



**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE REASONS FOR PEOPLE'S MIGRATION: A
CASE OF ZAMBIAN PROFESSIONAL MIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN**

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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/have been attributed, and has/have been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the reasons behind international migration of people. In particular, the study looks at the reasons behind professional migrants from Zambia to South Africa, taking Cape Town as a case study. The analysis is anchored around five different theoretical frameworks which explain migration from a micro and macro perspective. Theories founded on micro principles are the traditional push and pull theory and the Todaro model. The theory social networks completes the set of micro based models of migration. The two macro theories are the equilibrium and the new international division of labour, which look at the economic inequalities between sending and host regions

The methodological framework of the study is based on depth interviews with the six migrant respondents – two males and four females – all of which are resident in Cape Town. These have varying personal and family backgrounds. According to the research findings, the study identifies reasons for people's migration from Zambia as having been triggered by changes in Zambia's economic conditions during periods of restructuring and privatisation. However, besides economic motivations, other factors also played a part in pushing Zambian professional workers to migrating to Cape Town. The study also finds that the decision by Zambian professional migrants can be explained by one or more of the theories of migration depending on the aspect under investigation.

Given that the research was commenced following a spate of xenophobic attacks which rocked Cape Town and South Africa in general in May 2008, the study notes that the respondents were not directly affected by these attacks but suffered emotional setback since some of those affected were fellow African nationals. The main reason the respondents did not experience xenophobia is because all of them live in secure neighbourhoods which were not a subject of the attacks. Instead they spoke of xenophobia as being prevalent in poor communities where economic conditions are at the margin. In contrast, all the respondents were part of the growing middle class with relatively better incomes and housing. In this regard, we could conjecture that xenophobia is more of a 'social class' issue and confined to distressed communities rather than induced by general hatred of foreigners. However, some respondents spoke of experiencing an element of racism and xenophobia, particularly at their places of work although this appears to be mere perceptions rather than confirmed cases.

A major contribution of the study is that it contextualises migration within the theoretical underpinnings by appealing to responses of actual migrants rather than rely on secondary data. The novel of this methodological approach and the ensuing results is that it provides an opportunity for feedback and follow-up to seek clarity. From a policy perspective, the findings are significant in that they would assist in formulating migration policy based on well informed outcomes.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved husband, Anthony and children, Matampulo, Kunda and Wanzia. I say thank you very much to them for putting up with my absence when they needed me most. I also dedicate this thesis to my parents, sisters and brothers for their moral and spiritual support.

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CHAPTER ONE

1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Migration is described and understood in terms of internal and international movements of people from their area or country of origin to a host area or country (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000:202). Internal migration concerns the movement of people from rural to urban areas within a given jurisdiction while international migration relates to the movement of people across national borders. In other words, international migrants move from their countries of origin to foreign countries of destination. Historically, it has been shown that there are large numbers of internal migrants than international migrants and this has been observed as the main cause of the higher levels of urbanisation. This is because internal migrants face fewer limitations in their movements and settlement compared to international migrants who have to contend with difficulties defined by immigration restrictions and such things as xenophobia (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000:202).

This study investigates the reasons behind international migration of people. In particular, the study looks at the reasons behind professional migrants from Zambia to South Africa, taking Cape Town as a case study. By appealing to five different theoretical frameworks, the study investigates the reasons behind professional workers' migration from Zambia to Cape Town. The theories are classified into two broad categories, namely, macro and micro theories of migration. The macro theories help in understanding the context in which micro reasons arise. There are three micro theories identified in this study. The first is the traditional push and pull theory of migration. The second is the Todaro Model while the third is the theory of social networks. The two macro theories are the equilibrium and the new international division of labour (NIDL).

The push and pull theory, which is the centre of the classical theory of migration looks at the factors behind the people's decision to migrate. Push factors are those that drive migrants away from their countries of origin. Examples include economic hardships and political instability, to mention but a few (Gelderblom, 2006:270). Pull factors are things that attract migrants to areas or countries of destination and include better economic conditions, employment prospects, favourable business conditions and political stability, among others.

The Todaro model argues that the perceived difference in wages between two places and the probability of securing a job in the destination area are the main reasons for people's decision to

migrate. Therefore, people tend to migrate to areas where they are assured of earning better incomes and offer a high probability of getting a job than in a place of origin.

The theory of social networks which takes a sociological approach looks at the role played by social groupings and family networks in influencing migration. Some scholars argue that social networks play a major role in people's decision to migrate in that they serve as support structures and lobbying forces for migrants thereby resulting in continued migration (Keely, 2000:52). In this regard, migrants often value their social networks and the importance attached to these factors determines the degree of migration. When people move from their area of origin to another place they tend to maintain close contact with their kin in their area of origin and by virtue of social connections, support them in various ways, for example, through remittances. They also communicate regularly using letters, electronic mail or telephones. All these are ways of ensuring that social networks are sustained. Therefore, there is need to discuss the role of social networks as they relate to migration in order to strengthen the analysis.

Of the five theories, the equilibrium and NIDL theories share some similarities in that they both take a macro spectrum in explaining the causes of migration. For example, the equilibrium theory looks at structural factors taking into account economic and population differences between economically powerful and weak countries. Thus, the theory regards migration as one way of restoring balance or equilibrium between human and capital resources. Related to this, the NIDL theory provides reasons for migration across the world. Proponents of the NIDL theory submit that the new world economic order has brought into existence an industrial reserve army of workers, together with a world market for production sites. Thus, workers in the already industrialised countries are now placed on a world-wide labour market and forced to compete for jobs with fellow workers in developing countries. Countries which are able to supply vast reserves of potential industrial workers at a low price are also the ones which are close to geographical and commercial links to existing industrial centres (Froebel, 1980:14).

Thus, the NIDL and the equilibrium theories have brought to the fore the thinking that international migration has become an important part of globalisation with migrants seen as active agents of integration by establishing a dense network of connections between their places or countries of origin and their host country (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000:202).

The major distinguishing element between the NIDL and the equilibrium theory is that the latter looks at the mutual benefits accruing to both countries, that is, a country that expels labour and the

recipient country. According to the equilibrium theory, when people move from one country to the other, balance or equilibrium is achieved because countries expelling labour tend to benefit in terms of a reduction in levels of unemployment while labour receiving countries gain in terms of access to readily available cheap labour for their manufacturing and other industries. In contrast, the NIDL theory places low economic countries into a dependency position. Economically advanced countries take advantage of less industrialised countries and appropriate their resources thereby perpetuating underdevelopment in poorer countries. This situation makes less developed countries to continuously rely on developed countries for their economic wellbeing.

For the present study, the equilibrium and the NIDL theories are critical in understanding the behaviour of Zambian migrants and how this has impacted on the economies of South Africa and Zambia. From the equilibrium theory's point of view, the relationship between Zambia and South Africa can be viewed as one of interdependency. On the one hand, by virtue of its strong economic base, South Africa depends on migrant labour of different categories and skills levels from other countries, including Zambia. On the other hand, Zambia, a relatively less affluent economy, depends on South Africa for trade and other opportunities, especially in view of the economic difficulties induced by the implementation of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) in the early 1990s, which coincided with the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa.¹ Therefore, on the premise of the equilibrium theory, it could be suggested that both countries have benefitted from migration with South Africa gaining in terms of skilled labour while some Zambian workers who had lost their jobs due to economic restructuring took up jobs in different sectors of the South African economy.

Nevertheless, Zambia and South Africa could also be viewed as enjoying an unequal relationship. South Africa occupies a leading position within Southern Africa vis-à-vis the level of development and this aspect puts it at an advantage over other countries in the region. For instance, there is an element of unequal trade relationship between Zambia and South Africa. A good number of South African companies have invested heavily in the Zambian's retail sector, supplying mainly

¹ Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are a set of policies supported by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank aimed at improving the macroeconomic and structural response of the economy. In Zambia, SAPs have been blamed for many of the hardships the country has been experiencing since 1991; see Situmbeko and Zulu (2004).

South African products to the Zambian market. South African investors have also taken advantage of high unemployment levels by offering relatively low wages to Zambian workers, particularly the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. As will be observed later, South African investment in Zambia has not contributed to meaningful development.

From the foregoing, both the equilibrium and the NIDL could therefore be used to explain some of the reasons that may have induced the Zambian skilled workers to migrate to Cape Town. The exact strength of each theory in explaining Zambian migration depends in large measure on the weight placed on factors inducing this movement.

Another important consideration when people choose to migrate is the receptiveness of the host country or region, even in the absence of legal restrictions to movements. Thus, although people may be free to move from one place to another, some countries are not receptive to foreign nationals. As a result, the literature on migration has broadened to incorporate aspects of xenophobic tendencies towards migrants. In South Africa, migrants face resentment because of lack of citizenship rights (Morris, 1998:1120). Another scholar observes that black migrants from other African countries have been nicknamed “Makwerekwere”, a derogatory term used to describe Africans from outside South Africa. The “Makwerekwere” have been accused of being responsible for lowering salaries and wages by accepting jobs at less than the stipulated legal minimum wage rate, messing up neighbourhoods because of street vending and stealing women from the local people (Wainaina, 2001).

The above factors highlight the different approaches to migration. Thus, the study analyses migration of Zambian professionals currently working in Cape Town and offers an opportunity for a better understanding of the context which characterise migration of Zambian professionals. The study also sought to establish the forms of social networks that exist among these people and whether or not this was a factor in their decision to migrate and in finding a job in Cape Town. In addition, the study sought to gain some insight from the skilled labour migrants on their experience of xenophobia and how they cope with such behaviour and emotions. The inclusion of xenophobia to the analysis of migration was especially meant to establish whether or not Zambian skilled labour migrants regard this as a potential push factor away from Cape Town.

The study is organised in five chapters including the present one (introduction). In this chapter, the statement of the problem and significance of the research are also discussed. Chapter two covers five areas critical to the research objective. The chapter focuses on the detailed discussion of key

research themes relating to the five theories of migration and xenophobic experiences as discussed above. Chapter three is devoted to methodological issues focusing on data collection techniques and method of data analysis. This chapter also highlights the role my positionality as a mature Zambian student researcher (married with children) played and how this may have influenced the perception and trust of the respondents. Ethical research considerations and limitations encountered in conducting interviews are also discussed in chapter three. Chapter four presents data analysis and interpretations of research findings. The chapter covers four main themes. The first provides respondents' profiles and family characteristics. The second highlights respondents' reasons for embarking on migration. The third discusses social networks as they relate to migration. The fourth theme discusses the potential push factors from Cape Town. Finally, in chapter five a summary of the research findings is presented. Conclusions drawn from the analysis are also presented in chapter five. In the concluding section, I highlight the fact that findings of this research are not exhaustive but have helped to narrow the gap in the existing literature on migration especially as it relates to Zambian skilled workers in Cape Town.

The primary source of data for the study was the responses from the personal interviews I conducted with six Zambian skilled labour migrants working in different organisations in Cape Town.

In discussing the findings, comparison is also made between results of this study on migration of Zambian professional workers and results of an earlier study on businesswomen migrants (Kapindula, 2008). This is done by looking at the themes common to both studies, namely, personal profiles and family characteristics, reasons for migration, social networks and potential push factors from Cape Town.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Some theorists argue that migration is initiated by people mainly because of push and pull factors. Push factors are those that tend to drive away people from their countries of origin and include civil war, political instability, high poverty levels, unemployment, poor working conditions (low wages or salaries) and, generally poor economic conditions. Pull factors are those that draw people to a city or country, for example, better economic and employment opportunities, political stability, good quality of life and incentives for conducting businesses (small or large). However, other

scholars argue that it is imperative to take into account structural factors when analysing people's decision to migrate. This is because structural factors explain the context within which people's migration arises. In view of these arguments, this research explores, using established theories of migration, the context and reasons explaining the nature of migration of Zambian professionals working in different organisations in Cape Town.

Social networks are considered as a factor that plays a major role in people's decision to migrate, settle and find a job. In order to validate this hypothesis, the study also sought to establish the nature of existing social networks and how these influenced the Zambian professional workers' decision to migrate, get a job and settle in Cape Town. Cape Town is one of the cities where many foreigners from other African countries suffer discrimination and resentment by the local people. Therefore, I sought to engage the professional migrants and learn from them on their experience of xenophobia and what coping strategies they have adopted to shield themselves from such treatment. This aspect was also intended at establishing whether Zambian professional migrants considered xenophobia as a potential push factor from Cape Town.

1.2 Significance of the problem

Previous research has shown that Zambia is different from other countries in that migration of professionals is the most dominant form of migration relative to unskilled and semi-skilled labour (Amin and Mattoo, 2007). However, previous research on Zambian professional migrants has approached the issue from the macro level and has largely relied on quantitative secondary data published by other sources such as the World Bank and other organisations looking at migration. Secondary data may suffer from measurement errors which has the potential to contaminate research findings. Although this study also looks at Zambian professional migrants, the point of departure from previous research is that it utilises responses obtained from detailed interviews of actual migrants in order to get an in-depth understanding of their personal motivations and reasons for migrating. This approach is useful in that it provides the researcher with an opportunity for immediate feedback and follow-ups and seeks to elicit clarifications from the research subjects.

From the South African perspective, the study is significant because previous research on international migration has centred mainly on unskilled migrants (Danso & McDonald, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2006:2008; Human Sciences Research Council, 2008; Kapindula, 2008; Kohat, & Wike, 2008). Therefore, this research will add knowledge to the study of international

migration, particularly in respect of professional labour migrants. The study also compares the results of the research by Kapindula (2008) in search of possible convergence of factors that drove migrants from Zambia to South Africa in general and Cape Town in particular.

Furthermore, the study brings out professional migrants' experience of xenophobia and whether they regard it as an obstacle to living in Cape Town and hence a potential push factor. This aspect is then compared with the experience of Zambian businesswomen migrants who claimed that xenophobia is a consideration in their quest to remain in Cape Town. In many cases, empirical evidence shows that foreigners affected by xenophobia are mainly unskilled labourers who live and conduct informal businesses in distressed communities with few or no social amenities. To the extent that professional migrants may not be directly affected by xenophobia, they may suffer emotional trauma for fear of being targets or because of the fact that their fellow foreign nationals are discriminated against, injured or killed by the local people. In view of these, the study is timely because it captures the migrants' experiences in South Africa especially in the context of the May 2008 countrywide xenophobic attacks, which might have made them re-evaluate their stay in Cape Town, and South Africa in general.

1.3 Research questions

The main research questions revolve around three main areas. The first looks at what motivated the Zambian professional migrants to move to Cape Town? Secondly, what are the migrants' experiences of social networks? Thirdly, what are the potential push factors from Cape Town for these migrants?

CHAPTER TWO

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In reviewing literature, a number of themes related to the study are discussed. These themes relate to the research questions. Thus, the major themes of the study are the reasons for people's migration, the role of social networks in migration and the potential push factors from Cape Town. Although there are other themes also discussed in the study, these are not central to the core research objectives. For instance, different classes of migrants such as asylum seekers and unskilled labour are not quite applicable to this study. However, these are brought in to help us appreciate the reasons explaining the existence of different classes of migrants in South Africa.

In understanding the reasons for people's migration, five different theories are discussed. The first is the classical theory of migration, which discusses the push and pull factors behind people's decision to migrate. The second is the Todaro Model which explains the reasons behind rural-urban migration. As already alluded to, the push and pull theory and the Todaro model are micro theories since they look at individual motivations for migration. However, the Todaro model argues that the perceived difference in wages between two places and the probability of finding a job in the host region are the main considerations for the people's decision to migrate. Therefore, people tend to migrate to areas where they are assured of finding a job which offers a relatively higher wage than where they are coming from.

The third is theory of social networks, which helps us to understand and analyse the role social groupings and play in the migrants' decision to leave the area of origin and settle in the destination area. This approach argues that social networks play an important role in sustaining people's migration and works in reverse in that migrants continue to support family members once fully established in host regions/countries.

The fourth is the equilibrium theory, which articulates the structural factors of migration. The fifth theory is the NIDL which looks at the challenges of globalisation on countries and the new ways of understanding international migration. This theory is especially critical to the analysis of migration in the Southern African region in the context of South Africa and her demand for skilled labour and trade relations between South Africa and Zambia. The equilibrium and the NIDL

theories look at migration from a macro perspective in that they both look at the wider context within which people make migration decisions.

Lastly, I look at xenophobia and how it affects life of migrants. South Africa has been found to be one of the countries that exhibit xenophobic attitudes towards aliens, especially those from other African countries. In this regard, I discuss xenophobia as a potential push factor for the Zambian professional migrants from Cape Town.

2.1 Factors influencing migration decisions

2.1.1 Push and Pull Classical Theory of Migration

Gelderblom (2006) explains that the difference in the level of development in cities is one of the reasons why some people decide to migrate. Using the model of spatial reward structure, the author states that at the most basic level people tend to migrate if they observe that two areas are different in satisfying their human needs. Therefore, they prefer to migrate to an area that is likely to satisfy such needs. The author submits that cities that are better developed than the countryside serve as an economic attraction for some people. Conversely, commercialisation of agriculture which results in lack of land by labour tenants or sharecroppers, may force them to move from the country side to urban areas in search of other economic activities such as employment or informal sector trading. Gelderblom (2006:270) calls this a classical theory of migration in which one area is regarded as more rewarding and satisfying human needs than another region.

In this theory, Gelderblom (2006) brings out two forces, namely the push and pull factors as explanations for people's migration. Push factors are pressures that drive the migrants away from their original place or country. These may be unemployment, low paying jobs, poverty, crime, violence or war. Lack of access to land may be another push factor because when people are evicted from the land, which they had previously occupied, they may have no alternative but to migrate to another area where they think they would become better off. Some of the pull factors are high wages, good services and social connections, to mention but a few. In other words, pull forces are rewards attached to living in a particular area.

Push and pull factors exist in both areas of origin and host regions since they tend to work in both directions. For instance, "a potential migrant may be pushed away from an area of origin

because of unemployment but may be pulled back again by social connections” (Gelderblom, 2006:271). In the same vein, a destination area or country may pull the potential migrant by offering economic opportunity but push one away through anti-immigrant feeling or through legal restrictions. This contradictory combination of forces helps explain the circular nature of migration in that a migrant may be seen returning home periodically and not committing to the destination area in a permanent fashion (Gelderblom, 2006:271). Brettell (2000:101) refers to such migrants as cultural commuters or shuttle migrants as these people migrate back and forth between home and host countries with no intention of staying permanently in either place.

2.1.2 The Todaro Model

The Todaro model is another theory that explains people’s motivation to migrate. The model leans toward the economic model of rural-urban migration². Migration is considered as a “response to urban-rural differences in expected income rather than the actual earnings” (Todaro, 1997:280). It assumes that before migrating, people analyse various labour market opportunities available to them in the rural and urban sectors after which they choose the one that maximises their expected gains from migration. “Expected gains are measured by the difference in real incomes between rural and urban work and the probability of a new migrant obtaining an urban job” (Todaro, 1997:280). In essence, the theory assumes that members of the labour force, both actual and potential, compare their expected incomes for a given period in the urban sector, that is, the difference between returns and costs of migration with the prevailing average rural incomes and migrate if the former exceeds the latter. They also look at the probability of finding a job in the host region (Todaro, 1997:280).

Viewed from this perspective, the Todaro model is distinct from the classical theory of push and pull because the former looks at actual wage differentials as motivating factors of migration. In contrast, the latter argues that the main determinant of migration is the prospect of obtaining a better paying job. In addition, the Todaro approach looks at the cost imposed by the length of searching for a job as one of the factors influencing people’s decision to move.

² As used in this study, the ‘urban area’ refers to the migrant’s area of origin and ‘rural area’ refers to a migrant’s area of destination.

The Todaro model also differs from the push and pull theory in that it takes relative wage differentials as a major cause of people's migration from the traditional sector to the modern sector with the emphasis placed on the perceived wage differential. The Todaro model stresses that a person does not migrate for the sake of finding a job in an urban area. A potential migrant first weighs the benefits of migrating after taking into account the cost of migrating, the probability of finding a job and the difference between the expected incomes in the destination area and the actual income in the area of origin. A person migrates only when he or she observes that expected incomes are better in the destination area than in the region of origin.

The Todaro model may be applied to the study of migration of people from a less developed Zambia to South Africa, a relatively more developed nation, by looking at the differences in economic structures and opportunities and the effect this has on relative wages in the two countries. Thus, the Todaro model is applicable in the present study in that Zambian professional migrants perceived wages in South Africa to be better than those obtaining in Zambia. They were also optimistic that it would be easier to find jobs in South Africa than in Zambia given the shortage of professional skills in many sectors of the economy such as the academia, finance and engineering.

2.1.3 Social networks and migration

Social networks are defined as “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in areas of origin and host destinations through kinship, friendship and shared community” (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006:227). In essence, social networks are an extension of the broader theory of family and household model of migration. Therefore, there is a very thin line between the two, although social networks are spatially based. One central characteristic of social networks is that they are social relations that connect two or more areas. This element “is central to their functions of keeping the migrant involved in the life of the former home area and providing assistance to the aspiring migrant in making the move” (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006:227). This can only be achieved when familial ties are strong and the migrant feels a sense of belonging to his or her homeland. In host countries, migrants' interconnections with friends and fellow migrants sharing common concern are also important factors in these networks.

Given that migrants maintain contacts with sending areas as well as rely on established colleagues in host countries, social networks play a dual role. Firstly, they facilitate the flow of new

migrants from their area of origin to their destination area. Secondly, migrant networks involve the flow of migrants returning to areas of origin. Return movements involve previous migrants who may be visiting family members and friends as a way of renewing their social connections, ferrying goods or money backwards or forwards or just going to see to their affairs in the home community (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006).

Social networks play a significant role in that they influence “the choice of a place of entry, intra-urban migration behaviour and creation of new urban spatial units” (Lohnert, 2007:18). Network theories predict that having relatives, friends or acquaintances in a receiving country makes it easy for people to migrate because migrants can feel more confident of getting a job through the existing networks. These networks form support groups for migrants and lobbying forces thereby resulting in continued migration (Keely, 2000:52; Cohen, 2006:131). According to Gelderblom and Adams (2006:228,230), social networks are an extension of social relationships that begin at the time when a migrant makes a move from his or her country of origin with the support from family members or friends.

One of the characteristics of social networks is that they are based on reciprocity of exchange. Members of a social network assist one another by way of favours such as assisting the potential migrants with transport costs, accommodation or finding a job. When such migrants establish themselves, they feel obliged to help other family members or friends to migrate to countries where they have settled.

From the above, it is clear that migrants often maintain close connections with their country or place of origin (Lohnert, 2007; Adepoju, 2006). To this end, when one migrates, this “affects a whole range of other people in urban and rural locations besides the migrating individual.” Therefore, responsibilities and interrelations work in both directions as reciprocal network relationships (Lohnert, 2007:19).

Adepoju (2006:31) stresses the important role networks of kinship play in people’s “decision to migrate, assimilate or maintain ties with organisations at home.” According to Adepoju, (2006:39) people maintain these contacts because they consider migration as a temporal move, hoping to return to their home countries when conditions become favourable. To prepare for this, they send remittances as a way of building a home base for themselves and for sustaining and enhancing their needy family members in terms of education, healthcare and other requirements. These funds are sometimes channelled through informal banking systems, especially in irregular situations. Some

migrants spend part of their savings to buy goods to be sent home through visiting relatives or friends who act as conduits for delivering items and money. The remittances also help migrants to invest in their home countries in case they decide to return for permanent settlement.

Furthermore, Van den Broeck, (1996) observes that remittances play a significant role on the well-being of the economy and household welfare of some migrants' countries of origin. At the micro (household) level, remittances greatly promote welfare and human capital. At the macro (national) level, "remittances can provide valuable support to balance of payment accounts as is the case with countries such as Bangladesh, Burkina Faso and Egypt" (Van den Broeck, (1996:990). It is also argued that remittances contribute to economic development in the sense that they provide foreign exchange for essential imports. In addition, remittances act as a stopgap measure during times of temporary foreign exchange difficulties, for example following trade liberalisation in certain origin countries of migrants.

The theory of social networks provides a crucial dimension to the study of Zambian professional migrants. This is because some of the reasons for migration advanced by the migrants include the need to supplement family income, provision of quality education for their children in the destination area and assisting kin members facing financial difficulties in the home country.

2.1.4 The equilibrium theory

Some scholars argue that the traditional push and pull theory is limited in explaining people's reasons for migrating. For instance, Portes and Walton (1981:25) submit that the push and pull theory does not explain the structural factors that lead to patterns of people's movement, or the size and direction of such movements over a long period of time. They further argue that the push and pull theory accepts geography and juridical distinctions at face value. The study of migration centres on lines that obscure the basic similarities of apparently diverse movements. Therefore, Portes and Walton (1981) propose the need to bring about separate bodies of research on legal and illegal immigration, on internal and international migration, on working-class emigration and the so-called brain drain because currently there is little or no articulation between them and little or no understanding of their related structural determinants.

Portes and Walton (1981) further argue that at a higher level of generality, migration has been defined as the outcome of broad economic and political forces. At this level, labour migration is regarded as “a response to structural inequalities between nations and regions” (Portes and Walton, 1981:26). However, labour migration should be seen as a way of restoring equilibrium between spatial units or countries, that is, one that expels labour and the other absorbing it. In this context, migration is seen as playing a role in decreasing population pressure in low economic growth areas and provides for labour needs of the growing regions. Thus, migration helps restore balance between human and capital resources. This argument concurs with conventional economics’ definition of migration as being a self-regulating process through which spatial differences in labour demand and supply adjust themselves. The abundance of workers results in a shift in urban industries toward labour-intensive methods, thus providing employment for more unemployed migrants (Portes and Walton, 1981:26; Van den Broeck, 1996:68).

Van den Broeck (1996:83) adds that classical theories of migration state that as workers move from low-wage to high-wage countries, a more efficient use of labour is enhanced and inter-country wage disparities are narrowed. For the sending country, this implies less unemployment, rising wages and a boost to the domestic economy. This also enables people in the country of origin to have access to remittances and needed skills of those returning. Therefore, migration is seen as having all-round beneficial effects for both the sending and receiving countries.

In the Zambian context, migrants to South Africa are largely urban based – people that have been adversely affected by problems induced by structural adjustment programmes and the eventual closure of factories and downsizing of the public service. Migration has mainly involved professionals with few unskilled and semi-skilled workers participating in this process. For the highly skilled (professional) workers, the main cause of migration was the inability to secure a new job after being retrenched or the failure to accept a relatively lower position in the same company after foreign acquisition. Yet others left Zambia purely because the economy could not sustain high wages during periods of transformation from a command economy to a more open economic structure. Therefore, migration of skilled and professional workers has largely been induced by a shrinking economy with few new opportunities opening up in different sectors of the economy. To this end, this category of workers had to look for a place to escape and the new South Africa provided a destination, mainly based on perceived rather than actual available opportunities.

Migrants to South Africa have mainly been confined to the major cities where the probability of getting a job is relatively high. Although the movement has involved both categories of migrants, namely skilled (professional) and unskilled, the former group has a higher probability of getting absorbed in the South African labour market than the latter category of migrants due to lack of opportunities for unskilled labourers. Therefore, since the end of apartheid, we have observed an increase in the number of skilled people migrating to South Africa than the unskilled workers. In fact, previous research has shown that Zambia is different from other countries in that skilled migration is the most dominant form of migration relative to unskilled and semi-skilled labour (Amin and Mattoo, 2007). The unskilled people in Zambia take up low-paying jobs mainly in South African run retail companies such as furnishing outlets and retail supermarkets, for example and Game and Shoprite. Others engage in informal economic activities such as trading, mainly as a survival strategy.

2.1.5 The New International Division of Labour theory

The NIDL is a term used to describe the development of the world economy, an economy that can only be understood as a single integrated system. In the past, companies survived through investment in rationalisation, that is, installation of more efficient machinery and reduction in the size and skills of the labour force. Currently, the development of the world economy has forced the development of the NIDL in which the survival of companies is assured only if they relocate their production to new industrial sites where there is a pool of well-disciplined cheap labour. In other words, companies can only survive through the transnational reorganisation of production in this world economy (Froebel, 1980:150).

There are three preconditions, which characterise the development of the NIDL. The first is the presence of an inexhaustible reserve of disposable labour in the developing countries over time. This labour force is extremely cheap and can be mobilised for production periods. It can be engaged for short-term contracts like one year, months or even weeks. The labour force is usually overworked and can be replaced whenever employers deem it fit. The basis for recruitment is age, sex, discipline and other relevant factors. This is because there is an oversupply of people who are forced to take any job, which is available.

The second is that short and specific training is conducted for this labour force to enable them meet production needs. This is because the division and subdivision of the production process is now so advanced that most of these fragmented operations can be carried out with minimal levels of skill within a very short time. In this regard, the NIDL attract unskilled and semi-skilled labour. In cases where recruits are already qualified, their qualifications are not recognised, as the aim is to spend less on labour, hence the need for cheap labour.

The third precondition is that the development of techniques of transport and communication has created the possibility in many cases, of the complete or partial production of goods at any site of the world, a possibility no longer ruled out by technical, organisational and cost factors (Froebel, 1980:13).

According to Froebel (1980:14), countries which were able to supply vast reserve armies of potential industrial workers at low price, the first to attract the relocation of parts of the production process, were those which were close to geographical and commercial links of existing industrial centres. For instance, manufacturing industries from wealthier nations relocated to other parts of the world such as Eastern Europe, South America, Central Africa and South Asia. The transfer of production to countries with cheap labour affects both more or less labour-intensive production processes and processes which are heavily dependent on raw materials and energy and those which are a source of environmental pollution, given that the new sites can offer favourable conditions as far as other factors of production are concerned (Froebel, 1980).

2.1.5.1 NIDL and Southern Africa

The NIDL in Southern Africa can be analysed in the context of South Africa's economic expansion and the country's relationship with other countries in the region both during the apartheid era and in the post-apartheid period. Historically, people migrated to South Africa as the country attracted cheap labour for the mining industry. Much of the migrant labour came from Mozambique, Lesotho and Malawi. Therefore, during the apartheid era, South Africa considered the Southern African region as its backyard and source of cheap labour. Weak economies such as Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique and Swaziland were also heavily dependent on South Africa for their economic wellbeing. Furthermore, South Africa regarded the region as a market for her export products due to the country's inability to compete favourably on the international market due to

economic sanctions (Daniel, et al., 2003:369). Butler (2004:13) observes that migrant labour in South Africa began on the sugar fields of Natal which depended on labourers from Mozambique. Later, cyclical migration became a generalised domestic and sub-continental cheap labour system, feeding the country's mining, commercial and agricultural sectors. Ultimately, it became the backbone of the industrial and commercial systems of the apartheid apparatus as a whole.

Currently, South Africa has continued to attract labour migrants because the country is the most dominant economy in Africa. The country has expanded its trade and investment flows on the continent due to her emphasis on trade liberalisation as well as relaxation of controls on foreign investment during the 1990s following the dismantling of apartheid. South Africa's exports to the rest of Africa translated into economic growth between 1990 and 2004. This growth surpassed exports to the United States and the European Union. In total, South Africa recorded export growth exceeding 15 per cent since 2002. In 2002, South Africa's foreign direct investment (FDI)³ was \$3.4 billion, an increase from \$800 million in 1996. Estimates show that between 2002 and 2004, the level of South Africa's foreign direct investment to the rest of Africa grew by 4 per cent. Large South African companies, both state-owned and private have increasingly expanded their investment reach in the Southern African region, Africa as a whole and beyond (Stephan, et al., 2006:296).

South African multinational corporations (MNCs) have mainly concentrated their investment in mining, food processing, financial, telecommunication, retailing and tourism (Muradzikwa, 2002 quoting UNCTAD, 1999). South Africa's investment in Southern Africa is in line with the predictions of the NIDL theory, which places emphasis on the need for companies to relocate to less developed countries if they are to survive the global economic challenges. South Africa's strengths lie mainly in three areas namely, sophisticated financial services, physical infrastructure and existence of strong MNCs. Many South African MNCs have continued to take advantage of weak economies in the region and have concentrated their investment in countries where they face minimal or no competition and have easy access to a pool of cheap labour. This is because many countries in Africa, particularly within the Southern African region, have high unemployment levels (Daniel, et al., 2003:369) and their economies are relatively less diversified.

³ Foreign Direct Investment is direct investment by a corporation in a commercial venture in another country; see Todaro (1997:697).

Milazi, (2001:90) estimates that South Africa's manufacturing and mining industries are growing and offer many job opportunities compared to what is prevailing in many Southern African countries. While many economies are collapsing in Africa, South Africa's economy is growing, making it the most developed country within Southern Africa and possibly in Africa as a whole (Matlosa, 2001:154; Mattes et al., 2002:117). In view of this, the country continues to attract migrant labour because of job opportunities and better wages or salaries in different sectors of the economy than what is obtaining elsewhere in Africa, particularly in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region. South Africa offers prospects for employment opportunities for all categories of the labour force, that is, the professional, semi-skilled and unskilled.

From the foregoing, South Africa is considered a good place to live in because it offers migrants incentives for better living and access to basic social services such as housing, quality education and health. Accordingly, as Matlosa (2001:54) and Mattes et al., (2002:117) observe, unless regional integration is deepened, , the current economic imbalances in the region will persist and continue to attract foreign labour away from less affluent countries in the SADC region.

Based on the characterisation of the equilibrium and the NIDL theories of migration, one can identify a common thread in both models. For instance, both theories look at the macro dimension of migration and suggest that division of labour arises due to levels of economic inequality between countries. Advanced countries with highly developed industrial base and services sector are in need of labour to sustain their production base while less developed countries with high levels of unemployment serve as sources of surplus labour.

The movement of people from surplus regions of the periphery to the advanced regions brings about equilibrium between countries. As a result, countries expelling surplus labour tend to benefit through a reduction in the level of unemployment while host countries also benefit through access to readily available cheap labour.

As noted above, within the Southern African region, South Africa, a relatively affluent country attracts migrants of different skills levels from countries with relatively low levels of development. The migration of Zambian skilled workers analysed in this study is one example fitting the description of the NIDL and equilibrium models. The implementation of economic reforms in the early 1990s left many Zambians with fewer employment opportunities and had to look elsewhere for jobs. The dismantling of the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1990 had opened up economic

opportunities within the region and beyond. Thus, the declining economic prospects in Zambia and the dawn of political and economic freedom in South Africa created incentives for many Zambians who sought better opportunities to migrate southwards. As South Africa required highly skilled labour after many years of political and economic isolation, the arrival of migrants was seen as a bridging gap in skills shortages.

However, there are some differences between NIDL and equilibrium theories. An important difference between these two theories is that the NIDL model takes a Marxist approach and focuses on the damage that MNCs do in poorer countries, while the equilibrium theory looks at the mutual benefits accruing to both countries. According to the NIDL theory, industries are the ones that move or relocate to areas with a pool of cheap labour that can be engaged on temporal basis and at low wages. Conversely, the equilibrium theory looks at the economic inequalities between nations. According to this theory, labour migrants move from populated low economic areas to powerful economic zones. In this way, migration is seen as restoring balance between the economically powerful and less economically powerful areas or countries. Balance is enhanced by way of decreasing unemployment levels in less developed countries while the developed countries acquire human labour that could have been in short supply in their domestic industries. In addition, less economically powerful countries normally tend to have high population growth rates than industrial economies. The equilibrium theory predicts that balance is also attained in terms of reduced population pressures in less economically powerful countries. This is because, as migrant labour (skilled and unskilled) move to developed countries, there is a reduction in the population of less economically powerful countries.

These differences between NIDL and equilibrium theories are helpful in the analysis of the Zambian professional migrants working in Cape Town. The NIDL theory may be applied in understanding the context through which the respondents' migration was activated. Muradzikwa (2002) shows how South African retail stores have pushed a number of Zambian businesses into bankruptcy due to increased competition. This is because South African multinational corporations operating in Zambia have attracted cheap labour, which is normally engaged on part-time basis. As jobs were lost through closure of companies, some of the respondents opted to emigrate to South Africa in search of opportunities. This seems to form a circular reaction in that as South African retail companies invest in Zambia only unskilled and semi-skilled labour is attracted. For the professionals, this is a disadvantage because there were no new good jobs created for them.

Therefore, since South Africa has been expanding in other sectors of the economy such as construction and services, to mention but a few, Zambian professionals have been attracted to these sectors. In this regard, Zambian professionals have taken better job opportunities and wages in South Africa as the motivation for migration.

2.2 South Africa and professional migrants

Although the NIDL places more emphasis on recruitment of the majority unskilled labour force, there is also need for professionals in many sectors of the economy given the declining investments in agriculture and mining, the labour intensive sectors attracting mainly the unskilled or semi-skilled workers, and the emergence of the knowledge sectors relying on information, technology and communication (ICT). Ellis (2008) argues that the South African economy has been integrated into the international economy and international labour markets where there is fierce international competition for skilled labour in critical areas such as information technology, engineering and medicine where the country has a handful of labour. Therefore, the country has been making every effort to recruit well-qualified foreigners with skills in fields where it experiences shortages.

Ellis (2008) observes that empirical evidence show that South Africa's economic activities currently centre on the financial sector, which now surpasses the mining sector, previously the major employer of many unskilled and semi-skilled migrant labourers from the surrounding countries. The manufacturing sector occupies third position after the financial and mining industries while the retail sector lies in fourth position. Available statistics indicate a shift in economic activities from unskilled and semi-skilled (manufacturing and mining) to skilled and highly skilled labour. Ellis (2008:116) reveals that the service sector employs a relatively high number of skilled South Africans compared with the mining and manufacturing sectors. For instance, in the ICT industry, 57 percent of those employed were professional migrants, while in the business services sector, this category of workers accounted for 47 percent. In the education and health sectors, professional migrants accounted for 41 percent while those employed in the banking and finance sector were 29 percent. The manufacturing sector accounts for only 14 percent of the total formal employment. However, despite this shift, estimate show that South Africa still receives many international unskilled labour migrants to two major sectors, namely agriculture and mining (Segatti and Landau, 2008:39).

Ellis (2008) concedes that during the period 1994 to 2002 government's position on both immigration and emigration was unfavourable because there was a lot of emphasis placed on the need to stimulate employment among South African citizens. Government policy was particularly focussed at reversing the historical discrimination of black South Africans in respect of highly skilled workers. Those who considered migrating to other countries were condemned and labelled as being unpatriotic and that they were not receptive to the post-apartheid political and economic dispensation. Unfortunately, the need to redress discrimination has not worked to the present day because the majority black South Africans do not possess the relevant skills needed by the labour market. This problem stems from the historically poor education system, which was biased against the blacks during the apartheid era. Therefore, the shortage of skilled labour in South Africa has been created by two main factors - the emigration of skilled labour to mainly developed countries and lack of professionals by the majority black South Africans. Given the critical shortage of skilled labour in the country, the government has changed the immigration policies since they needed skilled workers in different sectors of the economy in order to gain global competitiveness.

This realisation is a clear manifestation of the tenets of the equilibrium theory of migration. South Africa is responding to challenges posed by globalisation and is appealing to skilled migrant workers from other countries to fill the skills gap. The mismatch in division of labour between Zambia and South Africa may help explain the inflow of people from Zambia to South Africa and Cape Town in particular, given that these people possess academic qualifications and experience mostly sought by the South African private sector and the public service.

2.3 South Africa's investment and trade relations with Zambia

The Zambian economy attracted FDI after the privatisation of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and general opening up of the economy in 1992.⁴ Since then, Zambia has received more investment from South Africa than other parts of the world. South African firms, especially retailers such as Shoprite, Game stores, Ackermans, Dunns Clothing and Pep stores entered the Zambian market

⁴ Privatisation refers to the sale of state-owned enterprises to private investors. Trade liberalisation is the policy aimed at ensuring that trade barriers are removed by countries. Both privatisation and trade liberalisation are some of the structural adjustment policies imposed by the IMF and World Bank as conditions for their loans to developing countries, see Todaro (1997) and Situmbeko and Zulu, (2004).

beginning from 1996. Investment in the retail sector expanded when these companies opened up more branches not only in the capital, Lusaka, but also in other provincial centres. The huge market that existed in Zambia made other South African companies open outlets for sale of their manufactured goods such as furniture and other household goods, besides clothing. Muradzikwa (2002) identifies the following factors as having contributed to South Africa's investment in Zambia:

- i. Relaxation of foreign exchange controls in both Zambia and South Africa played a key role in investment expansion in Zambia,
- ii. Zambia implemented market-friendly policies such as privatisation and trade liberalisation which created an investment-friendly environment,
- iii. Zambia continues to enjoy a stable political environment conducive for foreign investment
- iv. Zambia offers favourable tax and other incentives to foreign investors in that they are allowed to repatriate 100 percent of profit made from their businesses. These incentives particularly played an important role in attracting South African retailers to Zambia,
- v. There are more benefits to investing in Zambia because retail firms make more profit as they are monopolies. This monopoly position is as a result of lack of competition as there are no similar firms existing in Zambia due to the collapse of state-run retail enterprises, which dominated the industry,
- vi. Zambia is centrally located in the Southern African region, thus providing foreign firms an incentive for expanding their business to other neighbouring countries.

Muradzikwa (2002) further argues that Zambia attracted significant increases in FDI after the relatively unsuccessful implementation of the privatisation programme, which resulted into widespread collapse of state-run supermarket chains such as National Import and Export Corporation (NIEC) and Mwaiseni Stores, two of the major state-run retail chains in Zambia. Regarding job creation, it is difficult to state how many jobs have been created by South African firms. This is because of poor records at labour offices and also because very few workers who were declared redundant by defunct state owned enterprises were re-deployed in some of these firms as permanent workers. Many workers are engaged on a casual or part-time basis and are subjected to hire and fire by management who comprise mainly South Africans. The net increase in employment might not be very large.

Therefore, from the Zambian case, it could be argued that South African firms have not contributed to employment creation in a significant way. Accordingly, investment by South African firms has not helped the Zambian economy or contributed to meaningful reduction in poverty levels. Furthermore, even though some South African firms have contributed to Greenfield investment, such investments have not been significant because some large firms that have invested in Zambia such as Shoprite simply rehabilitated the existing premises previously owned and used by the defunct state-run supermarket chains.⁵

In other words, FDI to Zambia has not contributed to significant development of infrastructure by South African firms. In addition, South African firms have destroyed many factories and manufacturing industries contrary to prior expectations. This is because some South African retail firms continued to source most of their products they sold in Zambia from South Africa. For instance, Shoprite sourced all their goods including agricultural products from South Africa, a situation that led the Zambian authorities and trade unions to intervene and force the firm to buy certain goods from local producers in order to boost the local economy and support Zambian local farmers. Despite Shoprite heeding to this demand, the company still imported most of the products from the 'parent' company supply chain in South Africa. Some argue that this behaviour by Shoprite does not encourage manufacturing activity and has in effect made Zambia look like a retail province of South Africa. Analysts have blamed this practice on blatant trade liberalisation measures adopted in the 1990s, which contributed to the proliferation of imported commodities at relatively low cost. The result has been a lack of industrial progress in Zambia (Kolala, 2000; Muradzikwa, 2002).

As already alluded to, the trade relation between Zambia and South Africa is unequal because the former seems to lose out in terms of benefits. South Africa seems to employ more workers, be it skilled or unskilled in home manufacturing industries while few skilled and more unskilled labour are employed in Zambia by South African firms. In other words, better paying jobs are reserved for South Africans while cheap labour in retail outlets in Zambia are sought from the local people. This kind of foreign investment mainly in the retail sector does not provide jobs for skilled labour in Zambia. Therefore, investment by South African firms in Zambia offers few job opportunities for

⁵ Greenfield investment is the kind of investment in an area where facilities such as manufacturing or offices were previously non-existent. See Todaro, 1998.

the skilled labour. It is in this vein that the respondents opted to migrate to South Africa in search of better paying jobs commensurate with their qualifications.

2.4 Different classes of migrants in South Africa

Since 1994, the number of documented and undocumented migrants in South Africa has greatly increased. Most migrants come from neighbouring countries that are fellow members of the regional organisation, the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Several factors have contributed to the growing influx of foreign migrants. One of the factors is that South Africa's long and porous borders with its neighbours are difficult to control and the potential supply of labour from the SADC member states is "enormous and elastic" (Human Rights Watch, 2006:8). The other factor is that South Africa's economic dominance in the region makes it an attractive destination for migrants. The political and economic situation in Zimbabwe, which has continued to deteriorate since 2000, also fuels migration. Zimbabweans are arguably the biggest group of foreign Africans in South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2006:8).

Meanwhile, migrants in South Africa may be categorised as either economic migrants (migrant labour, businessmen/women or traders) or asylum seekers or those moving for adventure purposes.⁶ Chiswick (2000:61) states that migrant labour and cross-border traders are considered as economic migrants since they move in search of economic opportunities. However, these tend to be favourably self-selected for labour market success. This is because economic migrants are said to be more able, ambitious, aggressive and entrepreneurial. These different categories of migrants behave very differently in the migrant world. This appears to be the case with the Zambian professional and Zambian businesswomen migrants, which is the subject of chapter four (data analysis).

⁶ There is not much literature available on migrants moving from one place to another for adventure purposes. However, this is one of the findings from an empirical study conducted by Kapindula (2008).

2.4.1 Cross-border traders

Cross-border traders include those that leave their home countries to explore business or cross-border trading opportunities. These tend to migrate to countries that have large urban markets, which act as strategic areas for trade in a range of goods and services (Adepoju, 2006:31). Cross-border traders have made a significant contribution to the informal and formal retail sectors in the Southern African region.” These migrants take out goods bought in South Africa for trading in their countries of origin. Informal sector cross-border traders export a wide range of goods most of which is produced in South Africa (Peberdy, 2000). The current economic situation in Zimbabwe has led to a shortage of essential goods in the supermarkets. Therefore, some Zimbabwean traders come to South Africa to purchase these goods, export them to Zimbabwe, and earn a small premium.

Meanwhile, Peberdy (2000) claims that some migrants who search for formal employment and financial resources consider informal sector activities as a stopgap measure such as when they get a job in the formal sector, they abandon informal sector trading. Those who want to set up their own businesses or enterprises in their home countries quit informal trading when they are fully established and are financially secure. Wainaina (2001) adds that most legal or illegal migrants move to South Africa not to search for employment but to buy various goods or merchandise for sale in their countries of origin. These migrants come with small amounts of capital and set up small-scale businesses. In some cases, migrants who set up small businesses employ the local people as in the case of Cape Town. Although their businesses are successful in some respects, migrants do not hope to settle in Cape Town permanently but plan to return to their home countries once they have built a sufficient resource base and set up businesses there using funds and other resources accumulated in South Africa.

2.4.2 Refugees and asylum seekers

Another category of migrants is that of people who leave their home countries because of insecurity. They migrate to other countries as refugees or asylum seekers in host countries (Bruijn, et al, 2001:195; Hansen and Oliver-Smith, 1982:31; Cohen, 2006:145). These people are regarded as forced migrants in that they are displaced in their home countries due to liberation struggles or civil wars. South Africa has received many refugees and asylum seekers from other African

countries experiencing civil war such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Somali, to mention but a few. At the moment, South Africa has continued to receive more refugees from Zimbabwe than from other African countries mainly due to deteriorating economic conditions in that country.

2.4.3 Unskilled labour migrants

Agriculture in South Africa is a major employer of foreign migrant labour, which is mainly unskilled. While the number of people employed in regular and seasonal employment on commercial farms has declined, there has been an increase in the employment of foreign migrants since 1990. Farms particularly located in border areas employ foreign migrants who tend to concentrate in such areas or where major migration routes cross commercial farming districts. Hence, migrants from Lesotho are found concentrated in the Free State, Mozambicans in Mpumalanga and in the south and southeast of Limpopo province, and Zimbabweans in the northern part of Limpopo province (Human Rights Watch, 2006).

The manufacturing and the mining sectors in South Africa also attract more unskilled labour migrants than other sectors. These comprise mainly migrants from neighbouring countries such as Lesotho and Mozambique (Human Rights Watch, 2006).

2.4.4 Professional migrants

Professional migrants refer to those who are in possession of an equivalent of a bachelor's degree. These have professional jobs in sectors such as accounting, engineering, academia, human resources management and health. Keely (2000:52) states that some people find it worthwhile to migrate to other countries in pursuit of employment opportunities. Even though wages may be low for lower jobs in receiving countries, skilled migrants find low-paying and "low-status jobs as a foot in the door" (Keely, 2000:52) This is because despite such jobs being a dead end, migrants regard this as an opportunity for personal and future advancement as they are able to change jobs or move upwards. Chiswick (2000:61) claims that carefully selected migrants such as professional

migrants tend to adjust successfully in countries of destination and have a more favourable impact on the economy and society of the host countries.

Post-apartheid South Africa has attracted a significant number of professional migrants mainly from other African countries, in particular those from the Southern African region. These include professionals from Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. Zambia in particular has a significant number of skilled migrant workers in many foreign countries including South Africa. This has resulted in the problem of brain drain in the country. Skilled workers have emigrated from Zambia due to lack of better job opportunities after the unsuccessful implementation of the IMF/World Bank imposed structural adjustment programmes from the 1990s (Muradzikwa, 2002; Situmbeko and Zulu, 2004; Amin and Mattoo, 2007).

2.5 Xenophobia as a potential push factor

Xenophobia is a major problem the world over. Xenophobia, literally interpreted to mean dislike for foreigners, has long been recognised as a serious global social problem, which spans many decades and takes different forms (Richmond, 1988; Bjorgo and Witte, 1993, Wilton, 1994; Brodtkin, 2005; Bunzl, 2005; Cohen, 2006). Research has shown that in Europe, Anti-Semitism and xenophobia have been on the increase. Anti-Semitic behaviour is blamed on negative views about Israel and/or sympathy with Palestinians and a backlash against globalisation and immigration (Kohut and Wike, 2008).

Although in some countries, immigrants are well integrated and do not suffer prejudice as is the case in Denmark (Togebly, 1998), the situation in South Africa is similar to many other countries. In South Africa, immigrants especially from other African countries face rejection due to xenophobia and lack of citizenship rights (Morris, 1998:1120). Immigrants suffer from resentment, hostility, verbal and physical abuse by the local people (Dodson and Oelofse, 2000: 126; Milazi (2001:86). Milazi (2001:86) adds that the Police and Home Affairs often detain foreigners illegally. Ironically, people from outside Africa are regarded as contributing positively to the economy while those from Africa are viewed with suspicion and that they steal jobs from the local people and engage in criminal activities.

One scholar observes that black immigrants from African countries are nicknamed “Makwerekwere” the term that refers to someone as an African from outside South Africa.

“Makwerekwere” are accused of being responsible for lowering salaries and wages, messing areas because of street vending, stealing jobs and women from the local people, among other things (Wainaina, 2001). Immigrants who are engaged in and are successful in small-scale businesses in the city of Cape Town continue to suffer from xenophobic attacks by the local people. For example, a good number of Somalian businessmen were killed and had their shops destroyed in Cape Town by the local people out of sheer jealous because they were successful business people (Bezuidenhout, 2000).

This situation has continued and has actually worsened as witnessed in the countrywide xenophobic attacks in May 2008 (CSVR, 2008). Reports of mob violence had come from the suburbs that hug the eastern rim of the inner city, where tens of thousands of immigrants from all over the continent live side by side with South Africans.

According to the Human Rights Watch (2006:3) foreign African migrants in South Africa, whether documented or undocumented, are vulnerable. The situation of Zimbabweans in Limpopo province shows two aspects of the problem. If undocumented, a Zimbabwean migrant is liable to be arrested, detained, and deported under conditions that flout South Africa’s Immigration Act. In addition, documented or not, workers on commercial farms are subject to their employers violating basic employment law protections.

According to Crush (2008), the rise of xenophobia in the 1990s is linked to the apartheid era which was characterised by racial and class division and animosity, racist immigration policies, a siege mentality and attitudes of uniqueness and superiority towards the rest of Africa. In addition, xenophobia is also associated with the new outlook to migration, that is, view of migration as being legal or irregular in post-apartheid South Africa. South Africans are least open to outsiders compared to many countries in the world. They also fight for greatest restrictions on immigration. South Africans’ negative attitude to outsiders spans from the 1990s following the end of the apartheid regime.

Many post-apartheid migrants to South Africa are asylum-seekers and refugees. This class of migrants experience lack of reception and refugee protection by the local people. Though the law requires refugees who have lived for over five years to acquire permanent residence, this is not the case in South Africa. The local people want refugees to live in border camps in areas that are far from residential areas.

There is a culture of violence in the country, which the local people use as a way of airing their personal and societal problems. Some scholars also accuse the media and some politicians of perpetuating xenophobic behaviour. They claim that instead of guarding against negative sentiments about immigrants, the print media has been anti-immigrant and unanalytical in its coverage of international migration. Public opinion towards immigrants is shaped by the attitude of the media and the authorities (McDonald, 2000:2; Danso and McDonald, 2001; Harris, 2001; Morris, 1998:1126).

South Africa's climate of xenophobia is not a new phenomenon (CSV, 2008). As already indicated, the country is well known for xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners particularly those from African countries. In his analysis of xenophobia in South Africa, Crush (2008) argues that whites and coloureds are more xenophobic than black people and Asians/Indians. However, as was evident in the xenophobic attacks of 2008, xenophobia was mainly perpetrated by black South Africans on fellow blacks from other African countries. The perpetrators were of relatively low class in poverty-stricken neighbourhoods where jobs are either scarce or survival means are lacking. Therefore, faced with these frustrations, they turned on other Africans (for example, Somalis) who had established successful businesses or those (for example, Zimbabweans and Mozambicans) who readily accepted low paying jobs which South Africans were refusing to accept.

It could therefore be conjectured that Xenophobia in South Africa carries a class connotation. Xenophobia is a class issue in that foreigners from other African countries who are in the middle class such as the Zambian professional migrants do not experience xenophobia directly as a result of their social status. Middle class foreigners normally earn better incomes and have access to housing in good and secure residential areas of Cape Town, which are far from informal settlements. These foreigners also have easy access to public resources such as education, water and sanitation as they are able to afford these services without financial difficulties.

Xenophobia is a destructive and reactionary force wherever it is found such as France, Indonesia, India and South Africa, among others. The onus is on migrant receiving countries to design, implement and actively pursue policies and programmes at all levels of society aimed at fostering tolerance, diversity, multi-culturalism and regional and global citizenship (Crush, 2008).

This chapter has looked at different theories of migration taking a wide approach in the analysis. Although all the theories relate directly to the experiences of the subject of inquiry – the Zambian

professional migrants, in specific terms, traditional theories (push and pull factors of migration) and the equilibrium and NIDL models are most relevant to the interviewees.

The discussion has also extended to xenophobia and its related problems. Whilst critical to understanding migration in general, xenophobia did not appear to be a factor in the lives of many of the interviewees. This is because xenophobia in South Africa affects foreigners who are in a low-income category especially those who live with the poor in informal settlements. Nonetheless, the respondents were indirectly affected mainly because of fear of being targeted by virtue of being foreigners from other African countries. They were also indirectly affected emotionally as their fellow African nationals were victims of the countrywide xenophobic attacks in May 2008.

From the literature review, there are three main themes of focus related to the factors that motivated professional migrants to move from Zambia to Cape Town. Firstly, as argued above, we could perceive structural and economic imbalances between Zambia and South Africa as the determinants of professional migrants from Zambia to Cape Town. We could postulate that in the absence of these imbalances or inequalities there would be little incentive for people to migrate, unless individuals are driven by different motives besides economic needs. The second theme is the role social networks play in people's decision to migrate and how these help them to find jobs and settle in host countries. Migrants encounter various difficulties and challenges in settling down in areas of destination. The third theme looks at the potential push factors that could influence the professional migrants to return to Zambia or migrate to other countries in search of job opportunities. In this respect, the focus is on xenophobia given the attention this problem has received following the xenophobic attacks in May 2008. Generally, in my view xenophobia is one of the major potential push factors for African migrants from South Africa. All these themes are discussed in great detail in the data analysis section.

CHAPTER THREE

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this study, a qualitative research design was used by exploring respondents' views regarding motivations (pull factors) for migrating. An investigation of the respondents' potential push factors from Cape Town is also conducted.

3.1 Methods and techniques

In this study, I employed depth individual interviews to collect primary data. To achieve this, a semi-structured questionnaire schedule was developed as a guiding tool for the interviews. In addition, responses from the interview responses were supplemented by results from a previous study on experiences of Zambian businesswomen migrants (Kapindula, 2008).

3.1.1 Individual interviews

To collect the data, - interviews with six Zambian professional migrants were conducted. The participants in my research were those who lived and worked in different organisations and companies in Cape Town at the time of the interview. I interviewed two academicians, three public sector employees and one private sector employee. I used individual interview method because this approach was useful in gaining a deeper insight into the different reasons for migration and experiences of the Zambian professional migrants in Cape Town. Furthermore, the method allowed me to pursue specific topics raised by respondents and enabled me to ask probing questions in order to clarify unclear responses to ensure that the responses given were interpreted correctly. The major advantage of individual interview method is that it is conversational, iterative and flexible. The questions were semi-structured so that respondents could openly share their various experiences relating to each theme.

3.1.2 Interview guide

An interview schedule was developed to guide the interviews on the understanding that it was the most effective way of achieving the research objective. A questioning schedule or guide was simply a general plan of enquiry which specified the questions that respondents were asked. This helped me to adequately cover each theme while giving room to the respondents to explore the topic further.

3.2 Method of data analysis

All interviews were recorded and transcribed after which the responses were coded in order to allow for meaningful data analysis. The codes were developed from the interview schedule and from the themes of the questions. I developed themes and worked out how they related to each other within the data. After putting in place the coding system, data analysis followed based on the research themes. This type of analysis is inductive as themes emerge from the data itself. Therefore, data collection and analysis took place simultaneously.

I also used comparative analysis because views expressed by different respondents were compared to find other themes that could be different until I was satisfied that there were no more new ideas arising. Thematic and comparative methods of analysis were used extensively as I kept on moving backwards and forwards between transcripts and the literature review. I built valid arguments for choosing the themes by referring back to the literature review to gain information that allowed me to make inferences from the interviews. When all themes were exhausted and the literature studied, I was then ready to formulate theme statements to develop a story line that would help the reader to comprehend my process, understanding, and motivation.

In addition, an earlier study (Kapindula 2008) on Zambian businesswomen migrants was used to compare the experiences of these Zambian migrants regarding their reasons for migration.

3.2.1 Coding

Coding is a way of using labels to classify and assign meaning to pieces of information (Miles and Huberman,1994). Furthermore, Richards (2006:85) defines coding as data reduction either by a system of symbols as in the case of qualitative data or by numbers as in the case of quantitative data. . Therefore, coding helps in making sense of qualitative data particularly to the responses of open-ended questions. The codes help us to see what is going on in the data and how a researcher ought to categorise the information. Coding enables the organisation of large amounts of text and discovery of patterns that would otherwise be difficult to detect by reading alone. The research question provides guidance in terms of what pieces of information the researcher needs to code and what to leave by the wayside for another question (Miles and Huberman,1994:57; Babbie and Mouton, 2001:413; Walsh, 2003).

In dealing with data analysis, I borrowed ideas of coding from Miles and Huberman, (1994:57). I went through the data by looking for things that were pertinent to answering the research questions. This helped me to decide on themes or codes that were important or not. I used different techniques such as paraphrasing, phrasing, heading, or assigning labels that described responses that were important. I also coded material with labels that did not only come from the literature review or the research questions but also new observations and insights that I thought could add value to new knowledge production on the topic under study.

The coding system employed was in line with Miles and Huberman's (1994:58) and Neuman's (1994:408) three stages of coding. In the first (open coding) stage, I read transcripts to check for phrases that may occur regularly. Here I began by generating numerous codes as I read the responses. I identified data that were related without worrying about the variety of categories. Because codes are not always mutually exclusive, a piece of information was assigned several codes. I went through the responses line-by-line to enable me keep myself close to the data while remaining analytical. This meant that I had to think about what each respondent was saying as opposed to being influenced by my pre-conceived ideas or just accepting the point of view of the interviewee. In other words, during open coding I read the text and asked questions to identify codes that were theoretical or analytical. This entailed paying attention to what was going on behind what the respondent was saying rather than just coding literally, what was said.

In the second-level coding or second stage, I went through the themes or codes identified in the first stage. My focus at this stage was on initial coded themes more than on the data. At this stage, I paid particular attention to additional codes or emergence of new ideas, which I noticed. The key task here was to review and examine initial codes. As I combed through the data, I discovered that there were other themes located in other places. By going through the transcripts during the second level, coding helped me to compare and find new themes in the data.

In the third level coding (selective coding stage), I reviewed codes and eliminated less useful ones, combined smaller categories into larger ones, or if a very large number of responses were assigned the same code, I subdivided such a category. At this stage, I dealt with ideas that were repetitive and began to organise codes into larger themes that connected different codes. This stage helped me to code major themes or concepts that ultimately guided my search for relevant information, which answered the research questions and add new knowledge to the topic understudy.

3.3 Positionality

My positionality as a married Zambian student and mother played a significant role in gaining trust from the respondents. The fact that all respondents came to know (during the interviews) that I was their fellow national may have influenced the manner in which they responded to my questions. For instance, because of shared nationhood and background, it is possible that they were able to freely express their personal views regarding the subject at hand. This was evident during the interviews and in follow up discussions for clarifications of certain responses.

3.4 Research ethics

In this research, there were many ethical issues, which I considered seriously. One of these was that I did not deceive any of my participants. I fully introduced myself and highlighted the purpose of my research project. All the interviewees in this research gave me permission to interview them. In other words, an informed consent was given as they agreed to participate in this project willingly. In order to ensure confidentiality of responses, fictitious names of respondents are used on the

transcripts and the report. I have ensured that the responses given by the respondents are not shared with any unauthorised people. I have also ensured that whatever information I obtained from the participants were not intended to harm any of them in this research project.

3.5 Limitations

Dealing with skilled or professional labour migrants was challenging. Four respondents were very busy and each of them rushed the interview. Consequently, in some respects I found it difficult to analyse their responses as they lacked clarity due to lack of detail. Furthermore, one respondent was quite intimidating in the manner she responded to some questions. She often evaded questions that required her to provide detailed personal experiences. She seemed unwilling to talk more about her personal life and experiences. This was particularly on her interactions with fellow Zambians. While five respondents spoke in great detail on social networks and family background, one respondent seemed unwilling to share these. This had a negative effect in my data analysis where her responses were concerned. This is because the interview I conducted did not bring out details of her migration undertaking, her kin members' economic well-being and social networks. This made me concentrate mainly on the questions that she was willing to provide answers to.

However, since it was only one respondent who did not provide detailed responses, the quality of the general findings and data analysis were not seriously affected. I should note here that at the time of writing this report I had gathered more information about the respondent's personal life through other people. I understood later why she was unwilling to share more regarding her personal experiences because they seemed to go beyond this academic study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter catalogues the research findings of the study. There are four main themes in this chapter. The first theme highlights the respondents' profiles and family characteristics. The second theme discusses the reasons for migration. The third theme brings out the role of social networks in migration. The fourth theme discusses the potential push factors for the respondents from Cape Town.

The first theme is the respondents' profiles and family characteristics. The respondents had varied backgrounds regarding age, education and marital status. The main objective of discussing this aspect of the study was to evaluate if the personal profiles of migrants had any bearing on their decision to migrate. For example, single people may find it less of an inconvenience when relocating whereas married people who have an established family may be hesitant to migrate given the inconveniences that often accompany migration, particularly in the initial stage. Another aspect worth noting about respondents' profiles is the academic qualifications of each respondent. In the Zambian context, some researchers claim that professionals are more inclined to migrate than the unskilled people (Amin and Mattoo, 2007).

The second theme is the reasons' behind respondents' migration. The objective of discussing this aspect is to situate the analysis into a theoretical context and to relate the findings with results of previous research. This is important if the results are to be comparable or if other researchers want to extend the analysis to other categories of migrants. The three different reasons for migration as advanced by Zambian professional migrants are summarised below.

The first reason is search for job opportunities. Here emphasis is placed on comparisons between job opportunities for skilled workers in Zambia and South Africa. Respondents' expectations were that South Africa offered better job opportunities for professionals. By virtue of their educational background and work experience gained in Zambia, the professional migrants expected to find better jobs in Cape Town.

The second reason is accompanying a spouse and economic motivations. I have included economic motivation here because of the weight married women attach to better incomes and better

life in South Africa than in Zambia. As will be observed, like their spouses, married women claimed that they found it worthwhile to migrate to Cape Town.

The third reason for migration relates to the quality of life. The discussion is centred on respondents' perceptions about the quality of life in Cape Town. Respondents' views regarding the quality of life in Cape Town vis-à-vis that obtaining in Zambia are compared and contrasted. It should be noted that quality of life is discussed in the context of life outside respondents' work environment and relates to issues concerning quality educational provision, good infrastructure, easy access to quality healthcare and recreational facilities.

In the third theme, the focus is on the relationship between social networks and migration, emphasising the nature of support received from friends and extended family members in their migration undertaking. Respondents also highlight channels used to send money to their kin in need of financial assistance back in Zambia.

The fourth factor discussed in this chapter relates to the potential push factors that respondents considered as relevant in making them rethink their stay in Cape Town. The main thrust of discussion centres on respondents' views regarding accessibility to resources and the effect of nostalgia, xenophobia and racism.

4.1 Respondents' profiles and family characteristics

All the interviewees except one were married. Of the five married respondents, only one had no child. The respondents had professional qualifications ranging from a higher diploma to master's degree in various fields. In what follows, a detailed description of each respondent's profile and family characteristics is presented.

Rean is a Zambian woman aged 35. She is married to a fellow Zambian who is a medical doctor working for a local day hospital. She has three children aged 12, 6 and 1. Rean has a Bachelor's degree (BTech) in Occupational Health Nursing, which she obtained whilst in Cape Town and a certificate in Nursing, obtained in Zambia. Rean and her family live in Goodwood and have permanent residence status. At the time of interview, Rean and her family had been living in Cape Town for 13 years. During the interview, Rean appeared quite reserved but sociable. However, after the interview she appeared outspoken and had a lot to share about many other issues. Actually,

much of the information about herself and her perceptions about Zambia were revealed to the interviewer after the scheduled interview had been concluded. Before coming to Cape Town, Rean worked as a Bedside Nursing Sister in the Surgical Ward at the University Teaching Hospital (UTH), Zambia's largest hospital located in Lusaka, the nation's capital. Rean once migrated to the United Kingdom (UK) in search of greener pastures when she could not find a formal job in Cape Town. Rean informed me that she and her family plan to return to Zambia for permanent settlement but only when their children reach tertiary education level.

Taking the case of Rean, we could conjecture that it was difficult for her to migrate given her marital status. As a married woman, her decision to migrate was limited by marriage in that she felt it was not good for her to leave separately from her husband and family in general. As she pointed out, her decision to migrate to Cape Town was purely motivated by the need to join and live with her husband. Even her intention to migrate to the UK was hampered when the husband was denied a UK work permit. The implication of this is that Rean can only migrate when it is also convenient for her husband to do so. In other words, it is easier for her husband to migrate than it is for her.

Phil is a Zambian man, aged 46. He is a qualified Civil Engineer and works for the City of Cape Town as Area Manager. He and his family live in Parow, one of the northern suburbs of Cape Town. Phil has four children aged 18, 15, 13 and 9, respectively. Phil is soft spoken but had many stories and experiences to share with me. He has lived and worked in South Africa for a total of 14 years. He spent 2 years in Johannesburg, another 2 years in Kimberley and 10 years in Cape Town at the time of the interview. While in Zambia, Phil worked for the Zambia Metal Fabricators (ZAMEFA) limited, one of the large and profitable parastatal companies at the time.⁷ Phil and his family have South African permanent residence status. However, they have not yet decided where they would settle permanently although they have maintained close contact with their family and friends back in Zambia.

Being a man, it was easy for Phil to migrate despite being married. It also follows that his wife was ready to accompany him, as his decision to migrate appeared to dominate that of his wife. His academic qualification and work experience in Zambia also made it easier for him to migrate because this enhanced his chances of getting a job in South Africa, particularly that government policy currently favours people with skills, especially in technical fields such as engineering.

⁷ ZAMEFA was one of the first companies to be privatised.

Jason is a Zambian man, aged 48 and married with five children aged 23, 21, 17, 15, and 14, respectively. Jason is a Lecturer at UCT in the Graduate School of Business and holds a master's degree (MBA) in Business Administration and lives with 3 of his older children in one of the UCT houses where he serves as a Warden for UCT postgraduate residence community. He also disclosed that he was planning to relocate his wife and their 2 younger children to Cape Town so that they can live together as a family. His wife is also a Lecturer at Rhodes University in the Eastern Cape and lives in Grahamstown with 2 of their younger children.

At the time of the interview, Jason was studying for a doctorate degree (PhD) in Management studies at Rhodes University on a part-time basis and had since submitted his dissertation for examination. Jason is an outgoing, outspoken and social person. Jason has lived in South Africa for 9 years, 5 of which were spent in Grahamstown where he also worked as a Lecturer at Rhodes University. He had only been in Cape Town for 4 years. Like Phil, Jason and his family also have permanent residence status in South Africa and probably because of this the family was undecided about where they would want to settle permanently. Before deciding to migrate to South Africa, Jason was employed as a Lecturer at the Copperbelt University (CBU), Zambia's second largest state university located in the mining hub of the country. On the sidelines, he also offered consultancy services to the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry as well as to the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), the former state owned mining conglomerate.

Given his background and experience, and the nature of his profile, one could conclude that it is easy for Jason to migrate because he had moved with his family. His academic qualification and experience particularly helped him to easily make the decision to leave Zambia in order to search for a better paying job in South Africa. The fact that his wife is also a lecturer made it easier for him to migrate. This is because the likelihood of both finding a job was higher given that they shared the same career, especially in view of the scarcity of skills at tertiary educational institutions in the country.

Munga is 55 years old, married but with no child. Prior to the interview, I already knew Munga and was familiar with her, which helped me understand her situation a lot better. I knew her as an outgoing, focused and ambitious woman. She holds a Master's degree in Organisational Psychology and was pursuing a PhD in Organisational Psychology at UCT, her advanced age notwithstanding. Munga is a Lecturer at UCT in the Department of Management Studies. While in Zambia, she worked as an Assistant Telecommunications Officer for a parastatal company called

Zambia Telecommunications (Zamtel). Munga's husband is also a Lecturer at UCT and serves as a visiting lecturer at CBU in Zambia. The family lives in one of the UCT undergraduate residences where Munga is a Warden, like Jason. At the time of the interview, Munga and her husband had lived in Cape Town for 14 years. Munga claimed that she had travelled extensively while accompanying her husband for further studies. Before coming to Cape Town, they had lived in the UK, France, Australia and Italy. Unlike Phil and Jason, Munga and her husband have not applied for permanent residence in South Africa, as they did not see the need to do so. In fact, at the time of the interview, she revealed that they were planning to relocate to Zambia within few months.

A look at Munga's personal characteristics and profile provides a basis for us to conclude that it may be difficult for her to migrate by virtue of being a married woman although the likelihood of her getting a job was high even if she were to migrate on her own volition given her academic qualifications.

Sarah is a Zambian woman aged 50 and married to a fellow Zambian who is a Researcher with the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). She has 2 children of her own and has a niece who is directly dependent on her. She and her family live in Bellville. A holder of a Higher Diploma in Office Management, Sarah had lived in Cape Town for 20 years at the time of the interview. During the discussion, Sara presented herself as a soft spoken and sociable person. Before migrating to South Africa, she worked for the North Atlantic Engineering Firm in Zambia as a Human Resources Officer. Prior to moving to Cape Town, Sarah and her husband both worked at the University of the North West as a Human Resources Officer and Lecturer, respectively. The family has yet to decide where they would want to settle permanently. With her profile and marital status, we could conclude that Sarah would have found it difficult to migrate without the nod from her husband. However, like Munga, there is a high probability that she could easily find a job in the host region, given her academic qualifications.

Chansa is a Zambian woman. Aged 34 years, single and with no child, Chansa had lived in Cape Town for only 3 years and lives alone in Kenilworth, a suburb within the vicinity of the greater city of Cape Town. During the interview, Chansa came out as an outspoken and sociable person and my later interactions were testimony to my earlier observations. She holds a Diploma in Accounting, Management and Finance and at the time of the interview she was employed as an Accountant for a Conveyance company. While in Zambia, she was a Catholic Nun for 7 years but quit sisterhood in 2005 after which she worked as an Accountant for the Associated Fire Services for a year before

she moved to Cape Town. Given that she is starting life, Chansa informed me that she had not decided where she would like to settle permanently.

In reviewing Chansa's profile and family characteristics, we could conclude that she has a high likelihood of migrating given her marital status as a single woman. Her academic qualifications and work experience as an accountant also makes it easy for her to find a job in South Africa. This is because her skills are highly sought in the financial services sector and elsewhere.

In assessment of the factors influencing people's decision to migrate, I could submit that single respondents found it easier to migrate than their married counterparts. This conclusion is based on our prior experience with the Zambian culture which puts primacy on the patriarchal system where a man as head of the household makes all the decisions. Even in terms of migration, a married man would find it easy to migrate with or without his spouse. On the other hand, the decision to migrate by Zambian married women is likely to be hindered by societal norms and cultural considerations. From this analysis, one would conjecture that married women can only migrate if it is convenient for their spouses as well. In the absence of this possibility, and based on cultural dictates, it would be difficult for a married woman to migrate, even if other conditions and factors suggest otherwise. This finding is consistent with an earlier finding about married Zambian businesswomen migrants who accompanied their spouses for purposes of preserving their marriages (Kapindula, 2008).

From their profiles and family characteristics, we could also conclude that the respondents are of a very diverse background and a different class of migrants especially when we compare them with the small-scale Zambian businesswomen migrants living in Cape Town. Most of the Zambian businesswomen migrants had a humble education background with qualifications ranging from grade 10 to the highest qualification of national diploma, which was also in a relatively less attractive field of tailoring. Only two of the six businesswomen had a diploma in financial management and business administration, respectively (Kapindula, 2008). Unlike the small-scale business migrants, professional migrants who are the main subject matter of this study, have much higher educational qualifications, placing them at an advantage and providing them with a wide range of opportunities to secure reasonably well paying jobs. Their qualifications range from the higher diploma to master's degree, largely in technical and other professional areas of specialisation. Therefore, for many of these people, the level of academic qualification also had a bearing on their quest to migrate.

4.2 Reasons for embarking on migration

Generally, the respondents moved to Cape Town for four main reasons. These ranged from search for better employment opportunities, a good work environment and remuneration, accompanying spouses and economic motivations to better quality of life. The discussion below unpacks the respondents' reasons for migrating.

4.2.1 Search for better job opportunities

Respondents such as Phil, Jason and Chansa came to Cape Town in search of job opportunities. There are a number of factors that motivated them to relocate to South Africa in search of job opportunities. For Phil, one of the factors that persuaded him to leave Zambia was the pull out of the Anglo-American Corporation from Zambia. Anglo American Corporation was a large multinational conglomerate with stakes in a number of sectors, but largely in mining. Thus, its withdrawal from Zambia significantly reduced the job opportunities for the Zambian engineers.

Echoing Phil's concerns, Jason also had this to say, "After privatisation in Zambia there were a lot of uncertainties regarding job opportunities in the mining industry and other companies especially those which had been privatised. It was also difficult to find jobs elsewhere in other companies at the time. To make matters worse, Zambia experienced many forced and unnecessary university closures. Therefore, I was worried about my children's future if I were to be unemployed or had no meaningful job to fend for their needs, particularly their educational needs. So I had to look elsewhere."

Generally, regardless of the actual factors motivating respondents to migrate, the major factor was lack of good job opportunities for the professionally qualified people in Zambia. This problem was worsened by the privatisation of many state-owned enterprises in the early 1990s. The implementation of liberalisation policies had led to high levels of unemployment, even though the policies also entailed stimulating foreign investment in the country. Much of the direct foreign investment came from South Africa and was concentrated in the retail sector. However, previous research posits that the increase in FDI in Zambia did not translate into meaningful employment opportunities (Muradzikwa, 2002). Such kind of investment could best be explained in the context of the NIDL theory which predicts a damaging impact of capital inflows in that it thrives on inequalities between countries.

Furthermore, all the respondents shared similar sentiments about their current work environments and remuneration. Generally, respondents were happy with their current jobs, stating that the work environment and salaries were better than what was prevailing in their previous jobs in Zambia. Those in academia like Jason and Munga, said that they were happy working at UCT because the university offers competitive salaries that enable them meet their basic and other financial needs including those of their family members. In addition, as academics, they found the university offering them opportunities to conduct research, which to them was important for career advancement. For those employed in the public service and private sector, they too claimed that their work environment was of high standard and better paying in terms of salaries than in their previous employment in Zambia.

Phil outlined a number of factors that motivated him to migrate to South Africa. The first factor was the difference between the salaries of expatriate workers and the local workers in his former company, ZAMEFA. He claimed that despite having similar academic qualifications, expatriates got better salaries than the local workers. In addition, expatriates obtained huge allowances by virtue of being expatriate workers. The disparity in salaries and allowances between the local and expatriate workers became a source of huge frustration, prompting him to search for options in order to escape this disenchantment. Therefore, he decided to move. Besides the salary, Phil observed that working in South Africa and particularly in Cape Town made his work enjoyable. This is because companies and organisations in Cape Town had advanced technology that enabled workers to apply their skills effectively. In hindsight, he remembered how difficult it was to work for ZAMEFA because of lack of appropriate technology in Zambia. He claimed that despite being a professional, his input in the job was below par.

The description of Phil's and Rean's experience may partly be explained by the predictions of the Todaro model. As observed, some respondents worked in Zambia and elsewhere but used the possibility of finding a job and the wage differential in favour of Cape Town as the main motivation for migrating to the city. The Todaro model is especially applicable to Rean who opted to leave Zambia for another place, indicating that the difference in wages between Zambia and

Cape Town, in the initial move and Cape Town and the UK in the unsuccessful attempt to set base in the UK, was a factor in her decision to migrate.⁸

4.2.2 Accompanying spouses and economic motivations

The responses from all married female interviewees suggested that the main motivation for moving to Cape Town was to ensure family unity. Therefore, accompanying their spouses was the major reason for migrating. This factor provides another dimension of looking at the causes for people's migration. In some instances, married women decide to migrate in order to keep their families together. In the present study, a case in point is that of Rean, Munga and Sarah who were employed either in public or private sectors in Zambia but opted to resign in order to join their spouses.

Rean particularly provides a good example in that her movement from Zambia to Cape Town was purely motivated by the need to join and live with her husband. However, while in Cape Town, she also attempted to get a job, but after failing to secure one, she opted to migrate to the UK with the hope that her spouse would accompany her later. Unfortunately the UK authorities could not grant a work permit to her spouse, a situation which prompted her to return to Cape Town to protect her matrimonial home. In other words, it was difficult for Rean to migrate given her marital status in that her decision to migrate to the UK was limited by marriage. The implication of this is that Rean could only initiate migration when it was convenient for her husband to accompany her, which means that it would only be easier for Rean's spouse to migrate than her.

The above cases depict classic examples of women wishing to keep the family bond intact even when this is at the expense of their career advancement and other personal aspirations. This aspect was also found to be true for the small-scale Zambian businesswomen migrants who decided to move to Cape Town in order to join their spouses. Like the married female professionals, the businesswomen migrants opted to quit their jobs and businesses in Zambia in order to be with their spouses in Cape Town. For them, living together with their spouses was more important than the economic activities they were engaged in back home in Zambia.

⁸ This proposition brings in two motivations for Rean's migration, one driven largely by her desire to accompany her spouse, the other driven by unfavourable economic conditions in Zambia.

In general therefore, using accompanying spouses as a reason for migration of the married female respondents best depicts the patriarchal system in society where men tend to be dominant players in decision making. A majority of Zambian cultures follow the patriarchal system where a man as head of the household makes all decisions. Even in times of migrating, married men, for instance, Jason and Phil, would find it easy to migrate with or without their spouses, while married women would find it difficult to do so. Therefore, the decision to migrate by Zambian married women on their own (like Rean's move to the UK) tends to be hindered by societal norms and culture. Wolfel (2002) places such behaviour into proper perspective by observing that one of the unintended consequences of migration is perpetuation of patriarchy system in society through migration decisions.

Nonetheless, there are instances when economic factors may also be taken into account when migration decisions are made by married people. Thus, even though Zambia follows a patriarchy system, this does not apply to all households. For example, even when a married man decides to migrate, a spouse may remain in the area of origin and continue to work or conduct business and assume all responsibilities as head of the household. In certain instances, this is done in order to preserve the female spouse's economic position, particularly if it is believed that the woman may have difficulties securing a job in a host country.

Therefore, although dictates of the patriarchal system may be cited as a reason for married women respondents, one cannot discount the economic motivation, which in some cases may outweigh the need to preserve the family bond. For instance, the fact that these married Zambian women were equally well qualified means that they were optimistic of finding better jobs, and augment family income in the host country. Thus, for these women, foregoing jobs in Zambia was not regrettable. In this regard, it could be argued that if married female respondents had better paying jobs in Zambia, they probably would not have followed their spouses on full-time basis but could have been commuting between Zambia and South Africa to visit their spouses occasionally. This is especially the case for Munga, Rean and Sarah who quit their jobs to accompany their spouses. After joining their spouses, they searched for jobs and are all working.

The same observation was made regarding small-scale Zambian businesswomen migrants who left employment and business in Zambia and accompanied their spouses. These also ensured that they found something productive to do. This was evidenced by their engagement in small-scale businesses in order to supplement family income. They engaged in different business activities such

as fashion and designing, tailoring, trading in Zambian fresh fish, and sale of cheap Chinese clothing, among others (see Kapindula, 2008). Implicitly therefore, if Zambia provided better economic incentives to workers, the likelihood is that the respondents and their spouses would have stayed unless they were driven by other motives.

However, unlike the married female professional migrants, businesswomen migrants experienced a number of difficulties in finding jobs due to their relatively low level of education. The business ventures they engaged in were more of a survival mechanism rather than a sustained source of livelihood, mainly due to lack of adequate capital. Instead, a majority of these businesswomen migrants depended on their husbands for recapitalisation to sustain their businesses (Kapindula, 2008).

From the foregoing, we could argue that even though the major reason for female married respondents was accompanying their spouses, they were also driven by economic motives. This finding fits well within the classical theory of migration, which emphasises push factors as important causes of migration (Gelderblom,2006:270).

4.2.3 Quality of life as a pull factor to Cape Town

Respondents seemed content living in Cape Town and cited quality of education and health facilities as some of the inducements the city offers. Nearly all respondents concurred that even though these facilities are expensive, they are of better quality than in Zambia. To stress this point, Rean had this to say, “here schools, including government schools, provide quality education. We take our children to government schools and they receive good education.” Rean remembers Zambia as a country where there is a lack of quality education in public schools and tertiary institutions. Given this, she does not want to subject her children to poor educational standards. Rean’s fears were echoed by Jason, who as a Lecturer experienced some negative aspects of the Zambian education system. He claimed, “Public universities in Zambia even now close unexpectedly, making it difficult to run programmes according to university calendars. This demoralises lecturers and compromises the quality of learning on the part of students.” Thus, he decided to migrate to seek better job opportunities elsewhere in order to provide quality education for his children from primary school to tertiary level.

Respondents also spoke highly of good infrastructure such as roads, and other social amenities, including recreation facilities such as shopping malls and parks. The implication of these findings entail that respondents have not only enjoyed economic prospects in Cape Town but are happy with other things such as entertainment and adventure. In order to highlight this, Munga sums up the respondents' perceptions about Cape Town very well. She put it this way, "My husband and I have travelled extensively around the world. We started travelling when my husband first went for further studies to pursue his PhD in Australia. He also studied in other countries – Italy, France and the UK – but we also tried to find jobs in these countries. However, having travelled to other countries, I can still say that Cape Town is just a nice place. It cannot be compared to most of the countries in which I have lived. It is very nice here. The weather and just the beauty are fantastic."

These migrants' perceptions about Zambian conditions and those obtaining in Zambia and Cape Town were consistent with the views expressed by the small-scale Zambian businesswomen migrants in an earlier study. The businesswomen migrants generally felt that Cape Town offered a favourable environment to live in because of numerous opportunities for business ventures. They also enjoyed a good quality of life, which they perceived to be different from that in Zambian cities. For this reason, a few were reluctant to think about relocating back to Zambia for final settlement. While professional migrants are motivated to live in Cape Town mainly due to better job opportunities and remuneration and quality education for their children, businesswomen migrants spoke of good quality of life and general infrastructure as the main attractions for their preference of Cape Town over the country of origin (Kapindula, 2008).

It cannot be denied that South Africa offers incomparable attractions relative to Zambia and hence, it is not surprising that the migrants, both professionals and businesswomen alike, find it very irresistible. In view of this, we could argue that Zambian professional migrants, like their businesswomen counterparts, are pulled to Cape Town because of the amenities the city is able to offer (Gelderblom, 2006).

4.3 Social networks and migration

Social networks normally play a major role in people's migration undertaking. However for professional migrants, social networks were not as important when they decided to migrate from

Zambia. Social networks only seem to matter when the migrants got to South Africa because some of them got their jobs through connections established via friends.

Five of the six respondents settled quite easily in the host area because of the help they received from relatives and friends who facilitated their settlement mainly in form of accommodation. Social networks in the destination area also assisted respondents like Jason, Phil and Chansa to find jobs in South Africa. When they arrived in South Africa, they had very little information about available job opportunities in the country. For instance, Phil first moved to Johannesburg but had little information about the city concerning existing job opportunities and other aspects of life. He was motivated to move to the city based on hearsay from friends living and working in Johannesburg at the time.

As indicated above, the experience of professional migrants in the use of social networks was slightly different from that of Zambian businesswomen migrants. Zambian business migrants generally found social networks useful in their migration undertaking, settlement and even in running of their businesses. Unlike the professionals, these migrants used social networks right from the time they decided to migrate, say by receiving assistance from family members in Zambia in form of transport (Gelderblom, 2006:270). Businesswomen migrants also expressed satisfaction at the amount of assistance they received from fellow nationals and foreigners from other African countries in Cape Town. For them, social networks were a more reliable source of customers for businesses than the local people and local markets (Kapindula, 2008).

4.4 Support of family members

All respondents spoke of supporting relatives in their country of origin, both financially and materially. Such support was extended through remittances using the banking system and/or through visiting friends and relatives. They also repatriate money and take clothes and other requisites with them each time they visit their home country. The respondents also said that they communicate with their relatives and friends through telephones and e-mail. Occasionally, they invite their relatives to visit them. The respondents said that they support relatives not because they were obliged to do so but that they felt the need to assist them due to the strong family ties that exist in their country of origin. This finding supports existing literature on social networks

(Gelderblom and Adams, 2006) in which assistance of family members is seen as a way in which migrants pay back those who may have supported them in various ways at the time of migrating.

The findings are also consistent with the literature on the importance of migrant remittances in sustaining economies of developing countries. Van den Broeck, (1996:990) observes that remittances play a significant role on the well-being of the economy and household welfare of some migrants' countries of origin. For instance, at the micro level (household level) remittances greatly promote welfare and human capital. In a similar thread of reasoning, Adepoku (2006:39) submits that immigrants send part of their earnings to their home countries to help meet different financial needs of family members.

However, the findings show that the migrant respondents do not send remittances in order to invest in their home country or prepare for their final return. Instead, they remit funds as a contribution to help their kin meet the financial needs of school going children and/or medical expenses for their sick relatives. This finding is consistent with Cohen's (2006) argument that migration of one or more household's members can serve as an alternative source of insurance against large fluctuations in the prices of agricultural products. It can also serve as a way to allocate extra resources for financing investments in the household's farm. In addition, it can serve as an extra insurance against loss of income due to illness, old age or unemployment within the family. Empirical evidence indicates that migration is not generally a response to poverty, rather it is a means through which households diversify their economic base" (Cohen, 2006:132-133). Although respondents do not remit funds in order to contribute to the balance of payment or invest in their country of origin, they inadvertently do so each time they send money to help their kin in Zambia. This finding supports Van den Broeck's (1996:990) argument that at the macro level remittances can provide valuable support to balance of payment accounts. . Extending this It could be surmised that as a developing country, the Zambian economy stands to benefit from remittances by people in the Diaspora.

4.5 Potential push factors from Cape Town

Generally, the professional migrants cited nostalgia as the major potential push factor from Cape Town. For the Zambian businesswomen migrants' nostalgia was a minor factor. Instead, this group of people saw restrictions on international movements, especially among the refugee participants,

as the most binding reason for their dislike of Cape Town and South Africa in general. Other push problems which businesswomen highlighted were lack of access to loans, fear of xenophobia and crime. Businesswomen migrants also expressed concern at the cost of living in Cape Town. In particular, they noted that education, medical care, residential and business housing were very expensive (Kapindula, 2008). In trying to understand the main push factors for the professional migrants, similar pattern of questions was posed to this category of migrants as was the case for the small-scale business women migrants. The following are the views expressed by professional migrant respondents.

4.6 Access to resources

Generally professional migrants all had good jobs, which gave them easy access to quality medical care, housing and education for their children. All respondents said that they had comprehensive medical aid for themselves and close family members. Since they hold relatively good jobs, the respondents are able to afford better housing in secure suburbs. While a few rent homes, some even own houses, acquired through bank mortgages. Furthermore, a majority of respondents take their children to good private or government schools that are within reach of their neighbourhoods. This easy access to basic and essential facilities is because respondents are well-qualified migrants and have fairly good and well-paying jobs. We could conclude here that for professional migrants easy access to resources could be regarded as one of the pull factors to Cape Town.

In comparative terms, some businesswomen migrants have found life in Cape Town as very challenging and expensive. They claimed that if one was to be successful in the city, he/she had to work hard and seize the opportunities that were available. These businesswomen also found it challenging to find a suitable place to conduct their business. They claimed that generally the cost for office or shop space was very prohibitive. Therefore, they preferred to run their businesses from home or rented very small shops because their businesses were generally of low turnover (Kapindula, 2008).

Therefore, our conclusion is that the experience of businesswomen migrants in respect of lack of access to resources such as loans, quality medical care and educational provision is because this category of immigrants is engaged in temporary informal business ventures. The fact that the respondents had no access to bank loans due to their refugee status, or were not in formal employment and without a salary, the main considerations for accessing bank loans, suggests that

their business activities were a mere survival mechanism. This is supported by the fact that profit margins are very small, which prompted many of them to depend continuously on their spouses for recapitalising or refinancing their businesses. Accordingly, in the absence of this support, it is hard to imagine that their business could be sustained for a long time.

4.7 Nostalgia

All the respondents gave various reasons for being nostalgic. These ranged from general nostalgia (e.g. missing the home country) to missing family networks. Although respondents generally enjoyed being in Cape Town, this could not prevent them from reminiscing on the good relationships and social connections they had established in their home country. To shed light on these issues, respondents spoke highly of the type of food they miss from their home country. In addition, they miss their extended family members and social groupings.

Even if respondents are in Cape Town with their nuclear family members, for them extended family networks are important to their well-being. Munga put it this way, “when you talk about the quality of life in Cape Town, remember that the quality of life is not just about the beauty of the place. For example, when you look at South Africa the quality of life is not good when we look at other things such as South Africans themselves. There is this huge discrepancy between the poor and the rich. The local people also do not socialise or interact with other people the way we do in Zambia. So in this regard, the quality of life is not good. When we look at Zambia, we have high poverty levels let us admit it but when we look at how people relate and how extended family members interact, it is so good. Therefore, I can say the quality of life in Zambia in that respect is better than South Africa. I miss the sense of belonging. Here we live as individuals. This is because we are all very busy people here.”

While many respondents found it useful to apply for permanent residence permits to enable them access certain resources such as bank loans, others found it unnecessary. People like Munga found it unnecessary to apply for permanent residence, as she did not see any benefits that come with this facility. She said, “I do not see the need to apply for permanent residence as I knew from the beginning that one day I will relocate to my home country. I know I can do so many things there than here...”

Nostalgia was also experienced by Zambian businesswomen migrants. Some of them stated that they missed Zambia particularly their kin and Zambian food. One businesswoman respondent put it

this way, “I just miss home. It is better there in terms of free movement and socialisation. I miss my relatives in Zambia and Congo. I also miss food especially the different kinds of vegetables like cibwabwa, ifisashi (green fresh leafy vegetables and dried vegetables mixed with groundnut butter) in Zambia. If I visited, I would be eating those vegetables every day.” Another businesswoman participant added that, “there is lack of freedom... Things here are not the same as in Zambia or Congo. There (Zambia and Congo) people are friendly even to strangers. Here when you are attacked no one will come to defend or help you. They will just watch or even laugh. In Zambia or Congo it is not like that.”

Other small businesswomen claimed that although business was generally good in Cape Town, they thought it could be better in Zambia because of diverse opportunities. For instance, one noted that she could do better business in Zambia than in Cape Town. “You know here people do not care about what they wear and hairdo. Here you can move around without minding the way you look. In Zambia people want to look nice all the time. For ladies, hair and clothing is very important. Therefore, I feel I can open hair salon facilities, tailoring shop and boutique. I can’t do these types of business here because I will have no market.”

From the findings above, we deduce that nostalgia could be considered as one of the potential push factors for some Zambian professionals and businesswomen migrants of Cape Town. Like the businesswomen migrants, professionals are also likely to be pushed back to Zambia because of the need to be with their kin members. Some professionals like Munga would like to pursue more economic activities in Zambia at a micro level, which she has found difficult to pursue in Cape Town. In addition, some businesswomen and professional respondents stated that they were planning to go back and settle in their home country. According to them, Cape Town was seen as a place that could enable them plan effectively for their eventual return and final settlement. This means that economic opportunities that respondents have tried to exploit have enabled them earn an income that has made it possible for them to save or repatriate the surplus so that they could prepare adequately for their final return.

These findings are in line with Gelderblom’s (2006:271) arguments that pull and push factors exist in both area of origin and place of destination because this works in both directions. For instance, the respondents were pushed away from Zambia due to low salaries and lack of better jobs but may be pulled back again to their countries of origin by their social connections and general improvement in economic conditions. The research findings are also in line with Gelderblom’s

(2006) observation that migration can be explained as circular in that migrants may be seen returning home periodically and not committing to the destination area in a permanent fashion. Furthermore, the respondents' desire to return to their home country is consistent with Milazi's (2001:78) observation that migrants regard their home countries as more peaceful than South Africa, particularly in relation to crime. For instance, businesswomen migrants argued that Zambia was a better country for final settlement because they could do things more freely than in South Africa where movements and activities may be restricted due to concerns about crime and fears of xenophobia. In addition, Brettell, (2000:100) argues that strong family ties and not failure to achieve financial success in the country or area of destination motivates some migrants to return to home countries.

Meanwhile, some Zambian professional migrants and Zambian businesswomen migrants did not yet know where they would settle permanently. This indecision reflects another category of migrants which Brettell (2000:101) refers to as cultural commuters or shuttle migrants. According to him, shuttle migrants do not have a permanent country or area of settlement. They regularly migrate back and forth between country of origin and destination with no particular intention to settle in either place permanently.

4.8 Xenophobia and racism

Generally the interviewees claimed not to have been directly affected by racism or xenophobia. However, Munga and Phil both perceived racial and xenophobic treatment at their respective places of work. Phil complained that though racism and xenophobia were not explicitly exhibited, he was of the feeling that his work place was racist and xenophobic. He stated that despite being well qualified for a higher position after having gone through an interview successfully, management could not give him the job. According to him one of the interview panellists informed him few days after the interview that he was the right candidate for the position but management were not comfortable to give him the position by virtue of his foreign nationality. He also felt that being black also complicated issues. To him, racism and xenophobia was still persistent in many organisations. He went on to say that, "whites still want to maintain high positions in organisations even though some of our qualifications are far better than theirs. To make matters worse, not many black South Africans have professional and technical qualifications to take up top and key positions."

Munga complained that even though she generally enjoyed working at UCT because of the enabling work environment and good relationship with her workmates, it was not the case in the lecture theatres. She stated that students, especially whites, look down on her by virtue of her being a foreign black lecturer. According to her, students have a low perception of her ability in terms of knowledge. When asked what she does in order to enjoy her work, she responded: “I don’t mind them because I know my capabilities.”

It should be stressed that neither professional respondents nor businesswomen migrants suffered directly from xenophobia or racial slurs. They claimed that a direct form of xenophobia in South Africa is more prevalent in informal settlements where crime, unemployment and poverty are endemic. Therefore, the foreigners who are mainly directly affected by xenophobia are those who live in informal settlements with the local people. In the suburbs, where all the respondents live, this problem is less discernible.

From the findings, it can be deduced that xenophobia is more a class issue in that foreigners from other African countries who possess professional or better educational qualifications are in the middle class because this affords them relatively high paying jobs. Thus, like other middle class foreigners who normally earn high incomes and have access to housing in good and secure residential areas of Cape Town that are far from informal settlements, all the Zambian professional migrants interviewed did not experience direct forms of xenophobia by virtue of their social status. These foreigners also have easy access to public resources such as education, water and sanitation as they are able to afford these services without financial difficulties.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study has highlighted the experiences of six Zambian professional migrants working in Cape Town. The main objective of the study was to understand the reasons that motivated the Zambian professional migrants to Cape Town. Related to this, the study sought to investigate the kind of existing social networks that induced these migrants to move from Zambia to Cape Town. The study also sought to establish the potential push factors that could influence the Zambian professional migrants to return to Zambia.

According to the findings based on direct interviews with the migrants, there are different reasons (pull factors) that motivated the respondents to migrate from Zambia to Cape Town. These range from economic motivations (search for better job opportunities and remuneration) to better quality of life. The study was guided by five theories, namely the push and pull classical theory, the Todaro model, the social networks theory, the equilibrium theory and the NIDL theory.

The push and pull theory is applicable to the reasons for migration of professionals from Zambia. We argue that whether one decided to accompany the spouse or decided to migrate on his or her own, all respondents spoke highly of South Africa as meeting their economic needs, which they could not afford while working in Zambia. In this regard the classical theory of migration, which states that push factors such as unemployment and low pay, among others, tend to dominate when people make decisions to migrate from their place of origin. Since respondents migrated to Cape Town to seek better economic conditions, including well paying jobs and good social services such as education, it would be thought that these served as the pull forces. Accordingly, Cape Town may be regarded as rewarding and satisfying human needs than Zambia

We also argue that the Todaro model, as an extension of the push and pull theory partly explains the respondents' motivation to migrate. The model argues that people tend to migrate to areas where they are assured of finding a job and gaining better incomes relative to their areas of origin. The model has been extensively used to analyse causes of rural-urban drift but can also be applied to understanding the causes of migration of individuals from one country to another in terms of wage differentials. In the context of this study, the Todaro model is suitable in understanding the reasons that motivated the Zambian skilled workers to migrate to Cape Town. As has been shown from the respondents' views, some left their country because of perceived better salaries and the

higher probability of finding a job in South Africa, and Cape Town in particular than was obtaining in Zambia.

The equilibrium and NIDL theories both do help in understanding the macro contexts for the migration of Zambian professionals. The NIDL and the equilibrium theories take disparities in economic conditions between regions or countries as the major driving factors in people's migration. These differences create a particular framework within which migration decisions were undertaken by Zambian professional migrants. Central to the equilibrium theory is the existence of employment opportunities at the place of destination. For instance, South Africa, which enjoys a relatively developed economic base, plays host to many migrants from other SADC countries with low levels of economic development.

The migration of Zambian professionals considered in this study is a case in point. Following the implementation of structural reforms, many Zambian workers lost their jobs. At the same time, South Africa opened up to the world with the fall of the apartheid regime. This change in economic and social landscape between the two countries stimulated an increase in migration of Zambian workers of different skills levels to South Africa. Although it is not clearly demonstrable from the present analysis given the small number of interviewees, I can however argue that Zambia seems to have benefitted through this process (for instance, through a reduction in levels of unemployment) while South Africa has gained in terms of professionals in various sectors of the economy.

Following from the preceding discussion, the main contribution of this study is the narrowing of the research gap in existing literature on professional migrants in South Africa. Although different studies have analysed the issue of migrants to South Africa, from our review of literature none of them has taken an approach using detailed interviews of migrants themselves. Thus, to the extent that this study presents actual responses from the Zambian migrants but anchored in theoretical underpinnings, it brings out an important perspective to the migration literature. Previous studies have relied on published secondary data, which may affect the quality of findings. Therefore, such data may not bring out observed or detailed personal experiences of the migrants.

Furthermore, the study extends the analysis by looking at the role of gender in migration. Previous research has not paid much attention on the migration of married women especially those in possession of employable skills. Studies on migration normally focus on men and overlook accompanying spouses as important aspects to the study of migration. Where married women have been captured, concentration is on gender stereotypes where migration of such women is seen as a

way of preserving marriage and retaining unity in the family. Thus, in this perspective, since in most cases men are perceived as heads of the household, they are seen to make decisions on behalf of the family, including convincing the wife to emigrate with them, regardless of the opportunity cost inherent in such moves. However, this study brings another aspect to the study of migration of married women. Even though all female married respondents stated that their reason for migration was accompanying their spouses, there was also an economic motive behind their migration.

Accordingly, the study brings out one important observation that even though women accompanied their spouses, they are less dependent on them for material as well as financial needs. For instance, three women respondents who accompanied their spouses later searched for job opportunities in Cape Town. As professionals, these women now have relatively good jobs and supplement family income. This finding shows a similar trend from a previous study of Zambian small-scale business migrants to Cape Town. These women showed creativity and innovative behaviour and elected to work hard and started up small businesses in order to make a contribution to household income and lessen dependence on their spouses for material needs. Thus, the study highlights the fact that women migrants are strong willed and able to explore ways of empowering themselves independent of the support received from their spouses.

Although migration literature posits that social networks are an important factor in influencing the people's desire to migrate, this study downplays their significance among Zambian professional migrants. The role of social networks is only valid to the extent that migrants sought advice and obtained information about available opportunities in the areas of their expertise. However, the study has shown that the respondents did not directly depend on existing social networks in establishing themselves in Cape Town. Instead, many argued that once they found jobs, their income was adequate to provide for their family needs and they did not have to seek help from fellow nationals or other fellow migrants from other African countries. Instead, professional migrants appear to live independent lives. This is unlike Zambian small-scale women migrants who found social networks as playing a major role in their business start-up and running of their businesses. Some women expressed satisfaction at the amount of assistance they received from fellow nationals and foreigners from other African countries. To these women, social networks helped them to settle well in Cape Town and later used the same networks and created new ones to help them in starting their businesses and as source of customers.

The same can be said of the role played by kin in influencing Zambian skilled migrants. Although the interrelationships between professional migrants and kin in home countries do exist and are strong, they were not a major influencing factor in these people's decision to migrate. However, these relationships appear to be a factor when these people decide to return to their countries. For this reason, migrants have ensured that they do not jeopardise the social alliances that existed before they migrated. This is shown by material and financial support rendered to the kin in home countries. This was also evident in the nostalgic feeling expressed by the respondents.

Although racism was not experienced by businesswomen migrants, some professional migrants experienced it indirectly. One expressed an aspect of racism and xenophobia when his appointment to a top management position was denied him despite being the right candidate for the job in terms of qualification and results of the interview. According to him, top positions in his organisation have continued to be held by whites only. In addition, a lecturer experienced racist and xenophobic attitude towards her by her students. According to her, students were supposed to have a positive outlook to her lectures given her level of delivery in class. Unfortunately, she felt unappreciated because she was black.

My view on the above is that these seem as mere perceptions of xenophobic and racial treatment of the two professionals and could not be considered as experiences of xenophobia and racism. I needed to get more information on the two organisations to get a true picture of what the situation was in order to have balanced views. In this respect, I conclude that the fact that none of the professional and businesswomen migrants directly experienced racism and xenophobia these could not be regarded as potential push factors for the migrants.

Following from above, I argue that another contribution of the study relates to xenophobia. After the events of May 2008, the impression created was that all the different categories of migrants in South Africa were in danger of xenophobic attacks. However, the study argues that xenophobia in the country is more a class than racial issue, affecting mainly people who live in poorer communities although reports of racism were made by some of the interviewees but these were not broad based in that they indirectly affected a small section of the professional migrants. Those that live in better and secure residential areas are not targeted. Thus, because many respondents live in relatively affluent neighbourhoods, they stated that they were not directly affected by the attacks. This was also the case with the Zambian businesswomen migrants. These too were not directly affected by xenophobia as they live in relatively well organised residential areas located far away

from where the acts of xenophobia were perpetrated. According to both businesswomen and professional migrants, foreigners who suffer from xenophobia live in distressed local communities where social amenities are lacking and job opportunities are scarce. Indeed South African informal settlements are the breeding ground for xenophobic tendencies and this was evident from the attacks of May 2008, which started from low-income communities and spread to areas with similar economic conditions.

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APPENDIX I– INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Transcript 1

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Interviewer: Kindly introduce yourself and describe yourself in terms of age, level of education, profession, and number of dependants and the length of stay in Cape Town?

Respondent: My name is Rean. I am 34 but will soon turn 35 years old. I am a nurse by profession. I have a BTech in Occupational Health Nursing. I have three children, two boys and a girl. I have lived in Cape Town for 13 years.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about your husband and children

Respondent: My husband and our three children are all here with me.

Interviewer: What does your husband do for a living?

Respondent: He is a medical doctor and works in one of the hospitals in Cape Town

Interviewer: Who is the bread winner in your family?

Well... (pause, laughter), I think both of us since my husband and I both work. But I think my husband is the main breadwinner.

Interviewer: What economic activities were you involved in your country of origin before you came to Cape Town?

Respondent: Well, after I completed my nursing programme, I worked for the University Teaching Hospital (biggest hospital in Zambia) for 1 and half (18 months).

Interviewer: What was your source/s of income?

Respondent: Salary from my nursing job

Interviewer: What does your kin's main economic activities and source of income in your country of origin?

Respondent: Many of my siblings are working in government and mines. My mother is still working as a nurse. Their main source of income is salaries.

Interviewer: Have any of your kin relations migrated to another country or countries?

Respondent: No

Interviewer: Which part of Zambia do you come from?

Respondent: Kitwe (third biggest city in Zambia)

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Interviewer: While in South Africa, have you lived in another city or province before you moved to Cape Town?

Respondent: No. We have only lived here in Cape Town

Interviewer: What is the name of the area where you live?

Respondent: This area is called Goodwood. It is a suburb which was previously for white people only.

Interviewer: Have you lived in other areas of residence in Cape Town before you moved to your current area?

Respondent: Yes, my husband first bought a house in Summergreen where we lived for 9 years.

Interviewer: What made you move from Summergreen to Goodwood?

Respondent: The house was quite small for the family which was now growing. Besides it has an open plan which I did not like. You can imagine sometimes we would have visitors sitting in the living room and when I was cooking in the kitchen it was like cooking in their midst. But the major reason for our moving was because when we lived it was very nice and quiet. But later, many different people moved in the area. Some were unemployed and many foreigners moved there, too. In later years the place changed. For the first time, we experienced two thefts. One of the kids' pair of shoes was stolen. Few days later, a child bike which kids left outside for few minutes was stolen. It was because of this that we concluded that the area was no longer safe, thus decided to move to this place.

Interviewer: Kindly describe your current place of residence?

Respondent: This area is good and very quiet. We have lived here for 3 years now. Some of our neighbours are whites. I like this place because it is very safe.

Interviewer: What are your experiences of your current area of residence?

Respondent: Well we have not really had bad experiences here. There were only two instances when we noticed that people were throwing uncooked eggs on the doors of our garage. It was a bad experience. We shared this experience with our white elderly neighbours who promised that they would be on the lookout and investigate for us in case they were naughty children in the neighbourhood since they knew most of the people who lived here. The matter was reported to the police who later patrolled the area on two occasions. Though the culprits were not found, the behaviour did not continue. We think they might have been scared after seeing the police in the area twice. Since then, we have not experienced anything bad.

Interviewer: Kindly describe the type of housing in which you live

Respondent: This house has three bedrooms. What I like about this place is that it is spacious. The plan is also good. At least it has a separate kitchen and sitting (living) room unlike the previous one which had an open plan.

Interviewer: Generally, what has been your experience/s of finding accommodation in Cape Town?

Respondent: People who sell houses do not trust foreigners. They do not want foreigners to buy houses in certain areas. Even if you have money, they would still prefer a white person to a foreigner. When you see an advert for sale of a house and you go to them they will tell you that it has already been taken when in fact it has not. It happened to our Nigerian friend also. But for him he got fed up of this. So what he did one day was that after he was told that the house he had seen an advert for had already been taken, he asked a white colleague of his to go and see the seller and faked that he was interested in the house. The seller was quick to offer the white man the same house which was denied to the Nigerian. So the white guy went and told the Nigerian friend what he had been told, the Nigerian guy was very upset and just went there right away to shout at them and asked them to change their behaviour.

PURPOSE OF MIGRATING

Interviewer: What motivated you to migrate to Cape Town?

Respondent: My husband was already working here. He came here in 1994. I followed him in 1996 after we got married in Zambia.

Interviewer: kindly tell me more about your former work place in Zambia

Respondent: Well, I think I cannot say much about UTH because I worked there for only a short time (18 months).

Interviewer: What type of job did you hold?

Respondent: I was a Registered Nurse and worked as a bedside nurse in the Surgical Ward.

Interviewer: Kindly tell me about the difference/s between your former organisation and your current one?

Respondent: Here hospitals have good facilities. I remember one time I came across a Zambian who was referred here to do a scan for fibroids because there were no equipments for scanning fibroids in Zambia.

Interviewer: Kindly share more about your current job

Respondent: I am happy with my current job because here I am only dealing with chronic cases. If we cannot handle emergencies, we refer patients to relevant hospitals. I enjoy what I do because I do more of consultation.

Unlike one hospital here where I worked from 7 am to 7 pm weekends included. Although we used to have some days off, it was not enough for me to have good time with my family. I now

work from 7 am to 4 pm. I am happy now because I have more time with my family. The hospital I am currently working for is involved only in primary health care and emergencies

Interviewer: Where do you operate from?

Respondent: I work right here in Cape Town at a day hospital called Robbieniurock

Interviewer: Do you regard this job as a permanent one?

Respondent: No. I plan to do a master's degree in Occupational Health Nursing. I also want to do Public Health as it involves research, too. My aim is to work for companies that run their own clinics. You know there are companies here which have clinics within their work premises so that their sick employees have easy access to healthcare without having to go to distant clinics or hospitals. However, I have gained more experience from my current job. The experience will help me in my future job (Occupational Health) because there is not much difference between occupational health and primary healthcare.

Interviewer: Do you consider your current job as a means for survival?

Respondent: Yes. The salary I earn enables us to meet our general upkeep. It also helps us to meet schooling demands such as payment of school fees.

Interviewer: What opportunities have you found in working in Cape Town?

Respondent: Well, no one is ever satisfied with money. You always want more. But I think (pause), the salary I get is not so much, but it is okay. I like working here because, like what I have said earlier, hospitals here have good facilities and equipment.

Interviewer: Have you ever migrated to other country/ies before South Africa?

Respondent: Yes. In 2000, I decided to go to the UK (United Kingdom). I think you remember that those years, the UK was in need of more nurses. So my husband and I decided that I go first. We thought that it would be good for me to go and find a job after which my husband and our child could join me later. Unfortunately, my husband was not able to get a UK visa. He was told that there was no way could be given a visa when his South African visa was near expiry. So after living in the UK alone for 2 year, I felt there was no need for us to remain in the UK especially given that it was not going to be possible for my husband to join me. So I decided to come back in 2002.

Interviewer: Have you worked in other parts of South Africa before coming to Cape Town?

Respondent: No

SETTLEMENT PLANS

Interviewer: What type of residence permit do you have in South Africa?

Respondent: Permanent residence

Interviewer: When did you obtain it?

Respondent: In 2003

Interviewer: Kindly share the experience you had in acquiring your visa?

Respondent: Well for South African visa it was easy since my husband was already working here. The problem only occurred to get a visa to England especially for my husband.

Interviewer: Do you intend to search for another job elsewhere other than South Africa in future?

Respondent: I don't think so.

Interviewer: What are your plans for permanent settlement?

Respondent: We plan to return to home (Zambia) for final settlement

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Interviewer: Who supported you in your migration undertaking?

Respondent: My husband

Interviewer: Who facilitated your settlement here?

Respondent: My husband

Interviewer: Who helped you to find a job here?

Respondent: Myself. I used to apply to different hospital on my own. My husband only assisted me with information regarding the hospitals available in Cape Town since he was familiar with then and had lived here longer than me.

Interviewer: Do you support any of your relations in your country of origin?

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about the kind of support you render to your kin members in your country of origin

Respondent: We have a financial support structure for our parents. For the rest of family members, we only help school going children in terms of school fees. We also help some with their general upkeep

Interviewer: How often do you remit funds to your home country?

Respondent: Not often. It depends on the family needs back home. Sometimes, relatives ask us for financial assistance and we help if we can manage to do so.

Interviewer: What other purpose do your remittances serve other than rendering financial support to your relatives or friends?

Respondent: Pause

Interviewer: Do you have projects in Zambia such as business or building a house to which you remit part of your earnings here?

Respondent: No. You know the stories I hear from our fellow Zambians here is that it is not easy to entrust other people with money in your absence. You may have a project back home but if you are not there people will misuse the money so you can't do anything meaning for. So because of such stories, we have decided not to do anything there. It can only work may be if one of us is free and can be going home often to oversee the projects. But this is not possible for us since we are both working.

Interviewer: Do any of your kin members in your country of origin render some form of assistance to you? If so, what kind of assistance do they render?

Respondent: Yes they do. They help with small things. For example, you know in Zambia old passports are being changed to new ones. We applied here through the Zambian High Commission in Pretoria. But it took so long. So we sent application forms to Zambia instead. Our relatives helped us to get the new passport without us having to travel.

Interviewer: Have you facilitated any of your relatives' or friends' migration to South Africa?

Respondent: No

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND SOUTH AFRICA/CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: Kindly share your views about your home country

Respondent: Well I was last there some time back, 2002. I don't know may be now things have changed. But what I saw there was I think things there are very expensive, the cost of living generally. I also don't like things like university closures. I also did not like issues about general exam leakages. You know during our school time there were no such things as exam leakages. I hope it has stopped now. But on the positive side, I think some people are improving. Some of our friends back home are doing much better than us here. I have also seen that the economy has been stable and the country is doing well. I hope the current President will follow the example of the late President Mwanawasa who tried to improve the economy during his term of office.

Interviewer: Are there things you miss about you home country?

Respondent: Yes. I miss my family members. Speaking with them on the telephone is not enough. You want to talk for a long time but you are limited by the cost. The telephone also cannot be compared to chatting with relatives in person. So I miss their presence. The other things I miss is food especially vegetable and also our culture. I long to bringing up our kids in our culture. I want them to know our language but it is difficult since we are here.

Interviewer: You said you want the kids to attain quality education from here and that time they will already be teenagers, so how are you going to ensure that they are exposed to your culture and home language?

Respondent: Well very soon our older son will be in high school. He is currently in grade 6. We would like to expose them to our culture during school holidays. If we can't go with them home, I am sure as a teenager our son could go alone home to visit during school holidays. All we have to do is to ensure that there is someone to take care of him on the way. That way he will be able to learn the language faster as there are a lot of people speaking it at home. Here, my husband and I

use Bemba (one of the most popular native languages in Zambia) and our older son does pick few words here and there, but this is not good enough because the language is not mine or my husband's. I speak Namwanga (spoken by a minority ethnic group) and my husband is Ila (spoken by minority ethnic group). So I would prefer our kids know at least our language that is, either my language or their father's.

Interview: Kindly share your views about Cape Town?

Respondent: Cape Town is nice, has good weather, good schools and it is also near home (Zambia). If we have the time, we could even go home driving (by road).

Interviewer: What are the differences between your country of origin and South Africa, Cape Town in particular?

Respondent: This place have better infrastructure. Schools, even government schools here are good. We take our older son to a government school. I am impressed with the kind of things they learn about. I always get amazed when I see his home work. The work the do is advanced compared to home. But I know model C schools are not the same in townships. There the standards of education are poor. There is inequality to education between learners in suburbs and those in townships.

Interviewer: What are your experiences of access to schools for your children?

Respondent: The only thing I don't like is area restriction. You can't choose the school you want if it is outside your area. This restriction is for government schools only because I think private schools don't mind. You can enrol your child anywhere.

Interviewer: What are your experiences of access to health facilities?

Respondent: Well it is not bad. We have not experienced any problems accessing health care because we have a comprehensive medical aid. In fact I am the only one who has accessed more health care because of pregnancy, antenatal care. Generally, the rest of the family members have been fine.

Interviewer: How do you compare the quality of life in Cape Town and your former home area or country?

Respondents: There is better infrastructure here than home. Our kids enjoy going out especially to eat because of their interaction with white colleagues so they demand that we take them out as often as possible. But we can't treat our kids like their white friends, we can only take them out once in a while. So for now we have agreed to take them out only on Saturdays. This is something they really will be struggling with to adapt to if we were to go back to Zambia. You know in Zambia we live with other extended family members. It is different here where we live as a nuclear family. So going to eat out will be limited for us in Zambia as we will be limited with money. Our incomes will not enable us to afford outing with a big extended family members.

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced working in Cape Town?

Respondent: I haven't really found any problems working here. The only thing is that at times I just find that as a foreigner I find myself working harder than the local people. Some of my

colleagues are good but others are lazy. Sometimes they even chase patients away for minor reasons. So I don't like that. I like doing things my way. So I find myself attending to those who are late with the appointments which normally the local people are so strict about. If one is late for the appointment they are turned away right away.

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced living in Cape Town?

Respondent: I just want to repeat here that I really miss home especially my extended family members. I just enjoy being with them. Well at times I feel happy when there are social gatherings for Zambian women living here. At least we get to share a lot about our country and other things. But you know this is not held often because people are busy most of the time. We often live as individuals here.

Interviewer: Kindly describe in detail your experience of xenophobia?

Respondent: Well, I have never been directly affected by xenophobia. All I can say is that it was a bad experience for people who were directly affected. I think black South Africans here are lazy and they are jealous of foreigners who work hard. I am a foreigner, yes they can call me kwerekwere but I don't care.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for your time. I know you are a busy person. I thank you especially that you sacrificed your time on this Saturday afternoon when you had to be with your family. Your input is highly appreciated.

Respondent: You are most welcome

Transcript 2

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Interviewer: Kindly introduce and describe yourself in terms of age, level of education, profession, and number of dependants and the length of stay in Cape Town?

Respondent: My name is Phil. I am 46 years old. I am Electrical Engineer by profession. I have a bachelor's degree in Engineering obtained from the University of Zambia (UNZA) in 1988. I have 4 children aged 18, 15, 13 and 9. Three were born in Zambia and one was born here. All the four children are here. I have lived in South Africa for 14 years, 10 years in Cape Town, 2 years in Johannesburg and 2 years in Kimberley.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about your spouse

Respondent: My wife is here with me. At the moment she is not in formal employment. She was doing business here but has since stopped. She is relocating her business to Zambia.

Interviewer: Who is the bread winner in your family?

Respondent: Me

Interviewer: What economic activities were you involved in your country of origin before you came to Cape Town?

Respondent: I was in formal employment. I used to work for the subsidiary company of the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) called Zambia Metal Fabricators (ZAMEFA) in Luanshya, Zambia.

Interviewer: What was your source/s of income?

Respondent: Salary.

Interviewer: What does your kin's main economic activities and source of income in your country of origin?

Respondent: Some are engaged in agricultural business. Others do consulting work in various areas. Their main sources of income are salaries and income from consultancy work and business.

Interviewer: Have any of your kin relations migrated to another country or countries?

Respondent: Yes. One of my cousins has migrated to the United Kingdom (UK).

Interviewer: Which part of Zambia do you come from?

Respondent: I am originally from Kalomo in Southern Province where I grew up. Both my parents come from there. However, I have lived in Mufulira in the Copperbelt Province. I finally lived in Luanshya, Copperbelt Province where I worked for some time before I left for South Africa.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about the area in South Africa where you lived before you moved to Cape Town?

Respondent: I lived in Midlands in Johannesburg and Drankensburg in Kimberley for 4 years, 2 years in each area. In Johannesburg I lived in a Housing complex in a 1 bedroom flat since at the time I was staying alone. In Kimberley we lived in a big house since my wife and 3 children had joined me by then. I liked the areas where I lived but had to move in search of better job opportunities.

Interviewer: What is the name of the current area where you live? Please say more about this area.

Respondent: This area is called De Tiger in Parow. It is a good suburb which was previously for white people only. The area is very quiet and secure. We often ride in the evening. My wife and I also like jogging in the evenings. People freely home around even in the night, too because the area is very safe. The people who live here are people with good jobs or professionals. Though neighbours are not close but at least we wave at each other. Close neighbours also know each other.

Interviewer: Have you lived in other areas of residence in Cape Town before you moved to your current area?

Respondent: Yes. We lived in Klipfontein. I bought a house there. We lived there for 6 years. But after moving to this place I decided to sell the house.

Interviewer: What made you move from Klipfontein to Parow?

Respondent: The house was quite small for the family. I also wanted to move to a better suburb.

Interviewer: Kindly describe the type of housing in which you live

Respondent: This is a self-owned house. I bought it after securing a bank loan. I am still repaying the loan. It has three bedrooms. Rooms are all quite spacious.

Interviewer: Generally, what has been your experience of finding accommodation in Cape Town?

Respondent: It is still difficult for us black people to find accommodation in suburbs which were occupied by whites only during the apartheid era. For instance, when I bought and moved to Klipfontein, the area was occupied by Afrikaners only. We were the only black family in the area. We felt we were not accepted by the people in the area. I felt we were introduced to real life in Cape Town. However, after staying there for a while, we came to know our immediate neighbours and could greet each other. But I think it is still difficult to find a good house in predominantly white areas. Landlords who are mainly whites prefer to find a white tenant to a black person. Even those selling houses prefer to sell them to white people not blacks.

Interviewer: What do you mean when you say you “were introduced to real life in Cape Town?”

Respondent: I heard a lot about racism in Cape Town. I heard about racial segregation in terms of suburbs and schools. So when we found ourselves as the only black family in Klipfontein I concluded that racial segregation of whites and black still existed in Cape Town. But I must state here that if you have a good and well paying job you can live in any area that you want. It all depends on your capacity to pay rent or purchase a house.

PURPOSE OF MIGRATING

Interviewer: What motivated you to migrate to Cape Town?

Respondent: There are quite a number of factors that motivated me to migrate to South Africa. The first factor was the salary differences between expatriate workers and the local people. Despite having same qualifications expatriates got better salaries than the local workers. In addition expatriates obtained huge allowances by virtue of being expatriate workers. The salary and allowance disparity between the local and expatriate workers was very frustrating for me. So I started thinking of moving. The second motivation for migration was lack of exposure to new technology. Engineering work require exposure of workers to new and advanced technology from time to time. This was lacking in ZCCM. We remained far behind in technology. Our methods of operations were based on old technology. So when I heard about the advanced technology in South African Mines, I decided to move in the hope of being exposed to new and advanced technology. The closure of the Anglo-American Corporation in Zambia also led to few good job opportunities for Engineers in Zambia. All these factors highlighted motivated me to move from Zambia to South Africa.

Interviewer: kindly tell me more about your former work place in Zambia

Respondent: ZCCM provided good amenities for workers such as fully furnished houses. This was a good motivating factor for many workers. However, this created dependency for workers on ZCCM. As a result the company continued to heavily subsidise the workers. The more they did this the more government borrowed from external sources to sustain its operations. This is one of the contributing problems to ZCCM. The company later experienced serious problems in its operations and forced government to privatise the mines. Consequently, all the social amenities we enjoyed were cut off from us.

As I have already stated, ZCCM's technology was outdated. Workers lacked exposure to new technology and thus desirable outcomes of its operations were below par. But I think the pull out of the Anglo-American Corporation negatively affected the operations of ZCCM drastically. ZCCM was no longer an attractive place for many professionals as it offered very few better incentives.

Interviewer: What type of job did you hold in ZAMEFA?

Respondent: I was a Plant Engineer.

Interviewer: Kindly tell me about the difference/s between your former organisation and your current one?

Respondent: In Zambia operations focus mainly on maintenance while here focus is on design on supply network and consumption. In ZCCM and ZAMEFA we always faced budget constraints. This is not the case here. The work environment in Cape Town is far much better than in Zambia. In addition, Cape Town has advanced technology which makes work and operations enjoyable. My work input is good and outcomes are effective and efficient.

Interviewer: What is your current job title?

Respondent: I am the Electrical Distributions Manager

Interviewer: Where do you operate from?

Respondent: I work for the City of Cape Town. I am responsible for areas namely, South Rondebosch, Constantia, Gurulethu and Cape Point.

Interviewer: Do you regard this job as a permanent one?

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: You are a well qualified Engineer and have so much experience in your field. Would you not be attracted to move to a higher and well-paying job if another organisation offered you one?

Respondent: Well, it depends on where. The only job I could take up is one which has more geographical reach in terms of area of responsibility than what I am in-charge of now. Yes then I can move. But it is difficult to get a higher job here as a foreign black person. You know one time Eskom advertised a position and I applied. Later one of the interview panellists informed me in confidence that I was the best candidate for the job. Unfortunately, I couldn't be given the job because I was black and a foreigner. But I think it was more to do with my foreign national status. Here the Affirmative Action advocates for recruitment of locals especially appointment of local black people. It is sad because in South Africa, there are very few local black people with professional qualifications like ours. So in the absence of local black people, local white people are given higher positions. Consequently, you find more white people in higher and strategic positions in organisations or companies in South Africa generally. This contributes to broadening the gap between whites and blacks in terms of figures in strategic and higher positions in organisations.

Interviewer: What opportunities have you found in working in Cape Town?

Respondent: This place has exposed me to so many things especially business prospects in Zambia. I feel there is so much I can do in Zambia. For instance, I have learnt to appreciate the value of land. We have so much land back home which is just wasted. I think serious in terms of setting up camps as business. People here enjoy camping. In Zambia there are a lot of nice places for tourists, so camping could be a very attractive business venture to explore there.

Interviewer: Have you ever migrated to another country/ies other than South Africa?

Respondent: No

SETTLEMENT PLANS

Interviewer: What type of residence permit do you have in South Africa?

Respondent: Permanent residence.

Interviewer: When did you obtain it?

Respondent: In 1999.

Interviewer: What are your plans for permanent settlement?

Respondent: I don't have any plans at the moment.

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Interviewer: Who supported you in your migration undertaking?

Respondent: No one. I organised everything in terms of transport and reserved some money for lodging and upkeep.

Interviewer: Who facilitated your settlement here?

Respondent: I was accommodated by an old Zambian friend in Johannesburg for few days. We were together at the University of Zambia. This man had migrated to Johannesburg earlier than me. He was another frustrated person from Zambia. Then I found a one bedroom flat which I rented when I finally got my first job. Meanwhile, the person who provided me with information about job opportunities in Johannesburg was the brother to my subordinate at ZAMEFA. He shared a lot about what Johannesburg had to offer such as job opportunities, quality of life, etc. It is this information that finally made me decide to move. I wanted to find out the things that Johannesburg offered.

Interviewer: Who helped you to find a job here?

Respondent: I got my first job through a Tanzanian colleague. One day as we were chatting with some fellow foreign nationals while relaxing, a Tanzanian friend told me that his boss who owed an Engineering consulting firm was looking for an engineer to recruit. I gave my details and he spoke to his boss. I was offered the job within few days. But for my current job, I simply applied for the job after seeing the advertisement in the newspaper. I applied and was called for an interview in Cape Town. I was offered the job after going through the interviews successfully.

Interviewer: Do you support any of your relations in your country of origin?

Respondent: Yes especially my mother.

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about the kind of support you render.

Respondent: Well, we have been supporting my mother for some time now. When she was wrongly diagnosed with Tuberculosis she became very sick in Zambia. So we asked her to come here. When we took her to the hospital she was found with a heart problem. It was recommended that she underwent a heart operation. We spent about R30,000. Fortunately the operation was successful.

But we help my mother in many ways. My mother lives on a farm. We buy for her farm inputs such as seed and fertiliser. We also send money for her to pay the farm labourers. We support my mother financially and materially more because she has a good and caring heart for needy family members back home. She takes care of many orphaned children. If you visited her at the farm you will find a lot of people there. The farm looks like an orphanage.

Interviewer: How often do you remit funds to your home country?

Respondent: We normally send money towards the beginning of the farming season. Previously we used to send money frequently but realised that she was not saving. You know she got used to receiving money often so she used to give away to other people knowing fully well that we were

going to send her more money. I cautioned her on this. So we told her that she should start saving money for the next planting season when she harvested and selling the farm produce. So we rarely send money now. But for emergencies such as ill health we always send money immediately. But let me just say that sending money to my mother depends on her needs that have been brought to our attention.

Interviewer: Do you have projects in Zambia such as business or building a house to which you remit part of your earnings here?

Respondent: We have a big farm in Kalomo which we are trying to develop. For now we are trying to develop part of the farm into an orchard. So we send money to my mother and uncle who are taking care of the orchard project. We have planted some avocados, bananas and apples.

Interviewer: How do you remit funds and other materials?

Respondent: Well we often send money. For money we send through bank transfers, money gram or Western Union. In some and rare cases we send money and materials through visiting relatives or friends.

Interviewer: Do any of your kin members in your country of origin render some form of assistance to you? If so, what kind of assistance do they render?

Respondent: Yes they do. They send some of our favourite Zambian foods such as dry fish and vegetables. I also consult them from time to time to provide some guidance on certain life issues.

Interviewer: How often do you visit and communicate with you kin in Zambia?

Respondent: We communicate with them on a regular basis. We also visit them once a year or once in two years when time and resources allows. For instance, my wife and I were in Zambia recently to visit relatives and also to check on our orchard project. I spent few weeks there. But my wife remained and stayed there for three months to spearhead the project.

Interviewer: Have you facilitated any of your relatives' or friends' migration to South Africa?

Respondent: Yes, but mainly friends. We have helped some friends to get a job in South Africa. While they are here we offer them accommodation.

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND SOUTH AFRICA/CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: Kindly share your views about your home country

Respondent: In Zambia there is a problem of shortage of essential goods. But our country has a lot of potential in so many things. The potential is untapped. For example, Livingstone being a tourist destination has so much to offer to local and foreign tourists. But look at the poor infrastructure. It is pathetic. We also have few lodges to accommodate tourists. Zambia can surely do better in these areas.

Zambia also has massive land which is uncultivated. Land should be given to people who can utilise it productively. But government does not give incentives to local people so that they are empowered economically. So land is just wasted. Look at here (Cape Town), it is difficult to acquire land because it is very expensive. But if you had an opportunity to acquire one, government

comes in to support you in form registration of your business and provides some incentives to empower you. Financing one's business through bank loans is also easily accessible unlike in Zambia. Government here came up with a programme called Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy aimed at empowering the local people. That is why you find that some local people here are doing quite well in business. Unfortunately, as a foreigner I cannot benefit from this. There are a lot of job and business opportunities here that in Zambia. People in Zambia really struggle to get loans even though they run viable businesses.

Interviewer: What are your experiences regarding access to schools for your children?

Respondent: Access to schools is fairly easy. However, some good schools within our vicinity are inaccessible due to language restrictions such as Afrikaans. So we have to take our children to distant schools and cover about 4 kilometres. But I like the education system especially for Model C government schools. The kind of educational provision for learners is good. For example, the outcome-based projects that children are exposed to are exciting as these prepare them well for the future.

Interviewer: What are your experiences of access to health facilities?

Respondent: Generally health care here is quite good. We also have easy access to health facilities since my whole (nuclear) family is on medical aid.

Interviewer: How do you compare the quality of life in Cape Town and your former home area or country?

Respondents: South Africa generally is far better than Zambia in many aspects. The infrastructure such as roads, shopping malls and other entertainment outlets are many and beautiful. But if you are to enjoy living here you have to work very hard. We experience more stress here. The work load for me is also very strenuous.

Interviewer: Are there things you miss about your home country?

Respondent: Yes. I miss my extended family members. I miss the moments when we all gathered as extended family members and shared stories. I also miss friends who I grew up with. I miss the social interaction I used to enjoy with them. Furthermore, I miss traditional Zambian foods.

CHALLENGES LIVING AND WORKING IN CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced working in Cape Town?

Respondent: For me issues are around diversity, particularly racial issues. It will take a while for the country to achieve meaningful redress of the past. In many organisations the majority top and strategic positions are held by whites. The fact that more whites than blacks continue to possess professional qualifications mean that the gap between the rich and the poor will take long to be narrowed. The whites also feel they are superior to blacks despite having same qualifications with blacks. In addition, some whites in subordinate positions struggle to obey instructions from black supervisors or superiors.

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced living in Cape Town?

Respondent: Here we live as individuals unlike in Zambia where you feel the sense of community. Sometimes I feel so lonely. The Zambian community here is also not well-organised at the moment. Previously we used to meet as Zambians and organised social functions that were so enjoyable and brought the spirit of oneness. This is no longer the case. The current leadership also seem unaware of what they are supposed to be doing.

Interviewer: Kindly describe in detail your experience of xenophobia?

Respondent: Well, I have never been directly affected by xenophobia. In fact I felt more accepted in Johannesburg than here (Cape Town). I think it is because there are more foreigners there. But the local black people there were friendly may be because they interacted more with African foreign nationals. I interacted with a number of black South Africans. I even worked in deep rural areas. I felt at home among the local people. Here there is a problem of race and xenophobia.

Meanwhile, I still feel bitter about the terrible attacks on foreigners in 2008. I have not yet recovered from those emotions fully.

Interviewer: Thank you very much sir for your time. I know you are a busy man. Your input is highly appreciated.

Respondent: I am happy to hear that. You are most welcome.

Transcript 3

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Interviewer: Kindly introduce describe and yourself in terms of age, level of education, profession, and number of dependants and the length of stay in Cape Town?

Respondent: My name is Jason. I am 48 years old. My profession is marketing. I have a master's degree in Business Administration (MBA). I am currently awaiting results for my PhD in Management Studies. I was studying for the programme on part-time basis. I did by research only. I have 5 children aged 23, 21, 19, 17, and 14, respectively.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about your spouse and children

Respondent: My wife is a Lecturer in Management Studies at Rhodes University in Eastern Cape. She lives with 2 younger children in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape. I live with 3 older children. Two older children are in tertiary institutions while three are in high school. The oldest child is doing a Bachelor's of Arts degree while the second born is doing higher diploma in Automotives at Automotive Cape College.

Interviewer: Who is the bread winner in your family?

Respondent: Both my wife and I

Interviewer: What economic activities were you involved in your country of origin before you came to Cape Town?

Respondent: I first worked as a Lecturer at the Copperbelt University (second largest university in Zambia). After quitting, I worked for a 2 year contract in the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry. Later, I did consultancy work in small business management for 2 projects namely, Small Industrial Development Organisation (SIDO) and Small Enterprise Development Programme (SEDP). I worked for two years from 1995 to 1997. I also did freelance work in various fields. I used to work for the subsidiary company of the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) called Zambia Metal Fabricators (ZAMEFA) in Luanshya, Zambia.

Interviewer: What was your source/s of income?

Respondent: Salary. I also used to keep chickens for sale. We have a farm in Kalulushi (municipality)

Interviewer: What does your kin's main economic activities and source of income in your country of origin?

Respondent: Both my parents have retired. My two brothers are in the informal sector

Interviewer: Have any of your kin relations migrated to another country or countries?

Respondent: Yes. My cousin migrated to Botswana. She has since obtained Botswana citizenship

Interviewer: Which part of Zambia do you come from?

Respondent: I have lived in Kitwe (third largest city), Ndola (second largest city) and finally Lusaka (capital city).

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Interviewer: Have you lived in another areas of Cape Town before you moved to your present area?

Respondent: Yes. When I came to Cape Town from Grahamstown, I first lived in Woodstock for 10 months. That is the only area where I lived before I moved to Mowbray where I am currently

Interviewer: What made you change the area of residence?

Respondent: I got a job with UCT as a Lecturer and Warden.

Interviewer: Kindly describe the type of housing in which you live

Respondent: I live in a UCT house near a UCT student residence called Edwin Hart. It is a two-bedroomed house. It has a study room, storeroom and other essential rooms such as toilet and bathroom, etc.

Interviewer: Generally, what has been your experience of finding accommodation in Cape Town?

Respondent: I think that if you have money, accommodation is not difficult to find. For instance, I managed to find a good flat in a secure area of Woodstock. There were a block of flats. I enjoyed living there because the residence comprised residents of different racial background. Well, I can say that it is easy to find houses or flats for rent because there a many agents dealing in property. So based on your budget, they are ready to find you a suitable type of housing

PURPOSE OF MIGRATING

Interviewer: What motivated you to migrate to Cape Town?

Respondent: I found it difficult to find a job after working for the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry. After privatisation in Zambia there were a lot of uncertainties regarding job opportunities in the mining industry and other companies especially those which had been privatised. It was also difficult to find jobs elsewhere in other companies at the time. To make matters worse, Zambia experienced many forced and unnecessary university closures. Therefore, I was worried about my children's future if I were to be unemployed or had no meaningful job to fend for their needs, particularly their educational needs. So I had to look elsewhere."

Interviewer: Kindly tell me about the difference/s between your former organisation and your current one?

Respondent: I am happy working at UCT's Graduate School of Business. I like the teaching approach. I also appreciate the kind of support rendered to lecturers in areas such as research and training programmes. This is very different from my former work place (CBU) where we experienced little support for academic staff, lack of resources such as training materials, books and computers, etc. It was hard for lecturers to teach in such an environment.

Interviewer: What is your current job title?

Respondent: I am lecturer of marketing and business studies

Interviewer: Do you regard this job as a permanent one?

Respondent: Yes I do. I think I am content with what I am doing. I want to work as a lecturer until I retire. The salary I get is adequate in meeting our basic needs as a family.

Interviewer: What opportunities have you found in working in Cape Town?

Respondent: I look forward to my promotion as a senior lecturer. I also look forward to my appointment as an associate professor

Interviewer: Have you ever migrated to another country/ies other than South Africa?

Respondent: Yes. I once migrated to Botswana before I came to South Africa. I lived there from 1998 to 2001. I taught marketing courses at the University of Botswana

SETTLEMENT PLANS

Interviewer: What type of residence permit do you have in South Africa?

Respondent: I just have a work permit which I renew from time to time.

Interviewer: Do you intend to apply for permanent residence?

Respondent: Oh yes. We actually applied for permanent residence in 2003. But it has taken quite a while to obtain it

Interviewer: What are your plans for permanent settlement?

Respondent: I do not yet have plans where my family will settle permanently

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Interviewer: Who supported you in your migration undertaking?

Respondent: No one

Interviewer: Who facilitated your settlement here?

Respondent: Rhodes university. They offered me a permanent job and facilitated my application for permanent residence

Interviewer: Who helped you to find a job here?

Respondent: Myself. I simply responded to a job advertisement which I saw in one of the newspapers in Botswana. The Rhodes University needed lecturers. So I applied and was successful

Interviewer: Do you support any of your relations in your country of origin?

Respondent: Yes. I support my parents and my widowed sister once a while

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about the kind of support you render.

Respondent: We always render financial support

Interviewer: How often do you remit funds to your home country?

Respondent: It is ad hoc sometimes. It depends on the gravity and urgency of the problem. So when it is urgent we normally send funds via money gram

Interviewer: Do you have projects in Zambia such as business or building a house to which you remit part of your earnings here?

Respondent: We have no investments or projects in Zambia to which we remit funds. It is difficult to invest through 'remote control'. However, we have a farm which is not productive at the moment. We have two houses which we built in Kitwe. They are both on rent. If we are to invest in Zambia we would need to be there physically. But I am doing something here. I have partnered with someone and we run some liquor business in Langa. We also rent out our house in Grahamstown.

Interviewer: Do any of your kin members in your country of origin render some form of assistance to you? If so, what kind of assistance do they render?

Respondent: They offer the usual support that is, accommodation each time we visit Zambia

Interviewer: How often do you visit and communicate with you kin in Zambia?

Respondent: Once in a while. For instance, we were there one and half year ago

Interviewer: Have you facilitated any of your relatives' or friends' migration to South Africa?

Respondent: No

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND SOUTH AFRICA/CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: Kindly share your views about your home country

Respondent: Zambia is a lovely place. Nonetheless, there are limited job opportunities and few institutions of higher learning. For instance, there are only two big universities, UNZA and CBU

Interviewer: What are your experiences regarding access to schools for your children?

Respondent: There is easy access to quality education for children if you can afford the school fees. But it was difficult for me to find a good high school nearby for my children. The schools here in Cape Town are very expensive

Interviewer: What are your experiences of access to health facilities?

Respondent: We have easy access to quality health care and facilities since we have medical aid as a family

Interviewer: How do you compare the quality of life in Cape Town and your former home area or country?

Respondents: Cape Town is a lovely place. The standard of living is also good. But it can also be a lonely place in the absence of family and other extended family members. In terms of social networks, I feel people here are not socially integrated. I think the network of friends in Zambia is better than here

Interviewer: Are there things you miss about your home country?

Respondent: Yes. I miss my extended family members

CHALLENGES LIVING AND WORKING IN CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced working in Cape Town?

Respondent: It was difficult to find good schools within vicinity which charge reasonable fees. I have also found it challenging to live separately with my wife and other children

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced living in Cape Town?

Respondent: Zambians live as individuals. I find it difficult to mingle with my fellow Zambians. May be I am to blame for not opening myself up to Zambians. I have to work on this before I blame other people

Interviewer: Kindly describe in detail your experience of xenophobia?

Respondent: I have not been directly affected by xenophobia. I just feel that the local people lack customer care due to language barrier between themselves and foreign nationals who cannot speak the local language

Interviewer: Thank you very much sir for your time. Your input is highly appreciated.

Respondent: I hope my responses will be meaningful to your project. It is my pleasure.

Transcript 4

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Interviewer: Kindly introduce yourself in terms of age, level of education, profession, and number of dependants and the length of stay in Cape Town?

Respondent: My name is Munga. I am 55 years old. I am a lecturer in the Department of Management Studies. I teach Organisational Psychology. I have a master's degree in Organisational Psychology. I am currently pursuing a PhD programme in Organisational Psychology. I have no children

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about your spouse

Respondent: My husband is also a Lecturer. He is also a visiting lecturer at the Copperbelt University in Zambia

Interviewer: Who is the bread winner in your family?

Respondent: Both my husband and I

Interviewer: What economic activities were you involved in your country of origin before you came to Cape Town?

Respondent: I used to work for a parastatal formerly called Posts and Telecommunication Company. It has since been split into two parastatals namely, Zambia Postal Services and Zambia Telecommunications Company. I used to work as an Assistant Telecommunication Officer

Interviewer: What was your source/s of income?

Respondent: Salary.

Interviewer: What does your kin's main economic activities and source of income in your country of origin?

Respondent: They are all professionals. Their main source of income is salary

Interviewer: Have any of your kin relations migrated to another country or countries?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Which part of Zambia do you come from?

Respondent: Lusaka

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Interviewer: What is the name of your current area of residence?

Respondent: I live in one of the UCT residences on Upper Campus. I am a Warden.

Interviewer: Kindly describe the type of housing in which you live

Respondent: The flat is spacious. It has spacious and has various rooms. It is well located on Upper campus. I just love the scenery. I also love it during the vacation periods when the area is so quiet

Interviewer: Generally, what has been your experience of finding accommodation in Cape Town?

Respondent: We did not experience any problems. We actually have two types of housing which we are renting out here, a flat and a house. We bought them through bank loans

PURPOSE OF MIGRATING

Interviewer: What motivated you to migrate to Cape Town?

Respondent: Studies and search for jobs

Interviewer: Kindly tell me about the difference/s between your former organisation and your current one?

Respondent: I am happy working at UCT. UCT offers career prospects and academic advancement

Interviewer: Do you regard this job as a permanent one?

Respondent: Yes I do.

SETTLEMENT PLANS

Interviewer: What type of residence permit do you have in South Africa?

Respondent: We just have work permits which we renew from time to time.

Interviewer: Do you intend to apply for permanent residence?

Respondent: I do not see the need to apply for permanent residence as I knew from the beginning that one day I will relocate to my home country. I know I can do so many things there than here. There is no need for us to apply for permanent residence. My husband and I intend to return to Zambia for good. We are actually planning to relocate soon. I would like to pursue more economic activities in Zambia at a micro level, which I have found difficult to pursue in Cape Town. I also plan to open a crèche in Zambia

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Interviewer: Who supported you in your migration undertaking?

Respondent: My husband

Interviewer: Who facilitated your settlement here?

Respondent: My husband

Interviewer: Who helped you to find a job here?

Respondent: Myself.

Interviewer: Do you support any of your relations in your country of origin?

Respondent: Yes. But we mainly assist or contribute towards funeral expenses

Interviewer: Do you have projects in Zambia such as business or building a house to which you remit part of your earnings here?

Respondent: No

Interviewer: Do any of your kin members in your country of origin render some form of assistance to you? If so, what kind of assistance do they render?

Respondent: Accommodation when we visit

Interviewer: How often do you visit and communicate with you kin in Zambia?

Respondent: Once in a while.

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND SOUTH AFRICA/CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: Kindly share your views about your home country

Respondent: Poverty levels in Zambia are high, let's admit it. It is better here than there.

Interviewer: What are your experiences of access to health facilities?

Respondent: We have easy access to quality health care and facilities since we have comprehensive medical aid

Interviewer: How do you compare the quality of life in Cape Town and your former home area or country?

Respondents: When you talk about the quality of life in Cape Town, remember that the quality of life is not just about the beauty about the place. For example, when you look at South Africa the quality of life is not good when we look at other things such as South Africans themselves. There is this huge discrepancy between the poor and the rich. The local people also do not socialise or interact with other people the way we do in Zambia. So in this regard, the quality of life is not good. When we look at Zambia, we have high poverty levels let us admit it but when we look at how people relate and how extended family members interact, it is so good. Therefore, I can say the quality of life in Zambia in that respect is better than South Africa. I miss the sense of belonging. Here we live as individuals. This is because we are all very busy people here

However, let me say something about Cape Town. My husband and I have travelled extensively around the world. We started travelling when my husband first went for further studies to pursue his PhD in Australia. He also studied in other countries – Italy, France and the UK – but we also tried to find jobs in these countries. However, having travelled to other countries, I can still say that Cape Town is just a nice place. It cannot be compared to most of the countries in which I have lived. It is very nice here. The weather and just the beauty are fantastic

Interviewer: Are there things you miss about your home country?

Respondent: Yes. I miss my extended family members and Zambian food. Sometimes we have social gatherings here as Zambians. We have an opportunity to eat some Zambian dish. At least it makes a difference

CHALLENGES LIVING AND WORKING IN CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced working in Cape Town?

Respondent: I generally enjoy working at UCT. The work environment is good. I also enjoy my relationship with my workmates. But it is not the case in the lecture theatres. Students, especially whites, look down on me by virtue of my race and foreigner.

Interviewer: How do you deal with the students' attitude in ensure that you succeed in your job performance?

Respondent: I don't mind them because I know my capabilities

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced living in Cape Town?

Respondent: Zambians live as individuals. I find it difficult to mingle with my fellow Zambians. May be I am to blame for not opening myself up to Zambians. I have to work on this before I blame other people

Interviewer: Kindly describe in detail your experience of xenophobia?

Respondent: I have not been directly affected by xenophobia. Of course I was affected by the xenophobic attacks of last year (2008)

Interviewer: Thank you very much mom for sacrificing your time. Your input is highly appreciated.

Respondent: My pleasure. Sorry for according you little time. I am very busy at the moment

Transcript 5

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Interviewer: Kindly introduce and describe yourself in terms of age, level of education, profession, and number of dependants and the length of stay in Cape Town?

Respondent: My name is Sarah. I am 50 years old. My profession is Human Resources Management. I have a National Diploma in Office Management. I have 2 children and have 1 dependant who is my niece. I have lived in Cape Town for 20 years.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Interviewer: Who is the bread winner in your family?

Respondent: My husband

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about your spouse

Respondent: I live with my husband, 2 children and a niece. My husband works as a Researcher with the Human Science Research Centre (HSRC).

Interviewer: What economic activities were you involved in your country of origin before you came to Cape Town?

Respondent: I was working for a firm called North Atlantic Engineering in Lusaka. I was also doing some business.

Interviewer: What was your source/s of income?

Respondent: Salary and profit made from my business.

Interviewer: What does your kin's main economic activities and source of income in your country of origin?

Respondent: They work in different organisation. Some are in the national service, others in the public service and 1 is a nurse. Their main source of income is salary.

Interviewer: Have any of your kin relations migrated to another country or countries?

Respondent: No.

Interviewer: Which part of Zambia do you come from?

Respondent: I am originally from Mazabuka. But my husband and I worked and lived in Lusaka before coming to South Africa

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about the area in South Africa where you lived before you moved to Cape Town?

Respondent: When we came to South Africa we first worked in Mafikeng. We lived there for 3 years. So we have lived in South Africa for about 23 years.

Interviewer: What is the name of the current area where you live? Please say more about this area.

Respondent: We live in Bellville. It is a good area. It is also very safe.

Interviewer: Have you lived in other areas of residence in Cape Town before you moved to your current area?

Respondent: No.

Interviewer: Kindly describe the type of housing in which you live

Respondent: We live in a 4 bedroom house. It is quite spacious.

Interviewer: Generally, what has been your experience of finding accommodation in Cape Town?

Respondent: It is easy to find accommodation for rent. All you need is just to engage agents. It is also easy to purchase a house here. If you are working you can easily get a bank loan. I think we have had good experience in finding accommodation. In Eastern Cape we lived in a place called Alice. We rented a very nice house at a cheap price. In Port Elizabeth, we bought a house. We also lived in a university residence. My husband and I were working at the University of North West.

PURPOSE OF MIGRATING

Interviewer: What motivated you to migrate to Cape Town?

Respondent: I came to South Africa because my husband got a job in Mafikeng and later here (Cape Town).

Interviewer: kindly tell me more about your former work place in Zambia

Respondent: It was a good private company. We were provided with housing and transport allowance.

Interviewer: What type of job did you hold in the company?

Respondent: Payroll administrator.

Interviewer: Kindly tell me about the difference/s between your former organisation and your current one?

Respondent: It is difficult for me to tell the differences because in Zambia I worked for a private company. Here I am working for the university. So I can't be compared the work experience in my former organisation and current institution. I have also changed duties. So the work I am doing here is very different from what I was doing in my former company.

However, let me say that my former company was small compared to here. In Zambia, I every worker knew every person who worked in the company. There also a lot of opportunities for promotions. Everything was good and I used to work very hard. But here there are a lot of workers.

There is also too many people going in and out of the offices. Though I enjoy working here, work is very hectic. There is so much to do here (pause)...

Interviewer: Please say more about your current job and work place

Respondent: Well I am happy to work here. I also get along well with the local black workers. But I feel there is racism in this institution. The white people feel they are superior to us black people. You can see that in the way they talk to us. They also don't interact freely with us. We also leave them alone. At least I don't mind them. I mind my job and the work I am given to do.

Interviewer: Where do you currently operate from?

Respondent: I work in the Human Resources and Administration Department. I operate from the main Administration block on Lower Campus, UCT.

Interviewer: Do you regard this job as a permanent one?

Respondent: Yes. I am happy with my job. I get enough to supplement my husband's income. I contribute whenever we want to buy some household items. I also contribute towards meeting our family financial needs.

Interviewer: What opportunities have you found in working in Cape Town?

Respondent: Promotions are difficult to come by because we are so many and high positions are rarely vacant. We have to apply for promotion. But despite not allowing us to go for full-time studies within UCT, opportunities to pursue further studies are there for us. For instance, if you do part-time studies on your own, UCT can refund all the monies spent upon successful completion of the studies. It is just that it is very challenging to work and study at the same time.

Interviewer: Have you ever migrated to another country/ies other than South Africa?

Respondent: Yes. I accompanied my husband to the United States (US) where he went to pursue his master's degree. He later worked there for 3 years. I also accompanied my husband to the United Kingdom (UK) where he went to study for his PhD.

SETTLEMENT PLANS

Interviewer: What type of permit do you have in South Africa?

Respondent: Permanent residence. I also have a work permit which I renew every 3 years.

Interviewer: When did you obtain it?

Respondent: Some time back.

Interviewer: What are your plans for permanent settlement?

Respondent: We are still in 'limbo'. We have not yet decided.

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Interviewer: Who supported you in your migration undertaking?

Respondent: My husband.

Interviewer: Who facilitated your settlement here?

Respondent: My husband.

Interviewer: Who helped you to find a job here?

Respondent: Myself. I used to search for job advertisements in different newspapers until I applied for one and got it at UCT.

Interviewer: Do you support any of your relations in your country of origin?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about the kind of support you render.

Respondent: We send money for fees for school going children. We also help needy relatives with money for their upkeep.

Interviewer: How often do you send the funds to Zambia?

Respondent: We normally send money gram and through friends visiting Cape Town.

Interviewer: Do you have projects in Zambia such as business or building a house to which you send part of your earnings here?

Respondent: Yes. We have a smallholding back home. We sometimes send money through my sister. It is not yet operational. But we plant few things to keep it clean. It is a way of planning for our retirement.

Interviewer: Do any of your kin members in your country of origin render some form of assistance to you? If so, what kind of assistance do they render?

Respondent: Yes. They send some of Zambian foods such as dry fish and vegetables. They also send me 'citenges' (traditional Zambian attire).

Interviewer: How often do you visit and communicate with you kin in Zambia?

Respondent: We communicate with them regularly. We rarely visit them due to our busy schedules. It is also very expensive for us to travel. In the past we used to visit home once in 2 years.

Interviewer: Have you facilitated any of your relatives' or friends' migration to South Africa?

Respondent: Yes. We have helped some relatives and friends to come to South Africa.

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND SOUTH AFRICA/CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: Kindly share your views about your home country

Respondent: On the negative side things are expensive in Zambia. The education system at the University of Zambia need to improve, too. There are so many uncalled for closures. The level of unemployment is also very high. On the positive side, (pause)... The last time I was there I found that a lot of things had improved. A lot of things despite being expensive were available. Some people were also doing very well. They were driving big and expensive cars. Others were building very beautiful houses (laughter).

Interviewer: What are your experiences regarding access to schools for your children?

Respondent: Access to schools is easy. But we cover so many kilometres to English-speaking schools. I also cover a long distance to take my kids to the two universities where they are that is, UCT and CPUT (Cape Town University of Technology).

Interviewer: What are your experiences of access to health facilities?

Respondent: We have good experience since we have a comprehensive medical aid for the family. This enabled us to have easy access to good medical care and Doctors.

Interviewer: How do you compare the quality of life in Cape Town and your former home area or country?

Respondents: South Africa is a big country and has more resources than Zambia. But Zambia is good with very good and friendly people. South Africans especially blacks and people of colour (coloureds) are very violent.

Interviewer: Are there things you miss about your home country?

Respondent: Yes. I miss food and my family (extended family members).

CHALLENGES LIVING AND WORKING IN CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced working in Cape Town?

Respondent: There are few workers of colour at UCT. There are more whites here. I feel there is some elements of racism here. There is so much prejudice. Whites have a superiority complex. They want us to be and feel inferior to them.

Interviewer: Have you experienced racism directly?

Respondent: No. But you can easily observe it in the manner we relate and work.

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced living in Cape Town?

Respondent: Crime is too much here. We have been robbed twice. The weather especially in the winter season is too cold. I dislike this. But I have come to accept it since I have lived here longer.

Interviewer: Kindly describe in detail your experience of xenophobia?

Respondent: My family and I have never been directly affected by xenophobia. But we were emotionally affected by the xenophobic attacks that happened last year (2008). Some black South Africans were so inhuman.

Interviewer: Thank you very much mom for your time. Your participation in my study is highly appreciated.

Respondent: I hope you find my contributions useful in your research project. It has been nice chatting with you, too.

Transcript 6

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Interviewer: Kindly introduce and describe yourself in terms of age, level of education, profession, and number of dependants and the length of stay in Cape Town?

Respondent: My name is Chansa. I am 34 years old. I am an Accountant by profession. I am single and have no child. I live alone and have been in Cape Town for 3 years.

FAMILY BACKGROUND).

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about you family background

Respondent: I am the eldest in my family. At the moment none of my siblings is meaningful productive activities. Some of them dropped out of school at a very tender age as a result of my father's death. There is no one to support them. I tried to support one of my siblings with school fees and other school requirements, but she also dropped out of school after falling pregnant. So at the moment I am the only one is working and can take care of them.

Interviewer: What economic activities were you involved in your country of origin before you came to Cape Town?

Respondent: I was first a Catholic nun for 7 years. But I left sisterhood so that I could find a job which could enable me support my siblings. I later worked for a firm called Association of Fire Services for 1 year before I came to Cape Town.

Interviewer: What was your source/s of income?

Respondent: Salary only.

Interviewer: Have any of your kin relations migrated to another country or countries?

Respondent: Yes. Five of my aunties, a niece and a cousin are in the United States (US).

Interviewer: Which part of Zambia do you come from?

Respondent: I am originally from Kasama (provincial capital of one of the rural provinces of Zambia) where my parents came from. But I grew up and lived in Lusaka before coming to Cape Town.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Interviewer: Have you lived and worked in other areas of South Africa before you moved to Cape Town?

Respondent: No.

Interviewer: What is the name of the current area where you live? Please say more about this area.

Respondent: I live in Kenilworth.

Interviewer: Have you lived in other areas of residence in Cape Town before you moved to your current area?

Respondent: Yes. I first lived in Wynberg where I shared a flat with a coloured single lady. I then moved to Plumstead where I lived with a Zambian young couple. I later lived with an elderly Zambian couple who offered me a room in their house after I got a job. I was then searching for my own accommodation.

Interviewer: Kindly describe the type of housing in which you live

Respondent: I live in a bachelor's flat. There is one big room which serve as a living and bedroom. Then there is a small kitchen. The bathroom is combined with a toilet. The flat is quite small but it is fine for me at the moment since I am single and have no dependants.

Interviewer: What are your views about your current area of residence?

Respondent: The area is good. It is quite safe. The landlord has put in measures to ensure residents enjoy 24 hours maximum security every day. I also like the location of the block of flats. They are along the Main Road. So I have easy access to public transport.

Interviewer: Generally, what has been your experience of finding accommodation in Cape Town?

Respondent: It has been very difficult to find a beautiful flat in a good suburb with limited cash. There are a lot of houses and flats for rent here. But you can't get a good one in a good area if you don't have a good job. But for now I am happy where I am. I have managed to pay rent for 2 years now without difficulties.

PURPOSE OF MIGRATING

Interviewer: What motivated you to migrate to Cape Town?

Respondent: I came to Cape Town specifically to search for job and better living. I found it difficult to find a good job after leaving sisterhood. I needed to start life. I also thought that with a good job I could educate my siblings.

Interviewer: kindly tell me more about your former work place in Zambia

Respondent: I did not enjoy my work. My boss had a negative attitude towards me. He was a fault-finder.

Interviewer: What type of job did you hold in the company?

Respondent: Accountant.

Interviewer: Kindly tell me about the difference/s between your former organisation and your current one?

Respondent: I feel so much appreciated where I am currently working. My boss is happy with my services. The work environment is so encouraging. This is very different from my previous work place.

Interviewer: Please say more about your current job and work place

Respondent: I work as an Accountant. I also supported in my part-time studies. For example, I was allowed to go on study leave for 3 months when I was preparing for and writing exams. My superiors

are very supportive. Even if the company is not doing well currently, I feel discouraged to leave the company after receiving so much help from the owners of the company. I feel I owe them a lot.

Interviewer: Where do you currently operate from?

Respondent: In Claremont, Lansdown Road.

Interviewer: Do you regard this job as a permanent one?

Respondent: Not really. My plans are to set up a company of my own. I have so many business plans at the moment. For example, I would like to start up a Fish cold storage company to import and export fish to different country. I wouldn't mind to start this business in Zambia or here.

Interviewer: What opportunities have you found working in Cape Town?

Respondent: I work for a conveyance company. The owner (lady) of the company I am working for has law background. We are involved in transferring properties, selling and litigations. She is a coloured but looks like an Indian lady. She is so good to me. One time I discussed with her on the prospects of partnering with her. She was for the idea. This is my other business plan. You never know one day I could succeed in this. But I need money to do this. So the job I am doing and hopefully I can find a better paying one will enable me to achieve this dream.

Interviewer: Have you ever migrated to another country/ies other than South Africa?

Respondent: No.

Interviewer: Do you intend to look for employment in another country?

Respondent: Yes. I want to try Canada.

SETTLEMENT PLANS

Interviewer: What type of permit do you have in South Africa?

Respondent: I have a 5 years work permit. But this is supposed to be renewed yearly.

Interviewer: What are your plans for permanent settlement?

Respondent: I am not yet sure. I hope to get married one day. So the nationality of my future husband will determine where I will settle permanently. For now I am still searching for better job opportunities.

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Interviewer: Who supported you in your migration undertaking?

Respondent: Myself. I saved enough money for transport.

Interviewer: Who facilitated your settlement here?

Respondent: My aunt. She and her husband were studying and working in Cape Town. But they decided to relocate to Zambia. Meanwhile, they decided to leave behind their children in a rented flat so that they could continue with school in Cape Town. So I offered to come and live with them for

few months as I searched for a job. So I lived with the kids for 2 months only because the landlord of the flat decided to hike the rentals. The kids had to relocate to Zambia, too.

Interviewer: Who helped you to find a job here?

Respondent: I belonged to a prayer group which met once a week. One of the prayer group members, a South African connected me to a Congolese Petrol Attendant. She told me that she had heard that the boss to the Petrol Attendant was looking for someone to work in the accounts section. So this Congolese introduced me to his boss and that is how I got my first job. But I did not work for a long time. The boss was not good. He is the one I talked about earlier, the fault-finder. But I got my current job through the newspaper. The job was advertised and I applied. Fortunately, my application was successful. So that is how I got my current job.

Interviewer: Do you support any of your relations in your country of origin?

Respondent: Yes. I support my school-going siblings. I am the breadwinner in my family. Both my parents are dead

Interviewer: Kindly tell me more about the kind of support you render

Respondent: I always send money for school fees and for other essential needs

Interviewer: How often do you send the funds to Zambia?

Respondent: As often as I could. I normally send money through visiting relatives or friends

Interviewer: Do any of your kin members in your country of origin render some form of assistance to you? If so, what kind of assistance do they render?

Respondent: Not quite

Interviewer: How often do you communicate with and/or visit your kin in Zambia?

Respondent: I communicate with them frequently through telephone. I visit them whenever I could.

Interviewer: Have you facilitated any of your relatives' or friends' migration to South Africa?

Respondent: No

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND SOUTH AFRICA/CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: Kindly share your views about your home country

Respondent: I think economically things are going from bad to worse. I feel there are many individuals out there who can contribute to economic development. But they cannot do so because of poor government leadership. The current president can't change things. An action-oriented leader is needed in Zambia if economic development is to be achieved.

Interviewer: What are your experiences of access to health facilities?

Respondent: I have not had any experience yet. I have not fallen sick to the point of needing health care. I do not even have medical aid.

Interviewer: How do you compare the quality of life in Cape Town and your former home area or country?

Respondents: Well, we are far, far behind in Zambia in comparison with South Africa generally. But in some areas we are much better. For instance, our informal settlements have better housing than South African informal settlements. But I appreciate Zambians because many of them value education. You find many including old people studying at colleges and universities. This is unlike here. The local people do not want to work. They don't even want to sell small items on the streets to earn something for themselves. Some of them are just drunkards

Interviewer: Are there things you miss about your home country?

Respondent: Yes. I miss my siblings and food

CHALLENGES LIVING AND WORKING IN CAPE TOWN

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced working in Cape Town?

Respondent: Well, I have not faced serious challenges or problems. I feel I am better off here than I was in Zambia. The income (salary) I get enables me to pay rent accommodation, meet most of my needs. I am also able to save for home (Zambia) needs

Interviewer: Have you experienced racism directly?

Respondent: No

Interviewer: What are the challenges or problems you have experienced living in Cape Town?

Respondent: I sometimes feel lonely given that I live alone. I find it difficult to make meaningful friendships

Interviewer: Kindly describe in detail your experience of xenophobia?

Respondent: I have not experienced xenophobia directly. But I was affected emotionally after seeing the pictures on television especially on a foreigner who was burnt to death by the local people. The local people here are bitter. Unfortunately, they try to throw their anger and bitterness on innocent foreign nationals.

Interviewer: Thank you so much Chansa for your time. I really appreciate your responses. They will help me greatly in this research undertaking

Respondent: It's my pleasure