to another country soon; Economic migrants, which includes both highly skilled and unskilled, who are often aiming to work in order to support struggling families in Zimbabwe (Mosala, 2008). Other categories include refugees, unaccompanied minors, humanitarian migrants and borderland residents (Mosala, 2008).

The 1995 Aliens Control Act also set out certain visa conditions with six different categories: tourist, business, work, and study, medical (coming into the country for medical treatment) and permanent resident (Minnaar, 2000:4; HRW, 2006). As a result, individuals pursuing immigration to South Africa, for economic reasons, have come in under very strict skills-based conditions (Minnaar, 2000). In most cases having a skill in short supply or the migrant classification an individual is given makes a difference. Those migrants who are classified as refugees, students, highly skilled economic migrants and legal shoppers, are considered legitimate and are able to acquire documents (Mosala, 2008).

On the other hand most humanitarian and economic migrants, traders, transit migrants and borderland residents are rejected or denied documentation in the form of permits that allow them to reside legally in South Africa (Mosala, 2008). This inability to secure relevant documentation limits the kind of employment a migrant can and will look for because they fear deportation and penalties that are given to illegal migrants. As a result, migrants who are skilled, but undocumented are unable to find employment in their line of work and end up working in low skilled jobs that are less regulated or the informal economy. However this makes these migrants easier to exploit (Azari, 2012: HRW, 2006).

Ethen had travelled to Botswana and South Africa to visit and to shop before deciding to migrate and settle in South Africa. The common discourse was that South Africa is

the land of opportunities, with a stable, growing economy. Moreover, Ethen's relatives and friends who had settled in South Africa would report positive things about South Africa and frequently send money back. This is how after being a 'shopper', Ethen decided to settle in South Africa as an economic migrant. Although holding a tertiary qualification, Ethen was unable to secure work in a car dealership.

'…I also remember going the opposite of a car wash, which was a car dealership, so you see the contrast-car wash, to trying to sell the cars. This is because I had this diploma of mine, which I had confidence in and I thought with a three-year diploma, these guys would say 'ok, well you learnt something you can sell cars here'.

Ethen goes further to explain the sentiments economic migrants, particularly those who are not documented hold and why they settle for employment that is not equal to their qualifications.

"I think it could be because of the fact that people probably are willing to take almost anything. Like I said when I looked for a job I said ok, even if I have this three year diploma of mine, I'm just trying to get started, so I will do whatever can get me started, then I look for something else that relates to what I did. So when I came to this restaurant job, I was saying ok, I'm at the restaurant job but I'm also looking for something elsewhere…I was also thinking, 'whatever, I just need to somewhere to start from, so whatever job, even the small jobs I could get, I would take. So I was shooting everywhere."

However, after ten years working at Cocoa restaurants, Ethen has been unable to find something that relates to his qualifications due to the barriers placed by documentation.

On the other hand, prior to settling in South Africa, Enock had not travelled to, or lived in any other countries outside of Zimbabwe. He knew nothing about South Africa before he came. His main reasons for leaving Zimbabwe were to reduce the financial burden on his mother, to support her and as to raise money for his studies. Enock chose South Africa because he already had two brothers here. As a result, Enock, like Ethen falls into the classification of an economic migrant.

In the case of Tendai, the story is different. Tendai's migration history is limited to his travels to South Africa. He had previously been to Durban on a school tour, during his time at Peterhouse School in Zimbabwe. He initially wanted to go to Canada but decided to settle in South Africa because he had cousins in Johannesburg and Cape Town. His cousin was also a student in Cape Town, at the University of Cape Town. Tendai officially moved out of Zimbabwe for the first time in 2008. He therefore holds a study permit, which allows him to work for a limited number of hours.

For Bongani, Durban, South Africa has been his home since he was born. However, he has previously travelled to Botswana, Namibia and Mozambique in 2008. These were short visits that he made for the purposes of youth and church conferences. Bongani was a member of Cornerstone church in Durban. He has also travelled to London to visit his older sister. In each country that he went to visit, Bongani did not spend more than a month without returning to South Africa. Bongani holds South African citizenship and is therefore able to work freely. However for Bongani, it is his educational qualifications that he thinks limit the kind of job that he can access.

"…Obviously where I need work, I use it [his South African citizenship] to my advantage. It depends on the job you are looking for though…it would need to be something very professional, something like government, working in a government department would require citizenship. I would have to go back to school and finish before I can apply for those jobs. The level of schooling makes a big difference in looking for professional jobs."

It is evident in this study that the type of classification a migrant is given matters for employment opportunities. Economic migrants in the case of Ethen and Enock are restricted to looking for and attaining work in unskilled employment, regardless of their qualifications, particularly in Ethen's case. However Bongani is in possession of relevant documentation, consequently educational qualifications are his biggest barrier to accessing employment of his choice.

4.5 Employment History

This section takes into account the different kinds of jobs the respondents have held before and while working at Cocoa restaurants. It goes further to examine the job search techniques and the different ways in which Zimbabweans have secured employment, in effect access the labour market. In this way, the questions, which address what methods migrants use to search for jobs and how the kind of method used affects employment outcomes, will be addressed.

A study on the work experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa reported that majority of the respondents found some form of employment (formal/informal) in a short period of time (Mosala, 2008:18). A 'short' period of time was defined as ranging from a few days to one year. Over 50% found jobs within a month of being in South Africa. Of the other 50%, slightly more respondents found jobs between two and six months rather than seven months or more (Mosala, 2008:18).

Moreover this research found that on arrival in South Africa, prior to their current job, 23% were unemployed and 50% were in unskilled jobs, while only 13% were in skilled and 14% in semi-skilled jobs (Mosala, 2008:18). According to the research, the skilled section involves professional jobs largely associated with the qualifications in their possession; such as lecturers, accountant, civil engineer and architect. Semi-skilled jobs are described as those that require a certain level of training and knowledge in that particular field, such as clerical work, call-centre operators and tutoring. Finally, unskilled jobs are those that require no experience or qualifications, for example: cleaners, car guards, bartenders, waiters and barbers (Mosala, 2008:18).

In the current study, it was found that for three respondents, work at the Cocoa Group restaurant as waiters was the first form of employment that they held in South Africa. Enock came straight from Zimbabwe, with no prior experience to working at Cocoa restaurants. Tendai came as a student, but opted to take a job at Cocoa in order to support himself; this was also his first job in South Africa. Likewise for Ethen, although he had been previously employed and self-employed in Zimbabwe, his first job in South Africa was as a waiter at Cocoa Group. Bongani had initially worked as a tutor in Cape Town, before taking a job as a chef at Cocoa. These respondents

therefore all hold unskilled jobs. It is interesting observation in the case of Ethen, that he was previously self-employed in Zimbabwe and was trained as Loans Officer, but he currently occupies an unskilled job. Drawing from the literature, this can be attributed to the difficulties that economic migrants face in securing the legal right to work, which allows them access to skilled jobs.

The job search techniques that migrants employed varied. In South Africa, Ethen said he started off by going to Internet cafes and looking on Gumtree and company websites, he would respond to advertisements by sending emails and his CV to different companies. Another job search method Ethen used was walking door to door, into different places, particularly restaurants to drop off his CV, in case there was a vacancy. Knowledge about some of these job search methods was acquired from his cousin, who advised him to use Gumtree. Ethen recalls that he looked for jobs at a car dealership, restaurants, a car wash and restaurants. Ethen came across Cocoa Wah Wah while walking in Rondebosch twenty days after he had arrived in South Africa. At Cocoa Wah Wah, Ethen met with the owner, who was in the process of starting up the restaurant. He gave the owner his CV and they spoke. On the next day, Ethen was asked to come for an interview offered a job as a baker. However, when he went for work, the owner said there had been a change of plan and required Ethen to work as a waiter. Ethen was the one of the first employees at Cocoa restaurants and the first Zimbabwean to work at Cocoa.

Tendai has held two jobs. In 2012, he worked as an intern at Southern Sun Hotel in Newlands. He got this job by making direct contact with the Human resources department and corresponding with them via email. Tendai's second job was at Cocoa, he spoke about the job search methods that Zimbabweans use and the way Zimbabweans secured their jobs at the Cocoa restaurants. To get the job at Cocoa, Tendai said that he was walking to Rondebosch shopping centre; on his way he walked past Cocoa Wah Wah and noticed a sign on the window. Cocoa Wah Wah was on the main road so it was an easy sign to spot, especially because he lived in Rondebosch. This sign was asking for any students or people looking to work part time as waiters, to apply for a job. Tendai prepared his CV and returned to Cocoa Wah Wah to submit it. He received a phone call from the owner after a few days, asking him to come in for an interview. Tendai went in for the interview and a few

days later, he received a phone call from the owner telling him that he had been successful and could come to start work.

Although he got his job through responding to an advertisement, he said that most Zimbabweans there got their jobs through word of mouth and referrals from Zimbabweans already working at Cocoa restaurants. In his experience, Tendai said that when there was a vacancy, employees would tell their friends about it and give them information about how to apply. In other cases, referrals were a popular method. He gave an example of a family of brothers that works at Cocoa Wah Wah. In this family the eldest brother came to Cape Town from Zimbabwe, after finding a job at Cocoa Wah Wah, he encouraged his other brother to come from Zimbabwe too. This brother was given a job, which prompted the youngest brother to come to Cape Town and work at Cocoa Wah Wah. In both cases, the initial brother would refer and vouch for his family members to the boss. Tendai also said that people get jobs by responding to advertisements on Gumtree, an online platform where various jobs are listed.

Bongani has worked at Edgars in sales, as a tutor, at the Durban Harbour and at fast food locations such as Chicken Licken. He is currently working at Cocoa Cha Chi. On his job search methods; Bongani specified that the way he looks for a job depend on the kind of job he is looking for. For low skilled jobs, such as working in a restaurant, he said that the only way is to walk in, ask if there are vacancies and submit your CV to the person involved. For other more formal jobs, he encourages looking for advertisements on the Internet and respond on the Internet but for most jobs, he says you can hear from people, receive the information, go there and drop your CV. Bongani said that walking into shops and restaurants, and speaking to people and asking for the person in charge of recruitment. This has usually resulted in the manager calling him back and inviting him for an interview. He has mostly done this in restaurants.

Working at Cocoa Cha Chi was Enock's first job. He had failed to secure a job in Zimbabwe after walking around town and submitting his CV at supermarkets and shops during 'walk in's'. Enock had also failed to secure a job as a temporary teacher, because he did not have the necessary qualifications. He therefore went from being a

student in Zimbabwe in 2012, to working as a waiter in South Africa in 2013. Enock did not actively search for his job at Cocoa. Enock's brother had already identified a vacancy at Cocoa Cha Chi and had spoken to the boss, saying that he had a brother (Enock) who was looking for a job. After arriving in South Africa, Enock's brother told him the next day to accompany him to work in order to meet the boss. After this meeting, where he just spoke to the boss about his employment history and answered a few questions, Enock got the job. He was therefore hired through referral hiring.

The current study has found that the respondents search for jobs by walking from door to door and dropping off their CV's ('walk ins'), through internet platforms particularly Gumtree and through their family or social networks, where they rely on job related information and word of mouth. The most successful methods are those that incorporate referral hiring. The experiences of the migrants in this study corroborate with research that has found that referral by a friend, family or connection in South Africa is the most common way Zimbabwean migrants find work (Mosala, 2008).

Moreover, it has been found that vouching is an important part of the process. In this case, it was not enough to just refer a friend to the owner of Cocoa in order for them to find a job, but for a better chance at success the current employee had to speak to the boss and assure him about the quality of the friend. Vouching is therefore an act that goes beyond sharing job information with a friend or family member, telling them to apply, or telling the boss that you know someone who can fill in the vacancy. It is a step further through requiring the referee to give a guarantee and a promise that the person who has been referred is suitable for the position, and will do the job well. In this study, it has been found that vouching goes hand in hand with referral, which is possibly why this method has proved to be a successful way of securing jobs for Zimbabwean migrants,

The respondent Tendai stated that these job search methods are successful in part because the owner of the restaurant is open to them. This is noteworthy because while the job search methods are important, the recruitment/employer practices are also significant, Referral hiring and vouching will only work if the employer allows it and encourages it. When Jason opened up the second restaurant in Observatory, Ethen

one of the respondents in this study became the person responsible for recruitment. When there was a need for more staff, Jason would ask Ethen to refer some people. Ethen began by referring his family members such as brothers and cousins, but soon began to refer his friends. Ethen confirms this in saying:

"…Well after me I remember my cousin came from Zim. I recommended him to my boss and vouched for him. Then each time there was an opening, also because of how my cousin demonstrated his work ethic, the boss would come to me and ask if I know anyone who needs a job. Then eventually I was a kind of 'point man' in terms of recruitment. Each time the boss wanted someone, I would do the interviews, I was doing the hiring you know, and so that's how eventually the hiring function got to work at the company."

Jason explained that he preferred the referral method of recruiting because he liked to have a point of reference for all the people he employs. A point of reference according to Jason is someone who can act as a referee and vouch for the prospective employee and be able to answer any questions about their background. It is currently still the preferred method of recruitment and selection. This is premised on the belief that referrals are a form of quality control because employees do not refer just anyone, for fear of looking bad, if the person they referred does not do the job properly. He made the following statement:

"…If somebody has been working for me for a long time, they will not just let anyone come in and work. Whereas if somebody comes in off the street, sure you can check references but you don't really know how the person will be. With guys who are linked, they will know each other, and the character of another. The culture in this shop is quite strong, so I have had guys ask if they can get their friends to work here and I say to them 'well you know what its like to work here, can they work here, will they survive? …I tell them this person you referred is on your head, they have got to work out, so they vet themselves before they have even come to me because a couple of bad apples can spoil everything."

Additionally, he believes that people who come in through referrals are more likely to stay longer, have the characteristics required to fit in with the work ethic at the

restaurant, be more trustworthy and would learn quicker. In an industry with an average employee retention rate of between three and six months, Jason has had retained over 50% of his employees for five years and above. He attributed this to the referral system of hiring, where employees will tell their friends about what is required at the restaurant, giving them a 'heads up' before referring them and arranging a meeting with the owner. In this way, new recruits who come through referrals come prepared, they know what is expected of them and will act accordingly. As a result, they are less likely to be fired. Aguilera (2003) found that those with access to social capital maintained jobs for a longer time than did those without such access or those who did not use personal networks. Aguilera proposed that it was the increased access to information gained through personal networks that facilitated a better match between employers and employees.

Additionally, the owner allows employees to determine if new recruits will stay on past the probation period, by giving them the opportunity to rate the potential employee and give their opinions. In this way, employees will only approve of people who exhibit the desirable characteristics. Another way of reinforcing this culture is by allowing restaurant managers to screen CV's received from 'walk in's', putting through only those they see fit.

Referral hiring has been found to play a crucial role in finding a job. More importantly, this study has found that access to the labour market requires an interplay and correct fit between the job search methods and the recruitment practices in the any specific industries. In this case, migrants who are currently working at Cocoa restaurants were able to secure their jobs through referral hiring because the employer places value on and encourages this method.

4.6 Social Activities

The job search methods outlined have been found in some cases to favour word of mouth and rely on both family and social networks. As aforementioned, family networks are derived through personal background and function to provide a migrant with social capital required when accessing the labour market. The following

discussion will go beyond family networks to examine social networks, how they function and how they are formed. This study presumes that various social activities facilitate the interaction of Zimbabweans, and therefore the formation and expansion of social networks.

George and Chaze (2009) found in their study that when faced with barriers in the labour market, new migrants from South Asia mobilized their ethnicity-based networks as a strategy to overcome the barriers. Likewise, Zimbabwean migrants rely heavily on social networks from Zimbabwe for accommodation and employment (Muzondiya, 2008). Zimbabwean migrants interviewed in a separate study in Pretoria indicated that they had got jobs through friends who had been in South Africa for much longer than them (Muzondiya, 2008). This was the same for respondents in this study with exception of Tendai; all three respondents relied on their family members for assistance with employment and initial accommodation. However in the case of Tendai, after securing a job for himself, he used was able to use social networks to assist a fellow Zimbabwean to find a job at Cocoa restaurants. This friend got a job as a waiter through Tendai. Tendai expressed:

'Yes I have, (assisted people to get jobs) through suggestions, referrals and giving advice and information based on my experience… I have assisted people I know to find jobs, for example I referred my friend to Cocoa Wah Wah, and he got a job. I also referred my friend to an internship program that I knew about, and told him how to apply. Both friends got the jobs.'

Recent studies on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa have proposed that social networks among Zimbabweans are mainly based on kinship and extended family ties (Muzondiya, 2008). These networks are maintained and extended through social visits, phone calls or family events (Muzondiya, 2008:9). The larger networks among Zimbabwean migrants are based on ethnicity, and the networks mobilize among prominent members of the group such as pastors or through Zionist churches, where migrants can socialize with people outside of their homes (Muzondiya, 2008).

Young Zimbabwean men are believed to establish their networks at pubs or clubs over weekends. Moreover, it has been proposed that social networking among

Zimbabwean migrants is facilitated through organizing weekend parties and braais, where Zimbabwean food is served and Zimbabwean music is played (Muzondiya, 2008). Football tournaments and weekly football activities called 'boozers soccer' also facilitate networking among both Zimbabweans and other nationalities. The football tournaments and games entertain and facilitate socialization among the respondents and spectators (Muzondiya, 2008).

It was found in this study that the restaurant industry is very busy and demanding. Employees who work full time usually only have one day of the week off. For many of the respondents social networking is therefore not a priority and they opt to rely and reinforce their family networks. However, Tendai indicated that he often he participates in social activities and goes to the movies, to pubs for drinks; attends parties and meets people to play video games. Similarly, Bongani often engages in social activities similar to those that have been discussed in other studies. Bongani plays for a soccer team called 'Zevolis' with Zimbabweans and other nationalities, and he also enjoys going for drinks in pubs with others. Bongani expressed:

"I play soccer a lot, like this morning I was playing soccer. Occasionally I like to drink because I like my beer as well. We talk sometimes and share information at times and help each other."

It has been found in this study that due to the demanding nature of the restaurant industry most respondents rely more on family networks than they do on larger ethnicity based networks. However it is evident that social networks for respondents in this study are formed and established through social activities including football, meeting at pubs and Zimbabwean gatherings. An observation that emerged from this study was that the residential location played a role in facilitating the expansion of networks. In the case of Bongani, he met a fellow Zimbabwean who assisted him to get the job at Cocoa, at the block of flats where he was living with his brother. Bongani went further to mention that there were many Zimbabweans living in that complex and although they are not related, they connect because they hear each other speak the same language. As a result, this study goes further to examine the residential location and history of migrants.

4.7 Residential History

The respondents in this study were found to all live in the formerly whites-only Southern Suburbs of Woodstock, Mowbray, and Observatory. These areas were selected for their safety in comparison to the townships and the Cape Flats areas, as well as their proximity to desirable places of work. In addition to this, Enock, Bongani and Ethen came to places of accommodation that had been established. This is because on arrival they lived with their relatives, who had been living in Cape Town. While the accommodation had been predetermined for the respondents, it affected the way in which they could search for jobs and access to the Cocoa restaurants.

The findings in other studies of migrants in the Gauteng region, where established migrants who have acquired land claims in informal settlements, put up plastic or tin wooden cabin rooms and they rent them out to new migrants (Muzondiya, 2008). In the case of this study, migrants share accommodation with friends and share room rentals and groceries. This is seen as a way to cut costs of food and costs and maximize on savings (Muzondiya, 2008). In other cases, established Zimbabweans migrants rent apartments from the owner, and then sublet to each other through putting signs on Gumtree or notice boards. The migrants' residential location can facilitate social networks as well as job search methods. At the same time, it has been found that Zimbabweans use their networks to find jobs. Bongani pointed this out and said the following:

"Zimbabweans know one another, just by socializing and communicating. They all know each other. It's a block of flats and there are many Zimbabweans staying there… I think the thing with people from Zimbabwe is that once one person starts staying there, you will see more of them coming because he will tell his people once there are available apartments to rent. So one person comes, somebody else will come and then they just multiply. The system reproduces itself. So when we realize that there are people who speak the same language, we start talking and socializing and then get know each other, building the network."

The following section will summarize the findings discussed to show how they are located within the theoretical framework of the study. The section will also discuss how the findings collectively relate to the research question and topic under study, and contribute to understanding how migrants become concentrated in various industries.

4.8 Concentration of migrants in the restaurant industry

Migrants have been able to use the social capital gained from their social and family networks, to benefit from job related information and access to jobs through referrals and vouching. In some cases, social activities and residential location of an immigrant contribute to the consolidation and expansion of networks that provide resources useful for access to employment. It was found that personal background and academic background provide migrants with characteristics that make them favourable among employers. Additionally, the employment history of an immigrant highlights the job search methods that an immigrant employs, which in turn has an effect on the type of jobs that can be accessed. These findings highlight that there are various factors that contribute to the formation of ethnic niches. Similar to what was found in the literature the findings in this study emphasize those factors including the immigrant's characteristics, the employer characteristics as well as broader structural factors found within the context of the industry under study, that affect the ability to access the labour market.

Moreover, a finding that emerged in this particular context was that the consolidation of migrants in this restaurant was due to the fact that when the restaurant was first opened; one of the first employees was Zimbabwean. As a result, the organisational culture and work ethic, was organised around him and the people from Mannenberg. Zimbabwean migrants therefore did not replace any local labour, but were taking advantage of a system that was developed in such a way that it favoured them. Consequently, it is the local people who are at a disadvantage, as they are perceived to not 'fit in' to the culture, resulting in their inability to retain or attain the jobs at Cocoa. Jason echoes this when he says:

"… We have had local people in before and they just did not gel with the culture. I suppose cause the culture started very much with me and Lucretia and I suppose actually in a way when you are international and you come looking for a job you just have to fit in don't you…. I suppose in hindsight, this culture that we had set up this culture with a bunch of coloured ladies about how we were going to do things, every male or female that came in after that, just bought into it and became a part of it. Whereas the local guys would have a very different point of reference, they would have worked somewhere else so if it were not what they like they would just say screw this place. The foreigners on the other hand would assimilate more and their friends would have prepared them beforehand, then they would know what to expect and they say that they want to work."

The way the Cocoa restaurants began, combined with other aspects outlined has contributed to the insertion of Zimbabwean migrants into the Cocoa restaurants. Based on these findings, the formation of ethnic niches in this study can be said to be as a result of a combination of factors that take into account the immigrant, the employer and the broader structural and institutional context. These findings can be located within network theories but also take into account the segmented labour market theory to explain how migrants access the labour market and how they become consolidated in specific industries. This ultimately culminates in a multidimensional approach to understanding the functioning of ethnic niches in the context of Zimbabweans working in the Cape Town restaurant industry.

Ultimately, the ethnic niche theory, segmented labour market theory and social network theory broadly describe the mechanisms that facilitate the concentration of migrants in specific industries. These theories set up the general framework to be used to examine this area of study. This research paper goes a step further to identify and assess the relationships between the various mechanisms, and to understand the processes that results in concentration of migrants in an industry. The research was interested in examining how these theories apply in a practical, everyday situation as well as bringing to the fore the various factors involved. The current study therefore identified a number of factors, (job search methods, employer/recruitment practices, social and family networks, immigrant characteristics), derived from the theories, that were used to provide insight into the way in which migrants access the job market. In

light of the findings, it is proposed that job search methods, employer/recruitment practices, social and family networks, an immigrant characteristics, function through aspects relating the migrants history, background and experiences, resulting in the access to the labour market and insertion of migrants into the restaurant industry. This has been found to be the process of how migrants in this case, have become concentrated in an industry. The case that was examined is therefore suitable to comprehend the historical, institutional and social context within which an immigrant niche develops.

4.9 Limitations

This research study would have largely benefited from a bigger sample size. The demanding nature of the restaurant industry made it difficult to find respondents who were willing to commit an hour to do an interview, because of their busy schedules and very little time allowed off. Another challenge that arose, particularly interviewing migrants was that they viewed interviews as unimportant because of the potential time wasted where they could be making extra money on a shift. The findings of this study can therefore not be generalized to the larger Zimbabwean immigrant population. However, these findings are very useful in raising pointers and identifying trends that can form the foundation of future studies.

A questionnaire survey would have enabled a statistically representative study of the industry. However it was the intention of this study to attain contextual information on the dynamics around migrant's access to the labour market, the purpose of which is best suited to qualitative methods. Moreover, the conceptualization and operationalization of concepts in this study, although derived from literature were largely done in a way that suited the findings of this study. This is because with large volumes of literature being from Canada, the United States or Europe, it was necessary to define concepts in a way that suited the South African context.

Chapter 5

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Scholars who have researched ethnic niches generally agree that an ethnic niche is a situation where migrants cluster in specific industries or occupations. Moreover, the studies on how ethnic niches function, particularly in a context similar to South Africa, are limited with most studies being exploratory or in progress. In light of this, a large amount of literature uses the network theory to explain the increased ability for migrants to access the job market and employment opportunities. Networks have been found to provide relevant channels of assistance for migration processes and access to the job market for new migrants. Networks are argued to be the medium that migrants use to share job related information, provide each other with support, notify others about opportunities and assist each other to get jobs through referral and vouching (Vertovec, 2002; Hofmeyr, 2010; Fong &Shen, 2010).

The concept of social capital is at the core of approaches that attribute ethnic niching to social or family networks. It is proposed that networks provide social capital, which is instrumental in improving life chances and access to employment. To access social capital required for securing jobs, migrants need to have social and family networks. Bourdieu (1986:248-249) states that social capital is the aggregate of 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 short, social capital is a combination of resources derived from a social group. Based on this, It can be asserted that membership to an ethnic group can provide resources necessary for entry into the job market.

Many scholars have therefore argued that migrants are able to access employment through the use of their social or family networks. Using this line of argument, an ethnic niche therefore emerges and is consolidated with the increase of new migrants using the same networks and accessing the resources (social capital) derived from those networks. While this approach provides a useful explanation for how migrants

access the job market, some scholars have argued that it does not account for how specific migrants access these jobs above locals and other nationalities.

Waldinger (1994:3) has put forward that unless there is an entirely new or rapidly expanding industry; migrants enter as replacements for, and are preferred above a previously established group. In the study of immigrant professional employees in New York City Government, Waldinger found that the making of an immigrant niche resulted from changes in the supply of native workers and in the structure of employment (Waldinger, 1994:3). He argued that the network theory explanation for the making of immigrant niches is insufficient, as it doesn't include broader structural factors. In light of this, it is proposed that no single theory is sufficient to entirely explain, how immigrant niches work or are formed. There is therefore need to take into account a combination of factors and theories.

This study was interested in the concentration of migrants in specific industries, which is termed ethnic niching. Observations of some restaurants in Cape Town revealed that there was a considerable number of Zimbabweans working as waiters or waitresses. In cases such the Cocoa restaurants, it was noted that Zimbabweans constituted the majority of foreign employees, and up to half of the entire work force. Having noted this concentration of Zimbabweans in some restaurants, questions arose around how these concentrations are formed. Central to this study was therefore an examination of how Zimbabwean migrants access the labour market, with a focus of Zimbabweans employed in the Cape Town restaurant industry at Cocoa restaurants. Drawing from the literature reviewed, the current study recognized that there were a number of factors that had to be looked at, in order to develop a full picture of how migrants access the labour market and ultimately for niches. The study therefore looked at the following factors; personal background, educational background, employment history, social activities, migration history and residential location and history, to examine the way in which the theories work. A broad range of topics was chosen to allow for an understanding located within each respondent's context. A holistic approach to understanding immigrant entry into the job market is important for capturing the nuances of this multi-dimensional topic.

It was found in this study that social capital, social and family networks, job search techniques, recruitment practices and migrant characteristics were factors that functioned through the contextual variables to facilitate migrants access to the job market. Migrants were found to benefit from the resources of others, most notably information and influence. Within their social or family network, people were found to be able to provide migrants directly with information about jobs that are available, and they can give valuable information about where to look for jobs in general, how to present themselves for employers, and how to behave on the job (Aguilera and Massey, 2003. In addition to this, the contact person was found to be able to influence the job-matching process by facilitating entrance into desirable occupations (Lin, 2005). This is how referral hiring was found to work in this study.

Ethnic networks therefore have been instrumental in helping migrants obtain jobs, although these networks have largely been in the informal sector (Bauder, 2005; Livingston, 2006). As a result, when other migrants hear about these success stories and how other their fellow country people secured employment through social and family networks, they seek similar jobs (Sanders, 2007). The migrants are then assisted in this process through helpful advice to apply and prepare for these jobs. This will continue as long as the employer allows it and finds the characteristics shown by these migrants to be favourable. The result is therefore a concentration of migrants of the same ethnic group in the same workplace, and eventually industry. This is how there has come to be a concentration of Zimbabwean migrants in the Cocoa restaurants in the Cape Town. This study would therefore like to suggest that there is a relationship between migrants' access to the labour market and the following factors; job search methods, social and family networks as well as recruitment practices. Group affiliations therefore do have a substantial influence in the labour market entry of co-ethnic members, and ultimately the formation of ethnic niches.

Another factor that came into play was the classification that migrants received by immigration officials, based on their understanding of immigration legislature. Those who came in as economic migrants faced the challenges of securing documentation that allowed them the legal right to live and work in South Africa. This in turn affected the kind of jobs these migrants could apply for, and restricted them to the less

regulated unskilled jobs, regardless of the qualifications or level of education they had attained. The agency of the migrants is therefore limited by these structural factors.

While there appears to be a strong relationship between the factors discussed and immigrant's access to the job market, it can be argued that the reliance on family and ethnic based social networks actually restricts migrants. These networks limit what kind of jobs migrants can get, to those that their family or friends hold, resulting in little chance of upward mobility. It is possible that if migrants extended their social networks to include locals and other nationalities, their access to the job market could be broadened. This is a potentially interesting area for further exploration.

Moreover, this particular area of study, which examines how Zimbabwean migrants access the South African labour market is limited and thus necessitated an explorative study. Although it identified key trends, future studies could benefit from looking more directly at the different aspects that have been found in this study, and how they specifically facilitate access to employment. This study was also unable to look at the experiences of female migrants. Although Cocoa Restaurants employ female migrants, the attempts made to secure interviews with these females were unsuccessful. This was because the females approached had children and families to support. They were therefore unable to give one hour before starting work to be interviews because it coincided with the time they took children at school. It would be useful to study how these findings vary according to gender, and gain the insights of female migrants. Particularly because the area of female migration is expanding as scholars begin to acknowledge that women are actively involved in migration. It could also be useful and informative to look comparatively across different kinds of restaurants in various locations in order to examine the extent to which migrants are concentrated in the restaurant industry in general.

6. Appendices

A. References

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B. Informed Consent Form

Masters Dissertation

Informed Consent

Project background

African Migrations and Employment in South Africa

This research project looks at how Zimbabwean migrants access the job market in South Africa in Cape Town, with a focus of those who are concentrated in the restaurant service sector of Cape Town. I am trying to find out what your experiences and problems are as migrants. I am particularly interested in the ways in which migrants find out about jobs, apply for jobs and ultimately secure employment.

Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. The interview will be recorded and transcribed. Your name and other identifiers will be kept confidential and will not be used in any reports or publications.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me, Tikwiza Silubonde at SLBTIK001@myuct.ac.za

I understand the purpose of this research and agree to participate.

_____   _____   _____
Interviewee   Date   Interviewer

C. Interview Schedule

Semi structured interview schedule

Personal History

1. Can you tell me where you are from?

2. Please tell me about your experience growing up in your country of origin (did you go to school, what level was completed, qualifications etc)

3. What was your life like in your country of origin (this seems vague to me. What is the aim of this topic?)

General Migration History

4. Please tell me your migration history from when you were born to the present day? (Note: prompt for year of move, specific place names)

5. In what kind of places have you lived or settled in? (Note: prompt for specific characteristics of the settlements and housing. Also prompt for jobs held or other main activity at specific places, such as schooling)

6. Can you tell me what have been your reasons for leaving your country/migrating? (Note: try to distinguish both the reasons for leaving a place and the reasons for choosing the destination)

7. How has been your experience with migration?

8. Please tell me what kind of things or assistance you needed in your migrations?

9. Who did you rely on in your migrations (family, friends, relatives), if any?

Migration to South Africa

10. What would you say are the reasons for your choice to settle in South Africa?) (Note: remember to distinguish between the reasons for leaving Zimbabwe from the reasons for choosing to settle in SA

11. Tell me about your experiences when entering South Africa.

12. How have your encounters with the South African state been? How do you experience the Department of Home Affairs? (Challenges with state institutions are often brought up in responses on work place challenges, documentation and interaction with colleagues and the general public)

13. Could you tell me about your positive experiences in the time you have lived in South Africa? Probe for details- what made it positive

14. Could you tell me about your negative experiences in the time you have lived in South Africa? Probe as above - What are your greatest problems in South Africa? Eg. lack of income, discrimination, treatment by police or neighbors or strangers, hunger, housing etc

15. Has there been a change from your initial experiences in SA and presently? In what way has it changed and why?

Understanding Networks

16. What did you know about the places that you migrated to?

17. Did you know anyone before moving here? (Social networks - family living or working here (cousins/aunt/uncle etc)?

18. Do you have family who lived/worked in SA?) – if yes probe into ways in which the network has enhanced initial experiences/ settling down in SA.

19. Do you participate in social activities such as church/religious affiliations, sport teams, organisations etc)?

20. Which local networks (church, shelters, ngo's, etc) if any, have you relied on?

21. How have these networks/the absences of a network furthered/hindered the process of finding a place to stay, work, encounters with DHA, etc.

22. How do you like to spend your free time?

23. How do you experience your neighbourhood? (are neighbours/the community friendly? Feel safe? Probe into previous places of residence. Interviewees evaluation of past places)

Employment Experiences

24. What did you do in your home country? (Probe for occupation and means of survival)

25. Have you been employed before? (Probe: for how long, how many times, reasons for leaving those jobs).

26. Please tell me about the ways you look for jobs? (Probe, how long does it usually take, job search methods, locations, resources)

27. What do you currently do? (Present occupation). Probe into whether there are multiple livelihood strategies.

28. How did you get this (current) job? (Probe: experiences, see how networks might fit here/the relationship, referral hiring)

29. Can you tell me about the ways in which you have assisted others you know to find jobs? (Probe: referrals to employer or another place)?

30. How do you experience your current job? Colleagues? Work milieu? Relationship with supervisors/boss.

D. Respondents Storylines

The following storylines are derive from the interview transcripts and based on the interviews conducted with the Zimbabwean employees at Cocoa restaurant, as part of the data gathering process of this study. This description also makes use of details given in the biographical data checklist completed by the respondents.

Tendai

Personal Background

Tendai is a single 25-year-old Zimbabwean male. He was born and raised in Harare Zimbabwe. Tendai is the only child of his parents. His father is an engineer and lives in Zimbabwe, while his mother is a nurse living in the United Kingdom. Tendai is close with his cousins, who he considers to be his brothers and sisters.

Tendai grew up in a comfortable brick house with his mother and father, in a neighbourhood called Borrowdale. His mother left for the UK over ten years ago. She went to go and work. Tendai did not spend much time at home because he was sent to boarding school early. He spent most of his time with his cousins who lived in a brick house in the comfortable suburb of Highlands, Harare.

Educational Background

Tendai was sent to boarding school when he was nine years old to start his Grade 4. He spent Grade 4 to Grade 7 of primary school called Ruzawi in Marondera. This was a private school. He attended Peterhouse Boys School for high school; this was an all-boys private school in a town called Marondera in Zimbabwe. At Peterhouse, he completed both his O and A Levels.

Tendai received a high standard of education, with all required facilities and the best resources available to him. In 2008, Tendai came to Cape Town to start his studies at the University of Cape Town. He completed both his undergraduate and postgraduate studies at UCT. He holds a postgraduate Diploma in Tourism Management.

Tendai is fluent in English and speaks Shona, an official Zimbabwean language.

Migration History

Tendai's migration history is limited to his travels to South Africa. He had previously been to Durban on a school tour, during his time at Peterhouse School in Zimbabwe. He initially wanted to go to Canada but decided to settle in South Africa because he had cousins in Johannesburg and Cape Town. His cousin was also a student in Cape Town, at the University of Cape Town. in 2008, was the first time he officially moved

out of Zimbabwe. His cousin facilitated his move, making sure he had somewhere to stay, helping him to enrol in school and providing him with information regarding immigration and travelling to Cape Town.

Employment History

While in South Africa, Tendai has had two jobs. In 2012, he worked at the Southern Sun Hotel in Newlands for six weeks. Tendai was an intern. This was a temporary placement, in fulfilment of requirements for his Postgraduate Diploma. The course required that he gain experience in the Tourism Industry in any place of their choice. To get the job at Southern Sun, Tendai made contact with the Human Resource Department of the Hotel Group. He found the contact details for this department on the Hotel Group's website on the Internet. He proceeded to send an email to the address that had been provided. The response he received contained contact details of the General Managers Secretary who was the correct person to contact for the job. Tendai corresponded with her through email, sending her his credentials and was fortunate to get the placement; he followed up the email correspondence with a phone call to make sure of all the details. Tendai did not go for an interview to get this job and believes he got this job because of the reputation of his institution and because the Hotel would occasionally accommodate interns.

To get to work, Tendai would either take a minibus taxi or walk to work, which took him fifteen minutes, because he lived in the Rondebosch area, which is close to Newlands. His job was unpaid and entailed rotating through the different departments. Tendai reported directly to the General Manager's secretary, who also had the role of Induction Manager. He describes her as nice and helpful but very tough. His face-to-face encounters with his manager were very few because their shifts did not coincide, so he communicated with her using email. In this role, she was in charge of overseeing all newcomers in every area in the hotel such as maintenance and kitchen staff.

Tendai found the employees that he interacted with to be friendly, with an accepting and welcoming nature. Despite their busy schedules, they would assist him when he needed help. The workforce comprised of mainly South Africans, with exception to those working in the banqueting department, who he said were predominately Zimbabweans. Tendai says that the banqueting staff including the Head of the banqueting team was outsourced, so they did not go through the same recruitment channels as the house keeping staff, the kitchen staff, maintenance staff or the managerial position.

Tendai said that Southern Sun Newlands followed an internal recruitment strategy. He explained that when there is a vacancy, a notice would be put on a staff board that is accessible to everyone in the hotel. After this, they will advertise on their website internally, before putting the advert out to the general public. In this way, positions are initially reserved for hotel staff; this process excludes the outsourced staff because they do not have access to the employee portals or notice boards as they report to different people.

The second job that Tendai held was as a waiter at Cocoa Wah Wah, where he worked for three years. Tendai said that he was walking to Rondebsoch shopping centre, on his way he walked past Cocoa Wah Wah and noticed a sign on the window. Cocoa Wah Wah was on the main road so it was an easy sign to spot, especially because he lived in Rondebosch. This sign was asking for any students or people looking to work part time as waiters, to apply for a job.

Tendai prepared his CV and returned to Cocoa Wah Wah to submit it. He received a phone call from the owner after a few days, asking him to come in for an interview. Tendai went in for the interview and a few days later, he received a phone call from the owner telling him that he had been successful and could come to start work. As a waiter, Tendai worked in the front of the restaurant and he worked mostly day shifts, but he took some night shifts as well. His tasks included taking orders from customers, serving tables, bringing food, making coffees, collecting money, clearing tables and cleaning.

At Cocoa Wah Wah, Tendai says that work was divided into two shifts; day and night shift. The employees were divided between these two shifts. Tendai specifies that the day shift staff were predominately South African employees, who lived in areas such as Athlone and Mannenberg. These employees lived with their families and in most cases; they would have grown up there. At the time that Tendai worked, the night shift staff of five to ten employees, depending on the night, consisted entirely of Zimbabweans. These Zimbabwean employees lived in areas closer to the Cocoa restaurants such as Woodstock, Mowbry or Observatory. He therefore presumed that they took the night shift because they did not have to travel far to go home. In addition to this being migrants, many did not have their entire families with them so had no obligation to go home early. They could therefore work night shift without worrying about family obligations unlike those from Mannenberg. Moreover, Tendai said that the Zimbabweans opted to live in these areas because of the convenience of location, because town and places of employment were close, and it cut down on transportation costs.

Tendai spoke about the job search methods that Zimbabweans use and the way Zimbabweans secured their jobs at the Cocoa restaurants. Although he got his job through responding to an advertisement, he said that most Zimbabweans there got their jobs through word of mouth and referrals. In his experience, Tendai said that when there was a vacancy, employees would tell their friends about it and give them information about how to apply. In other cases, referrals were a popular method. He gave an example of a family of brothers that works at Cocoa Wah Wah. In this family the first brother came to Cape Town from Zimbabwe, after finding a job at Cocoa Wah Wah, he encouraged his other brother to come from Zimbabwe too. This brother was given a shop, which prompted the last brother to come to Cape Town and work at Cocoa Wah Wah. In both cases, the initial brother would refer and vouch for his family members to the boss. Tendai also said that people get jobs by responding to advertisements on Gumtree, an online platform where various jobs are listed.

According to Tendai, the reason these methods of recruitment work is because the owner is open to them and allows them. The owners primary concern is the person as an individual and if they will be able to do the job. This is why part of the recruitment process involves an interview, where he can assess if the person looking for a job is

suitable or not. Moreover, the owner prefers word of mouth and referrals from his current staff because he believes that the staff will only vouch for people they know already have the characteristics required at the restaurant. The example Tendai gave for this was how when he was working at Cocoa Wah Wah, the owner approached him and asked him if there were any people he knew who could be recommended for the job. Tendai referred his friend, who he knew would be able to fit into the workplace. After meeting with the owner, the friend that Tendai referred was hired. To Tendai this is indicative of the owner's preferred approach and his preference for a credible reliable source for new employees.

Tendai specified that the qualities required to work in a restaurant were not necessarily related to educational background. Instead, he said that the owner preferred people who came referred by Cocoa staff, were punctual, friendly, hardworking and reliable. As a result of the referral system, Tendai said that people were most likely to stay on in the job longer. This is reflected in that although there have been changes in the staff; the core has stayed the same. Those Zimbabweans, who do leave the restaurant, do so only to return home after having reached their goals and saved enough money in South Africa. According to Tendai many Zimbabweans come here in order to find work, save money and support their families back in Zimbabwe, thus being here is a temporary arrangement. After they have done this, they return home as is been the case with those who have left Cocoa Wah Wah.

Tendai believes that finding employment is difficult for foreigners because of the challenges of documentation. The correct paperwork is not easy to get and the corruption and his view general incompetence that takes place at Home Affairs present huge obstacles to getting the correct documentation. He says that for a foreigner to secure a job, it is usually because the employer is willing to take you regardless of your documentation status, whether or not you are in possession of a valid work permit. It is usually not only because of your qualifications, unless it is proven that you are the best qualified for the job. Tendai says that this also depends on the kind of job. A desk job would require someone with corresponding educational qualifications in addition to the correct documentation. Low skilled jobs on the other hand rely on experience and the nature of the employer. In light of this he supposes that people only apply for jobs where they think they are likely to get one. These reasons are why you can see Zimbabweans with high educational qualifications working as waiters, because they do not posses the correct documentation and are therefore confined to applying to low skilled jobs.

The issue of documentation is one Tendai believes plays a big role in employment chances. He says that to work in a job that requires high skill, you need a work permit, permanent residence permit or citizenship. At Cocoa, the employer required employees to have documentation that allows them to work but he was willing to help those without. The employer would give employees the supporting documents to aid in their applications.

In addition to this, Tendai holds the opinion that the job search methods and access are key to securing employment. This is because to get to get a job through word of mouth and referrals, one needs to have access to someone in that particular industry, who can vouch for them and speak to the employer on their behalf. Without this, they will never know about those job openings or be invited for interviews. Moreover, for

those with limited access to Internet, they will miss out on opportunities that are placed on web based platforms; this automatically confines them to searching on notice boards and local newspapers, which usually only give information on low skilled jobs.

Personally, Tendai has tried to look for a job include using online platforms like Gumtree, Linked In as well as hearing about jobs from people and applying where he has been directed. Tendai has also assisted people in these networks with job search information, some of who actually secured the jobs. He has done this by referring people to his own employer if there is a vacancy, for example as aforementioned; he helped a friend get a job at Cocoa Wah Wah. He has also given information to a friend about a vacancy at a place where he was connected, and new the details of what was required. This friend also got the job. Tendai occasionally shares information about jobs with his friends, suggesting methods based on his experience such as going directly to the people in charge of recruiting, word of mouth and relying on referrals.

Working in a restaurant was Tendai's primary source of income. Apart from that, he would attend school. He had to stop working at the restaurant because he was increasingly unable to balance the demands of his academics and his work responsibilities. Tendai said that for some working in the restaurant is coupled with other activities. One employee from Zimbabwe he said would work at the restaurant during night shift and would attend classes and study with UNISA, and another who was also studying at UCT while working as a waiter.

Tendai found work in the restaurant to be very interesting and rewarding, although it was demanding. Some of the positive things include meeting a diverse group of people and learning about other people's cultures. It was difficult for him initially because of the cultural differences and language barrier between him and the local South Africans. He said that they would often speak Afrikaans, which he doesn't understand, so he would feel excluded. Tendai thinks that this cultural difference could be one of the reasons that Zimbabweans all opted to take one shift together, while the South Africans took another shift.

Social Activities

In Cape Town, Tendai engages in a variety of social activities, through which he has established different networks. He often goes to the movies, goes to pubs for drinks, parties and meets people to play video games. As a result, he has met different kinds of people who have assisted him in finding accommodation when he was moving, helped him academically and even financially. These networks have proved useful in providing job search information. He recalls being told about an online job search platform 'PNet' that he previously did not know about. Although he hasn't found a job through it, he has found some good opportunities on this website, and knows many people who have found jobs through it.

Tendai has generally had good experiences in South Africa. He loves living in Cape Town and thinks it is a great city. As a result, he does not want to leave and would rather stay here that return to Zimbabwe. He says that Cape Town is his first priority and only if forced will he move to other countries outside of Africa. Although

initially, the cultural shock and language barrier were problems, he learnt to overcome this and has learnt cultural sensitivity. His highlights include working at Cocoa Wah Wah were he learnt about a good work ethic and how to interact with people. He has had minimal interaction with the police, and his only bad experiences have been alcohol related.

Residential History

On arrival in Cape Town, Tendai was allocated one of the residence accommodations at the University of Cape Town. He lived in Leo Marquard Hall in Rondebosch. He lived there throughout his studies, from 2008 to 2012. Tendai currently lives alone in a one bedroomed flat in Mowbry, Cape Town. This block of flats is located near the Main Road and the Mowbry shopping centre. It is very accessible to public transport and near to the city centre.

Bongani

Personal background

Bongani is a single 28-year-old male of Zimbabwean origin. Bongani has one son. He was born in Durban South Africa, to Zimbabwean parents. Bongani is a South African citizen although he identifies himself as Zimbabwean based on his culture, values and family background. Bongani comes from a family of five. His father is an engineer who works for Transnet in Durban. His mother is a housewife and also lives in Durban.

His eldest sister was born in Zimbabwe but his older brother and himself was born in Durban, South Africa. His sister left Durban and moved to the UK about nine or 10 years ago, in 2004, where she is now working as a therapist. His brother moved to Cape Town about 6 years ago in 2007. His brother was at school in Cape Town, but returned to Durban after completing his university. He then moved back to Cape Town to look for a job. He is now a lecturer at the Cape Peninsular University of Technology (CPUT) in Cape Town.

In Durban, Bongani lives in a house in a neighborhood called Morningside. The house is a company house and it is a rent to buy situation. His parents have lived there for so long they basically own the house. The community there is mostly Transnet employees, so Bongani grew up and went to school with children of Transnet employees.

Migration History

Durban, South Africa has been Bongani's home since he was born. However, he has previously travelled to Botswana, Namibia and Mozambique in 2008. These were short visits that he made for the purposes of youth and church conferences. Bongani was a member of Cornerstone church in Durban. He has also travelled to London to visit his older sister. In each country that he went to visit, Bongani did not spend more that a month without returning to South Africa. While residing in South Africa, Bongani and his family would visit Harare, Zimbabwe occasionally. The last time Bongani lived in Zimbabwe was in 2008, for approximately three months.

Educational Background

Although born in Durban, Bongani completed Grade 2 to Grade 4 of his primary school education in Zimbabwe. He attended Prospect Primary School, in Waterfalls, Harare. In 1996, Bongani moved back to Durban from Zimbabwe to do Grade 5 to Grade 7 at Addington Primary School. He attended Morningside High School in Durban; this was a local government run school. It was a neighborhood school, so he could walk to school. He completed Grade 12 and matriculated in 2002.

After matriculating Bongani was living at home in Durban with his parents so he decided to enroll for a degree in Environmental Science at the University of Kwazulu Natal, but he dropped out within a year. He has no particular reason why he chose not to complete his degree, but says that he lost interest because it was distance learning and he did not have the discipline to study on his own. In addition to this, he would

travel frequently with his church or visiting relatives so he could not fit studying in his schedule.

Bongani can converse comfortably in seven languages, including Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana, Venda, Shona and English. This makes it easy for him to get along with locals and employers alike.

Employment History

After completing his matric, he worked at Edgars in Durban city. This he describes as his first formal job. He got this job by walking into Edgars during the festive season, and asking the shop employees how he can get a job and who he can speak to. He was referred to the person in charge of hiring, who he spoke to and was asked to bring a CV the next day. After bringing his CV, Bongani was asked to come back for an interview after two days. He went through two interviews, before being offered a job as a sales assistant in the men's section. He was appointed as casual staff and was paid every Friday, for the duration of the festive season.

Bongani's second job was as a security guard for cash in transit vans in Durban, for three years from 2004 to 2007. Bongani found out about this job through a Zulu friend from Morningside, who was working in this job. It was this friend who told Bongani what to do to get the job which included going for security training, registering with the Security Board (SIRA) and being accredited with a SIRA number.

Bongani enrolled with a college to complete his security training. The college was called Bambanani Security Academy, owned by a group of Indian men in Durban. The security academy was in town and he could either take a taxi from home in Morningside to town, or walk fifteen to twenty minutes. After completing his training, his friend told him which company to approach and who to approach to apply for a job. When Bongani arrived at the office, he told the receptionist that he wanted to drop off his CV and she pointed out the guy who takes CV's. Bongani dropped off his CV and proof of security accreditation and registration, which is a requirement for people working in security.

The third job Bongani was as a part time tutor at a college in Cape Town, where he helped to teach English online. The owner of the college was a Ugandan man, who was a lecturer at CPUT, with Bongani's elder brother. Bongani's brother vouched for him and referred Bongani to his colleague and arranged a meeting between them. Bongani went into town to the college with his CV and had a meeting with the owner, after which he was offered the job. He states that bringing the CV was just a formality because after speaking with the owner he knew he already had the job.

Bongani is currently working at Cocoa Cha Chi restaurant in Observatory. He is part of a 70-employee workforce; half of whom he says is Zimbabwean and other foreign nationals. In rank order, Bongani says that the Zimbabweans dominate in number, followed by the coloured people from Mannenberg, and approximately 5 Xhosa people. Bongani has noted an increase in Zambians in the restaurant, mentioning that one of the managers is Zambian so he is now bringing his own people in.

Bongani was talking to a workmate at the tutoring college, when he found out that this colleague would work in the mornings as a tutor and then go to the Cocoa Cha Chi for the night shift. He became interested in finding a job at Cocoa Cha Chi and asked his colleague how he could also get a job there. Bongani was told about the location of the restaurant and that he could just walk in and ask for the boss. Bongani was also acquainted with a Zimbabwean guy from the same block of flats that he lived in, whom he knew worked at a restaurant, but he did not know the name of the restaurant. Bongani had briefly spoken with this guy and shared that he was looking for a job. The guy told him that he would let Bongani know if there was an opening at the restaurant. Bongani did not live with this guy; they lived in different flats but in the same block. He says they spoke because they realized that they both were Zimbabwean from overhearing each other speak, citing that Zimbabweans are generally friendly towards one another.

Due to encouragement from his colleague at the tutoring college, Bongani decided to go to Cocoa Cha Chi. This colleague told Bongani that there were vacancies for kitchen staff and chefs. With no experience as a chef, Bongani expressed his apprehension to his colleague but was told that most skills are taught on the job, so he did not need experience. This encouraged Bongani to go. At Cocoa Cha Chi, Bongani found the owner, spoke to him and left his CV. He was then told to expect a call if he was successful. Coincidentally, while still at the restaurant, Bongani noticed that one of the employees there, who was actually a manager, was the neighbor who had promised to tell him about jobs at his workplace. They spoke and Bongani's neighbor told him not to worry, because he would speak to the boss and ensure that Bongani secured a job. This manager and neighbor vouched for Bongani, in doing so played an important role in helping Bongani get the job.

After three weeks, Bongani received a call from the manager, who was his neighbor, requesting him to come to the restaurant. However Bongani was out of town, and could not make it. On the following Monday, Bongani was asked to accompany the manager to work. He did as requested, and as soon as he got to the restaurant, he was shown a few things but started working there. He had to learn what to do on the job, with help from others.

Bongani does not mind working at Cocoa Cha Chi but desires to find a better job once he is more qualified and has completed his tertiary education. He is unsure of what he will study exactly, but believes that education levels have an impact on employment opportunities. This is because someone who went to school reasons and understands better than someone who is illiterate or does not have a qualification. He has therefore settled to work in a restaurant because he was unemployed and any opportunity is better than none, he believes he is doing what he has to do as a mature responsible man.

On his job search methods, Bongani specified that the way he looks for a job depend on the kind of job he is looking for. For low skilled jobs, such as working in a restaurant, he said that the only way is to walk in, ask if there are vacancies and submit your CV to the person involved. For other more formal jobs, he encourages looking for advertisements on the Internet and respond on the Internet but for most jobs, he says you can hear from people, receive the information, go there and drop your CV. Bongani said that walking into shops and restaurants, and speaking to

people and asking for the person in charge of recruitment. This has usually resulted in call back's and being invited for interviews. He has mostly done this in restaurants.

Bongani has had four formal jobs, the rest he describes as 'short stints'. The short stints he describes include working in Chicken Liken in Durban, working by the Durban Port assisting with Cargo from the ships, and working for I & J Fisheries at the Cape Town harbor. Bongani stated that he found these jobs by walking to the places and asking whomever he would see there if there was a job for him and what he had to do to apply for a job. He also said that the most useful job search methods for him have been speaking and asking people and friends, particularly those he knew in his neighborhood about where jobs were available and receiving information about how to apply for these jobs as well as advice on who to speak to.

Residential History

Bongani grew up and lived in Morningside, Durban but moved to Zimbabwe for three years. Bongani finished high school in 2002, and then moved to Cape Town in 2011. He spent nine years after completing matric living at his parent's home in Morningside, Durban. His decision to move to Cape Town was unplanned because he had come to Cape Town with intentions to visit his brother. He spontaneously decided to remain in Cape Town and start something for himself. Initially he lived opposite the Good Hope Centre in an apartment called Springfield Terrace. This was very close to town and he shared the flat with his brother.

Bongani currently lives in Woodstock by in a seven bedroomed house. He rents one of the rooms alone. Bongani states that a Malawian man and a Congolese man rent the other rooms. The landlord also stays at the house; he is a local colored guy and everyone all rents directly from him. To find out about this accommodation, Bongani saw an advert on the community notice board by Shoprite in Woodstock.

Social Activities

Socially, Bongani plays soccer for a social team; its called Zevolis and they play every weekend at the UCT fields. He found out about this team through a colleague from Cocoa, who also played there, on that team. He introduced me to the boys that play there and then I joined the team. The team is mixed nationalities. Bongani also enjoys drinking with his friends.

Enock

Personal History

Enock is a single, 20-year-old Zimbabwean male. He was born in Masvingo, in the Mashonaland region. He comes from a single parent household, his father passed away when he was four years old. His mother is a primary school teacher, working at a school in Masvingo where she has been employed for many years. Enock is the youngest of four children. He has one brother is in his final year, studying towards a degree in Information Systems at the Midlands State University in Gweru Zimbabwe. Another brother has been working and living in Mpumalanga for three years, and his eldest brother has been living in Cape Town for 4 yeas, working at Cocoa Cha Chi.

Educational Background

Enock completed four years of secondary school and did his O Levels at Macheke High School in Masvingo in 2012. During these four years, he says that he experienced problems going to school because of lack of finances, particularly in 2008 due to the economic hardships in Zimbabwe. Enock's mother had the responsibility of paying his brothers University fee's, and was struggling to pay for his fees too. As a result of these hardships, he decided to relocate to Cape Town South Africa at the end of 2012, in order to raise money to finance his 'A Level' education. He came with the desire to work for the entire year in 2013 and return to complete his 'A Level' education in 2014. He speaks both English and Shona.

Migration History

Prior to settling in South Africa, Enock had not travelled to, or lived in any other countries outside of Zimbabwe. He knew nothing about South Africa before he came. His main reasons for leaving Zimbabwe were to reduce the financial burden on his mother, to support her and as to raise money for his studies. Enock chose South Africa because he already had two brothers here. As a result, his living costs, subsistence costs and employment had already been arranged and secured for him. This reduced the challenges and anxiety associated with moving to a new place.

Enock started to prepare to move to South Africa in November 2012, that was two months before his departure. His preparation included applying for a passport, communicating with both his brothers and booking a bus ticket to South Africa. With assistance from his brothers, who waited for him to arrive both in Johannesburg, assisting him to transfer to Cape Town, and awaiting his arrival in Cape Town, Enock had a smooth trip. The only challenges experienced were the initial culture shock and the language barrier, which he overcame with the help from his brother.

Enock found that someone in his position, who had a relative or a contact in South Africa before moving, was better off that someone without a contact. This is because with a contact, he found it is easier to get a job, to find accommodation and to travel. The reason is that these contacts already possessed the useful information that he as a newcomer did not have yet. Whereas as a newcomer with no relationships, has to discover everything on their own, which is difficult and takes time. This was what

Enock's brother experienced when he Cape Town, because he was a newcomer with no relatives, friends or contacts.

Employment History

In terms of employment, working at Cocoa Cha Chi was Enock's first job. He had failed to secure a job in Zimbabwe after walking around town and submitting his CV at supermarkets and shops during walk in's. Enock had also failed to secure a job as a temporary teacher, because he did not have the necessary qualifications. He therefore went from being a student in Zimbabwe in 2012, to working as a waiter in South Africa in 2013. This was his first job.

Enock's brother had already identified a vacancy at Cocoa Cha Chi and had spoken to the boss, saying that he had a brother (Enock) who was looking for a job. After arriving in South Africa, Enock's brother told him the next day to accompany him to work in order to meet the boss. He did not have to take a CV with him, because the boss knew his brother, although he knows that others who go and look for a job have to bring their CV's. On arrival at Cocoa Cha Chi, Enock had a meeting with the boss who asked him a few questions about whether he had worked or not, and what previous work experience he had. Enock told the boss that this was his first job. The boss said it was ok. He was offered a job as a waiter and he started working immediately.

Working In the restaurant was initially very difficult for Enock, he had no formal training in the industry, so was required to learn fast. He did not know that there were different kinds of coffee and he did not have the confidence to greet customers. He learnt from the other waiters and through observation. Soon after, he had to write an exam. This exam contained questions on customer service, coffee making, wines and serving food. He passed this exam and was asked by the boss if he wanted to work in the Kitchen where his brother worked or as a waiter in the front. Enock said his brother advised him that working in the kitchen was too much pressure, he therefore to continue working as a waiter.

Another difficulty Enock faced was integrating with the other waiters. This was particularly because he initially worked in a shift with mostly South Africans. This was a challenge and very uncomfortable for him because he the South Africans did not like him, and felt threatened by him because he is Zimbabwean. This was because he is a Zimbabwean filling a vacancy that they would prefer to be filled by one of their relatives or friends. According to Enock, the South Africans are regarded as lazy, so the boss prefers to hire the hardworking Zimbabweans. The staff therefore comprises of 59% South Africans and 40% Zimbabweans, with the others coming from Zambia and DRC.

In terms of documentation, Enock does not possess a work permit or a permanent residence permit. He found his experience at the Department of Home Affairs to be very frustrating because of the delay in processing of papers and corruption. He says that people were required to pay large sums of money to bribe officials in order to get a permit on time; he could not afford this so he decided to leave the application as it was. Another difficulty he experienced while trying to get his permit was the amount

of time it required to keep going back and forth to Home Affairs, time he had to take off work and use a taxi to go into town. This was problematic because of the cost of taxi fare as well as the pressure from the boss to be at work, and loss of income if he gave up a shift.

The lack of documentation has not affected Enock's ability to work at Cocoa Cha Chi. This is because the boss made an exception for him, as a result of the relationship with his brother, who has worked at the Cocoa Group for over three years. The boss's primary concern is for Enock to be at work and to perform well. However, without documentation, Enock feels that he is in a precarious position at his current workplace. He said that although every employee regardless of nationality gets paid the same rate, he has to accept lower pay at Cocoa Cha Chi than he would get at other restaurants. Additionally, he has to work harder than others, agree with the boss on everything and make no mistakes because he fears that the boss will fire him. Moreover, without documentation, he says that he is unable to look for employment elsewhere. While frustrated, Enock takes comfort in telling himself that having a job, although not as paying as other jobs, is better than being unemployed. This is especially since he believes that it is not easy for foreigners to get jobs in South Africa because of the restrictions enforced through documentation and legislation, which limits opportunities. Enock would still like to get a permit, but with only one day off work during the week, which he uses to do all his errands, he cannot commit the time to go to Home Affairs.

Since beginning work as a waiter, Enock has not assisted anyone else to find a job or referred anyone to the boss in the same way that his brother did with him. This is because the boss told all the employees during a staff meeting that only employees who had been working for three years or more could refer their friends.

Residential History

Enock currently lives in a house in Observatory, where he shares one bedroom with his brother and his friend. The rent payment for the room is split between his brother and his friend; he does not pay anything because he is under his brother's care. He says that his brother looked for other cheaper places to stay, but decided that living in the townships, although cheaper, is a risk for foreigners because of the violence. Enock experiences his neighbourhood Observatory, to be a comfortable, friendly and safe neighbourhood, which is ideal because he can walk to work. It doesn't take him more that ten minutes to walk to work. Prior to moving to South Africa, Enock lived in a house in Bulawayo with his mother.

Social Activities

The life in Cape Town is one that Enock enjoys and finds easier and better than in Zimbabwe. He has managed to improve his communication and English speaking skills through working at Cocoa Cha Chi. Working as a waiter has also boosted his confidence. Socially, he enjoys going to church every Sunday and spending time with his friend, who he lives with. The demanding nature of his work doesn't allow him time to engage in many social activities. The friend he spends his time with, is

originally from the same area in Zimbabwe as Enock, and came to Cape Town at the same time that Enock did. The reason for this was that his brother, who is a cab driver in Stellenbosch requested that he come to South Africa to try and find a job. Enock's friend initially lived with his brother in Stellenbosch but after failing to find a job there, moved to live with Enock and his brother in Cape Town. Enock said that his friend was unable to find a job in Stellenbosch because he had no contacts to assist with the job search or to refer him. In Cape Town however, Enock's brother was able to arrange a job for him at Cocoa Cha Chi, by referring him to the boss at Cocoa Cha Chi. He said his brother spoke to the boss, asking for employment on behalf of his friend, and his friend was called in for an interview. He was successful in the interview, and was offered a job.

Enock states that he has not established a wide range of networks, he does not take networking that serious and he does not have the time to do it. However, he relies on support and help from his family, his friend and his work mates. Those are the people he chooses to do social activities with.

Ethen

Personal History

Ethen Bere is single 35-year-old Zimbabwean male. He was born and raised in Chegutu, Zimbabwe. Ethen is the sixth child in a family of seven children. The first born in his family, studied in the United States but recently returned to live in Zimbabwe, while his other two brothers are living with him in Cape Town. He has one sister who lives in Botswana, another who is married and living in Mozambique, and one in Zimbabwe. His mother currently lives in Zimbabwe and his father passed away in 2013.

Ethen's family members are involved in different occupations. His eldest brother completed a PHD at the Teaching University of Theatre and Arts in New York. He is currently a lecturer at Chinhoyi University in Zimbabwe. His sister in Botswana used to be a teacher in Zimbabwe but left to take a position as a teacher in Botswana when the economic crisis in Zimbabwe began. The sister in Mozambique is there with her husband and is a housewife. His two brothers in Cape Town are both working in restaurants.

Educational Background

Ethen completed his primary and secondary school in Chegutu, Zimbabwe. At secondary school, Ethen completed his 'O Levels' in 1995, which are examinations taken after four years in secondary school. He opted not to do a further two years of 'A Levels' and went straight to college. At tertiary level, Ethen studied towards and completed a three-year diploma in Marketing Management. He graduated with a Marketing Diploma in 2001.

Migration History

Prior to moving to South Africa, Ethen had travelled to Botswana and South Africa to visit and to shop. His knowledge about South Africa was limited to what he had read in newspapers and heard from people. The common discourse was that South Africa is the land of opportunities, with a stable, growing economy. Moreover, Ethen's relatives and friends who had settled in South Africa would report positive things about South Africa and frequently send money back. This was enough to convince Ethen that, he was better off leaving Zimbabwe and its shrinking unstable economy for the more prosperous South Africa.

Ethen was the first person in his family to leave the Zimbabwe for the purposes of work. His older brother had travelled to the USA but that had been to advance his studies. The choice of South Africa, out of all the other neighboring countries, was also based on the fact that he had existing relations in Cape Town. Ethen's cousin brother had relocated to South Africa to look for a job. This cousin had actually found a job so was already working.

The experience of migrating and settling in South Africa was not very difficult for Ethen. This he says was because he had the support of his cousin brother. He did not have to worry about finding accommodation or subsistence requirements as this was

already provided for him on his arrival, up until he found a stable job. Moreover, Ethen says that having family here eliminated the feeling of vulnerability and insecurity, which in turn enabled him to look for a job confidently. The only things Ethen required in order to move to South Africa was a passport to cross the border, bus far for transport and some money to use while he looked for a job.

Employment History

After graduating with his diploma in 2001, Ethen spent two years trying to look for a job in Zimbabwe but he could not secure one. This prompted him to start a business. Ethen started a business based in Chegutu, a city in Zimbabwe. The main aim of the business was to provide clerical services for the public such as CV writing and typing. The company also had a function that rented out PA systems for events and assisted in hosting weddings.

In the year 2000, Ethen got an offer to work as a Loans Officer for a local bank, Kingdom Bank, in the capital city Harare. This bank had just started a new division called 'Micro King Finance'. Although this was at the same time as he was trying to establish his own business, Ethen decided to take up the offer and he went for a month of training before he began the job. He left his sister as the custodian of his business, while he was away. After completing the training, he realized that he was dissatisfied with the kind of work they did and decided to leave the job and return home. He was uncomfortable and not confident working in a bank. Ethen spent a further one-month in Harare before returning to Chegutu to work on his business.

Ethen left work at the bank because he felt that he was capable of making a living on his own, through his business and he would put all his efforts into that instead of working for someone else. In retrospect however, Ethen says that he might have made a mistake by resigning from work at the bank. His general feeling is that because he was immature at the time, he missed out on a potentially good and secure career working in a bank. Although starting a business seemed to be a good idea at the time, he thinks he was not ready to take such a big move.

In 2007, the economy of Zimbabwe was doing very badly, with high inflation rates and an unstable currency. As a result, Ethen's business was struggling and failing to grow. The implications of this were that he was increasingly unable to make ends meet, to look after himself or his family, so he decided to look for other opportunities. Ethen decided to look for a job in South Africa because he could not find any viable opportunities in Zimbabwe. His reason for leaving Zimbabwe was therefore to look for job opportunities in order to make a living for himself and support his family. This was prompted by the failure of his business and loss of source of income in Zimbabwe.

Ethen began looking for a job the day after he arrived in Cape Town. He did not have a specific job or preference in mind; his main concern was to find something that gave him some income. Initially, he thought that the Diploma he held would be advantageous and enable him to get a clerical job, but he was open to anything as a start, so his attitude was to look everywhere. He started off by going to Internet cafes

and looking on Gumtree and company websites, he would respond to advertisements by sending emails and his CV to different companies. Another job search method Ethen used was walking door to door, into different places, particularly restaurants to drop off his CV, incase there was a vacancy. Knowledge about some of these job search methods was acquired from his cousin, who advised him to use Gumtree. Ethen recalls that he looked for jobs at a car dealership, restaurants, a car wash and restaurants.

At the car wash, Ethen walked in and asked for the person in charge of recruiting or the boss. He was told that this person was not there, but was advised to leave his CV, which would be forwarded to the owner. At the car dealership, he was confident that his Diploma would give him an advantage, but he was told that there were no vacancies, so he left the place and decided to keep searching. After dropping his CV at numerous restaurants, Ethen came across Cocoa Wah Wah in Rondebosch twenty days after he had arrived in South Africa. At Cocoa Wah Wah, Ethen met with the owner, who was in the process of starting up the restaurant. He gave the owner his CV and they spoke. On the next day, Ethen was asked to come for an interview offered a job as a baker. However, when he went for work, the owner said there had been a change of plan and required Ethen to work as a waiter. He agreed to this and he became the first Zimbabwean and one of the first employees to work at Cocoa Wah Wah and what was to become the Cocoa Group.

Although Ethen was not searching for job in the restaurant industry specifically, he had been told that it was an easier industry to find employment. In this industry, he said that if there wasn't a vacancy today, there would be one tomorrow. This is why he found it worthwhile to leave his CV at restaurants, in order to be called when a vacancy opened up. This he found to be true when he started working in a restaurant, noticing that there is often need for more employees (this can be understood because at the time, the restaurant was expanding as said by Jason, in this way Ethen became a key gate keeper and point man for employment). Ethen also found that the key competencies required for work in a restaurant are good communication, hard work, punctuality and the good work ethic judged by your commitment, effort and ability to learn fast.

His experience at Cocoa Wah Wah was a mixture of high and low moments. He recalls that there weren't as many Zimbabweans in Cape Town as there are now. This presented a challenge because he was working with colored ladies from Mannenberg who he felt were not entirely happy with having a Zimbabwean in the workplace. The ladies spoke to him harshly and dealt with him in a rough manner, such that he did not feel welcome. Overtime, Ethen was able to overcome this by concentrating fully on his work, working hard and keeping to himself. He believes that doing so changed the perception that his co-workers had about him. They began to see him as a good, hardworking and honest man who is in South Africa to make a living. What is significant Ethen says, is that his attitude and work ethic shaped the relationship he had with his boss. He was increasingly given more responsibility and became a point of reference for bringing other Zimbabweans into the workplace, because the owner liked how they worked. Resultantly, the number of Zimbabweans rose from one to between 25 and 30 Zimbabweans working in the Cocoa Group currently. And excludes those who have come, worked and left.

In terms of employees, Ethen says that after he came, the boss preferred to hire Zimbabweans and it was in fact Zimbabweans that he was hiring for a while. The predominance of Zimbabweans in the workplace started when Ethen referred his cousin who was looking for a job to the owner. Ethen's cousin got the job and started working as a waiter, where he demonstrated the same good work ethic that Ethen had demonstrated. After that, each time there was a vacancy at the restaurant, the owner would approach Ethen asking if he knew of anyone that could work and wanted work. Ethen then became the 'point man' for recruitment, doing interviews and receiving CV's on behalf of the boss. This is how the hiring function at the Cocoa Group began; through referrals and with Ethen in charge of the hiring. Ethen says that he knows the owner prefers to hire a person who has been referred by someone who is already working in the restaurant. A person with an internal referral is more preferred to an unknown recruit because among other things, they are believed to stay longer and thus lower turnover for the restaurant (high turnover industry).

Ethen used the referral system of hiring and his position as a 'point man' in charge of recruiting to secure employment for his brothers and other Zimbabweans that he knew were looking for jobs. His two brothers left Zimbabweans to escape the economic hardship and find another source of income. Ethen arranged for them to come to South Africa, promising and providing them with accommodation, food and employment. His two brothers started working at Cocoa restaurants with Ethen when they arrived. Although Ethen is no longer directly involved with recruiting, his position as a manager still allows him to refer others for jobs. He became a manager after holding a position as a waiter then a supervisor. This promotion happened due to his diligence, commitment and work ethic despite no previous experience working in a restaurant. It can therefore be said that exhibiting the required work ethic is more preferred than actual skills or restaurant experience.

The workforce at the Cocoa Group of restaurants consisted mostly of Zimbabweans and local ladies from Mannenberg. This largely remains today, with the addition of a few Zambian and Congolese employees. In his six years at the Cocoa restaurants, Ethen has not seen more that five South African men looking for jobs at the restaurants. He recalls that there was on Xhosa man, who came and got the job but resigned after a week, citing that the pay was very little and the work too hard. In his experience, Ethen says that most applications have come through Gumtree and walk in's where people submit their CV's in hope of being called when a vacancy arises. This he says is mostly done by both male and female foreigners and coloured people, particularly the females. Ethen maintains that there are very few local black people who apply for work in the restaurant. This underrepresentation of local black people in the restaurant he believes is not only at Cocoa Wah Wah but other restaurants too, and is a mystery to him, suggesting that they might have an industry preference.

Zimbabweans on the other hand don't have any industry preference. Most Zimbabweans Ethen says, come to South Africa under pressure to find a job, so they usually take whatever job they can get, as long as it provides income. In his case, Ethen thought he would take a job at the restaurant and work temporarily while looking to get a job that suited his qualifications, however he has remained at the restaurant. He accepts this because his primary concern is having an income. Despite his 'take what you can get attitude' Ethen maintains that he would prefer working in a

restaurant than somewhere such as the car wash that requires manual work .this is because he believes he is not a hands on person in that way.

Residential History

On arrival, Ethen was received and lived with his cousin in Observatory. Ethen shared a room in a flat with his cousin. Currently, Ethen lives in Observatory where he shares a room in a house with one other person.

Social Activities

Ethen says that he does not have the time to engage in social activities because his job as a manager is very demanding. He spends most of his time at work, and when he is able, he enjoys reading in a café in Observatory.

Jason- Employer

Personal Background

Jason is a South African male, who was born and raised in Cape Town. He considers himself to be from an upper middle class family, because his parents sent him to good schools although they were not extremely wealthy. His parents are migrants, his father from Belgium and his mother from Portugal although they met and married in South Africa. His mother was a secretary and his father a salesman but they have both retired has one sister. Jason has one sister, who used to work as a Pilates instructor, she chose to become a housewife once she got married. Jason is married with two children, the oldest is four years old and the youngest is two years old. His wife is South African; she was born and raised in Cape Town. He describes himself as strategic, tactical person who likes to get things done and likes numbers. Jason likes to play games like chess and poker that engage him mentally.

Educational Background and Migration History

Jason's educational background will now be discussed. Jason attended primary and high school in Cape Town. He remained in Cape Town to complete his tertiary education at the University of Cape Town. He completed his undergraduate studies in Politics and History. After his undergraduate studies, there weren't many job opportunities so in 1997, he decided to go overseas to the UK and work. He worked and travelled between 1997 and 2000, when he decided to come back to Cape Town to begin his postgraduate studies in Business Management and Marketing. In 2001, Jason began his Postgraduate Diploma at the University of Cape Town.

Employment History

Jason's employment history will now be discussed. His first job was while he was travelling in the UK. Jason settled in Ireland for two years where he worked in a bank. Jason took the job as a banker because of his love for numbers and things that challenge him. In order to get the job, he had to take numeric tests, which he managed to pass. Despite his proven ability in the banking industry, Jason did not like that it was hierarchical, highly structured, slow and averse to change. In the Banking Industry he said it would take you almost thirty years to progress in your career. He decided that he was not suited to the environment and that he wanted to study marketing. This prompted his return to Cape Town to enroll with UCT for Postgraduate studies.

In 2002, after he finished at UCT he started a graduate placement at Coca Cola in Johannesburg. Jason moved to Johannesburg where he worked for three years, between 2002 and 2005. After his experience working at the bank, Jason realized that he liked advertising and marketing, it was for this reason that he applied to get a placement at Coca Cola. At Coca Cola, he was promoted to Marketing Manager. Although he enjoyed working at Cocoa Cola, he realized that he did not enjoy the corporate world. He did not like it because it was not an environment that welcomed new ideas or initiatives. As a manager, he only had limited ability to implement new ideas. The organization was already established, so there was little room for him to

implement anything new or to be creative. The people he worked with were also more concerned with receiving their salaries that in doing things differently. This secure conservative environment was not what Jason was looking for, so he decided to take the risk and leave to start his own business. He was still thirty at the time so he thought that if his business was to fail, he would be able to go back into corporate without it being too late. As a result, in 2004 he returned to Cape Town to start his restaurant business.

Jason officially became self-employed in 2005 when he opened his restaurant Cocoa Wah Wah. He chose to open up a restaurant because it did not require a huge capital investment and inexpensive to start up. With the money he had saved during his work at Coca Cola he bought seaside plots, which he generated money from and used to open the restaurant. He applied the business skills acquired from working in the corporate world, to create a good business model and disciplined environment.

Jason established the restaurant with his wife and a woman by the name of Lucretia. There was also another male employee but he has since left. He met Lucretia coincidentally, while shopping at Makro. Lucretia caught Jason's attention while working at the coffee shop because she was using an espresso-based machine. Jason explained that in those days, most places served filter coffee and one was never certain about the quality of a coffee. He was therefore impressed with Lucretia because she knew how to use the machine. He approached her and spoke to her; another meeting followed where Jason showed her the premises of the coffee shop. She subsequently agreed to take the job and began working at Cocoa Wah Wah. Lucretia has since risen up the ranks from becoming senior manager to general manager of the group.

The restaurant began to grow rapidly and Jason realized the need to employ more staff. His initial recruitment strategy was to ask Lucretia if she knew any good people who could work in the restaurant. Lucretia started to recommend her immediate family and her cousins who lived with her in Mannenberg. The shop continued to grow and Jason, again by chance, met Ethen Bere. Ethen was the first Zimbabwean employee at Cocoa. He was recruited was purely by chance because according to Jason, Ethen was walking past Cocoa in Rondebosch when he noticed Jason and asked him if there were vacancies. Ethen was carrying his CV with him as had been walking in and of different shops, looking for jobs. Jason hired Ethen because he gave the impression of a well-spoken and educated man. However at the time Ethen was hired, Jason was taking a chance because he was unaware of the possible implications of hiring foreigners and unsure about the documentation required. After making enquiries, Jason found that Asylum seekers were allowed to work and that the department of labor did not follow up on these issues, so in the event that it did happen, he would negotiate with whoever came. After Ethen was hired, Jason's recruitment strategy expanded to Ethen's network.

When Jason opened up the second restaurant in Observatory, Ethen became the person responsible for recruitment. When there was a need for more staff, Jason would ask Ethen to refer some people. Ethen began by referring his family members such as brothers and cousins, but soon began to refer his friends. Despite this, Jason maintains that everyone working in the restaurant is somehow related. Jason explained that the method of referral was the preferred method because he liked to

have a point of reference for all the people he employs. It is currently still the preferred method of recruitment and selection. This is premised on the belief referrals are a form of quality control because employees do not refer just anyone, for fear of looking bad themselves. Additionally, people who come in through referrals are more likely to stay longer, have the characteristics required to fit in with the work ethic at the restaurant, be more trustworthy and would learn quicker. As a result of this method, two major groups of employees were established in the restaurant; Mannenberg and Zimbabwe. The people from Mannenberg are mostly women and are all related by blood or through marriage, while the Zimbabweans are mixed male and female and the networks has extended beyond family to friends. There are a few other employees of Zambian and Congolese origin.

On the issue of documentation, Jason expressed that this was a huge burden particularly because of the time required off work by employees requiring to visit Home Affairs, to either renew their papers, or make applications for temporary or permanent residence permits. However, assistance from a regular customer with an NGO that deals with refugee and migrant's rights was instrumental to overcoming the issue of documentation.

The Cocoa group has been in operation for nearly ten years now. As described above, the first restaurant, Cocoa Wah Wah was opened in Rondebosch in 2004/2005. A second restaurant, Cocoa Cha Chi was opened in Observatory with the year. Two other restaurants, Cocoa Oola and Cocoa Espresso were opened in Kloof Street and the Foreshore area of the Cape Town city center. This makes a total of four restaurants with seventy employees working across the four restaurants. The employees often switch between restaurants so many have worked in two or more of the Cocoa restaurants. The success of the restaurant is attributed to the culture that has been developed. Culture refers in the case to the work ethic existing in the restaurants. This culture is based on the following aspects; teamwork, hard work, discipline, punctuality and excellence.

While Jason enforces the culture through having strict rules and creating a highly structured environment, the employees are responsible for maintaining and reproducing this work ethic. The employees are fully aware of what is expected of them, and know that a failure to comply will result in termination of their work contracts. Jason says that he routinely fires 20% of the workforce every year. The reasons for these dismissals include theft, tardiness and not fitting in with the culture of the restaurant. Employees who are not very good at their job, but exhibit the desired qualities and fit into the culture, will be retained regardless of incompetence on the actual job. The employees, who have been at the restaurant for long period of time, ranging from three years to ten years, are those that would have consistently exhibited the desirable characteristics.

In an industry with an average employee retention rate of between three and six months, Jason has had retained over 50% of his employees for five years and above. This is can be attributed to the referral system of hiring, where employees will tell their friends about what is required at the restaurant, giving them a 'heads up' before referring them and arranging a meeting with the owner. In this way, new recruits who come through referrals come prepared, they know what is expected of them and will act accordingly. As a result, they are less likely to be fired. Additionally, the owner

allows employees to determine if new recruits will stay on past the probation period, by giving them the opportunity to rate the potential employee and give their opinions. In this way, employees will only approve of people who exhibit the desirable characteristics. Another way of reinforcing this culture is by allowing restaurant managers to screen CV's received from 'walk in's', putting through only those they see fit.

The methods of recruiting outlined above ensure that the work environment is a friendly collaborative environment because employees have already established relationships. This camaraderie is shown in their interactions, their ability to equally share shifts, open bank accounts for each other as well as the way they teach each other on the job. New employees will typically take a theoretical and menu tests to measure their knowledge of the industry. They are expected to learn from observing and talking to those that are already there. Most new recruits will start on kitchen dishwashing duty as they learn the other key skills, such as how to make a coffee or serve at tables. After this, they would have proven that they are useful and will start to take on other roles. Excelling on the job is also rewarded, with the chance of being promoted from headwaiter to senior manager. Jason relies on this form of training because the restaurant industry is too busy to take out time to train new recruits. It is very expensive for him to close the store for training because of the loss of revenue. He has previously hosted training for a few employees on a Saturday; with the intention that once they learn the skills they will teach the others.

Jason noted that while he has people from Zimbabwe, DRC, Zambia and local women from Mannenberg, he has very few local men. Over a period of 9 years, he has between four and five local South African male employees. Similarly, he notes that from the Mannenberg group, he has had mostly females, with the exception of just one male. This he believes is because the local men will do not fit in with the culture of the restaurant. Unlike the local women and the foreigners. He believes the foreigners are more likely to fit in because their primary purpose is usually to work and save money. With this goal in mind, they have no choice but to fit in and adapt. Jason equates this to his experience abroad, where South Africans were favored for work because of the perception that they were hardworking. This he thinks is true for him because his primary concern while abroad was to make money. The locals who have managed to adapt to the culture he says have been able to do so because their colleagues who referred them had prepared them beforehand, and this has usually been their first form of employment, and is therefore the only way they know how to do things.

It is evident that there is a mixture of nationalities working at the Cocoa restaurants. Jason notes that they are divided between shifts, with the foreigner's typically working night shift, and the locals working the day shift. He thinks this is because the foreigners stay closer to the restaurant in areas like Mowbry, Observatory and Woodstock. While the locals live further away in Mannenberg. It is therefore easier for them to travel to work. He notes that the foreigners opt to stay in these areas rather than the townships because of the convenience, safety and their preference for good quality accommodation. As a result, they would rather pay more expensive rent and share a room with two other people that pay cheaper rent in township areas.

Social Activities

Jason enjoys playing games and activities that challenge him mentally. He typically plays poker or chess.