

The University of the Western Cape



Faculty of Arts

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY/SOCIOLOGY

Topic

“Integration, exclusion, or something in between? A study of Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu, Cape Town.”

A Mini Thesis Submitted to

The Faculty of Arts, Department of Anthropology/Sociology, University of the Western Cape, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for MA Degree in Sociology.

Presented by

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DECLARATION

I..... undersigned, hereby declare that mini-thesis “*An investigation of the integration of foreign migrants into a South African community: Zimbabweans living in Luyoloville and New Rest in Gugulethu, Cape Town*”, is my own work. It has not been submitted before for any degree, or examination in any University. All the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and duly acknowledged by means of referencing.

Diplock Samuel Kalule

Signature

November, 2016.



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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my guardian and second parents the late Jossy R.K Kasalirwe and Maama Christiana N Kasalirwe who sacrificed for rearing me after the death of my father, the late Eng. Paulo Ssebunya-Ssendowooza. I am who I am today because of you, thank you so much.

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Key Concepts:

- **Migration**
- **Immigrants**
- **African Migrants**
- **Integration**
- **Zimbabweans**
- **Ugandans**
- **Xenophobia**
- **Township**
- **Social Capital**
- **Social Constructivist**
- **Social Cohesion**
- **South Africa**
- **Cape Town**
- **Gugulethu**



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Abstract

According to migrant research in South Africa, after the advent of democracy in South Africa, in 1994, the country has received an influx of foreign migrants, more especially from the African continent. However, much focus has been on the negative outcomes of the host community and its relationship with immigrants. Recent immigration research labelled South Africa as a xenophobic nation, and much emphasis on xenophobia was in Black South African townships. Although townships in South Africa are widely known for their hostile attitudes towards African nationals, in recent years, townships like Gugulethu have become homes for many African immigrants. This study investigates the integration of foreign migrants into the South African community: a case of Zimbabweans living in Gugulethu, Cape Town. Qualitative research methods' adopting an in-depth interpretation of the findings was used to answer the research question posed by this study. The research question posed by this study is, in the absence of a strategic plan to integrate African foreign nationals into South Africa society, how do African migrants living in Gugulethu use their social capital to integrate themselves into the local community, which is widely regarded as xenophobic? Qualitative data was collected through in-depth interviews and observations and data was analysed according to the research questions by making codes and themes. In addition, the number of study participants was 30 people; 25 Zimbabwean immigrants and for comparative purposes 2 Ugandan immigrants and 3 local South Africans were also included. Both convenience and snowballing sampling techniques were used. The study found that despite the challenges faced by migrants in their host community, these migrants used their social capital in the form of social networks to integrate themselves into the host community.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The democratic dispensation in 1994, meant that millions of Black South Africans, were, for the first time, allowed to vote in their homeland. Many promises of ‘a better life for all’ were made in the months leading up to the first democratic elections. This was to be realized through the multitude of rights enshrined in the country’s constitution, which has been hailed globally as one of the world’s most progressive constitutions. However, these rights and ideals remain but an aspiration for many South Africans (Landau and Vigneswaran, 2007). In addition, the authors assert that there is a great divide between the rich and poor and skilled and unskilled workers in the country (ibid). As pointed out by McDonald, (2002), many of the political, social and economic patterns, structures and attitudes of racism that characterised the apartheid era, continue to shape the experiences of South Africans in the present day. Discrimination, prejudice, stereotypes, xenophobia and other forms of racism still characterise South African society. Despite rapid progress in race relations and the introduction of positive non-discrimination and equity legislation at a political level, a more systematic programme is required to transform race relations among ordinary people. This is the social context and political environment within which foreign nationals arrive or live in when coming to South Africa.

According to migrant research conducted in South Africa, the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 resulted in the country receiving an influx of foreign migrants particularly from the African continent (Crush and McDonald, 2002; Valji, 2003). The patterns of migration observed in South Africa have become increasingly more complex and diverse since 1994. The country has attracted not only refugees and asylum seekers, but also skilled professionals from across the continent, as well as, political and socio-economic migrants, (Abdi, 2011). Although South Africa attracts a diverse flow of migrants, it has not yet developed an encompassing migration policy to properly address the ever-growing population of migrants from Africa and elsewhere in the world. Its legislation falls short of covering the multifaceted range of migrants and presently it has only two instruments of legislation dealing directly with immigration, that is, the amended 2013 Immigration Policy and the Refugees Act of 1998. These two pieces of legislation are fairly recent in their

enactment, and moreover, provides room for a continued inflow of migrants. This has created opportunities for many people to enter the country through the asylum process. Furthermore, these two documents are not explicit, and as a result, many migrants have taken advantage by legalising their stay in South Africa through the asylum system. This, however, has created a challenge for them, with regard to integration in South Africa.

We would call a set of objects integrated if they are related to each other in such a way that they form an integral entity, that is, if they are united to form a whole (Holzner, 1967). “Integration,” most generally, therefore refers to a relationship among parts through which they form a whole, so that the whole has its own distinct attributes, its boundary, and is therefore recognisable as a separate structured entity (Holzner, 1967).

As migrants attempt to settle within local communities, they are faced with numerous difficulties, one of which being integration. Since South Africa has a legacy of polarised racial communities that are greatly influenced by prejudice, stereotypes and xenophobic attitudes towards Black Africans from other regions of the continent, this makes it complicated for foreign migrants to have a peaceful coexistence with local communities.

Although various studies on African migrants in South Africa have been conducted, focus has been on the negative outcomes of the relationship between the host community and immigrants. Recent immigration research labelled South Africa as a xenophobic nation, (Sichone, 2008; Neocosmos, 2010). Black South African townships have been at the centre of immigration research and xenophobic attitudes. Although townships in South Africa are widely known for their hostile attitudes towards African nationals, in recent years, townships such as Gugulethu have become home for many African immigrants. This qualitative study examines the process of integration by a specific group of African foreign migrants and highlights some of the more positive aspects thereof. In particular, a case study of Zimbabweans and few Ugandans living in Luyoloville and New Rest, Gugulethu, Cape Town will be used to demonstrate this process.¹

¹ For comparative purposes, a small sample of Ugandan migrants and South Africans residing in Gugulethu, have been included in this study. The reasons for this are elaborated in Chapter Three.

1.2 Contextual Background

Migration is not a new phenomenon to human beings, but has a long history (Liang, 2007; Hungwe, 2012). For thousands of years, people have migrated from one place to another in search of new and better opportunities, for purposes of survival, to conquer and colonize new territories and frontiers, and to escape from war zones or political turmoil. According to the United Nations (UN) Report of 2009, around 215 million people or three (3) percent of the world's population are believed to live outside their countries of birth (United Nations, 2009).

Globalization, a powerful force that is transforming the whole world into a 'global village', has played a major role in increasing the flow of humans from one place to another. South Africa, like any other country around the world, is not immune to this global phenomenon. Gardner and Osella (2003) argue that like other countries, South Africa's large scale migration may be linked to the impact of globalization.

Migration studies in South Africa have shown that South Africa in current years has become Africa's largest destination for foreign migrants (Crush and McDonald, 2002). According to Statistics South Africa (2014), it is estimated that the country has 3.3 million working immigrants. One third of these migrants are from the African continent. Available research has shown that for many years, people have made South Africa their country of choice for the same reasons identified by Liang (2007), such as, escaping from war zones and economic or political turmoil.

Historically, immigration has contributed significantly to South Africa's economy and society. Highly skilled immigrants and temporary workers are a key in supporting the development of the knowledge-based economy and are an important source for addressing skills shortages (Ratha, Mohapatra, Ozden, Plaza, Shaw, and Shimeles; 2011). Ratha *et al.*, (2011) have argued that immigration also helps to foster South Africa's international trade, commercial and cultural ties with the migrant's countries of origin. According to them, immigration is one of the most visible expressions of the many values that underpin our collective identity as Africans (Ratha *et al.*, 2011). Through incorporating difference, recognizing cultural diversity and building communities based on mutual respect, the nation can build a socially cohesive society.

In a socially cohesive society, both the individual and society recognizes the value of building a sense of acceptance and belonging among people. This is based on trust, shared values, and common experiences that bridge social, cultural, linguistic, and religious differences (Maxwell, 2006). People are willing to participate in several dimensions of societal life and have equitable opportunities to do so. But, South Africa’s immigration policy provides little support for integration and does not offer newcomers the opportunity to obtain South African citizenship following a five-year residency period (UNHCR, 2010). There is, therefore, a great need for helping newcomers adapt and learn about their rights, freedoms, responsibilities, and the laws which would protect them from racial discrimination. These types of programmes can assist foreign nationals to socially integrate themselves into South African society, and also to provide an opportunity to sensitize South Africans to different cultures, and to show how diversity strengthens community life.

1.3 The Research Site - Gugulethu Township

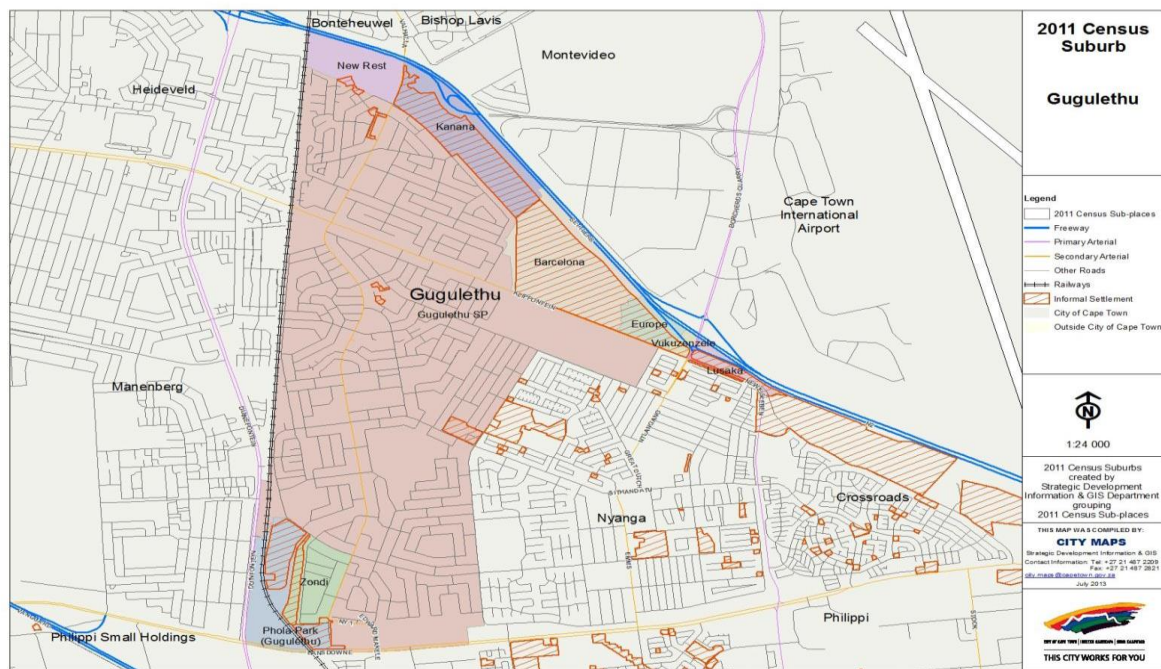


Figure 1: Location of Gugulethu Township Source: City of Cape Town, 2013

Gugulethu is located 18km south-east of Cape Town in the Western Cape Province. It is one of the oldest townships in Cape Town, and was established by the Apartheid government during the 1960s to accommodate black people who were displaced from various areas

around Cape Town (South African History Online, SAHO, 2017). During the Apartheid era, Black South Africans were not permitted to live within the City of Cape Town; therefore, many people were removed from areas, such as, Simon's Town and District Six and relocated to areas, such as, Langa, Gugulethu, Nyanga, and Manenberg. Since its inception during the 1960s, Gugulethu has changed completely and improvements in terms of infrastructure and social conditions are evident.

During my field work, I had an opportunity to spend time talking to and interacting with an 80 year old community leader, and a former anti-apartheid activist from Section 3. He shared the historical background of Gugulethu with me. He was one of the first people forcefully removed by the apartheid government from their Simon's Town homes. He narrates his story; it started when the Apartheid government made proposals under the Group Areas Act. They were designed to remove of all non-Europeans in Cape Town beyond the railway lines in the Northern and Southern Suburbs. According to him, Gugulethu is a Xhosa word meaning 'our pride'; he was one of the people that changed the name from Nyanga West to Gugulethu.

The streets were named NY (or 'native yard') indicating that this space was designed originally for native people who were perceived to be Black. Although Gugulethu was designed for Blacks who were forcibly removed around Cape Town, a diverse number of people, mainly from the Eastern Cape and other provinces who had come to Cape Town in search of work, also settled in Gugulethu.

This old community leader explained that, around the 1960s, many people from other neighbouring countries, such as, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Nyasaland (Malawi), Zambia and Lesotho who had come to Cape Town to work as labourers settled in this area. Many of them married local women, thereby integrating themselves by learning the Xhosa language and other cultural customs. He still recalls that his friends from Zimbabwe and Malawi who settled in Gugulethu had families. Although his other friends have died, their children are proudly South African, and for me this history, which is briefly highlighted in chapter two, is vital for the current study.

Gugulethu's history is linked to the political activities during the 1980's when people were united and determined to end the brutal Apartheid regime. The most well renowned incident is the Gugulethu Seven, where seven young activists were killed by the South African police

force on 03 March 1986. The township of Gugulethu has undergone significant changes and has experienced tremendous social and economic growth over the years. Some of these recent developments are discussed below.

Figure 2: Gugulethu housing



From the 2011 census, it is estimated that Gugulethu has a population of 98 468 and 99% of the population is Black African (City of Cape Town, 2013). It is also currently home to many politicians and middle class Black people. Presently, there are various developments taking place in Gugulethu and this is changing this township into a suburb where social, cultural, and economic activity is flourishing.

One example of a recent development that has changed Gugulethu is the newly built Gugulethu Square Mall. It is situated at the site previously named, Eyona Centre, in the busy and longest road, NY 1, recently renamed Steve Biko Drive. The mall was developed by Old Mutual, Tokyo Sexwale's Group 5 company and local businessman Mzoli Ngcawuzele, the owner of Mzoli's place on NY 108, seen in figures 3 and 4 in this study. Gugulethu Square Mall is a home for retailers, such as, Shoprite and Spar. Ackerman's, Identity, Pep Stores, Truworths, Exact, Fashion Express, Mr Price Markham's and others offer a wide range of clothing. Food restaurants, such as, Hungry Lion, KFC, Nando's, and Spur are also represented in this mall. The mall also provides banking services. The mall attracts people from Gugulethu and its surrounding areas and it has become one of the economic developments that have reduced unemployment. Migrants and tourists do enjoy this new

development and it has become a social interaction centre that brings locals and foreign nationals together.

Figure 3 Gugulethu Square mall from outside



Above picture shows Gugulethu Square mall from outside.

Figure 4 Gugulethu Square mall showing different shops



Although, Gugulethu has in recent years improved, there are still some informal dwellings. In these informal settlements, in particular, sewage runoff has created streams that run parallel to some of the roads. Where there are small clearings, these serve as places for garbage disposal, which has accumulated over a period of time. At frequent intervals between the

houses, there are alcohol outlets, also known as a shebeen, where people meet to socialize and have drinks.

Figure 5: The Kanana informal settlement in Gugulethu



Gugulethu, like other South African townships, is faced with social challenges, these include; poverty, crime, disease, unemployment and xenophobic attitudes, amongst others. For example, available research for the area showed that 60% of the people aged 15 to 49 of the area were employed, only 58% of households in the area have access to piped water in their home, and households living in formal dwellings are 52% (Statistics South Africa, 2013).

Although Gugulethu's immigrant history has been previously outlined, my observation and experience has shown that quite a number of migrants live and work in Luyoloville and New Rest in Section 3 of Gugulethu. Luyoloville is a small community situated next to New Rest in Section 3 of Gugulethu. There are many formal and informal small businesses, such as, spaza shops², hair salons, motor garages and restaurants.

In recent years, the community has attracted a lot of foreign immigrants, mostly Zimbabweans. These locations are next to each other and have easy access to the shopping

² A *spaza* is an informal tuck-shop, mostly run from someone's home.

centres, such as, Charlesville, Gugulethu Square and social clubs, such as, Mzoli's Place and others. The community has easy access to transport, that is, the Heideveld train station and the NY1 main road.

The setting was ideal for this research as it is one of the oldest townships of the Western Cape; hence it illuminates the lived experiences of migrants in South Africa. Like many other townships in the country, Gugulethu is faced with social problems that include poverty, unemployment, poor housing and poor sanitation. The living conditions and economic situation also reinforce health concerns, with Tuberculosis (TB) and HIV causing the most concern.

Consequently, this area appears to be a suitable location for the purposes of this research. It can be used as a model to demonstrate how, where, and why, the integration of African foreign migrants is actively taking place. For many African migrants, particularly Zimbabweans, this area has become a safe haven. It is mostly stable with relatively little criminal activity. In addition, the settlement of migrants in the area has become economically beneficial to both the local community and to the Zimbabweans. Property owners are making money by renting their houses to foreign African migrants; therefore, they have an interest in ensuring that peace prevails in this small community. Many home owners have been extending their homes in order to get an extra income from Zimbabweans who are renting their rooms.

1.4 Significance of the study

The image of migrants and migration lies at the heart of any relationship between migrants and societies. Biased framing of migration in public discourse, inaccurate accounts and sensationalized reporting can lead to misperceptions of migrants and migration, and consequently result in the exclusion of migrant communities and the disruption of social cohesion. From this background, the researcher strongly believes that there is a need for academic attention to investigate the positive aspects of this process. More research on the integration and the interactions between immigrants and the local township residents needs to be developed further, hence the importance of this study. Although the study of immigration has attracted attention in both the media and academic fraternity, the majority of these studies

have focussed on the negative outcomes of the interaction between ‘other’ Africans and locals. This has prompted the student to investigate the often neglected, but important, positive outcomes of these interactions. An investigation of this nature is imperative, particularly since this issue remains under-researched.

This study seeks to contribute to existing knowledge, and perhaps produce new knowledge and deepen our current understanding of African foreign migration, their experiences, and their contributions to South African society.

1.5 Statement of the problem

Social integration is an essential component of any community aspiring to live in a cohesive way, therefore, enabling people, particularly immigrants to achieve their full potential and become citizens with a stake in their host country. However, African migrants found it difficult to integrate into the host community (UNHCR, 2009). The absence of effective credential assessment in the asylum regime and recognition processes, as well as insufficient information about the plight of foreign nationals living amongst locals, contributes to the gap between immigrants and locals. The lack of sufficient information about foreign African migrants, and their contributions to South Africa may promote stereotypes, hate speech and name calling, this makes the integration of migrants into the local community difficult.

Although it is widely known that foreign migrants, especially Blacks, from other parts of Africa, find it difficult to live side by side with locals. The ways in which foreign African migrants integrate into South African society has not received much academic attention. Despite the widespread negative image of South Africa, resulting from xenophobic attitudes towards African migrants, the number of Zimbabwean migrants living in the Gugulethu Township is increasing. The research question posed by this study is: In the absence of a strategic plan to integrate African foreign nationals into South Africa society by the South African government, how do African migrants living in Gugulethu use their social capital to integrate themselves into the local community, which is widely regarded as xenophobic?

1.6 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Aims of the study

The main aim of this study is to investigate immigrants' experiences and interactions with locals in Gugulethu and to examine how this contributes towards the process of integration.

The research objectives are to:

- Explore the integration of African migrants into the host communities, with specific focus on Zimbabweans and a small number of Ugandans living in Gugulethu.
- Investigate the role of different types of connections and networks and 'social capital' in facilitating the migrant's integration into the local community,
- Assess the role of the government and other stakeholders in the process of integrating migrants into South African society.
- To explore areas in which African migrants have managed to integrate as well as the challenges they face in the process.

1.7 Chapter summary

This mini-thesis investigates the integration of African migrants in South Africa society, a case of Zimbabweans. However, a small number of Ugandan migrants in Gugulethu, Cape Town are also included. It reports on the dynamics pertaining to their experiences and strategies used in the process of their integration into the host nation. Therefore, this study is divided into five main chapters, and their progression is as follows:

Chapter One: this is the introductory chapter; it highlights the background and provides a contextualization for the study. The chapter further outlines the research problem, research question, and the aims and objectives of the study.

Chapter Two: consists of the literature review which presents the relevant literature in a broader context related to the current study. Key themes within the available literature, as well as gaps in the current body of knowledge are also highlighted in this section.

Additionally, this chapter provides the theoretical and conceptual framework underpinning the study. It presents the social constructionist theory to analyse how migrants construct their social world in a complex way while integrating into the host society. However, in the process, the notion of ‘social capital’³ was used and drawn on to explain the integration of Zimbabweans and Ugandans into the local community.

Chapter Three: presents and provides a discussion about the research design and methodology applied by the researcher in order to achieve the aims and objectives of the study. Concerns such as population and sampling, data collection techniques and analysis, and the challenges and limitations of the study are all discussed. The ethical considerations that relate to research are also highlighted in this chapter.

Chapters Four and Five deal with the presentation of data and analysis. They also present the findings and evidence and other themes that have emerged in the study. A discussion of the findings is provided against the postulations of the theoretical/conceptual framework provided in Chapter Two of the study. In general, these two chapters interpret and compare the results with those from the literature. **Chapter Four:** highlights the demographic profiles of participants and explores the economic circumstances that motivate them to migrate to South Africa. **Chapter Five:** deals with the migrants’ use of ‘social capital’ and explores the various strategies used by them to integrate into the local community, and the challenges they face in the process of integration.

Finally, **Chapter Six:** draws conclusions about the current study. In this chapter, suggestions for enhancing integration and facilitating positive relationships between migrants and locals living in townships in South Africa are also offered. It also concludes the thesis with recommendations for future study.

³ This concept was developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and is elaborated in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the existing body of work dealing with the topic. This research has primarily drawn on two bodies of literature. In this section, the student presents the global migration trends. However, the focus is mainly on South African migration. It first examines the history of African migrants to South Africa. This body of work serves as a background, explaining how migration is a pre-colonial phenomenon and therefore has a long history in South Africa. Contemporary migration patterns, such as, xenophobia in South Africa are also discussed. Another second body of literature is focusing on xenophobia in South Africa. However, the last part of the literature focusses on the body of work examining the assimilation of migrants internationally. With regards to African migrants, the positive aspects of integration, is an area that has not received much academic attention and very little research has been conducted on the integration and positive interactions between African foreign migrants and local South Africans. It is therefore paramount that this research was done. This study is an attempt to address some of the gaps that exists in the available literature on the topic. Later on in this chapter; the social constructivist theoretical framework, which is used to explain how migrants construct their social world in complex ways and strategize ways to integrate themselves into the host community are elaborated. As mentioned previously, the concept of ‘social capital’, as outlined by Bourdieu, is also drawn upon in this regard.

2.2 Historical and contemporary migration patterns in South Africa

Studies on migration have shown that globally, it is a very complex phenomenon, with a long history. For thousands of years, people have migrated from one place to another in search of better and newer opportunities, for survival, to conquer and colonise new territories and frontiers and to escape from war zones or political turmoil (Liang, 2007; Hungwe, 2012). History further tells us that between 1840 and the First World War, the world experienced migration on a massive scale. According to Alonso, (2011) about over 50 million Europeans migrated to countries such as America and New Zealand. During this same period, a large

number of Asians, particularly Chinese and Indians left for the southern coasts of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

Global migration is believed to have been traced back and categorized into four periods (Goldin and Reinert, 2006). The first period is the mercantile period (1500 – 1800) where Europeans migrated to Africa. These migrants occupied large portions of African land through merchant capitalism; this lasted for over a period of 300 years. The second period was during the Industrial Revolution, which started in Europe but also spread to its former colonies. In this period, a large number of Europeans migrated to Africa in search of new industrial opportunities. However, there was another period during World War 1, and the great depression with limited number of migrants. However, after World War 1, about 621,000 of mostly refugee and displaced people were recorded annually around 1900-1930. The last period was the post-industrial period, which was around the 1960s. According to Goldin and Reinert (2006), there was a shift with the reduction of European migrants, but increased mostly amongst the African continent, Latin America and Asia.

Statistics show that in 1965, international migration was at 75 million, however, after ten years, this number had doubled to 84 million, and in 1985, the number of migrants had reached 105 million (World Migration, 2003). Available statistics have shown that the number of international migrants has drastically increased in recent years. According to UN-DESA (2013), the number of international migrants reached 232 million from 154 million in 1990, making it about 1.6% per year. There was a drastic increase in the number of international migrants between 2000 and 2010; Africa is no exemption since the report has shown that in Africa, in particular, international migration had increased from 15.6 million in 2000 to 18.6 million in 2013.

According to the United Nations (UN) report of 2009, around 215 million people or 3 percent of the world's population are believed to live outside their countries of birth (United Nations, 2009). They have argued that since migration is a powerful driver and an important consequence of economic, political and social change, it needs to be adequately understood.

Globalisation has played a major role in increasing the flow of humans from one place to another. Other factors that have contributed to this global wave of human movement include; political instability, economic crises, social inequality, gender discrimination, and the

economic and political stability of other parts of the world. South Africa is not immune to this worldwide phenomenon. Migration studies in South Africa have shown that South Africa in recent years has become Africa's largest foreign migrant's destination (Crush and McDonald, 2002). But, this is nothing new and available research has shown that for many years, people have made South Africa their country of choice for the same reasons identified by Liang (2007). Several authors (Gardner and Osella, 2003; Haywood, 2008) have argued that like other countries, South Africa's large scale migration may be linked to the impact of globalisation. According to Statistics South Africa (2013), it is estimated that the country has 3.3 million working immigrants. It further argues that a third of these migrants are from the African continent.

Research done on Zimbabwean and other African migrations to South Africa indicates that this is not a recent occurrence. The cross border movement between South Africa can be traced back as far as the pre-colonial era. Oucho, (2006: 48) states that, cross-border refers to "*migration between states that share a common border.*" Historically, Zimbabwean cross-border migration was economical and this socio-economic migration is traced back to the Mfecane⁴ where many of South Africa's existing ethnic groups crossed the country's borders to settle in the country (Hungwe, 2012). However, it must be emphasized, that the discovery of gold in Johannesburg in the 1880s had changed migration patterns, since labourers were needed from all over Southern Africa to work on the mines or in plantations or farms (ibid).

It is argued that the exploitation of mineral wealth required an enormous labour supply, (Stahl, 1981:7). The development of commercial agriculture which was necessary to meet the then rapid population growth in urban areas of South Africa meant that labour was needed. In order to meet these demands, South Africa needed to find an alternative supply and in this case Zimbabwe and other neighbouring states provided the labour required, (ibid). Although the Apartheid government tried to regulate and limit the migration between these countries it

⁴ Mfecane, (Zulu: "The Crushing") , Sotho Difaqane, series of Zulu and other Nguni wars and forced migrations of the second and third decades of the 19th century that changed the demographic, social, and political configuration of southern and central Africa and parts of eastern Africa. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/379568/Mfecane>

is believed that Zimbabweans and other migrants continued to migrate to South Africa illegally.

Crush (2008) who wrote extensively on the migration of African nationals to South Africa, notes that the cross-border labour migration between South Africa and its neighbouring countries can trace its roots to the period following the discovery of minerals in South Africa during the mid-nineteenth century. The economic exploits gave rise to migration, for example, the unskilled labour generated sustained interdependence between labour supplying and labour receiving countries of the Southern African region (Oucho, 2006). Oucho (2006) further argues that during the colonial period national boundaries were not as rigidly observed as they are today, which means that illegal migration was an irrelevant concept at the time. It should be noted that both the colonial and post-colonial eras of South Africa witnessed the crisscrossing of unskilled labour from its neighbours, such as, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi, since it was a means of employment opportunities to the peoples of these countries. In both the colonial and post-colonial era, South Africa received both informal and formal immigrants.

Furthermore, available research shows that the commercial farming sector relied on labour migrants. Crush (2008); argued that, commercial famers could not survive without the labour of foreign African immigrants. The Apartheid regime systematically channelled unauthorised migrants to commercial farms by forcing them to work on farms or be deported. This indicates that migrants have been long an important feature in South Africa and have been central to South African development (ibid).

Although South Africa's Apartheid system generated many refugees, it is believed that it was only in the 1980s that South Africa started being a sought-after destination for refugees. Research has shown that South Africa received about 350,000 Mozambicans refugees who had fled the civil war. These Mozambicans were well received by local communities and after the war ended, only twenty percent of them returned home. The rest integrated themselves into the South African community. Many other asylum seekers coming from countries such as Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe were believed to have permanently settled in South Africa (Crush, 2008).

However, since the advent of democracy in South Africa, in 1994, the country has experienced an unprecedented influx of foreign migrants, especially from countries within the African continent (Valji, 2003; Crush and McDonald, 2002). Today, African foreign migration has escalated. This can partly be attributed to the ANC's recognition of the assistance that they were given by other African countries during the struggle period. But, the nature of the migration and the origin of the migrants has changed somewhat. Crush and McDonald (2002) note that, African migration has extended beyond the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Many migrants from all over Africa have flocked to the country at an unprecedented rate. The 2001 census showed that the migrant stock included countries outside the SADC, such as, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, and Uganda etc. Crush maintains that these numbers will continue increasing if something is not done to address this phenomenon (Crush and McDonald, 2002).

It should be mentioned that migrants constitute a diverse group of people and among them are refugees fleeing from political and socio-economic problems in their countries of origin (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006). Although it widely known that South African migrants come from different countries on the African continent, research has shown that the majority were from Zimbabwe (O'Connor, 2010). There has not been academic research done giving the exact number of Zimbabweans living in South Africa, however, the South African government claims the number is around three million and rising (Crush, 2008).

There are several factors as to why South Africa has in current years become a destination for African immigrants. Landau, *et al.* (2004) has highlighted some of the reasons as to why migration in South Africa is increasing at such an alarmingly high rate. According to Landau *et al.* (2004), the primary reasons as to why South Africa in recent years has become a destination for African foreign migrants is firstly due to conflict and economic hardship within the African continent and secondly, the peace and prosperity that South Africans enjoy. South Africa, which is the most industrialized country in Africa, is often referred to as a first-world country in a third-world continent (Travis *et al.*, 1999). These political, social and economic conditions are the main reasons why the number of migrants is increasing, especially from other poor African countries.

Specifically, in the case of Zimbabwe, it is argued that migration is motivated by a collapsed economy, lack of jobs, hyper-inflation and human rights violations (McGregor, 2007). McGregor notes how violence from the state has become directed at the political opposition and others deemed as ‘disloyal’. The consequence is, that ‘families of all social classes have increasingly been compelled to send members abroad to ensure basic survival, escape brutal attacks or meet aspirations for accumulation and education’ (McGregor, 2007: 806). This has resulted in more Zimbabweans living in South Africa and Botswana but also elsewhere. Furthermore, several researchers support the above argument (Landau, *et al.*, 2004; CEC, 2005; Gelderblom and Adams, 2006; McGregor, 2007).

According to Hassim *et al.* (2008), President Robert Mugabe’s policies have triggered the biggest single wave of refugees fleeing Zimbabwe into South Africa. In addition, Kok *et al.* (2006) note that the economic and the political turmoil in Zimbabwe posed a serious challenge to South Africa as countless migrants are constantly continuing to flock into South Africa with and without identification (Rutherford and Addison, 2007). In Limpopo, at the Zimbabwe-South African border, found that economic reasons, and more recently, displacement and persecution, explain the motivations for the influx of migration from Zimbabwe. Many Zimbabweans were engaged in seasonal agricultural work during picking season (April – September) on farms where the majority of workers were Zimbabwean.

The economic reasons for this migration to South Africa include unemployment, low wages paid to public servants, the low value of their currency and the extremely high cost of goods and services. Political factors include the post-independence ethnic tensions that emerged between the Shona and the Ndebele (Hungwe, 2012). Hungwe’s research shows that the minority Ndebele even today have been marginalized by the Shona people who are in power. These political power struggles have led many people seek refuge in other neighbouring countries such as South Africa. Today, political party tensions between the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the ruling ZANU-PF, which is the ruling party, has forced millions of people to leave Zimbabwe.

Crush (2008) argues that although the South African government in recent years has been keen in mediating peaceful resolutions and reaching an agreement with President Robert Mugabe and his political opponents, this has had minimal impact on economic and political

events in Zimbabwe, which is at the centre of the influx flow of Zimbabweans into South Africa. Crush further argues that South Africa's foreign policy towards Zimbabwe may even have exacerbated the flow of migrants (Crush, 2008).

In their book 'Zimbabwe's Exodus', Crush and Tevera, (2010) strongly maintain that the political situation that led to the collapse of the country's economy has largely contributed to the influx on the Zimbabwean migration to its neighbours, more especially, South Africa. They argue that without the economic crisis, migration would not have reached the volume that it has. However, they believe that this crisis has positively impacted on the country. They argue that, "*in turn, migration (through remittances) has staved off the worst aspects of that crisis for many households, and even kept the national economy afloat.*" Therefore, it does have its advantages (2010: 321).

Another factor to consider on migration trends is globalisation. It is suggested that globalisation has also contributed to this phenomenon. Gardner and Osella (2003) and Haywood (2008) argue that South Africa's large scale migration like that of many other countries may be linked to the impact of globalisation. Portes (2008) who wrote extensively on international migration has argued that global structural imbalances are the major contributor to the international migration. According to him "*a form of globalisation from below through which poor people seek to mitigate the growing inequalities and lack of opportunity foisted on them by capitalist driven globalisation from above*" (Portes, 2008: 10).

Adepoju (2006) observes that there are new patterns in migration today. For example, "*The traditional pattern of migration within and from Africa male dominated, long-term, and long-distance — is increasingly becoming feminized*" (Adepoju, 2006; and Kok *et al*, 2006: 26). Their work shows that there has been a significant increase in female migration, which was traditionally a male pattern. In these mobile, global times, women no longer stay home while men move around in search of jobs. Women also move around the world seeking social and economic opportunities.

Furthermore, they argue that even those come to join their husbands or family members are becoming more independent than before. Adepoju (2006) argues that this reflects the progress of feminist movements. There are, therefore, an increasing number of women migrating to South Africa (Wentzel and Kholadi Tlabela, in Kok, *et al*, 2006). Most of them

migrate more on their own accord and several of them are involved in cross-border trading, so that they usually remain in the country for a relatively short period of time. But there are also those who are coming to join their families in South Africa, and this category of female migrants are more likely to stay for longer. The International Dialogue on Migration (IDM) suggests that there are social implications of migration; such as, changes in family structure and gender dynamics which can strongly affect women and children and can impact on them negatively. However, at the same time, these structures can have a positive effect and could lead to female empowerment (IDM, 2010).

2.3 Xenophobia in South Africa

Zimbabwean migrants, like other African migrants in South Africa, have been victims of xenophobic violence in the country. Available research has shown that, after 1994, xenophobic attacks on African migrants had increased amongst South Africans (Dodson and Oelofse, 2000; Neocosmos, 2010). Harris (2002) argues that although South Africa had historical culture of violence rooted in Apartheid times around the 1980s, this violence was predominantly political in nature unlike xenophobia.

Much has been written about the xenophobic attacks that have been taking place across South Africa since 1994 with much emphasis on that of the recent attacks which started in Durban in April 2015. Several literatures have been written on the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals that started in Alexandra, Johannesburg before it spread across the whole country (Neocosmos, 2010; Lubbe, 2008; Abdi, 2011). All these studies found that South Africa has a history of xenophobia. Xenophobia is defined as “a deep dislike of non-nationals of a recipient state” (Sichone in Shephards and Robins, 2008: 257). For Sichone (2008), it is the racist and nationalist sentiments that sometimes grips entire countries and is expressed in more as a hatred of, rather than a fear of foreigners and foreign things. It is always violence against foreigners or war against the neighbour.

Nyamnjoh (2010:58) regards xenophobia as racially and ethnically inspired. He argues that it has become a problematic tendency to many who define and confine belonging and identity in terms of cultural differences, with little regard to the reality of interconnections and on-going relationships forged across communities by individuals. Sichone (2008) further argues

that South Africa has historically held hostile attitudes towards foreigners, and attributes this hostility to unemployment and poverty that characterizes the majority of male youth in South African townships. According to him, although the apartheid system was abolished, its legacy continues. A majority of young people lack basic needs such as food, houses, good health, and jobs (Nyamnjoh; 2006, 2010). People then turn their frustrations towards migrants whom they believe is the cause of all the social ills facing them (Sichone, 2008).

Numerous studies done in South Africa have found that a majority of the local population carry strong anti-immigration sentiments (Danso and McDonald, 2000; Danso and McDonald, 2001). These national surveys found that there are very high levels of intolerance across the entire population making South Africa one of the countries in the world that is the most hostile towards foreigners. In fact, the findings show that a large number of South African Blacks believe that all social ills facing the country like unemployment, crime, HIV/AIDS, housing, etc. are caused by African foreign migration (2000: 4). This same argument was raised by Mattes, *et al.* (2000: 1-3) who have argued that the reason why there is a fear amongst South Africans towards non-South Africans is that non-nationals are perceived to constitute a threat to the local citizen's access to employment, social grants, health care and housing.

Hassim *et al.* (2008) says that foreigners are sometimes referred to as 'illegal aliens,' 'amakwerekwere,' or 'border jumpers.' These terms have a negative connotation toward migrants and contribute towards the perception among local citizens that they are a threat to the country's economic wealth and health. On the same note, Abdi's (2011) work challenges stakeholders to assess the socioeconomic impact of foreign migration to the South African community as a means of reducing the conflict between migrants and local residents.

Morris (1998) believes that xenophobia in South Africa results from the failure of the government to combat poverty in the country. He argues that "*black Africans, especially those originating from countries north of South Africa's neighbours, become scapegoats for the slow progress in reaping the rewards of liberation from apartheid rule*" (Morris, 1998: 117). Dodson (2002) suggests that developing an understanding of the experiences of non-nationals living in South Africa, their challenges and contributions to the community are the first steps needed to overcome xenophobia. Since media has the capacity to reach a wide

public and influence discourse, they have an important societal function and responsibility to fulfil in promoting social inclusion. According to Landau *et al.* (2005), as South Africa considers plans for institutional reform and policy, there are strong reasons for including the rights of foreigners among the country's priorities. The government has made commitments to protect the rights of all who live in the country, regardless of citizenship, nationality, or country of birth.

Sinclair (1999) argues that the xenophobic attacks against migrants in South Africa can be seen as a failure to see the positive impact of foreign migrants. According to him, xenophobic attacks on African foreign nationals “*stand as a sad reflection on the inability of South Africans to acknowledge the contribution and inevitability of foreigners in the new South Africa*” (1999: 466). He acknowledges that African migration has a positive impact on South African communities; therefore, there is a need to conduct more research on the social, economic integration between the hosts and the visitors.

There are challenges as far as migrant integration in South African communities is concerned. Experts on migration studies show that xenophobia is one hindrance as far as integration and social interaction between African migrants and South African nationals. UNHCR (2010) views the xenophobia in South Africa as a violation of human rights that has undermined refugees and other migrant's local integration and the stability of their livelihoods in South Africa.

Due to fear of attacks in the townships, refugees prefer to live in more expensive inner-city areas. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (UNHCR), the recurrent xenophobic attacks on refugees and other African migrants hampers their ability to make a living or integrate into local communities and recommends that South Africa as a global partner, should formulate policies that will implement processes of integrations between foreign migrants especially refugees in a cohesive manner. Unemployment and poverty remains the biggest challenge to post-apartheid South Africa's transformation (Coetzee *et al.*, 2009). This is rooted to its historical, political and socio-economic structure. Therefore, if poverty and unemployment is not addressed, social integration and interaction will remain a challenge and a threat to social cohesion.

Migrants in South Africa contribute to the racialization of migrants as they are constructed as a problem for society. Historically, South Africa is known around the world for its radicalised policies and seemingly limitless measures for social control. Migration control in South Africa had its origins from Apartheid regime policy. The policy of influx control, particularly on the local people had not only affected domestic migration, but also other African immigrants. During the Apartheid regime, the national immigration policy was characterised by racial dominion (Crush, 2008). He argues that a migrant was defined as a person who is able to integrate and assimilate into the white population, and this definition did not include African migrants. African migrants were granted entrance on temporary contracts under bilateral agreements by the then government and neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho and Mozambique.

After 1994, South Africa became part of the international community, and signed many treaties or international conventions. South Africa became a signatory to various international conventions. However; they have affected the immigration in the country. One of them is; the 1951 United Nation Convention and the OAU Refugee Convention of 1969. South Africa had to compile an act in the constitution, thus, the Refugee Act of 1998, and then the Immigration Act of 2002. Having overcome the pain of oppression, the country adopted the refugee integration approach, allowing refugees to integrate themselves into South African society, rather than being kept in refugee camps like some refugee receiving countries such as Botswana, Zambia Kenya and the USA. Refugees were also given rights like fellow South Africans besides voting or forming a political party.

Although the new government had given migrants the opportunity to freely integrate themselves into the community, African migrants found themselves in a hostile environment that hinders their smooth community integration. It should be noted that there is no proper policy from the government to migrants, more especially for refugees to be integrated into the community. For the past decades, African migrants have faced various challenges than migrants from other parts of the world, for example, Asia and Europe (Harris, 2002). Matsinhe, (2011) argues that, immigrants from the African continent receive poor treatment while other foreigners, such as Europeans, are generally considered as investors or tourists, and are treated well.

Trimikliniotis *et al.*, (2008) have noted that, the ‘rainbow nation’ seems to be racialising and excluding the ‘xenos’ based on the Apartheid legacy’s treatment of migrant Black labour. It should be noted that all foreign migrants in South Africa are not equally constructed. Black African migrants are ‘constructed’ differently from other migrants. For instance, Chinese, Libyans, Europeans or Americans. Warner and Finchelescu (2003) argue that even xenophobia in South Africa appears to be racialized. According to them, Black immigrants are the primary targeted victims than the migrants from other parts of the world. Black immigrants from other African countries, in particular, are at a greater risk of being victimised than white immigrants from other continents or Africa.

Research has shown that a large number of South African Blacks believe that all social ills facing the country, such as, unemployment, crime, HIV/AIDS, housing, etc. are caused by African foreign migration (Danso and McDonald, 2000: 4; Mattes, *et al.*, 2002: 1-3). However, white migrants are regarded or ‘constructed’ as investors who are normally called ‘*Mlungu*’ meaning boss or employer.

In addition, different literature indicates a widely unsubstantiated claim and fear among South Africans that African migrants have come to take their jobs (Timberg, 2005). However, Kalitanyi and Visser (2010) disagree; they argue that, African migrants in South Africa should not be seen as job seekers but also as job creators. In their work done to examine the socioeconomic integration of African migrant in South African community, Kalitanyi and Visser, (2010) found that a significant number of these migrants have successfully applied their entrepreneurial flair in establishing small enterprises and employing workers from their host communities and this has created appropriate conditions a favourable environment for the immigrants’ socioeconomic integration.

2.4 Social integration and interaction between migrants and residents

This section of the literature focuses on the migration dimension of integration and its impact on both migrants and the host society. The term ‘integration’ in this case refers to the process of bringing migrants and into unrestricted and equal association in a host society. International experts on migration have argued that integration measures are generally intended to preserve or re-establish the smooth functioning of a society and to assist people

who require support, in order to become active participants in the economic, social and cultural life (The International Dialogue on Migration -IDM, 2010).

Social integration is defined as “*the inclusion of actors in an existing social system*” (Esser, 2006: 11) it relates to the well-being and the participation of migrants in the social life of the hosting community. He further argues that activities between migrants and hosts can be identified as a mechanism behind the process of social integration. For example, intermarriage between migrants and local residents can indicate social acceptance and inclusion. In addition to the above definition, it is argued that social integration is the existence of strong social ties that help to produce stability (Guest and Stamm, 1993). They further argue that these ties may be both informal and formal. Informal through interacting, friendship, and kin networks and formal through participating in association or community based activities.

Available research shows the impact of people’s interacting with each other. It is believed that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice and intergroup tension (Yahuda, 1998; Voci and Hewstone, 2003). Research conducted in Italy, has shown that contact between different groups has a potential to decrease intergroup anxiety and led to more positive attitudes towards new settlers (Voci and Hewstone, 2003). As people interact with one another, they learn to appreciate one another and have respect for each other; however, there is another argument which suggests that such interactions can also create tension among people (ibid). This same argument is supported by Forbes, (1997) who argued that interaction between individuals of different ethnic groups with different cultures, languages, nationalities, race and genders led to better intergroup relations. For Forbes, (1997) the socio-economic relationship between the host nation and migrants can lead to proper integration, and to him this social integration will reduce negative perceptions that people may have about one another.

However, there are studies which oppose the notion that social, and economic interaction leads to stability (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Miller, 2002). These authors question whether these interactions reduce levels of interaction, and if they do, why do we have conflicts in the world where people have been for years living together? This can pose the same question as to why Zimbabweans and other migrants who have been living in South

Africa interact with each other and integrate themselves in South African communities in recent years have become a target of xenophobia, this contradicts the core claim of the contact hypothesis as suggested by Yahuda (1998) and Forbes (1997).

According to International Dialogue on Migration (2010), it is increasingly recognised today that the integration of migrants requires a process of mutual adaptation between migrant communities and the societies in which they live and participate. They are calling all sectors of society to face the task of building communities that acknowledge and enable migrants' positive contributions. The International Dialogue on Migration (2010) claims that there is a need in managing perceptions and misperceptions of migration and migrants in public discourse for social cohesion. The positive visibility of migrants is essential for the increasing acceptance of migrants by societies and recognition of their contributions; the media is one of the main stakeholders in this regard. It is also of equal importance to acknowledge and address the concerns expressed by communities of origin, transit and destination in order to reduce unfounded fears.

Another aspect of migration and integration is 'assimilation.' For Park, Janowitz and Burgess (1969: 360) assimilation is "*a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire by sharing their experiences and history.*" This study looked at Zimbabwean migrants and how the process of assimilation was affecting their cultural identity. Brown and Bean (2006) have suggested that assimilation occurs when migrants and the host societies come to resemble one another, and this has both economic and socio-cultural dimensions. The assimilation theory was criticized for not being consistent and universal (Portes and Zhou, 1993). They proposed an alternative theoretical paradigm called segmented assimilation in order to reach a balance. To Portes and Zhou (1993) segmented assimilation happens or is possible due to divergent paths for different immigrant groups. Some will follow the time honoured path of rapid acculturation and joining the mainstream of the community, while others may experience socio-economic mobility but will still preserve their migrant community values and maintain some degree of their ethnicity culture and tradition (Portes and Zhou, 1993).

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical basis or approach to the current study is 'social constructivist' theory. The theory assumes that African migrants are seen to 'construct their social world in complex ways to integrate themselves in the South African society. However, in the process, the notion of social capital will be built and drawn upon. The 'social capital' concept has received much academic attention in international migration, economic and politics.

Social constructivism is a theory in sociology and learning. The theory suggests that knowledge and reality are actively created by social relationships and interactions (Burr, 2003). The theory was invented as an attempt to come to terms with the nature of reality. Burr (1995) further argues that it has its origins in sociology and has been associated with the post-modern era in qualitative research. It is also argued that it has been instrumental in remodelling grounded theory.

The concept found its hold in the works of Berger and Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* published in 1966 and 1969. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966) the way we present ourselves to other people is shaped partly by our interactions with others, as well as by our life experiences. Furthermore, Kukla (2000) writes that, social constructivists believe that reality is constructed through human activity. Members of a society together invent the properties of the world. In other words, for social constructivists, reality cannot be discovered: it does not exist prior to its social invention.

According to Barnett, (2005) a social constructivist theory perspective introduces a peculiar understanding of power focused on its non- material qualities. He argues that shared ideas, norms, and identities are determinants for the behaviours of actors. There is an emphasis on socially constructed nature of actors and their identities and interests. Actors are produced and created by their cultural environment this the importance of identity and social construction of interests (Barnett, 2005). It is further argued that social construct as a concept or practice may appear to be natural and obvious to those who accept it, but in reality is an invention or artefact of a particular culture or society. Gergen (1985) has argued that, social constructionism may be viewed as a perspective which believes that a great deal of human life exists as it does due to social and interpersonal influences (Gergen, 1985).

Individuals of similar social biography and similar social distance from the community build up similar or identical parts of the reality. Weak and strong elements of the social construction of the reality may be identified while the strong elements of the construction set up the social objectivity of the constructed reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1991: 78).

According to Berger and Luckmann (1991), society exists in both objective and subjective reality. The former is brought about through the interaction of people with the social world, with this social world in turn influencing people resulting in routinisation and habitualization. That is, any frequently repeated action becomes cast into a pattern, which can be reproduced without much effort. It is a viewpoint that uproots social processes which is simultaneously playful and serious, by which reality is revealed and concealed, created or even destroyed by our activities (Gergen, 1985).

Social constructionist approach will allow the researcher to apply Bourdieu's concept of 'social capital' in order to explore how African migrants construct their world in South African society. Social construction is an issue of both social structure and cultural representation. In a similar vein, Smith and Kulynch (2002), argue that social capital is socially constructed based on relations among people, and these relations involve social structures and cultural representations. Therefore, different forms of migrant's capital could be understood from the social constructivist approach.

The concept of social capital has its origin in the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1995, 2000, 2002, 2007). Social capital, according to Bourdieu (1986: 249) is "*the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.*" According to Coleman, (1990: 305) social capital is a collective resource utilizable by actors who are goal oriented with two elements in common. He argues that social capital requires an element of embeddedness in social structure, and facilitates certain actions of actors, whether individuals or corporate actors, within the structure (Coleman, 1990: 305).

For social capital to exist, relations among persons have to be changed in order to facilitate action. Coleman analyses the mechanisms that generate social capital (reciprocity expectations, and group enforcement of norms), the consequences of possessing social capital

(privileged access to information) and the social organisation that provides the context for both resources and effects to materialise (Coleman, 1988; Coleman, 1990; Portes, 1998). Putnam's (2007) definition of social capital extends this to include social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness. To Putman, it is networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups. He further argues that participation in groups and networks can increase access to information channels and multiply one's social support resources, as well as diminish some of the disadvantages associated with a lack of human or financial capital (Putman, 1993). According to Field (2003: 1-2) the central notion of social capital theory is that 'relationships matter'. The idea being that social networks are a valuable asset as through interaction, people are able to build communities, commit themselves to each other, and to knit the social fabric.

Drawing on the above definitions, this study assumes that with social capital, the Zimbabwean migrants will ultimately build on the sense of belonging and the concrete experience of social networks and the relationships of trust and tolerance that can be involved as observed from various studies (Buckland, 1998; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000; Woolcock, 2005; Gertler, Levine and Moretti, 2006;). Documented studies done on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa highlighted the prevalence of social networks in finding employment and determination of migrant destination (Crush and Williams, 2001: 13).

Social networks among Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu have been measured by how frequently contacts are made with friends, relatives, local residences and a range of organisations. These include places of worship, national or ethnic communities and other groups or organisations. Using Essers' (2006), definition of social integration, that relates to the well-being and the participation of migrants in the social life of the hosting community, the concept of social capital will be used to investigate and explore how these mechanisms are used by African migrants manage to integrate themselves into local communities. Furthermore, the concept has been used to investigate how social capital and protective networks are used in times of great social tension, for example, the outbreak of xenophobia.

For Massey *et al*, (1993) one major pull factor that inspires people to migrate, is the existence of interpersonal networks in the receiving countries, which is made up of people who are from the same country. These individuals may be friends, family members, and relatives who

may play a central role in facilitating the process of migration for new migrants. One major role for these networks is to reduce the different expenditures, such as, monetary, psychological, risk and assisting with the integration process.

This chapter has examined the available literature and outlined the theoretical perspectives underpinning the study. The next chapter outlines the research process and the methods used to gather data.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

It should be noted that, there are numerous ways of investigating a social phenomenon as far as research in social science is concerned. It requires an investigator or researcher to first clearly specify, what needs to be researched or investigated. However, it is also important to determine the appropriate way to do it. The current study investigates the integration of the African migrants into South African Society. The focus is on Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu, Cape Town. However, the experiences of a small sample of Ugandans and South Africans, who also reside in the area, are also included in this study.

The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the approach used to achieve these objectives. The researcher presents the methodology used to find out about the experiences of the Zimbabwean and Ugandan migrants in Gugulethu, and how they manage to integrate themselves in the local community. The chapter provides a description of the study design and the research methodology. It explores the data collection tools used in line with the suitable research method chosen. The research highlights, the methods, sampling, and fieldwork and the data analysis process are all outlined in this chapter. In addition, the limitations of the fieldwork, together with the ethical considerations, are also discussed.

3.2 Research Design

It is vital that researchers design a logical structure before embarking on the process of data collection (De Vaus and de Vaus, 2001). The research design provides a blue print on how the research will be conducted. According to Babbie and Mouton (2008:74), research design indicates the overall framework for the empirical research to be undertaken. However, (De Vaus and de Vaus, 2001) argues that research design is not just a work plan, but its purpose is to make sure that the relevant evidence is obtained in order to assist with answering the initial research questions.

For the purposes of this study, the researcher has adopted the exploratory research design. It is believed that exploratory approach is flexible and suitable if the research is interested in

investigating boundaries of the environment. It also allows a researcher to learn from the experience of the investigation (Babbie and Mouton, 2008). This approach was suitable for this study since there were few references as to how the Zimbabwean and Ugandan migrants construct their reality by the using their social capital to integrate themselves into South African society. This exploration research (exploratory research design) is important since it will provide insights into migration in South Africa, and will hopefully motivate more research on migration and integration in the future.

There are numerous research designs or strategy alternatives. These include; action research, ethnographical, experimental, cohort, cross-sectional, descriptive, historical, longitudinal, historical, sequential and case study (Neuman, 2000; Rowley, 2002). This current study is exploratory in nature and its design is a case study which is non- normative research. This investigates a situation without prejudice, examines a clearly defined site, and reports on it. Case studies are in-depth in nature, studying a phenomenon qualitatively rather than conducting statistical studies (Glesne, 2006). Case study as a research design is useful for testing whether a specific theory and model applies to phenomena under investigation in the real world. Yin (1984) argues that case studies are rich designs when researcher is investigating a phenomenon that is not much researched. According to Yin, (1984) it is a method for learning about a complex situation, based on a comprehensive understanding obtained through an extensive description and analysis of that situation, which is taken as a whole in its context and relevance.

The researcher believes that this design is an essential aspect for exploring and understanding a complex issue pertaining to the socio-economic integration of migrants. It assists in providing a detailed contextual analysis of their integration process, which is explored in relation to the prevailing conditions in both South Africa and their countries of origin. In this regard, the case study provides a detailed description of specific migrant's experiences, thereby, allowing the researcher to gain a complete picture of what is happening. Furthermore, it enables the researcher to explore how the migrant's social capital, in the form of social networks, assists their integration into the host community.

As mentioned previously, the current study is a case study of Zimbabwean migrants living in Section 3 of Gugulethu Cape Town, specifically in Luyoloville and New Rest. For a comparative, compressive, and comprehensive view, Ugandans and South Africans are also included in this study. Gugulethu was specifically selected as a research site because of its history as a preferred area where migrants to South Africa settled.

3.3 Methodology

Research methodology refers to the techniques and instruments that are used in collecting data (Bryman, 2001). Mouton (2001) contends that research methodology is important in social science research as it is used to collect, condense, organize and analyse data. In social research, the two major research methodologies are qualitative and quantitative methods (Mouton, 2001; Neuman, 2000). Researchers using quantitative methods are believed to be independent of the phenomena that are being investigated. Much emphasis is placed on measuring variables and testing hypotheses that are linked to general cause-effect explanations (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 49). However, researchers applying qualitative methods focus on aspects such as meaning, in-depth understanding, and experiences from the research subject's viewpoint. They are also interested in the context in which the action takes place. In so doing, qualitative researchers try to observe human behaviour and actions through interacting with people so as to understand their world (Mouton, 2001). It is further argued that a qualitative research paradigm is relevant to social research, which takes its departure point as the insider perspective on social action (ibid).

In the context and the purpose of this study, qualitative approaches were used to guide the process. The researcher used qualitative research methods, adopting an in-depth interpretation of the findings. Qualitative data was collected through observations, in-depth interviews and the narratives of Zimbabwean and Ugandan migrants who participated in this study. According to Marshall and Rossman, (2006) the core of qualitative data enquiry is gathering information through observation, interviewing and the analyses of documents and material culture (Marshall and Rossman, 2006).

It is argued by Henning, van Rensburg, and Smit (2005) that these methods try to get an in-depth insight into a field; with a richness of description not obtainable by quantitative

research. The student believes that such an approach is well suited for this study since it requires a deep exploration of parameters such as knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, behaviours and experiences of both the migrants and the local township residents. Furthermore, the qualitative mode of enquiry was the most appropriate because the aims of the research are to understand and describe rather than to predict social action. This has assisted the researcher to collect data in the natural setting while investigating the research problem vigorously. A description of the data collection process follows.

3.4 Data collection

In a qualitative study there are various tools or instruments that researchers can use collect data. According to Kumar, (2005) data collection in social research can be classified into primary and secondary data. Primary data collected first hand from participants were collected over a period of four weeks (from June to July, 2016). Secondary data, on the other hand, came from already existing sources. This study has used a combination of various qualitative methods to collect data. There were different tools used including; participant observation, interviews and available literature as discussed below.

3.4.1 Literature

The first tool used by the researcher to collect the data was literature. The researcher has used this tool in reviewing literature which involved the use of related secondary data. Gerrard (2013) proposes that a literature review consists of reading, analysing and writing a synthesis of scholarly materials about a specific topic. Literature refers to theoretical and research publications in journals, reference books, text books, government reports, policy statements and other materials about theory, practice as well as the results of scientific research (Gerrard, 2013). Bryman (2012) argues that not only does a literature review reveal what is already known in the area of study, but it also helps the researcher to develop research questions and identify some possible gaps that may invite investigation.

In addition, Babbie (2007) highlights the significance of literature review during this process. He argues that the existing body of knowledge can be built upon. However; there should measures taken into consideration in order to avoid duplication. In the current study, the

reviewing of the literature forms part of the major undertaking in this study, and this has enabled the researcher to place the research into a wider context. It has also demonstrated the utilization of the theoretical framework while trying to help in addressing issues surrounding African foreign migrants and integration in the South African context.

3.4.2 Participant Observation

Observation is very important in research as it helps to discover what actually happens of the phenomenon under investigation which cannot be obtained by the interviews (Neuman, 2000). He argues that observation as a process entails the researcher to establish the link between reality and its theoretical assumptions. Bless Higson-Smith (1995: 104), argues that becoming an insider allows a deeper insight into the research problem, as it gives the researcher the confidence of the participants while sharing their experiences, without disturbing their behaviour (Bless Higson-Smith, 1995: 104; Bless Higson-Smith, 2000). It is further argued by Jorgensen (1989) that more accurate data can be collected as the researcher gets involved in the daily life of the participants.

In the context of this study, observations reinforced other instruments, and served the purpose of observing non-verbalized information that is difficult to divulge through interviews and other methods. The researcher had an advantage since he is a migrant who resides in the same area, with his participants. The researcher engaged in participant observation. The researcher participated in church activities, family and attended some participant's family gatherings. Since the researcher is an active community member, participating in religious functions together with other migrants and the local members had a great impact on the study. This gave an advantage to observe and participate by visiting their homes and business places and attending church services together in the area. In this process, data was collected through participant observation. Furthermore, using simple observation, field notes were recorded about the general lives and the interactions between migrants and local residents. This technique was used to help the researcher to unearth more information on the roles of migrants' networks and interaction in their integration process in the host community.

3.4.3 Interviews

The research used semi-structured and in – depth interviews to collect data. Due to the nature of the study, the researcher, therefore, conducted in-depth face-to face interviews. This allowed the researcher to explore a wide range of issues that are related to this particular study. The advantage of using this technique is that large amounts of information would be gathered from the different migrants and local residents. The semi- structured interviews and in-depth interviews were used mainly to explore participants’ experiences of living in the area with local residents, and to investigate the strategies that they have used in the process of integrating into the community. These interviews were designed to allow the respondents the opportunity to express themselves, and to talk about their experiences of living in Gugulethu.

Although the student used self-administered semi-structured interviews to collect the data, he also used an audio recorder to record some of the participants who were free and comfortable with this method. Each interview was about approximately 30-45 minutes. The participants were contacted at their residence, church and/or work place and the interviews took place at the respondents’ venue of choice. All interviews were conducted in English, because it was the only language common to all parties; the researcher and the participants (both Zimbabwean and Ugandan migrants and local South African residents).

These instruments were used for collecting data about the migrants such as biographical details, life experiences, and interactions. Information about the nature of their relationship with the host community was also obtained. A set of questions to measure the transmission of entrepreneurial skills from foreigners to locals, as well as various integration strategies was included in the semi-structured interview guide. Data from the research participants were collected by means of personal visits and face-to-face interviews between the researcher and the respondents. The respondents were participating at their own consent, and safe, confidential environments were chosen for the interviews. The interview schedule, which was mainly open-ended, was used as a tool to obtain responses based on the aims of the study. While the data collection proceeded, the appropriateness and suitability of the interview schedule was evaluated and then revised as required.

During the fieldwork, and throughout the data collection process in Gugulethu, the researcher made sure that a notebook was kept. To avoid forgetting useful events and information of the

day, the researcher would write detailed field notes of the conducted interviews at the end of the day. These included ideas and explanations about the events of the day, interactions, and my observations. During this process, the researcher paid much attention to the physical and emotional expressions of migrants, their significant moments, or statements made during interviews, and reflective notes on the side of the researcher. Some of the advantages of field notes are that they assist the researcher in keeping important records and to assist the researchers' memory. It also enables the transmission of knowledge over time. According to Belton (2009), they serve as evidence of the researcher's thought process and are valued for the raw knowledge it provides.

3.4.4 Narratives

Another tool used to collect data from participant was through migrant's narratives. Narratives were used to obtain rich information about the immigrant's life experiences in the process of integrating into a South African community. Narratives are defined as stories told by research participants and interpretive accounts developed by an investigator based on interviews and field observations (Riessman, 2008). She further argues that narratives can generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers or general statements by the participants. Migrant's narratives gave an opportunity to listen to and comprehend their rich stories and personal histories.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 422) have argued that, researchers are required to stimulate and facilitate the narration by defining the issue, then refraining from interrupting the person narrating. According to them, researchers should pay attention to the narrator's linguistic practices like word choice, repetition, hesitation and laughter. It is also important for the researcher to pay attention to the narrator's feelings, as well as the factors that appeal to their emotions. In the process, the researcher also probed participants about their experiences of living in Gugulethu, which helped highlight how the community treats migrants in these areas - whether they are accepted or stigmatized and marginalised. Women migrants were more open about providing information about the topic and their experiences than male migrants. The reasons for this are elaborated upon in the next chapter.

3.5 Research population and location

Researchers define a research population as the large group of individuals from which sampling elements are drawn, and to which the researcher wants to generalise the findings (Terreblanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006). The target population of this study is Zimbabwean migrants living in Luyoloville and Newrest in Gugulethu. These migrants constitute the primary focus of this study because they have been observed and appear to be the largest group of African migrants in the community. They also have a unique historical background in terms of ethnic relations with the host nation as seen in other similar studies in South Africa (Valji, 2003; Crush and McDonald, 2002). However, it should be noted that it is difficult to scientifically prove due to the lack of statistics about the number of migrants in the areas and their nationalities.

Although Zimbabwean migrants are the main population of this study, for comparative reasons, another group of migrants, namely Ugandans, were also included in the study. Ugandan migrants were chosen mainly because the researcher is also a migrant from Uganda and is residing in the area, therefore, making it easy for him to access this migrant group. A small number of local South Africans were also included to get more insight into the dynamics of the interactions between them and other African migrants. By obtaining the confidence and trust of the participants, the researcher was given the opportunity to be able to discuss this topic openly. This study focused on the Gugulethu Township in Cape Town; specifically two locations, Luyoloville and New Rest. These two areas are chosen as initial points of contact because they are close to each other and apparently host the highest number of migrants, particularly Zimbabwean migrants, who reside in Gugulethu section 3.

3.6 Sampling

Sampling is the selection of a part to represent a whole (Peil, 1982). A sample is a subset of the population. In this study, the researcher used a small group of a larger number of Zimbabwean migrants who were residing in these sections of Gugulethu Township to represent the whole Zimbabwean community in Gugulethu and Cape Town at large. Due to the qualitative nature of this study, time and logistical constraints, the overall sample size was limited to 30 participants.

Since the study is about Zimbabwean migrants, this group made up the majority of the sample, twenty-five (25) Zimbabwean migrants were selected for this study. However, to be more comprehensive and for comparative purposes, a smaller sample comprising two (2) Ugandan migrants and three (3) local South Africans were also included. African migrants and local residents, male and female, 18 years of age or older, residing in Luyoloville and New Rest in Gugulethu were interviewed. Overall, the majority of participants were female. (See: Table 1 below).

Table I. Number of participants by country and gender

Country of Origin	Gender		<u>Total</u>
	Male	Female	<u>Number</u>
Zimbabwe	9	16	25
South Africa	2	1	3
Uganda	1	1	2
Total	12	18	30

3.7 Sampling strategy

The sampling method used in this research is convenience sampling, which is a type of nonprobability sampling. The sampling technique applied for this current study is “Snowball sampling”. In this method, a researcher follows networks, or through contacts and references which may be obtained from participants who have already been interviewed (Peil, Mitchell and Rimmer, 1982; Kalsbeek, 2000). This sampling technique is also known as chain referral sampling because it entails identifying participants using selected characteristics and using those participants to gain access to other participants, who also qualify to be a part of the sample population (Bailey, 2008: 96).

The researcher used personal connections and referrals from the migrants themselves. They assisted in identifying and accessing participants. Since the student is familiar with the area, he had previously established contacts with some Zimbabwean migrants in Luyoloville and New Rest in Gugulethu. However, a Zimbabwean participant and personal friend, known by

his nickname *Sekhulu*, assisted by referring the researcher to other Zimbabwean migrants of the area, who in turn identified other potential participants.

All participants were approached and agreed to participate in the research. In all instances, the researcher introduced himself, explained the purpose of the study, and obtained the consent of participants, prior to interviewing them. For some participants who were not free to be interviewed at that particular moment, the researcher made alternative arrangements and interviews were then conducted at a more convenient time. This sampling strategy gave the researcher a chance to accumulate a sufficiently large sample while also saving time.

3.8 Data Analysis

It is argued that qualitative research normally gathers data naturally; therefore, it requires qualitative data analysis (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). According to them, qualitative data analysis involves reducing the size of the data to a manageable proportion and identifying different patterns and themes in the data. Due to the nature of the study, qualitative data analysis method was employed by using a thematic analysis approach. According to Caudle (2004: 417), data analysis is an important aspect of research since it involves making sense of all relevant information obtained from the tools such as interviews, observations, narratives, and documents. Once the data is obtained, the researcher is expected to present what the obtained data reveals. Once data is obtained, it should be examined, categorised, tabulated compared and contrasted, and reduced by sifting trivia from that which is important. The data should be analysed in a very systematic and organised manner to allow the researcher to be able to locate information and to trace the provisional results of the analysis back to the context of the data (Fylan, 2005).

The current study identified several themes from the qualitative data collected. Themes are defined as implicit topics that organise a group of repeating ideas (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). The research focused mainly on interview transcripts for the data analysis since most of the data was collected with this instrument. The researcher began the analysis process with the transcription of audio recorded interviews which were read. After rereading the transcripts line by line thoroughly, some major themes emerged and were identified in the process.

In this way, the identified themes rose from the data collected and the researcher made notes about the themes that emerged while linking them to the theory and then engaging in a deeper level of analysis. The researcher sought to draw out unusual findings from the data. Much attention was paid to the frequency of a phenomena or theme and identified contradictions. There were often overlapping themes and patterns. However, the researcher compared the relationships within and between themes and also across the interviews. The researcher made sure that the quotes and data selected represented the entire research population. This was purposely done in order to achieve a broader understanding of the phenomena under investigation.

In addition, during the analysis process, the researcher paid attention to missing data which involved alerting the researcher about topics that the research participants did not mention during the interviews.

The theoretical basis or approach to the current study is ‘social constructivist’ theory. It assumes that African migrants are seen to ‘construct’ their social world in complex ways to integrate themselves in the South African society. However, in the process, the notion of social capital was built and drawn on. This concept has received much academic attention in various studies such as international migration, development studies, economics and politics.

The student has applied a social constructionist approach to grounded theory to analyse semi-structured interviews, observational and fieldwork notes. Mouton and Prozesky (2002: 498) define grounded theory as *“one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents and according to them data collection analysis and theory stands in reciprocal relationship with each other.”* The researcher read transcripts multiple times to identify common words and phrases of similar meanings to classify and create concepts while developing categories.

According to Charmaz, (2008) a social constructionist approach to grounded theory allows the researcher to address why questions, but also preserves the complexity of social life. She further argues that in this process, grounded theory not only acts as a method for understanding research participant’s social constructions, but also as a method researchers construct throughout their fieldwork.

The data analysis process and the key findings made by this study are explored in Chapter Four, which follows. It presents also the main themes and patterns that emerged in this study of Zimbabwean and Ugandan migrants living in Gugulethu.

3.9 Ethical statement

Ethical considerations are very important in social research. Butz, (2008: 254) argues that “*it is essential for researchers to employ ethical procedures as underlying ideologies which are important aspects of critical reflexivity*”. The current study was delayed because of the issues with the ethics committee. However, it should be noted that despite this setback, this research was conducted in accordance with the research codes of conduct of the university.

The research was only undertaken after ethical approval was granted, and after receiving an official letter from the Senate of University of the Western Cape, as well as the Arts Faculty. On receiving an ethics clearance for the study from the university senate, fieldwork commenced. Ethical considerations focused on confidentiality, anonymity and the avoidance of harm to participants. For ethical purposes, a UWC consent form was provided to each participant. This form explains the academic nature of the research. All research participants were presented with an informed consent form (see Appendix A), which outlined the terms and conditions under which the research was to proceed. The study did not intend to cause any harm to any of the involved parties, therefore the participation of respondents was voluntary. The researcher also ensured that all information gathered was kept confidential and that it was used for its intended purposes only.

It is recommended that the interview process and information contained in the research report should not put participants at risk or harm them in any way (Haverkamp, 2005; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003; Brinkmann and Kvale, 2005). Therefore, the study adheres to general ethical standards, and below are the following measures that were taken into consideration.

3.9.1 Informed consent:

Before the researcher started the interviews, participants were made aware of the purposes of the research, the nature of questions and the approximate duration of interviews. All the

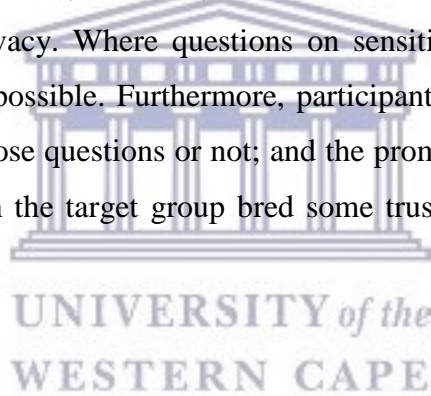
participants were made aware that the decision to participate is their free choice, and that, if they decided to participate they can always decide to stop anytime along the way. All participants were required to sign an interview consent form, and had also given verbal consent before the commencement of interviews.

3.9.2 Anonymity/confidentiality:

All the participants in this study were informed that their identities and information given were kept in strict confidentiality; and as for evidence, it was explained that personal information will be treated with confidentiality and that participants would remain anonymous as pseudonyms would be used in the final research report.

3.9.3 Careful approach on sensitive issues:

This study is sensitive by its nature, therefore, the researcher tried to make an effort to avoid unnecessary invasions of privacy. Where questions on sensitive issues were asked, group categories were used, where possible. Furthermore, participants were made aware that they could choose to respond to those questions or not; and the promise of confidentiality and the time taken to familiarise with the target group bred some trust between the researcher and participants.



3.9.4 Feedback:

During the interviews, participants had asked if they wished to be informed about the results of the study. Those who wished to receive the results were asked to provide their postal address and they would be sent a summary of the research report. It should be noted that only one South African participant had wished to be informed about the outcomes of the study.

3.10 Challenges faced and problems encountered during fieldwork

During fieldwork, the researcher encountered various challenges, which are discussed below. A number of technical challenges were also encountered during the course of this study.

Similar research on African migrants has shown that it is always a problem in developing an adequate sampling strategy that would allow a researcher to make claims of representativeness (Landau, 2004; Landau and Jacobsen, 2004; and Kibreab, 2003). This makes it particularly difficult to make accurate estimates of the size of the intended study population and their spatial distribution. The nature of this study was somehow sensitive to migrant participants; some participants were not entirely open to give information about their feelings and experiences. It is difficult to generalise this small qualitative study to the entire population of migrants in the community. However, it has given some significant insights that can be used for further studies.

Another challenge faced was the availability of participants. The researcher faced challenges where participants would not be available for interviews. Despite their genuine interest, most of the participants seemed to be very busy to the extent that the researcher had to try several times to secure one interview. Sometimes, the researcher had to go to the home of the participant, late in the evening in order to interview them, since this was the best suitable time. Furthermore, some migrants (an insignificant number) had initially agreed to participate in the study, but when contacted, had refused to participate in the study. This was mainly for two reasons; one is that migrants believed that this may reveal their identities and maybe even lead to them being arrested or monitored. The second is that some participants expected the researcher to offer some incentives of which he could not offer. Some migrants have said that, it is the case with other researchers from some non-governmental organisations, who, for instance, give food parcels to participants after interviews. They also felt that I may have been given money by an organisation such as the United Nations for this research and that I did not want to share it with them.

Time was also a challenge especially during ethnographic observations, which consumed a lot of time. For example, I would spend the whole day in Gugulethu trying to observe the social interactions, and behaviours of migrants and residents. I spent a lot of time doing observations around Heideveld Station which has recently become a business hub for many Zimbabwean migrants and some South African counterparts. Other places the researcher spent time observing the interactions between migrants and the locals included, Mzoli's Place in NY 108 and churches located around Gugulethu.

Despite the abovementioned challenges the study was successfully completed. It is suggested by researchers that embarked on the similar study, that there is a need to use, what they refer to as '*an innovative strategy demanding creativity [and] a willingness to compromise*' in order to overcome some of these research challenges and obstacles (Kibreab in AUC 2003 in Landau, 2004). I believe that the following factors contributed to the smooth completion of this study. The researcher himself being a migrant and residing in this particular community and being a member and regular attendant of the church in Gugulethu, of which participants also attended. In addition, the student's ability to communicate in both English and Xhosa, made this investigation relatively much easier. Lastly, the support from my supervisor played a positive role in this process and I would not have managed if it was not for her support.

3.11 Criteria for quality of data

When data has been collected, it is analyzed, presented, and published with the idea that the results explain certain social phenomena. If the same research is done on relatively similar people, then the results will be similar, and therefore, it can be considered a valid and credible research exercise. In social research, there are some factors that are considered and used as criteria to determine whether the data collected for a particular study, is worth using for research analysis purposes. These criteria are discussed in detail below.

3.11.1 Reliability and Validity

Reliability is a matter of whether a particular technique applied repeatedly to the same object would consistently yield similar results each time. It does not ensure accuracy and this inaccuracy is known as bias (Babbie and Mouton, 1998: 119). Stenbacka (2001) argues that in qualitative research, it is difficult to use reliability to measure the quality of data; it is best used in quantitative data where the structure of data collection is more rigid.

Validity is an important aspect of research. Babbie and Mouton (1998:122) define validity as an extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept which is under study. It is argued by Stenbacka, (2001) that in qualitative research, data is valid if research participants are part of the problem area and if they are given the opportunity to speak freely according to their own knowledge structures. In order to ensure that the study

is valid, the researcher ensured that all the participants in this study represented the research population group residing in the study area as suggested by Stenbacka, (2001). In this research, all respondents were immigrants from Zimbabwe living in Gugulethu plus the other two groups from Uganda and South Africa respectively as stated above. Their experiences provided first-hand information on how Zimbabwean migrants constructed their reality, while integrating themselves into the South African community. This group of people understood their reality as migrants and their daily experiences in trying to integrate themselves into the host community is investigated by this research. With this information, I believe they were in a better position to provide answers to the research questions than other migrants who never lived in this particular area.

3.11.2. Generalizing the results

It is believed that this criterion is used to determine whether resulting conclusions are general for the population. However, this puts pressure on the sample to be representative of the population being researched (Stenbacka 2001). Researchers argue that if qualitative research is not generalizable, then its significance is of little use (Morse, 1999). He proposes that in order for each participant to contribute towards an emerging theory, each should be carefully selected more especially in the relatively small sample. According to Morse (1999) the knowledge gained from the research can be applicable beyond this selected group and is considered applicable to all similar situations. The researcher believes that this study can be generalised to represent other Zimbabwean migrants living in Gugulethu and other surrounding locations.

In this chapter I have discussed qualitative research, which was selected as the suitable research methodology for this study. The research tools such as structured interviews, in-depth interviews and observation have been elaborated on and have provided justification for the need to use qualitative methods to obtain data. Furthermore, this chapter has also discussed how data was analysed using a social constructionist approach to grounded theory. This approach assisted the researcher to analyse data from semi-structured interviews, observations and fieldwork notes by grouping common ideas into themes and patterns that emerged during the analysis of the data. The next two chapters examine the findings made.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS – PART 1

4.1 Introduction

While investigating the integration of foreign migrants into South African community, the study focus is on Zimbabweans and Ugandans living in Section Three of Gugulethu Township, Cape Town. In this chapter and the next, the researcher discusses the findings of the study. Chapters four and five present and analyse information provided by different groups in the sample. In these two chapters, the findings from the fieldwork (which used the methodologies, participants, tools, approaches and procedures described and explained in Chapter Three) are presented. The discussion is centred on the themes that emerge from the data that was collected from the research participants.

Chapter Four examines the socio-economic position of migrants before and after arriving in South Africa, as well as the nature and patterns of migration identified among participants. Their actual journey to South Africa and their current situation is also described. The study found that migrants understand and construct their reality with their daily experiences and interactions with the host community.

While seeking to explore and determine the impact of socio-economic interactions between the Zimbabwean migrants and local residents, the study also investigates how these interactions have enhanced the relationship between the two groups, which may be the reason for their increasing number and presence in the community.

Chapter five presents' data related to processes of integration and adaptation among these two migrant groups living in Gugulethu. The researcher also describes how Zimbabwean and Ugandan migrants living in Gugulethu use their social capital to construct their social world in complex ways, while integrating themselves into the South African host community. Information about how migrants use social capital, the forms and types of social capital used, and how the social capital is used for integration is discussed.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the demographic information, such as age, marital status and gender, provided by the research participants.

4. 1. 1. Demographic information about the research participants

The study data presented in this section was collected from a total of thirty (30) participants. The study focused only on adult subjects (18 years and above) the researcher believed that this age group is able to give consent to participate in the study, and is also best able to express themselves on this matter during interviews. The Zimbabwean main study population was 25 making 83.3%, 3 South Africa, 10% and Ugandan 2, making 6.7% of the study population. Out of 30 participants (there were 18 females and 12 males). This was due to the fact that in the main group (Zimbabwean migrants) women are more visible in these areas than men in the spaces where my research was based. This may be attributed to prior research that shows that there are an increasing number of women migrating to South Africa than before (Wentzel and Kholadi Tlabela in Kok *et al.*, 2006). Another study by Muzvidziwa, (2006) indicated that due to the economic and political hard situation in Zimbabwe, many women turned to cross-border migration for their survival, and that of their families. This pattern was clearly evident in the current study, as the majority of participants were women. A majority of older women lived together compared to the middle aged that were reported to be either living single or with their partners, relative or friends. During fieldwork, the researcher visited one home which had four women Zimbabwean migrants living together with their South African landlord.

Furthermore, women were more cooperative and willing to freely give information than men. I believe that this gender imbalance had noncritical implications as far as the findings are concerned, other than helping inform the researcher about the new gendered dimension of current migration patterns.

With regards to age, most participants were aged between 18 and 60 years old. However, the majority of participants were between 20 and 40 years of age. This can be attributed to the fact that this age group is the most economically active category. This is also evident in the research by (Muzvidziwa, 2006). Several of the participants were married with a lot of responsibilities, which motivated them to migrate to South Africa to look for greener pastures, and in order to meet their family responsibilities.

Compared to the situation back home, more migrants that are Zimbabwean are currently married and have children. With the exception of those married to South Africans, the

majority of married participants indicated that their spouses come from their country and are of the same ethnic group as them. When asked about the preference of choosing a spouse, the majority of the Zimbabwean participants believed that it was preferable to marry among your own ethnic group and would strongly encourage their children to do so because of shared cultural identity, values, and trust. One participant, a single male Zimbabwean, called *James* reported:

“I don’t think I can marry a woman who is not a Shona Zimbabwean. Yes, I can have girl friends like those Xhosa girls, and we love them, but cannot marry them. I want to keep my customs and culture. I would like even my children if possible to marry people from my ethnic group to avoid complications and cultural or ethnic conflicts, which easily destroy marriages.”

Another participant, a married man agreed. According to him:

“It is good that I have already married to my wife from Bulawayo. It would have been difficult for me to marry a South African. When you marry a South African, your children will be lost. You can’t even take your children back home. You know we came here to work and one time we will decide to go back home. You should know that marital relationships are culture sensitive. It is risky and hazardous to marry from a different culture. That why I did not even marry a Zimbabwean who is not from my tribe”.

This migrant felt that people should marry among their own ethnic group because he believed that people from your ethnic group are the only ones you can really trust especially with such a big commitment like marriage. However, a contrary view was expressed by another participant, named *Innocent*, who lives with his South African wife. He believes that all women are the same regardless of the tribe or race. In his words:

“My brother you just need to find a better honest wife. Tribe or nationality does not matter. If you can get a wife from the church whom you share the same beliefs and values, it is the good and important, but still it not a guarantee for trust and stability. I have lived with my local wife for about four years but we don’t have problems yet. My friend from Zim spent a lot of money to bring his fiancé here in Cape Town however, not ever a year she disappeared and went for another man. Therefore, trust cannot be measured or assumed by the ethnicity, nation, or religion.”

Unlike the Zimbabwean migrants, the Ugandan participants, together with their South African counterparts indicated that they were liberal. They report, that they are most likely to marry anyone from a different culture, as long as they love them. However, one South African participant strongly believed that a marital relationship between migrant men and local women was either motivated by convenience. Migrants wanted to obtain South African documents, such as an identity document and citizenship, while local women were looking for migrants who could support them financially. This view was supported by a friend of mine who participated in this study. When I asked him about the matter, this was his response:

“My brother the reason as to why there are many Zimbabweans in Gugulethu is for them to have access to local girls, get married to them and then get South African citizenship by naturalization.”

Although there are such perceptions among South Africans and even some migrants, there was no evidence of this in my study among migrants based in Gugulethu. Although the study has shown that some of them had married and lived with their South African partners, and some had obtained permanent residence as a result of their unions, this was not their intention. If this was the case, the study would have found a significant number of migrants with South African spouses.

4.2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS – PAST AND PRESENT

The discussion below outlines the responses of the migrants who participated in this study in terms of their socio-economic profile before, and after, they left their countries of origin. Their education levels, occupation, and overall living conditions are all described. The idea is to assess whether migrants past socio-economic situation may have had an impact on their decision to migrate to South Africa, as well as their current choice of lifestyle in their host country.

4.2.1 Economic factors influencing migration

The economic situation back home was strongly emphasised during the entire study. All research participants had indicated that the economic situation in their country of origin contributed to their migration. The main research group (Zimbabwean migrants) agreed that the economic situation was not conducive to stay and this constituted the primary reason why they left their country of origin. A lack of jobs was the major problem, which was linked to the economic collapse, as a result of sanctions imposed by western countries on President Robert Mugabe's government (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006).

Although the study found that a substantial proportion of the research participants were employed or self-employed in Zimbabwe. According to the participants, a time came where work was almost impossible; therefore, most of them were involved in informal types of businesses. Others had done casual jobs, such as, working in shops, flea markets, and supermarkets, manual labourers and domestic workers, especially the more mature, older women. Most migrants claimed that they could not find a job, and even those who were working could not survive on their salary which was too little for them to survive as whole family. For example, one female participant, aged 53, a former secondary teacher who is now operating a small crèche in Gugulethu, had this to say:

“My family of 5 could not survive on \$100 which is equivalent to R1400. I was the only bread winner since my husband was not working that's why we had to make another alternative, and the only alternative was to leave Zimbabwe for South Africa”.

According to her, although she was seen as a privileged person to have been on a government payroll where she could get a salary in a situation where a majority of the population had nothing like that. However, despite her privilege, it came to the point that the teaching government job could no longer sustain them as a family. She recalls incidents where teachers and other public servants were not paid their salaries for many months. In her own words, I quote:

“My son, the situation was so bad. Although I was a government worker, working became useless. Firstly, we were underpaid as I have already told you but also not being paid our salaries. There was a period where we went over six month working without being paid.

We were just told that 'there is no money'. That was the situation we found ourselves in and the only way was to leave Zimbabwe looking for greener pastures somewhere else”.

These same sentiments were shared by a group of four (4) Zimbabwean women staying together in one house in New Rest. They agreed that the situation back home was not conducive even for their businesses. Their informal selling businesses could not sustain them, since there were few people buying their products. The only way to was to come to South Africa, where there is still a market for their products, which included; art and crafts, traditional clothes, brooms, and carpets etc. Another participant had the same sentiments, as narrated below. A story of Suzan, a 30 year old female participant, describes her situation and explains why she had to leave Zimbabwe.

“My father was one of the beneficiaries of the land redistributions by Zanu-PF’s Mugabe government. When we were given a farm by the government we thought life will always be okay since it was the dream of many ordinary Zimbabweans. We never dreamt of a life without farm, but time come where life on the farm was very hard and we left that piece of land. We grew up on a farm, since both my parents were employed at a farm by the white owner. But when the government decided to take the farms, the white farmer left and our family was given a piece of land by the government, and we became land owner having our own farm. Although we rejoiced for having owned our own land, with time things became bad. We could no longer produce enough for both commercial and domestic consumption. We could at least for a while produce food for home consumption, but with time, due to lack of fertilizers and the drought, even enough food for our own table could not be produced.”

She continues: *“My elder sister came to South Africa with her husband and has been sustaining us by sending us food and money to survive. I dropped out of school due to the situation. I had to go and live with my boyfriend because the situation was very bad at home. I stayed in this relationship for one year and left with a child because of the abusive man and poverty. Everything was not right in Zimbabwe. There was total lack of jobs that even graduates did not have jobs. When I badly wanted a job to feed my baby and couldn’t find it, I had to go back to my parents on the farm. My parents were quite supportive but expected me to assist them to in buying things like food and fertilizers, which are very expensive but needed for food production in farming. For previous years we had not harvested much*

because we could not afford fertilizers like our other members of the community so my parents were really interested for me to get a job and assist them. I had to leave the baby to them for Harare looking for work. I was given transport money by my father and encouraged me. While in Harare I was assisted by my relative who arranged a domestic work and accommodated me at her place. This work gave me chance to buy and send food to my parents who are looking after my child.

When I was in Harare, I contacted my sister in South African for the possibilities of me travelling looking for a better life than in Zimbabwe. My sister and her husband facilitated all the process of my travelling to Cape Town and I stayed with them for a while before getting a place of my own”.

The above stories demonstrate the economic situation that forced majority of migrants to leave their beloved country as seen in various studies in the literature (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006; Chikanda, 2011; Makina, 2010; Maphosa, 2007). It is evident that the escalating poor political and socioeconomic situation in Zimbabwean highly contributed to the influx of migrants into neighbouring countries, such as, Botswana and South Africa.

The study also found that a substantial proportion of research participants were self-employed in Zimbabwe, and most of them were in informal types of businesses. Most of the Zimbabwean migrants interviewed had run small businesses at home before the situation in Zimbabwe got worse around 2004 – 2010. When the economy in Zimbabwe collapsed, they decided to come for work, doing business or selling their products to South Africa. This is possible, since they had entrepreneurial and informal business management skills. For this reason, they could manage to economically integrate themselves and managed to live since they were not struggling to make a living by finding formal employment in South Africa.

The situation from Ugandan respondents is both similar to, and different from those of Zimbabweans. Although both share the same sentiments about the challenging economic situation in their home countries, there are important differences. The political and economic situation in Uganda is better compared to that of Zimbabwe. Basic necessities, such as, food and healthcare could be accessed there, unlike Zimbabwe as reported by numerous studies (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009; Rutherford, 2010; Crush and Tevera, 2010). So, although Ugandan migrants, on the other hand, may be motivated by South Africa’s high economic status, their

decision to come to South Africa was not for survival, as was the case with Zimbabwean migrants. These Ugandans sought ‘greener pastures’ and economic opportunity in South Africa, but, instead, they were confronted by challenges facing South Africa; such as, unemployment, crime, and xenophobia etc. These migrant’s journeys to South Africa are described next.

4.2.2 Migrant’s journeys to South Africa: the risks faced

The migrants who participated in this study have narrated the difficulties they encountered while trying to enter South Africa and shocking information was obtained. It is evident that the journey for migrants to come to South Africa was not easy. Participants suffered hunger, robbery, and a fear of being arrested or deported. Since, for some, it was their first time undertaking that journey, they lacked the proper documentation and visas allowing them to enter the country legally. According to Tevera and Zinyama (2002), the legal migration process has become problematic and migrants decided to resort to the illegal route, which is quick and cheap, although it does present risks. Some of the research participants reported having no proper travel documents and visas to enter South Africa. This puts them at a risk of being arrested by police and immigration officials while attempting to enter the country.

Furthermore, migrants are also reported having been victims of criminals taking advantage of their desperation to enter the country. Criminals act or pretend to be helping illegal migrants to cross the border illegally by the process of border jumping, by charging them a lot of money. However, these criminals do not only stop by charging migrants money to cross into South Africa, but, also rob desperate migrants of the possessions and money they have while travelling.

Some migrants reported incidences where they were robbed and threatened with death by the criminals that were pretending to help them. One female participant has narrated how her younger brother who refused to give them his bag was severely beaten and they left him bleeding and very weak. These criminals undressed him and took all his clothes and money. She says the group of about 10 Zimbabwean migrants were left stranded with absolutely nothing. Below is her story:

“We were told by friends in South Africa about how easy it to enter South Africa using the ‘amagama-guma’ (people on the border helping illegal migrants to enter South Africa without proper documents). We left Zimbabwe together with my young brother without visa allowing us to enter the country, when we reached the Musina at the No-man’s land between Zimbabwe and South Africa, a group of good looking young men approached us asking whether we need help to enter the promised land (South Africa). They managed to convince us including others to make our group about 10. We negotiated and agreed to pay them a price of two R500 and others respectively. When we were taken to a sacred bush to across the Limpopo river, inside there were taken to another far place where we were all asked to hand in our belongings, we were searched one by one by my brother wanted to resist, that where the trouble started. He has forced and beaten badly left bleeding”.

There are also reports of female migrants being raped in the process of crossing the border. However, it is difficult for them to report these criminal activities, since migrants are also violating laws by trying to enter the country illegally. The migrants are forced to find other informal alternatives to assist themselves in this regard or surrender themselves to South African authorities who are likely to arrest them and deport them back to Zimbabwe. However, some migrants claim that deportation is not an option due to the harsh treatment received from Zimbabwean authorities, as well as the deteriorating economic situation in the country. Other migrants are forced to sell their properties to facilitate their migration process so deporting them back will be a disaster. Those with relatives in South Africa are privileged since they could be contacted for their support in the case of challenges, but others do not have that option.

Research findings have shown that migrants are finding it very difficult to enter the country due to its complexity (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). Obtaining a passport and visa legally, along with other travel logistics, is very expensive. For many migrants from Zimbabwe, finding a quick, but risky illegal alternative is the only option. However, to cope with and survive these travel challenges, ‘social capital’ is used by migrants. The majority of research participants reported to have drawn on their network of connections with relatives and friends who were already in South Africa, in order for them to enter the country. In some cases, they sent them money, which made the journey affordable and less risky. This finding is in line with other studies done on international migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993). According to

Massey *et al.* (1993: 449) “*networks make international migration extremely attractive as a strategy for risk diversification.*” For example, one Zimbabwean migrant narrated that when they were robbed by these border criminals, she contacted her relatives in Cape Town who sent money for her to continue with her journey, unlike other compatriots, who had no one to help them.

4.2.3 Migrant’s current situation, living conditions and experiences in the host country

Most of my participants acknowledged that the current situation in South Africa is better compared to back home in Zimbabwe. All of my participants acknowledged that their stay in South Africa has greatly contributed to their wellbeing, as well as that of their relatives back home.

One of my female participants, in her fifties, emotionally stated; “*that there was a period where there was no food to provide for the children who are expecting you as a parent to provide. But we had nothing and that was terrible. We only depended on relatives from South Africa who could send us food*”.

Another young man, a participant in his late twenties (a Zimbabwean) was working together with his brother in a furniture business. He said that life is better here than in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, business was not good compared to South Africa, but he acknowledged that the cost of living is getting higher every day. He narrates his experience:

“After the “Operation Murambatsvina” of 2005 my family was one of hundreds of thousands of families who were struggling to survive. We lost both our house and business during Mugabe’s operation. Our house and workshop were demolished in Kitungwiza (a township of Harare) and afterwards life was very tough even for survival. My brother came here first. After years of struggle he managed to establish a furniture workshop in Gugulethu, and then later arranged for me to come assist him in his business. We are doing better now, though there are some challenges as you know.”

He complained that although, they do earn money, the high cost of living makes life difficult since “*most of the money we make we end up spending it here because life has become expensive in South Africa*”. One of the main challenges, he pointed out, was accommodation.

Due to competition and the high number of migrants in Gugulethu, areas such as, Luyoloville and New Rest, have become good business for local homeowners charging a lot of rental costs for migrants wanting to live in the area.

When it came to how Zimbabwean migrants stay or with whom do they stay with, this research found that the majority of Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu lived with their family members, relatives, friends, or fellow migrants from their country of origin. Apart from those staying with their South African spouses or partners, all other Zimbabwean participants have stated to be staying with people from their home country, be they family or friends. This finding is supported by the literature of similar studies that found a great percentage of migrants interviewed to have been staying with either with family/kin or friends from their country of origin.

With regard to her current economic situation and living conditions in South Africa, one older migrant has this to say: *“Yes, the economic situation is okay here since we can be able to sell our stuff and send money back home to feed our families, however, still this is not the situation we should live in as normal people, I left my husband, whom I am supposed to look after, and the children. In Zimbabwe, we have our big house but I live here as if I don’t have my own house. For example we sleep here four, we share everything together but what can we do we are just here for business and in business you need to save and saving means minimizing expenditure that is why we decided to come here.”*

Another respondent from New Rest has been living there for one year. This twenty-nine (29) year old woman, identified as *Tino*, is a mother of one child. She works in Cape Town as a restaurant attendant and narrated the challenges she is facing as a migrant single mother. She finds it difficult to balance work and the role of a mother to her three year old child. She sometimes works night shifts and has no time for her child. As a result, she has decided to bring her mother to look after the baby while she is working. *“Hiring a nanny here is very expensive, especially with the types of work we do here,”* she says.

This gave me further insight into how foreign migrants struggle to raise children in South Africa without any governmental assistance. It should be noted that, unlike other countries, such as, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia, that offers migrant social support. In South Africa, African migrants must depend solely on their social networks and their own

means to survive and integrate into the host country (Crush and McDonald, 2002). Although the Department of Social Development's policy is to assist all children in South Africa, struggling migrant mothers like *Tino* have not been assisted by the government, as the policy stipulates. Even if the government implemented this policy by assisting migrant children in the form of a social grant, the money is very little. Furthermore, this might raise concerns amongst locals who have already been accusing migrants for coming and taking their social resources. This is evident in numerous studies which show that the majority of South Africans believe that African migrants are in the country to take their limited resources (McDonald *et al.*, 1999; Crush and McDonald, 2002; Crush and Tevera, 2010).

While most Zimbabwean migrants have acknowledged the improved economic situation since their arrival in South Africa, their Ugandan counterparts have different views. One respondent of forty years (40), and an architect by profession, argues that he has struggled to be employed in South Africa, even though is qualified and his skills are in demand in both developed and developing countries, such as South Africa. *"The first thing South African companies ask is to present your ID and when you present your refugee papers it is not accepted"* said Juma.

This indicates that a majority of skilled migrants, particularly migrants and refugees are finding it difficult to integrate into the South African labour market due to this type of discrimination. A key difference between Zimbabweans and Ugandans is that the former are willing to do any available job, even if it is not their profession, unlike Ugandans. This attitude of humbleness has seemed to help them manage to cope with the challenging situation of high unemployment.

4.2.4 Education levels and opportunities for employment in South Africa

The migrants who participated in this research, all have some level of education, which was also seen or tested during the interviews. Most of them have a good command of English and could express in English very well. When asked about their level of education, the majority of Zimbabwean migrants, especially those who were between 18 to 40, report that they had reached at least Grade 11 (also known as Ordinary level or Form 4). Similar findings were made by other research conducted by Ngwema (1998) and (Timberg, 2005). Studies have

also found that, although some migrants have educational certificates, most of them do not use them for employment purposes. With the discriminatory nature of the South African labour force, the majority of Zimbabwean migrants put their level of education aside in order to survive in South Africa. For them, their level of education does not hinder their economic activities in South Africa, as long as you can communicate well in both language English and Xhosa. One of the research participants from Zimbabwe, named *Kenny*, has this to say:

“If you want to survive in South Africa, you need to put all your certificates aside. Some of us have degrees and other educational certificates, but here they are useless. Most of the jobs here for migrants do not require your certificate. Although I have a teaching certificate, I have to put it aside ‘coz no one will give me a job with it. That’s why I have managed to open a small food business here in Luyoloville. We are here for any work that can provide us with a living. The fact that you are not a South African, you cannot select jobs since you know why you left your country.”

Factors such as the high unemployment rate in South Africa, of 25,5% (Statistics South Africa, 2013), the lack of proper documents required by the South African Government for people to work, and the low level of education amongst migrants have hindered their integration into the South African formal labour force (Timberg, 2005: 3). This has led to majority of migrants to engage in informal businesses for their survival (Hungwe, 2012).

The majority of migrants, who are working in the informal labour force, were forced to come to South Africa due to the poor economic situation in Zimbabwe. They then end up having to do unskilled and informal jobs in South Africa. However, there are some migrants, like *Kenny*, who is a qualified teacher, but could not be absorbed by the South African economy, and, therefore, had to take up one of these low paid informal jobs to survive. It should be noted that some of these informal businesses run by migrants have made them a good living in the host nation, while at the same time supporting their relatives back home. It should also be noted that migrants have exploited the much neglected informal scale businesses that have greatly improved their lives, as well as that of the host community as found in a study done by Timberg (2005). His research disapproved of the widely held, but unsubstantiated belief that African migrants are taking jobs meant for unemployed South Africans. This study made similar findings that African migrants are mostly self-reliant. Many migrants, including those

who participated in this study have merely exploited the favourable economic environment in South Africa to create jobs for themselves and that of some unemployed youth in the community (Timberg, 2005:3). Most of the jobs that the research participants have taken, are those not considered desirable by South Africans.

In terms of education, research found that no major changes seemed to have taken place for the Zimbabwean migrants living in Gugulethu since they left their home country. For most of them, their levels of education remain relatively the same apart from some short courses in fields such as hospitality or catering and homecare service training. Only three participants were receiving higher education in a South African University. All of them were finding it difficult to work and study. One of them receives support from relatives abroad. Most participants all aspire to improve their living conditions through furthering their studies, particularly those aged 18-40. However, because of their difficult living conditions, they cannot afford the high tuition fees in South Africa, where there is no bursary or any form of financial support available to them.

During my fieldwork, the researcher met a couple whose two daughters had finished their Grade 12 in South Africa, but could not further their children's studies because of their parent's financial constraints. They allowed their young children to go and look for work at restaurants in Cape Town in order to assist with family financial responsibilities and that of their family back home. This pattern is confirmed by the study done by Crush and McDonald (2002) that found that South Africa has not assisted a lot of African migrants who are aspiring to integrate in South Africa. This, however, has not entirely stopped them from integrating themselves. Zimbabwean migrants use their social networks and their own means to survive and integrate into the host country.

Although, there were little changes in terms of education, research participants reported significant changes in terms of their day to day lives, compared to when they were living in Zimbabwe. The majority have indicated significant changes and improvements in terms of their employment and occupational lives. Although only a few of them were holding professional skilled employment, most of them were engaged in informal trading, that is, small shops or street vending. Some have obtained unskilled or semi-skilled employment, but

most Zimbabwean migrants who participated in this study, worked as shop attendants, security guards or on building construction jobs.

4.2.5. Transitional and temporary migration: buying and selling goods

Most female Zimbabwean participants, particularly those in the older age category of 45 – 60, do not stay for long in South Africa. Most of them come with their products just to sell them, and then go back home. They buy products in Zimbabwe, others in Johannesburg, and come to sell them to Cape Town. When asked why they do not stay for long, apart from the nature of their business, that requires them to travel, they also mentioned family responsibilities back home. Most of these women leave their husbands and children to come and stay for a short period of time (1 – 6 months), selling their stuff and doing small temporary jobs. After this period is finished, and once they have reached their financial target, they leave. This finding is confirmed by other similar studies that found that the current phase of Zimbabwean migration is characterised by transitional migrants, or people on the road, or constantly moving migrants. (Chikanda, 2011; Makina, 2010, Maphosa, 2007). However, contrary to that, this research found that the majority of Zimbabweans in Gugulethu aged between 25 and 40 have been in the country for a while, although some do not have permanent legal documents.

This study found that men, unlike women, stayed for longer periods of time. The reason, when investigated, found that most men were working and others established small businesses, which they could not leave with anybody, since they are the sole proprietors. Some of the men live with their Zimbabwean wives or girlfriends with children. However, a portion of them left their wives and children in Zimbabwe and just sent them money, while they continued to live and stay with the local women here in Cape Town.

4.2.6 Attachment to countries of origin: Sending remittances home

This current study found that migrants have a high level of attachment to their country of origin. When they asked to describe their attachment to their countries of origin, all migrants reported a very strong attachment which was expressed in different forms. However, the most interesting one which is keeping migrants attached to their home countries is their ability to

send remittances in the form of money and goods obtained in the host nation to the country of origin. The study found that there is a high degree of migrants, more especially, Zimbabweans sending remittances to their country of origin in the form of money, food and other goods. This can be attributed to the weak financial and economic situation in Zimbabwe as seen and discussed by different researchers (Kok *et al.*, 2006; Hungwe, 2012; Hassim *et al.*, 2008; Crush, 2008). These studies all show how many families in Zimbabwe depend upon and survive on the remittance sent by their relatives outside the country. All Zimbabwean participants indicated that they had an obligation to send remittances to their relatives at their country of origin. They have different ways of sending money, food and other goods back home in Zimbabwe. The majority of participants indicate that they send money through informal channels such as friends or relatives; sometimes they use buses where drivers and conductors are trusted and paid to take their goods to their relatives. When asked why they use informal channels rather than formal channels, such as banks, more especially with money. A majority responded that they use buses or relatives because they believe it is the cheapest and most reliable way. Most of them were referred by ‘word of mouth’ through friends and relatives who had used them before. These networks comprise a form of social capital.

When asked how goods are being sent home, one participant Suzan explains:

“Sending goods to Zim (Zimbabwe) is easy, we don’t struggle to send something home; it is just the matter of waiting for the bus to arrive from Zim to Cape Town. Bus drivers and conductors are the best as long as you pay them. It’s a matter of giving them you goods with the contact Number of the receiver in Zimbabwe more especially in big cities like Harare. Although there are other ways like track drivers, personal bakkies or taxis, for me I prefer a bus because you will always see them coming.”

Another participant raised a concern of trust related to relatives and friends. This mistrust of friends and relatives by some migrants has resulted in them rather trusting the bus-driver or conductor when sending their goods to Zimbabwe. Tino, one of the participants and a regular user of these services, says:

“I used to send money through friends and relatives until when I lost trust of people you send money and goods with. One time I sent my cousin, who was going to back home, I gave him money and clothes to give it to my mother in the Village. The money was for my child’s fees

and upkeep however, the money and other items never reached my mother. When we asked, he told me that he was robbed at the border and lost everything. We don't know where it's true he was robbed or used the money and other goods for himself. From that point I have lost trust, it's better to send my money through a bus driver since he is paid."

Another male participant of 40 years agreed that the informal way had some challenges although it was convenient for them to send money and goods to Zimbabwean;

"I know it's risky to send money by relatives or friends even using bus drivers and conductors but for me it's the easiest way to send my relatives in Zimbabwe money, food and other good"

A majority of Zimbabwean participants indicated that they were sending groceries back home and saw it as an important aspect of them being here in South Africa. Although they were sending money home, sending groceries was more important than money. They reported that they are using buses to get groceries back home to Zimbabwe. Trustworthy bus drivers and bus conductors are constantly used by people who then refer them to friends and relatives. Another reason for choosing bus conductors or drivers is the fact that relatives and trusted friends do not go home often, and still even when they are going, can only afford to take a limited number of goods with them.

Although informal channels of remittance are not safe, migrants still prefer using them over more formal channels. This research had similar findings to those made by other researchers whose findings contended that informal remittance systems were preferable because of speed, cost, discretion, convenience, trust and reliability (Orozco, 2006; Chene, 2008). Kosse and Vermeulen (2014:4) maintain that the choice of one remittance channel over another varies across migrants, and it is a function of a combination of personal characteristics, transactional, economical and institutional factors. The Centre for Migration and Policy Society (COMPAS, 2005), found that the use of informal remittance channels is closely related to the background of the migrants and the frequency with which remittances are sent varies according to social position. Less-skilled migrants tend to send remittances more often, and are more likely to use formal channels, while elite migrants often remit informally, especially through courier services or cash in hand transfers during their visits home. The current study found the opposite. Although the research found that the migrant's participants

tend to send remittances often, the less-skilled migrants have not used formal channels, but informal channels.

A Ugandan professional, *Musa*, indicated that he uses formal channels while sending his money and goods to his Ugandan relatives. While another Ugandan female migrant living and working in Gugulethu, indicated that she uses both channels. Most of the goods and money are sent through formal channels, such as, Western Union, and the DHL Courier Company, but, also through informal channels, more especially, when a friend or a person she trusts is visiting Uganda. Sometimes, I send money to my relatives through friends I trust visiting home. I even give them small items, such as, laptops, phones, and clothes when they have free space in their luggage. This seemingly concurs with Mukasa's (2012) finding that Ugandans in South Africa use different remittance channels, both formal and informal, to reduce the risk of non-delivery.

It was therefore found that migrants, although they are connected to the host community, they are still connected to their country of origin and still participate in the development of their country through different ways, and one of which is remittances as reported in different migration studies (Kosse and Vermeulen, 2014; Mukasa, 2012; Orozco, 2006; Chene, 2008; Kok *et al.*, 2006; Hungwe, 2012; Hassim *et al.*, 2008; and Crush, 2008).

This chapter has presented some of the findings made by this study. The next chapter continues to discuss the findings and focuses specifically on the ways in which migrants have managed to integrate themselves into the local community.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS – PART 2

5.1. Introduction

The study found that the migrants in the sample have regular interactions or contact with local South Africans, mostly at their residences, in their neighbourhoods, in business, in churches, work places and social public places. These interactions, which are very important in their integration process and survival in the Gugulethu community, as well as the barriers preventing this, are discussed next.

5.2. Interactions between migrants and local South Africans

Almost all participants have stated that they have regular interactions with South Africans and vice versa. The 28 year old woman, identified as *Tino*, working at a restaurant in Cape Town has less interaction with people in Gugulethu, because of the nature of her work (long hours and shifts), but still interacts with South Africans at work daily, and sometimes, at church.

The study wanted to find out more about the nature of these interactions and how these interactions can reduce prejudices about one another. A South African female participant and landlord, accommodating a number of Zimbabwean women at her house had this to say about her experiences with Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu. She narrates:

“My name is Nomathemba I have been living with African foreign nationals for a while. These migrants come as lodgers at my property. I normally receive women from Zimbabwe who come to stay for about 2-6 months. These women don’t have any problem, they go in the morning and come back in the evening so we don’t have problems here and at the end of the month, they pay my rent with no problem. Sometimes when they leave for Zimbabwe, they will organise other new friends to stay here. Their presence has benefited me since I’m a widow with no work. Also for security, when I leave my house I leave assured that it’s safe with the people I live with.”

Participants were specifically asked how their interaction with one another has reduced the negative perceptions they had towards each other. This was asked to test one of the

assumptions found in the literature that contact between people reduces prejudice (Voci and Hewstone, 2003; Yahuda 1998; Forbes, 1997). It was found that, to a large extent, the interaction between migrants has reduced their negative perceptions they previously held about one another. The majority of migrant participants, both Zimbabwean and Ugandan, agree that their interactions with locals, has improved the way they perceive one another. One South African male and a landlord to migrants had this to say:

“Before I come to know about the migrants, I thought what we hear about them are true, we hear that migrants are engaging in criminal activities, stealing jobs and women. However, I want to tell you my son, I have lived with migrants for almost ten years here at my home as you can see (showing me separate rooms being rented by migrants). I have not seen some of those things people are talking about them; these foreigners are our brothers and sisters. See my age, I’m not working but I receive money through renting these rooms to migrants. I see them as my children, some of them we attend the same church. I am also a committee member of this street, we have never been reported a foreigner committing a crime in the community. They are good people concerning and managing their personal lives. Even other people although they will not tell you, the presence of these migrants have a huge impact of our lives socially, and economically.”

Similarly, a male Zimbabwean migrant, named Goodness living in New Rest says:

“Before I come to live in Gugulethu I had people saying bad thing about the peoples of townships, but my perception towards the people here has changed. Yes, you cannot refute the fact that foreigners are prejudiced and discriminated in South Africa, but the picture I have now is different to what I had before. These people are not all bad as it depicted, well you have those who don’t want the foreigners but my engagement with the community I have realised that these are good people. I have families here, whom I have made part of my life, wherever I have a problem, they are the first to be contacted than my own people. We live together as family. I don’t have my own car here but sometimes I use my landlord’s car wherever I need it. We have the youth here who don’t want foreigners, but the majority of the people in this community they want us, that why this place has become a home for many people from Zimbabwe and few other countries.”

The researcher also interviewed another female participant from Zimbabwe who was found at her workplace. This particular woman had a positive experience to relate and a good story to tell about one particular family in the Gugulethu community to demonstrate the interaction between migrants and the local community. *“I visited a family that employs a Zimbabwean woman looking after the ageing old mother. After years of working while assisting the old mother, the mother decided to adopt the Zimbabwean woman and her two children. Her family is looking after them and paying even fees for her children. They all belong and attend the same church on NY 108 in Gugulethu.”*

These incidences are normally not reported apart and only the negative attitudes towards one another get media coverage. This research argues that these stories should be told rather than just negative stories, such as those of xenophobia, which has attracted both academic and public attention (Kok *et al.* 2006; Hungwe, 2012; Hassim *et al.*, 2008; Crush, Williams, and Peberdy, 2005; Crush, 2008; Peberdy and Jara, 2011).

The current study also found that the majority of research participants are in regular contact with and interact frequently with other migrants in and beyond Gugulethu. Most of them report having wider contacts with people from their home country around the area and beyond. However, that does not stop them interacting with migrants from other African countries. A Ugandan participant, *Musa*, indicates that although there are few Ugandans in the area, he does not find it difficult to interact with other migrants. In fact, he helped the researcher to find participants from Zimbabwe. He took the researcher to a garage in Luyoloville, where I met his friend Sekhulu (Chief), who assisted in identifying other migrants from Zimbabwe. This finding contradicts other research on similar studies that claim that migrants tend to focus on family/kin or ethnic networks while interacting and integrating in the host nation (Bloch, 2010; Crush and Tawodzera, 2011; Landau and Segatti, 2009; Matshaka, 2010; Rutherford, 2010; Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). Gender; however, appeared to be a significant factor facilitating interaction.

5.3 Social Networks and Gender

The majority of my participants were women, and I found them to have the highest level of interaction with locals and these interactions were more frequent than those between men. This was partly due to the women's occupational activities, for instance, selling door to door and housekeeping. The fact that women reside with local South African women makes it easier for them to interact on a regular basis.

There are gender differences in terms of migrant's social networks and this has been evident in the current study. It is believed that gendered social networks among migrants have received limited focused scholarly attention, and gender as a variable in network theory has also largely been overlooked. Some migration studies generally reflected the belief that gender like culture, ethnicity, and class is an important element of social network among migrant studies. Menjivar (2000) further argues that these differentiations within the community influences individual action and participation in social networks.

Most Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu are more likely to interact with fellow Zimbabweans within their ethnic group. The current research found that women are more likely to interact with their fellow migrants, as well as locals, than their male counterparts. Males, on the other hand, were found interacting with men outside of their kin networks.

5.4. Integration of migrants in the Gugulethu community

The current study has used the Esser's, (2006) definition of social integration that relates to the well-being and the participation of migrants in the social life of the hosting community. But, the concept of social capital was used to investigate and explore how these mechanisms are used by African migrants, to manage to integrate themselves into local communities. Furthermore, the concept has been used to investigate how social capital and protective networks are used in times of great social tension, for example, the outbreak of xenophobia.

According to the United Nations (2009), migrant integration is a gradual process in which newcomers are supposed to become actively in the social, economic, civic, cultural and spiritual affairs of the host community. According to Jaji (2009), for migrants in South

Africa, integration involves the abandonment of their cultural identities, as they adopt the cultural identities of the host community.

The current study found that migrants have been part and parcel of the Gugulethu community. My engagement with the people in the community has given me an opportunity to gain insight on this particular issue. The finding of this research is that migrants, more especially from the SADC region, have been fully integrated into the South African community. Some South African families, in the community the researcher engaged with, have fully acknowledged their origins. Some managed to report that some of their relatives, being grandparents, parents or one parent had origins outside of South Africa. Although some claimed to have come from Malawi, Mozambique, and Swaziland, my research showed that the majority of the participants had their origins from Zimbabwe and Lesotho. All are now South African citizens, this was due to that fact either their grandparents or parents integrated and assimilated into the South African culture. Stories like my father was from Zimbabwe or Lesotho were recorded. Most of them were male migrants, who came for work opportunities and married South African women. One lady said *“my father was from Zimbabwe; he was married to my mother, but passed away a long time ago”*.

When asked about whether they still have a link with their ancestral land, most of them said no. They have known nothing about their father’s side of the family. Some could just only tell you about their father, but not his extended family. Their parents never linked them with their families outside South Africa. One of the descendants of Zimbabwean migrants, whose father assimilated had to say:

“My mother is a Xhosa but our father came from Zimbabwe and married my mother. They had six children but he died when I was young, am the last born. We are South Africans and the sad part our father never connected us to his family in Zimbabwe. My brother wanted to find out but he failed so we took our mother’s side and culture. We regard ourselves as Xhosa and my three brothers had to go through Xhosa circumcision to become a man, we don’t know how they do it in Zimbabwe.”

However, there was a local South African who is originally from Lesotho and although their family assimilated into South African society and culture, they still maintained their cultural aspects, such as, the language and practices. In my fieldwork, I met a mother in Luyoloville,

of Lesotho origin. She maintains her parent's Sotho culture, although she has not been to Lesotho. She told me, her family who migrated from Lesotho worked, lived and died in South Africa. Although she is a South African raised in a predominantly Xhosa community, she speaks the Sesotho language and sometimes wears traditional Lesotho clothes. When you visit her home, you can see a lot of Lesotho traditional baskets and Art works. When asked where she gets all these products she replied:

"I buy them from people selling them around. Even when my son had to go an initiation school we had to take him to a Sotho school to go through Sotho circumcision not the Xhosa the one. I love my parent's culture, although I have not been there, I don't want to forget my roots and I still have hope that I will visit our ancestral home country; Lesotho."

The above findings speak to the definition of integration as defined by the United Nations (2009). They believe that migrant integration is a gradual process in which new comers are supposed to become actively in the social, economic, civic, cultural and spiritual affairs of the host community (Jaji, 2009). However, this assumption should be investigated as to what extent it is applicable to South African migrants. This entails that migrant integration involves the migrant's abandonment of their cultural identity as they adopt the cultural identity of the host community. However, the current study found that this assumption is not universal. As much as migrants become part of the social, economic and culture of the host community, some migrants maintain their cultural values, as seen with some South Africans of Lesotho origin, in Gugulethu.

Furthermore, the current research showed that the nature of the migrant's parents is very important in facilitating integration, more especially for future generations. In cases where both parents are migrants, there are possibilities that their children are to maintain some of their cultural practices like we have seen in the case of a South African of Lesotho origin. It was found that both parents came from Lesotho, and have integrated into the South African community. Likewise, when one parent is a migrant, more especially, if the father is a migrant, the children born, are likely to follow and adopt their mother's cultural practices. This can be seen in a case of Lucy, a South African of Zimbabwean origin, her father was the only migrant and all the children had to follow their mother's culture, therefore, the maternal side had a huge influence than the paternal side.

Although the current study was targeting Zimbabwean migrants after the new democratic South Africa, the rich historical study about African migration in South Africa, prompted the researcher to investigate the nature of integration before 1994 and contemporary integration.

5.5. Migrants various integration strategies

In examining the increasing number of African migrants in the Gugulethu township of Cape Town, the study found that the decision of a migrant to choose this location is motivated by various socio-economic factors. Social networks facilitate the process. Most of the migrants indicate that they came to Gugulethu because of relatives or friends from their countries of origin. The diverse strategies employed by migrants to integrate themselves into the local community in Gugulethu are described next.

5.5.1 Engaging in economic activities

The current study seeks to establish the impact of socio-economic interactions between migrants and the Gugulethu local residents on the migrant's integration process. It is also important to access the nature of their interaction. The frequency, nature, and types of socio-economic interactions between Gugulethu migrants and local residents, and the importance of these strategies are also discussed.

This research found that Zimbabwean migrants and other immigrants in Gugulethu as whole are involved in the informal economic sector as highlighted by other studies (Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010). The target of the migrant's economic activities in this township is mainly South Africans. But they also sell too and target other migrants, depending on the nature of their business. For example the Zimbabweans import and sell art and craft products such as table mats, table cloth, weir art, brooms and tradition attire. These product are targeted to the South African community however, they also sell food staff to their fellow Zimbabweans and other African migrants products mainly food stuff imported from Zimbabwe like yams, cassava and a few to mention.

I met another Ugandan who was not one of my participants operating a small traditional surgery, giving locals traditional medicine, and his business is doing well. In Gugulethu, many traditional practices are available mainly located in small containers. Many local South

Africans visit these places for help. The wife of *Munachi* who owns and operates a food kiosk in the area said she came to join her husband and also helped him in his business. Another young man, *Bosco*, from Zimbabwe, had a similar experience and shared the same sentiment. He said his brother invited him to come and help him in his furniture business. The Ugandan architect, previously mentioned, was also referred by his Zimbabwe friend *Sekhulu*. They worked before starting his community business. He is now getting contracts from community home owners who want to improve or expand their houses in order to create more rooms for migrants to rent.

This current research found that Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu, like in other parts of South Africa, contribute positively to the host nation. This was evident from the economic activities migrants are engaging in. Activities such as remittances sent to their countries of origin, and the buying of commodities to send to Zimbabwe, benefit local businesses and the community. In addition to remittances, the provision of cheap labour by migrants, and the operating of small businesses, is useful functions and services provided by migrants, which helps them to integrate into the community. These are all positive contributions that migrants offer to the host country. These findings concur with other studies, such as, (McDonald *et al.*, 1999; Maharaj, 2004; Kok *et al.*, 2006). All of the above indicates that migrants interact on a daily basis with locals, and sometimes this helps create jobs for both migrants and locals. At the same time, skills are imparted to young and willing South Africans, some of whom, have started their own small businesses.

The claim that foreigners are taking South African jobs needs to be discredited. In this study, the majority of migrants are found not being employed. Most of the Zimbabwean migrants, created their own small jobs and the few who are employed, have jobs that are not favourable to most local residents, as they are menial and poorly paid. These include cleaning, housekeeping, and child or elderly care. All of the above are aspects, that bring migrants and local community members together and these interactions benefit both migrants and locals. Furthermore, the findings correspond with other studies on the similar matter. For example, according to Timberg (2005:15), research conducted by the United Nations found that African migrants in South Africa, are relatively skilled and well educated, at least holding a high school diploma. However, despite their education and skills, they have not been

successful in being integrated into the South African formal labour market as compared to local residents. According to available studies, migrants have managed to integrate themselves into little exploited informal businesses, due to the entrepreneurial skills they possess. (Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010: 382; Levie, 2007: 146).

While investigating economic integration through economic interaction, it was found that, migrants are contributing positively to the economic development of the community through passing on skills and job creation. They have created jobs by way of stimulating demand due to opening up small business. Migrants have engaged in a range of economically productive activities, Small businesses are booming in Gugulethu. These include; spaza shops, automobile mechanics, auto electricians, furniture manufacturing, shoe mending or repairs, food kiosks, hair salons, day-care centers, childcare centers, crèches, selling household items, etc. Other services provided by migrants, include, traditional healing.

From my observations and interactions with migrants in Gugulethu, it is evident that there is slow but steady integration, as far as economic issues are concerned. There are economic activities taking place in Gugulethu, more especially after the awarding of the FIFA World Cup host status to South Africa. For example, shopping centers, drinking places, and shebeens (for example, Mzoli's Place) all welcome clients irrespective of race or nationality. These attract a variety of people, including migrants, which is contributing to the economy of the community. From my analysis, it is evidenced that immigrants and migrants constitute a consumer market for goods and services. They do contribute to the economy by stimulating the demand for basic consumer goods, such as drinks, clothing, transport and housing or accommodation businesses in the Gugulethu community.

Figure 6 and 7: Inside Mzoli's place where people of different races. Ages and gender interacts and socialised.



Another important economic benefit to locals is rental accommodation, although this area has not attracted academic attention. Accommodation has become a booming business in Black townships such as Gugulethu. Local residents are providing housing spaces for rent to migrants; this, in return, has helped many families who have been struggling for extra cash. Houses have been extended; extra dwellings have been created in backyards. Zimbabwean

migrants are targeted for rentals, because they pay handsomely, without excuse. For example, the researcher visited a local landlady who has used the skills of migrants like the Ugandan architect to construct a four-roomed structure, which she rents for R1500 per room, and this adds on to her R6000 per month salary from her nursing job. Strong entrepreneurship skills and abilities are a tool that is used by African migrants in Gugulethu for social economic integration (Serrie, 1998: 212). However, the presence of migrants in South African communities has opened opportunities for economically struggling South Africans, to earn a living through the rental of their properties to African migrants.

Figure 8: Small Business Centre at the Heideveld Station in Gugulethu



Above is a picture taken by the researcher in Gugulethu showing informal small businesses established and operated by migrants indicating the economic integration in the community of Gugulethu.

Below are pictures taken by the researcher during his fieldwork showing how local residences are extending their homes in order to meet the demanding accommodation by African migrants in Luyoloville and New Rest in Gugulethu. This can be evident and analyzed as one of the contributions of African migrants in the area and South Africa at large.

Figure 9 and 10: Pictures taken by the researcher at Luyoloville (next to Heideveld train station) in Gugulethu.



Another tool or strategy that can assist migrants with integration, is language, and the participants in this study made use of this.

5.5.2 Language as a Strategy for Integration

Numerous studies have been conducted about the importance of learning a local language in order for an immigrant to be integrated into the host society. Research shows that language proficiency is considered a vital component of any migrant's integration repertoire, facilitating mobility and helping to develop social networks and social capital (Pfeffer and Parra, 2009; Ryan *et al.*, 2008). Language has long been recognised as transcending communication, and is closely connected to power. It also affects social mobility and status, according to Bourdieu (1991). It is also believed that, in most cases, migrants retain their mother tongue as different languages are linked to different memories, expectations, emotions and cultural scripts; moving between the two, affects identity.

It was found that the Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu Township are in some respect 'closer' to the local residents than other migrant groups. While investigating the role played by language, the researcher found that Zimbabweans, more so than other migrants, have managed to effectively integrate themselves into the local community. Language is a major barrier to the social integration of migrants in local townships. It is a very difficult situation if you cannot understand the Xhosa language, because you are not likely to fully interact with

the local residents, who are proud of their language. If you are unable to speak isiXhosa, you will also stand out as a 'foreigner.' All of my major Zimbabwean participants indicated that speaking isiXhosa is no problem for them, and they communicate with locals in their languages.

This is confirmed in my interview with a South African respondent, Nomathemba, who is residing with four Zimbabwean migrants. In her words: "*Why you speak English yet your sisters here are speaking Xhosa very well?*" She was asking, as she was wondering why the researcher, who has stayed in Gugulethu for a lengthy period, was not yet fluent in Xhosa, while new arrivals from Zimbabwe are quick to learn the community Xhosa language. The Ugandan participant, who is also married to a South African, is very fluent in isiXhosa. Very little English and Luganda languages are used by him, even at home. Only when Ugandans do visit, they would then mix both Luganda and English in order to accommodate the South African wife, if she is present. Although language plays, an important role as far as migrant integration is concerned as seen in the literature (Crush and Williams, 2001). This was confirmed by fieldwork. It was found that, some migrants continued to use their mother tongue and teach them to their children, but used the local language specifically, as a means of communicating with locals.

Concerning the issue of local language amongst migrants in Gugulethu, most research participants, to varying degrees, saw the necessity of learning the local isiXhosa language. This is particularly because of their almost perennial dependence on locals for piece work jobs and for instructions on how tasks would have to be done. However, the majority indicated that learning to speak the local language has a security advantage, more especially, where African migrants are being victimized by the local youth thugs or *skollies*. They believe that these thugs use the language to identify who is not a native in their midst. Therefore, African migrants, force themselves to learn the local language in order to avoid being targeted and attacked and identified as being a migrant.

Some Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu have said that they can even pretend to be like local South Africans and avoid being harassed and victimized by local thugs who have made life difficult for migrants to live and integrate in the community. It was also found that some local members of the Gugulethu community would be prepared and willing to help people who speak their language in terms of accessing accommodation, work and other local social

activities. It is also interesting that the community is even willing to assist migrants in speaking their language, to evade *skollies*. A majority of them thought that learning to speak the local language is an essential component for their integration into the local community, and also for their safety in the host community.

When accessing distinctive cultural ideals such as national language among migrants in Gugulethu, there were some interesting findings. There are some slight changes that were recorded. All migrant participants indicated the use of their home language mostly at home or when interacting with people from their country of origin. Those with children are most likely to use both their native language and English, due to the fact that English is the medium of instruction in South African schools. However, some report that their children have managed to learn isiXhosa at school and others at pre-school institutions, such as, crèches located around the community, where children can spend their time while their parents work.

While Zimbabwean migrants acknowledge the need for their children to learn the local language, still most of them believe that it is so important and would like their children to learn and continue speaking their Zimbabwean languages (depending on the tribe they belong to). They believe that home language conveys culture and history thus should be preserved. They also believe that their children should learn their national language because they will need it when they go back home. They do not wish their children to be 'strangers' in their own countries.

A contrary view was expressed by Juma, the Ugandan migrant, who believed that due to the fact that English is an international language, their children should be encouraged to learn and use it fluently. When I visited their home in Luyoloville, they were speaking English to their two children, and not in their mother tongue, Luganda. When I asked the parents, they responded that the children will learn their language when they are in Uganda if they want, but not here! He explains:

"I don't want to confuse my children in a foreign land. My children will learn their language when they will go back to Uganda but not here. Firstly, we spend little time with them, most of the time they are at school. For me I think the focus should be put on English which they use at school, and can be used in the most parts of the world. When you don't know English

you cannot get a job even in your own country so for better life and opportunities I rather encourage and motivate my kids to master in that world language.”

When interacting with local residents, all migrant participants reported to use mostly English, and sometimes, isiXhosa, the local language. English is being used to those who are newcomers and who do not understand isiXhosa, but with time, they are obliged to learn isiXhosa, for communication purposes and for integration into the local community (Crush and Williams, 2001). All Zimbabwean migrants indicated the importance of learning the local language. A majority seemed to have made a genuine effort to correctly learn and speak the local language. This constitutes evidence that most Zimbabwean migrants believe in assimilation or integration into local communities as a priority (Crush and Williams, 2001).

Immigration research shows that in order for the proper integration of migrants to take place in a given community, there should be at least a basic knowledge of the host community's language, therefore, poor language ability, is a barrier to successful integration (Commission for European Communities, 2005). In their research, done amongst migrants, they found that migrant's integration in the United Kingdom is being facilitated by the government and non-governmental organisations. In the United Kingdom, there is a framework, where the host nation has the responsibility to assist migrant integration by offering non-English speakers free English language lessons which facilitates migrant integration in the host nation (CEC, 2005). In the United Kingdom, this is typically reflected by the availability of English language classes offered freely by the state. However, the United Kingdom's language policy may be different to South Africa's, a country with 11 official languages, while in the United Kingdom, it is only English.

In South Africa, migrants have to find ways to facilitate their integration through informally learning the community language. The majority, if not all, of the study participants report having been able to communicate in English. This was evident where research has found that the majority of Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu had at least Grade 11, which is form four or O level in the Zimbabwean education system. All participants could understand and speak English, which is one the three official languages of the Western Cape.

Studies shows that language is a critical factor as a medium of communication in social capital formation, since it makes it easy for actor to be understood. It is also believed, that in

strange and unfamiliar environments, migrants with many things in common, such as, culture and language, can link because the only viable link existing between them at the time may be ethnicity or common language (Brettel, 2005: 560). However, Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu have extended this language capital not only to their ethnic group, but also to the entire community. Most of the Zimbabwean migrants were bilingual with their home language, either Shona or Ndebele, but some are multilingual with both Shona and Ndebele, together with English, since they were British colony. They have also managed to integrate into the host community, by learning the community language, isiXhosa.

One participant, identified as *Munachi*, explains how communicating in both English and Xhosa are essential and assisted him in integrating well in Gugulethu. This has made life easier, more especially for accommodation access, interacting with community members and communicating with his customers in business.

“I think the language is very important, knowing the South African languages have given me an opportunity to stay well and safe in this area. Firstly, I understand English well; this is due to the fact that English is our first language back in Zimbabwe. It is also widely spoken in South Africa. On top of that isiXhosa is very close to our Shona language so I can listen well and speak it. At first it was not easy because of the cliques but since I live here, I have improved it very well. I think language barrier is a very important one to overcome since if you can't overcome the language barrier, there is no way you will communicate to people in this area. The only way to unlock the social contacts for you is to learn their language. My brother, the people here they love their Xhosa language, even those who are fluent in English will speak to you in Xhosa. Having English is an advantage because you can switch code the two. So those people with the language barrier are very isolated and they tend to meet only those people who they can communicate with. I have managed to get new local friends in the area.”

For *Munachi*, it was important to cast his social network more widely than his co-ethnics to establish bridging links as suggested by (Ryan *et al.*, 2008). In the process, this has provided him access to social and economic capital, thereby, achieving social mobility which is vital for integration.

Most Zimbabwean participants, unlike Ugandan participants, had a positive perception and saw the varying degree of the necessity of learning isiXhosa. It was found that since the local community prefers using isiXhosa, they were willing and prepared to assist migrants to learn and speak their language. Migrants are more likely to learn the language informally through interacting with locals, attending community functions such as, church services and funerals. The Ugandans on the other had thought learning Xhosa was somewhat necessary. *“where will I take this language it’s just only here’ so it’s not a great deal”* said Juma.

Despite the importance of learning a host’s community language for proper integration, some migrants are left behind due to a number of factors; which could include language acquisition, and the degree and extent of exploitation of the social networks available. For less integrated migrants, the lack of language competence in the host country often becomes a disabling factor. This current research finding has corresponded positively with different number of researchers in the field of sociolinguistics who have highlighted some major social and psychological factors impacting on the successful integration of migrants in the host environment. According to Mitchell and Myles, (2001: 24), cognitive factors such as language aptitude and language learning strategies as well as affective factors, for example, language attitudes, motivation and language anxiety, all have an important effect on the performance of the second language learner. However, there are other factors, such as, racism and socio-cultural boundaries that could be an important cause of a lack of migrant acquisition of the host nation’s language.

Apart from learning the local language, religion and involvement in church activities, is another way for migrants to integrate themselves into the host society and local community.

5.5.3 Religion as a strategy for migrant integration

Another important aspect of this research is the role of religion in migrant’s lives which was seen as a strategy in integration process. Studies such as (Hopkins, 2010; Al-Sharmani 2010; Mutsindikwa and Gelderblom, 2014) have shown the importance of religion in the process of migrant integration into the host community. The role played by religion was another theme found throughout the entire study. Religious beliefs played a pivotal role and assisted many migrants in Gugulethu to integrate themselves into the local community. The migrants

retained their religious beliefs in the host society. Although, there were a few movements across Christian denominations that were recorded, and some reported to have grown in faith as a result of more participation and involvement in religious activities, all migrant participants were reported to have remained Christian, as they were when they left their countries of origin.

Research participants were asked about the role of religion in their lives as migrants. The majority, especially women, responded positively to the notion that religious affiliation is very important in their lives in South Africa. According to them, the church has helped them to adapt to South African life. Some of them are regular attendants at church activities around Gugulethu, while others attended a home-based church outside Gugulethu. However, some are not churchgoers. Those who responded positively were regular churchgoers before migrating to South Africa, but life here became so different, so they stopped attending church. Nevertheless, some of them remain committed to their religion, but are affected by the limited time that they have to go to church, since some their jobs required them to work over the weekend.

For those who viewed the church an important aspect of their lives offered various reasons for this. The first was a sense of belonging, believing that Christians are of one family regardless of where you come from. Others wanted to keep their family church traditions; others had formed church groups to assist them in case of problems like sickness, death or attack. In this case, members come together for comfort and support. The second factor was a migrant's sense of security. A number of migrants believed that God is their source of security; He can provide security while in Gugulethu. God also provides food, health, jobs and blesses their businesses and families here, and in their home countries.

Figures 11 and 12: Thembalethu SDA Church in Gugulethu. Left the congregation and right the preacher with an interpreter.



The picture on the left, taken by the researcher showing a congregation of Thembalethu SDA Church in Gugulethu. The picture on the right shows the preacher with an interpreter.

The Thembalethu SDA Church in Gugulethu accommodates both locals and African migrants. This can be seen as an example of social integration where the local and migrant community meet. The church has even changed the language policy and they have embraced a bilingual policy, where isiXhosa and English is used to accommodate those who cannot understand the local language.

5.5.4 Migrant's social capital and the use of social networks

This section of the chapter presents findings on the functions and features of social networks in the Gugulethu migrants' lives. It was found that social networks function as social capital is a very significant source of support for this group of migrants. They are essential to their livelihood strategies and also influence their integration into the host community. The formation of social groups among migrants in Gugulethu, which are enabled through social networks based on ethnic identity, will also be discussed in this chapter.

This research engaged with literature and debates of bonding, bridging and linking social capital in form of networks and how they assist migrants in their process of migration. I hope that this will contribute towards the growing literature on social capital. The finding of this research has agreed that family/kin group within bonding social capital is vital for the process of migratory process (Woolcock, 2005:219). However, it is an individual's responsibility to

build on that foundation laid family/kin group networks for social integration into the host community. This is because of the economic challenges faced by older migrants in the host nation; therefore, there is a need for new migrants to find other alternatives.

The current study found that Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu depended on family or kinship group as a form of social capital that assists them in an initial stage of migration. These migrants further create their own networks within the host community which they depend on in the absence of family or kin networks. This is due to some challenges and obligations family member have in the host nation. The over expectation of new migrants to receive assistance from existing migrant family members or kin, has led to rejection because of tough economic conditions experienced by existing migrants as seen by Hungwe (2015). His study found that some new Zimbabwean migrants are now experiencing rejection by their family members who are expecting them to assist them.

Social capital as a mechanism for migrant's integration in a host nation has received much scholarly attention (Curran and Saguy, 2001; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Massey *et al.*, 1993). It is evident that migrants normally remain integrated into a network of people of the same background, history, language, culture or religion. Research done in Singapore to examine how public spaces such as parks, residences, shopping malls were constructed based on segregation in terms of race, class gender and nationality, found that migrants had found ways of negotiating through strategies that contest spatial expressions of such forms of segregation (Yeoh and Huang, 1998: 583).

Although places like Gugulethu were constructed on a segregated basis to the extent of Black South Africans perceiving it as their enclosed place or “our pride,” the meaning the name Gugulethu. African migrants have constructed strategies rejecting the dominant exclusion from the social order created by apartheid regime and then the community. Almost all participants, with the exception of a few, indicated that they had family or friends in South Africa, even in Cape Town, who have played a role in their decision to migrate to South Africa. Even their decisions to stay in these locations were determined by their friends and relatives. They were able to tap into established networks and learn from the experience of others. According to Langellier (2010), social networks can be used by migrants as a means

to preserve and express national identity, which is evident as one of the many functions of networks in the migrant community living in Gugulethu.

Data obtained in the current study, has shown that Zimbabwean migrants living in Gugulethu applied or have used their social capital in the form of networks in the process of their integration in the host nation. Research reveals that there is a constant use of social bonding in terms of family, friendship networks among migrants from their place of origin, during transit and their settlement in the host nation. Research done by Al-Sharmani's (2010) on transnational family networks among Somalis migrants in Egypt showed the high nature of kin-based networks amongst migrants, more especially, female migrants. It demonstrated that family and kinship networks are the most important support system used by migrants. This same pattern was evident among Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu, Cape Town, where kinship networks facilitated the migration journey by funding travel costs and offering various forms of support while migrants are still new in the country. On arriving in South Africa, migrants would first search for their relatives, friends, or tribe members and kin whom they expect to assist them upon their arrival. They are also expected to assist them with important information, for example, how to obtain permits and jobs. It is through these networks that newcomers that are introduced to other migrants who could help them in the future. Further research found that migrants live in a close proximity to one another, and this has assisted them to look after themselves in case of need. However, still in the absence of Zimbabwean kin networks or in situations when they cannot assist due to economic challenges, the next closest person is the person from the same religion. It was found that migrants, especially those from Zimbabwe, have created social networks beyond their ethnic group. As a result, these networks beyond their ethnic boundaries have created a sense of belonging within the community of Gugulethu.

Another participant, *Harriet*, on this point, says:

"Sometimes you need people outside your circle, for me my church members in this community have become my friends and relatives. Sometimes they can even assist you quickly more than your own people can. I have managed to get a job because of my church member. Even when my sister came and was looking for job and accommodation, one of the church member offered her a place outside her main house."

Harriet appreciates the presence of her Seventh-day Adventist South Africans in Gugulethu, where she feels a sense of belonging. She argues that belonging to this church, which was her home church in Zimbabwe has greatly played a role in her integrating into the host society. Harriet's story corresponds with migrant studies that have found that migrants draw on religious affiliation to settle and immerse in host communities (Hopkins, 2010). In this case, it answers the research question – in the absence of South African government and humanitarian aid in support of migrants in the country, migrants extend their family or kin networks, in this case, the church or church members in order for them to integrate into the host community. This has given migrants an opportunity to use their social capital, such as, cultural and religious communities, to get assistance in times of need.

Although different studies have shown that migrants have tendencies of remaining integrated into a network of people whom they share similar history, beliefs, culture or religion (Curran and Saguy, 2001; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Massey *et al.*, 1993). This research found contrary to those claims since the majority of Zimbabwean nationals have moved beyond as seen in the case of Harriet and others.

Most of my participants claimed that they got information about South Africa and its opportunities through family members and friends who were either living and working in South Africa or have been in South Africa or regular visitors. Community members such as neighbours who were regular visitors and were engaging in economic activity, in South Africa, or whose relatives were working and living in South Africa, have greatly contributed to the motivation and encouragement of migrants to migrate.

One male participant, *Munachi*, had this to say: *“My neighbour’s son living and working in South Africa whom we grew together comeback home for Christmas holiday and seemed to be doing well. He had nice clothes and expensive phones; he took us out buying us food and some beers. All girls seemed to like him than us since he was a good spender. We asked him and told us how life is good in South Africa, easy to get jobs and doing business. He advised us how we can go about if we want to go to South Africa; he told us the only important aspect is a passport and transport money”*.

It seems the information received by seekers of the economic situation in South Africa, together with the real living standards of the information provider, in this case, the neighbour's son and a friend to the migrant, had a huge influence for their decision to migrate to South Africa.

The study has found that there is considerable social capital among Zimbabwean migrants living in Gugulethu and this 'capital' in the form of social networks has played a vital role in the process of their integration into the host nation. The social networks have also played an important role for successes in their social and economic activities. Many Zimbabwean migrants are assisted in terms of employment, for example, employing fellow Zimbabweans, and introducing them to important contacts for work or establishing a small business. It was also found that most of the migrants in Gugulethu managed to get accommodation through friends and relatives. Migrants are using their limited skills or home work experience, in the absence of external support, to set up small businesses in the area.

Most Zimbabwean migrants living in Gugulethu chose the area of residence not by chance, but for specific reasons. Most have indicated that they chose their areas of residence because they had relatives or friends there. One participant, *Mama Albertina*, had this to say:

"A friend of mine used to come to Cape Town and stayed with other Zimbabweans in this home, when I was planning to come to Cape Town to sell my products. Before I came she contacted the landlord in Gugulethu and told that I am visiting and requested her to accommodate me. I was given the address and the cell number. When I arrived in Cape Town, I called the landlord who organised transport for me and my goods from Cape Town Station to Gugulethu. We live here as sisters and assist each other. We have a saving group cash group where we assist each other in case of challenges."

When participants were asked if they had assisted other migrants to come to South Africa, a limited number of migrants responded not to have helped them to directly cross into South Africa. However, the majority of them admit to having helped their fellow migrants come to South Africa. This assistance was in the form of information about the process of migration, such as, how to cross the border to South Africa, to assist them with money for transport,

accommodation and food while they would arrive, and to assist them in getting work. Several participants have reported that they had done so many times during their migration time. However, migrants were accepted to have assisted mostly relatives, friends, and other fellow countrymen, who were likely to be of their ethnicity, once they had arrived without relatives. During my research, I visited a car garage in Luyoloville, where I met quite a number of Zimbabwean migrants. It is known as a central point especially for newcomers, who had just arrived without family or friendship networks.

Social capital is one major pull factor that inspires people to migrate (Massey *et al.*, 1993). According to him, it is the existence of interpersonal networks in the receiving countries which is made up of people who are from the same country, friends, family members, and relatives, etc. He argues that they play a central role in facilitating the process of migration for new migrants. One major role for these networks is to reduce different expenditures, such as, monetary, psychological, risks and helping with the process of integration, etc. While exploring the impact of social capital, the researcher wanted to investigate the role of different types of connections and networks and 'social capital' in facilitating the migrant's integration into the local community.

The study found that Zimbabwean migrants are using social capital in the form of networks to live and integrate themselves into the Gugulethu community. When asked where they received help in the case of challenges, such as, sickness or not being able to get a job. Zimbabwean responses have shown that in situations such as sickness, death or needing food; their responses were that when they got sick, others could come to their rescue by comforting them and helping in cash and in kind. Most of them claimed that relatives and friends mostly assisted them with care, food and encouraged them to have faster recovery. Those belonging to church organisations were more likely to integrate and be assisted than those who did not. Most of them attending religious organisations claimed that they were sometimes assisted by their church members. One of my Zimbabwean participants, Joy, who lost a relative back home, had this to say:

“When I lost my Aunt the one who raised me back in Zimbabwe, I had no money to go and in assist with the burial arrangements which needs a lot of money. Since I have no family in Cape Town, my friends from Zim, (meaning Zimbabwe) around here came to comfort and

praying with me and some gave me money as it is our practice. My employer Umlungu- the white lady I am working for also assisted me with some transport money. She was so kind to me to the extent of giving me a leave for three weeks. This gave an opportunity of going home to bury my Aunt. I also received some assistance in form of money and food from my church friends who come to offer prayers here at my place. If it was not for the friends, my church members and the Madam I am working for, I wouldn't have been able to go home and assist in the burial processes of my beloved Aunt.”

Although a majority of them claimed that they got the most help from relatives in Cape Town or other parts of the country, some claimed to be getting assistance from overseas relatives. Another participant, *Susan*, narrated to me how it was difficult for her to leave Zimbabwe; she says:

“Although I have relatives here in Cape Town who wanted me to come to South Africa, they could not fully assist me. They gave me useful information about how to migrate to South Africa but could not support me financially. I had to process a passport, which needed so much money. The legal passport fee is \$50 but if you don't know an official to assist you it might take long sometimes not even being issued. However, with the help of a friend who knows someone in the passport office connected me to him. The process took \$100 but it was easy because we had someone to assist us. When I got the passport, still I need money to travel to South Africa and Cape Town in particular, which required a lot of money. My Relatives in Cape Town were also straggling and could not help. I therefore contacted my cousins one lives in London UK, and the other one in Canada. When I told them my plan and knowing the situation in Zimbabwe, they did not hesitate to assist me. When I arrived in Cape Town I was received and assisted by my relatives here in terms of food and accommodation until I managed to get a job. But even now if I have a problem with some cash my overseas relatives can send me some small money. I now live on my own because I can manage to sustain myself.”

Although, Zimbabwean migrants have shown a high level of social capital and networks, there are some serious tribal conflicts among Zimbabwean migrants. Since a majority of research participants was Zimbabwean, I took it for granted that they were all the same. However, one of my participants, by the name of *Gumede*, shocked me. It started when I

greeted him in Shona, a language I have been familiar with since I started interacting with Zimbabwean migrants. He did not respond until I greeted him in English. He narrated to me about the mistreatment of his tribe, the Ndebele a (minority), by the Shona (the majority). He believes that President Robert Mugabe and his Shona regime are evil and marginalized his tribe, the Ndebele. He narrated about the 1980 tribal conflict between the Shona and the Ndebele in Matabeleland which left hundreds dead by Mugabe's troops. This story was very significant since it showed how migrants carried their home historical conflicts with them in a foreign land. When asked where he has friends from the Shona tribe, his response was that he does not trust the Shona people. We may meet and talk but deep inside I know and they also know that we do not get along. This, although not investigated, may have an impact on the lives of migrants in their host nation.

In Gugulethu, migrants have opportunities to engage with diverse social networks and individuals who are different to Zimbabweans, such as South African colleagues, and neighbours of church member's. Although unsurprisingly, the social networks of most Zimbabwean migrants were characterized by strong ties within kin based networks, however, Zimbabwean migrant's, other than other migrant groups, have a greater exposure to networks outside the Zimbabwean community in Gugulethu. These migrants have chosen to participate fully in Gugulethu community affairs which have broadened their networks of which social networks are used as integration strategies in the host community. This has an advantage since their involvement has the potential to expose them to alternative value systems and identities as suggested by (Curran and Saguy, 2001; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Massey *et al.*, 1993).

Moreover, the unique nature of Zimbabwean migrants has played a big role, for instance, it can also be attributed to the education levels and cultural capital that most Zimbabwean migrants possessed. For example, being able to speak the local language and English, unlike Somali migrants, for instance, who were struggling with both English and isiXhosa. Ugandans in the community were advantaged for having been fluent in English, but not the local language, like Zimbabwean migrants.

Most migrants felt very strongly about integration into society, they tell themselves to view themselves as not only foreign migrants, but also as part of the local community. They believe that adaptation and integration also depends on their willingness of the local culture to facilitate entry into the local community. Zimbabwean migrants do not wait for the state or other organisations to facilitate their integration process; rather, they would use their social capital to integrate themselves.

The previous section has argued that migrants use various strategies and draw on social networks to integrate into the local community. The next section examines some of the obstacles to this and the barriers preventing integration.

5.6 Barriers to Integration in the host nation

Various barriers exist, including xenophobia and crime, and the difficulties associated with accessing legal documents in South Africa.

5.7 Xenophobia and Crime

The xenophobic attacks and attitudes towards the migrants living in Gugulethu Township have historically played a part in preventing migrants from being accepted by and integrated into the local community. From the literature, we have seen the issue of xenophobia extensively discussed. It was also important while exploring the life experiences of migrants in Gugulethu to find out from them to compare with the literature. Xenophobia was one of the major themes that came out strongly in this current research.

There are challenges as far as migrant integration in South African communities is concerned. Experts on migration studies show that xenophobia is one hindrance as far as integration and social interaction between African migrants and South Africa nationals. They argue that xenophobia in South Africa undermines refugees' local integration and the stability of their livelihoods. Due to fear of attacks in the townships, refugees prefer to live in more expensive inner-city areas (UNHCR, 2010). According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (UNHCR), the recurrent xenophobic attacks on refugees and other African migrants hamper their ability to make a living or integrate into local communities and recommend that South Africa as a global partner, should formulate policies that will

implement processes of integrations between foreign migrants, especially refugees, in a cohesive manner (UNHCR, 2010).

The Western Cape, and Cape Town, in particular, has a large number of refugees and immigrants and is a popular destination in South Africa, (UNHCR, 2010). However, Cape Town is not immune to the challenges faced by African migrants including xenophobia. Cape Town is regarded as a divided city in South Africa (Bolzoni, 2009). According to other writers (Peberdy and Jara, 2011), Cape Town, is being regarded as a discriminative city. They view post-apartheid Cape Town, as a neo-apartheid city, given the city's history of racism and discrimination. They further point out, that with continuing working-class exclusion, marginalization, and exploitation, the benefits are small and mainly given to the white elite (Peberdy and Jara, 2011).

In general, South Africa is characterised by inequalities due to race and class and is largely a segregated nation (Harris, 2002; Neocosmos, 2010). In this way, African migrants especially find themselves on the periphery of the formal job market. The unequal urban geography of the city of Cape Town is more than a spatial socio-economic challenge. In this case, class interests and spatial relations influence, mould and, mediate social relations and political consciousness (Pieterse, 2004, 2010; Kgara, 2007). The exclusionary spaces and post-apartheid urban planning has not fostered social cohesion or access to social capital, but segregates many people, including migrants in present day South Africa. Many poor African migrants have no alternative due to the inequality of the city between the rich and the poor. Due to hostility and widespread negative perceptions about African migrants, the majority of migrants are forced to live in white suburbs, where they pay a lot of money, in order to stay safe. However, low skilled and poor migrants have no alternative but to live in black townships where hostility levels are very high. Even Zimbabwean migrants in Gugulethu, often find themselves being marginalized, even by their Black counterparts, as claimed by researchers (Peberdy and Jara, 2011).

It should be noted that xenophobia is prevalent in the socially, politically and economically marginalized peripheries of the city where there is competition for the little available resources (Marais, 2008). Marais (2008) further argues that as migrants arrived, they were

welcomed by racial fragmentation, with challenges of social integration, such as, social exclusion, racism, and xenophobia.

Various studies on migration and xenophobia in South Africa have been conducted and published around South Africa and outside (Crush and Williams, 2001). Much has been written about the xenophobic attacks that have been taking place across South Africa since 1994, with much emphasis on the events of May 2008, which started in Alexandra Township, in Johannesburg, before it spread around the whole country. All these studies have found that South Africa has a history of xenophobia (Neocosmos, 2008; Neocosmos, 2010; Lubbe, 2008; Abdi, 2011). Although there have been quite a number of incidents of xenophobic violence in South Africa, since 1994, however, the May 2008 xenophobic violence was the extreme. Xenophobia in Cape Town has not been as extensive or extreme as witnessed in other parts of the country.

It should also be noted that xenophobic attacks and threats were more likely to take place in informal settlements, in townships, such as, Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Delft, Philippi and Gugulethu, where the challenges of unemployment and poverty remain the biggest challenge to post-apartheid South Africa's transformation (Coetzee *et al.*, 2009). This is rooted to its historical, political and socio-economic structure. Therefore, if poverty and unemployment is not addressed, social integration and interaction will remain a challenge and a threat to social cohesion.

While trying to understand the nature of xenophobia and its history, some interesting observations were recorded. In the interview I had with *Utata Mkhulu*, an old community leader in Section 3, he told me that migrants have long been part of the Gugulethu community, but the word xenophobia to him is a new phenomenon which has not been in the history of their pride land, "Gugulethu," they founded. According to him, xenophobia is a new thing. This is what he had to say.

"This thing of 'xenophobia' is a new thing; we did not know the concept and even its meaning, I am just hearing it now. We had many African brothers living with us here. Most of them were from Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, Nyasaland, the current Malawi, Mozambique, and Lesotho. We treated each other as one family. We stayed here without problems some of our

African brothers were worshiping here with us. This was due to the fact that black people regardless where you come from by law you were not allowed to interact with other races so our African brothers from other countries were welcomed and stayed with us black our communities and integrated themselves in our black community. Our struggles were their struggles too. Most of them married our sisters and become South Africans.”

This same argument was supported by an old South Africa participant, whose name has been withheld by request. He is one of the founding members of Seventh-day Adventist on NY108 Gugulethu. He narrated that many foreign nationals “*stayed in our community without any problem.*” He gave me the names of a couple of families whose background originated from Zimbabwe and Malawi, but were now South African citizens. He admitted that some people used to joke sometimes by making prejudiced statements to migrants, but we had no attacks as it is today. From his statements, I had realized that, even at that time, xenophobic tendencies were there, but it was different from the current xenophobia, characterized by human attacks and rioting around South Africa. This man gave a huge analysis of the real picture of the history of xenophobia, in townships around Cape Town, including Gugulethu. He narrates:

“My son I will tell you this that xenophobia is also foreign to us people of Cape Town. We used not to have much conflict than we have today; these problems came with people who migrated from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town. We have a similar problem with them in our communities. Those people who are the one are causing all these problems are not the cape townians, they came looking here looking for work but later integrated. However, after 1994, there has been an influx of people from Eastern Cape to Cape Town. Some have managed to get work but majority have not managed because some have limited skills to work, when they fail to get work, majority have turned into criminal activities including xenophobia. Don’t you ask why xenophobia has not been presence before 1994? They came with all sorts of problems including witchcrafts and other behaviours we hadn’t here before. Even other problems such as housing are caused by them, for example our children find it difficult to access housing, they will remain back dwellers. Those people from Eastern Cape are leaving the houses here and come and apply for houses also here. They come with the entitlement mentality. Even that so called xenophobia is not caused by the origin people of Cape Town but by those people who believe to be entitled to everything. As you have been told, we have

many families in our community whose origins are from other countries like Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Malawi, and other parts do you think they should be attacking their own blood. Think about it my Son.”

Both men’s narratives confirmed that South Africa has a long history of migration, particularly, migrant workers from neighbouring countries, such as, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique, who were needed, particularly, for both mining and agriculture in South Africa. However, a majority of them have integrated into South Africa are now citizens (Oucho, 2006: 48) and have nothing to do with their grandparents or parents country. They are proudly South African.

When I asked South Africans about the presence of Zimbabweans in Gugulethu, I intended to detect their attitudes towards foreigners and I had different reactions. I remember one of the men from my church gave me some interesting information, which I recorded, but when I reached home he sent me an SMS on my cell phone and it reads *“hi my brother, the Zimbabweans also stay in the townships in order to get close to the girls, marry them and get SA citizenship by naturalization.”* Another one replied that, *“they are here for our resources.”* When I analyzed these responses, I realize that these local South Africans may not see migrants benefiting the local community, but rather to receive things that are reserved for South Africans, such as women and various resources, which corresponds with the literature on the issue (Marais, 2008). My findings are that negative attitudes towards migrants are higher in younger people, but more particularly, young men rather than women. However, others see the presence of migrants as beneficial and have criticized those who do not appreciate the presence of migrants in their locations. One respondent, a South African woman, in her 60s said: *“We cannot generalize that the foreigners are the problem in our community, we are the problem ourselves. For example, migrants are not thieves like our young boys; they are here for their own business”.*

The research findings on xenophobia among migrants painted a different picture. The majority responded on the issue of xenophobia when the researcher asked them if they have been attacked by local residents. None of them responded positively to having been attacked by local residents. However, almost all responded to be living in constant fear of xenophobia. Suzan, a female Zimbabwean migrant said:

“You never know what will happen tomorrow, we always hear friends from other locations what is happening there and you think it’s coming to us any time! We live in constant fear because although it seems good here, you can’t trust South Africans, anything can happen anytime”

Another migrant narrated how her hair-salon container business was attacked by unknown people during the night. When she went to open her business, all her business equipment was stolen and others were damaged. I recorded different cases where migrants were robbed of their money, cell phones, and documents etc. There were a lot of incidents where migrants were robbed by young community boys and when you reported them to their parents, they will not do anything.

When asked whether are likely to report these incidences to the police, the majority of participants reported no, because *“it’s a waste of your time.”* They claim, the police are also xenophobic, *“you go there they will just you time, they will start asking you in Xhosa language and if you don’t know how to speak it, they will not help you.”* Others will ask interrogative questions to prove the identity of person who robbed you and if you cannot produce the picture, they cannot help you. Migrants claim that to stay safe from the community you just ignore everything because of these thugs or ‘skollies.’ These are community children, and their parents know that they are problematic, so taking them to the police will be like exposing them, and then there are more problems, so the best thing to do is to just leave it.

While trying to analyze the issue of xenophobia in Gugulethu, the research shows that it is over exaggerated. Most of what people report as xenophobia is just criminal activity, which occurs everywhere in parts of South Africa. But, when migrants are the target, it becomes xenophobia. There is a need for migrant researchers to investigate and redefine the concept because it may be over used even when it is not. What this research found that hinders the migrant’s smooth integration into the Gugulethu community, is criminal activity. Gugulethu, like the nature of other townships in South Africa, is characterized by a high rate of criminal activity and migrants find themselves in such an environment circle, as seen in other studies such as (Harris, 2001; Marais, 2008).

There is a widely held perception that African migrants are the main cause of crime and these perceptions are believed to cause conflict between migrants and local residents. The general perception of South Africans is that, immigrants cause crime. However, McDonald *et al.*, (1999) have rejected this argument. According to them, African migrants have been the victims of crime in South Africa, other than being the perpetrators of crime as perceived by many. Research had highlighted the culture of violence in South Africa which is believed to have been one of the legacies of apartheid (Harris, 2001). African migrants are also disproportionately the victims of crime and xenophobia; this is made worse by inadequate redress in the law or lack of protection by the police. Another factor, impacting on migrants and their ability of integrate into South Africa, relates to documentation and bureaucratic procedures.

5.7.1 Challenges in accessing legal documents in South Africa

Another challenge that came out strongly from research participants is the issue of access to legal documents. Quite a number of studies have written extensively on this issue (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002: 31). Research done by the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA, 2008) reported the slow process by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) in facilitating the integration of African migrants into the host community. They argue that this has created a high rate of undocumented migrants in South Africa. According to Matsinhe (2011) immigrants from the African continent receive poor treatment while Europeans are generally considered as investors or tourists and are treated well.

The current research tried to investigate how migrants manage to access documents which facilitate their integration in the host nation. Although some have managed to obtain legal documents, a majority find it difficult to obtain legal documents allowing them to stay in South Africa.

A majority of Zimbabwean migrants are living in South Africa as refugees and asylum seekers. However, quite a number of them are living undocumented. All lament the challenges they face while trying to access documents from the Department of Home Affairs. It requires a foreign migrant to legally reside in South Africa by having a valid passport with a work or study permit, while refugees and asylum seekers are governed by the Refugee Act of 1998, that requires them to declare their refugee status on their arrival in the country, and

then to visit the Department of Home Affairs, to apply for the permit. However, the process of obtaining these permits has become almost impossible for a majority of immigrants, due to the increasing number of immigrants entering the country, corruption by officials and other complex challenges as seen in different studies (Maharaj, 2004:3, Crush, 2001; Oucho, 2006; Oucho, 2008).

A majority of Zimbabwean migrants are regarded as economic migrants, and therefore, do not qualify for refugee system permits. Those who have these permits also have the problem of renewing them, since some of them are from refugee centres, outside of Cape Town, such as, Pretoria, Musina, Johannesburg and Durban. Those in Cape Town, narrate the horrific situation at the Cape Town Refugee receiving Centre which is characterised by long queues, complicated bureaucracy and corruption which are making the process difficult.

Figure 13: Situation at the Cape Town Refugee receiving Centre



Above is a picture of a Cape Town Home Affairs showing the influx of migrant waiting in the queue while waiting for an official to collect migrant's documents to be renewed

Despite the government's effort to regulate the increasing number of undocumented migrants, a majority have remained undocumented. In 2010 – 2011, the South African government through launched its regularization scheme, some 275,000 Zimbabweans were assisted with the help of the Zimbabwean government to reduce the number of undocumented migrants in the country. This scheme saw some 275,000 Zimbabweans legalising their stay in the

Republic after applying for work, study or business permits. However, a majority remain undocumented.

Another attempt is the Zimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit (ZSP) introduced by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Malusi Gigaba. On 12 August 2014, he introduced a new scheme to address this issue. However, the issue of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants is far from over as seen in similar studies (Maphosa, 2010; Bloch, 2010). Some of the Zimbabwean migrants in the current study reported to have been living in South Africa without legal documents due to the challenges they faced in accessing them. Although it was not an objective of this study, due to its sensitivity to migrants. Quite a number of them openly narrated the challenges they face. They narrated specifically, the challenges those without legal documents have in accessing basic services, such as, accommodation, health, education and access to jobs in the host nation. However, due to their social capital they were managing to live in the community. It was also important for this study while analysing the challenges migrants face in their process of integration in South Africa.



CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes the study findings and draws conclusions based on the objectives that guided the current study. It also highlights some of the limitations of the study, and further outlines some of the recommendations and suggestions for further research. This current study is an exploratory study investigating the integration of African migrants in a South African community. It is a case study of the Zimbabwean migrants living in Gugulethu Cape Town. The study presents evidence while trying to respond to the research question posed by this study; in the absence of a strategic plan to integrate African foreign nationals into South Africa society by the South African government, how do African migrants living in Gugulethu use their social capital to integrate themselves into the local community, which is widely regarded as xenophobic?. It explored on the integration strategies and social networks of Zimbabwean migrants working and living in Gugulethu, Cape Town. It has also explored and sought to contribute to the understanding of how migrants use social networks to facilitate integration and develop a sense of belonging in a very segregated society.

On the issue of the integration of migrants into the South African community, the current study found that the integration of migrants in to the Gugulethu community is and has been a recurring process with new dynamics. Although the study was focusing on current post-Apartheid migrants, interesting findings were found during the study. It was found that African migrants have long been a part of local communities. Although it is not the goal of this research to quantify this number, it is evident that a significant section of the Gugulethu community has their origins outside South Africa.

This information was obtained in two major ways. The first, evidence was obtained from oral testimony of some of the founding members of Gugulethu in the 1960s. As seen in the previous chapters, they shared their experiences with African foreign migrants. On the other hand, evidence on this matter was obtained from community members, who shared some information about their ancestral origins. Some families in Gugulethu were freely able to share their stories. In the church that the researcher attends in Gugulethu, some members, including church leaders, have their origin in countries such as Zimbabwe.

The researcher had an opportunity to engage with many South Africans, whose families originated from surrounding countries such as Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, and a majority from Zimbabwe. It should be noted that African migrants, prior to 1994, had managed to integrate well into South Africa society. Although some have cultural attachments such as language and customs, such as that of a Luyoloville South African mother of Lesotho origin, most of them integrated and assimilated into South African society and its culture. Therefore, the information provided and the examples offered, were useful for the study, and enabled the researcher to analyze the new dynamics of integration and assimilation of African migrants. This pre-1994 integration is related to “*segmented assimilation*” as suggested by Portes and Zhou (1993). According to Portes and Zhou (1993) segmented assimilation happens or is possible due to divergent paths for different immigrant groups. Some will follow the time honoured path of rapid acculturation and joining the mainstream of the community, while others may experience socio-economic mobility but will still preserve the migrant community values and maintain some degree of ethnic cultural and tradition (Portes and Zhou 1993). Although different groups of migrants in Gugulethu of pre 1994 integrated and became South Africa citizens, different groups integrated differently as seen above. Some have maintained their parent’s cultural customs, such as language and practices.

The research found and identified the various strategies Zimbabwean migrants employed for survival and integration into the host nation. These have allowed them to navigate the changes in sociocultural arrangements and constructed their reality, and work through institutional and social barriers.

As indicated, research participants of this study were both male and female, from ages ranging between 18 and 60, with the majority aged between 21 and 40. These are the economically active population and it explains the reason for migrating to South Africa. The majority of the participant Zimbabwean study population was 25 (83.3%), 3 South Africans (10%) and 2 Ugandans (6.7%). The Zimbabwean migrants that were the major focus of the study, indicated and lamented the effects of bad social policy in their country that have forced them to leave for South Africa. Challenges, such as unemployment in rural areas, as a result of Robert Mugabe’s land redistribution, as well as, political unrest in urban areas and their results, such as, Operation Murambatsvina, have greatly affected hundreds of Zimbabwean

nationals and have forced them to migrate to neighbouring countries, such as, South Africa and Botswana (Mutsindikwa and Gelderblom, 2014).

Although participants acknowledge their lives are better off than before their migration. Migrants are confronted everyday by social ills in South Africa such as unemployment, crime and xenophobia as seen in the literature (Crush and Tevera, 2010; Makina, 2010; McDonald *et al.*, 1999; Maharaj, 2004:12 Kok *et al.*, 2006; Harris, 2001). The majority of participants indicated that they had better paying occupations such as clerical jobs and self – employment in Zimbabwe. However, on moving to South Africa, they had to change towards more menial jobs, such as, domestic employment for women and construction work for men. However, with the high unemployment rate in South Africa, the majority of Zimbabwean migrants have been forced to establish their own small informal businesses in their various communities and Gugulethu is no exception.

The current study found that despite the challenges faced by migrants particularly from African countries in a new democratic South Africa, they constructed their world in a very complex way in order to integrate themselves into the host nation. The study found that one of the strategies that migrants construct their real world in South Africa is by drawing on their social capital in the form of networks, to facilitate their integration. As seen in chapter four and five and through the literature, this current study found that, Zimbabweans migrants have left their country, mainly due to both political and economic reasons. A majority of them left the country between 2000 and 2013. This can be attributed to what participants describe as economic-political tsunami. This is the period, where a majority of people left the country as the situation worsened. This is the period when the Zimbabwean economy characterized by hyper-inflation and massive unemployment triggered by Zimbabwean social policies that affected millions, such as, the land acquisitions and Zanu - PF's political crackdown of opposition through programs, such as, Operation Murambatsvina, as seen in studies such as Mutsindikwa and Gelderblom (2014).

The study found that there is a high level of existence and use of social capital in the form of kinship networks among Zimbabwean migrants in the Gugulethu community as found among other studies on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa and other parts of the world (Bloch, 2010; Crush and Tawodzera, 2011; Landau and Segatti, 2009; Matshaka, 2010; Rutherford,

2010; Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). However, the current study found that the use of kinship networks was not uniform across the Gugulethu Zimbabwean migrants' migration trajectory. It found that a more intense prevalence of kinship relations at the first stages of the migration trajectory, especially on the part of giving information to migration prospects, financing the migration journey, assurances of accommodation, and provision of food upon arrival and obtaining a travel document for initial entry into South Africa (where possible). This concurs with other studies of social capital among migrants, such as, (Elrick and Lewandowska, 2008; Machava and Polzer, 2006; and Massey 2008). This study found that social capital, kinship, and social networks exist in that migrants initially got to know about South Africa and its prospects mostly through their relatives than through any other group of people.

The participants of the current study reported to have migrated to South Africa, mostly between 2000 and 2013. It should be noted that this period in Zimbabwe, was a period of economic and political instability by President Mugabe and his ruling Zanu - PF government (Crush and Tevera, 2010; Makina, 2010). Due to such conditions, a majority of Zimbabweans had to leave their country for both political and economic survival. In this case, new migrants needed little encouragement from 'old' migrants. In most cases, migration became a means to ensure survival and escape death as argued by (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009; Rutherford, 2010). Nevertheless, narratives from current study participants indicated that their desire to migrate was by some positive stories that migrants received from visiting migrants from South Africa, either relatives, friends, or former villagers who work and stay in South Africa. These migrants create a positive image of South Africa by the way they look and the things they possess which they did not have prior to their migration to South Africa. Young migrants in particular, reported to have been motivated by these stories from friends and relatives. However, older participants were not likely to be moved by these stories, but by the need and desire to make their families survive in such a continuance of the poor political and economic conditions of Zimbabwe as described by Crush and Tevera (2010) and Makina (2010).

The current study made similar findings to various studies on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, Britain, Botswana and other parts of the world that reflected on how family, friends and sometimes religious networks have aided the migration and settlement of new migrants in their host community (Bloch, 2010; Crush and Tawodzera, 2011; Landau and Segatti, 2009; Matshaka, 2010; Rutherford, 2010; Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). They all show in their

studies how migrants depend on social and religious networks for information both within Zimbabwe and in the new host country. There was a general consensus, that these networks have facilitated a majority of Gugulethu migrants in terms of job access, housing, businesses, marriage partners, and documents to live in the host nation.

However, there has been new evidence which was lacking in the literature on to what extent do these networks start and where do they end. What this research found is that some of these networks were applicable to facilitate the migrant's arrival, but these networks and relationships shifted due to family economic challenges and responsibilities in the country and back home. Most migrants responded positively for helping their fellow migrants, agreed that assisting them has a limit. They expected assisted migrants not to depend on them entirely, but to find ways in which they can become independent and to assist others at home, but, also to be able to help the one who helped them, in case there is a need.

One migrant told me that he facilitated his sister and a brother to come to South Africa to study. He successfully managed to assist them and both have professional work in Johannesburg. He argues that this was in order to avoid dependence. He wanted them to be independent. This was to afford them to help themselves and other relatives in Zimbabwe who were almost entirely dependent on their relatives outside the country. This is similar to studies indicating that due to the deteriorated economic situation in Zimbabwe, a lot of families depended on their relatives outside the country (Crush and Tevera, 2010; Makina, 2010). He further argued that in case he was short of resources here, he also expected them to assist him as he did.

However, his brother has married and has a big responsibility for his family and his wife's family; he finds it difficult to assist his personal brother. Although migrants agree that they have a duty to help their relatives, the same study shows that there is a paradigm shift. Some migrants have now limited their assistance to their relatives. There is a need to investigate how family relations among migrants in Zimbabwe have created hostility among themselves in the host nation.

This was explored in one of the young Zimbabwean participants who narrated how his own family member did not want anything to do with him when he arrived in Cape Town. He says he had told his cousin about his intention to come to South Africa and who then encouraged

him to come and he will be received by him. He did not ask him for money because he knew it could spoil everything. He arranged his money and other logistics, when he arrived in Johannesburg, he contacted him on his cell phone, he answered, but after realizing that he is his cousin from Zimbabwe, he gave him another excuse that he is not around Cape Town and started blaming him for not telling him in advance. He was lying as he was not just willing to receive him.

It was found that some migrants talk big about their lives in South Africa to their relatives and friends back home in Zimbabwe, yet, the reality is that they are struggling in the host nation. This has led to a number of migrants hiding themselves from people related or close to them once they have been contacted in case new migrants have arrived in the country. This corresponds with research done by Hungwe (2015) that showed that due to a tough economic situation in the host country, new migrants are experiencing hostile relations and rejection from their family members and friends. The challenge with Hungwe's study is the lack of other factors, such as, family politics, competition among family members, jealousy and witchcraft among families and communities.

In this study, it was found that some migrants live with South African women, yet, back home they have their wives and children. In such cases, they will be scared that this hidden information might get linked to their families and then they would get into problems. Those few, who reported not being able to assist their relatives, indicated relatives from extended families. Those reported incidents, such as, family wrangles and jealousy, witchcraft and politics, some prefer not to involve themselves with close people, they believe that some family members are jealous of them and can send muthi (traditional medicines) to bewitch them or others reporting them to the Zimbabwean authorities that they are against the ruling government. From the mentioned factors, some migrants are not willing to help some family members to the extent that others might even deter new migrants. This line of argument has not been pursued in the literature of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, since much of which has concentrated on the relationships between Zimbabweans and locals and how they fair at work, in hospitals and schools and on the remittance behaviour of Zimbabweans (Chikanda, 2011; Makina, 2010; Maphosa, 2007).

There have been some attempts to investigate these claims, for instance, an attempt is being made to understand preference for friends rather than family among Zimbabweans in Botswana by Mutsindikwa and Gelderblom (2014) who mainly explain the deterioration of family relations as a consequence of the economic collapse and excessive downward mobility in Zimbabwe that increased competition for resources and reduced solidarity among kin. Sibanda (2010) also explained how Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg began to see some of their kin as ‘burdens’ but did not explore the reasons for such perceptions. It is my desire to explore more of such interesting emerging trends in African migrants in South Africa.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

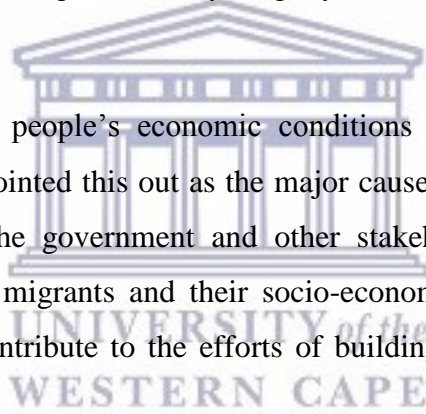
Issues that affect migrants and the communities where they settle are of paramount importance to the United Nations convention on human rights and to governments and policy makers all over the world. It is important that these institutions are informed of the contributions and challenges that face migrants in their adopted homes. This study challenges the South African government and policy makers to establish a migration policy on refugees and other migrants as far as their integration into South African communities is concerned. However, the integration policy cannot be achieved by the government alone, hence, there is a call for collaboration between the United Nations, the government, non-governmental organizations, religious institutions, academic institutions, the media, migrants and local residents in order to build a better South Africa, which the late former President, Nelson Mandela, referred to as a rainbow nation that belongs to everyone in it.

The study suggests that the South African government and the international community at large should honestly address the socio-economic and political conditions in other African countries, since they are ultimately seen as the root causes of, and the drivers of migrants leaving their own countries to seek refuge in South Africa. Most African migrants have lost confidence in South Africa which was expected to champion democratic reforms in its neighbours and beyond. During Thabo Mbeki’s term as president, South Africa failed to address the worsening political and economic situation in Zimbabwe. The situation has forced many of its citizens seek refuge in neighbouring countries, such as, Botswana and

South Africa, where again, they are challenged with social issues such as, unemployment, crime and xenophobic attacks, in which many lose their lives.

Due to the fact that migrants report having been forced to leave their country of origin in order to escape the dire socio-economic and political situation, especially with the case of Zimbabwe, the host nation needs to use its diplomatic ways in mobilizing other regional nations (SADC), in order to address the deteriorating situation forcing people to leave their country of origin. Furthermore, South Africa should revise and resolve the migration problem. Since a majority of migrants have reported to find it difficult to obtain a visa allowing them to enter and stay in the country legally. South Africa should revise its visa policy to its neighbouring countries that would allow people to come and stay for a shorter period of time that can be easily renewable. The more restrictive policies from the government, the more illegal the movement of people becomes. I believe that this will at least reduce the number of those entering the country illegally which is risky for both migrants and the host nation.

There is a need to improve people's economic conditions for both migrants and local residents since studies have pointed this out as the major cause of conflict between migrants and local South Africans. The government and other stakeholders should educate local residents about refugees and migrants and their socio-economic impact on South African society. I believe this will contribute to the efforts of building a more integrated cohesive society.



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APPENDIX A



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09 June 2016

Mr D Kalule
Anthropology & Sociology
Arts Faculty

Ethics Reference Number: HS/16/3/9

Project Title: An investigation of the integration of foreign migrants into South African communities: A case of Zimbabweans living in Luyoloville and New Rest in Gugulethu, Cape Town.

Approval Period: 10 MAY 2016 – 10 MAY 2017

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval. Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Patricia Josias'.

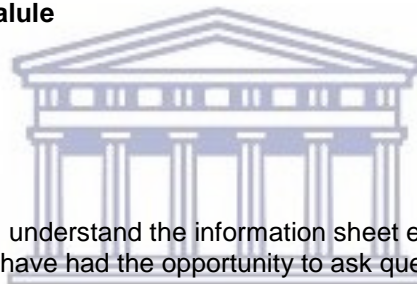
*Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape*



“Title” Research Project

An investigation of the integration of foreign migrants into South African community: A case of Zimbabweans living in Luyoloville and New Rest in Gugulethu, Cape Town.

Researcher: Diplock Samuel Kalule



Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead research at any time)
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research.
4. As a participant of the discussion, I will not discuss or divulge information shared by others in the group or the researcher outside of this group.
5. I agree that the data collected from me to be used in future research.
6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant
(or legal representative)

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent
(If different from lead researcher)

Date

Signature

Lead Researcher
(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)

Date

Signature

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher:

Diplock Samuel Kalule

BA Masters (Sociology)

Department of Anthropology

Supervisor:

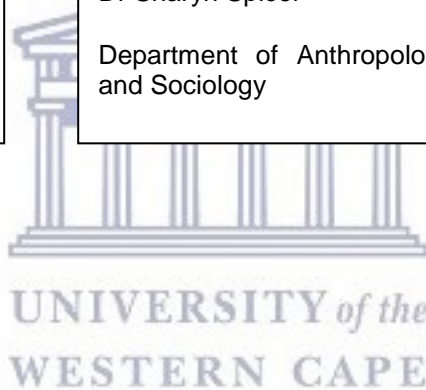
Dr Sharyn Spicer

Department of Anthropology
and Sociology

HOD:

Prof. Olajide Oloyede

Department of Anthropology
and Sociology



APPENDIX C



University of the Western Cape
Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology
University of the Western Cape
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7535
RSA

INFORMATION SHEET

THESIS: STUDENT RESEARCHER:

Diplock Samuel Kahule

Supervisor: Dr Sharyn Spicer

My name is Diplock Samuel Kahule, and I am a registered Master's student at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). I am approaching you to assist me with the data collection on my topic entitled. "An investigation of the integration of foreign migrants into South African community: A case of Zimbabweans living in Luyoloville and New Rest in Gugulethu, Cape Town". Although the focus of this study is for the Zimbabwean migrants, for more comprehensive and comparison purposes few Ugandan and South Africans will be interviewed. Your information will be used to further my research as it will help to gain insight on the dynamics of integration of foreign migrants in South Africa.

The information obtained will only be used for the purpose of this study and shall be kept confidential. Your participation is voluntary and you are free to refuse giving an answer to any particular question which touches your integrity. The interview will take about 30-45 minutes.

Thank you for your participation.

.....
Cell Number: 0721168436
Email: 2952068@myuwc.ac.za

Supervisor Contact Details: Dr Sharyn Spicer, Department of Anthropology, UWC.
Email: sspicer@uwc.ac.za / Cell: 082 433 0932

Dean: Prof DJ Brown, djbrown@uwc.ac.za
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A decorative graphic consisting of a green triangle pointing upwards and a gold triangle pointing downwards, overlapping each other.

A place of quality,
a place to grow, from hope
to action through knowledge

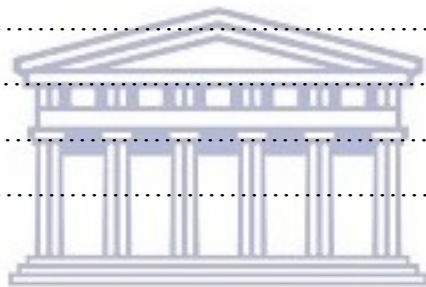
APPENDIX D

Interview guide

Interview No:

Question to be filled by the researcher.

1. Date.....
2. Venue.....
3. Start time.....
4. Finish time.....
5. Time spent.....
6. Respondent's sex.....
7. Occupation.....
8. Place of resident.....
9. Resident status.....



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Questions to be asked

These questions are for the immigrants.

1. Which country do you come from?
2. When did you come to South Africa?
3. What age group are you? 1. (18-25) 2. (26-35) 3. (36-46) 4. (47-100)
4. When you were thinking about migrating, did you already have relatives or friends living in Cape Town? Did they encourage or help you to come to South Africa?
5. Where did you stay when you arrived in South Africa? Do you stay with a relative or not?
6. For how long have you been staying in this area? Who are you staying with?

7. Why did you choose to stay in this area?
8. Do you feel safe living in this area?
9. There is a belief that townships in South Africa are not good for migrants due to xenophobic attacks and attitudes. Explain your experience in your community and how you and your colleagues manage to live and integrate yourselves in Gugulethu?
10. Have you ever been attacked or injured by a local resident or residents? If yes, where and what happened? Did you report the matter to the police? Were you assisted helped by the police or not?
11. What language(s) do you speak?
12. When, where and with who do you speak these languages?
13. What type of relationship do you have with the local South Africans? How often do you interact with the local South Africans and where?
14. Do you depend on these interactions to meet your needs? If yes, what needs?
15. Do you interact more often with male or female local residents? Why?
16. What social, cultural activities that you engage in together with the local residents?
17. Do you find the people around your area friendly or not? Explain and give examples.
18. Are you proud to identify yourself as a citizen of your country of origin? If yes or no why?
19. Would you like to become a South African citizen? If yes or no why?
20. Do you feel as if you are part of the South African society?
21. What are some of the strategies you use to integrate yourself into the community and what are the challenges you face in the process?
22. How does your current situation compare to your situation in your country of origin?
23. Do you have a job or you are self-employed? How did you manage to get your job or start your own business? If self-employed, do you work with the locals or not?

Questions asked to local South African residents.

1. What is your understanding regarding the integration of African migrants in your community?
2. How would you describe the African migrants in your community?
3. How do you feel about the African migrants living in your area?
4. How often do you interact with African foreign migrants living in your area?
5. In what contexts or under what circumstances do you have contacts and interactions with immigrants?
6. What socio-economic activities do you engage with the foreign African migrants?
7. Do you depend on these interactions to meet your needs? If yes, what needs?
8. Where do you mostly meet or interact with the migrants?
9. How do you find the African foreign migrants staying in your area friendly or not?
10. Do you have any close relationship with immigrants such as friends, colleagues, or neighbours?
11. Which nationality (ies) do you mostly interact with and why?
12. What languages do you use while communicating with the migrant?
13. After interacting with immigrants in your area, how are these interactions have changed the way you perceive them or the attitudes toward them?
14. Do you think African migrants in your area contributing positively to your community? Why or why not?
15. Have you ever received help from immigrants or have you helped them in any way? Explain.