

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERIENCES
OF ZIMBABWEAN YOUTH IMMIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN.**

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

By

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the experiences of Zimbabwean youth when they migrate to Cape Town and the impact of this migration on Zimbabwe's social development. The immigrants in Cape Town, in Khayelitsha and Summer Greens were interviewed. The study was carried out with a sample of seventeen immigrants. It adopted a qualitative, exploratory approach using a semi-structured interview schedule for face-to-face interviews with the immigrants. Snowball sampling was used in this study.

Since a large number of people are migrating from Zimbabwe to South Africa, this study was motivated to discover the reasons behind the migration trends. As a Zimbabwean, I wanted to understand what my fellow people are experiencing and have better knowledge of their situations.

The findings revealed the following:

- The absence of convincing answers to the challenging questions about the Zimbabwean situation highlights a lack of realism and failure of leadership within South Africa on the crucial issues of regional migration.
- There has been an increase in pressure on public services, difficulties in social integration, unemployment and xenophobia.
- It is not possible to draw any hard conclusions as to how representative this group of respondents is in terms of the general population of Zimbabweans currently in South Africa. As such, it is not possible to make simple extrapolations from this data in relation to the estimated one million plus Zimbabweans that are currently believed to be in South Africa.

The main recommendations emerging from this study are:

- There is need to support the establishment of an institutional and legal framework for the development and implementation of a national strategy for migration and development.
- A well-managed immigration policy that facilitates and one that is open to contribution, by the public, thus making migration issues more people-centered by having a platform whereby immigrants can present their sentiments is needed.

- It is essential that every aspect of migration issues; humanitarian, emergency, economic and political should be managed with the decisiveness and effectiveness that brings public confidence.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into the following sections: introduction, background to the study, rationale and significance of the study, problem formulation, research topic, main research questions, research objectives, concept clarification, ethics, reflexivity, and the structure of the research report.

The evolving and inter-related social, economic and political crises in Zimbabwe have contributed to an unprecedented exodus of Zimbabweans from all backgrounds from their home country (IDASA, 2005). Zimbabwe was once known as the breadbasket of Africa. It was recognised as having the best education system in Southern Africa, which resulted in the human resources from that country being the most sought after in Africa. The economic engine was vibrant during the first twenty years of independence, but for the last twelve years it has been plunged into deep economic crisis which has been marked by negative economic growth, rampant inflation and chronic poverty. The Land Redistribution Programme, mass migration to the United Kingdom and the popular Mzansi Rush (to South Africa), no rule of law and the abuse of human rights, declared and undeclared sanctions, are interlinked issues that have made Zimbabwe infamous in the international arena.

Since the advent of the Land Redistribution Programme, Zimbabweans have flocked to neighbouring countries, mainly South Africa and Botswana. A number have migrated to the United Kingdom, which is now popularly known in Zimbabwean circles as Mbare North because of the number of Zimbabweans in that country. Mbare is the oldest high-density suburb in Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe.

The increase in the number of Zimbabweans leaving their home country has been attributed to political persecution, and/or to the economic meltdown. The Zimbabwean Government and the Reserve Bank Governor have, to a certain extent, attributed the economic situation to declared and undeclared sanctions imposed by the West namely, the suspension of technical assistance, suspension of voting and related rights by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)

and ineligibility to access the Fund's resources. Zimbabweans have become mere possessions in other countries, and have been subjected to inhumane treatment. Most of them work for wages below the minimum wage when they migrate to South Africa. Some have found themselves working for as little as R14 a day.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants in South Africa, and to assess the impact of this migration on Zimbabwe's social development. It also identifies the push and pull factors that have driven, and are still driving these trends. Furthermore, this study also aims to show how Zimbabwean migrants integrate into the local labour market and the obstacles they face including xenophobia, language barriers, lack of professional qualifications for some, and difficulty in obtaining resident status.

1.2 Background

Figure 1: Map of Zimbabwe



Source – Extracted from www.travelnotes.org & www.yes.or.ke

Zimbabwe is formerly known as Southern Rhodesia. It obtained its independence from British colonial rule in 1980. Zimbabwe is a landlocked country in southern Africa. It has a population of about 11.3 million people (CIA World Factbook, 2008). The country covers a land area of 390,580 sq km. Zimbabwe is bordered by Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique and South Africa. The economy of Zimbabwe is chiefly agrarian, with cotton and tobacco as the main exports. President Robert Mugabe has ruled the country since independence. Since the late 1990s, the economy has been in a prolonged state of collapse and as yet, there is no sign of recovery. President Mugabe's government policy has been blamed for the crisis currently bedevilling the country. Today, Zimbabwe has the highest rate of inflation in the world. This resulted in the majority of the population depending on food aid. In February 2009, a new unity government was formed after almost a year of political opposition following the controversial elections in March 2008. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) joined Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) in government.

1.3 Rationale and Significance of the study

Zimbabwe has been struggling to create a post-colonial socio-economic and political identity since independence. This led Zimbabwe to adopt different policies to try and rectify these socio-economic imbalances. Some of the adopted policies had positive outcomes yet others had detrimental consequences. For example, the country's expansionist education policy raised Zimbabwe's literacy rate which was a positive outcome (Chitiyo & Wheeler, 2004). On the other hand the land reform programme (which began in 1999), had a negative impact on farm production which in turn triggered the worst economic crisis.

Instead of redressing the colonial imbalances the land reform programme resulted in forced reclamation of land from the white farmers. This land was redistributed to less equipped farmers which resulted in massive decline in production (Country Indicators for Foreign Policy, 2007). This has resulted in Zimbabwe becoming a net importer of food.

According to Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (2007) in 2006, Zimbabwe had a negative GDP growth of -4.4%. The economy declined by 40% between 2000 and 2007. At the end of 2008 the unemployment rate was 90% (UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2009: 9). In July 2008 the inflation rate was 231 million percent, up from 11.2 million percent of June, making it the highest in the world (International Institute for

Strategic Studies, 2009:1). This crisis has unfortunately left many children's lives threatened and defined by severe poverty.

This study is crucial in investigating the experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants in Cape Town bearing in mind the background they are coming from. This study also brings to the fore recommendations that the country and the people can adopt to rectify the problems at hand.

1.3.1 Problem Formulation

The topic was formulated as

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERIENCES OF ZIMBABWEAN YOUTH IMMIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN.

1.3.2 Main Research questions

This study has four main research questions. These are:

1. What are the social and economic experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants in South Africa?
2. What are the problems facing Zimbabwean youth and the South African authorities?
3. How has xenophobia and social integration affected the Zimbabwean youth immigrants in South Africa?
4. What further considerations are important as they relate to Zimbabwean youth migration to South Africa?

1.3.3 Research Objectives

1. To explore the social and economic experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants in South Africa.
2. To explore the problems facing Zimbabwean youth and the South African authorities.
3. To examine how xenophobia and social integration have affected Zimbabwean youth immigrants in South Africa.
4. To explore further considerations as they relate to Zimbabwean youth migration to South Africa.

1.3.4 Concept Clarification

The following concepts are defined as understood in this study.

1.3.4.1 Immigrants

Immigrants are people who have left their country of origin and settled in another country. There are two categories of immigrants, which are legal and illegal immigrants. Legal immigrants are those people who meet legal requirements of the host country and illegal immigrants do not meet the legal requirements (United Nations, 2007).

1.3.4.2 Migration

Migration is defined as the movement of persons from one country or locality to another (Webster Dictionary, 2009).

1.3.4.3 Legal Requirements

Legal requirements are the conditions which migrants must meet. In this study, the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) in South Africa has set them. In terms of these requirements, immigrants must declare themselves at a DHA Office on their arrival in South Africa.

1.3.4.4 Brain drain

Brain drain refers to the loss of skilled intellectual and technical labour to the home country because highly educated and skilled workers leave in search of better prospects in other countries (Webster Dictionary, 2009).

1.3.4.5 Exploitation

Exploitation is defined as the unfair treatment, use or taking unfair advantage of a person or situation, usually for personal gains (Webster Dictionary, 2009).

1.3.4.6 Xenophobia

Xenophobia is defined as an unreasonable fear, distrust, or hatred of strangers, foreigners, or anything perceived as foreign or different (Webster Dictionary, 2009). McDonald & Jacobs (2005: 259) define xenophobia as the “deep dislike of foreigners.” Prejudice and

discrimination continue to exist between different racial groups in South Africa largely because of the ills of the Apartheid era. Such continuing group hostility affects South Africans' attitudes to foreigners, particularly African foreigners. If this problem has not been dealt with among the South Africans themselves, it is difficult to accept people from outside.

1.3.4.7 Social Integration

Social integration is the incorporation of minority groups, such as ethnic minorities, refugees and underprivileged sections of society into mainstream society. Members of the minority groups thus gain full access to the opportunities, rights and services previously available to the members of the dominant group or groups (Webster Dictionary, 2009). Because of Apartheid, much still needs to be done to heal South African society.

1.3.4.8 Youth

Different organisations, governments and institutions define youth differently. At international level, the UN's World Program of Action for Youth defines "youth" as people ages 15–24, while the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF use the terms "adolescent" for those 10–19, "youth" for those 15–24, and "young people" for those 10–24. For the Commonwealth youth is 15-29. The wider band of 10–24 years used by these agencies recognizes that many policies directed at youth often need to influence outcomes before the age of 15 (World Bank, 2007:27). In Africa, the definition of youth differs however; the African Union defines youth as a person between the ages of 15-35 (African Union, 2006).

The World Development Report of 2007 defines youth as "a transitional phase from childhood to adulthood when young people, through a process of intense physiological, psychological, social, and economic change, gradually come to be recognized and to recognize themselves as adults" (World Bank, 2007:27). According to this definition, youth is a stage when young people start to exercise their independence to pursue their dreams and establish themselves in society. It can also be a period of great energy, enthusiasm, and creativity giving rise to the expression that you are "as young as you feel," which is especially popular among those who are well past their youth!" (World Bank, 2007:27). The Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP), (Ministry of Finance and National Planning, 2005:218), defines youth as any person aged between 18 and 35 years.

This study will adopt the age group of 18 to 35 for purposes of this discourse. From all the definitions highlighted above, it is clear that youth is more than just an age group but a period of transition from childhood to adulthood during which young people experiment with a whole range of choices about their lives. It is a period when youth have to negotiate their way into the mainstream society. During this period, the youth face challenges and opportunities relating to employment, education, poverty, and health (including HIV/AIDS). Addressing these issues is important because “youth is an important stage of life for building the human capital that allows young people to escape poverty and lead better and more fulfilling lives”(World Bank, 2007:29).

1.3.4.9 Social Development

Midgley (1995: 25) defines social development as a process of “promoting people’s welfare and can be elucidated as an enabling perspective, because it focuses attention on the potentials for action without forgetting the structural constraints to which actors are subject.” Social development intervention strategies are all-inclusive, they address issues at all levels of society thus at, macro, meso and micro levels. This strong characteristic strengthens social development and its operations. This therefore means that social development operates the same way as governments and international organisations do, in drawing local communities into its policies.

1.4 Ethics

The following section will discuss ethical considerations that include informed consent, harm to participants and violation of privacy.

There are a number of ethical considerations that were taken into account in tackling this research project. Professional ethical codes are meant to protect the participants. Social research should not harm or injure the people being studied, either emotionally or physically (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). The researcher had to tackle the research topic sensitively. Confidentiality and the anonymity of respondents were paramount (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delpont, 2005). It was important for the researcher not to raise any expectations of the respondents.

The researcher informed each participant before the interview that disclosing information regarding their plans or feelings was voluntary and that they could stop the interview at any time. The researcher engaged the participants in debriefing where this was necessary. The researcher also emphasised that the study was for academic purposes. The researcher thus gained the informed consent of participants at the beginning of each interview. The research was conducted in an open manner (De Vos et al, 2005).

1.5 Reflexivity

Reflexivity can be defined as the “explicit recognition and examination of the researcher’s role in the research process including the assumptions with which they operate, their identifications and dis-identifications and their possible influence on the research process” (Terre Blanche, Durheim & Painter, 2006: 482). It is important to note that the researcher is a student from the University of Cape Town, and a Zimbabwean national. This could mean that the student might project her own perceptions and experience of the brain drain on the study.

A pre-conceived mind of assumptions of the challenges that immigrants face in general could influence the formation of questions that would be asked during the interview process. Thus, it was important for the researcher to identify and recognize her own feelings, biases as well as assumptions she has about the research. Such perceptions and experiences should not contaminate the interviewing process either consciously or unconsciously. As a fellow country woman, the researcher may be more inclined to believe the immigrants rather than subjecting their comments to critical analysis.

However, reading extensive literature as well as asking open-ended questions gave the respondents a platform to provide their own responses, which helped in overcoming this limitation. In addition, the researcher felt like a “novice researcher” since she conceptualised the research project from the beginning all by herself and being the first major research she has done by herself. The researcher is not an experienced interviewer, and interviewing the respondents proved to be a challenge but was encouraged by the passion she has for the subject throughout the interview process.

1.6 Structure of the research report

The research report consists of five chapters:

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter introduces the reader to the research and consists of the introduction to the study, gives background and points to the significance of the study, the rationale of the study, the main research questions and research objectives. The researcher clarifies concepts and records the ethical considerations, which the study adhered to. She also makes remarks about reflexivity.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this chapter, a comprehensive literature review is presented. It provides an overview of migration as well as the debates around the concept. It also presents the trends of migration and the impact this migration has on Zimbabwe's social development. To this end the chapter examines the work of a number of authors which are relevant to the subject of the study.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

In chapter three, the research design and methodology is presented. The research design is qualitative in approach. In-depth, face-to-face interviews were used. A sample of seventeen participants (8 males and 9 females) was used. Snowball sampling was used in the selection of participants. The approach taken to collect data and the data-collection tool, the method of data analysis, which is based on grounded theory, and the possible limitations of the study are described.

Chapter Four: Presentation and Discussion of Findings

This chapter presents the findings of the study together with an analysis of the research findings. It discusses the responses presented by the participants and the impact of migration on Zimbabwe's social development.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

The final chapter presents an overview of the study. This chapter presents the conclusions drawn from the study. It also provides the recommendations put forward on the issues of migration and social development.

1.7 Summary

In the first chapter of this research study, the following has been discussed: background to the study, rationale and significance of the study, problem formulation whereby the topic was outlined, the main research questions, research objectives, concept clarification, ethics, reflexivity and structure of the research study. This enables the reader to understand the context of the study.

The following chapter presents a comprehensive literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter consists of the following sections: introduction, historical background to South Africa, the changing migration trends, understanding migration, challenges that are faced by Zimbabweans when they migrate, causes of xenophobia, problems with social integration in the South African context, understanding the situation of immigrants in the South African context, in particular immigrants dealings with the South African Police Service, and the Department of Home Affairs.

The theoretical framework informing this research is discussed with reference to human rights theory, poverty and social exclusion theories, and a people-centred approach. The impact of HIV/AIDS and brain drain on Zimbabwe's human resources pool is discussed. Special attention is given to the impact of HIV/AIDS in the midst of an economic crisis, the impact of migration on Zimbabwe and the brain drain among the youth from Zimbabwe and how these factors have affected the country's social development.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on the experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants in Cape Town, and the impact of this migration on Zimbabwe's social development. It also explores the issue of brain drain, which is defined as the loss of skilled intellectual and technical labour to the home country because highly educated and skilled workers leave in search of better prospects in other countries. It is normally due to conflict, lack of opportunity, political instability, or health risks in the home country.

2.2 Historical Background to South Africa

Figure 2: Map of South Africa



Source- Extracted from www.sahistory.org.za

South Africa is characterised with a multiparty constitutional democracy whereby power is shared between the president and the Parliament. The Parliament consists of two houses, the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces. These houses are responsible for drafting the laws of the state (Bond, 2000). In addition, the National Assembly has control over bills relating to monetary matters. The National Assembly has 400 members and these were retained under the 1996 constitution but it should be noted that the constitution allows for a range of members between 350 and 400. It is noteworthy that the Assembly is elected by a system of "proportional representation," whereby each of the parties appearing on the ballot submits a rank-ordered list of candidates (Bond, 2000). The voters then cast their ballots for a party and as a result, seats in the Assembly are allocated based on the percentage of votes each party gets (Bond, 2000).

In the 2009 election, the ANC won 264 seats in the National Assembly (a decrease of 33 seats from 2004), the Democratic Alliance (DA) won 67 seats, the newly formed Congress of the People (COPE) won 30 seats, and the IFP won 18 seats (Southhall & Daniel, 2009). Smaller parties won the remaining 21 seats.

The president is the head of state, and is elected by the National Assembly. His constitutional responsibilities consist of assigning cabinet portfolios, signing bills into law, as well as serving as commander in chief of the military. The president works closely with the deputy president and the cabinet. The third arm of the central government is an independent judiciary. The Constitution's Bill of Rights provides for due process including the right to a fair, public trial within a reasonable time of being charged and the right to appeal to a higher court and it guarantees fundamental political and social rights of South Africa's citizens.

2.3 Challenges Ahead of South African Society

South Africa's post-apartheid governments have made incredible advancement in consolidating the nation's peaceful transition to democracy (Brooks, Townsend & van Zyl, 2000). A number of programs to improve social service delivery to the previously disadvantaged majority of the population have been implemented and more are underway (Brooks et al, 2000). This includes access to better education opportunities and business has become more widespread (Bekker, Cross & Bromberger, 1992). Nevertheless, the transformation of South Africa through removing the legacy of apartheid will be a long-term process that requires sustainable commitment of the leaders as well as the people of the nation's disparate groups.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), chaired by 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu, helped to advance the reconciliation process (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998). The TRC was empowered to investigate the ills of the apartheid era by addressing human rights abuses that transpired between 1960 and 1994 and to grant amnesty to the people who committed politically motivated crimes. It also recommended compensation to victims of abuse (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998). In November 2003, the government allocated a sum of \$4,600 (R30, 000) reparations to individual apartheid victims. The mandate of the TRC was part of the larger reconciliation process addressing conflicting political, economic and cultural differences of the various ethnic groups that constitute South African population (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998).

Another important issue is the relationship of provincial as well as local administrative structures to the national government. This is so because prior to April 27, 1994, South Africa was divided into 4 provinces and 10 black "homelands," of which four of them were considered independent by the government. The interim Constitution as well as the 1996

Constitution eliminated this system and substituted nine provinces (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998). More so, every province has an elected legislature and provincial premier.

The nature of the relationship that exists between the central and provincial governments is the subject of considerable debate predominantly in the midst of a populace yearning for a great measure of autonomy from the central government. A distinct position in defining the relationship of these governments emerged in 1997, when provincial governments were given more than half of the central government's funding and were given a platform to manage and develop their own budgets. Even though South Africa has tried to work and address the exclusionary nature of the apartheid era as well as the distortions brought in part by the country's international isolation until the 1990s, it is worth noting that this process left major weaknesses that might catch up with the country and have great effect in the future.

The economy is in a process of transition without any doubt as the government seeks to address the inequities of apartheid by stimulating growth to all citizens and employment creation (Kingdon & Knight, 2000a). In addition, businesses are becoming more integrated into the international system and foreign investment has increased. It should be noted that the economic disparities between population groups is expected to persist for many years, thus this will remain an area of priority for the government.

2.4 Human Rights in South Africa

The 1996 Constitution's bill of rights provides extensive guarantees, "including equality before the law and prohibitions against discrimination; the right to life, privacy, property, and freedom and security of the person; prohibition against slavery and forced labour; and freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and association." Citizens are entitled to a safe living environment, education, housing as well as access to health care. The Constitution provides for an independent and impartial judiciary, and, in practice, these provisions are respected. Since the eradication of apartheid, the levels of political violence in South Africa have dropped dramatically but violent crime and organized criminal activity are skyrocketing and this is a matter of concern that the government should deeply look into.

Some of the other problems being experienced are members of the police committing abuse and deaths in police custody are increasing because of excessive force. These remain a problem. As a way of responding to this, the government has taken action to investigate and

punish some of those who commit such abuses. In April 1997, the government established an Independent Complaints Directorate to investigate the ongoing deaths in police custody and the deaths resulting from police action. Another serious problem that needs attention is violence against women and children, which calls for a course of action. Even though South African society is undergoing rapid transformation, discrimination against women and those living with HIV/AIDS continues to be a stigma in societies.

2.5 South African Economy

South Africa has a two-tiered economy. South Africa has a productive and industrialized economy that exhibits various attributes associated with developing countries and these include a division of labour between formal and informal sectors, and uneven distribution of wealth and income (Michie & Padayachee, 1998). South Africa has a well-developed formal sector based on services, mining, manufacturing as well as agriculture (Standing, Sender & Weekes, 1996). The transition to a democratic, non-racial government in 1994 stimulated a discussion on shaping economic policies towards achieving continual economic growth as well as rectifying the socioeconomic disparities created by apartheid (Adelzadeh, 1996). The government introduced a program called the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) as a blueprint to address the problems instigated by the apartheid era (Adelzadeh, 1996). The program was designed to improve the standard of living of the majority of the population by providing housing, basic services, education and health care.

For the period of 1996-2000, the South African government dropped the RDP and adopted a neoliberal economic strategy; Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) as an approach to demonstrate its commitment to open markets, privatization and providing a favourable investment climate (ANC, 1994). This strategy was not successful as planned. It brought greater financial discipline and macroeconomic stability but failed to deliver in key areas such as formal employment, which continued to deteriorate (Fallon & Perriera da Silva, 1994). More so, despite the ongoing efforts of black empowerment and social mobility, the country's wealth remains very unequally distributed among racial groups (Standing et al, 1996). Thus, the rich are getting richer whilst the poor are getting poorer. The gap is too huge to cover over night; hence, the majority of the black population are still living in poverty.

South Africa implemented the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework and the Public Finance Management Act to improve auditing, accountability, reporting and monetary policy

framework. This has created predictability and transparency. It should be noted that these reforms are extensively acclaimed worldwide.

2.6 Changing Migration Trends

The phenomenon of migration between Zimbabwe and South Africa is not new. Historically, Zimbabwe, like many other countries in the Southern African region, has supplied workers for South African mines and farms (International Labour Office, 1998). The province of Limpopo in particular, which borders Zimbabwe, and in which the agricultural sector is a major employer, has a history of receiving seasonal and permanent Zimbabwean labour. (International Labour Office, 1998). There is also a tradition of cross border traders from Zimbabwe who buy and sell goods in South Africa. Many migrants from the Southern and Western areas of Zimbabwe, which are prone to droughts and food shortages, have come to South Africa through irregular channels (International Labour Office, 1998). There are socio-cultural ties, which link communities on both sides of the border. These bonds include family connections and shared languages, for example, Venda, and Ndebele are spoken on both sides of the South Africa-Zimbabwe border (International Labour Office, 1998). These ties result from the fact that the borders are colonial creations, which until recently allowed high mobility across border areas because security was lax (International Labour Office, 1998). In addition, the political violence against the people of Matabeleland in the 1980s also led to migration.

Notwithstanding, the long history of migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa, the scale and character of migration has shifted in recent years (Zinyama, 2002). As the economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe has worsened, increasing numbers of Zimbabweans have turned to migration as an additional coping strategy. Since 2000, the number of Zimbabwean migrants entering South Africa through irregular channels has increased significantly, though exact numbers are not known (Zinyama, 2002). While young males who are on their own still seem to be biggest group among the migrants, increasing numbers of women, and even entire families, are also coming to South Africa to seek work and alternative livelihoods (Zinyama, 2002). In addition, increasing numbers of unaccompanied children have begun crossing the border (Makina, 2007).

Largely more and more migrants enter South Africa through illegal and often dangerous channels. They risk their lives to enter South Africa. As they are in the country without the

proper documentation, these migrants are in constant fear of arrest and deportation as they struggle to find accommodation, employment and health facilities. Similarly, while there are Zimbabwean migrants throughout South Africa, the largest concentration seems to be in Gauteng province, which is perceived to offer the greatest economic opportunities, and in Limpopo province, which borders Zimbabwe, where many migrants are employed on farms. For most Zimbabweans, Limpopo is a temporary staging point for migrants, for many plan to move to other parts of the country, but need to earn money for transport or to finance their plans. It is worth noting that Cape Town has now grown to be a sought after destination, since these immigrants are hardly ever asked for their identity documents there. Thus, more people have opted to migrate to Cape Town rather than Gauteng. This study seeks to understand the experiences of youth migrants who have settled in Cape Town.

2.7 Understanding Migration

A number of political, economic and social factors are thought to prompt people to migrate (Legoko, 2006). Migration may be voluntary or forced, and in the past it has attributed to the following conditions, trade, slavery, warfare and natural disasters, to mention but a few (Leys, 1975). The period post-1996 also brought an increase in migrants to South Africa from other neighbouring countries besides Zimbabwe (Legoko, 2006). This can be explained as a result of pull and push factors. There was a downward turn in the economy in Zimbabwe in the year 2000 as cited by Gracia & Duplat (2007). The first pull factor was that post-Apartheid South Africa opened its borders, and thus it was more accessible and attractive as a destination (Legoko, 2006). South Africa exerted a pull on migrants (Legoko, 2006) as it appeared to provide opportunities for achieving a comfortable life style (Gracia & Duplat, 2007). It is worth noting that even though it was regarded as an ideal destination, in fact, it was not as glamorous as it was presented to be, and this will be dealt with as the discussion unfolds.

Chimanikire (2005), points out that the migration of Zimbabwean natives is driven (push factor) by their need to have a source of income, and as a way to overcome the issue of barriers to credit as well as capital. He adds that certain individuals migrate primarily for personal reasons, which might be for improving family life whilst others migrate for family reasons for example marriage or dissolution (Chimanikire, 2005) A major issue is the brain drain from Zimbabwe, which provides a brain gain for a receiving country, which has greatly contributed to the deteriorating levels of social development (Chimanikire, 2005). Another

problem that many immigrants to South Africa face, is that many of these emigrants do not work in their field of expertise or in jobs that recognise and/or utilise their qualifications. This issue needs to be examined. This, for example, can be done by conducting a survey to see how non-South African qualifications are being viewed by employers in this country (Sefa Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2002).

Gracia & Duplat (2007) state that thousands of Zimbabweans choose not to apply for asylum because they fear alienation from their families once they get these documents, and that they will not be able to return to see their families in their country of origin. This has been so for many. Some went into the United Kingdom as political asylum seekers, and now they can no longer return to their home country because they have been granted asylum papers after masquerading as people fleeing from victimisation and genocide (Gracia & Duplat, 2007). Under the United Nations convention and protocol relating to refugees/asylum seekers, persons who have been granted asylum cannot return to a country where their lives or freedom would be threatened because of race, religion, nationality, or membership of a particular social group or because of their political opinions (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2008).

Gono (2007) points out that sanctions, both declared and undeclared, is one of the factors which has contributed to the economic meltdown that is being experienced in Zimbabwe. Sanctions have given rise to high unemployment, which is a result of closure of big companies in Zimbabwe (Gono, 2007). The lack of jobs, in turn, has resulted in people flocking to countries such as South Africa in vast numbers (Gono, 2007). This influx into South Africa has also led to Xenophobia, which is defined as a deep dislike of foreigners. Sichone (2006) points out that in South Africa it is not directed at strangers in general, but at a certain kind of stranger. Zimbabweans have been labelled 'kwerekweres' or 'fence jumpers', who, according to popular wisdom are here to steal jobs and women of the South Africans (Sichone, 2006). Such a belief has resulted in many migrants living in constant fear of being attacked. This can be viewed as a further challenge for migrants, because it makes integration into local communities very difficult.

Xenophobia has manifested as acts of physical violence against Zimbabweans and other immigrants, such as, the attacks and beatings suffered by migrants at the hands of local youth gangs (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2007). Migrants are labelled as criminals, which has led to them being victimised by local people and the police (Forced Migration

Studies Programme, 2007). Sensationalised accounts in the media of migrants involved in crime, or characterisations of a “human tsunami” of undocumented Zimbabweans “flooding” into the country contribute to people’s fear of foreign nationals. Such fear may lead to greater pressure on the South African government to appear to be doing something about undocumented migrants, such as deporting them (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2007).

2.8 Challenges that are faced by Zimbabweans when they migrate

There are many challenges that are faced by Zimbabweans who migrate to other countries. For undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants, danger comes in many forms, from sexual predators lurking near the border, to exploitative employers taking advantage of the migrants’ illegal status (Kaseke, 2005). Law enforcers can prove just as hostile. Local police have raided a number of churches and their precincts and then made sweeping arrests, for example, at the Methodist Church in Johannesburg that was giving shelter and accommodation to Zimbabweans.

Access to basic health care has also been an ongoing problem. Zimbabweans either do not go to hospitals because they fear being arrested there, or they are denied treatment despite the South African Constitution which guarantees health services for all (Human Rights Watch, 2006). Most common health problems are sexual and respiratory infections, but many migrants also need psychological support. According to a 1998 Human Rights Watch report, immigrants from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique living in the Alexandra Township, Gauteng were physically assaulted over a period of several weeks in January 1995. Armed gangs identified suspected undocumented migrants and marched them to the police station in an attempt to 'clean' the township of foreigners. The campaign, known as "Buyelekhaya" (go back home), blamed foreigners for crime, unemployment and sexual attacks (Crush & Pendleton, 2004).

In October 2001, residents of the Zandspruit informal settlement gave Zimbabweans 10 days to leave the area. When the foreigners failed to leave voluntarily, they were forcefully evicted and their shacks were burnt down and looted (Legoko, 2006). Community members said they were angry that Zimbabweans were employed while locals remained jobless and blamed the foreigners for a number of crimes (Legoko, 2006). In the last week of 2005 and first week of 2006, at least four people, including two Zimbabweans, died in the Olievenhoutbosch settlement after foreigners had been blamed for the death of a local man. Shacks belonging to

foreigners were set alight and locals demanded that police remove all immigrants from the area (Kaseke, 2005).

Attacks on foreign nationals increased markedly in late 2007 (Makina, 2007) and it is believed that there have been at least a dozen attacks since the start of 2008. The most severe incidents occurred on January 8, 2008 when two Somali shop owners were murdered in the Eastern Cape towns of Jeffreys Bay and East London, and in March 2008 when seven people were killed including some Zimbabweans. Law enforcement agents also expose migrants to harassment when they failed to produce proof of legal status. This was a violation of their human rights.

Harassment included brutal beatings, confiscation of goods, and even arrest (Human Rights Watch, 2006). Similar abuses are sometimes perpetrated by local youths who assist police to flush out illegal residents. Migrants do not report these abuses because they are scared of being deported (Human Rights Watch, 2006). Women are vulnerable to sexual exploitation by police, who will demand sex in exchange for not arresting and deporting the migrant women. This sexual harassment can expose them to HIV/AIDS (Lau & Omarjee, 2006).

Migrants are commonly blamed for crime and may end up being victims of mob justice. Such harassment and hostility from local communities makes it difficult for migrants to integrate in these communities (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Another issue is lack of adequate housing; hence, some resort to living in open areas, under trees or in shacks. This is illustrated in figures 3 and 4 below. Migrants face a number of obstacles to realise their right to adequate housing (Human Rights Watch, 2007). One obstacle is linked to their inability to pay for accommodation because of difficulties in securing employment. The migrants are not eligible for government housing schemes.



Figure 3: Picture of a shack, which some immigrants have erected to provide accommodation.



Figure 4: Picture of Zimbabwean Immigrants

Those migrants who do access housing are often vulnerable to exploitation by property owners who charge extortionate rents or threaten to call the immigration authorities. Many migrants will end up sharing their accommodation with relatives or other members of their social networks. Having to live in such crowded conditions can contribute to poor health and loss of dignity. Another major problem for migrants is the lack of access to sufficient food (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Besides the difficulties faced in securing employment, undocumented migrants are also vulnerable to exploitation by employers.

2.9 Causes of Xenophobia

According to McDonald & Jacobs (2005), the most widely accepted definition of xenophobia refers to “a deep dislike of foreigners” (McDonald & Jacobs, 2005:295). This term has been derived from the Greek words *xenos*, meaning "foreigner," "stranger," and *phobos*, meaning, "fear” (Ominde, 2007). It is worth noting that xenophobia is a worldwide phenomenon and

certainly not indigenous to any particular part of the world. Thus, this phenomenon is as much of a reality in industrialised nations as it is in the developing world (Mogekwu, 2005). More so, behaviour associated with xenophobia has been part of the historic arena of many African countries such as Botswana, Zimbabwe and Namibia and is mostly expressed through physical and verbal abuse (Morapedi, 2007).

Some authors advocate that xenophobia is not really a fear of foreigners, but rather the issue must be contextualised to include that the phenomenon is both a persistent attitude and an active practice. For the purposes of this discussion, the broader definition as presented by McDonald and Jacobs (2005) will be adopted as it encompasses various facets. Thus, xenophobia is “the deep dislike of non-nationals based on fear of the unknown or anything perceived as different and involves attitudes, prejudices and behaviours that reject, exclude, and often vilify persons on the perceptions that those persons are outsiders or foreign to the community, society or national identity” (McDonald & Jacobs, 2005: 296).

Crush (2000) shows that South Africans began exhibiting hostility towards foreign nationals after 1995. As outlined by the Human Rights Watch (1998) report, South Africans were among the groups most intolerant of, and discriminatory towards foreigners. They viewed them as a threat to their economic and social well-being, as well as contributing to the criminal rates escalating in South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 1998).

Xenophobia has spiralled due to competition for resources, for example, health, water, employment, accommodation (McKenzie, 2008). Xenophobia can manifest itself in several ways in a country through victimization by police, brutal assaults, murders, ethnic cleansing in an area as well as mass expulsion from the country (McKenzie, 2008). Poverty is very high among black African South African nationals. The causes of xenophobia can be linked to poverty and the unequal distribution of wealth and incomes, as well as unemployment.

The most recent xenophobic violence attacks that transpired in South Africa were primarily directed against foreigners living in some of the poorest urban areas of the country. Nonetheless, this has also greatly influenced the human resource pool especially those who acquired citizenship by virtue of their specialized skills like engineers, medical doctors, academics as well as scientists. It has also negatively influenced those with legitimate work and study permits, such as Mathematics teachers from Zimbabwe and foreign university

students. Thus, even though these people might have legitimate papers to reside in the country, the fact that they are foreigners threatens them.

Sadly, many South Africans, and not just those living in the poorest communities are opposed to the presence of a large number of foreigners from other African countries. More so, they blame foreigners for many of the ills in South Africa including the high unemployment rate among locals and crime rates. Thus, South Africans therefore need to do some soul searching, lest even more locals become xenophobic.

2.10 Xenophobia Post 1994

Xenophobia in South Africa is perceived to have increased significantly post apartheid. Despite a lack of directly comparable data, this notion is supported with the evidence of the incidents that have transpired to date. According to a study published by Crush & Pendleton (2004), the Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP), it states that, “The ANC government in its attempts to overcome the divides of the past and build new forms of social cohesion embarked on an aggressive and inclusive nation-building project and one unanticipated by-product of this project has been a growth in intolerance towards outsiders.” (Crush & Pendleton, 2004: 4). This therefore means that violence against foreign citizens as well as African refugees has become increasingly common and communities are continuously being divided by hostility, hatred and suspicion. This study was based on a citizen survey across member states of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the results found showed that South Africans expressed the harshest anti-foreigner sentiment, with 21% of the citizens in support of an absolute ban on entry of foreigners and 64% in favour of strict limitations on the numbers allowed to enter and reside in the country (Crush & Pendleton, 2007:9).

Poor service delivery or an influx of foreigners may have been contributing factors in outbreaks of xenophobia in South Africa (Crush, 2001). In addition, community leadership is potentially lucrative for unemployed people, and to a certain extent, such leaders organize these attacks. Thus, these local leaders could be illegitimate especially coming out of a setting of either political vacuum or fierce competition, they enhance their power by reinforcing hatred or rather resentment towards foreign nationals.

According to Crush and Pendelton (2007:64), the democratisation of South Africa in 1994 marked a major transformation in one of the most historically divided nations in the world. This therefore means that, since then, South Africa has been seen as “rainbow nation” that is inclusive of all despite colour, gender, race or ethnicity, one that is characterised with unity and harmony. However, as the newly elected government continued embarking on its aggressive endeavors of nation building, it should be noted that xenophobic attitudes have evidently become increasingly common and widespread (Crush and Pendelton, 2007).

More so, violent attacks of immigrants became frequent and brutal from 1996. The South African Government has been adequately warned and advised about the increasing negative attitudes towards immigrants, with numerous reports and investigations reaching the same conclusion that has been pointed out earlier on: that South Africans express the “harshest sentiments” about immigrants and view all immigrants as criminals and negative influences on the South African economy (Crush and Pendelton, 2007:80).

South Africa has grown to be the talk in the international arena as well as nationally due to the violence as well as crime that are experienced almost on a daily basis and this has shattered both its image and reputation. This has also been made worse with deaths and thousands of people being displaced due to brutal and violent xenophobic attacks (Qwelane, 2008). This has therefore damaged the country’s image and reputation at large and has been seen as the government’s incompetence and inability to effectively deal with the situation and put a stop to violence attacks. The President, Thabo Mbeki, only publicly addressed the situation two weeks after the attacks emerged and instead of having positive results, it only fuelled the criticism leveled against the Government (Qwelane, 2008). It is worth noting that the attacks, the subsequent trauma injected by the events as well as fear of foreigners has left a scar on the country’s history.

It should be noted that xenophobia is not certainly unique to South Africa. Countries like China, Belgium, the United Kingdom as well as Germany have experienced this phenomenon but the only difference is that these countries dealt with the attitudes and behaviour associated with xenophobia (McDonald & Jacobs, 2005). Thus, these countries addressed the problem up front by engaging in effective communication to resolve the underlying issues before it manifested to a greater extent (McDonald & Jacobs, 2005). Hence, this is a call to the South African government to take cognisance on how these countries have dealt with similar

problems and learn from them as well as incorporating what suits the country for a better tomorrow for the nation.

2.11 The rise of xenophobia in South Africa

As mentioned, despite the violent attacks that has brought public focus and attention on xenophobia, this phenomenon has been inexistence for some time. Crush (2001) outlines that the increasingly antagonistic attitudes toward foreign citizens began to be evident in the 1990's. In 1996, non-South African traders were assaulted in Johannesburg and three foreign citizens were killed by an angry mob of unemployed South-Africans in 1998 (Crush, 2001). A field investigation by the Human Rights Watch in 1998 showed that resentment towards foreigners continued to increase and it concluded that, "South Africa has become increasingly xenophobic in recent years, with a large percentage of South Africans perceiving foreigners especially, almost exclusively black foreigners, as a direct threat to their future economic well-being and as responsible for the troubling rise in violent crime in South Africa" (Crush, 2001:12).

It can clearly be seen that, xenophobia is not a new problem. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) Country Review Report in May 2007 warned the South African government that the apartheid legacy was still impacting the attitudes, views as well as treatment of foreigners. It stated that "xenophobia against other Africans is of serious concern and should be nipped in the bud" (African Peer Review Mechanism, 2007:27). In response, the government did little to address the underlying beliefs as well as assumptions magnifying these xenophobic attitudes and subsequent attacks.

2.12 Causes of xenophobia in South Africa

The ever-increasing unemployment and crime figures in South Africa have led the citizens to believe that non-nationals are 'stealing' their jobs as well as their wives and these widespread anti-immigrant perceptions and attitudes can partly be attributed to the unfulfilled promises presented before the 1994 elections. A research company called Freshly Ground Insights interviewed 550 people across South Africa to measure the degree of xenophobia. Louise Wheeler, the research executive told News24 that, "The overwhelming message from the research is that immigrants from African countries are not welcome by South African 'main market' consumers, the main reason why South Africans feel this way is because they attribute crime and unemployment in South Africa to foreign immigrants from other African

countries.” (Culbertson, 2009:33) This therefore means that, it is difficult for the foreigners to penetrate the labour market because there is a stereotype hovering above them, thereby making life unbearable and a living hell.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) CEO, Tseliso Thipanyane outlined that the causes of xenophobia are multiple and complex and are coupled with a number of issues like pressure over the limited resources be it housing or jobs with the main contributing factor being South Africa’s own development issues and a past characterised with violence and cruelty (McKenzie, 2008). People view the apartheid legacy as a major contributing factor since some people are still carrying and relating to the scars caused by the apartheid era. This is reflected by the mechanisms that South Africans adopt as a way of resolving issues, like violence and intimidation. This is a reflection of how problems were dealt with during the apartheid era, thus this calls for a course of action by the authorities and South Africans at large need to be educated in adopting and applying more civilised, constructive and peaceful conflict resolution strategies (McKenzie, 2008).

Shindondola (2002) cites the scapegoat theory, relating continuous competition for scarce resources and increasingly a tough economic climate with the rise of xenophobia in South Africa. Scapegoat theory, “deals with foreigners being held accountable for society’s ills and problems” (Shindondola, 2002:16). In addition, Shindondola (2002) argues that the occurrence of “scapegoating” is especially prevalent in transitional societies such as South Africa. More so, Crush and Pendleton (2007) corroborate Shindondola’s argument, in that they also found a strong correlation between perceptions of relative national and personal economic circumstances and attitudes towards foreigners. Thus, they outline that “in times of slow economic growth or economic hardship, society requires scapegoats and it is often the foreigners that take the blame” (Crush & Pendleton, 2007:76).

It should be noted that blaming foreigners for negatively influencing the South African economy and society is a true opposite of the reality (McKenzie, 2008). McKenzie (2008) cites the argument given by Frans Cronje, the deputy CEO of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), that these foreigners have a great positive economic impact on the country. These immigrants took an initiative of starting their own businesses by opening ‘spaza’ shops and South Africans likely supply these thereby increasing business success by contributing their knowledge in terms of consumer tastes as well as market conditions in other markets (Crush, 2001). These foreigners greatly contribute to the economy and

removing them from the informal communities would have a devastating effect, as they contribute in a vital way (McKenzie, 2008).

2.13 The impact of xenophobia

The xenophobic attacks involved random lootings by criminals and opportunists, and shops and small businesses were burnt down or demolished. According to McKenzie (2008), one event in particular grabbed the hearts of South Africans. On May 18 2008 in Reiger Park, a gang attacked a Mozambican man and beat him up and they took a blanket covered with petrol, threw it over him and set him alight. It is shocking that bystanders were laughing as they looked at the man screaming in agony. Due to the substantial injuries, the man died in hospital. This event resulted in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) being called in to support the police to address issues associated with violent attacks and xenophobia. One can therefore understand that foreigners have every reason to fear for their lives and safety wherever they are.

2.14 Problems with social integration in South African context

Strobl as cited in Ritzer (2007:4429) defines social integration as the relationship between people in a society. It “refers to the principles by which individuals or actors are related to one another in a society” (Marshall, 1994: 488). Social integration of the various ethnic or racial communities is lacking in South Africa South Africa has not yet recovered from the ills of the Apartheid era, and is still characterised by racial discrimination, which is now directed at immigrants. This has contributed to the general hostility towards immigrants, and any influx of foreigners is problematic. This hostility is worsened if immigrants are better off than the local populace, and thus many Black (African) South Africans will view the immigrants as taking what belongs to them. Social integration among South Africans and immigrants will promote equality at all levels of the society. It will breed an all-inclusive society, irrespective of distinctions of colour, race or ethnicity. Just as promoting participation can also promote social justice; in turn, social justice promotes social cohesion, and social integration.

2.15 Understanding the situation of immigrants in the South African context

2.15.1 South African Police Service and immigrants

The South African Police Service (SAPS) has failed to provide protection for immigrants. Instead, police officers contribute to the problems that immigrants face. Members of the SAPS often harass, and even detain immigrants (Khan, 2007). In reality there is no close working relationship between the SAPS and the immigrants, thus distorting the whole purpose of police being the watchdogs, hence the situation is worsened due to lack of protection of non-nationals (Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 2002). Immigrants are the main targets of fraud and corruption perpetrated by police officers. It is well known that there are many police officers who solicit bribes from immigrants, for example, police officers in Johannesburg have confiscated immigrants' travel documents and because the immigrants feared being arrested or deported, they offered bribes to get their papers back (Landau & Jacobsen, 2005). Such corrupt behaviour has undermined the integrity of the police service, and has no doubt contributed to high levels of corruption in South Africa (Algotsson & van Garderen, 2001). Members of the SAPS have also been guilty of ill-treating and abusing immigrants (Algotsson & van Garderen, 2001). According to Khan (2007), police officers instigated a number of operations aimed at arresting as well as detaining immigrants. "Operation Crackdown", which took place in Johannesburg in 2000, resulted in the abuse of the human rights of immigrants. There is a need to educate police officers about xenophobia and the rights of immigrants (Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 2002).

2.15.2 Home Affairs and immigrants

The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) is responsible for handling all issues relating to immigrants. There have been many instances of the staff of the Department of Home Affairs treating immigrants badly. DHA officials have delayed processing of the documents of immigrants in order to solicit bribes from their victims. Like the police, the staff of the DHA have been criticised for the way that they have treated immigrants (Landau & Jacobsen, 2005). They have failed to protect the rights of the non-nationals, as laid down in the Constitution of South Africa.

2.16 Theoretical Framework

2.16.1 Human Rights Theory

Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United General Assembly in 1948, education has been formally recognised as a human right. This has since been reaffirmed in numerous universal human rights treaties, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1981). The main aim of some of these agreements is to institute an entitlement to free, compulsory primary education for all children, and to make a commitment to developing secondary education, that would be accessible to all children (UNESCO, 2004). These legal instruments assert that the aim of education is to encourage individual growth so that each person can participate in a free society. Education should also strengthen the respect for human rights and freedoms, and promote understanding, tolerance and friendship between communities and nations (UNESCO, 2004).

The right to education has long been understood as encompassing not only access to education, but also the imperative to eradicate inequity at all levels of the educational system, and to improve the quality of education (UNESCO, 2004). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) further expands the notion of the right to education, particularly through the four core principles of the Convention: non-discrimination; the best interests of the child; the right to life, survival and development of the child to the utmost extent possible; and the right of children to articulate their views in all matters affecting them, and for their views to be given due power in accordance with their age as well as maturity (UNESCO, 2003). The principles outlined make a clear, strong commitment to ensuring that children are recognised as active agents in their own learning and that education is designed to support and respect their rights and needs (UNESCO, 2003).

2.16.2 Poverty and Social Exclusion Theory

Burchardt et al as cited in Haralambos & Holborn (2008), outline a theory of poverty and social exclusion that takes an integrated approach, which is multifaceted and holistic. They discuss certain influences, which determine whether individuals and groups experience

poverty and social exclusion. These influences are divided into two categories, internal and external. Internal influences include the choices that individuals as well as communities make. External influences are the restrictions that an individual or a community has to deal with, for example being excluded from certain types of employment. An integrated theory must include both internal and external influences: the individual, the family, various communities, local and national, as well as global factors. A systemic perspective is necessary if poverty and social exclusion are to be tackled successfully (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). Based on the South African situation: the Apartheid era promoted policies of social exclusion; and the affects of this discriminatory policy have played an important part in shaping present day negative attitudes towards non-nationals (Davids, Theron & Maphunye, 2005). The opportunities that people attain are shaped by their accessibility to funds and socio-historical contexts play a crucial role (Burchardt et al, 2002 as cited in Haralambos & Holborn, 2008).

2.16.3 People-Centred Approach

According to Davids et al (2005), “People-centred development is seen as the product of a social learning process - learning how to use oneself and one’s environment to better meet one’s needs and those of others.” (Davids et al, 2005:20). People centred development is therefore a process of social learning and empowerment that seeks to engage poor and marginalised people. Looking at the issue at hand, the youth should be empowered and participate at all levels since working together can achieve more extensive impact than an individual could achieve (Davids et al, 2005). The youth should be involved in decision-making hence the processes should be bottom up rather than top down. Hence if the development is from the grassroots there will be development because people can identify themselves and their needs and will be motivated to work towards that and achieve good results (Davids et al, 2005). The people’s capacity for participation in the creation of sustainable communities must be reinforced through efforts to speedily develop people’s organisation and awareness. It is also vital to recognise and build from existing organisations and make resources available. The communities must be united and work together to strengthen each other and on the other hand, the government must build a strategy that facilitates citizen action (Davids et al, 2005).

2.17 The Impact of HIV/AIDS and Brain Drain on Zimbabwe's Human Resources Pool

Zimbabwe, like most of Sub-Saharan Africa, has been hard-hit by HIV/ AIDS. National estimates reported by the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare put the prevalence rates of HIV in the age group between 15 and 49 at 15.3% (UNAIDS, 2008). This is one of the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in the world (UNAIDS, 2008). The impact of the pandemic has been so severe that current mitigation efforts fall short, especially concerning the plight of children. To date, the country has one of the highest numbers of children orphaned by AIDS (UNAIDS, 2008). With the country currently experiencing an unprecedented humanitarian and economic crisis of epic proportions, these children suffer the worst deprivation and poverty as a consequence (Goliber, 2000).

The available pool of human resources in Zimbabwe is under severe pressure from the double impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the brain drain (Goliber, 2000). HIV/AIDS affects the most economically active and sexually active age groups, thereby reducing both the quantity and quality of the available work force (Goliber, 2000). The brain drain, in the context of HIV/AIDS, is seen to be selective. It is largely those workers who are healthy, and presumably have not yet contracted HIV/AIDS, that are most likely to emigrate. The labour force left behind is composed of HIV/AIDS carriers who operate the economy. Zimbabwe has one of the highest total numbers of HIV infections in sub-Saharan Africa (Kelly, 2000).

In many organisations, death due to AIDS is either the leading, or one of the leading, causes of employees exiting from a company. Death and illness have overtaken normal retirement and resignation as the leading causes of exiting from employment (Kelly, 2000). The ease with which labour can be replaced will vary with the level of skills required and the general availability of labour. If suitably skilled labour is unavailable, it may take a considerable time to replace people who have become too sick to work, or who have died (Kelly, 2000). This is one of the major factors contributing to the deterioration of Zimbabwe's social development.

Because experience is very valuable in nearly all industries, loss of experienced workers is the most common cause of reduced productivity. Studies on the population dynamics in Zimbabwe reveal that the probability of surviving from ages 20 to 60 for males in the AIDS free labour force is 0.7155, but is only 0.3233 when AIDS is factored in (Chetsanga & Muchenje, 2003: 39). For females, "it is 0.7678 without AIDS being factored in, compared to 0.3121 with AIDS factored in. Thus, without the impact of AIDS, 71 out of every 100 male

workers aged 20 years, would attain the age of 60 years, but because of the impact of AIDS, only 32 will reach the age of 60 years” (Chetsanga & Muchenje, 2003: 39). The brain drain adds to the depletion of the work force, and then there is AIDS, thus worsening the already depleted human labour force (Goliber, 2000).

2.18 The impact of HIV/AIDS in the Midst of an Economic Crisis in Zimbabwe

The increased morbidity among teachers adds to a severe shortage of teachers in Zimbabwe's schools (Goliber, 2000). According to Goliber (2000), Zimbabwe was likely to lose 2.1% of its teachers annually due to AIDS, over the 10-year period, which began in 2000. This prediction is based on the assumption that the loss of teachers mirrors what is happening in the overall adult population.

AIDS worsens the economic vulnerability of already poor households. The standard of living in Zimbabwe has been dwindling since the effects of AIDS started to appear in the late 1980s (Goliber, 2000). AIDS mortality is highest among the economically active population and the youth, who also happen to be the reproductive age group (Goliber, 2000). Although HIV/AIDS awareness began to be incorporated into the Zimbabwe school curriculum in the early 1990s, the deterioration of the education system due to the economic crisis at the turn of the century has meant that increasing numbers of children have failed to go to school, and hence cannot benefit from the HIV AIDS awareness curriculum (Gunderson, Kelly & Jemison, 2004).

The situation got worse in 2008, when many schools in Zimbabwe were closed due to their inability to meet operating expenses. The education crisis also saw a marked depletion in the ranks of teachers, school attendance dropped from over 80 per cent to 20 per cent, and national schools' exams had to be postponed (CIA World Factbook, 2008). In 2008 schools opened two weeks late because exam results had not been released, and learning only resumed in some urban areas for the few who could afford to subsidise teachers' salaries and pay exorbitant tuition fees in United States dollars (CIA World Factbook, 2008). The bottom line is that the education system in Zimbabwe is in a state of crisis, and the contributing factors being HIV/AIDS and the collapse of the economy (CIA World Factbook, 2008).

2.19 Brain Drain among youth in Zimbabwe

The economic collapse in Zimbabwe has also caused or resulted in a severe brain drain, with a number professionals leaving the country for better jobs abroad (e.g., in South Africa, Botswana, the United Kingdom, or New Zealand). Zinyama (2002: 3) points out that the number of teacher emigrants increased from 165 in 1998 to 210 in 1999. In 2000, the number rose to 352 and it reached 407 in 2001. From the professional, technical and related workers category, teachers made up the highest number of emigrants in 2001 (Zinyama, 2002). It is difficult to establish the actual number of Zimbabwean emigrants, especially those in South Africa since most of the emigrants have been crossing the Zimbabwean border illegally (Zinyama, 2002).

The Forced Migration Studies Programme (2007) of South Africa, which has over a decade of research into migration in Southern Africa, estimates that one million Zimbabweans are in South Africa. "Most of the commonly quoted statistics, which range from one to three million Zimbabweans, are extrapolated from ungeneralisable data, which include the number of those deported, border crossing statistics or asylum seeker statistics, or simply based on conjecture (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2007: 5). The Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP) has done extensive work on migration trends in Southern Africa and has documented trends and reasons for the massive emigration from Zimbabwe.

The crippling economic situation in the country is cited as the most important factor that emigrants consider when moving to other countries (Tevera & Zinyama, 2002). Professionals in the education and health sectors constitute the largest number of emigrants. The impact of this trend on the education system has been disastrous (Tevera & Zinyama, 2002). The brain drain and high unemployment (and lack of formal sector employment) has also inevitably shrunk the tax base. Consequently, the government has fewer resources to support the education and health sectors (Chitiyo & Wheeler, 2004).

2.20 Summary

In summation this chapter has briefly covered the historical background of South Africa under Apartheid; changing understanding of migration and migration trends; the challenges that face Zimbabweans when they migrate; the causes of xenophobia; problems relating to

social integration in the South Africa; the situation of immigrants in South Africa; and the treatment of immigrants by members of the South African Police Service and the Department of Home Affairs. In addition, the theoretical framework of this study was outlined. This framework encompasses human rights theory; poverty and social exclusion theory, as well as people centred theory. The impact of HIV/AIDS and the brain drain, of teachers and of others, on Zimbabwe's human resources pool in the midst of an economic crisis, was also discussed.

The following chapter will present the research design and methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the following: research design, population description, sampling method, data collection, data collection tool, data collection approach and data analysis; and the limitations of the study are also examined.

3.1 Research Design

Given the nature of the research topic this is an exploratory study. Exploratory study can be defined as an investigation into a problem or situation which provides insights to the researcher (David, 2008). It may use a variety of methods such as trial studies, interviews, group discussions, experiments, to gain information (David, 2008). The advantages of adopting exploratory research method are it helps the researcher to know the unknown and it narrows down the scope of investigation (Atkison & Flint, 2004). The aim of this study is to explore the social and economic experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants in South Africa, and to investigate the impact of youth migration on Zimbabwe's social development. A qualitative approach was adopted, as the goal of the researcher was to describe and understand the meanings that people attach to social phenomena by capturing people's accounts of the meaning, experiences and perceptions (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delpont, 2005).

Qualitative research can be defined as “the entire process of research from conceptualising a problem to writing the narrative.” (Creswell (1998: 2) as cited by De Vos et al 2005: 271). This therefore means that it is a logical arrangement of ideas in a research study. A qualitative design was appropriate since the topic focuses on the meanings that participants attribute to their realities through exploring their accounts of their experience as immigrants.

3.1.1 Population Description

There is a significant population of Zimbabweans in South Africa, making up the country's largest group of foreign migrants. In this study, the population consists of Zimbabwean youth migrants who reside in Summer Greens and Khayelitsha in Cape Town. The population

consists of both male and female youth and of different age groups. These Zimbabwean youth migrants are the economically active age group.

3.2 Research Methodology

3.2.1 Sampling Method

Snowball sampling was used in the selection of participants. Snowball sampling refers to the process of accumulation as each located subject suggests other subjects. In order to acquire more participants, snowball sampling relies on referrals and by word of mouth. There were a number of Zimbabweans from a friend's church who lived in the targeted communities for my research, thus, I approached a few and they were willing to help me and referred me to other Zimbabwean youth who were living in these communities. According to Seaberg (1988), a correct sample size is determined by the characteristics of the population and the nature of the research questions. In this study, the sample size of 17 persons was adequate for the purpose of this minor dissertation, to gain a better understanding of the experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants. The sample was composed of Zimbabwean youth living in Cape Town in particular in Khayelitsha and Summer Greens. The sample comprised 8 participants who were male and 9 who were female. They were aged between twenty-two and thirty-five years of age.

3.2.2 Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews were used because they allow the interviewer to explore various issues. A set of questions gives the researcher the freedom to gain a detailed and clear picture of the experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants. The open framework of this type of interview allowed for a focused, conversational communication. An interview guide, which had been prepared in advance, provided a framework for the interview (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). The interviews generally took between 40 minutes and 50 minutes, and were conducted in English. The interview was recorded on a Dictaphone with the permission of the respondents and was later transcribed for data analysis. With in-depth, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews, the interviewer was able to explore a theme without being restricted to a specific set of questions. In-depth interviews were used to source information from the Zimbabwean youth immigrants and gather their thoughts and feelings as well as other

information around the subject. The interviews helped to get to the heart of the issue, that is, it gave a platform for a deeper understanding of the issues under discussion. The interviews also gave the researcher an opportunity to pick up nonverbal cues, which are particularly useful in a study of such a sensitive nature.

3.2.3 Data Analysis

In this study, the data analysis used grounded theory. Open and axial codes were used (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 as cited in De Vos et al, 2005: 345). Open coding can be explained as the breaking down, comparison, investigation, conceptualisation and classification of data (De Vos et al 2005). Data were put into different categories through the process of open coding. Open coding entails the labelling of phenomena, which is the first step in data analysis. This allowed the researcher to break down, as well as conceptualise the data. The researcher was able to identify different categories of data, as well as naming them. It is worth noting that, as these categories were developed some data sections were reassigned as the researcher went through the interview transcript again to check if all the relevant information had been identified, and none omitted.

Axial coding is a procedure whereby the data is put together in new ways after open coding has been completed. This was done by making connections between categories employing a coding paradigm, which involved action, condition, context and consequences (De Vos et al, 2005: 349). Thus, axial coding incorporates the categories into a network of conceptual relationships. According to De Vos et al (2005), through open and axial coding the researcher generates affiliations that are limited to those categories, their properties, and dimensions: statements of relationships that exist in the data gathered as well as what the gathered data speaks to. All the texts, categories and notes recorded in the open coding process provided the basis for axial coding.

3.3 Limitations of the study

3.3.1 Research design

The qualitative design depends on the subjectivity of the respondents. There can also be bias, which might result in the researcher giving much emphasis to certain areas or omitting others or giving too little attention to others. This design is viewed as the best since it facilitates the gathering of quality data from the subjective world of the participants (De Vos et al, 2005).

This research design was suitable for this kind of exploratory study whereby centrality was given to the meaning the respondents gave to the topic being researched.

3.3.2 Sampling

The sample of young Zimbabwean immigrants was small, being seventeen persons. The number of respondents was not representative of all the immigrants either in Cape Town or in South Africa. In non-probability sampling not every possible participant has an equal chance of being selected. Thus, non-probability sampling does not permit making inferences which apply to the entire population: so the results cannot be generalised to the larger population of immigrants (De Vos et al, 2005).

3.3.3 Data collection approach

In the interviews, the researcher had to be skillful in questioning, listening and reflecting. The face to face interviews produced much data, which made the interpretation of the data difficult in the sense that some of the respondents went on giving too much information, which was not linked to the questions asked. Face to face interviews are useful in drawing insightful responses from the respondents since they can express their thoughts and deeply felt emotions. Bias from the interviews can confound interpretation in the sense that, the participants might have felt uneasy regarding their responses since they were talking to a stranger. Semi-structured interviews may be problematic and quality data may be lost during the research process (De Vos et al, 2005). Interviewing skills were required when carrying out these interviews. This interviewing method also facilitated probing to get more information from the participant (De Vos et al, 2005).

3.3.4 Data collection tool

Respondents might feel uneasy about the anonymity of their responses when they interact in face-to-face interviews and this might result in them giving limited answers. It was time consuming and intensive to carry out interviews. Face-to-face interviews can cause stage fright for the interviewer or the interviewee.

3.3.5. Data collection apparatus

The use of a Dictaphone during the research could have distracted or intimidated the respondents to some extent causing them in some cases to give limited answers. Dictaphone

content had to be transcribed, which was time consuming. There was a possibility of mechanical failure. On the other hand, the Dictaphone facilitated a good flow of the interview since it captured data well, and gave the researcher the platform to see all the non-verbal behaviour (De Vos et al, 2005).

3.3.6. Data analysis

An important aspect to be noted is that as a beginner researcher, the researcher tended to overlook crucial things in categories and was unsure of certain aspects of the process. This is where the importance of a supervisor in providing guidance and assistance throughout the research process is essential. Without supervision the beginning researcher could end up with superficial or biased finding (De Vos et al, 2005). It is critical that the researcher analyses qualitative data in an unbiased way because this is the key area of the study. The researcher might have overlooked some important categories in the course of the analysis.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the research design, research methodology sampling method, data collection, data collection tool, data collection approach, data analysis as well as limitations of the study.

The following chapter will present and discuss the findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the research and begins with a profile of the respondents. The findings are presented, compared, and contrasted with views of various authors as set out in the literature review.

Table 1: Respondents' Profile

Respondent	Gender	Location	Age	Position Held	Qualification Held
1	Male	Summer Greens	27	Security Guard	Honours in Industrial Engineering
2	Female	Khayelitsha Harare	29	Waitress	Teacher
3	Male	Khayelitsha	35	Builder	Diploma in Accounting
4	Female	Summer Greens	22	Student	Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council Advanced Level
5	Male	Khayelitsha Site C	29	Credit Tracker	Cambridge A' Level
6	Female	Summer Greens	23	House Maid	Ordinary Level
7	Male	Summer Greens	28	Engineer	B-Tech Honours Production Engineering
8	Male	Khayelitsha Site C	33	Waiter	Bachelor of Education
9	Female	Summer Greens	29	Teacher	Bachelor of Science
10	Female	Summer Greens	24	Part-time maid and waitress	Ordinary Level
11	Male	Khayelitsha	28	Waiter and Barman	Diploma Stores Management
12	Male	Summer Greens	26	Computer programmer	Bachelors in Information Technology
13	Female	Summer Greens	26	Waitress	Diploma in Administration
14	Male	Khayelitsha	24	Works at a farm	Advanced Level
15	Female	Summer Greens	25	Student	Advanced Level
16	Female	Khayelitsha	27	Sales Assistant	Teacher
17	Female	Khayelitsha	28	Till Attendant	Diploma in Secretarial

The table above outlines the respondents' profile and is divided into six descriptors. The first descriptor is 'respondent', which represents the number of each respondent out of a total of seventeen. The second descriptor is 'gender' and it shows whether the respondent is female or male. There are eight males and nine females in the study. The third descriptor is 'location', which shows the area where the respondent lives. Nine of the respondents live in Khayelitsha and the remaining eight in Summer Greens. In descriptor four the age of the respondents is represented, the ages varied from 22-35 years, with an average age of 27 years and 3 months. The positions held by the respondents are shown in descriptor five; the positions include waitresses, builders, engineers and shop assistants to mention only a few. The last descriptor in the table is 'qualification held.' From the table we can see that nearly two thirds of the respondents (65%) had achieved a tertiary qualification in Zimbabwe.

4.2 Findings

4.2.1 Motivation for coming to South Africa

The majority of the respondents in the study were post-2000 arrivals in South Africa. This notion is also supported by Zinyama (2002), who outlines that since 2000, the number of Zimbabwean migrants entering South Africa through irregular channels has increased significantly. This period coincides with the peak of the economic crisis in Zimbabwe. The main reason which brought these immigrants to South Africa is the state of the Zimbabwean economy including lack of employment opportunities, low salaries and food shortages in Zimbabwe. Zinyama (2002), also supports this notion by mentioning that as the economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe has worsened, increasing numbers of Zimbabweans have migrated in search of greener pastures. Chimanikire (2005), also supports this by saying that Zimbabweans are driven to migrate by their need to have a source of income, and as a way to overcome the issue of barriers to credit as well as capital.

Life became tough, filled with many hardships, speculation was rife; and poverty levels had risen exponentially with the rocketing inflation rate. Thus, many left Zimbabwe for South Africa in search of a better standard of living. This was compounded by political instability, which was also responsible for the deterioration of the economy. Essentially these immigrants left for economic and political reasons. In South Africa, they expected to find greener pastures, with job opportunities and an environment which would enable them to improve their financial situation. The pie chart (chart 1) below summarises the reasons that led these Zimbabwean youth to migrate to South Africa. Clearly economic reasons are

predominant (70%); political reasons which account for 25%, and other reasons accounts for 5%.

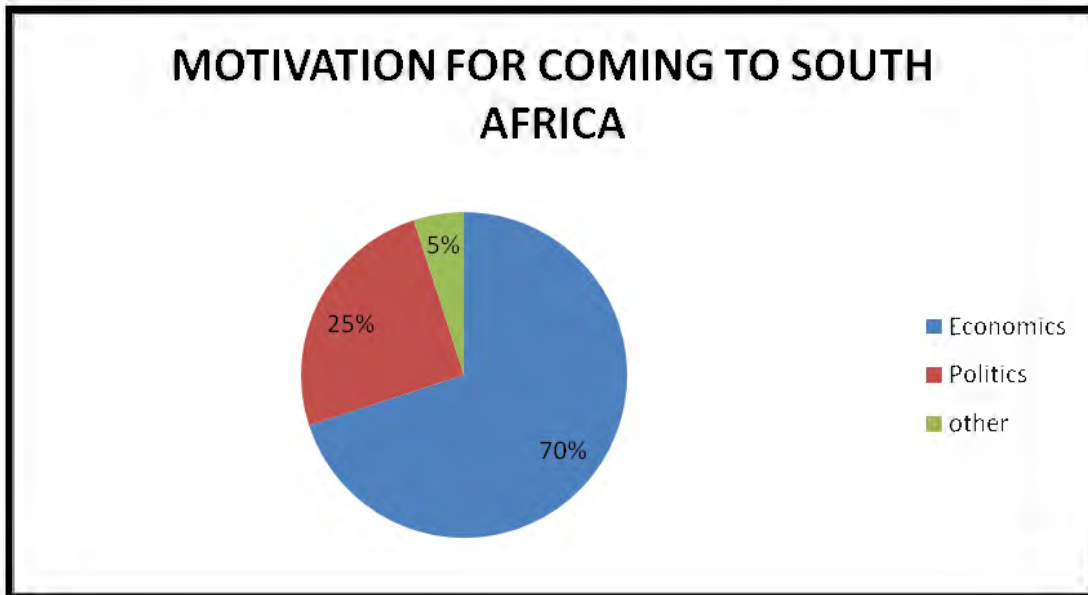


Chart 1 : Motivation for coming to South Africa

Some of the responses given by the participants include:

“Mmmh.....I left Zimbabwe because of the economic and political problems, to search for greener pastures here in South Africa.”

“Aaaah, the economic hardship pushed me to move to South Africa.”

“I left Zimbabwe for a better living and income.”

“Mmmh..., I left Zimbabwe to look for a job and get a better life than the one I had. I wanted to be able to buy my own house, car and be able to take care of my family.”

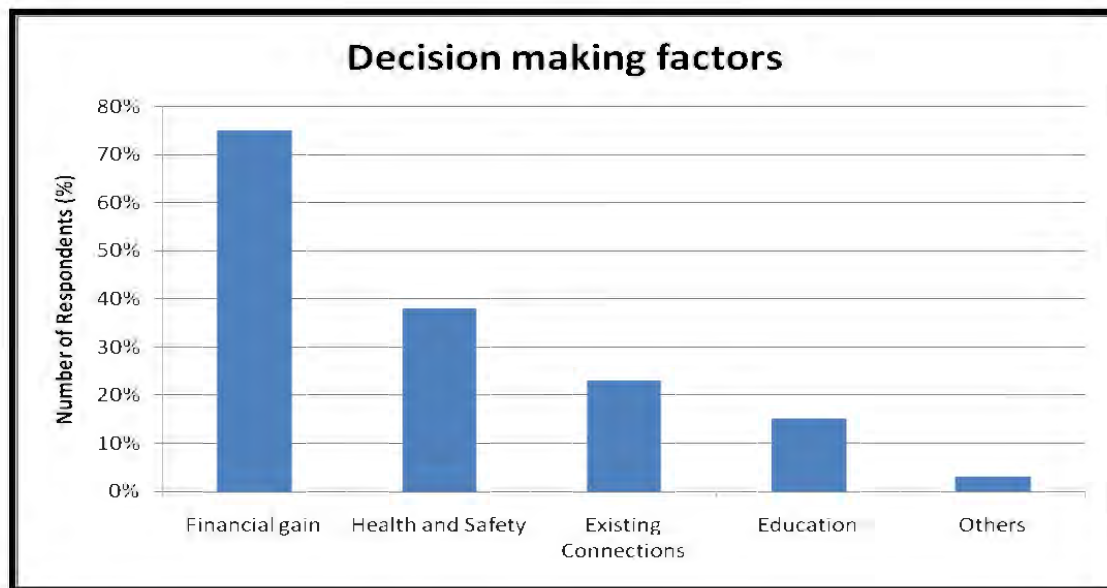
4.2.2 Deciding factors for coming to South Africa

With regards to the deciding factors, financial gain is the most important reason, which prompted the decision to migrate. Another reason is that some respondents wished to further their education, especially the younger respondents who were between the ages of 22-26. Responses from some of the participants support this point.

“I came to South Africa to study.”

“The education system in Zimbabwe was bad, so I had to come to South Africa to get education or else I would be home without anything because there were no teachers in schools or lecturers in universities.”

Prior to moving to South Africa most of the respondents knew other Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. This shows that social networks are important to migrants. The bar graph below (Graph 1) shows the reasons for migration, and how frequently they occurred. (The total is greater than 100 as many respondents mentioned more than one reason, and also because reasons overlap). They are financial gain 75%, health & safety 38%, education 15%, existing connections 23%, and 3% mentioned a variety of other reasons, such as curiosity, traveling and happiness.



Graph 1 : Decision making factors

The above analysis is consistent with the fact that most of the respondents stated that they migrated because of economic factors, and thus their decision was based primarily on the prospect of financial gain. Rutherford & Addisson (2007) outlines that economic reasons and more recently displacement and persecution explain the motivations for migration from Zimbabwe. The other factors mentioned also impacted on the decision to leave Zimbabwe, but to a lesser extent. Health & safety was important and so was education. Respondents chose to come to Cape Town for a number of reasons, for example, tranquility and security, less crime (than in Johannesburg), better economic opportunities, because of the educational institutions and employment opportunities, the scenery, and, significantly less red tape to obtain legal documents. Some of the responses from the youth immigrants are set out below.

“I have been surviving on selling fruits and vegetables but when the food shortages struck my country, business just went down so was my only source of income.”

“My only immediate relative which so happens to be my Aunty has been here for quite some time and promised me that there are better job opportunities here than any other town in South Africa.”

“I believe there are better opportunities for career development in South Africa.”

“Cape Town is beautiful and reasonably peaceful in comparison to other big cities like Joburg.”

4.2.3 Level of Education Attained

Chart 2 below shows the level of education attained by the respondents in Zimbabwe. In assessing the levels of education, it was found that 70% of the participants had a tertiary qualification, 20% had Advanced Levels (13 years of formal schooling), and 10 % had Ordinary Levels (11 years of formal schooling), as their highest level of education. This chart helps us to understand that 70% of the Zimbabwean immigrants interviewed had a tertiary qualification, which means that most of the respondents are highly educated. This is supported by the responses outlined below.

“I just have seven Ordinary level subjects, didn't have money to further my studies.”

“I have a Bachelors degree in Information Technology (Mobile Communications).”

“I hold a diploma in accounting.”

“Here you are talking to a person who holds a B-Tech Honours in Production Engineering and I am proud.”

“I have a Bachelor of Education.”

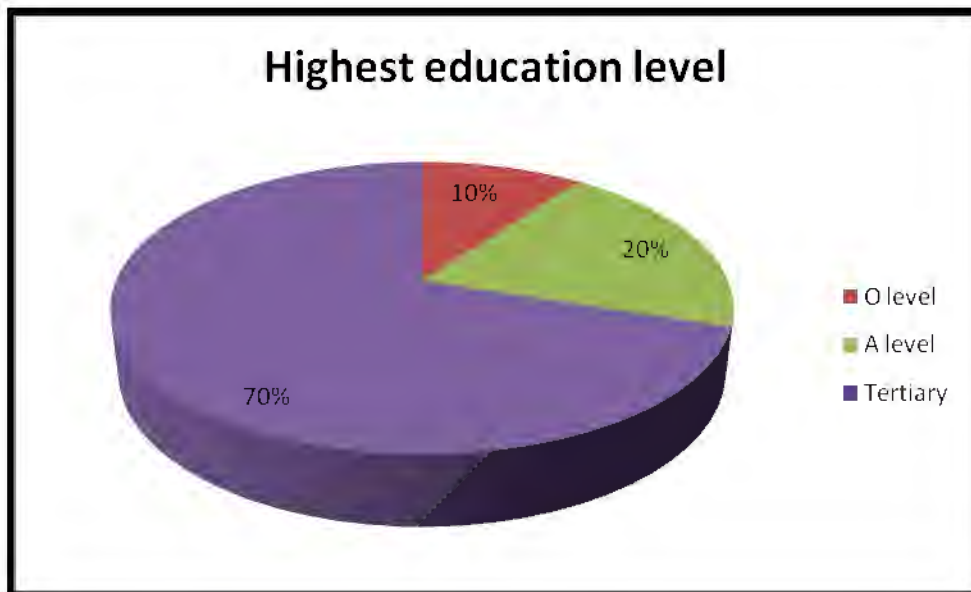
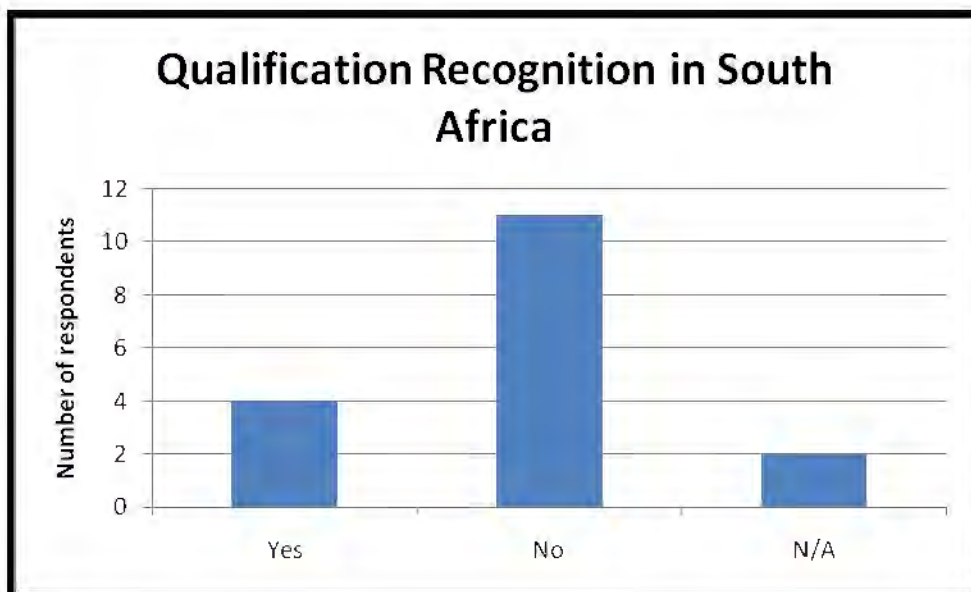


Chart 2: Highest education level

Many of the respondents mentioned that their qualifications were not recognised in South Africa, even though they have a tertiary qualification.

Graph 2 below represents the number of respondents whose qualification was recognised, and the number that were not recognised on South African labour market.



Graph 2: Qualification Recognition in South Africa

After analyzing the respondents' responses about the recognition of educational qualifications in South Africa that they had obtained in Zimbabwe, it was established that 15 people, 88.2% of the respondents had their qualification recognised in Zimbabwe but not in South Africa.

Chigunta & Mkandawire (2001) argue that thousands of young people can not find jobs, many are in jobs which do not fulfill their capabilities or ambitions, and formal employment opportunities for young people are very minimal. More so, given the lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector, young people are compelled to engage in casual work and other sources, some of criminal nature to get by. On the other hand several analysts argue that as far as formal sector employment is concerned in Africa, the skills that job seekers possess do not match the needs and demands of employers (Mhone et al, 1999). It is important to note here that the term qualified/skilled worker refers to any worker who has some special knowledge or ability in his or her work. The skill could have been attained at a college or university. This is supported by the responses outlined below.

“I have a degree in Industrial Engineering but I am working as a security guard because I do not have the right papers to go and look for a job so I am saving money to get the right papers.”

“I am teacher by profession but I am currently working as a waitress because I need to survive.”

“I am working as a builder, it was easy to get into construction that finding my real job, I have a Diploma in Accounting.”

“I hold a degree in Production Engineering and I am working as an Engineer.”

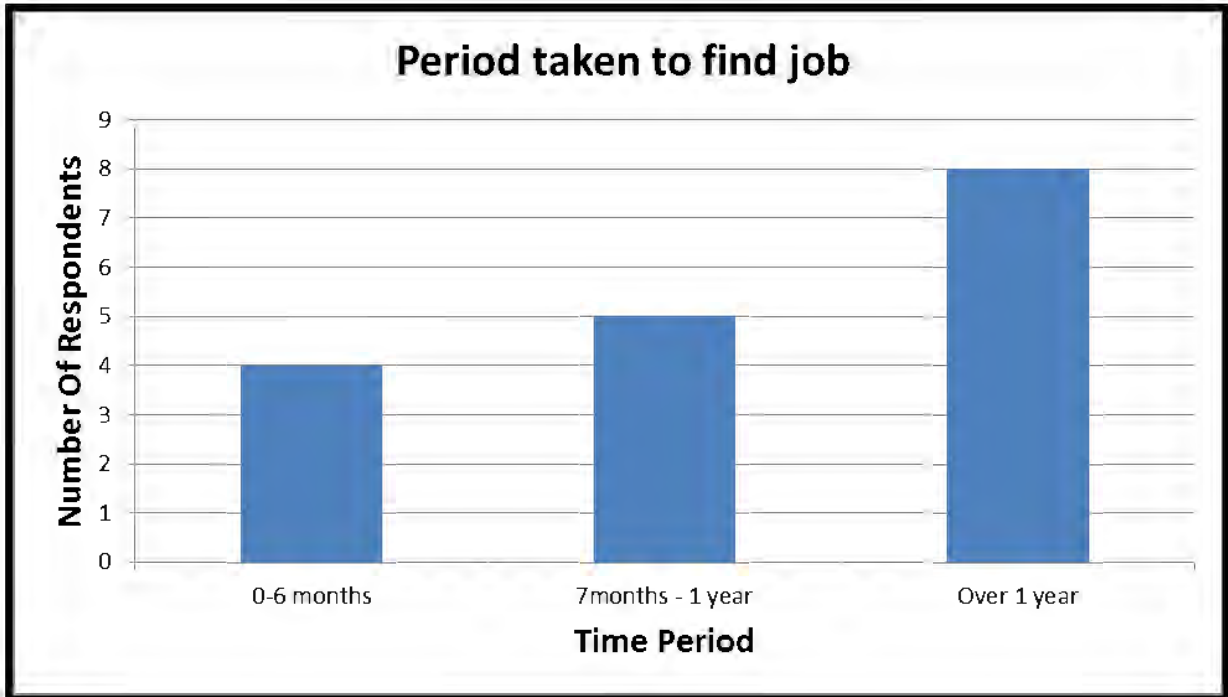
“I have a Bachelors in Information Technology and I am working as a Computer Programmer.”

4.2.4 Work History in South Africa

The following section examines the work experiences of these Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. The first part looks at how they came to find jobs; the next looks at the circumstances surrounding their actual work - the kind of jobs they are doing, as well as how they are treated. The third section examines their working conditions. The final section compares the respondents' work experience in South Africa to that in Zimbabwe. It looks at the differences in job satisfaction and the difference in income received in South Africa in comparison with Zimbabwe. Each section contains graphs or charts depicting the information gathered from the respondents together with a brief explanation of the graphs. At the end of each section, there is a brief discussion, which aims to create a picture of their present situation.

4.2.5 Finding Jobs in South Africa

Respondents were asked how long it took them to find a job. The responses were ordered according to prevalence, with an understanding that it made logical sense that an immigrant would find some form of employment (formal/informal). Graph 3 below illustrates the finding.



Graph 3: Period taken to find the job

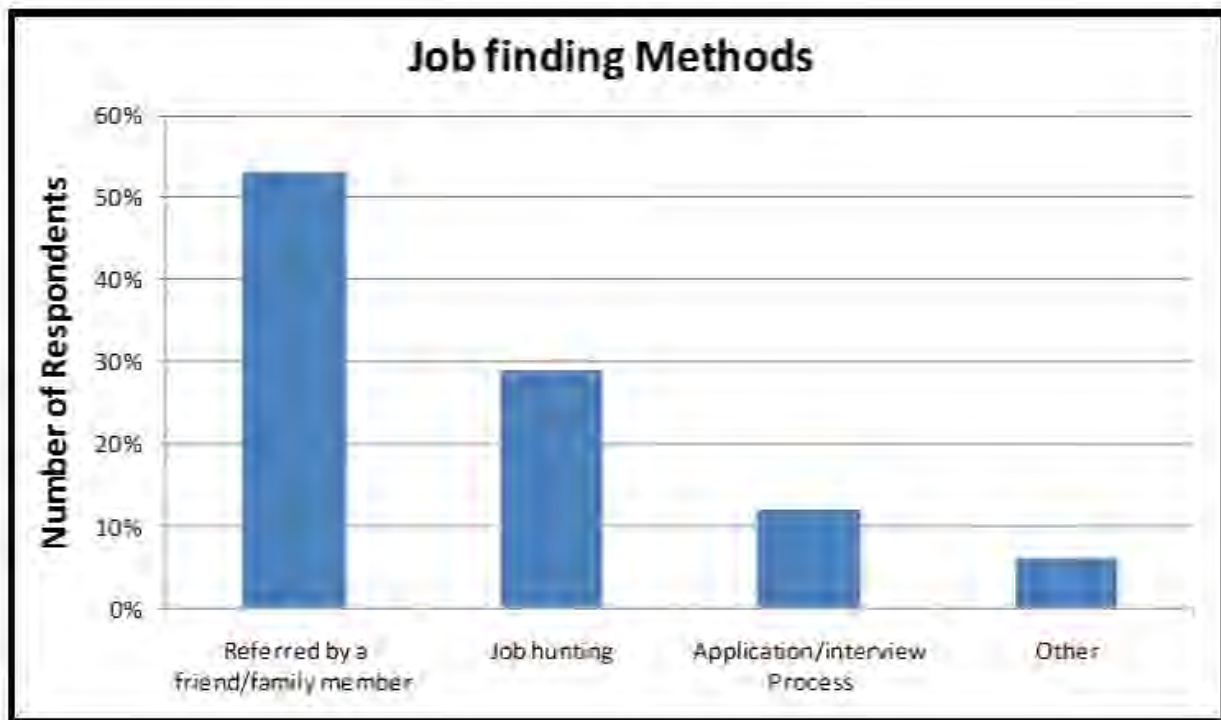
The time that it took the respondents to find a job varied from a few months to over a year; with 8 (47.1%), taking longer than a year. This is shown in graph 3 above. This is shown by the responses provided below.

“Well I was so lucky because friend of my Auntie’s madam needed someone to take care of her two kids on certain days during the week and the only available person was me. I just jumped to the opportunity.”

“It took me one month to get the job.”

“It took me some time to get a job, it was over a year because I did not have papers, so I was scared to approach employers in case they would sell me out and get deported and suffer back in Zimbabwe, so I had to be clever of who to approach or not.”

Respondents were also asked about the methods they used in seeking employment. The results of this response set can be seen in Graph 4 below:



Graph 4: Job finding methods

Graph 4 clearly shows that most respondents (52%) found their job as a result of a referral by a friend or family member in South Africa. While networking and family/friends do not prompt the decision to migrate, these play a crucial role in settling in and finding a job. Networks/referrals amongst Zimbabwean youth are very strong. This is followed by job hunting (29%), meaning walking from business to business enquiring if there is any position available. Regularly making job applications and going through an interview process is the third most common way of getting a job. Other means used to find jobs are from newspapers and online advertisements, or going through an employment agency. This is shown by the responses below.

“Well I was so lucky because friend of my Auntie’s madam needed someone to take care of her two kids on certain days during the week and the only available person was me. I just jumped to the opportunity.”

“I got the job through an acquaintance.”

Respondents were asked what other jobs they had held in South Africa before landing their present job. A wide array of jobs came up, some were skilled, others semi-skilled or unskilled. The skilled jobs were professional positions, and were mainly associated with the qualifications held by participants, for example, accountant and engineer. Semi-skilled jobs require some level of training and knowledge in a particular field, for example, clerical jobs

or call-centre operators. Unskilled refers to jobs that do not require any experience or qualification, for example, waitressing and being a car guard. Chart 3 shows the response to this question. Responses provided by the respondents are set out below.

“Basically I have been a maid and child minder and I am getting good at it, though it may be very straining.”

“I haven't held any other jobs in South Africa.”

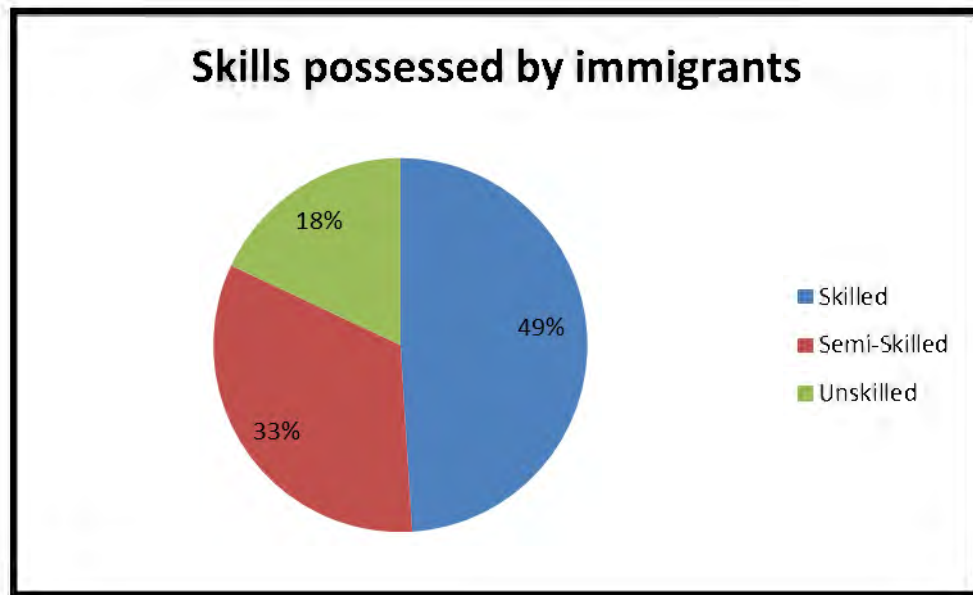


Chart 3: Skills possessed by immigrants

Respondents were asked to state their current job, categorised as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Chart 4 below represents the responses to this question. 73% of the respondents are in unskilled jobs, 14% in semi-skilled and 13% in skilled. Some of the highly educated Zimbabwean youth immigrants do find good jobs in South Africa. Thus, they benefit from the scarce skills in South Africa. Toolo & Bethlem (1994) outline that Zimbabweans, because of their good command of the English language; have relatively easy access to jobs. However, their conditions of work vary depending on their documentation status, level of skill and industry. A minority of highly skilled Zimbabweans are able to access regular jobs and benefit from the scarce skills dispensation (Simelane, 1999). This group positions themselves in highly skilled well paid jobs, have regular contracts and enjoy decent conditions of work, although not all of them appear to receive regular benefits. On the other hand, Simelane (1999) argues that the well-educated have no advantage over those with less education. This means that available skills are being wasted.

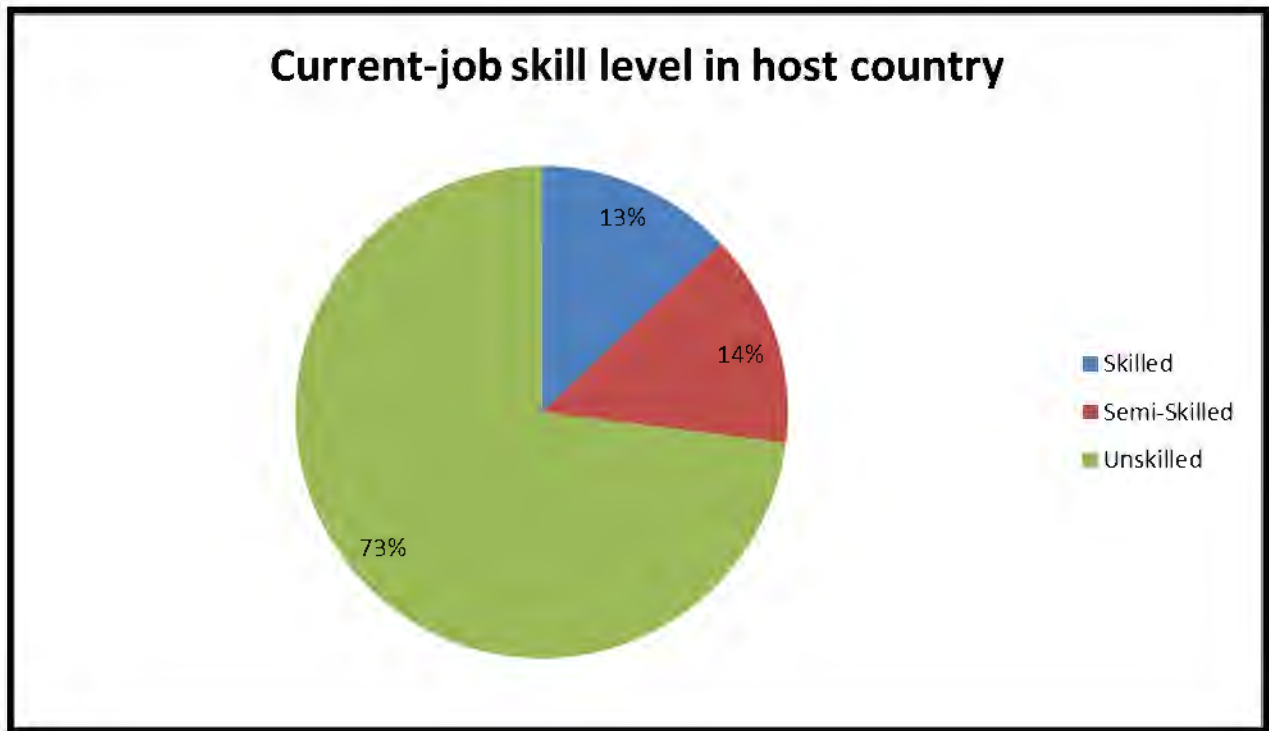


Chart 4: Current-job skill level in host country

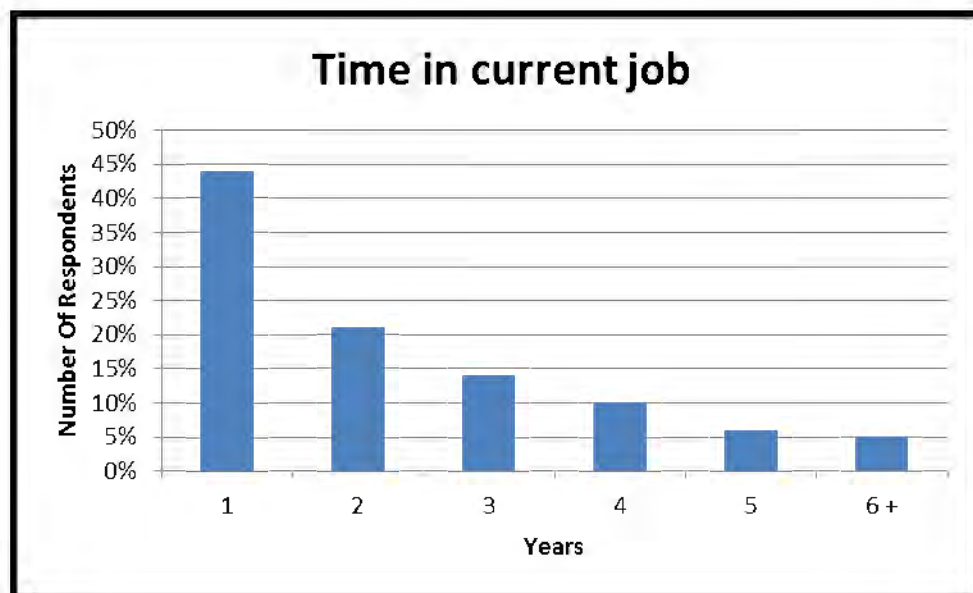
4.2.6 Discussion 1

A number of respondents were able to find a job relatively quickly, despite the high unemployment rate in South Africa. 47% took more than one year to get a job. The question to consider is ‘Why this is the case?’ It is clear that this is not simply filling a position left open because of South Africa’s skills shortage. This indicates that these Zimbabwean youth immigrants are overqualified for their current jobs; and that they were forced to accept unskilled jobs, either because they urgently needed employment, or lacked the necessary legal papers since those working in unskilled jobs are less likely to be asked to produce documentation, or both. Migrants cross illegally into South Africa because it costs money to obtain visas but also because there is a demand for the cheap and easily disposed of labour that undocumented migrants can offer in certain sectors of the economy (Waller, 2006). As the Global Commission for International Migration observed in its final report, ‘In some parts of the world, certain sectors of the economy, including agriculture and construction have come to rely to a significant extent on migrants with irregular status, who are prepared to work in difficult, dangerous and dirty jobs with little security and low wages’(2005: 36).

Construction, commercial farms and small businesses in the informal sectors are key areas of work for undocumented migrants coming to South Africa (Crush and Williams, 2005).

Many of the unskilled jobs are within the service industry. It is also likely that the Zimbabweans' good English allows them to get jobs within the service industry, and that they are displacing South Africans in this sector. In fact, surprisingly few of the respondents actually work as labourers or house cleaners.

Respondents were asked how long they had been in their current job. The results from this are illustrated in Graph 5 below:



Graph 5: Time in current job

Most respondents have been in their jobs for a relative long time (1-3 years). Those who have been longer in South Africa tended to be in well established jobs. Possibly this is because they arrived before Zimbabweans started to 'flood' the local labour market, and have benefited from the special skills dispensation.

Respondents were asked to comment on the way they are treated by their employers. Chart 5 below illustrates the responses to this question.

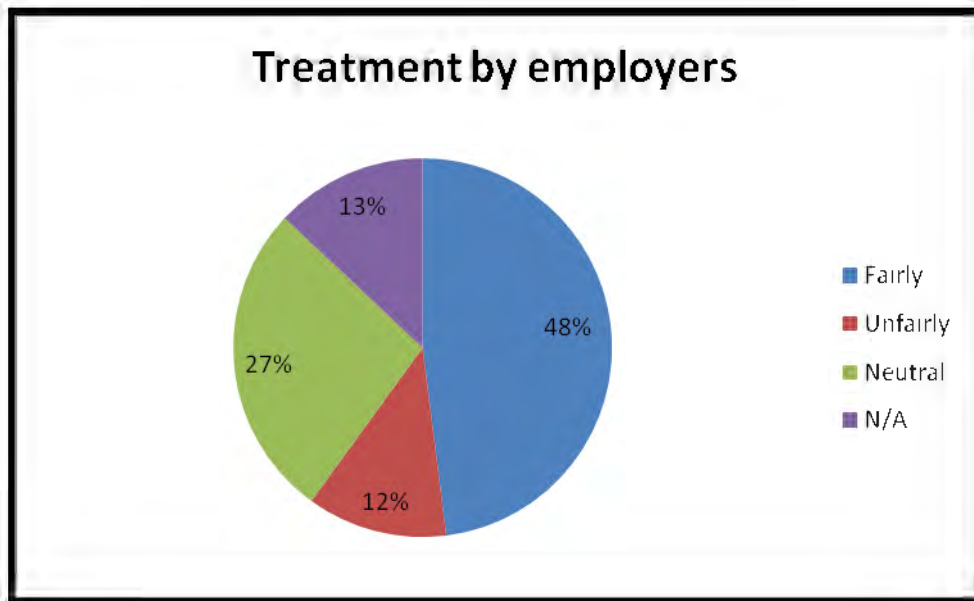


Chart 5: Treatment by employers

Generally, 48% of migrant workers stated that they are treated fairly or well by their employers, especially in the case of organisations with small workforces. Some of the respondents outlined that they are few where they work so their employers treat them with respect and dignity. However, unfair treatment mostly arises as a result of the precarious nature of their employment, essentially lack of legal documents. 12% of the respondents indicated that they are unfairly treated and 27% of the respondents were neutral. Kaseke (2005) outlines that, for undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants, danger comes in many forms, from sexual predators lurking near the boarder, to exploitative employers taking advantage of the migrants' illegal status. This is shown by the responses provided below.

“I’m only doing the house work because I need the income but it is the worst job anyone can ever have, being shouted at has been a daily routine, at times I feel like I did something wrong if she does not scream at me, I just keep wondering.”

“I would say fairly well though at times I get a bit of a racist vibe.”

“I get along very well with my employer, he is a good boss, there are very few people like him, taking that I am a foreigner, I really appreciate the relationship we have and I am a hard worker so he loves me.”

“I am just working there because I don’t any option, if I get another job, i will today because my boss is something else, he and the wife are always shouting and at times you don’t even know what you have done wrong, it is really difficult so yah I don’t enjoy work at all but i need to survive.”

Respondents were also asked to comment on the way they were treated by fellow employees. The responses are categorised in Chart 6 below.

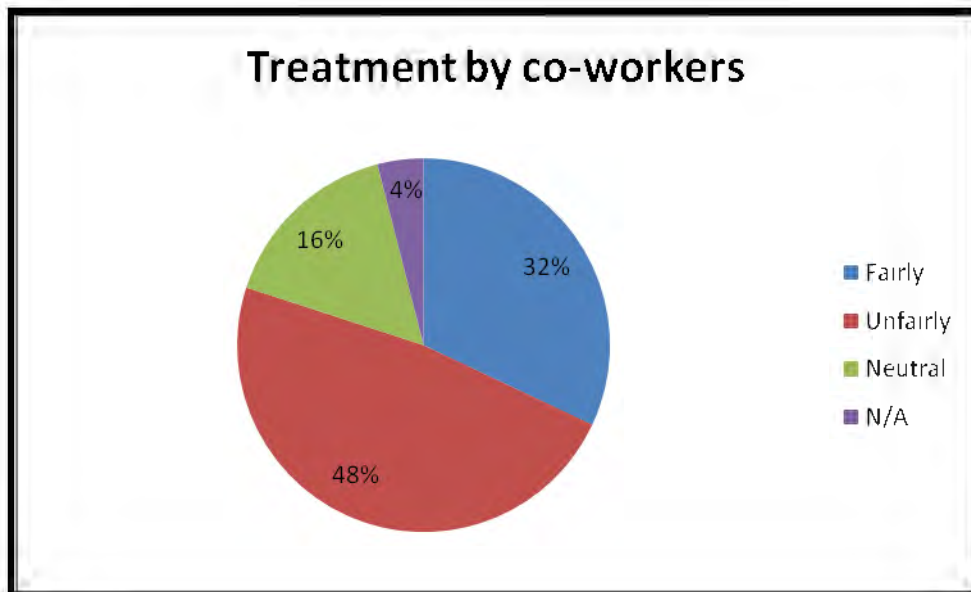


Chart 6: Treatment by co-workers

Although 32% stated that they were fairly treated by co-workers; the 48% who fall into the unfairly treated category emphasised the occurrence of nationality segregation and the lack of integration into the work culture of the organisation. Unfair treatment refers to xenophobic attitudes of local co-workers. Some respondents indicated that where they work with fellow Zimbabweans or other foreigners, they are treated well within these circles. Responses from youth immigrants have been set out below.

“I do not have many co-workers at the house but the kids are just a nightmare, they seem to enjoy seeing me busy and getting into trouble because if they finish the cheese or leftover food in the fridge I take the blame, I get accused of stealing food. But at the restaurant it’s different, no one bothers me as long as I do the cleaning and washing of my dishes on time, so the ball is just in my court.”

“I get along with most of my co-workers, they treat me very well.”

Respondents were asked whether they were paid the market rate and above. As there were no indicators as to what constitutes market rates, this was a subjective question, and the responses were based on respondents’ view of their income. The results appear in Chart 7 below.

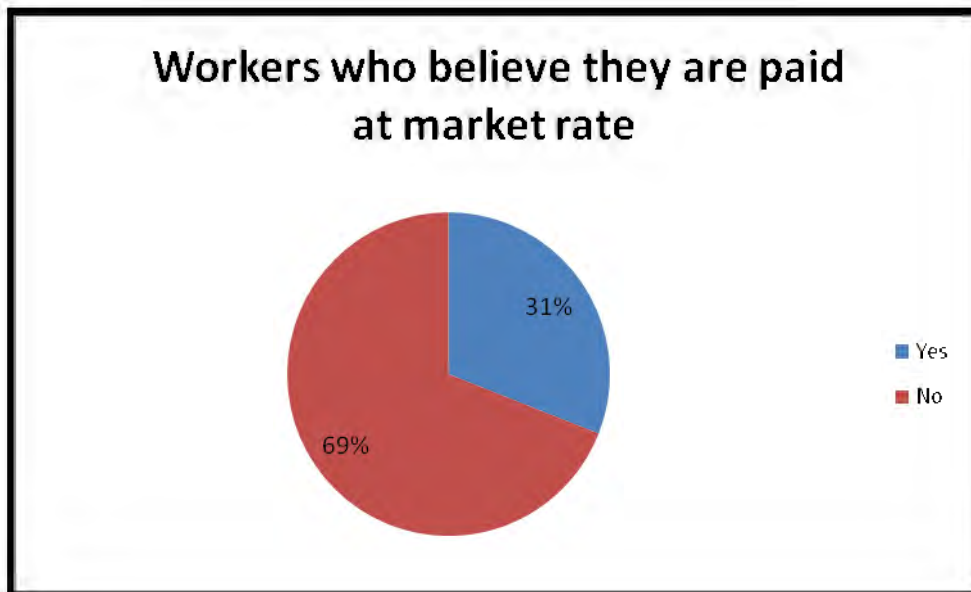


Chart 7: Workers who believe they are paid market rates

Thirty one (31%) believed they were paid the market rate and 69% thought that they were paid below the market rate. This therefore means there is labour abuse since they are lowly paid. Responses from the respondents are provided below.

“At the house I just think that I’m being exploited for being a foreigner, because what I get paid is far less than what my fellow maids get paid, and considering the amount of work that I do it’s just not fair at all.”

“No I don't think that I am because South African citizens with fewer qualifications than mine are getting paid a higher rate than mine.”

Respondents were asked whether the jobs they were doing entitled them to employment benefits. Employment benefits are perks over and above their cash remuneration, for example; medical aid and pension fund. The results are depicted in Chart 8 below:

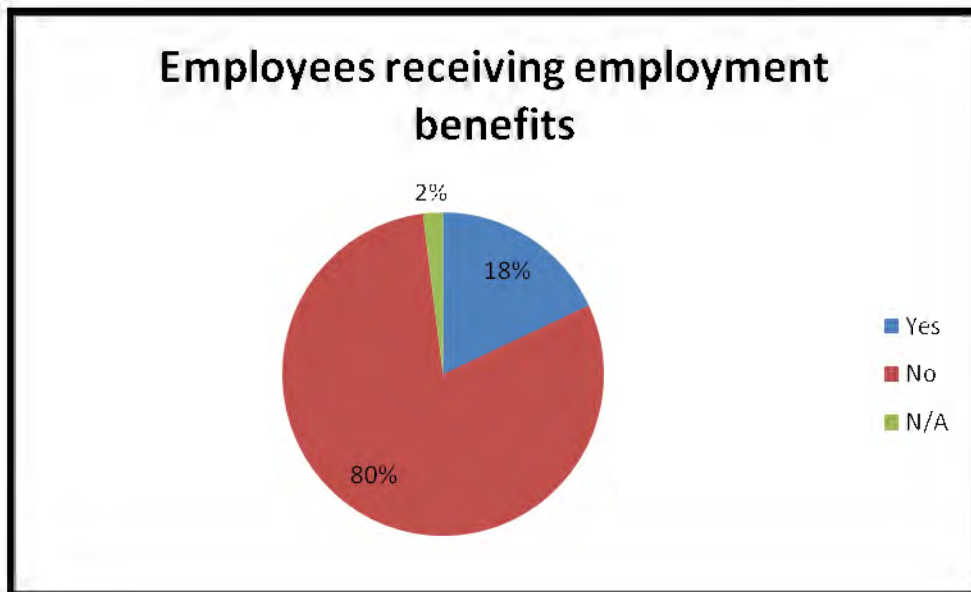


Chart 8: Employees receiving employment benefits

A large percentage, that is 80% of respondents, did not receive any such benefits. Only 18 % of the respondents received benefits such as transport allowance and medical aid. However, respondents displayed a submissive attitude, and seemed happy with the fact they had a job. Generally speaking, they did not make demands on their employers, which is likely due to their precarious position in South Africa. This is supported by the responses given below.

“I thought that such benefits are only awarded to the professional people who do white collar jobs, the only benefits you will ever get is a day off when you are sick just to avoid spreading whatever you have to the kids and an advance salary which will obviously be deducted at the end of the month, so I don’t receive any benefits”

“No I do not.”

4.2.7 Discussion 2

A link could be noted between the skill level of the job and the respondents’ treatment at the hands of co-workers and employers. In general, the lower the level of skill required by the job, the higher the rates of hostility among co-workers, and the worse the reported treatment received from employers. Only one of the highly skilled respondents said she sometimes felt excluded by her co-workers from the social network within the organisation; and some of those who worked in lower skill jobs reported that they were treated well by their employers. Those who worked in skilled jobs felt that they are treated with respect they deserved. The very high percentage of workers (69%) who felt they were not being paid the market rate does suggest that they could possibly be employed to undercut South African labour costs.

This would possibly explain why they were able to find jobs in an environment with such high levels of unemployment. Little knowledge of their rights and low levels of unionisation (the latter will be dealt with in the section below) may aggravate this. However, the overall low levels of unionization coupled with being paid below market rates show they may be causing a weakness in the levels of solidarity of South African workers. The attitude towards benefits shows how this may work. It is the view of the researcher that most of the respondents are not particularly worried whether they receive any benefits; they are happy to be earning more money than they did in Zimbabwe. One respondent pointed out that her earnings, with the tips, for a day's work as a waitress in South Africa, was equal to an entire month's salary as a teacher in Zimbabwe.

4.2.8 Work Comparison

Respondents were asked whether there was an improvement in their financial situation since coming to South Africa. As there was no objective measure for this response, respondents were required to compare their incomes and the costs of living in the two countries. This enabled a better analysis of their financial situation than a monetary comparison because of the deteriorating economic situation in Zimbabwe. Chart 9 below shows the results.

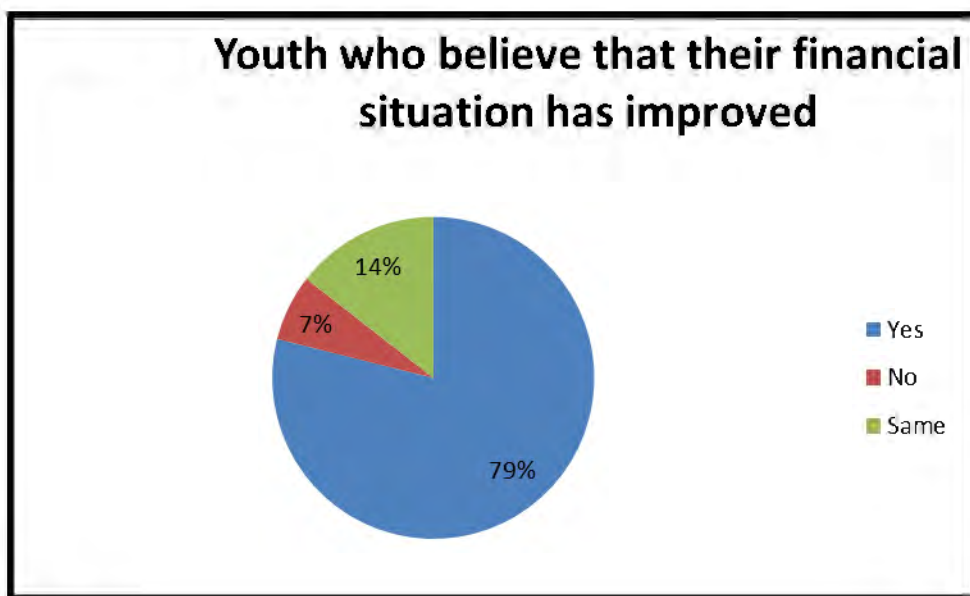


Chart 9: Youth who believe their financial situation has improved

It is overwhelmingly evident that for most of the respondents (79%) their financial situation had improved since they moved to South Africa. Very few said that their financial situation had not improved (7%) and 14% said that it was the same as in Zimbabwe. For the people

who did not have jobs in Zimbabwe (10%) as reflected in chart 10, this question was not applicable. Again, it is significant that financial situation and working conditions are not necessarily positively correlated. Responses from the respondents are given below.

“Yeah I would say it has in a way; there are many things that I could not buy back home, small things like cell phones, TV’s clothes and so on but now all I have to do is think about buying them and it’s done.”

“Yes, definitely, I was earning peanuts in Zimbabwe and that money was not even enough to pay for my transport to and from work but now I can at least save and what I want though it is not enough but it is far much better than I was earning back home.”

“Not necessarily but maybe in due time.”

Respondents were asked to compare their income in South Africa to their income in Zimbabwe. Because the economic situation in Zimbabwe had deteriorated because of the collapse of the economy, a comparison between incomes was difficult, it is possible that respondents could see income as being buying potential and, therefore, rank their current income as higher. Chart 10 below depicts the responses to this question:

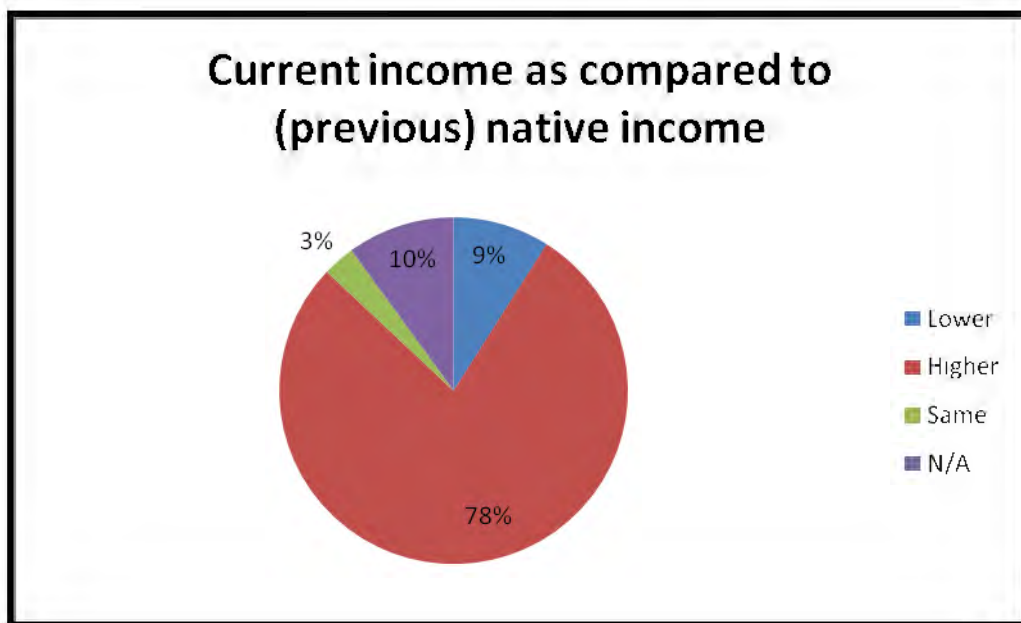


Chart 10: Current income as compared to (previous) native income

78% of the respondents said that their income was higher in South Africa than in Zimbabwe. Only 3% of the respondents said that their income was the same as in Zimbabwe. 9% of the respondents said that their income was now lower than it was in Zimbabwe. 10% did not have jobs when they were in Zimbabwe, and some of them had come to South Africa to study. This is supported by the responses below.

“Considering what I said earlier about buying stuff, I would say my income is much better, all it takes is a bit of sweat but it is worth it at the end of the day.”

“I never worked in Zimbabwe.”

“I came to South Africa to study.”

Respondents were also asked whether they felt that their current job matched their qualifications.

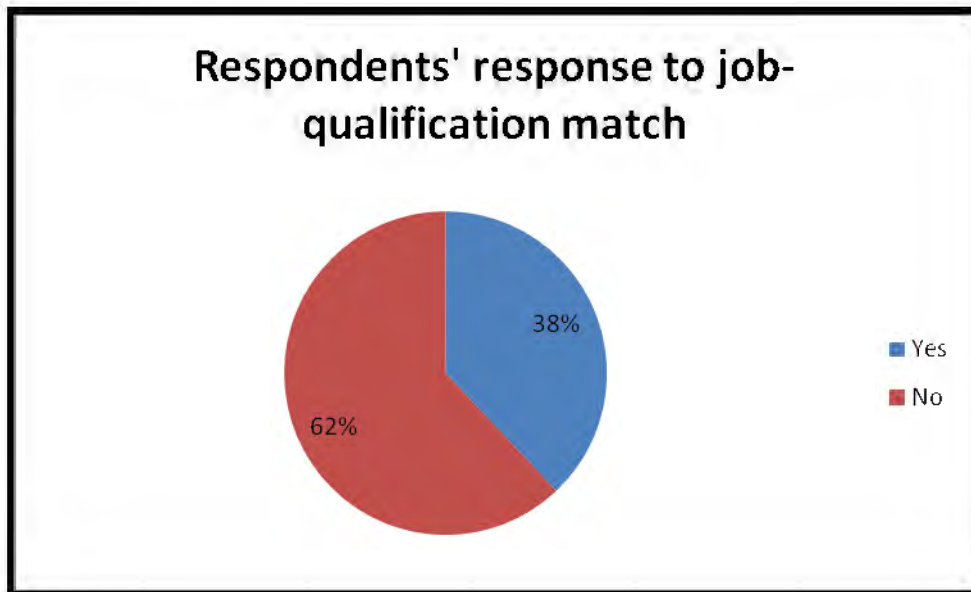


Chart 11: Respondents' response to job-qualification match

The results shown in chart 11 indicate that there is a slightly closer match of job to qualification in current jobs. There are only two categories, the 'yes' and the 'no' categories. In the previous charts, there were either three or four categories. It is possible that those in the semi-skilled category could be holding down jobs that they have some experience of, an example is waitressing. 38% of the respondents felt that their jobs matched their qualification. In the context of Zimbabwean immigrants finding a job, it is not necessarily a problem (even in the presence of a language barrier), qualifications and jobs hardly match each other (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Recognising skills and channelling Zimbabweans towards suitable positions could reduce pressure at the bottom of the labour market while filling some of the skills shortages in South Africa (Human Right Watch, 2007). This is supported by the responses below.

“As much as I would like to have a good job, I cannot because after I completed my schooling I could not source any money to study for a better career so at the moment I am comfortable with what I have got.”

“In some ways it does though the job itself is in a field in which I am familiar but not experienced.”

“I have a degree in Production Engineering and that is the profession I have and I love what I do because it is my passion.”

Respondents were asked to compare their impression of work conditions in South Africa to that in Zimbabwe. This question sought to ascertain whether they felt there was any substantive improvement in their lives by coming to South Africa. 10% of the respondents have been categorised as not applicable (N/A); they did not have jobs in Zimbabwe so there is nothing to compare their current job to. Chart 12 illustrates the response to this question:

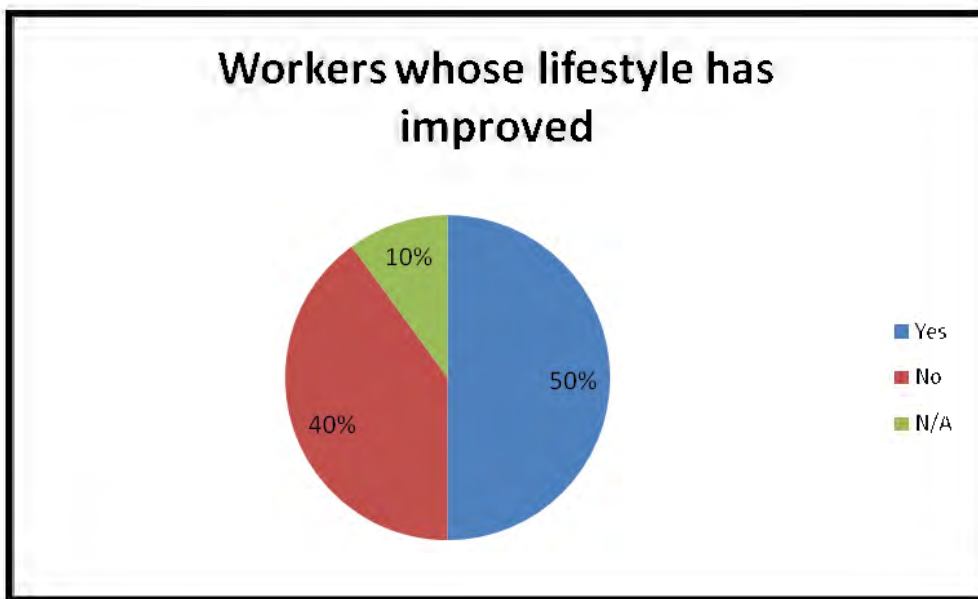


Chart 12: Workers whose lifestyle has improved

As to whether or not the respondents thought that their work conditions had improved, 50% said that their working conditions had improved and 40% said it has not improved. This is supported by then responses provided below.

“I think my hair style, my clothes and the way I smell fresh says it all, I dress the way I want, I eat whatever I want and I use a latest cell phone. The only problem is of housing, because where I stay we share a room the three of us, me my Aunt and her friend, at times a woman needs her privacy.”

“I think my lifestyle is pretty much the same at the moment, I cannot say it has drastically improved but I believe in the near future things will get better.”

4.2.9 Discussion 3

It is clear from chart 10 that for most of the respondents their income is higher in South Africa than in Zimbabwe and that their financial situation has improved. Also evident is that 79% of the respondents believed their financial situation had improved. Although most said that their financial situation had improved, almost half said that they do not think their work conditions have improved. One would expect that there would be a positive relationship between financial situation improvement and work conditions improvement but we can clearly see this is not the case.

What are the factors in the work place that lead people to think that their work conditions are worse than in Zimbabwe, because it is not the financial situation that is the problem? Those who said that their income was not higher or it was the same as in Zimbabwe; one would expect that they might not think that their work situation has improved. As half the respondents said that their work situation had improved, there is not necessarily a negative relationship between the two responses, but there is definitely not a strong positive relationship. This is perhaps influenced by factors such as poor treatment by employers and fellow employees, less protection as a worker and xenophobia. These are merely suggestions. More studies and more data will need to be collected to draw any final conclusions. All that can be said is that income is not viewed in the same way as working conditions by some of the respondents and needs to be looked at separately.

The working conditions are not necessarily good, better or an improvement on what they were in Zimbabwe just because income is higher or financial situation has improved. The respondents may have to work harder, work longer hours and put up with poor treatment in the workplace to receive the income they are getting, so someone like this is unlikely to say they think their work situation has improved. The research by Rutherford and Addison (2007) identifies violations against Zimbabwe farm workers, the contraventions are blamed on the farmers themselves and the lack of enforcement and include pay below minimum wage, unlawful deductions and overtime without consent. Some of the respondents are well-educated and qualified people yet they are doing jobs that do not match their qualifications and skills. A qualitative study carried out by Rutherford and Addison (2007) also found that Zimbabweans 'felt that employers took advantage of their desperation and the fact that their legality was unclear' (2007: 627). Moreover, they had little recourse to make complaints

because they were vulnerable and of course undocumented migrants complaining to the police can easily find themselves detained and deported.

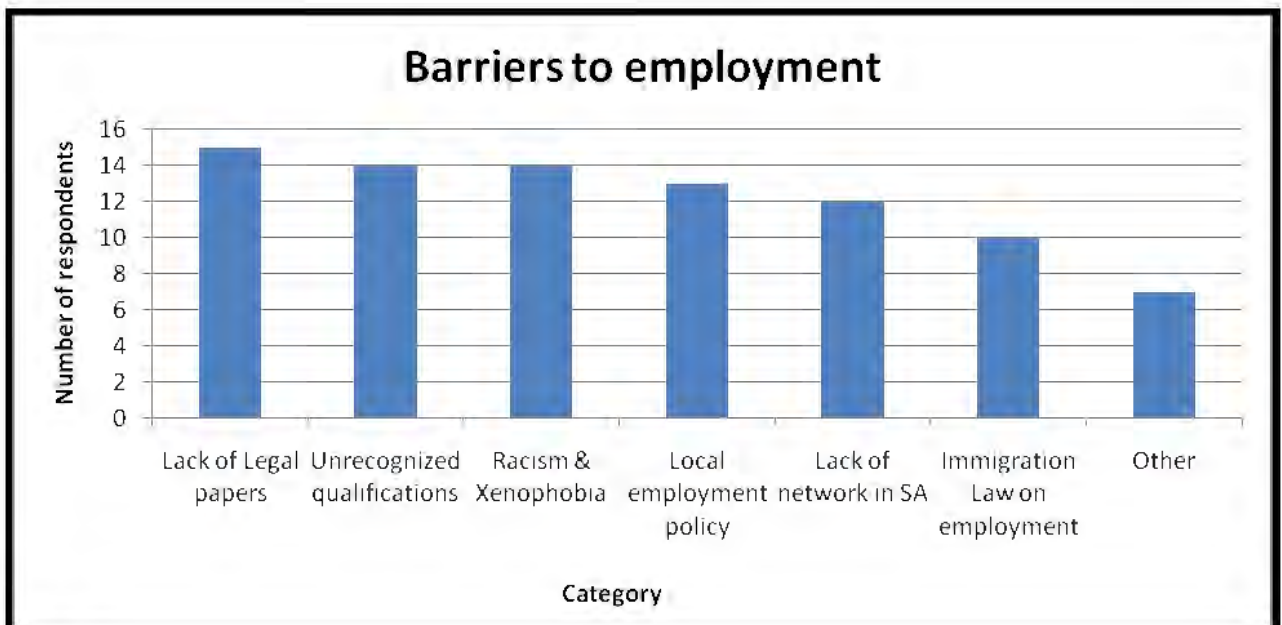
For doing their job in Zimbabwe they may have been paid very badly due to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe so when they come to South Africa they may receive more money but they are not doing the job they are qualified for and therefore would once again probably not say that their work situation has improved here in South Africa.

4.3 Barriers to employment

Table 2 represents the data from the interviews. It represents the number of people who encountered various barriers to employment.

Table 2: Barriers to employment

Total Number of Respondents	Lack of Legal papers	Unrecognized qualifications	Racism & Xenophobia	Local employment policy	Lack of network in SA	Immigration Law on employment	Other
17	15	14	14	13	12	10	7



Graph 6: Barriers to employment

From the data in table 2 and from graph 6 above 88% of Zimbabwean youth immigrants are affected by lack of legal papers. This makes it hard to get a job since employers would want to see those documents. The majority of Zimbabweans enter the country through informal border crossings and remain undocumented. This impacts on all other aspects of the migration crisis, including the difficulty in finding work or starting a small business in order to be able to provide for themselves. Even those with asylum or refugee documents often struggle to find employment (Human Rights Watch, 2007: 7).

The graph also shows us that immigrants are equally affected by racism and xenophobia, unrecognized qualifications, lack of network in South Africa by immigration laws and local employment policies. Experiences in the country of residence, especially structural barriers to the labour market or the regular labour market which is the position of undocumented migrants, can and does have a negative impact on an individual's capacity to earn money and in turn this affects their transnational capabilities (De Wind, 2007). Although the right to work is contested territory in the debate on human rights, work is necessary to guarantee both survival and dignity, and also to avoid excessive pressure on the welfare system. For migrants, access to work is based on a 'paradox'. While barriers hinder migrants' access to the local labour market, their fundamental imperative is to find a job, and empirical evidence shows that they do eventually find some form of employment. (Human Rights Watch, 2007).

DeWind argues that effort needs to be put into a human rights approach that would 'strengthen protections for both refugees and other forced migrants' (2007: 383). Certainly a wider and more inclusive approach to rights needs to be explored to ensure that undocumented migrants are not exploited and can access protection outside of the refugee system. Mhone, Kanyenze & Sparreboom (1999) argue that any strategy to address the problem of youth employment must be based on a sustainable basis through appropriate economic policies that improve the conditions for enterprises to operate smoothly and hire people. Responses from the youth immigrants are provided below.

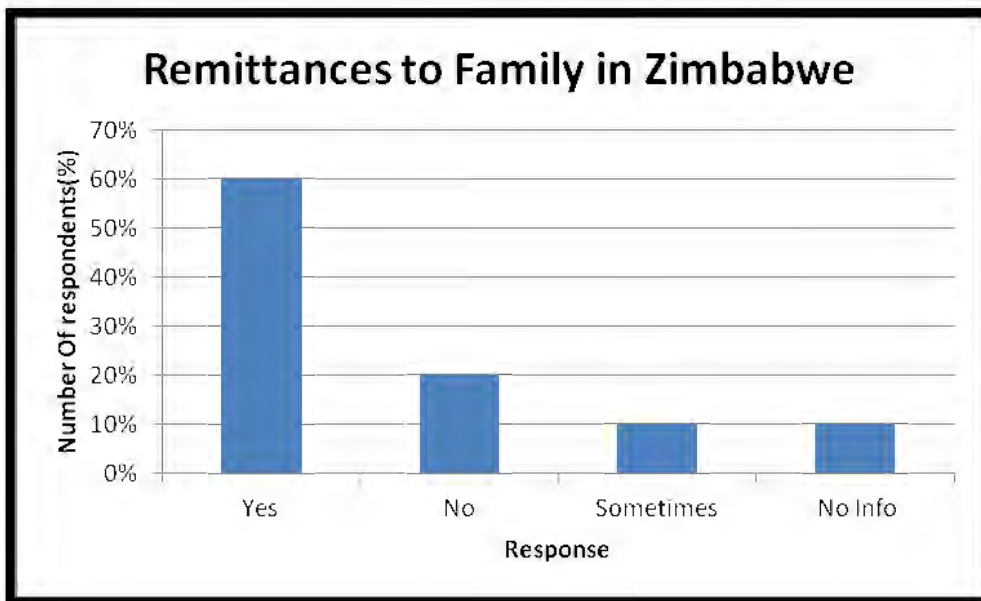
"I would say the main thing is recognition, we might be acknowledged by those we work for and serve but when it comes to services offered to South Africans we are completely sidelined, I mean simple documentation is a hustle, we brave the cold nights sleeping at the home affairs just to get a useless paper. You might wonder why I call it useless, it's all because I'm still not eligible to open accounts or access most things that require id's, it's like they just use us to have their census so as to be given donor funds."

"I am currently struggling with permits; the government has made the process tedious, complicated and expensive."

“Being a Ndebele speaker has made it easy for me to master the local language and thus blend easily with the locals. I would say my relationship with South Africans is very good and made it easier to get a job.”

In summation, we can say that most of the barriers affect immigrants in one way or the other. In addition, some of the categories are interlinked. For example, if one entered the country undocumented, that individual would not be able supply certificates to show that he/she is qualified.

4.4 Remittances to Family in Zimbabwe



Graph 7: Remittances to Family in Zimbabwe

Remittances are transfers of money by foreign workers to their home countries and family. Remittances can be attributed as one of the attracting factors as to why immigrant labour exists. Remittances constitute the second largest financial inflow of funds to many developing countries, exceeding international aid. According to the figures released by the World Bank in 2007, US\$250 billion was transferred as remittances and this figure is increasing by almost thirty percent year on year. In graph 7 above, 60% of the respondents sent remittances home, 20% do not, 10% sometimes and 10% did not respond.

Immigrant workers remit as a way to improve the lives of their family at home or so that those who are at home can join them. Remittances not only play an important part in many people’s daily lives but are particularly important during crises. It is also now regarded as a major contributor to third world countries economies. For instance, of those who do not send

money home, it is because they do not have family back home. Some of the respondents indicated this since their families are in the United Kingdom. The point here is remittances are an important reason for and result of migration. Even if we were to look at the domestic migration trends within a nation, the same picture would be revealed. The economically active population often moves from rural to urban areas to find work so that they can send money back to their family.

Reasons given by respondents for remitting included but was not limited to:

- Sending money home as they have dependants
- Pay school fees for siblings

Castaldo & Reilly (2007) looked at the impact of domestic and international remittances on household expenditure patterns in Albania. They argue that durable commodities can be interpreted as investment-type goods as they may have multiplier effects within the local economy, as increased demand for these types of goods creates incentives for the establishment of new retail businesses (IMISCOE A2 Workshop, 2006). Consequently, policy-makers should concentrate on facilitating the transfer of remittances.

This facilitation of remittances is what has proved to be a problem. Some of the respondents stated that they send their money and goods by giving them to cross border traders or transport staff. This avenue is not secure, as there are no guarantees that the remittances will be delivered to the intended beneficiary back in Zimbabwe. This is particularly so in this case of Cape Town which is so far away, thus money has to exchange hands many times to ensure successful movement. This route demonstrates problems or lack of confidence in formal banking channels.

The procedure to send money is lengthy and complicated, especially for those who are undocumented. A lot of documentation is required to accompany an application to send money, and the money that is sent is taxed, and various bank charges deducted. In addition, when the money is sent to Zimbabwe using formal channels, it is then exchanged into US Dollars at the official bank rate. In a country where a parallel market exists, this is not beneficial to the senders or the receivers. As stated by Castaldo & Reilly (2007), it would be beneficial if both the host and receiving countries could concentrate on facilitating remittances. Zimbabwe has put in place a program called 'Homelink', which according to their website is 'a brand name', which was initiated by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe to

serve and look after the interests of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora. The brand is housed in Homelink Private Limited, which is a subsidiary of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. For reasons stated above, though, this has not been great success.

60% of the respondents responded that they send money to their parents back home and 10% said they sometimes send money. This trend is an indication that those that migrate are largely the economic active population. Responses from youth immigrants are provided below.

“..... one thing for sure I help here and there but not always.”

“My family is not in Zimbabwe so I do not need to send anything back home.”

‘I have children, my parents and siblings at home who are looking up to me, so I have to send money back home to take care of them otherwise they will die of hunger.’

Chart 13 below is the representation of what the respondents said:

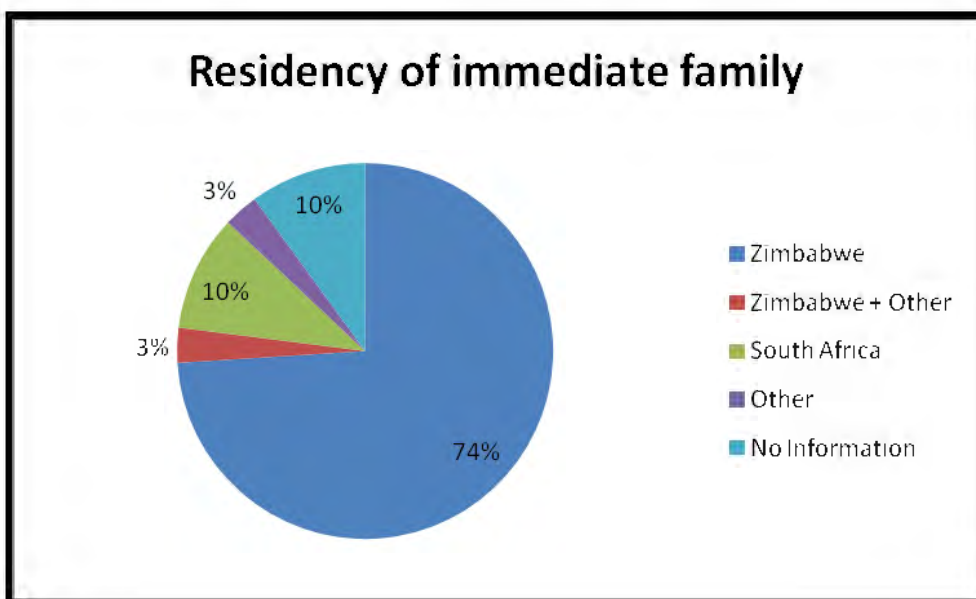


Chart 13: Residency of immediate family

With regards to immediate family, the majority of the respondents reported that their immediate family is still in Zimbabwe. It is evident from the information provided that the majority of the respondents (74%) do not have immediate family in South Africa specifically Cape Town. This is a reflection that working in Cape Town is merely for economic or other reasons. It means that the resources they seek are, or at least they thought they were, available in Cape Town, which is what brought them here. They are not here with family or to be with family. It is just an option/opportunity that arose. In other words, if the same opportunity

were to come up anywhere else they would probably go there. For individual reasons, such as safety respondents choose Cape Town.

4.5 Living Conditions

The respondents in this study live in Khayelitsha and Summer Greens. Most of them have a social network. Some have stated that they stay with other Zimbabweans suggesting the idea that people of the same nation congregate together at one place thus forming their own community. This phenomenon, which is common amongst immigrants, is called ‘clustering’ and it is a direct result of the existence of a social network.

According to most of the respondents, their accommodation is reasonable and cheap because they share rent with those whom they live with. Human Rights Watch (2007) outlines that migrants face a number of obstacles to realise their right to adequate housing. Some resort to living in open areas, under trees or in shacks. This is linked to their inability to pay for accommodation because of the difficulties in securing employment. Poverty and social exclusion theory discuss certain influences which determine whether individuals and groups experience poverty and exclusion (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). The issue in discussion contradicts a people-centred approach. People-centred development is seen as the product of social learning, process-learning how to use oneself and one’s environment to better meet one’s needs and those of others (Davids et al, 2005). This is the true opposite of what is happening to these Zimbabwean youth immigrants, some of them are not even given an opportunity to experience or utilize the environment they are in. The external influences seem to be more evident in the plight of Zimbabwean youth immigrants. External influences are the restrictions that an individual or a community has to deal with, for example being excluded from certain types of employment. Generally, for those who stay in Khayelitsha it takes about an hour to get to work. Chart 14 below shows the responses provided by youth immigrants.

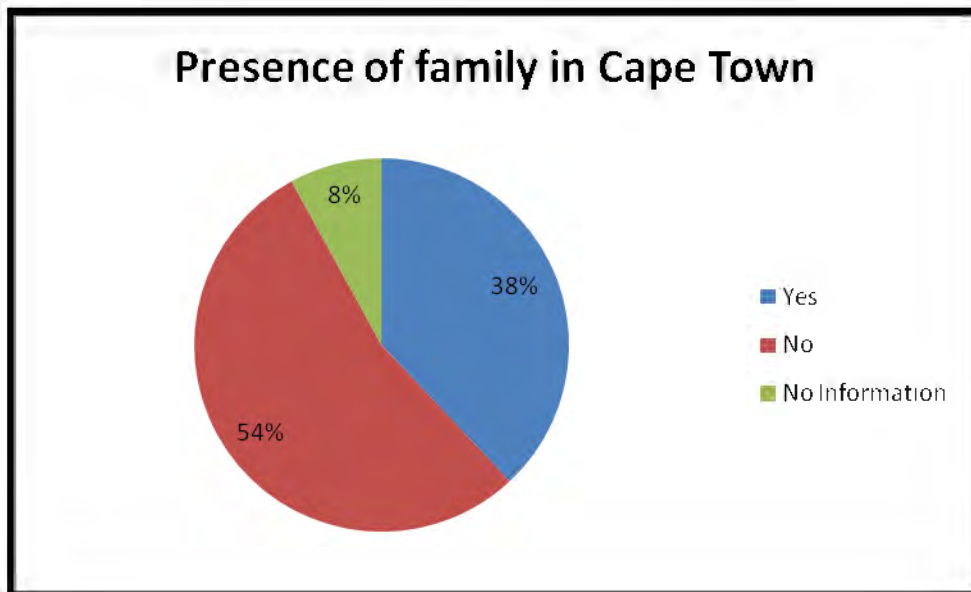


Chart 14: Presence of family in Cape Town

4.6 Obstacles experienced by youth immigrants in Cape Town

This section of the study aimed to ascertain the obstacles experienced by Zimbabwean youth immigrants in Cape Town and whether or not their new lives in South Africa was worth leaving Zimbabwe for. Migrants were also asked about their future plans for permanent settlement.

From the interviews the most common obstacles experienced by youth immigrants were:

- Xenophobia
- Dangerous crime
- Difficulty finding jobs that match qualifications
- Difficulty securing documentation
- Language
- Employer exploitation
- Accommodation difficulties
- Harassment from police officers.

Respondents noted very similar problems; the most frequently noted being xenophobia from South Africans in the form of harassment or violence. This type of complaint was more frequent from low skill sector workers because of the competitive labour market conditions. McKenzie (2008) outlines that xenophobia has spiraled as a result of competition for resources. This notion is also outlined by the Human Rights Commission (CEO), Tseliso

Thipanye who says that the causes of xenophobia are numerous as well as complex, with pressure over limited resources whether housing or jobs (McKenzie, 2008). Grievances concerning employer exploitation were also concentrated in the low skill sector. Highly skilled and educated immigrants were more comfortable with their employment situations, although some still remarked that their skills and qualifications were not recognised.

4.7 Migrant Expectations of South Africa

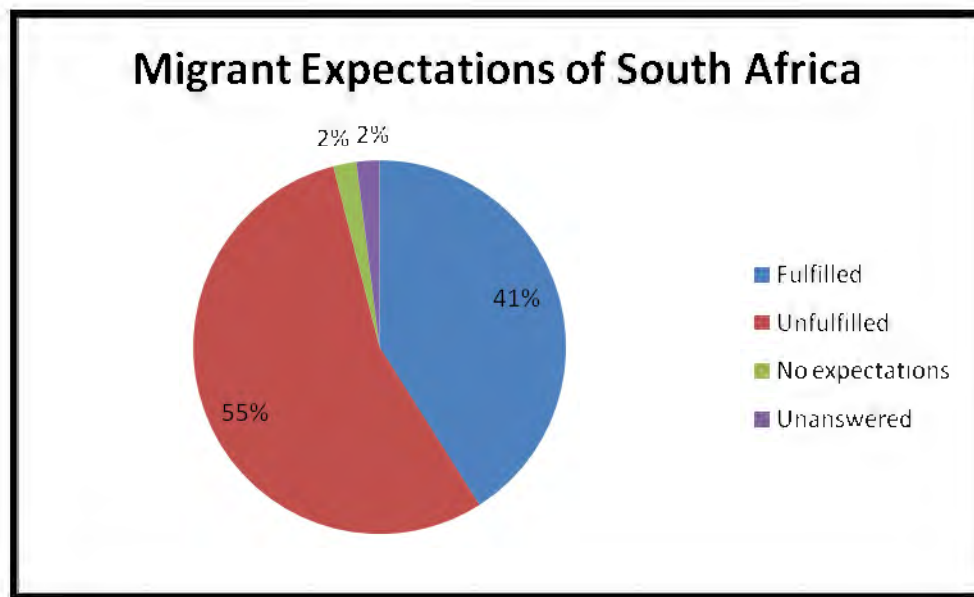


Chart 15: Migrant expectations of South Africa

Some respondents outlined that their lives have changed because they can at least earn enough money to survive and also send money home to their families still in Zimbabwe. The other respondents answered that their expectations of South Africa had not been met. This is shown by chart 15 above. Common reasons for this response were that immigrants did not expect it to be so difficult to secure work permits or to find jobs. They also frequently cited the overwhelming presence of crime and xenophobia as negative factors that they had not anticipated.

4.8 Awareness of South African Unemployment Rate

Chart 16 reflects that respondents were overwhelmingly aware of the unemployment rate in South Africa (96% aware, 4% unaware) and many felt that they were affected by it.

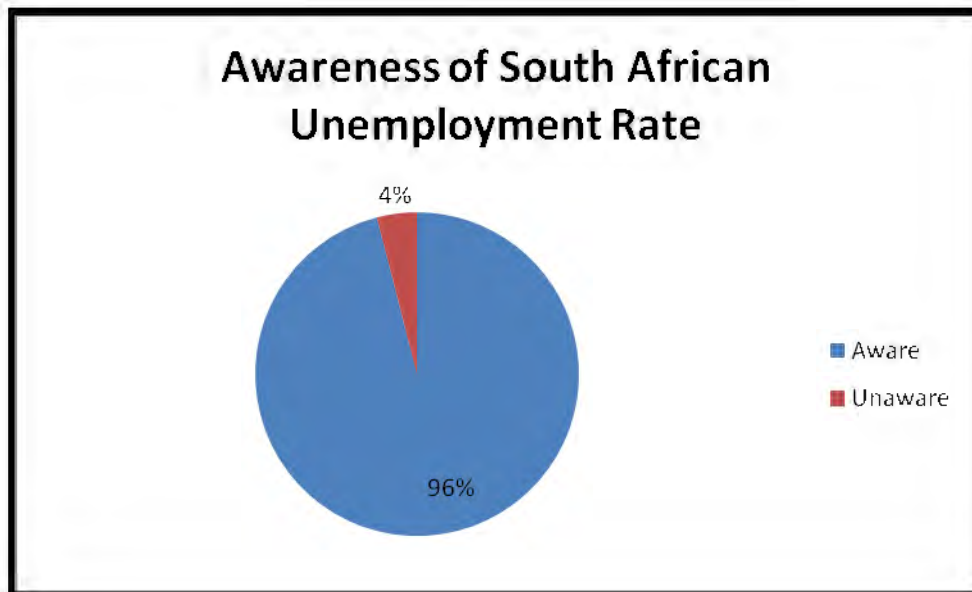


Chart 16: Awareness of South African unemployment rate

Respondents in the low skill group (unskilled) reported feeling affected by the South African unemployment rate because upon application for a job, preference is usually given to local applicants. The intensified competition in the low skill labour market, caused by Zimbabwean youth migration, frequently caused conflict between local and immigrant workers. Many respondents recognized that the xenophobia experienced by migrants was due, in large part, to accusations by local workers that Zimbabweans are “job stealers”. Many low skilled respondents noted that the large number of job applicants allowed employer exploitation to take place in the form of long hours and low wages. Many highly skilled and educated respondents reported that although they were acutely aware of the South African unemployment rate, they felt largely unaffected because the skills they possessed found them good secure jobs. They felt that their unique skills and education levels gave them a competitive edge and made them less vulnerable to xenophobia and exploitation. It should be noted that youth unemployment has increasingly come to be recognised as one of the more serious socio-economic problems currently confronting many developing countries, especially in Africa (Curtain, 2000).

4.9 Permanent Settlement

An overwhelmingly majority (75%) of respondents asserted that the life that they are currently living in Cape Town is worth leaving Zimbabwe for, but only for financial reasons and only temporarily. There was a strong trend of respondents stressing the dangerous crime

in South Africa and the contrasting safety in Zimbabwe. Respondents made it clear that they were forced to choose the lesser of two evils; most of them would definitely choose Zimbabwe over South Africa if the situation in Zimbabwe was not so dire. All but two respondents answered that if they could have the same lifestyle and income as they do in Cape Town while living in Zimbabwe, then they would most definitely go back. The two respondents that would remain in South Africa had different reasons for their responses. The woman just had too many terrible memories of Zimbabwe and it was too painful for her to return, while the man was enjoying his blossoming career and had laid strong roots in South Africa. Chart 17 below shows the percentage of responses given by the respondents.

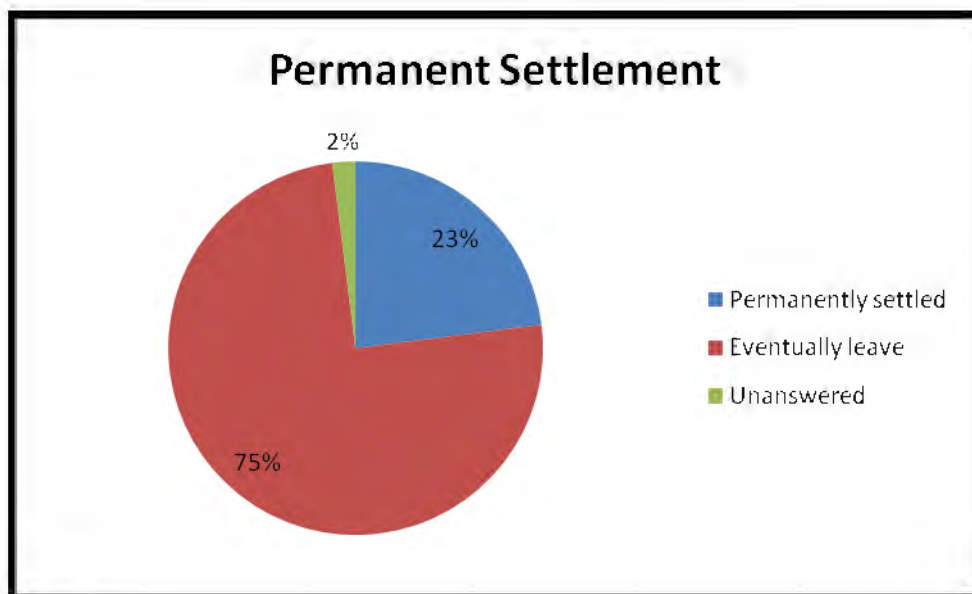


Chart 17: Permanent settlement

4.10 Some considerations relating to Zimbabwean youth migration to South Africa

During the colonial era, Zimbabwe was a country known for immigration. After 1980, the year Zimbabwe got its independence, emigration was noticed amongst white Zimbabweans who feared reprisals from the new government. There was also a significant emigration a few years later, mainly from the Matabeleland region where people were massacred in the region. However it is in the 2000s that Zimbabwe emigration hit new higher levels with people moving abroad for economic and political reasons, notably in 2005 after the notorious “*Operation murambatsvina*” and the 2008 political violence.

In a BBC news article “*So where are all Zimbabweans going?*” (BBC, 8 Nov 2005), the reporter argued that Zimbabweans who lacked professional documents that would secure

them jobs and visas overseas, opted to cross the border into South Africa and Botswana. The movement of people between Zimbabwe and South Africa has effects on the social development of both the sending and receiving country. Social development refers to the way society changes as a result of human interactions with each other, other institutions, and social customs among other factors. The economic meltdown that was witnessed in Zimbabwe meant that labour force of different skill levels left the country. The vast majority of Zimbabweans in South Africa had economic motivations for leaving Zimbabwe and they were attracted by South Africa's relative political and economic stability, which translates into better living conditions, education opportunities and prospects of raising money to move to the UK or the US (Human Right Watch, 2007). The departure of labour force in masses out of Zimbabwe resulted in huge changes in most economic and social sectors of the country.

The "greener" pastures outside Zimbabwe are an attempt to secure upward social mobility and a better livelihood. Most of those who migrated send money back home that is aimed at catering for day-to-day expenses, consumption and non-productive investment of extended families. Toolo & Bethlem (1994) argue that remittances are crucial to support those living in Zimbabwe. This however creates a society that is passive and non-productive, largely dependent on the income earned by working migrants abroad. The upward social mobility that comes with working abroad has resulted in migrant workers extending and constructing houses in Zimbabwe. This somehow makes international migrants to become role models in their home societies. International migrants tend to exaggerate the life outside Zimbabwe by showing off during holidays when they visit their home societies. The prestige of leading a better life as a result of migrating creates a "migration elite" which in turn entices other youths to consider moving abroad. This creates a culture of migration and as a result, a breakdown of stable communities is witnessed as more and more people leave for greener pastures.

Men with families leave their wives in charge of family affairs while they cross the border to seek employment. This has encouraged the emancipation of women as their responsibilities, decision-making and autonomy increase, despite the fact that most of these women's duties are restricted to child rearing, house-keeping and menial jobs among other chores. Women have also been seen to cross the border into South Africa, either with their children or alone. The money they earn is used to buy commodities to send back to Zimbabwe for resale in

order to supplement their income for paying school fees, buying food and other day-to-day expenses of extended families. Chetsanga & Muchenje (2003) outline that International remittances, in the form of money and goods sent by migrants living outside the country to family members or friends back home, have provided a 'safety net' that has sustained many households.

4.11 Impact of migration on food security in Zimbabwe

The migration of labour force from Zimbabwe has created passive non-productive communities dependent on groceries and remittances from abroad. International migration has seen people moving from both rural and urban areas in Zimbabwe crossing the border to South Africa in search for jobs, running away from political tensions, and seeking a better livelihood. Urban centres are dependent on food from rural areas and farms. The economic meltdown and farm invasions that took place in the early 2000s, coupled with droughts that have hit Zimbabwe resulted in low food production. Farm workers and rural people therefore joined the people leaving the country to look for off-farm employment to supplement their incomes.

An article by Sifelani Tsiko (2009) stated that young boys and girls of school going age have also joined in the hunt for greener pastures down south. This was because of long strikes by teachers due to poor working conditions and poor salaries which resulted in schools being closed for close to a year. These children are also looking for jobs to take care of their families back home. This migration has had a cost on the productivity of smallholder farms as reduced farm labour meant reduced farm productivity. This is a result of economic and political meltdown in the country. As more physically strong people migrate, households are left in the care of elderly people and young children. The elderly and young children lack the necessary manpower needed to produce what is enough for them. Despite the increase in incomes from remittances, food production at home decreases.

Households in which men leave their wives to take care of children while they work abroad have resulted in these women resorting to peasant farming, housekeeping and child rearing. Traditionally men would take part in agriculture and their absence means a great loss of manpower required to produce food that the country needs.

4.12 Effects of migration on children

Children who migrate and those left behind belong to vulnerable groups. Their development into adulthood and well-being is affected by either their parents' migration and/or their own migration. This has an adverse effect on their psychological well-being resulting in an increased risk of poor academic performance, low self-esteem, and behavioural problems among other problems. The feeling of abandonment, lack of parental support and motivation greatly impact a child's educational functioning. Without proper care and protection from adults, migrant children and those left under the care of extended families or friends are more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, physically and sexually. Migrant children are also vulnerable in the sense that they cannot get documentation because of their ages. This may result in child-trafficking and further abuse. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) research by Human Rights Watch (2008) implies that the lack of education, risk awareness and parental guidance are factors that increase the risks of trafficking.

Migrant children suffer from alienation, depression, experiences of xenophobia and insecurity. They often face problems in relation to language and stigmatisation which affect their performance in class. The fear of being deported due to lack of legal documents may force children to avoid health facilities when they are sick.

The brain drain that is associated with migration from Zimbabwe deprives children of role models. As more people work abroad, very few are left to provide the moral encouragement and career guidance to school children. With the lack of proper role models, coupled with the above mentioned psychological problems, children are often found to lead violent and criminal lives in order to get what they desire but cannot afford. This is especially in cases whereby remittances from migrant parents stop coming, and in the case of migrant children, if they fail to secure employment. Mlema (1999) outlines that migration has resulted in various psychological pressures due to failure by parents or families to provide for their children. In these instances children are forced to look for surrogate family relationships and many are drawn into the streets where they engage in a variety of menial activities like begging in order to survive (Mlema, 1999). Separation between parents and children may also influence negatively on children's birth registration. The lack of birth registration documents can limit a child's access to health and education facilities. This further increases the risk of abuse and

exploitation of children, as they spend more time out of school and are at times desperate to access these basic needs.

4.13 Child-headed households in Zimbabwe

Child-headed households are households where all members are under the age of 18 years (UNICEF, 2001). They arise as a result of children losing their parents or guardians through death or migration. Children have the right to protection and care, and the lack of these rights have a negative impact on the development of their well-being and development into adulthood. Family circles are very important to children as they provide resources to care for children, protect and nurture them, and to make sure they are part of a community that provides for each other. The quality of parenting coupled with family love has positive impacts on the social-emotional development of children (UNICEF, 2001). Improved access to services, economic and social support enables children to evade risks of neglect and abuse.

When parents migrate, they often look for someone to take care of their children/child to leave a parent figure in his/ her life (UNICEF, 2001). This is not as easy as it seems because the bond is different, the physical or emotional nurturance of birth parents is more tender loving care than what surrogate parents may give. This might instigate feelings of abandonment to the child. Even though, the parents might constantly communicate with the child through the telephone, there is still a gap that needs to be filled by the presence of the parent.

The eldest in the family is forced to drop out of school so that they can fend for their younger siblings. Once they drop out of school, most of these children will not live their academic dreams as they spend more time looking for jobs and food to feed the family. Those children who manage to go to school would suffer from feelings of abandonment, despondence and lack of motivation resulting in poor academic performance.

Some parents have the opportunity to send foodstuffs and money monthly to their children, however, the first-born child in the household has to manage the commodities and funds which deprive him/her of a normal childhood (UNICEF, 2001). These elder children worry more about issues and matters that would normally be the concern of adults. This would result in them lacking on the experiences of their peers. In other cases where the eldest family member is a girl, they tend to resort to prostitution in order to get money to take care of

younger siblings. This has an effect of having teenage mothers and increases the spread of HIV/AIDS in teenagers (UNICEF, 2001). Some resort to the use of drugs to cope with the stress that comes along with the responsibilities of being a household head. The future of these children however is jeopardised as some of them end up in jails for criminal activities. A stark question remains: if our children are tomorrow's leaders and if they are the future; then what kind of leaders is Zimbabwe breeding, and what future are we looking forward to?

4.14 HIV / AIDS in Zimbabwe

The economic and political meltdown experienced in Zimbabwe in the first decade of the 21st century meant that living conditions deteriorated. Low skilled workers who migrated to South Africa leaving their families behind were exposed to the risk of becoming jobless and insecure. Some of these workers turned to multiple relationships as a means of getting the security they needed to live a better life in South Africa. In the process some of them contracted sexually transmitted diseases which they transmitted to their partners in Zimbabwe when they returned home for holidays. In support of this Goliber (2002) outlines that the standard of living in Zimbabwe has been deteriorating since the effects of AIDS became evident.

In the resettled farms, there is a lack of access to healthcare facilities. This affects their access to health information, healthcare facilities and condoms. Treatment of sexually transmitted infections is therefore limited. However critics say that given the number of displaced people and those who have migrated, this figure should be taken with caution. The Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey showed that both groups of women and men know that condoms can reduce the risk of HIV infection. This increased awareness of HIV and AIDS may also explain the observed trend in HIV/AIDS statistics.

The government of Zimbabwe set up a National AIDS Co-ordination Programme (NACP) in 1987 to carry out short term to medium term plans on HIV/AIDS. In year 2000, the government replaced the NACP with the National Aids Council (NAC). An AIDS levy was introduced on all tax payers to fund the functioning of the NAC. Although the NAC had a positive impact, the socio-economic problems that were experienced in Zimbabwe after the year 2000, compromised the government's response to HIV/AIDS.

The land redistribution that was experienced in Zimbabwe in the early 2000s and Operation Murambatsvina (*Operation “drive out trash”*) contributed to the epidemic in different ways. Communities were disrupted, people were left homeless, families were separated and the economy deteriorated. Poverty levels and violence against ordinary people increased. This led to widened sexual connections and sexual harassments that were never reported, making women more vulnerable to HIV infection.

There have been campaigns to prevent HIV and treat sexually transmitted infections but the political situation in Zimbabwe deterred foreign donors. The government was hostile to foreign non-governmental organisations to the extent of threatening to interfere with how NGOs are run. Despite all this Zimbabwe still receives international aid from USAID, DFID that are funded by the US and UK governments.

Efforts to prevent the transmission of HIV, has been spearheaded by NGOs, the NAC, churches, and other social organisations. These steps include educating children about HIV/AIDS in classes at school, offering voluntary counselling and testing, increased condom use and providing drugs to prevent mother-to-child transmission. The economic meltdown meant that the provision of anti-retroviral virus drugs were in short supply. According to Avert organisation, reports have revealed that people living with HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe have crossed the border in order to receive ARVs which are more readily available in neighbouring countries (Avert, 2011). Many of those migrating to access treatment are children, with increasing numbers travelling to neighbouring Botswana and South Africa.

4.15 Poor Conditions of Service in Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwe government embarked on a land reform programme in 2000 which drove out white commercial farmers who were the backbone of the economy. There was an economic meltdown and political instability as a result. Many intellectually skilled professionals migrated from Zimbabwe to other countries in search of greener pastures. The mining sector, health and education systems were affected. The service delivery system deteriorated.

Charles Nhachi, a clinical pharmacologist and toxicologist with the College of Health Sciences at the University of Zimbabwe, told the Standard newspaper (29 May, 2010) that the outbreak of cholera, typhoid and measles was a direct result of failure by government to provide adequate basic social services, including health care and social protection schemes.

Thus, once the provision of social services is improved diseases that are caused by poor hygienic conditions would disappear.

The farm invasions and Operation Murambatsvina meant that displaced people were resettled in areas where sanitation and health facilities are very poor. Women often give birth in unhygienic conditions in their plastic shacks and without skilled birth attendants. In order to reach maternal health services, women have to travel to municipal clinics which are a few kilometres away. Women often give birth at home, unaided and alone. The inaccessibility and costs of medical care has resulted in high infant mortality rates. However, there are organizations like the Zimbabwe Red Cross Society that have helped communities in reducing levels of sanitation by building latrine toilets in rural areas. These latrine toilets work independently of a water supply. The latrines also ensure that people in rural areas do not resort to using the bush as an alternative form of a toilet.

There has been an increased number of traffic accidents due to poor maintenance of Zimbabwe roads. Many deaths have been caused by road accidents. Apart from human errors, Zimbabwean roads have been blamed for the increase in road accidents.

4.16 Brain drain in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has been experiencing a significant and escalating brain drain. The dimensions and reasons for this brain drain have been documented elsewhere. If the skilled population is essentially contented and giving no thought to emigration, then we could safely say that the brain drain is a passing phenomenon, which will soon end.

Zimbabwe's skilled population is not only highly discontented with domestic economic, social and political conditions, but they are extremely pessimistic about the possibility of positive change within the next 5 years. The net result is a population with an extremely high emigration potential (Tevera & Crush, 2003: 128). It should be noted that the coercive approach in addressing brain drain has not yielded positive results anywhere else, thus it is worth asking if it would likely have an impact in terms of the Zimbabwean situation. Looking at Zimbabwe's situation, these measures did not necessarily have a positive effect of the citizens but rather added to the burden of discontent and encouraged people to migrate or consider doing so. Tevera & Crush, outline the following; "Firstly, the respondents were asked whether it would make any difference in their plans to emigrate if the government were

to introduce measures that would make it more difficult for them to emigrate. Sixty seven percent of the respondents said that this policy would make no difference or it would make it more likely. Second, the majority of the respondents indicated that it would make no difference or would make it more likely for them to emigrate if the government was to require people leaving professional schools to do one-year national service in their area of expertise. Third, making Zimbabweans hold only one passport would not affect the emigration plans of most skilled Zimbabweans. Fourth, increasing fees for emigration would also not have an impact on the emigration plans of the respondents” (Tevera & Crush, 2003: 31).

These findings have important policy implications for they reveal the shortcomings of coercive measures in dealing with the brain drain. The economic downturn and political persecution can be identified by the researcher as the main driving force of youth migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa. This is coupled by lack of adequate income to survive, lack of quality and affordable products, decent housing and education system among others. This situation has forced vast numbers to migrate to other countries to seek a better life. The vast majority of people migrating constitute a greater percentage of the economically active youth population in Zimbabwe. This migration has a negative impact on the sending country’s skilled labour. These who migrate have a tendency of staying outside the country for at least two years which cripples Zimbabwe’s labour market. In addition, the people who have migrated to South Africa have already applied for work permits and some are still in the process of applying which therefore means that these immigrants are not looking forward to going back and settle home anytime soon. In this case Zimbabwe faces a major challenge of brain drain benefiting other African countries and overseas. This is evident in areas like the health sector, which is experiencing a major downfall in Zimbabwe but is benefiting countries like South Africa, Botswana and the United Kingdom. These migration trends have exacerbated by the high cost of living with prices hiking on a daily basis, high levels of taxation, political persecution and low level of income.

It is therefore the responsibility of the Zimbabwean government to make cost of living affordable for all its citizens and address this problem from grassroots and save its social development. Zimbabweans have been amongst the highest taxed workers in the world and this reduces economic growth as workers have little or no disposable income. This in turn negatively affects the growth of social development. It is vital that the Zimbabwean

government implement procedures to address the issues associated with brain drain. This can be done by addressing the economic and political basics of the country and this in due course will improve the living standards and staying at home more attractive.

4.17 Summary

In summary, this chapter provides the theoretical background by showing how the findings of this research fit in with theory. The other major emphasis was to unveil if Zimbabweans are experiencing decent working conditions. The findings outline some negative and positive results. The results have shown that the status of most immigrants is undocumented. A few asylum seekers have work permits and/ or study permits. These findings are consistent with the literature review on immigrants.

The increase in Zimbabwean youth migrating from their mother country has been attributed to political persecution and economic meltdown. Zimbabwe, which used to be the 'bread basket of Africa', is crumbling down leading the citizens to settle for anything. This has been indicated by the sample in question which reveals that most of these immigrants have poor jobs. They just want something that generates income to sustain themselves. Looking at the qualifications that these people have from Zimbabwe and the jobs that they are presently occupying, it does not match. This on its own shows that these people want something to sustain them since some are being paid close to nothing. The studies that have been done by Human Rights Watch (2006) reveals that South African farmers do rely on Zimbabwean labour and acknowledge them for their ability to speak English, high level of education and hard working habits.

Legoko (2006b) suggests that migration is as a result of push and pull factors. It is evident that push and pull factors have greatly contributed to the migration of these Zimbabweans. The issue of employment is a major contributing factor in the sample, which shows that unemployment is one of the issues that contributed to their migration. South Africa exerted a pull on immigrants and provided an ideal destination for these immigrants by presenting supplementary opportunities for living a comfortable life. Immigrants pointed out that they were attracted by better living conditions which they were being deprived of because of the bad economic conditions in Zimbabwe. Cape Town has been perceived as a quite city, lower crime, offering better chances of finding a job and being easier to get documents.

The point of Cape Town being viewed as quiet was suggested by most of the respondents in the findings. The study addressed the issue of xenophobia that is experienced by Zimbabweans (not only limited to Zimbabweans) when they come to South Africa.

The findings also supports the suggestion that Cape Town is safe and for the undocumented it is safer because they are not being arrested frequently like Johannesburg, where police are always asking for legal documents. This fact does not suspend the fact that there is crime in Cape Town but it is better in comparison with Johannesburg.

There was a downward turn in the economy Zimbabwe in the year 2000. This downward turn resulted in the relocation of these immigrants. Legoko (2006) outlines that after independence South Africa opened its borders and thus it was more accessible and attractive as a destination. This can be viewed as a push factor from Zimbabwe and a pull to South Africa.

Asylum seekers and refugees choose Cape Town as their destination over other cities. The factors include massive queues at refugee offices in other cities, which means pressure on resources. This is evident in this study where respondents indicated this.

Another important aspect which was also looked at was the ways of integrating qualified and skilled immigrants into the labour market, specifically in their area of expertise. Most of the Zimbabweans are doing jobs that do not meet their qualifications because the South African community is not willing to give them jobs. This has also indicated that Zimbabweans are suffering a lot and that their qualifications are not being recognized. Sefa Dei & Asgharzadeh (2002) outlines that the issue of former occupation needs to be addressed in relation to the presently occupied job. This can be done by conducting analysis to see if these qualifications are not recognized in the South African labour market.

This study also revealed that a number of immigrants do not receive any benefits in their work places. A result is that they are not paid for overtime and are providing cheap labour. A number of these immigrants are residing with their friends or sharing with other people. Some of them have acquired assets like furniture as well as cars. The immigrants also acknowledged the fact that accommodation is affordable since they live with other people. Given that these respondents are recent immigrants to South Africa they are not members of any trade union, which makes it difficult for them to present their sentiments with any work related problems.

In the same context, this therefore shows that there is an issue of brain drain specifically in Zimbabwe since the qualified labour force is immigrating to South Africa. Hence, South Africa is gaining many qualified people at the expense of Zimbabwe. Battistella (2006), Olowu & Sako (2002) and Sefa Dei & Asgharzadei (2002) argue that on the part of the receiving countries there is an increase in pressure on public services, difficulties in social integration, unemployment and xenophobia. This is actually what is happening and this study has provided solid evidence of what these immigrants are experiencing.

Chimanikire (2005) explains that individuals migrate primarily for individual reasons, which might be for improving family life, whilst others migrate for family reasons such as marriage. His argument is valid because the immigrants want their families' lives to improve as outlined in the study. These immigrants in turn send remittances home, which reduces the poverty and improves social development in Zimbabwe. These immigrants are the breadwinners of their families and their families back home are able to survive from them. It is evident that some families in Zimbabwe are living a better life, despite the economic hardships, because of these immigrants that are sending remittances back home.

Gracia and Duplat (2007) also highlighted that these immigrants do not apply for asylum because it means that they could be alienated from their families for good. This has also been revealed in this study and most of the immigrants have opted to stay without legal papers rather than not see their mother country for the rest of their lives. This also supports the example that was provided in the literature review of those people who went to the United Kingdom on the basis of political asylum and now cannot go back home. Hence, these immigrants have learned a lesson and do not want to be one of those victims who can not go back home. At some point one would want to go back home because "home is best."

Gono (2007), also points out that declared and undeclared sanctions are one of the contributing factors to the economic meltdown that is being experienced in Zimbabwe. This issue has given rise to the high unemployment rate which has resulted in so many people moving to and residing in South Africa. Chimanikire (2005) outlines that the number of Zimbabweans that have flocked into South Africa from 1996-2005 has amounted to two million and for the past two years the number has increased drastically.

Based on the motivation data, life has become a nightmare, tough and full of hardships for these immigrants. Poverty levels have risen exponentially with the record inflation rate which

supports the push factors which forced the immigrants to move from Zimbabwe to South Africa. Economic reasons proved to be the major push factor, which is quite true and evident in this study.

After exploring the burning issues in this study one can clearly state that Zimbabwean youth are not experiencing good working conditions in South Africa.

The violent xenophobic attacks have caused havoc within South Africa. Not only are those affected fearful of being reintegrated into their former communities, they are distrusting and skeptical about promises made to them of returning to their normal lives. At this present stage, reintegration of foreigners should not be considered, as the underlying factors that were the catalysts for the attacks have not yet been adequately addressed. In combating xenophobia, the whole of South Africa needs to realise that it is a collective responsibility that will require inputs from all parties.

The South African government has a dual responsibility towards its citizens. Firstly, the government should demonstrate the necessary decisive leadership to deal emphatically with the crisis situation. South Africa should therefore employ the principles of crisis communication and also put in place the necessary follow-up procedures. Secondly, it is government's responsibility to address the underlying socio-economic circumstances that were cited as being the primary reason for the violence and brutality. It is paramount that the South African government should not continue to turn a blind eye towards the evidence of continued anti-foreigner attitudes and behaviour. The media should also play its part responsibly, looking at all times to report the facts but also to delve deeper to uncover and explore the 'other side of the coin'.

All organisations and institutions within South African society should reclaim the unity and harmony that was once said to be characteristic of South Africa, by banding together to educate themselves and their fellow citizens. It should be remembered that no campaign can, on its own, bring about the necessary change in attitudes and behaviours; rather campaigns from the business sector, government and NGO's must all reinforce and strengthen one another and communicate a consistent message of acceptance. Those in government, civil society and the media should work an extra mile and rectify ills of xenophobia. The public must be educated and understand the value of foreigners. They are not here to just take and receive but they do make a great contribution to the country's growth and economic

development. Thus, they have a right to be treated like any other human being and experience the goodness of life. Hence, creating a social culture that is coupled with acceptance and tolerance through education will be a major stage to eradicate xenophobia.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

5.2 Main conclusions

The main conclusions will be discussed in relation to the research objectives.

Objective 1: To explore the experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants in South Africa.

The main conclusions are that Zimbabwean youth immigrants:

- Have difficulty in accessing employment, social services, housing and health care.
- Are lowly paid.
- Provide cheap labour.

Objective 2: To explore the problems facing Zimbabwe youth and the South African authorities.

The main conclusions are:

- Zimbabwean youth immigrants experience corruption in cases where they have to pay the authorities bribes to stay in South Africa, be it police or Home Affairs.
- The Zimbabwean youth immigrants are exposed to harassment by the South African Police Services.
- They always have to carry their identity documents for the police, which is too risky because they might lose them.

Objective 3: To examine how xenophobia and social integration has affected Zimbabwean youth immigrants in South Africa.

The main conclusions are:

- There has been an increase in pressure on South African public services, difficulties in social integration, pressure on jobs and has resulted in hostile behaviour towards these immigrants resulting in xenophobia.
- Incoming migrants need to be integrated into the labour force, which will intensify the competition for existing jobs. Especially in times of economic downturn, the general public and the policymakers tend to become more worried about the potential adverse impact of immigration on natives' opportunities, and immigrants can be used as an excuse to blame for the rising unemployment.
- The immigrants are experiencing a difficult time integrating in South African society.
- Immigrants are often willing to do jobs that locals are no longer interested in.
- The Language barrier is a major contributing factor to the stereotyping that immigrants are facing and they can easily be identified and be excluded in South African circles.

Objective 4: To explore further considerations as they relate to Zimbabwean youth migration to South Africa.

The main conclusions are:

- Migration has resulted in changes in labour supply and productivity in Zimbabwe.
- Migration processes bring about endogenous behavioural or policy responses as Zimbabwe tends to adjust to ongoing forces and both forces as well as responses affect labour resource availability and productivity.
- A further major impact of migration on comes through remittances, which are sent by migrants to families and relatives who have remained in Zimbabwe.
- It is true with no doubt that Zimbabwe's social and economic development has deteriorated.

5.3 Main Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study the following recommendations are put forward:

- A first step would be to extend this research so that the national picture is more clearly understood. This is a necessity in order to avoid incorrect extrapolations from this study. The way forward is neither rhetoric nor denial: better data leads to better policy. Certainly, the suffering indicated in this study deserves more attention than it is currently receiving.
- Zimbabwe and South Africa both need to support the establishment of an institutional and legal framework for the development and implementation of a national strategy for migration and development.
- Policies to manage immigration are lacking while control of the same is failing to curtail the inflow of migrants due to scarce resources, weak administrative capacity, and permeable borders thus, migration should be incorporated both in the development cooperation strategies as well as in the national poverty reduction strategies.
- A well-managed immigration policy that facilitates and one which is open to contribution, by the public, must be developed, thus making migration issues more people-centered by having a platform whereby immigrants pour their sentiments.
- It is essential that every aspect of migration issues, humanitarian, emergency, economic and political should be managed with the decisiveness and effectiveness by governments (in this case both South Africa and Zimbabwe) that brings public confidence.
- Migration management policies need to retain public confidence, and this is an area that should be given attention.
- Migrants, especially those who are undocumented are likely to face discrimination, exclusion, exploitation and abuse at all stages of the migration process. Female migrants and children often face greater risks, including human trafficking, being deprived of education and access to healthcare. Protecting the human rights of migrants is part of the duty of the State to respect and protect these people's rights

against abuses and to fulfil the rights necessary for them to enjoy a life of dignity and security, hence it should be a priority.

- Immigration and border control policies need to recognize that migration is primarily an economic and/or a political phenomenon. It is a matter of helping each other since we all do not know what the future holds for South Africa.
- The Zimbabwean government needs to attract more foreign investors and boost its economic position, improve infrastructure, job creation to attract the people who have migrated back home and this will in turn improve the country's social development.

5.4 Conclusion

There is a pressing need to better understand the position and plight of Zimbabwean youth who have come to South Africa. It is worth noting that not all of them are leading a good life style, thus some of the experiences outlined and recommendations have been made to address this predicament.

Zimbabwe is not the first country to experience brain drain. Brain drain is part and parcel of a progressing process of human movement. This ongoing process has induced the need for worldwide policy responses to address this problem. Thus, if the Zimbabwe government does not do something to make staying at home more attractive, the brain drain will continue more and more. As Chetsanga & Muchenje (2003) say, the driving force seems to be as powerful as the forces pulling professionals and others away from Zimbabwe and these forces appear to be operating with reciprocal reinforcement. Zimbabwe should take this as a revelation and start investing in tomorrow's leaders rather than driving them off the edge.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE ZIMBABWEAN YOUTH IMMIGRANTS

THE EXPERIENCES OF ZIMBABWEAN YOUTH IMMIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN AND THE IMPACT OF THIS MIGRATION ON ZIMBABWE'S SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Part One: Introduction

My name is Tatenda Vanessa Masendu and I am studying for a Masters in Social Development at University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am doing this research to have a better understanding of the experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants when they migrate to South Africa and the impact this migration has on Zimbabwe's social development. I hope that the findings of this research will benefit the immigrants as well as Zimbabwe by informing future decisions of the government as well as other institutions that might be involved with immigrants.

In the course of the interview if you might want to withdraw please do not hesitate to inform me. I am also going to use a Dictaphone recorder to capture all the discussion and you do not have to use your real name, thus you may use a pseudonym for anonymity reasons. Everything that is discussed during the interview session will be kept confidential. The interview will take approximately 60 minutes. May I use the Dictaphone recorder please?

SECTION A

DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Home language
4. Educational qualifications
5. Reason for leaving Zimbabwe and coming to South Africa?
6. Reason for choosing South Africa, particularly Cape Town as a destination?

7. Entry point into South Africa and mode of transport into South Africa/Assistance with entry.

8. Where do you live?

SECTION B

FINDING JOBS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. Are you presently employed? (If yes will continue with the following questions and if not then investigate why).

2. How long did it take for you to find your first job?

3. How did you get your current job?

4. What other jobs did you do in South Africa?

SECTION C

WORKING IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. How long have you been in this job?

2. How are you treated by your employer?

3. How are you treated by co-workers?

4. Are you paid market rate? Explain

5. Do you receive employment benefits (for example, medical aid, pension fund etc) If yes, which ones?

SECTION D

WORK COMPARISON (NATIVE VS HOST COUNTRY)

1. Do you think your financial situation has improved since you moved to South Africa?

2. If you compare your last job in Zimbabwe with your current job in South Africa is your income lower, higher or the same?

3. Does your job match your qualification?

4. Do you think your life-style has improved since you moved to South Africa?

SECTION E

What are the experiences of Zimbabwean youth immigrants in South Africa with regards to social integration?

1. How is your relationship with South Africans especially where you are living?

2. What are the challenges that you face as a foreigner?

3. Describe how you have dealt with the challenges you have faced?

SECTION F

How has xenophobia and social integration affected the youth immigrants in South Africa?

1. Have you ever been physically attacked in South Africa?

2. Do you feel socially isolated?

3. Have you ever experienced any harassment particularly from the South African police?

4. What are your views on South African police service?

5. Do you feel you have any support from the South African police?

SECTION G

What are the problems facing the Zimbabwean youth and the South African authorities?

1. Do you think immigrants have the same rights as local people in South Africa?

2. Do you know your rights as an immigrant?

3. Do you think immigrants are legally protected in South Africa?

4. Does an immigrant have the right to access basic services like accommodation, education in South Africa?
5. Do you feel your human rights have been violated in any way since you came to South Africa?
6. Have you ever been deported from South Africa?
7. Do you think more Zimbabweans will be coming to South Africa in the near future?

SECTION H

FEELINGS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

1. How do you feel about going back to Zimbabwe?
2. How is your family back in Zimbabwe surviving?
3. What do you think should be done in South Africa to cater for immigrants?
4. What do you think should be done in Zimbabwe to accommodate its citizens and control the migration trends as well as improve the social development?

THE END

Thank you so much for participating in this study, if there is anything else that you would like to say you are welcome. I wish you the best in all your endeavors in life.