

**MIGRATION PATTERNS OF FOREIGN INFORMAL TRADERS AT THE
HARTEBEESSPOORT DAM**

by

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JUNE 2005

I declare that "Migration patterns of foreign informal traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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SIGNATURE
(Mr J H Viljoen)

.....

DATE

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to determine the applicability of western migration models to the movement patterns of foreign migrant traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam. After reflecting on theoretical dimensions of migration and the informal sector, an overview was provided of the historical development of migration patterns to and within South Africa. The complex nature of migration phenomena ensures the application of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. A snowball sampling technique was used to select 30 respondents for the purpose of the questionnaire survey. Information obtained from this survey was supplemented by five in-depth interviews. Descriptive statistical techniques were used to analyse the information obtained from the survey. The study concluded that western migration models do not offer adequate explanation for the migration patterns observed among foreign migrant traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam. The study also established the merit of the combined use of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies in migration studies.

CHAPTER 1: MIGRATION AND THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA

1.1 MIGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The number of migrants coming to South Africa, particularly those originating from the African continent, has increased since the early 1990s, and more so after the first democratic elections in 1994. The migrants primarily come from South Africa's traditional labour supply areas, which include countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), e.g. Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Malawi. However, migrants have also come from other African countries, e.g. Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Kenya. It is widely accepted that the flow of migrants from the SADC countries and beyond has grown remarkably in a short period of time (Minnaar, 1995:23).

Migration is by no means a new phenomenon in southern Africa. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the discovery and mining of diamonds and gold, coupled with the accompanying industrialisation, lured thousands of migrant labourers from the southern African region to the mining and industrial centres of South Africa. However, this was not the beginning of labour migration in the region. Since the 1850s, Tsonga-speaking people had been travelling from the Delagoa Bay area to farms in Natal and in the 1860s Mozambicans worked as seasonal workers on farms in the Western Cape (Katzenellenbogen, 1982:37).

South Africa has thus long been part of a regional economy and a regional labour market. Cross-border migration should be seen within this context. One of the most contentious issues in the migration debate in South Africa is the number of foreign nationals living in the country. Official figures on "legal" border crossings are readily available but it is not clear how many people are "illegally"¹ in the country. There is, however, no reliable research methodology for determining the actual number of migrants in South Africa (McDonald et al., 1999:17). Nevertheless, Mozambicans probably constitute the largest cross-border migrant population in South Africa followed by the Zimbabweans (Bosman et al., 2000). This is mainly because of a movement triggered by the perception that more employment opportunities exist in South Africa; the economic collapse of Mozambique due to a civil war; and severe drought during the 1990s. Zimbabwe, on the other hand, experienced an

¹ Illegal migrants or foreigners constitute people that enter or remain in South Africa in contravention of the Immigration Act no 13 (RSA: 2002).

economic collapse due to drought; land reform policies and political turmoil since 2001, which forced many jobless people to neighbouring countries (Tevera & Zinyama, 2002). At present this outflow of people is continuing.

Some studies (Reitzes, 1997; McDonald et al., 1999 & Bosman et al., 2000) have found that many migrants from neighbouring countries exhibit broad circular movement patterns between South Africa and their home countries. Some migrants come to South Africa for a relative short period of time, e.g. Zimbabwean women involved in cross-border trading, generally do not stay longer than a month in South Africa before returning to their country of origin (Bosman et al., 2000). Other migrants enter South Africa for a prolonged period of time before returning home. McDonald et al, (1999: 28) reports that during a survey done by the South African Migration Project (SAMP), a substantial proportion (37%) of migrant respondents planned to stay in South Africa for 'a few years' with only 15% planning to stay indefinitely. According to this survey, continued employment and social ties in South Africa seem to be a significant factor in migrant views of their length of stay. Although migrants come to South Africa in search of economic opportunities many seemingly have no intention of settling permanently in the country.

1.2 A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

1.2.1 South Africa

According to Koch (1983:151) a policy tradition repressing black industrial entrepreneurship started to evolve since the 1930s. The beginning of the downfall of small black manufacturing enterprises started with planning policies that aimed to clean cities such as Johannesburg through clearance and demolition of slum yards where informal industrial entrepreneurship thrived (Koch, 1983:151). In the 1950s, a hardening of official attitudes occurred against the operation of black small-scale businesses in areas designated as "white only" areas. Under the Group Areas Act, (Union of South Africa, 1950) the racial geography of industry in urban areas was radically changed by closing and removing black business enterprises from so-called white space (Rogerson, 1997). During the 1980s, the policy of repression started to change to one of the promotion of new small business initiatives. Of great importance however, was the passage of the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Act 87 in 1986 (RSA, 1986). Under this legislation, certain industries or geographical locations were exempted from any law, condition, limitation or obligation, which was believed to impede economic progress,

competition or the creation of jobs. Furthermore, influx control laws such as the Pass Laws Act of 1952 (Union of South Africa, 1952) that inhibited the free movement of black South African citizens was removed in 1986, which strengthened informal sector growth in urban areas. This issue will be further examined in Chapter 3.

Since 1987, government policy directives acted in the deregulation and the relaxation of legislative controls that blocked the expansion of all spheres of informal sector activity in cities. Some controls remained to a certain extent but were gradually eroded as time passed. As a result, major increases in the growth of the informal sector in South Africa were recorded during the 1990s. The continued drive to relax controls on informal sector activities increasingly encouraged free informal trade with little restrictions. Trade licences for hawking in Pretoria were, for instance, abolished in 1994 (Viljoen & Wentzel, 2000:3) and other municipalities such as East London began to turn a blind eye to certain key provincial ordinances regarding street trading as early as 1985 (Hart & Rogerson, 1987:164). During 1987 the East London City Council granted permission for temporary allocation of CBD sites for a handful of mobile hawkers carts on an experimental basis. According to Hart & Rogerson (1989:163) the clearest single statement of national commitment to the deregulation of informal local activities was in the White Paper on privatisation and deregulation where it was stressed that the approach to regulation must emphasise the promotion of economic activities and be less directed towards their control. The removal of such regulations paved the way for people of all walks of life to have the opportunity to become involved in the informal sector. The abolition of the Group Areas Act, as mentioned earlier, led to the relaxation of enforced regulations guiding street trading in the late 1980s. Nevertheless, the highly regulated sector was only deregulated in 1991 when restrictions were lifted in most urban areas (Jennings et al., 1995).

In 1998, up to 5% of the traders active in a city such as Pretoria were reportedly of foreign origin (Viljoen & Wentzel, 2000:2). This figure is well below figures found in Johannesburg in 1995 during a study by Jennings et al. (1995). The situation in Johannesburg is probably due to its large population and the attraction that it presents to foreigners in general. In a rapidly changing and growing sector, these percentages will probably be dated and can therefore only provide an indication of a significant presence of foreign traders in the informal sector in large urbanised areas. Other large metropolitan areas such as Cape Town, is also well known for its informal sector that specialises in the marketing of arts, crafts and curios to international tourists visiting one of the major attractions in South Africa.

1.2.2 Zimbabwe

Southern African countries such as Zimbabwe also have a relatively short informal sector history due to migration and labour movement restrictions during colonial rule. The pre-independent government did not recognise the informal sector since it would have meant acknowledgement of a black unemployment problem (Mhone, 1996: 22). The era of colonial penetration of Zimbabwe is described as a period in which either the African was coerced into wage labour in the modern “formal” sector or turned into a subsistence farmer or ‘informalised’, the latter being heavily stigmatised and legal sanction imposed on it (Mhone, 1996:22).

Essentially, up to the late 1970s, the participation of an African as an owner in activities with a meaningful manufacturing/fabrication content was only in the informal sector and was located mostly in the peri-urban areas. The urban economy was therefore without the medium and small-scale enterprises that characterise many cities in developing countries. Restrictive migration and labour movement laws also played a role in inhibiting the development of informal enterprises in urban areas (Mhone, 1996:23). While the colonial government disputed any claims of unemployment among Africans, the ZANU-PF led government in 1980 acknowledged unemployment and the existence of the informal sector as mentioned earlier. However, the socialist policies of the new government in 1980 did not openly support informal sector activities despite its contribution to the economy of the country. Only in 1991 with the adoption of the “Framework of Economic Reform” also known as the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) or the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) was the informal sector singled out as key player in contributing to productive activity, remunerative employment creation and significant value-addition (Mhone, 1996:27).

The informal sector in Zimbabwe in the 1990s was dominated by manufacturing (69,7%) and trade (22,6%) with services only accounting for (7,7%) of the people employed within this sector (Mhone, 1996:34). Interestingly, females were responsible for the largest number of informal sector enterprises (66,6%). It is also mentioned that a phenomenon existed where people, especially women, travelled to Botswana and South Africa for so-called holiday purposes. These trips were in reality motivated by economic reasons that included informal trading in goods such as crochet and clothing (Mhone, 1996:34). Today, in the face of large job losses due to major economic problems one can assume that the

informal sector in Zimbabwe is playing an increasingly important role in providing people with the economic means to earn a living.

1.2.3 Other Southern African Countries

Other southern African countries such as Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique had an informal sector history very similar to that of South Africa and Zimbabwe. In all these countries the development of the informal sector did not receive much attention before the mid to late 1980s. Amin in Mhone (1996:11) pointed to the fact that southern Africa can be called the Africa of labour reserves when compared to West Africa, which is referred to as the 'cash economy of Africa'. In other words, the mining industry in southern Africa dominated labour patterns to such an extent that the informal sector did not receive any acknowledgement or support before the mid 1980s. West Africa had a much more vibrant informal cash economy that dates back to century old trade ties with the Middle East. As a result, the informal economy in West Africa is much larger and more developed than what one would find in any Southern African country.

1.3 LINKING INFORMAL TRADE WITH MIGRATION

The economic dimension of foreign traders involvement in the South African informal sector has been well researched over the last decade. The new ties of friendship between South Africa and its neighbours since 1994, sparked a growing movement of people between countries that started to draw the attention of both researchers and policymakers. Much of the foci of studies conducted were on the economic dimensions of informal trade. In a study by McDonald et al. (1999:22) for example, it was concluded that the single most important reason for migrants entering South Africa is 'looking for work'. The results of a survey by Perderby & Crush (1998:21) shows that 27% of migrant traders interviewed cited the opportunities offered by South Africa's tourist market as a reason for coming to South Africa while 24% cited the strength of South Africa's economy and its currency as the biggest attraction. A study by Bosman et al. (2000) concurred with this conclusion and highlighted a number of issues in terms of economic factors that play a role in either encouraging or deterring cross-border migration to South Africa. Factors associated with the area of origin showed that poor economic circumstances in a migrant's country of origin were of importance in motivating people to move to South Africa. These factors included lack of employment opportunities; low wages; and low value of currencies when compared with the South African Rand. The study also revealed that strong perceptions

exist amongst foreign traders that South Africa is a country with many economic opportunities. Perceptions that money was more freely available in South Africa than in their own countries induced some migrants to enter the South African informal sector, in particular as hawkers selling handicrafts from their own countries or retailing consumer goods bought in bulk.

Rogerson (1997) investigated the role of new foreign migrants working in the small enterprise economy of Johannesburg. He maintained that during the five-year period 1992 to 1997, businesses owned by foreigners became a component of the rapidly changing economic and social complexity of Johannesburg and that businesses owned by immigrants from various parts of Africa had become a distinctive feature of the small medium and micro economy (SMME). The study concluded that the majority of enterprises cluster around the production of retailing of clothes and curios, motorcar repairs and panel beating, the selling of specialist foods and the running of restaurants, hairdressing salons, and import-export businesses. An important finding of this study was that foreign owned businesses were contributing directly to local job creation in Johannesburg for South African workers. Investigations by Viljoen & Wentzel (2000) have also indicated that traders of a multitude of nationalities do business at the well-known Hartebeespoort Dam tourist destination. These traders specialise in selling African arts, crafts and curios to tourists en route to Sun City in North West Province.

Findings of most of the studies that investigate the various dimensions of foreign trader involvement in South Africa cited economic reasons as the major reason for migrants to move to South Africa. These studies also suggest that many immigrants and migrants are self-employed and often provide employment to South Africans. It can be concluded that the link between migration and informal trade, lies in the fact that most migrants move to South Africa due to perceived economic opportunities. However, because of limited formal employment opportunities in South Africa migrants become involved in a range of self-employed informal sector activities.

1.4 RESEARCH MOTIVATION, PROBLEM STATEMENT, ASSUMPTION AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The discipline of geography provides the ideal base for migration research due to the time-spatial nature of the phenomena. Geographers such as Jones (1990:179) for instance argue that migration, as a spatial reallocation of human resources, is of central interest to

the spatially orientated discipline of geography, particularly within the modern emphasis in human geography on spatial processes and spatial interaction.

Research by a number of authorities on international migration (Peberdy & Crush 1998, Bosman et al. 2000) showed that most types of cross-border migration to South Africa could be described as broadly circular in nature. This observation shows that a thorough understanding of the finer nuances, variations, patterns, and trends that might be exhibited and concealed within what is described as circular migration has not been achieved. Intricate movement patterns of especially foreign informal traders are therefore at best little or unexplored despite reports that foreign migrant traders often move around both within South Africa and across international borders.

These broad circular patterns however, do not provide a clear picture of possible variations in travel patterns that might occur between traders of, inter alia, different nationalities, cultural backgrounds, gender and age. Although a small number of studies have been done on informal cross-border trading (see Peberdy & Crush 1998, Rogerson 1997), little is known about the phenomenon or in particular, about the more intricate travel patterns exhibited by foreign traders in South Africa (internal and international migration patterns). Given the above motivation, the problem statement of this research would be:

To what extent does western-based² migration theory satisfactorily explain the local and international movement patterns of foreign traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam?

Research questions that derive from this problem statement are as follows:

- *What factors best explain the decision of migrant traders to move to and trade at the Hartebeespoort Dam?*
- *Do migrant traders of different nationalities, gender, age and educational qualification level exhibit different movement patterns?*
- *Are foreign migrants' movement patterns limited to international movements?*

² Western-based migration theory was generally developed using First World case studies from countries such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom among others.

Given the motivation for this research, the research problem and the research questions posed, the following assumptions can be made:

- *Western migration models do not sufficiently explain cross border and local movement patterns of foreign African traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam.*
- *The widely accepted assumption that circular migration offers an explanation for the movement patterns of foreign African traders can be disputed.*

1.5 SELECTION OF THE STUDY AREA

In an attempt to pin this project to a particular geographical location and group of people, it was decided to focus on foreign traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam informal market. The reason being that research on foreign traders has thus far mostly focused on core urban areas such as Johannesburg and Cape Town. The Hartebeespoort Dam area (see Figure 1.1) is well known to tourists visiting the area for its handmade articles that include inter alia, serpentine stone statues, wooden masks, clay pots, jewellery, table cloths, clothes, wooden animal figures to articles made from steel wire. The significant increase in tourism traffic on this popular route to the Sun City and Pilanesberg tourism nodes also led to an increase in the number of informal traders conducting business in the area. During the last 3 to 4 years traders have become more organised and formalised by trading from neatly built stalls lining the R27 road near the Hartebeespoort Dam wall. Investigations by Viljoen & Wentzel (2000) confirmed that traders of a multitude of nationalities were present at this location including inter alia, traders from Zimbabwe, Kenya, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Ethiopia and Uganda.

The presence of a large number of foreign traders of different nationalities at the Hartebeespoort Dam provide the opportunity to do a comparative analysis of factors impacting on movement patterns between traders from different origins.

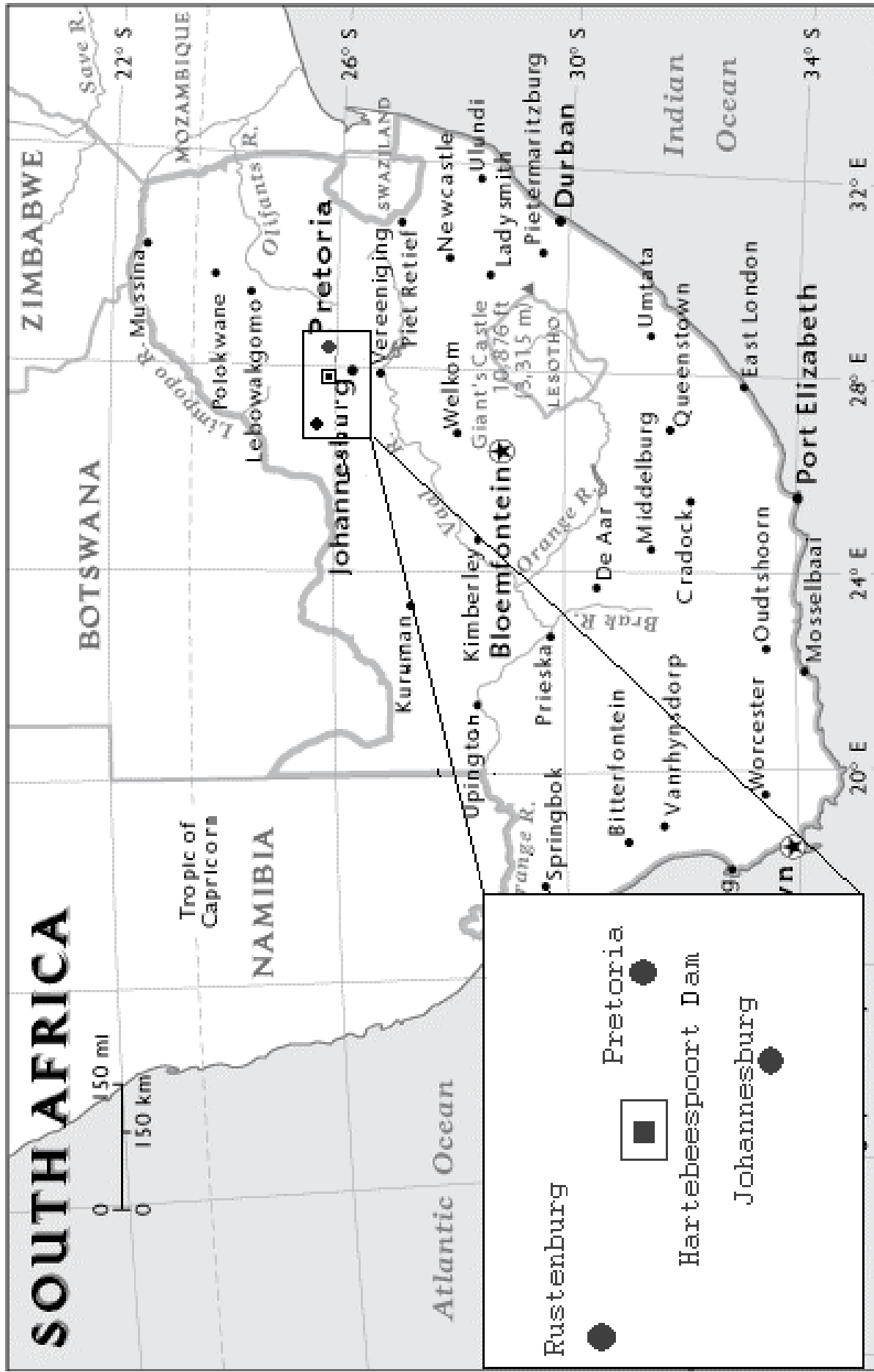


Figure 1.1 Map of the Hartebeespoort Dam location

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodologies used during this research include both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative section of the study consists of a survey of 30 structured interviews with foreign African traders using a standardised questionnaire (refer to Annexure A). Unstructured qualitative interviews were conducted with an additional five informal traders for reasons that will be described in more detail in Chapter 4. Various other stakeholders were approached to gather information regarding possible regulations, ordinances regulating informal trade in the area as well as other relevant information.

The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect data is based on the triangulation principle coined by Denzin (1978). This method is complementary in respect of addressing various shortcomings inherent to quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Mouton and Marais (1996:91) mention that it is important to bear in mind that specific types of data collection are designed for the acquisition of certain types of data. The use of questionnaire surveys for gathering information concerning incidents, and the use of qualitative interviews for gathering information on norms and status is therefore an advisable and widely accepted practice.

The number of traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam differs from day to day depending on trading volumes. Weekends often represent the busiest part of the week and therefore the days with the highest number of traders present. Due to high trade activity over weekends, weekdays are better suited to conducting interviews with traders. This study consists of a sample of 35 foreign respondents (30 for questionnaire survey and 5 for in-depth interviews). It is estimated that 35 respondents represent a significant proportion of at least 23% of approximately 150 foreign traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam venue during weekdays. The actual number of foreign traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam is not known and is difficult to accurately determine due to the 'illegal' or undocumented nature of some traders. It is also somewhat difficult to separate local South Africa traders from their foreign counterparts. It is further assumed in this study that the day-to-day number of traders may vary slightly. The 30 respondents for the structured questionnaire survey should also satisfy statistical criteria for obtaining a large enough sample to allow for the confident use of descriptive statistical analysis techniques that will provide reliable results for foreign migrant traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam. The quantitative fieldwork for this study commenced on 16 May 2004 and ended on 30 May 2004. An additional period between

12 and 16 September 2004 was utilised for the purpose of conducting five in-depth interviews.

Within this research, the questionnaire survey is used to gather information on incidents of travel by respondents during the last 12-month period. It was anticipated that respondents might not have a good memory of earlier trips. It was also anticipated that many of the respondents might have embarked on a significant number of trips that would be difficult to record beyond a 12-month period. The qualitative interviews on the other hand, provided the opportunity to elicit more detailed information on norms and personal circumstances, which might influence foreign migrants' travel patterns.

The data set generated from the quantitative survey was analysed using the SPSS® statistical computer program. Descriptive tools used for analysing the data generated by the questionnaire survey included frequency and cross-tabular analysis. Information gathered during the in-depth interviews was analysed manually.

1.7 CHAPTER FRAMEWORK

This dissertation consists of eight chapters with Chapter 1 providing an introduction to the migration and informal sector phenomena. The motivation for the research, problem statement, research assumptions and research questions follows after the introductory section. The remainder of this chapter deals with the selection of the study area and the methodologies used to obtain data and information for this study. Chapter 2 focuses on the theoretical and conceptual issues that relate to migration and the informal sector phenomenon. The next chapter, Chapter 3, explores the origin and the development of migration to and within South Africa since the nineteenth century. Details on the drafting of the questionnaire, the unfolding of the research process and the analysis of the data gathered are provided within the scope of Chapter 4. The results of both the quantitative and qualitative research findings of this study are highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 7 revisits the research questions and suppositions posed in Chapter 1 in view of the empirical findings of study. The last chapter, Chapter 8, deals with the findings and conclusion of this study against the backdrop of three similar studies conducted in South Africa between 1997 and 2000.

1.8 DISCUSSION

This chapter served as an introduction to the migrant trader phenomenon and provides a brief overview of both contemporary and historical academic literature on migration and the informal sector. The economic dimension of migration is a dominant feature in literature on migration and serves as a link between the 'migration' and 'informal sector' themes. The time in space dimension of the migrant trader phenomenon is highlighted as the main motivation for conducting this study in the geography discipline. Relatively little is known of the intricate travel patterns exhibited by foreign traders in South Africa and specifically the Hartebeespoort Dam area which leads to the problem statement and assumption that western based migration theory does not offer a satisfactory explanation for the travel patterns observed at the Hartebeespoort Dam. The methodological approach taken to address this problem includes both quantitative and qualitative research instruments. A snowball sampling technique is used to obtain the necessary sample for selecting respondents for the questionnaire survey and the in-depth interviews.

Following on the introduction to the concepts of migration and the informal sector the next chapter attempts to deepen the understanding of the theoretical and conceptual perspectives of migration and the informal sector by referring to relevant historical and contemporary literature sources.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES OF MIGRATION AND THE INFORMAL SECTOR

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter builds on the previous chapter by defining the concepts of migration and the informal sector as well as providing a detailed account of the prevalent theoretical and conceptual perspectives on migration and the informal sector as presented in applicable literature.

2.2 DEFINING MIGRATION

The term migration includes a range of spatial and temporal patterns of movement over time ranging from short-term, short-distance changes of residence through to long-distance, long-term contract labour over several years to permanent moves. According to Kok (1989:41) a distinction can be made between two major types of migration: internal and international. Internal migration occurs when a person moves from one part of a country to another. International migration on the other hand occurs when a person moves from one country to another.

2.3 DEFINING THE INFORMAL SECTOR

According to Peberdy (1997:2), attempts to define the informal sector have proved problematic. The informal sector covers a wide range of activities. Nevertheless, the International Labour Office (ILO) suggests that the informal sector is characterised by activities in the lower-end of small-scale enterprises, with self-employment and very limited initial capital being the main characteristics (International Labour Office, 1988)

Other characteristics associated with the informal sector are activities outside the regulatory framework, low productivity and income, instability, employment of family labour or a few workers and that it is a route of economic survival rather than a chosen income earning opportunity (Peberdy, 1997:2)

2.4 THEORIES OF MIGRATION

International migration has increased globally over the last few decades and it is becoming one of the main features of current demographic patterns. Being complex with several different dimensions, a number of different theories have emerged that attempt to explain some of the dimensions of both internal and international migration. These theories can be divided in three basic categories, namely economic, non-economic and other models.

Economic theories such as the world systems theory, neo-classical economic theory, cumulative causation of migration theory (Myrdal, 1957 & Taylor, 1986, 1987 and 1992) and network theory, are some of the theories attempting to explain migrant behaviour from an economic perspective. Non-economic theories have arisen because of the inability of economic factors to explain migration decision making on the whole (Shaw, 1975). This includes theories such as the institutional theory and value-expectancy model. Other laws and models that have also evolved, such as Ravenstein and Lee's (Ogden, 1984) 'laws' of migration, Zelensky's hypothesis of 'mobility transition' (Jones, 1990) and the gravity model which pay special attention to the spatial nature of migration.

2.4.1 Economic theories

(i) Cumulative causation of migration

The *cumulative causation* of migration theory (Myrdal, 1957) holds that, by altering the social context of subsequent migration decisions, the establishment of international migration streams creates "feedbacks" that make additional movements more likely. Among the factors affected by migration are the distribution of income and land; the organisation of agricultural production; the values and cultural perceptions surrounding migration; the regional distribution of human capital; and the "social labelling" of jobs in destination areas as 'immigrant jobs' (Massey et al., 1993:453). Each of these factors can be described as follows:

- *The distribution of income:* People may be motivated to migrate not only to increase their absolute income or to diversify their risks, but also to improve their income relative to other households in their reference group. As a household's sense for relative deprivation increases, so does the motivation to migrate. Income inequality and relative deprivation go through a series of phases, being low at first, then high

as the rate of out migration accelerates, then low again as a majority of households participate in the migrant workforce, reaching a minimum when practically all families are involved in foreign wage labour.

- *The distribution of land:* International migrants from rural communities typically place a high value on land ownership. Land is purchased for its prestige value and will most likely lie fallow because wage labour is more lucrative than local agricultural production. This pattern of land use lowers the demand for local farm labour therefore enforcing the out migration cycle.
- *The organization of agrarian production:* Migrant households that farm are likely to use more capital-intensive production methods, which reduces the need for farm labour. This increases pressure for out movement.
- *The culture of migration:* As levels of migration increase within a community, values and cultural perceptions are changed in ways that increase the probability of future migration. Migration might in some cases even become a 'rite of passage' to elevate social and economic status.
- *The regional distribution of human capital:* Sustained out migration enhances the depletion of human capital (brain drain) and in turn enforce the growth in human capital in receiving areas. Accumulation of human capital in receiving areas acts as a stimulus for economic growth which in turn pulls more migrants from sending areas.
- *Social labelling:* Jobs occupied by immigrants are often labelled as 'immigrant jobs', which causes local inhabitants to be reluctant to fill such positions. This enforces the structural demand for immigrants.

(ii) World systems theory

The work of Wallerstein (1974) formed the basis of the world systems theory. According to Massey et al. (1993:444) a number of theorists such as Peter J. Taylor, a political and historical geographer, and Peter J. Hugill, a historical geographer, have built upon the work of Wallerstein whereby they have linked the origins of international migration to the structure of the world market that has developed and expanded since the sixteenth century. In this scheme, the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad. Today, neo-colonial governments and multi-national firms perpetuate the power of national elites who either participate in the world economy as capitalists themselves, or offer their nation's resources to global firms on acceptable terms. According to the world systems

theory, migration is a natural extension of disruptions and dislocations that inevitably occur in the process of capitalist development. Similar to land, raw materials and labour from peripheral regions come under the influence and control of markets, migration flows are inevitably generated, some of which have always moved abroad (Wallerstein, 1974). Each of these concepts are explained below:

- *Land*: Farmers within a capitalist framework seek to maximise returns by consolidating landholding, mechanising production and introducing cash crops supported by fertilizers, insecticides and high yield seeds. Land consolidation destroys traditional land tenure systems based on inheritance and common rights of utilisation. Small farmers are driven out of local markets and many agricultural workers are made redundant by the mechanisation that creates a mobile labour force. This mobile labour force is displaced from the land and has a weakened attachment to local agrarian communities.
- *Raw materials*: The extraction of raw materials for sale on global markets requires industrial methods that rely on paid labour. The offer of wages to former peasants undermines traditional forms of social and economic organisation based on systems of reciprocity and fixed role relations. This creates incipient labour markets based on new conceptions of individualism, private gain and social change that promote the geographic national and international mobility of labour in developing regions.
- *Labour*: Firms from core capitalist countries enter developing countries to establish assembly plants that take advantage of low wage rates. The demand for factory workers strengthens local labour markets and weakens traditional productive relations. Factory based employment focuses mostly on women thereby conditioning women for industrial work and modern consumption without providing a lifetime income capable of meeting these needs. The result is the creation of a population that is socially and economically uprooted and prone to migration. The foreign investment that drives economic globalisation is managed from a small number of global cities, whose structural characteristics create a strong demand for immigrant labour.
- *Material links*: Transport and communication links built to facilitate the movement of goods also facilitate the movement of people by reducing the costs of movement along international pathways. International movement of labour generally follows the international movement of goods and capital in the opposite direction.
- *Ideological links*: The process of economic globalisation creates cultural links between core capitalist countries and their hinterlands within the developing world.

These ideological and cultural connections are reinforced by mass communication and advertising campaigns directed from the core countries. Modern consumer tastes, culture and language are therefore transferred from core countries to peripheral people that encourage international migration to particular core countries.

- *Global cities*: The world economy is managed from a small number of urban centres. A highly educated workforce and wealth is situated in these cities which in turn create a strong demand for services from unskilled workers such as domestic servants, waiters etc. Poorly educated local inhabitants usually resist taking low paying jobs at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, which in turn creates a demand for migrants to fill these positions.

The world systems theory therefore argues that international migration follows the political and economic organisation of an expanding global market, a view that yields six distinct hypotheses (Massey et al., 1993:447-448):

- International migration is a natural consequence of capitalist market formation in the developing world; the penetration of the global economy into peripheral regions is the catalyst for international movement.
- The international flow of labour follows the international flow of goods and capital, but in the opposite direction. Capitalist investment creates changes that lead to uprooted mobile population in peripheral countries while simultaneously forging strong material and cultural links with core countries, leading to transnational movement.
- International migration is especially likely between past colonial powers and their former colonies, because of cultural, linguistic, administrative, investment, transportation and communication links. These links were established early and were allowed to develop free from outside competition during the colonial era.
- International migration stems from the globalisation of the market economy, the way for governments to influence immigration rates is by regulating overseas investment activities of corporations and controlling international flows of capital and goods. Such policies, however, are unlikely to be implemented because they are difficult to enforce, tend to incite international trade disputes, risk world economic recession, and antagonise multinational firms with substantial political resources that can be mobilised to block them.
- Political and military interventions by governments of capitalist countries tries to protect investments abroad and to support foreign governments sympathetic to the

expansion of the global market, when they fail, produce refugee movements directed to particular core countries, constituting another form of international migration.

- International migration ultimately has little to do with wage rates or employment differentials between countries; it follows from the dynamics of market creation and the structure of the global economy.

(iii) Network theory

Migrant networks are defined in the literature as recurrent sets of interpersonal ties that bind migrants and non-migrants together within a web of reciprocal obligations that can be drawn upon to facilitate entry, adjustment, and employment at points of destination (Massey et al., 1994; Boyd, 1989; Portes, 1995). A social connection to someone with migrant experience at a particular destination represents an important resource that can be utilised to facilitate movement. Migrant networks also serve to reduce the costs and risks of international migration which increases the likelihood of migratory movement. The development of such networks is often facilitated by public and private sector policies towards normalising family structures of migrant families. Once started, these networks might be tempered against other regulatory policy interventions. Massey et al. (1994:728) see migrant networks as interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in place of origin as well as destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. These networks are believed to increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration.

Typically, the first migrants who leave for a new destination have few or no social ties to draw upon which makes migration costly. The cost to the friends and relatives that might follow the first migrants, are potentially much lower due to support networks in destination areas. Because of the nature of kinship and friendship structures, each migrant creates a set of people with social ties to the destination area. Once the number of network connections in an area of origin reaches a critical threshold, migration becomes self-perpetuating because each act of migration itself creates the social structure needed to sustain itself.

Networks also make international migration extremely attractive as a strategy for risk diversification. Well-developed networks put employment opportunities within closer reach

of community members and make emigration a reliable and secure source of income. Thus, the self-sustaining growth of networks that occurs through the progressive reduction of costs may also be explained theoretically by the progressive reduction of risk. Expansion of migrant networks reduces the risks of movement for all those to whom he or she is related, eventually making it virtually risk-free and costless to diversify household labour allocations through emigration.

The conceptualisation of migration as a self-sustaining diffusion process has implications and corollaries that are quite different from those derived from the general equilibrium analyses typically employed to study migration:

- International migration tends to expand over time until network connections have diffused so widely in a sending region that all people who wish to migrate can do so without difficulty; then migration begins to decelerate.
- Falling costs and risks of movement progressively overshadow other variables such as employment rates and wage differentials that might have a promoting or inhibiting effect.
- Institutionalised migration becomes progressively independent of the factors that originally caused it whether structural or individual.
- Expanded networks marked by lower cost and risks for the migrant lead to less diverse socio-economic groupings which are more representative of sending communities.
- Government policy regimes will have difficulty in controlling the movement of migrants because the process of network control lies largely outside their control.
- Certain immigration policies that promote the reunification between immigrants and their families abroad might reinforce migrant networks by giving members of kin networks special right of entry.

(iv) Neo-classical economics theory: micro-economic models

The underlying premises, according to DaVanzo (1981:92), of most micro-economic models of decision making is that an individual migrates with the expectation of being better off by doing so. Therefore, a person that believes that benefits deriving from migration will exceed the costs of doing so, will have a strong motivation to migrate. If someone considers migration as a means of investment, then it is reasonable for such a person to move although benefits might only be derived over a longer period of time.

The drawback of this model is that it does not consider personal factors of the person that migrates to another area. Important considerations such as being near friends and relatives are usually ignored. Economic perspectives of migrants are often restricted to economic costs and benefits and do not consider other costs such as those associated with the social and psychological impact of such movement.

Migration decisions are, therefore, seen as investment decisions that are based on a given individual or households' expected costs and returns from migration over time. Such costs and returns are seen in monetary and non-monetary terms. Non-monetary terms might include psychological costs of moving away from the area of origin and of adapting to a different social and cultural environment at the area of destination. These non-monetary costs are usually interpreted in a subjective way and are therefore difficult to quantify. What may appear as a positive factor to one person may have strong negative associations to another person. Individual people therefore have their own personalities, aspirations, attitudes and reference frameworks that might play an important factor in their decision to migrate.

The original model of micro-economics by Todaro (1969) postulates that migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected income rather than actual earnings. This is based on the assumption that migration is primarily an economic phenomenon, which for the individual migrant can be quite a rational decision despite the existence of urban unemployment (Todaro, 1994:265). Expected gains are measured by the difference in real incomes between rural and urban work and the probability of a new migrant obtaining an urban job while considering the cost of migrating. A higher income differential between the urban and rural areas encourages migration with the probability of finding a job key to regulating the flow of migrants. This gives rise to what is termed the *Todaro Paradox* where job creation initiatives can increase the possibility of finding employment by migrants. Paradoxically the new job creation stimulates an increase in migration that can frustrate job creation initiatives. The broad lesson according to Hurd (2002) is that excessive urban migration is economically inefficient. Todaro therefore advocates a policy of rural development as to reduce the rural-urban income differential thereby weakening the incentive for people to migrate to urban areas.

The Todaro model can also be interpreted from an international migration perspective as is done by Hurd (2002). The same formula applies to international migrants where the

expected gains of migrants are measured by the difference in incomes between the country of origin and the destination country and the probability of a migrant obtaining employment in the destination country while deducting the cost of migrating. A positive net return over a number of years could therefore potentially act as an incentive for migrants to move to another country where better opportunities exist.

2.4.2 Non-Economic Theories

(i) Institutional theory

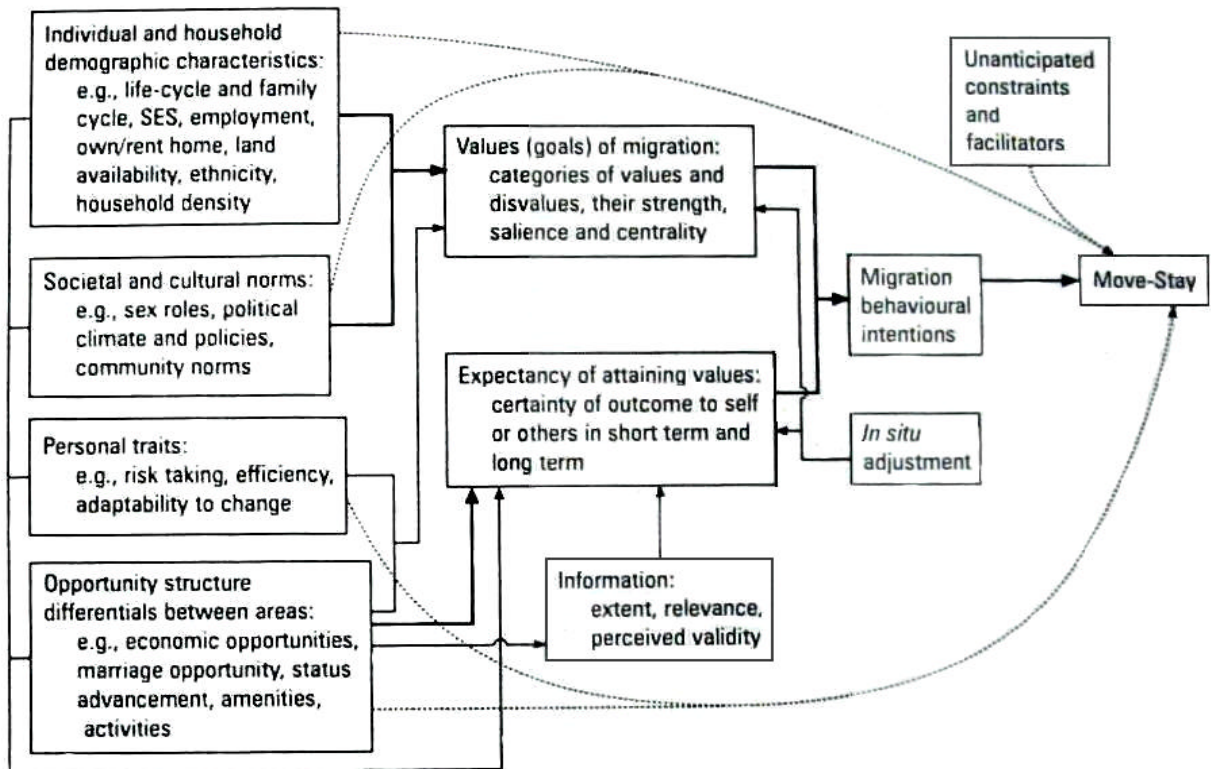
Once international migration has begun, private institutions and voluntary organisations are created to cater for the demand of people that seek entry into capital rich countries that limit the number of immigration visas. This demand and the barriers that core countries erect to keep people out, create a lucrative economic niche for entrepreneurs and institutions dedicated to promoting international movement for profit, yielding a black market in migration. Conditions conducive for exploitation and victimisation in turn create voluntary humanitarian organisations that enforce the rights and improve the treatment of legal and undocumented migrants. Over time, institutions become well known to immigrants thereby constituting a form of social capital that migrants can draw upon to gain access to foreign labour markets. The recognition of a gradual build-up of institutions, organisations and entrepreneurs that cater to the needs of immigrants yield hypotheses that are also quite distinct from those emanating from micro-level decision models:

- As organisations develop to support, sustain, and promote international movement, the flow of migrants becomes more and more institutionalised and independent of the factors that originally caused it.
- Governments have difficulty controlling migration flows once they have begun because the process of institutionalisation is difficult to regulate.

In a wider sense the concept of institutions may also be used to mirror the structure of the entire social environment, in which individuals have to make choices. De Bruijn (1999:22), for instance, reserves the concept of institutions not only for such contextual entities as universities, organisations and firms but also more abstract social constructs such as democracy, religion, policy and gender systems or bodies of knowledge.

(ii) Value-expectancy model

According to Kok et al. (2003:20) empirical work using the value-expectancy model shows that the most important micro-, meso- and macro-level causes of migration operate indirectly via people's values and expectations. Interpretation of these values and expectation is done within a causal framework.



Notes

- Family as unit with separate analyses for members: e.g. single-adult siblings, family-unit moves
- Expected strength of explanatory path:
 - strong
 - moderate
 - weak
- MI (behavioural intentions) = $\sum V_i \cdot E_i$
- Expectancy measured for present residence and alternative locations.

Figure 2.1: De Jong and Fawcett's Value-expectancy model of migration (Source: De Jong & Fawcett, 1981:54)

De Jong and Fawcett (1981:54) developed the causal model that is depicted in Figure 2.1 and stated that the following should be noted:

- The family/household should be treated as a unit, with separate analyses for the moves of individual members and the family unit.
- The expected strength of the explanatory part is indicated in Figure 2.1. The thick, solid lines indicate strong causal relationships whereas the thin solid lines show moderate direct linkages, and the thin dotted lines the weak causal linkages.
- The basic components of the value expectancy model are goals (values or objectives) and expectancies (subjective probabilities):
 - '*Values*' can be determined empirically by getting respondents to rate them in terms of importance, and the dimensions for the values and expectancies can be obtained through multivariate statistical techniques such as factor analysis. The centrality of particular values in a personal value system can be determined, as well as their pervasiveness across different behavioural domains and their salience in particular contexts.
 - '*Expectancies*' can be measured by asking respondents to assess people's chances of attaining various goals in their current place of residence and in alternative destinations. 'Expectancies' might also be measured with additional dimensions, e.g. whether outcomes pertain to self or others, whether results are expected immediately or in the longer term. The significance of these dimensions in migration behaviour is apparent, as in the case of a household head that decides on a move primarily for the long-term educational and other opportunities that will be available to his/her children.
 - From the available literature on the reasons for migration, De Jong and Gardner (1981:49-51) identified '*conceptual categories*' that seem to represent psychologically meaningful clusters. These are wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation and morality.
 - The factor scores of both the value and expectancy components can then be used to calculate the *value-expectancy scores* and the strength of the intention to migrate in respect of the place of origin and one or more possible destinations.

- Pairs of the value-expectancy components have multiplicative relationship for a specific factor (dimension or item, and the products are summed over all the factor/items being considered in order to obtain the strength of the migration behavioural intentions).
- Expectancy should be measured for the present place of residence as well as alternative locations.

Behaviour is not governed by motivational factors only and since migration is also facilitated or constrained by environmental and cultural factors, it is necessary to integrate multi-level determinants (i.e. socio-cultural, demographic, personal and economic factors) with the value-expectancy model of migration decision-making. According to the model migration behaviour is the result of the strength of the value-expectancy-derived intentions to move; the indirect influences of background individual and area factors; and the modifying effects of constraints and facilitators that become salient during the process of migration decision-making (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981:56).

Figure 2.1 makes it clear that a large number of non-economic (and economic) variables could contribute to explaining the model. Variables typically include individual and household demographic characteristics, societal and cultural norms, personal traits, opportunity structure differentials between areas, information about areas, unanticipated constraints and in situ adjustments.

2.4.3 Other Laws and Models

(i) Ravenstein and Lee's 'laws' of migration

Based upon his work on birthplace data for Britain in 1871, 1881 and later, and similar sources for North America and Europe, Ravenstein tried to discover organising principles that provided more clarity on mass migration movements in the late nineteenth century (See: Ogden, 1984; Grigg, 1977 and Castles & Miller, 2003). At its simplest, migration reflect factors with area of origin and destination and characteristics of the migration stream and the migrants themselves. Ravenstein's laws include the following (Ogden, 1984:17):

- The majority of migrants go only a short distance.
- Migration proceeds step by step.

- Migration over long distances generally goes, by preference, to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.
- Each current of migration produces a compensating counter current.
- The inhabitants of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas.
- Females are more migratory than males within the place of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond.
- Most migrants are single adults; families rarely migrate out of their country of birth.
- Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase.
- Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves.
- The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centres of industry and commerce.
- The major causes of migration are economic.

Several authors have since built upon Ravenstein's (late 1800s) theory of which Lee (1966) is perhaps the best known. Lee (1966) suggests that four categories of factors (Figure 2.2) which underlie a person's decision to migrate, can be isolated (Ogden, 1984:17).

- Those associated with place of origin,
- those associated with the place of destination,
- intervening obstacles between origin and destination and
- lastly a variety of personal factors which moderate these influences.

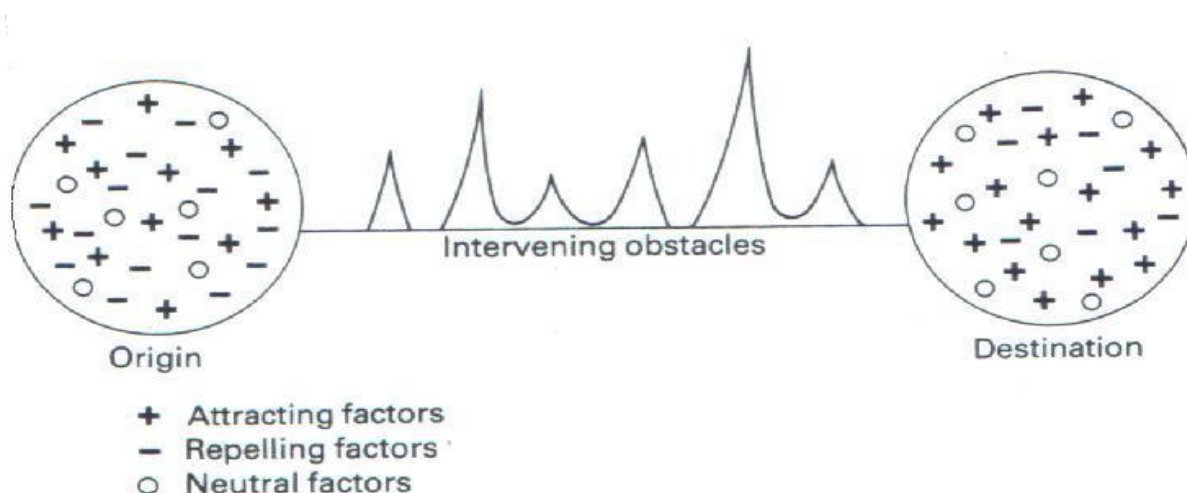


Figure 2.2: Lee's idea of influences on migration (Source: Ogden, 1984, 18)

The characteristics of origin and destination can be viewed as having positive effects (+ in Figure 2.2), encouraging movement and negative effects (- in the Figure 2.2) which discourages movement and neutral factors (0 in the Figure 2.2) that neither encourage nor discourage movement. The effect of these factors depends on each individual. What might be attractive to one person might not be to the next. Origin and destination factors differ in some important ways. Individuals are generally more familiar with factors at their place of origin when compared to their destination. This is especially the case with international migration. In addition, between origin and destination, a number of intervening factors exist. Amongst others, intervening factors may include, distance, means of transport, immigration laws, quotas or physical barriers such as the Berlin wall.

The above ideas are used by Lee (1966) to formulate a series of hypotheses relating to the volume of movement and the tendency for streams and counter streams to develop. The characteristics of migrants are not random samples of people at the place of origin but are selected by reasons of their educational, health or economic status.

(ii) The gravity model

The gravity model is in essence based on the idea that distance has an influence on migration. Typical questions answered by the gravity model are whether factors such as social class, age and gender of migrants have an influence on migration; and whether its influence might change over time? With many types of migration, it is possible to measure distance travelled to a reasonable degree of accuracy. To be able to gauge the effects of distance on moves from a central point (Figure 2.3a) one can simply draw equidistant bands of say one to ten kilometres around the point, add up the numbers of moves within each band and graph the results of the frequency distribution. The number of moves may be plotted on the vertical axis against distance on the horizontal axis (Figure 2.3b).

According to Ogden (1984:19) this simple approach may be refined by taking into account that the areas of the bands will increase from the migration centre outwards and that the numbers of possible origins (or destinations) of migrants will increase.

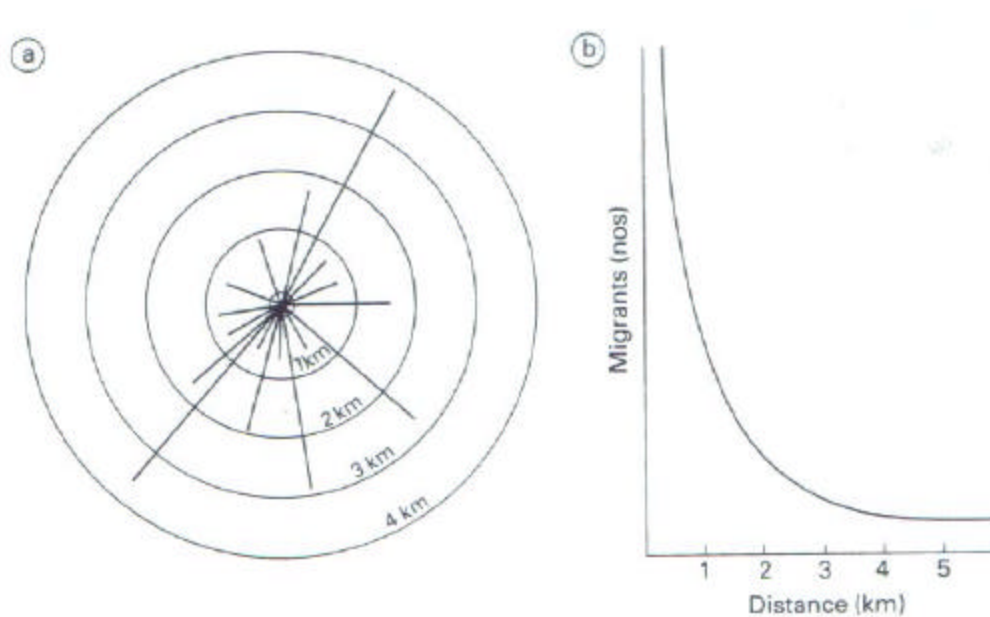


Figure 2.3a & b: Spatial modelling of the relation between distance and volume of migration (Source: Ogden: 1984:19)

A number of studies across the world have shown that a clear inverse relationship exist between distance and the frequency of migration. The gravity model may be modified to include more sophisticated measures of the influence of the origin or destination, for example using just the working population or particular age-groups according to the type of migration flow under study. Distance can also be modified by using distance by road, or even time taken to travel, instead of a simple straight-line measurement of distance. Despite this model's limitations of not taking into account various social and economic factors that act as good determinants of migration decision-making, it can provide fairly useful tools for analysing the spatial dimension or 'distance' as variable in the movement patterns of respondents.

(iii) Zelinsky's model of mobility transition

Zelinsky's (1971) model of mobility transition is an attempt to deal with fundamental determinants as opposed to the proximate or intermediate determinants of macro- and micro-analytical models of migration. He argues that other models fail to address adequately the pivotal role that migration has played - as cause, effect and integral component - in socio-economic formation and transformations (Jones, 1990:207).

The model of mobility transition demonstrates a population geographer's use of space-time awareness in the formulation of a pioneering overview of important links between

development theory and demography. Zelinsky's model is based on definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernisation process, and in particular a transition from a condition of severely limited physical and social mobility toward much higher rates of such movement. This always occurs as a community experiences the process of modernisation (Zelinsky, 1971:221-222).

The Zelinsky model is built on Rostow's stages of growth and modernisation theory (Jones, 1990:207). As modernisation proceeds, various forms of migration and circulation ebb and flow, with different types of movement succeeding one another as the dominant wave. As populations move through the different phases of the demographic transition, migration patterns both international and internal, change in predictable ways (Oosthuizen, 2004). According to this model, rapid population growth is accompanied by an increase in migration. Characteristic of this phase is an increase in the number of young people and an intense competition for scarce resources such as land and work, particularly in rural areas.

2.5 MIGRATION THEORIES: A DISCUSSION

The migration theories discussed in this chapter originated from a variety of disciplines including Sociology, Demography, Economics as well as Geography. The fact that these theories mostly evolved separately and in different disciplines complicates comparison and analysis. A major criticism applicable to most migration theories is that no single theory offers a complete explanation for all migration phenomena. For example, the micro-economics model in the neo-classical economic theory analyse migration streams from a relatively simplistic economic point of view. Though technically correct from an economic perspective this model explains migration streams without regard for the implications of personal factors that might play a major role in particular migration cases. Massey et al. (1993) highlights this problem and is sceptical of both atomistic theories that deny the importance of structural constraints on individual decisions, and of structural theories that deny agency to individuals and family. He further concludes that each model must be considered on its own terms and its leading tenets examined carefully to derive testable propositions.

One has to concur with the conclusion of Massey et al. (1993), that most migration theories have merit on their inherent levels of operation and that any evaluation of theories

should be done empirically. An analysis of the value of migration theories in understanding informal cross-border traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam will therefore be dealt within a later chapter dealing with the empirical findings of the research.

2.6 A TYPOLOGY OF POPULATION MOVEMENT

According to Parnwell (1993:13-15) the last two decades have seen a move of foci towards the importance of non-permanent forms of movement in the Third World and this has resulted in a number of new terminologies. The term "*permanent migration*" in literature is used where a person that moves has no intention to return to their place of origin, and where a significant amount of a migrant's energy is spent in becoming established in the new location. It does, however, not necessarily mean that migrants will sever all forms of contact with their place of origin. In the majority of cases, migration will consist of a single, unidirectional move to a chosen destination. "*Step migration*" refers to examples where the mover arrives at a destination after a series of short-term moves to other locations, typically moving up the urban hierarchy from a village to a capital city. The term "*emigration*" is used where the mover leaves one country to settle in another.

What distinguishes another form of migration, collectively termed circulation, from the above, is that the migrant will, at some stage, either temporarily or permanently return to the place of origin (Parnwell, 1993:13). The time span between outward and return migration may range from a matter of hours to the entire working lifetime of the migrant. Other movement types of shorter duration include "*commuting*" which occur between a person's home and work, and "*oscillation*", where people move regularly to a variety of places but always return to their place of origin. "*Circular migration*" is usually used to refer to longer-term movements between places of origin and destination, which may involve one or more cycles of outward and return movement. "*Return migration*" on the other hand refers to the stage in the migration cycle when the migrant leaves the destination to return to his or her native area, and "*counter-stream migration*" constitutes movements in the opposite direction to the predominant streams of migration (typically from city to village or from centres of economic activity to economically depressed regions), and may consist primarily of return movements. All of the above moves are associated with a free choice to move or not to move. Other types of movement might be determined by a set of circumstances where the person who moves has no other choice or option but to move. Terms that are used to describe such involuntary forms of movement are "*refugee*",

“*evacuee*” and “*resettlement*”. These forms of involuntary movement are also relevant to the study.

2.7 THE INFORMAL SECTOR CONCEPT

Hussmanns (2000:1) argues that the concept of the informal sector has been one of the International Labour Office’s (ILO) most distinctive contributions to development thinking. The first official usage of the term ‘informal sector’ internationally was in a report on employment in Kenya by the ILO (1972). One of the main findings of the report was that the main employment problem in Kenya was not employment *per se* but the existence of large numbers of ‘working poor’ whose activities are not recognised, recorded, protected or regulated by authorities. This phenomenon was referred to as the ‘informal sector’. Charnes (2000:2) also mentions that even earlier, at the beginning of the 1960s, national accountants had to compile the limited available data and to make the numerous assumptions necessary for the estimation of the then-called ‘traditional sector’ without which gross domestic product (GDP) figures of most newly independent African countries would have been significantly reduced.

Since 1972 the term ‘informal sector’ has become widely used, although its precise meaning has reportedly remained elusive and somewhat controversial, as the concept have been defined in different contexts with different meanings. Hussmanns (2000:1) also mentions that despite considerable research and data collection during the past 25 years, the understanding of what the informal sector is, why it exists and how it operates is still far from adequate. Perceptions of the value of the informal sector differs hugely and can generally be categorised as either negative or positive. Negative perceptions are that in the informal sector a whole segment of society escapes regulation and protection and that it can be condemned as a vast area of backwardness, poverty, unsanitary conditions, hazardous work, illegality and the use of child labour in some instances. Positive views are that it is a provider of employment and income to many poor people who lack other means of survival and it is romanticised as a breeding ground of entrepreneurship that could flourish if only it were not encumbered with a system of unnecessary regulation and bureaucracy. Azuma & Grossman (2002:1) concur with this view by arguing that in many countries, especially poor countries, a heavy burden of taxes, bribes, and bureaucratic hassles drives many producers into the informal sector. Producers in the informal sector avoid much of this burden but have to produce their products with less assistance from the public sector than is available to the formal sector. The services from the public sector

include the protection of property rights by the police and the courts as well as public utilities, such as roads, electricity, potable water, and sewage disposal.

The main area of contention in terms of the informal sector seems to be on defining the exact type of activities and categories of workers. Although no agreement exists on this, there is a common understanding about the main characteristics of the informal sector. These are described as follows by the World Bank (2004):

- The informal sector is an umbrella concept that describes a variety of activities producing goods and services through which individuals derive employment and income.
- These activities are undertaken with the primary objective of the self-generation of employment and income, rather than the maximisation of profit or of the return on investments, as is typical of the formal sector.
- The conditions under which these activities come into existence and the constraints under which they are undertaken confer certain characteristics on them.
- They are informal in the sense that they are for the most part unregistered and unrecorded in official statistics, and that they are operating on a very small scale and with a low level of organisation.
- Most of them have very low levels of capital, productivity and income.
- They tend to have little or no access to organised markets, to credit institutions, to modern technology, to formal education and training, and to many public services and amenities.
- A large number of them are carried out without fixed location or in places that are not visible to the authorities, such as small shops, workshops, stalls or home-based activities.
- They are not recognised, supported or regulated by the government, and often compelled by circumstances to operate outside the framework of the law.

The World Bank (2004) describes the informal sector as covering a wide range of labour market activities that include two groups of differing natures. On the one hand, the informal sector is formed due to the coping behaviour of individuals and families in an economic environment where earning opportunities are scarce. On the other hand, the informal sector is a product of rational behaviour of entrepreneurs that desire to escape state regulations. The two types of informal sector activities can be described as follows:

- Coping strategies (survival activities): casual jobs, temporary jobs, unpaid jobs, subsistence agriculture, multiple job holding;
- Unofficial earning strategies (illegality in business): Unofficial business activities: tax evasion, avoidance of labour regulation and other government or institutional regulations, no registration of the company.

Figure 2.4 depicts the relationship between the informal and formal sectors and also reflects some of the issues where clarity does not exist on defining the informal sector. It also raises questions on the status of the sector, whether it is in transition or a sector in its own right with various connections and relations with the formal sector. The informal sector manifests itself in many ways in many different geographical locations in various cities, regions and countries. Activities of a wide range such as street vending, shoe-shining, food processing and other activities that require little or no capital and skills and with marginal output to those involving a certain amount of investment in skills and capital with higher productivity, such as manufacturing, tailoring, car repair and mechanised transport.



Figure 2.4: Informal sector linkages and dynamics (Source: Srinivas, 2004)

Some informal sector activities resemble traditional activities such as handicrafts, food processing or personal services. Other activities such as car repair, recycling of waste materials or transport has arisen from modern day economic developments. Most informal

sector activities are operated by single individuals working on their own account or as self-employed business operators, either alone or with the help of unpaid family members. Some micro-enterprises nevertheless do employ a few workers. In such cases, labour relations are mostly casual, kinship, personal or social relations rather than contracts with formal guarantees. Some informal sector workers also earn a higher income than low ranking formal sector workers.

Hussmanns (2000:2) maintains that the reason why people become involved in informal sector activities range from survival strategies undertaken in the absence of formal jobs, unemployment insurance or other forms of income maintenance, to the desire for independence and flexible working arrangements and in some cases, the prospect of quite profitable income-earning opportunities, or merely the continuation of more traditional activities.

Despite its segmented, vulnerable and semi-legal existence, the informal sector serves markets which the modern sector cannot reach due to high costs or inflexibility. The existence of the informal sector often depends on its ability to deliver goods and services at lower prices or in smaller quantities than those in the formal sector or to provide goods and services that would otherwise not have been available. The informal sector is therefore a widely used term that is accepted not only in official documents and policy statements, but also in academic literature.

2.8 DISCUSSION

The ILO provided the first officially recognised description of the informal sector in 1972. Following this recognition governments all over the world have come to identify this sector as a key feature of less developed economies. Over the years various perceptions on the value of and nature of the informal sector developed. Many governments have also attempted to formalise the informal sector but has had little success.

The relatively unregulated nature of the informal sector has made it a popular sector among foreign migrants. These migrants are often not able to obtain formal employment due to legal conditions of their stay in South Africa. Niche areas such as selling foreign arts, crafts and curios have seemingly become popular informal sector activities embarked on by foreign African migrants due to the competitive advantage that are offered. These advantages include well-developed skills in selling arts, crafts and curios and having

reliable contacts for sourcing goods from various foreign countries. Areas that have become particularly popular and associated with this type of informal sector activities are often those frequented by local and international tourists. This includes areas such as the Hartbeespoort Dam. The ostensibly growing phenomenon of foreign migrants streams to and within South Africa is not a new phenomenon and has firm roots in both historical and more recent political and economic developments. The next chapter will deal with this historical component by exploring migration patterns to and within South Africa that might conceivably have an influence on the national and international movement patterns of foreign traders at the Hartbeespoort Dam.

CHAPTER 3: MIGRATION TO AND WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The need for labour has dominated the internal and cross-border migration scene in South Africa for more than a century. The focus of this chapter is the historical context that played an important role in the shaping of migration patterns, as we know it today. Labour migration in particular is considered as one of the major historical driving forces, which created the 'culture of migration' phenomena observed today and is therefore discussed in more detail in this chapter (See: Bosman et al, 2000; Wentzel, 2003 and Oosthuizen, 2004). The assumption is also made that historical internal migration patterns might potentially have a direct bearing on some of the internal movement patterns of foreign traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam. Both historical international migration from African countries and internal migration patterns within South Africa are therefore explored in this chapter.

3.2 MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

3.2.1 Labour migration

As explained in the previous chapter, economic factors have always been considered important reasons for people to migrate within Southern Africa. At a workshop on the South and southern African migration context, Wentzel (2003) drew attention to the fact that migrant Pedi males worked on farms and public works in the Cape Colony as early as the 1840s. Earliest records also indicate that Tsonga speaking people from Delagoa Bay travelled to Natal in the 1850s to earn wages. Katzennellenbogen (1982:37) also refers to Mozambicans that were employed on farms in the Western Cape in the 1860s. The start of diamond mining activities at Kimberley in 1870 created a huge demand for unskilled labour (Wentzel, 2003:1). By 1874 approximately 10 000 migrant labourers were employed on mines in and around Kimberley. The large scale utilization and regulation of cheap mine labour by means of the introduction of pass laws was the beginning of a system that dominated migrant labour in South Africa for more than a century (Wessels & Wentzel, 1989:6-7). The establishment of the gold mining industry in 1886 led to a large-scale labour migration system that dominated migration in South Africa for many years. Extensive campaigns in neighbouring countries led to the recruitment of large numbers of foreign workers who were prepared to work for lower wages than South Africans.

By 1920 a total of 100 000 migrant workers from nine African countries were employed at gold mines. This number peaked at 265 000 in 1970. According to Crush (in McDonald 2000:14) the patterns of contract migration changed markedly in the 1970s and 1980s when South Africans started to replace most of the foreign workforce. By 1980 foreign mine workers accounted for only 40% of the total workforce in the gold mine industry. Despite retrenchments during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the total number of migrant workers again increased by 22 000 from 1980 to 1995. This increase brought the ratio of South African to migrant workers to about 50/50.

In the late 1980s, skilled immigrants from Botswana, were drawn to South Africa due to economic growth and demand in South Africa for skilled workers. According to Wentzel (2003:8) neighbouring countries accounted for an estimated 30-40% of all legal skilled and professional migration to South Africa between 1982 and 1988. Up to 90% of these migrants were from Zimbabwean origin. Despite the tightening of immigration criteria for professional immigrants, Zimbabwe continued to account for 30% of legal immigration to South Africa during the 1990's. Lesotho accounted for 10% and Swaziland for 5,5% of legal immigration to South Africa.

Since the 1990s a dramatic increase in legal cross-border movement in the Southern African region took place, from 500 000 in 1990 to 3,3 million in 1995 (Wentzel, 2003:8). Most of this movement can be ascribed to people moving for non-work related reasons. Tourism, visiting relatives, medical reasons, shopping and education featured high on the list of reasons for coming to South Africa. It can nevertheless be assumed that some of these people worked without work permits in the informal sector and in informal trading activities (International Labour Office, 1998).

Due to the long history of migration from Mozambique and Zimbabwe to South Africa, migration networks were created in both sending and receiving countries (Kok et al., 2002:1). The existence of these networks was an important factor facilitating migration to South Africa. Social ties with migrants in home countries and with those already settled in South Africa were often utilized by potential migrants to find work, accommodation and new networks of social support. The tradition of labour migration from Mozambique to the South African mines also facilitated the creation of networks.

3.2.2 Undocumented migration

According to Crush (in McDonald: 2000:17), '*clandestine migration*' during the twentieth century refer to the process of crossing the border to South Africa without documentation. This did not imply illegal crossing as such since travelling with documentation was not the norm at that time. The first type of documentation used was a travel pass and more recently identity documents and passports. A travel pass was reportedly easy to get hold of as authorities were only interested in monitoring rather than controlling the movement of people. Crush (in McDonald: 2000:17) reports that most migrants headed for the towns and cities where they could find work in construction, services and in secondary industries. They were also subjected to pass laws similar to those imposed on black South African citizens.

Undocumented migration only became a concern to the South African authorities after the April 1994 elections when the country opened up politically and economically to the rest of the world and particularly Africa. According to Minnaar & Hough (1996:123) the number of Mozambicans and Zimbabwean immigrants increased significantly in contrast to the expectations of the South African Government. Bosman et al (2000:3) argues that better relations and slackened border control after 1994 resulted in easier access for both documented and undocumented job-seeking migrants to South Africa. According to Bosman et al. (2003:3), the main reason behind this trend was a lack of employment opportunities and the threat of starvation and hunger in countries of origin. Kok et al. (2002:2) found in a study on cross-border migration that movements from Mozambique and Zimbabwe were complex, interwoven and could not be attributed to one specific factor. This study also mentioned that poor economic conditions in Zimbabwe and Mozambique and consequent unemployment, low wages, expensive consumer goods and low value of local currencies were instrumental as reasons for people to migrate to South Africa.

Minnaar & Hough (1996:30) analysed the underlying reasons for undocumented migration to South Africa and reported that in addition to the adverse economic conditions in Zimbabwe and Zambia, the economic and political situation in Nigeria, Tanzania, Somalia and the DRC also played a significant role in the movement of people to South Africa. It is further mentioned by Minnaar & Hough (1996:125-126) that the majority of 'illegal aliens' in South Africa enter the country clandestinely and it is, therefore not possible to make a meaningful estimate of the number of undocumented people in the country at any given

time. It is also reported that some legal migrants become illegal by failing to renew their temporary permits issued to them at their ports of entry. While others breach the conditions of their temporary residence permits, for example, holiday visitors who take up employment or start their own businesses. A distinction is also made between organised or more permanent and less permanent illegal entries. '*Organised*' or '*more permanent entry*' takes the form of entry by people with no intention of ever returning to their own country. Less permanent entry according to Minnaar & Hough (1996: 31) refers to people that have the intention to return to their individual home country when conditions improve sufficiently or when he or she has saved up enough money in South Africa.

3.2.3 Forced migration

In his analysis of asylum and refugee policies, Rutinwa (2002) argues that the Southern African region has had a long experience with forced migration that resulted in the regional refugee problem. Forcible population displacement is known to have taken place even in pre-colonial and colonial times. In modern times this phenomenon may be traced to the early 1960s when wars of liberation in South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe forced thousands of people to neighbouring countries and beyond. In the 1970s and 1980s, many more people were forced to flee the civil wars in countries such as Angola and Mozambique. The civil war in Mozambique between the two opposing parties FRELIMO and RENAMO (1975-1992), influenced Mozambican migration to South Africa to a great extent (Kok et al, 2002). During the war, many Mozambicans fled to South Africa as refugees. After the war many of the refugees did not return to their country of origin and remained illegally in South Africa. Some refugees who did return to Mozambique after the war had ended later decided to once again return to South Africa. They did so because their family members were casualties of the war and they could not find employment in Mozambique and importantly they had become familiar with life in South Africa.

In the 1990s, the Southern African region continued to experience a refugee problem, but this time mainly as a host to refugees from within and outside the region. Rutinwa (2002) therefore argues that the refugee phenomenon in the Southern African region can be attributed mainly to wars of liberation from colonial powers, racial policies and civil wars.

The approach taken by the governments of most Southern Africa countries with respect to refugee matters was what could be referred to as the "traditional Common Law approach", whereby refugee matters are addressed under general immigration laws (Rutinwa, 2002).

South Africa in particular is cited as a good example because of its approach to refugees until the late 1990s. Until 1998, refugee matters in South Africa were governed by the Aliens Control Act, (RSA, 1991) which governed immigration in general. This act was mostly concerned with control of immigration in South Africa. The most important element of this system of control was the concept of “a prohibited person”. This included among others, “persons who are not South African citizens who enter South Africa without a valid passport and visa as well as those who leave South Africa without a valid residence permit” (Rutiniwa, 2002).

Involuntary population movements due to natural disasters such as drought and floods have been part of the Southern African history for many years and will continue to exert an influence. Prime examples of natural disasters that displaced people are the floods in Southern Africa in 2000 that displaced large numbers of people along the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers in Mozambique. Other examples are the drought of the 1980's and 1990's that displaced thousands of Mozambicans with many of them migrating to neighbouring countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe (Bosman et al, 2000:3).

Modi (2001:5) points out that the Southern African region is characterized by semi arid conditions and that only four countries in the region Zambia, Angola, DRC and Mozambique can be said to contain fertile agricultural land. Due to a lack of arable land and insufficient water, food production and industrial needs have come under pressure. A heavy dependence on subsistence farming and a lack of food production has encouraged migration to areas where people can eke out a livelihood. Meze-Hausken (1998) views migration as the result of social decision making that usually follows adverse climatic conditions. She also argues that climate *per se* is seldom the root cause of migration but rather a condition that exacerbates difficult living conditions of individuals already at the margin of subsistence.

The demographic pressure due to growth in the labour force in the Southern African region is another factor that, according to Modi (2001:5-6), plays a role in migration patterns. In the 1990s, 37 million economically active people moved within the Southern African region. People from South Africa and Mozambique accounted for two thirds of this internal (rural to urban in South Africa) and cross-border (from Mozambique to South Africa) movement. Economically active population of Southern Africa has also grown by 28 percent over the 1980s and was expected to grow by over 29 percent during the 1990s and a further 32 percent between 2000 and 2010. Due to this immense growth of

economically active population in the region the absorption of labour in the formal and informal sector has become a problem (Modi, 2001:6).

3.3 MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Internal migration patterns of Africans in general may be of relevance to this study due to distinct movement patterns that developed because of historical and political events. Everyday contact and relationships between foreign migrant traders and the local African population may therefore influence the internal or local movement patterns of foreign migrant traders. It is anticipated in this study, that marriages between foreign migrant traders and South Africans, could have a pronounced effect on the movement patterns of foreign migrant traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam. Viljoen & Wentzel (2005:22) for example, highlighted the importance of particularly women's movement patterns in relation to that of a moving spouse. This warrants the exploration of historical South African internal movement patterns that today have a bearing on the movement patterns of local people and possibly also some foreigners.

3.3.1 Labour migration

Migration into and around South Africa was historically a male phenomenon. It became almost synonymous with the phenomenon of 'men of two worlds', where the area of origin (usually rural) remained home to migrants (Van der Berg et al., 2002:5). The study by van der Berg et al. confirms that migration in South Africa is highly age-selective, with mostly young adults moving from the rural to the urban centres in search of employment. Despite the fact that migration is now less gender sensitive than in the past, older and less educated women are considerably less likely to migrate when compared with their male counterparts, whilst younger, educated women's probability of migrating is not far below that of men (Van der Berg et al., 2002:33).

Mine workers used to return to their rural home and considered their urban environment as a temporary home. However, Cross & Webb (1999) and Bekker (2000) reported a reversal of this trend. Urban migrants are now severing social links with their areas of origin and are less likely to return to rural areas. Bekker (2000:10-11) adds that male migrant workers, even after the abolition of influx control, used to prefer leaving their families behind in the rural area as they perceived urban infrastructure and services such as urban schooling for blacks and housing to be inadequate. Urban crime and violence were also

considered detrimental to moving their families to the city. Mine workers cherished the rural society and values that they knew and wanted to preserve this way of life. According to Jeeves (1995: 202) mine workers accepted the hazards and meagre wages consciously as the necessary means to the achievement of their rural ends and as an acceptable price to pay for future independence.

3.3.2 Urbanisation

Today many migrants bring their families with them to the urban area, perhaps confirming the belief that people are migrating with no or little intention to return to the place of origin or that social dynamics are changing e.g. the social ties/kinship ties to the original place are not so strong any more (Van der Berg, 2002:5). This process of urbanisation was one of the main migration features of the last two decades of the previous century.

In 1996 an estimated 21 to 22 million people lived in large towns, cities and metropolitan areas (Maninger, 2000). This accounted for roughly 60% of the country's total population. According to Maninger (2000), current South African urban population growth is approximately one million people per annum. This is significantly higher than the estimated 750 000 predicted in 1989. South Africa's cities are some of the fastest growing urban centres in the world. Cities such as Durban for instance doubled its size between 1970 and 1980 and grew a further 77% until 1985 (Maninger, 2000). Gauteng's population is also predicted to double from seven million to fourteen million between 1997 and 2011. This shows that South African cities have been growing at unparalleled rates during the last three decades. Nevertheless, Mears (2003) points out that the urbanisation rate for the total population decreased from 55,9 percent in 1985 to 53,7 percent in 1996 but increased to 60,4 percent in 2002.

An internal migration survey by the Human Sciences Research Council (Viljoen et al., 2003) also shows that most people that move in South Africa are likely to move to an urban area. This includes people from both rural and other urban areas. It should nevertheless be noted that although urbanisation may be viewed largely as a result of industrial development, a variety of other complex social and political factors influences urbanisation in South Africa. This is underscored by Viljoen et al., (2003:20) where empirical evidence points to education opportunities, housing and social issues such as marriage and divorce as factors playing a major role in motivating migratory movements.

Mears (2003:11) refers to a high urban-rural wage differential that has influenced rural to urban migration on an unprecedented scale due to the expansion of the industrial sector. Despite this expansion, the industrial sector has been unable to cope with the massive demand for work. It is also argued that an increased rate of job creation in cities is accompanied by an increase in the flow of migrants with little or no reduction in unemployment. The stagnation of subsistence agriculture, landlessness and redundancy in outer peripheral areas leaves economically active rural dwellers with virtually no source of income and little option but to seek employment in urban areas. Mears (2003:17) also argues that the unequal distribution of income and average levels of welfare fall progressively when moving from urban to rural areas. This further encourages rural to urban migration.

3.3.3 Rural to rural migration

In terms of contemporary South African migration, there are some researchers who believe that rural-to-rural migration has become the dominant form of migration. Van der Berg (2002:4) reports that social links between urban migrants and their areas of origin are being served, and the return migration is minimal. However, other researchers do not agree with this argument. Cross & Webb (1999) maintain that the 1996 census figures do not bear testimony to a predominately rural-to-rural flow of people. Their study focused mainly on inter-provincial moves that are predominately from rural provinces such as the Eastern Cape to more urbanised provinces such as the Western Cape. Short distance moves from rural to other rural areas might therefore not be easily picked up due to the scope of the analysis and the fact that census data does not easily lend itself to a very detailed analysis of migration patterns. The census questionnaire only records information on the last move and other moves are not recorded. This might render some conclusions on migration from census data less reliable.

Despite differing views, it would seem that most migration literature support a predominantly rural to urban migration trend (Van der Berg, 2002; Kok, et al., 2003; and Mears, 2003). Migrants therefore prefer to settle mainly in urban areas. Of all persons who moved residence in 1996, 78% now reside in urban areas (Van der Berg, 2002:5). Moreover, the pattern of net migration is not appreciably different from the historical pattern of movement from largely rural provinces to largely urban provinces. The South African census of 1996 supports the contention of both Cross & Webb (1999) and Bekker (2000) that return migration is becoming less common, even though for example, almost

half of all black migrants in the Western Cape who came from the Eastern Cape expressed their intention of returning (Van der Berg, 2000:5).

Jeeves (1995:211) reports that the rural order had already become socially and economically diminished by the 1950s and 1960s. By then, the rural household was a shadow of its former self both in the number of family members it supported and in productive output. Population rebelled against South Africa's restrictive land policies, soil fertility declined and erosion spread across the countryside. These conditions made eking out a living on the land almost impossible, resulting in many people abandoning rural life for the urban labour market. This also contributed to the severing or diminishing of social ties with rural areas.

3.3.4 Forced migration

Lemon (1987:205) reports that nothing symbolised the oppressive nature of apartheid and aroused international condemnation more than the forced removals of African people that occurred since the early 1960s in South Africa. Prior to the African National Congress (ANC) taking power, South Africa was infamous throughout the world for its racialised policies and seemingly limitless measures of social control. A number of laws were promulgated to fulfil the broad aims of racial segregation that the National Party promoted, namely: the Native Urban Areas Act (Union of South Africa, 1937), Group Areas Act (RSA, 1950), Mixed Marriages Act No 55 (Union of South Africa, 1949), as well as the Population Registration Act No 24 (RSA, 1976). Handmaker & Parsley (2002:41) reports that migration control in South Africa was in line with apartheid-era policy and was as restrictive and security oriented with similar origins as the notorious pass laws. Modi, (2001:4) also argues that foreign migrant workers could, due to the restrictions on their movements, associate with the plight of local black South Africans. This added a moral and regional dimension to migration in South Africa.

According to Gelderblom & Kok (1984:87) the involvement of Africans in labour migration resulted in them becoming temporary residents of the towns. The principle of "temporariness" was embodied in the system of influx control and in the particular form of management of African townships. There were mainly two reasons behind the origin of the influx control that appeared at different stages in history. These reasons centred on the needs of employers and the unwillingness to grant political rights to Africans in the common area (Gelderblom & Kok, 1984: 87).

- Many employers in South Africa (especially those in mining and agriculture) insisted on state regulation of the African labour market. Mainly because they felt that competition for African labourers would cause excessive increase in African wages. This resulted in the introduction of the influx control mechanism.
- A second important reason was located in the perceived link between the permanent presence of Africans in the towns and the granting of political rights. It was feared that if Africans received the right to permanent residence, they would also insist on political rights.

Handmaker & Parsley (2002:41) argues that in a sense, influx control was effectively transferred to the borders in the form of the Aliens Control Act No 96, (RSA, 1991) a compilation of the various pieces of legislation, the latest version coming into force in 1991. South Africa's policy on entry and residence, including temporary migration, immigration and until recently, refugee status determination, had fallen under the Aliens Control Act No 96 (RSA, 1991). The Act was primarily enforced to exclude black migrants, whose entry was strictly limited to bilateral, contract-labour treaties between South Africa and neighbouring states to provide cheap labour, mainly for the mining and agricultural industries.

The Groups Areas Act (RSA, 1950), one of the cornerstones of racial segregation, was eventually repealed in June 1990. The essence of this Act was that people of different racial groups were not allowed to live in the same residential area (Gelderblom & Kok, 1994:155-156). This Act was pivotal in the government's plan to enforce racial segregation. The government was not only determined to set racial segregation on a new footing, but also to reverse existing practices of racial integration. A fundamental aspect of these plans was the removal of the racially integrated locations found in numerous urban centres also referred to as 'black spots'. These areas were problematic to the government because of their racial heterogeneity and because they had become major centres of black working class mobilisation in the post-war period. The continued existence of black spots thus posed a threat to the government's ideology of racial segregation. The implementation of this the Group Areas Act (Union of South Africa, 1950) resulted in the forcible removal of hundreds of thousands of blacks from their homes and their relocation into racially exclusive areas.

According to Gelderblom & Kok (1984:88) the principle of temporariness was also reflected in the physical accommodation of black urbanisation. Although African townships were originally the responsibility of the white local governments in whose area of jurisdiction they were located, very little money was available for development of the townships. Gelderblom & Kok (1984) indicated that income was restricted to the profits the local authorities could derive from their statutory monopoly on the brewing and sale of sorghum beer, fines, licence fees, etc. Conditions in these areas therefore left much to be desired.

Although blacks were initially permitted to own land in areas such as Sophiatown, Alexandra and Newclare in Johannesburg and Lady Selbourne in Pretoria, an amendment to the Native (Urban Areas) Act in 1937 (Union of South Africa, 1937) made it illegal for Africans to purchase land in urban areas (Gelderblom & Kok, 1984:89). Furthermore, the government also made very little land available for township development, and this led to huge levels of overcrowding and squatter movement. These settlements were broken up during the 1950s, however, and the intense application of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (Union of South Africa, 1951) made renewed squatting impossible, at least until the 1990s. The areas where Africans could own land were bulldozed during the 1950s and the inhabitants were moved elsewhere, with the result that they lost the security of land ownership. However, the forced removals of the 1950s were accompanied by one of the biggest housing actions ever undertaken in South Africa where new townships like Soweto near Johannesburg and Atteridgeville and Mamelodi near Pretoria were established. The houses built in these townships were for rent and not for sale and their existence was therefore in line with the policy of temporariness (Gelderblom & Kok: 1984:90).

3.4 DISCUSSION

Historically, political, economic and social factors have played a major role in patterns of migration in South Africa. This is particularly the case with government-induced resettlements and farm evictions resulting from racial segregation based policies. Mining followed by industrialisation in particular, had a big stake in the distribution patterns of people in South Africa as we know it today and will continue to be a significant factor driving internal and international migration trends.

Within the context of this chapter one can conclude that migration is a complex process involving a variety of factors that extend from personal to structural levels of operation. Understanding contemporary migration patterns necessitate a historical understanding of migration to and in South Africa. It is therefore imperative that contemporary research on migration should take cognisance of the history of migration, and assess the nature and origin of current migration patterns in South and Southern Africa within its historical framework. The following chapter will deal with the research process and will specifically focus on the research methodologies used during the gathering of data and information.

CHAPTER 4: THE RESEARCH PROCESS AND STUDY AREA

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN AND APPROACH

The previous two chapters provided a foundation to the reasons for using quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. This chapter not only highlights the research process but also the development of the selected research instruments with due consideration given to the different spatial, time, social, economic and institutional dimensions of the phenomena of migration.

The need to use a multiple methods approach for the purposes of this dissertation was explained in Chapter 1 (section 1.6). The use of multiple methods is complementary in respect of addressing various shortcomings inherent to quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Within this research, a questionnaire survey is used to gather information on incidents of travel (both international and local) that took place during the previous 12 months period. Qualitative interviews conducted provide a complementary methodology that elicited more detailed historical information on livelihoods both in the respondents' country of origin and at their destination. The qualitative interviews also intended to elicit detailed reasons provided by respondents for leaving their country of origin. Another important motivation for using both methodologies was to determine the relevance of the migration theories discussed in Chapter 2. The qualitative methodology is better suited for gathering information that relate to theories that deals with social aspect of migration such as norms, culture, perceptions, emotions, intensions and networks – to name just a few. Specific migration theories that benefited from the use of qualitative methodologies include among others, the cumulative causation, world systems, institutional and network theories as explained in Chapter 2.

4.1.1 The questionnaire

Data that was needed to answer specific research questions and deal with certain themes and issues in the research were obtained in three separate sections in the questionnaire-based interviews. In the first section data was gathered on biographical information such as:

- Age
- Gender

- Marital status
- Spouse/partner's country of residence
- Number of children
- Nationality
- Educational status
- Children's country of residence
- Occupation
- Type of goods sold
- Current area of residence
- Type of dwelling
- Home country and area of residence before moving to South Africa

This information was needed to determine whether migrant traders of different nationalities, gender, age and educational qualification levels exhibit different movement patterns. This information was particularly useful in testing Ravenstein and Lee's theories of migration (Ogden,1984) with regard to the role that gender plays in internal and international migratory movements. Other migration models that could be addressed, using biographical information include the gravity model where the relevance of biographical variables are evaluated as factor in movement patterns and distances of migrant traders.

The second section focused on the traders' migration history details and reasons for coming to South Africa and more specifically the Hartebeespoort Dam. National and international movement patterns over a 12-month period were also recorded in this section. Issues addressed included:

- Push factors for leaving their home country such as economic conditions, political situations, social and environmental factors
- Pull factors such as economic opportunities, availability of accommodation facilities, established networks of relatives and friends in South Africa
- Reasons for trading at the Hartebeespoort Dam, which includes economic reasons, xenophobia issues, considerations regarding the availability of accommodation at the specific location and local control on informal sector activities
- Details on first ever cross-border trip undertaken

- The number and details of destinations during major national and international trips undertaken during the last 12 months
- Reasons for going on each trip
- Methods of travel
- Number of people travelling together

This section of the questionnaire examined traders' decision to engage in trading activities in South Africa and at the Hartebeespoort Dam. It included reasons for leaving their home country (push factors), such as economic conditions, political reasons, social and environmental factors. Conditions in South African (pull factors), such as economic opportunities, the availability of accommodation facilities and the existence of established networks of relatives and friends among others, which might have an important impact on informal traders decision to trade in South Africa were also included in the questionnaire. Information obtained within this section shed more light on the applicability of the network theory (Massey et al., 1994) and 'economic' migration theories such as the neo-classical economic theory: micro-economics models (Todaro, 1969 & 1994), cumulative causation of migration and world systems theory (Massey et al., 1993). Lee (in Ogden 1984) refers to intervening obstacles that often act as a barrier between sending and receiving countries. Questions on problems experienced by respondents on their way to South Africa were aimed at obtaining more information on possible intervening obstacles that might have existed.

The second section also focused on internal and cross-border travel patterns of respondents. Among others, information sought included the number and details of major trips undertaken during the last 12 months, reasons for going on each trip, distances travelled (destination), method of travel, number of people in travel group, routes travelled, goods transported etc. A time limit of 12 months on trips undertaken was imposed due to the possibility that respondents were not likely to have good recollections about trips undertaken more than a year ago. It was also anticipated that many of the respondents might have embarked on a significant number of trips that would for practical reasons be difficult to record over a period longer than 12 months. Information on travel patterns would provide information on spatial movement patterns that would assist with the evaluation of 'spatial' migration theories such as the gravity model of migration as well as Lee and Ravenstein's laws of migration (Ogden, 1984). Information on internal and international movement patterns would also add to the understanding and possible relevance of migrant

labour, forced migration, undocumented migration, urbanisation and rural to rural movements among migrant traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam.

The inclusion of questions on networks of relatives or friends in South Africa would provide an indication of the relative importance of networks in movement patterns of migrant traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam. Questions on the existence of social networks would also inform the relevance of the network theory on the migration phenomena observed. The third section was a general section that focused on the following issues:

- Considerations when travelling
- Personality characteristics
- Anticipated period of stay at the Hartebeespoort Dam
- Attitude of South Africans towards foreigners
- Attitude of other traders
- Life satisfaction in country of origin
- Life satisfaction in South Africa
- Anticipated period of stay in South Africa
- Interest in acquiring South African citizenship
- Rent paid for business premises
- Organisational memberships

Questions on people's intentions to stay and obtain full residence and citizenship in South Africa would assist to determine the predominance of either permanent or circular migration patterns as referred to in Chapter 2. Research on xenophobia in South Africa has been a popular topic in numerous studies (1996 to date) by institutions such as the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) and Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). Questions on xenophobia contained in the questionnaire were aimed at assessing this phenomena's influence on the local and international movement patterns of respondents.

4.2 THE INFORMATION GATHERING PROCESS

The fieldwork for this dissertation commenced on 16 May 2004 and ended on 16 September 2004. During this period of time both the questionnaire survey and qualitative

in-depth interviews were undertaken with the help of a research assistant who provided translations where necessary.

Foreign and local people were found to do business side by side. Some foreign traders also employ local people to assist them with their business. It was therefore anticipated that identifying respondents might not be a simple task due to the mix of foreign and local people and the assumption that identifying foreign traders on the basis of language spoken or looks (clothing etc.) will be particularly difficult and be viewed with suspicion. Due to the haphazard way that stalls were located at the Hartebeespoort Dam and the difficulty of distinguishing foreign traders from South African traders, it was decided to utilise a 'snowball' technique to obtain respondents for the survey. This technique was ideally suited to obtain respondents in situations where difficulty is experienced in identifying potential interviewees. The snowball technique can be defined as a technique for finding research subjects (Atkinson & Flint, 2001:1). One subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on. This strategy could be viewed as a response to overcoming the problems associated with sampling concealed populations such as the criminal and the isolated. Snowball sampling can be placed within a wider set of link-tracing methodologies that seek to take advantage of the social networks of identified respondents to provide a researcher with an ever-expanding set of potential contacts. This process is based on the assumption that a 'bond' or 'link' exists between the initial sample and others in the same target population, allowing a series of referrals to be made within a circle of acquaintance (Atkinson & Flint, 2001:1).

A random starting point was identified where the owner of the stall, a South African trader, pointed out that a Mozambican person occupied the stall next to his. After explaining the reason and the objective of the study the first selected respondent provided his consent for being interviewed. At the beginning of the interview, the respondent was assured that the personal information obtained from him/her would be treated as confidential and will in no way be detrimental to himself or his trading activities in the area. Although real names of respondents were obtained during interviews, it was decided to include only names and not surnames in this dissertation due to the sensitive nature of some of the information obtained. After finishing the first interview, the interviewee was asked to identify a second foreign trader to conduct an interview with. This process was followed until all interviews were concluded. A Kenyan fieldworker with a four-year degree in Geography and Sociology, who could communicate in languages such as French, Portuguese and Spanish, assisted with conducting the interviews. Conducting an interview in a

respondents' home language had the advantage of putting such a person at ease and also assisted in getting better quality information from a respondent. The negative side of interviewing a respondent in their home language was that the interviewer could possibly be biased in terms of their own interpretations of answers by interviewees.

In total, 30 interviews were conducted as part of the quantitative section of this research. As mentioned earlier, a fieldwork assistant was utilised to do some of the interviews where communication with respondents unable to converse in English provided a barrier. Interviews were conducted with a wide range of respondents that included people from East African as well as Southern African origin. The duration of interviews ranged from 30 to 45 minutes per interviewee. It was decided to postpone the qualitative interviews until the researcher became familiar with the study area and its people while conducting the questionnaire survey. Conducting the quantitative survey also provided a good opportunity to identify suitable candidates for doing in-depth life history interviews with.

During the quantitative survey it was established that people from nine nationalities were represented at the Damdoryn site at the Hartebeespoort Dam. The five respondents for the in-depth interviews were selected on the basis of their country of origin, gender and migration type (for example refugees versus professional traders etc). Most of the traders were men but a significant number of women were also involved in trading activities in the area. It was also established that three types or categories of traders could be found at Damdoryn. The first category was that of refugees (mostly people from the DRC and Uganda) that seem to represent a small minority in the area. The next category included people that are traders by profession and comprise mostly people from Kenya, Senegal and Zimbabwean origin. The last group included people such as Mozambicans that came to South Africa in search of a better quality of life, who are mostly low skilled and did not previously engaged in informal trading activities similar to those that they are currently involved in. People such as the Kenyans, Senegalese and Zimbabweans often employ people from the last group. Given these distinct differences it was decided to select at least one person representing each of the three groups. More males than female respondents were interviewed due to the presence of more men than women at Damdoryn.

A language interpreter was used in cases where respondents could not converse fluently in English. All conversations were recorded with the respondents consent. This provided first hand accounts that were selectively transcribed for the purpose of this study. A

number of interviews were also conducted with various stakeholders in the Damdoryn area. These interviews were mostly with local role players and related to their views of foreign traders and the future development of the area.

4.3 THE STUDY AREA

The informal trader stalls selected for this study were located at Damdoryn, which is part of Hartebeespoort and marked for its location only a few kilometres from the Hartebeespoort Dam. The Hartebeespoort Dam is located approximately 35 kilometres to the west of Pretoria (refer to Figure 4.1). An intersection of the R512 and R27 roads marks the centre of the Damdoryn area. With the exception of formal businesses that include two filling stations, a number of eateries and the Chameleon flea market centre, the R27 road is lined with informal stalls for up to 500 meters (refer to Photo 4.1).

Photo 4.1: View of the R27 road lined with informal businesses



There are approximately 500 traders of both South African and of foreign origin trading at Damdoryn (over weekends), one of the areas with the highest concentration of African arts, crafts and curios at one locality in South Africa. Of the 500 traders, about 300 can be considered as informal traders. The remaining 200 traders occupy stalls at the Chameleon

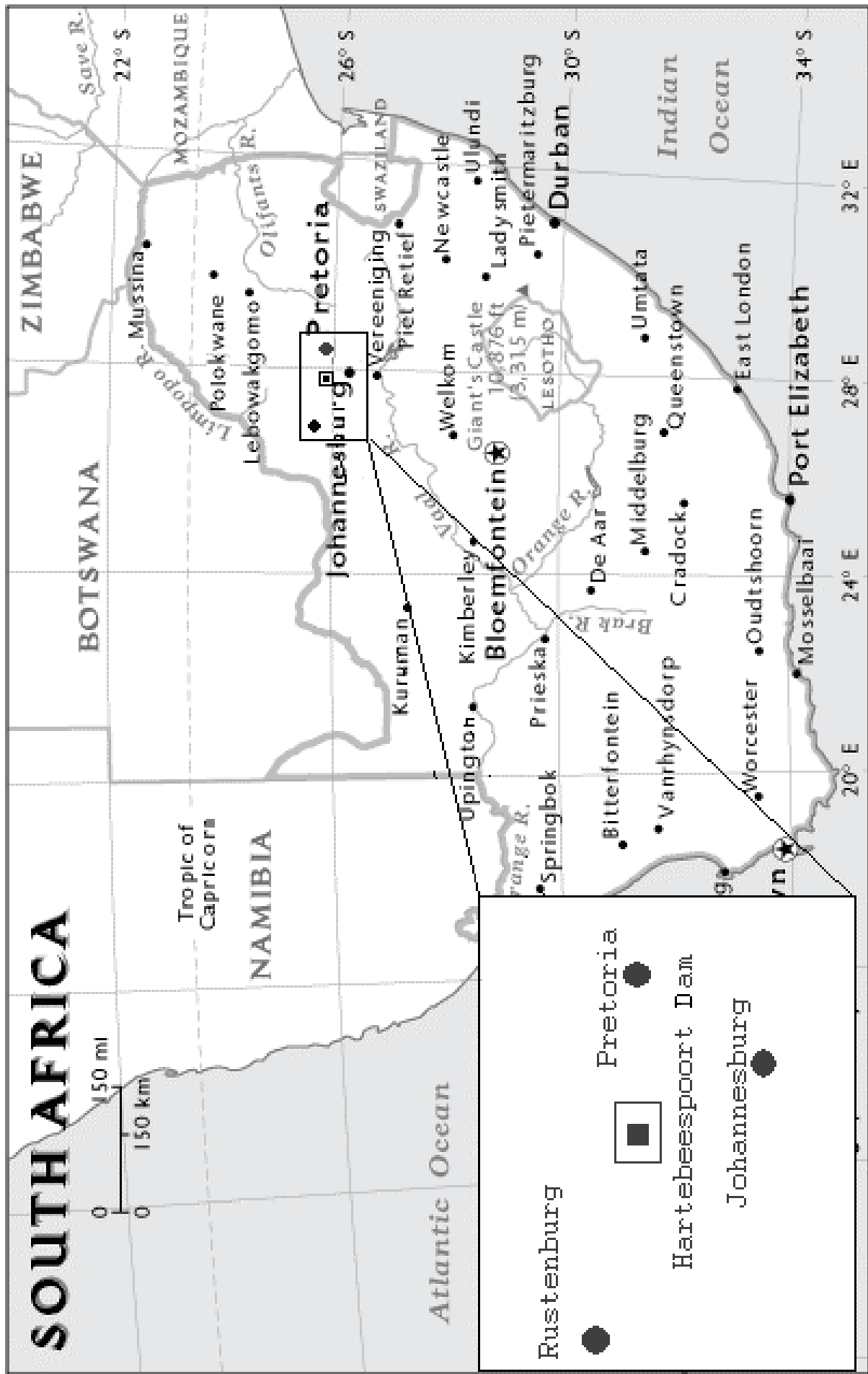


Figure 14 Map of the Hartebeespoort Dam location

Village flea market and other recognised shops. These traders have access to electricity and other amenities and can be regarded as 'formal' traders.

It is estimated that at least 200 of the 300 informal traders at Damdoryn were foreign nationals. Of the 200 foreign traders only approximately 150 actively participated in trading activities during weekdays.

The land on which the stalls were situated belongs to the South African Road Agency. At that time none of the occupants of informal stalls were paying rent for the site that they occupied, but they did pay a storage fee to a local property owner who constructed a storage facility on his property. This storage facility was regarded as inconvenient due to the need to move all stock on display to and from trading sites on a daily basis. This often kept traders occupied for more than three hours per day when moving and setting up items for display.

The Damdoryn area became known for its exhibits of traditional African arts and crafts from the early 1990s when the first foreign African traders started to occupy the area along the R27 road (Viljoen & Wentzel, 2000). The owner of one of the small holdings situated next to the R27 road initially rented land adjacent to the road to people interested in selling arts, crafts and curios. This, however, changed when the landowner decided to sell his smallholding and requested all informal traders to remove their stalls from his property. Informal traders were reluctant to comply with the landowner's request because of a shortage of suitable land for erecting new stalls. Traders decided to oppose this request in court in 2003. The outcome of this court case favoured the landowner because the Damdoryn traders had to abandon the case due to high legal costs. Traders were therefore forced to relocate to the roadside just outside of the property that they used to occupy³.

The Chameleon Village flea market housed some of the more formal traders in the area (refer to Photo 4.2). A private sector developer constructed the centre in 2003 at a cost of R36 million. In August 2003 the centre opened its doors to the public after a construction period of three months. The centre initially boasted a full occupancy that later dwindled to approximately 50%. This is reportedly the result of relatively high rental charges of

³ (Personal interview: Boniface Kyengo, Informal trader, Damdoryn. 2004-05-19)

between R500 to R2000 per stall. Due to low business volumes during the week some stall owners preferred to engage in trade activities only during weekends⁴.

Photo 4.2: The Chameleon Village Centre



In addition to the Chameleon Village flea market, other small but more formal business ventures and flea markets co-existed with the foreign traders at Damdoryn. The perception of these business owners and landlords were that foreigners at Damdoryn comprise mostly Mozambican and Zimbabwean foreign nationals⁵. It was also their perception that foreigners came to South Africa due to economic hardship experienced in their countries of origin. It nevertheless seems as if little contact and no co-operation exists between foreign traders and local business owners. There also seems to be little or no competition between local and foreign owned businesses because of different goods and services and in some cases 'different markets' that are catered for. Local business people therefore did not view the foreign traders as direct competition. However, limited water and sanitation facilities forces foreign traders to utilise facilities created specifically for tourists. Local business people regarded this situation as problematic⁶.

⁴ (Personal interview: Jenny Burger, Flea market owner, 2004-09-14)

⁵ (Personal interview: Jenny Burger, Flea market owner, 2004-09-14)

⁶ (Personal interview: Jenny Burger, Flea market owner, 2004-09-14)

At the time of the interview, new plans by the North West Provincial Government in co-operation with the National Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism were to elevate the status of the Damdoryn area to that of a major tourist nodal point⁷. As part of the strategy to develop the location, a new market area was being constructed across the road from the Chameleon center. The new market would be called Tsosoloso Madibeng Cultural Village (refer to Photo 4.3).

Photo 4.3: Tsosoloso Madibeng Cultural Village under construction



This area would reportedly house most of the informal traders situated on the reserve of the R27 road. Foreign traders had nevertheless voiced their concern that this facility might become an object of conflict between South African traders and themselves. They believed that local South African traders would receive preference to foreign traders due to the support and involvement of the South African Government in the project. It was also believed that new South African traders or people that had not previously been active in the area would be given preference above foreigners.

Foreign traders considered themselves as pioneers in the area that became famous for its large variety of traditional African arts and crafts and warned that such a situation would be

⁷ (Personal interview: George Milanzi, Supervisor Tsosoloso Madibeng Village. 2004-09-14)

unacceptable⁸. During an interview with Mr. George Milanzi, Supervisor of the Tsosoloso Madibeng Cultural Village building site office, it was mentioned that only foreign traders with the necessary legal documents will be allowed to rent stalls at the new Tsosoloso Madibeng Cultural Village. This might exclude foreign traders without the correct documentation.

The construction of the Tsosoloso Madibeng Cultural Village is a jointly funded project with contributions from the North West Department of Economic Development and Tourism (R3,6 million), the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (R6 million) and the Madibeng Local Municipality (R1,5 million). The main objective of the project was to alleviate poverty through the creation of an integrated tourist cluster of projects and accommodation for informal traders under shelter and better conditions of trade. At its roots the project aimed to empower informal traders at the Damdoryn location. Another benefit of the project was to provide an alternative to traders currently trading on the road reserve. This road reserve is reportedly needed to upgrade the R27 road in the near future⁹.

4.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED

The first limitation of the study is that of statistical representation. Full representation criteria could not be met due to the nature of the snowball sampling technique used. This implies that there may be some bias in the data obtained because of the over sampling of one particular group of people as opposed to the under sampling of another group. However, care was taken that one group did not dominate another during the sampling process.

The geographic location of the sample is limited to the Damdoryn (Hartebeespoort Dam) area. The sample can therefore not be considered representative of migrant traders beyond the demarcation of the study area. Interpretation of the information can therefore only be considered representative of the migrants at Damdoryn (Hartebeespoort Dam).

Due to the cost, time constraints and difficulties of conducting a questionnaire survey among foreign migrants it was decided to limit the sample size to a manageable 30

⁸ (Personal interview: Boniface Kyengo, Informal trader, Damdoryn. 2004-05-19)

⁹ (Personal interview: George Milanzi, Supervisor Tsosoloso Madibeng Cultural Village. 2004-09-14)

interviews. This limited the level of statistical analysis that could be undertaken. As an example, it was not possible to do a value expectancy analysis due to the small sample size. It should, however, be noted that the quantitative sample does represent a 23% sample of the weekday traders. Some of the migrant traders' status were of an 'illegal' nature which might have caused them to submit false information in order to protect themselves. Using a knowledgeable fieldwork assistant known by most of the respondents possibly mitigated the threat of obtaining fictitious data. This also assisted with keeping the rate of refusals to only one respondent that did not want to co-operate. As with any coin, using a fieldwork assistant has two sides. Due to the fact that some of the interviews were conducted in languages other than English it must be accepted that the interpretation of some of the questions/answers might not have been correct in all instances.

During the development of the questionnaire, the number and details of major trips undertaken by respondents were limited to those undertaken during the last 12 months. This was done because of a possible loss of memory of earlier trips and the fact that some people might have embarked on a significant number of trips that would have been difficult to record. It was therefore possible that information obtain on trips during the last 12 months might obscure long term migration patterns and trends.

Practical problems experienced during the survey related mostly to the noisiness of being next to a major road with high volumes of traffic. This presented problems with the recording of in-depth interviews due to a high level of background noise that made transcriptions afterwards relatively difficult. Interruptions by potential clients and co-traders were also relatively common but did fortunately not provide too much interference with the filling in of questionnaires. Some respondents also complained that interviews took up too much of their time and remarked that they would get into trouble with their employers for neglecting their work. None of the questions in the questionnaire provided too many problems for respondents to understand. The use of some words such as xenophobia, extrovert, conservative and adventurer had to be explained to some respondents with a limited English vocabulary.

The next chapter deals with the interpretation of the findings of the questionnaire survey. The interpretations and findings of this chapter are based on a systematic analysis of the information gathered using the questionnaire instrument. Mostly descriptive statistical techniques are used for the interpretation of the findings.

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

After completing the data collection process as detailed in the previous chapter the analysis of the data and qualitative information commenced. The data analysis process started with coding various open-ended questions. After completion of the coding list, data was captured in a Microsoft Excel® spreadsheet format. After finalisation of the spreadsheet the data was imported into the SPSS® data analysis programme that contained various descriptive statistical analytical techniques. Methods of statistics analysis such as frequency and cross-tabular analysis were used as descriptive measures to analyse the data and to elicit various trends and patterns that reflected on the movement patterns of respondents. The next section deals with the findings of the survey and begins with a description of the biographical details of the respondents.

5.2 BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF RESPONDENTS

An analysis of the biographical details of the respondents (n=30) shows that 50% of the respondents is in the age category 20 to 30 years. The second largest category comprises people between 30 and 40 years of age (33%). Only 16,7% of the respondents were older than 40 years. The gender composition of the sample was 23% women and 77% men.

Figure 5.1 illustrates the sample composition with regard to nationality. Kenyans represented 22% of the sample followed by Zimbabweans, Malawians and Mozambicans each at 17%. In total, interviews were conducted with people from 9 nationalities. At face value, the sample represents a fair reflection of both gender and nationality at the Damdoryn area. Despite not being able to establish the exact number of local traders by nationality, reports from a key informant¹⁰ indicated that Kenyans represented the largest group of foreign traders followed by Zimbabweans and Malawians, which correlates broadly with the composition of the sample.

¹⁰ (Personal interview: Boniface Kyengo, Informal trader, Damdoryn. 2004-05-19)

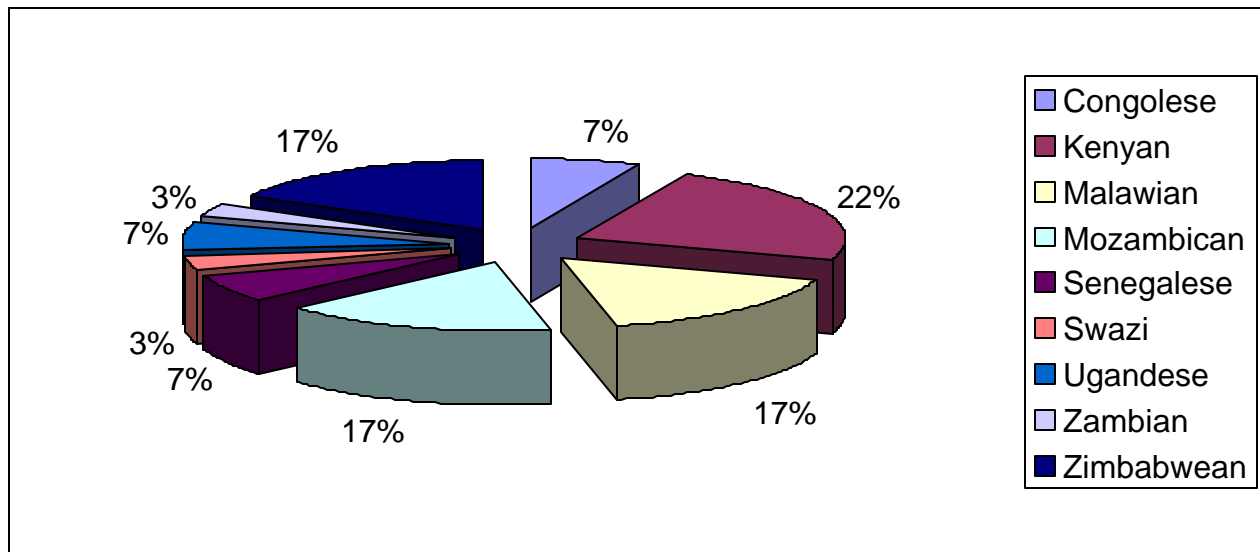


Figure 5.1: Proportion of respondents by their nationality

Of the 30 respondents, 40% indicated that they were married. According to Table 5.1, most of the respondents indicated that their spouses/partners currently reside in South Africa (62%). Interestingly, however, was that most respondents preferred to let their children stay in their country of origin. Unfortunately, no motivation for this preference was captured due to the format of the questionnaire.

Table 5.1: The country of residence of respondents' husband/wife or partner (n=21)

Nationality	Frequency	Proportion %
Mozambique	2	9
Malawi	3	14
Zimbabwe	1	5
Zambia	1	5
Swazi	1	5
South Africa	13	62
Total	21	100

A surprising statistic was the educational status of respondents. Most of the respondents (54%) had completed a secondary school qualification. A significant number of respondents (23%) were in possession of a diploma or a university degree. The remainder (23%) of the respondents had only primary school qualifications. Most of the respondents were either owners or co-owners of businesses (87%) with the remainder being in the employ of other traders.

While in South Africa, respondents mostly stayed in the town Brits (53%), followed by the Majakaneng township with 17%. Interestingly, some respondents indicated their place of residence as Johannesburg and Randburg (13%). Other places of residence include Damdoryn, Elandsrand, Mooinooi and Sandfontein. Figure 5.1 shows the types of dwelling in which the respondents currently reside.

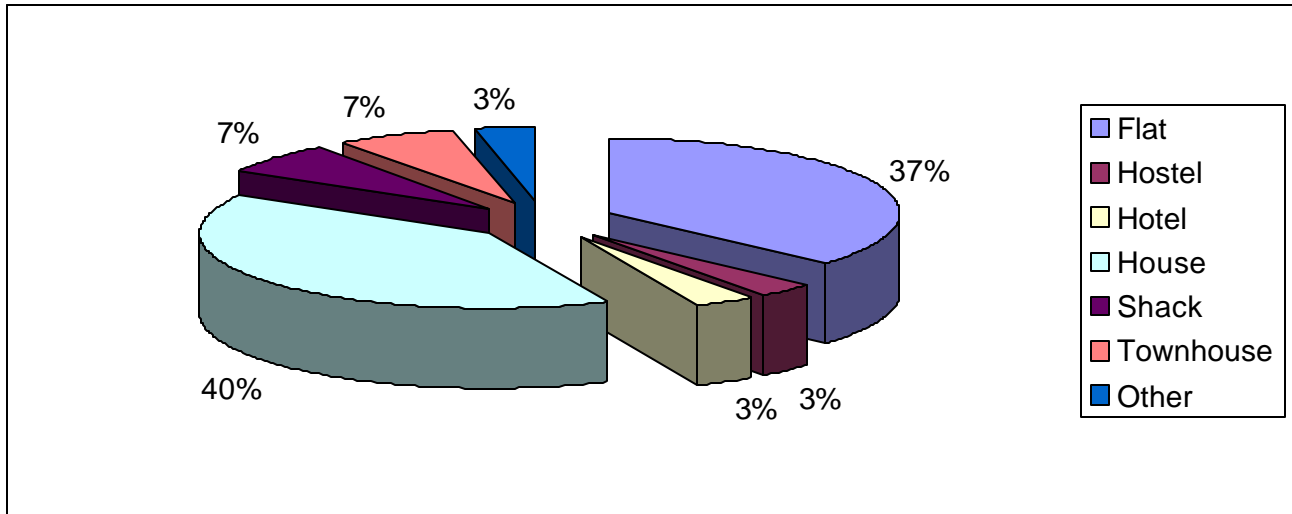


Figure 5.2: Types of Dwellings that respondents currently occupy

The largest proportion of respondents stayed in houses (40%) followed by flats (37%). Other types of accommodation mentioned were hostels, hotels, shacks and townhouses. According to a respondent, most people rent rooms in either houses or flats. This seems to be the most affordable housing option.

5.3 PERSONALITY TRAITS

A question intended to determine personalities required respondents to indicate the extent to which they consider themselves as an extrovert, a risk taker, enjoy working with people, a conservative person, an adventurer or a person that enjoy challenges. De Jong and Fawcett (1981), supporters of the value expectancy model, refer to personality traits as a behavioural factor that should be accounted for when assessing decision-making in migration. De Jong and Fawcett (1981) use personality traits as an indicator of the likelihood of whether a person would become a migrant or not. For example, a person that displays personality traits such as being a risk taker, an adventurer or a person that enjoys challenges (not considering personal circumstances) are more likely to migrate than others. This underscores the need to include a section on personality traits in this research to assess its reliability as indicator of people's propensity to migrate.

Table 5.2: Main personality traits as identified among respondents (Proportion %) (n=30)

Extent of agreement	Type of personality traits					
	Extrovert	Working with people	Risk taker	Conservative	Adventurer	Enjoy challenges
Not at all	30	3	50	30	40	43
To a greater extent	10	47	3	27	20	10
To some extent	37	10	17	33	27	10
Totally	23	40	30	10	13	37

Table 5.2 presents a simple frequency analysis that provides an overview of personality types of respondents. The personality trait “enjoy working with people” drew attention with 97% of respondents associating themselves with this trait. The strongest negative response was found when people assessed themselves as “risk takers”. Up to 50% of the respondents did not regard themselves as people that would fall into this category. This is a particularly interesting finding since it seems to suggest that up to half of the respondents might not have considered their coming to South Africa as “risky behaviour”.

Of particular note is the finding that up to 70% of the respondents regarded themselves (to various degrees) as conservative people therefore implying that their behaviour in moving to South Africa (and their trade activities at the Hartebeespoort Dam) falls within general accepted norms within the societies that they originate from.

Despite viewing themselves as conservative, most people regarded themselves to various extents as extroverts (70%). More than half of the respondents also considered themselves as adventurers and people that enjoy challenges in life. Having to describe the personality traits of a typical foreign trader at Hartebeespoort Dam, one can say that such a person will possibly be a person that would be considered to be an extrovert (to various degrees) that enjoys working with people, who views him or herself as relatively conservative despite being an adventurer that enjoy challenges. Such a migrant is also likely to view him or herself as a person that will not take unnecessary risks. An analysis of the results of personality traits of respondents by gender showed that far more female respondents (100%) viewed themselves as conservative when compared to male respondents (61%).

5.4 MIGRATION HISTORY DETAIL

5.4.1 First ever cross-border visit

Nearly half of the respondents (47%) had never purposefully visited another country (thus excludes travelling through another country on their way to South Africa) before coming to South Africa. Table 5.3 contains information on the date (year) of respondents first visit to a foreign country. In most instances these visits constituted a visit to either a neighbouring country or to South Africa. The majority of respondents paid their first visit to a foreign country after 1986.

Table 5.3: Representation of the year that respondents reported to have first visited any other country (n=30)

Year	Frequency	% Proportion
<1980	2	7
1980-1985	1	3
1986-1990	4	13
1991-1995	9	30
1996-2000	9	30
>2000	5	17

The 1991-2000 period constituted the time when 60% of first visits were undertaken. The period 2001 onwards also represents a significant proportion of first visits. The majority of respondents (92%) indicated that they have fond memories of their first trip to a foreign country¹¹ for a variety of reasons, which included good food, friendly people, adventure, the thrill of riding on a train for the first time or seeing the Victoria Falls. Many respondents cited language problems as the main reason for not enjoying their trip.

5.4.2 Cities and countries of origin

Most of the respondents originate from urbanised areas in their home countries. Blantyre, Bulawayo, Dakar, Kinshasa, Maputo, Nakuru and Nairobi represented the cities where most (70%) of the respondents lived before moving to South Africa.

Respondents from Mozambique came mostly from Maputo. Travelling to their South African destination via the N4 highway that links Maputo with Gauteng presented little

problems. The only exception is one respondent that entered South Africa illegally by crossing the border fence and travelling through the Kruger National Park by foot. His destination during this trip was Mooketsi. After being employed as a farm labourer for a short period of time he decided to move to the Brits area. The other respondents used taxis, buses and private motor vehicles to reach their destinations in South Africa (refer to Figure 5.3).

Zimbabwean respondents came from various areas in Zimbabwe including, Harare, Bulawayo, Mberengwa and Masvingo. Travelling to South Africa did not present too much of a challenge due to Zimbabwe's close proximity. Respondents all travelled using legal means via the Beitbridge border post that is shared by South Africa and Zimbabwe. Various modes of transport were utilised by respondents that includes, buses, trucks and taxis. Transport by bus nevertheless proved to be the most popular (refer to Figure 5.3).

All Malawian respondents came from Blantyre, the capital of Malawi. Respondents used one of two routes in their quest to reach South Africa. The more popular route proved to be via Mozambique and Zimbabwe to reach their South African destination. The other route utilised was via Zambia and Zimbabwe. All of the respondents used a bus as their mode of transport to South Africa (refer to Figure 5.3).

Kenyan respondents had a fairly long distance to travel to South Africa. Respondents originated from Nakuru and Nairobi. A route via Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe to South Africa proved the most popular. One respondent nevertheless preferred to travel to South Africa via Botswana. The most popular form of transport was by bus with one respondent that preferred to travel by air (refer to Figure 5.3).

The Senegalese respondent travelled by air due to the enormous distance between South Africa and Senegal. A Zambian respondent travelled by bus from Livingstone, passing through Zimbabwe and Botswana to reach her destination in South Africa. Ugandan respondents either arrived by bus or by air. Those respondents that travelled across land travelled via Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe to reach South Africa.

Only one of the two DRC respondents came to South Africa by land. His journey took him through Zambia and Mozambique to reach South Africa. The other respondent flew from Kinshasa to Johannesburg International Airport. The Swaziland respondent travelled from

¹¹ A foreign country is in this instance any country other than a respondent's home country. This may also include South Africa.

Manzini to Johannesburg by bus. Most of the respondents reported that they travelled alone. Some of respondents (30%) indicated that either friends or family accompanied them on their journey to South Africa.



Figure 5.3: A spatial representation of respondents' cities of origin

The time duration of trips to South Africa varied between one week for those respondents that travelled from countries such as Uganda, Kenya and the DRC to one-day journeys for respondents from Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

A number of respondents indicated that they experienced various problems during their journey to South Africa. The Mozambican respondent travelled through the Kruger National Park by foot and had to deal with the hazards of numerous dangerous animals such as lion and elephant. Other problems mentioned were less severe and included having to deal with corrupt immigration officials, not understanding local languages and not having enough money to pay for transport to reach a particular destination.

5.4.3 South Africa as destination

Whereas the previous section investigated a first ever cross border trip to any foreign country, this section looks specifically at respondents' first trip to South Africa. Table 5.4 shows that most of the respondents visited South Africa after 1996 for the first time. It can be noted that progressively more people came to South Africa with the most (43%) visiting South Africa for the first time after 2000. It can be assumed that the opening of South Africa's border with neighbouring countries after the political developments in 1994 played a major role in the increase of foreign African visitors to South Africa. The results of Table 5.4 confirm this trend.

Table 5.4: Representation of the year that respondents reported to have first visited South Africa (n=30)

Year	Frequency	% Proportion
1986-1990	3	10
1991-1995	3	10
1996-2000	11	37
>2000	13	43

The majority of respondents specifically decided to travel to South Africa for business reasons (37%) and employment (33%). Other reasons provided included political reasons (7%), better economic opportunities (7%), education (7%), war (3%) and poverty (3%) amongst others. The main motivation for respondents move to South Africa is clearly of an economic nature, as represented by 77% of the responses. This finding clearly correlates with DaVanzo's (1981:92) micro-economic model of decision-making where individuals migrate with the expectation of being better off by doing so. Therefore, a person who believes that benefits derived from migration will exceed the costs of doing so will indeed have a strong motivation to migrate. Such a move might nevertheless only benefit a migrant over a longer period of time.

Respondents were asked on how they decided to come to South Africa. Most (50%) indicated that it was their own decision whereas 33% said that their family played an important role in taking a decision. Friends already in South Africa (17%) also played a significant role in the decision of people to come to South Africa.

It is evident in Figure 5.4 that most of the respondents did not regard the Hartebeespoort Dam or Damdoryn area as their final destination when they decided to leave their home countries. In fact most people (64%) regarded Johannesburg as their destination, followed by the Brits area (14%). As a first choice in destination, the Hartebeespoort Dam attracted only 3% of the respondents. Other intended destinations such as Bloemfontein (3%), Durban (3%), Louis Trichardt (Makhado) (3%) and Pretoria (3%) also attracted respondents. A relatively large percentage of the respondents (7%) did not know what their destination would be when they left their countries of origin.

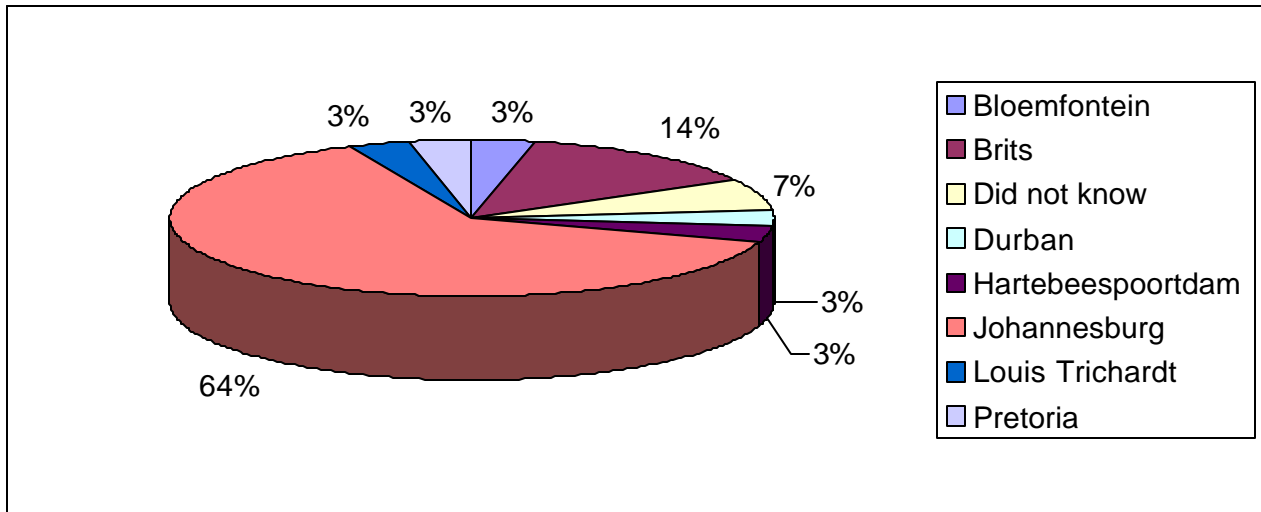


Figure 5.4: The original intended South African destination of respondents by town or city

Only half of the respondents had made prior arrangements for accommodation in South Africa before they left their countries. The other half came to South Africa with the premise that they would be able to acquire accommodation if they so wished. The type of accommodation that respondents stayed in immediately after their journey to South Africa varies significantly. Figure 5.5 provides an overview of the types of accommodation occupied by the respondents.

The most popular type of accommodation utilised immediately after arriving in South Africa were hotels (27%) followed by flats (23%) and shacks (20%). Other types of accommodation included hostels (13%), private houses (7%) and townhouses (7%). This accommodation was in most instances considered to be temporary. This is reflected by the fact that hotels were the most popular type of accommodation after arriving in South Africa. When compared to current accommodation types (refer to Figure 5.2) houses and flats (37% & 40%) are a far more popular option. This likely points to accommodation that are more permanent of nature.

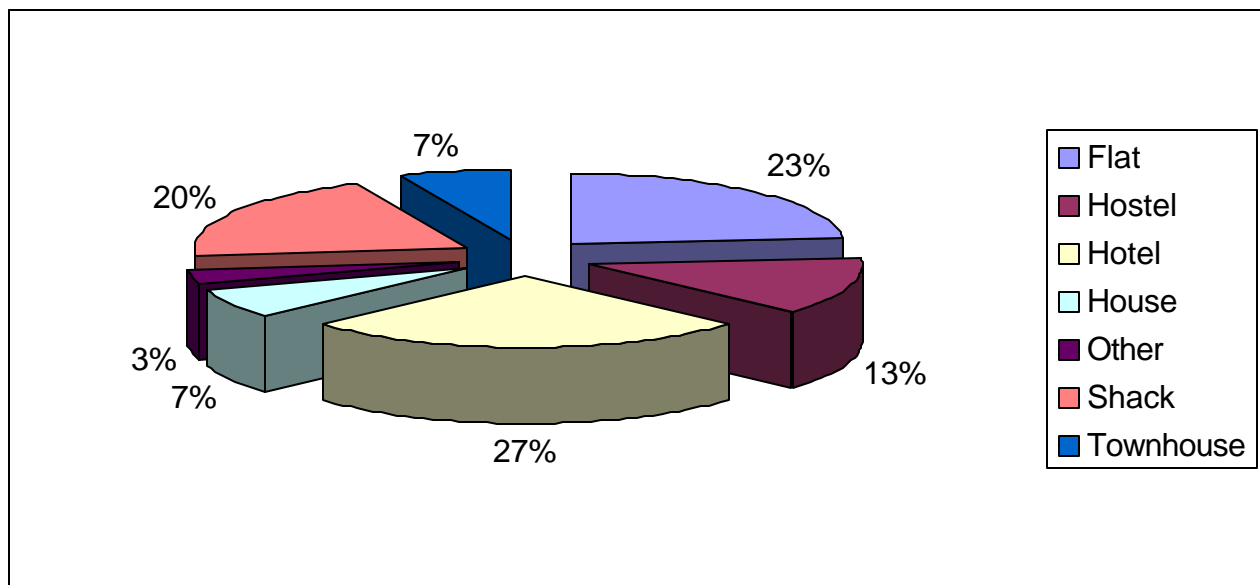


Figure 5.5: A display of the type of accommodation occupied by respondents in South Africa at their first time of arrival

The majority (73%) of respondents also indicated that they had either friends or relatives in South Africa at the time of their first visit to the country. This coincides with the network theory of Massey (1994) discussed in Chapter 2. Migrant networks are viewed as a set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in place of origin as well as destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. Massey (1994) postulates that networks are believed to increase the likelihood of international movements because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migrants.

5.4.4 Hartebeespoort Dam as destination

Figure 5.6 represent respondents' main reasons for selecting the Hartebeespoort Dam as destination. Most of the respondents selected the Hartebeespoort Dam as their destination for business (57%), followed by employment (30%), having friends in the area (10%) and due to the fact that it was considered to be a safe place (3%). The reasons for selecting their destination (town or area) differed slightly with reasons provided for coming to South Africa (refer back to section 5.4.3). Economic reasons nevertheless remained the most important reason for both coming to South Africa and selecting the Hartebeespoort Dam as destination.

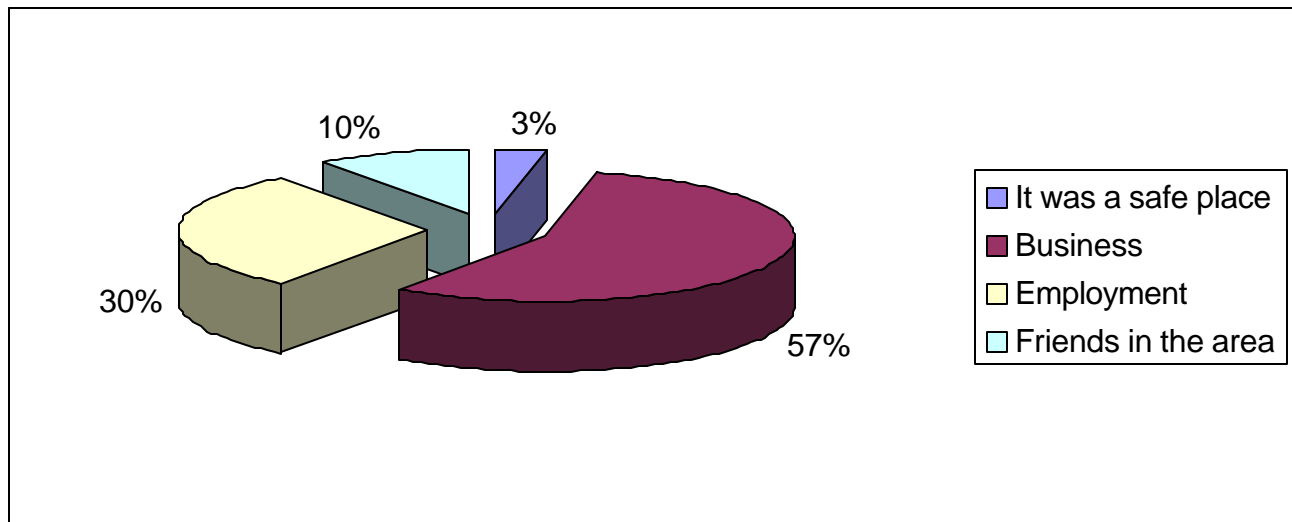


Figure 5.6: A representation of the main reasons reported by respondents for moving to the Hartebeespoort Dam

When prompted on how long they would like to stay at the Hartebeespoort Dam a variety of responses were recorded. A significant number (40%) of respondents reported that they are undecided about how long they will stay in the area. One respondent (3%) considered staying permanently at the Hartebeespoort Dam. The longest period of time mentioned by a respondent was 10 years with a number of respondents indicating that they would like to stay for as long as business is good (10%), for as long as they have a place to stay (3%) or for as long as possible (7%).

The results of a follow-up question on influences that might cause people to leave the Hartebeespoort Dam area are captured in Figure 5.7. Most of the respondents (57%) reported that they would consider leaving the Hartebeespoort Dam area if their business went into a slump. Interestingly 7% of respondents said that nothing would cause them to leave the area. Other reasons mentioned were cost of living (3%), other opportunities (7%), being homesick (3%) or retirement. This finding again underscores and supports the main reason by respondents for moving to the Hartebeespoort Dam, namely for business purposes.

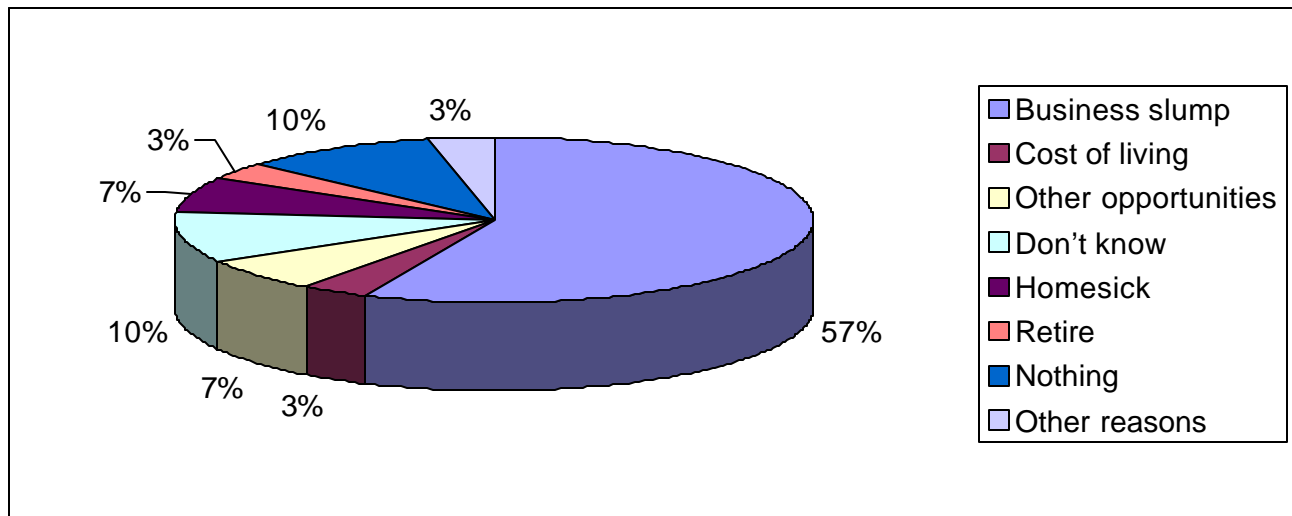


Figure 5.7: A representation of reasons why respondents might consider leaving the Hartebeespoort Dam area

5.4.5 Cross-border trips during the last 12 months

Of the total number of respondents, only 33% had undertaken trips back to their home countries over the last 12-month period. Of the respondents that undertook the trips, 66% went home between two and five times. The remainder visited their countries of origin only once in a 12 month period. Table 5.5 provides an overview of the nationality of respondents that visited their home country during the past 12 months. The Congolese, Senegalese, Ugandan and Zambian respondents did not visit their home countries during the previous 12 months, while the majority of respondents from Malawian, Mozambican, Swazi and Zimbabwean origin went home during this period. Considering this trend one can suggest that distance and cost to a particular respondents home country probably played a significant role in whether people visited their country of origin or not. It would seem as if those from more distant countries such as Senegal, DRC and Uganda preferred not to go home too often with the opposite applicable to respondents that live in countries close in proximity to South Africa (refer to Figure 5.8). This phenomenon correlates with the gravity model that assumes that cost and distance play an important role in migration.

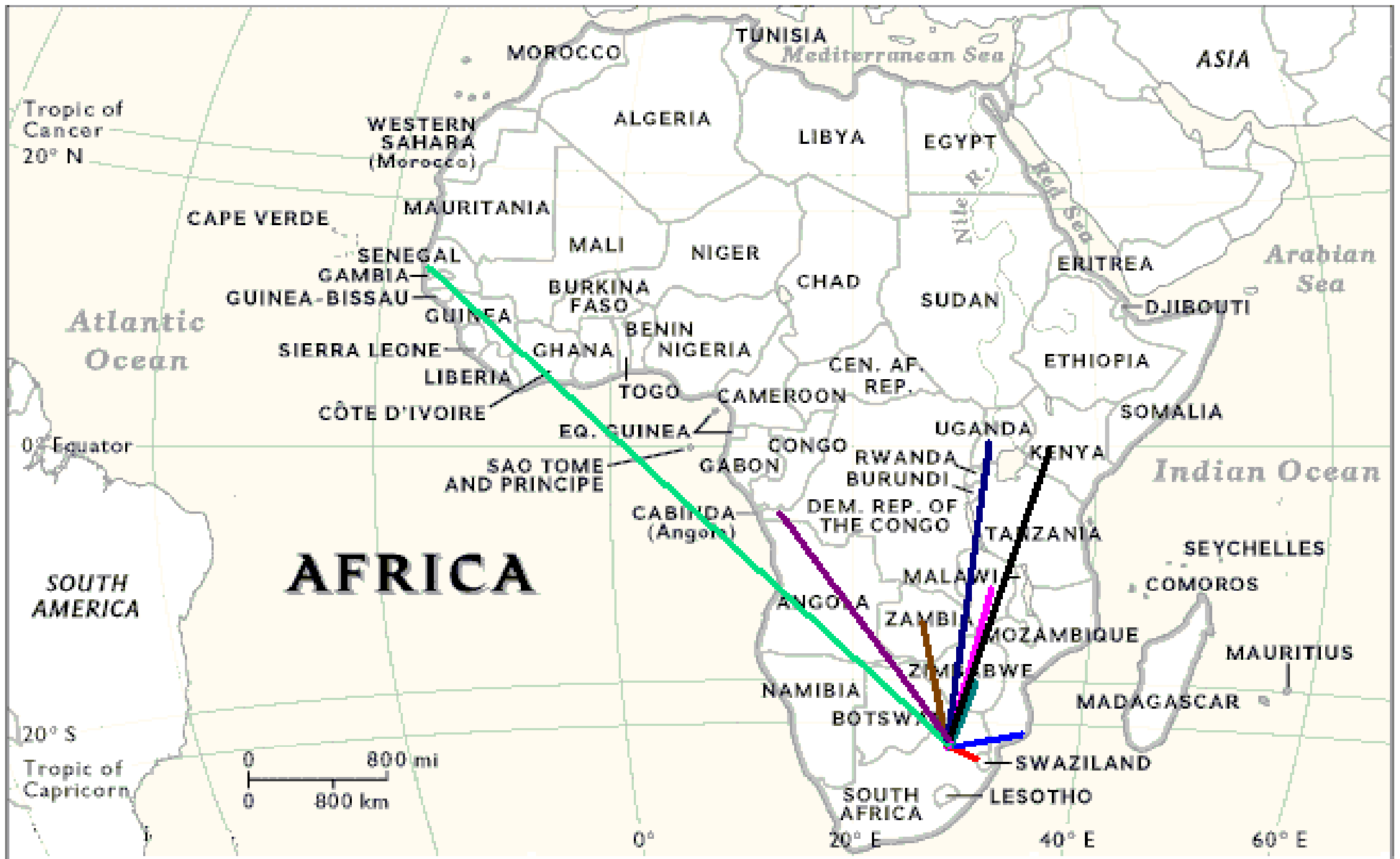


Figure 5.8: A map of the routes travelled by respondents on their way to South Africa

Table 5.5: A tabular presentation of trips that respondents undertook to their home country during the past 12 months by their nationality (n=30)

Nationality	Trips to home country during the past 12 months	
	Yes	No
Congolese		2
Kenyan	1	6
Malawian	2	3
Mozambican	2	3
Senegalese		2
Swazi	1	
Ugandese		2
Zambian		1
Zimbabwean	4	1

When asked for the reasons for going home, most of the respondents (70%) indicated that they were visiting their family. Other reasons for visiting home countries included attending funerals or acquiring stock for business purposes. Respondents preferred to visit their countries of origin either during the winter or during festive seasons such as Christmas or Easter. It was reported that their business usually experienced a slump during winter and this was thus the most suitable time to return home. Travelling by bus was the most preferred way of travelling home (60% of respondents). Other modes of travel included private motor vehicle, aircraft or train. Most of the respondents (60%) indicated that they travelled alone when they visited their home countries during the past 12 months. Almost all of the respondents reported that they took home some groceries and money (80%). Other goods taken home included bicycles, clothing and gifts to family members. The duration of trips varied from two weeks to four months. Most trips were nevertheless either two weeks or between one and two months in duration. When asked whether they experienced any difficulties during their trip, all of the respondents replied that this was indeed the case. Border tax and having the correct and required documents at border posts were highlighted by most respondents as problematic. Other respondents indicated that not speaking particular languages made their journey difficult. Some people also regarded the lack of safe transportation as a problem.

5.4.6 Local business trips during the last 12 months

A number of questions were put to respondents about business trips undertaken in South Africa. Only 40% of the respondents reported that they regularly undertook business trips.

The frequencies of these trips were mostly once a month (42% of respondents) with some respondents (25%) indicating that they undertook trips once a week. The remainder of the respondents undertook trips once every second week or less.

Cities that respondents often visit during their business trips (in order of declining popularity) includes Pretoria and Johannesburg, followed by Thabazimbi, Bloemfontein, Rustenburg, Brits, Lephalale , Ficksburg, Cape Town, Grahamstown, Phalaborwa, Witbank, Zeerust, Durban and East London. Figure 5.9 provides an illustration of business trips undertaken by respondents during the past 12 months. The annual Rustenburg show and the Grahamstown Arts Festival, among others, are two examples of events that respondents attend with the hope of selling some of their wares.

The length of business trips to South African cities were generally less than seven days (83%) but differed in terms of distance needed to be travelled to particular destinations. Business trips were in most instances trips undertaken when respondents have a desire to showcase some of their arts, crafts and curios during shows and functions that draw numerous tourists and visitors. Taxi's (34%) and private motor vehicles (34%) were equally important as the most preferred mode of travelling during business trips. Respondents nevertheless reported that using private motor vehicles made travelling more comfortable when a significant number of articles had to be transported to a particular destination.

5.5 CHOOSING A DESTINATION

The questionnaire survey instrument was also used to test the importance of a number of factors that related to peoples decision to travel to any particular destination. A simple scale was therefore devised where respondents had to indicate how relevant the following factors were when they decided to move or travel to any particular destination, namely:

- a safe place to go to
- costs
- transport availability
- housing/accommodation/place to stay at
- vibrant local tourism economy
- knowing people or having friends in a particular area

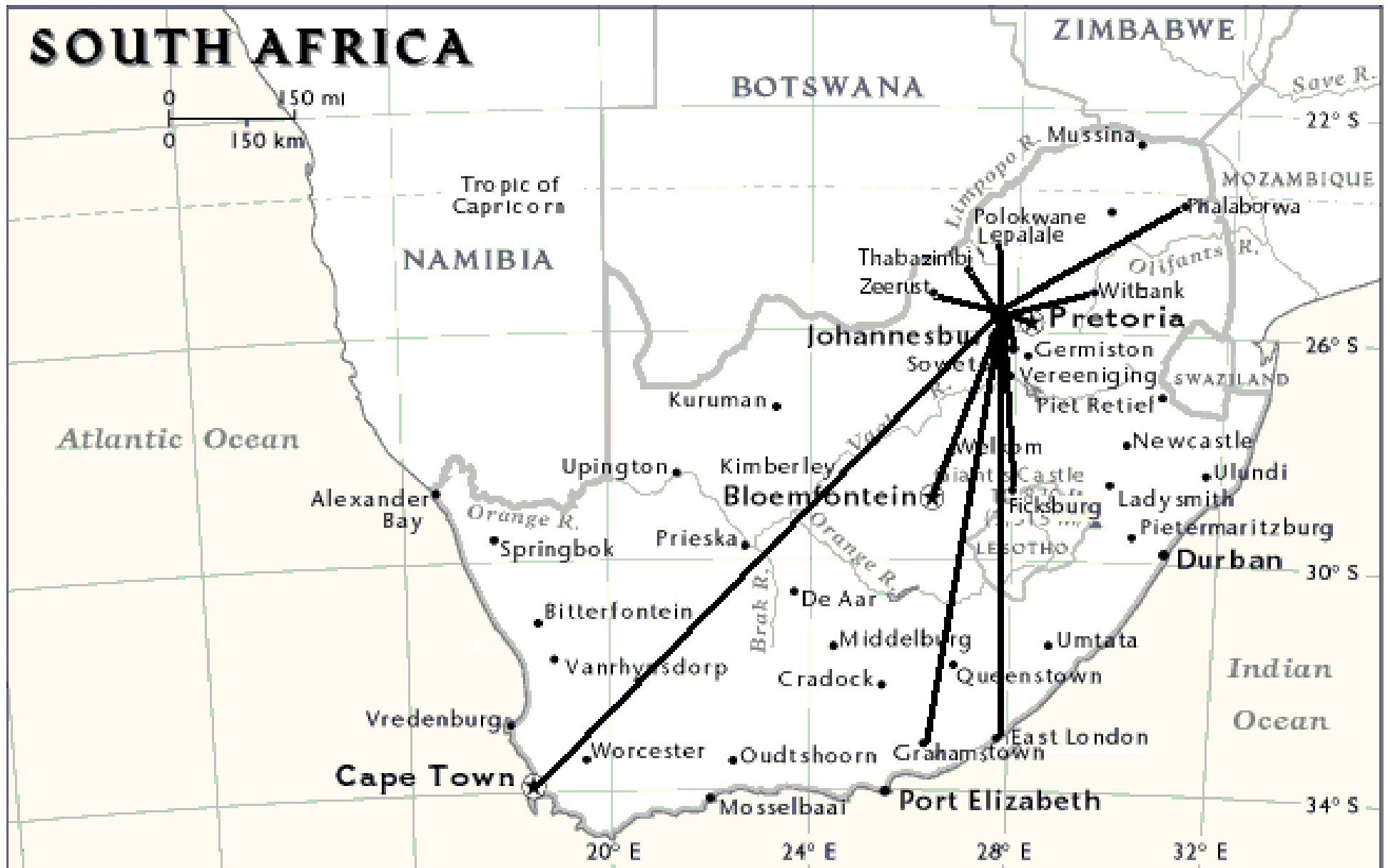


Figure 5.9: A spatial representation of local business trips that respondents undertook during the past 12 months

Table 5.6 shows that vibrant tourism and cost were factors of particular importance in respondents' decision to travel to any particular destination when motivated by business reasons. The factor that received the fewest positive answers was the importance of housing in a person's decision to travel to a particular place of their choice. An overall ranking of the factors in terms of importance in migration decision making is as follows:

1. Vibrant tourism
2. Cost
3. Transport
4. Knowing people/friends
5. Safety
6. Housing

Table 5.6: A tabular percentage distribution of factors considered important by respondents when travelling to any particular destination (n=30)

Relative importance	Travel factors					
	Safety	Cost	Transport	Housing	Vibrant tourism	Knowing people/friends
Not at all	23	23	30	37	27	30
To some extent	30	13	20	17	16	20
To a greater extent	27	37	27	23	27	30
Totally	20	27	23	23	30	20

Respondents were also asked to relate these factors to their choice of selecting the Hartebeespoort Dam as destination. The majority of respondents (97%) indicated that one or more of the mentioned factors played a role in their decision to move to Hartebeespoort Dam. It is interesting to note that housing played a far more important role in respondents decision to move to the Hartebeespoort Dam than was indicated when related to questions on business trips. A plausible explanation for this phenomenon may be that the Hartebeespoort Dam is considered an ideal place to do business at over a longer period of time due to the availability of nearby and suitable accommodation. Other business trips are usually of shorter duration with accommodation or housing therefore being less important than cost and transportation for instance. Vibrant tourism at the Hartebeespoort Dam was also mentioned as an important factor that drew respondents to the area.

5.6 LIFE SATISFACTION

Osborne (2004) remarks that economic and psychological literature on the determinants of happiness is notable for its inability to confirm a strong relationship between material prosperity and happiness. The researcher proposes that another way of determining happiness is to investigate migration patterns between jurisdictions where living conditions differ. A major conclusion in Osborne’s paper is that differences in material conditions are a prime motivator of migration decisions.

Keeping this in mind it was decided to include questions on life satisfaction (happiness) in both place of origin and place of destination (Hartebeespoort Dam) in the questionnaire. The relevant questions read as follows:

1. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole at the moment?
2. How satisfied were you with your life before you left your home country for South Africa?

Both questions were of a closed nature and provided respondents with five answer options that include dissatisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, satisfied, very dissatisfied and very satisfied.

Table 5.7: A representation of how satisfied respondents were with their lives in general (according to a five-point scale) when they were still living in their home countries (n=30)

Life satisfaction in home country	Frequency	Percentage
Dissatisfied	6	20
Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied	4	13
Satisfied	15	50
Very dissatisfied	2	7
Very satisfied	3	10

Table 5.7 reveals that 60% of respondents fell into the ‘satisfied/very satisfied’ category with 27% of people describing themselves as being ‘dissatisfied/very dissatisfied’ in their country of origin. A relatively small percentage of people were neither dissatisfied nor satisfied (13%).

Reports of respondents on their ‘life satisfaction at the moment’ in Table 5.8 shows that 53% of respondents considered themselves as either satisfied or very satisfied. This percentage is somewhat, but not significantly, lower than life satisfaction in their country of

origin. Interestingly only 17% of people were dissatisfied and nobody regarded himself or herself as very dissatisfied. However, a much larger proportion of respondents (30%) regarded themselves as neither dissatisfied nor satisfied. These results seem to suggest that respondents did not improve their quality of life substantially by moving to South Africa as a higher percentage of respondents described themselves as satisfied when staying in their countries of origin. This finding nevertheless correlates with Osborne's (2004) view that there is not necessarily a strict relationship between material prosperity and human satisfaction. Other factors such as being away from one's home country and relatives are most probably a high price to pay for being in South Africa.

Table 5.8: A representation of how satisfied respondents are with their lives at the moment according to a five-point scale (n=30)

Life satisfaction at the moment	Frequency	Proportion %
Dissatisfied	5	17
Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied	9	30
Satisfied	15	50
Very dissatisfied	0	0
Very satisfied	1	3

The analysis of nationality by life satisfaction in home country compared with current life satisfaction (Tables 5.9 & 5.10) provides an interesting perspective on possible migration motivation factors. Congolese respondents rated their life satisfaction much higher in their home countries than their life satisfaction currently in South Africa. Kenyans are generally also slightly less satisfied with their lives in South Africa than in their home country. The life satisfaction of Malawians seems to be much the same with the exception of one respondent that indicated being dissatisfied at the moment. Mozambican respondents on the other hand seem to be much more satisfied with their lives currently when compared to their lives in Mozambique.

Table 5.9: A Cross tabulation of the life satisfaction of respondents in their home country according to their nationality (frequency) (n=30)

Nationality	Life satisfaction in home country				
	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very dissatisfied	Very satisfied
Congolese			1		1
Kenyan		1	4	1	1
Malawian		2	2		1
Mozambican	3		1	1	
Senegalese			2		
Swazi			1		
Ugandese	1		1		
Zambian		1			
Zimbabwean	2		3		

Senegalese, Swazi and Ugandan respondents felt exactly the same when they compared their life satisfaction in their countries of origin with their current status in South Africa. A Zambian respondent moved from neither satisfied nor dissatisfied in his/her country to satisfied in South Africa. Zimbabwean respondents varied with a very slight change in life satisfaction. A 40-60% split between dissatisfied and satisfied in their country of origin turned into a 40% (satisfied), 40% (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied) and 10% (dissatisfied) split at the moment.

Table 5.10: A Cross tabulation of respondent's life satisfaction at the moment according to their nationality (frequency) (n=30)

Nationality	Life satisfaction at the moment				
	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very dissatisfied	Very satisfied
Congolese	1	1			
Kenyan	1	4	2		
Malawian	1	2	2		
Mozambican			4		1
Senegalese			2		
Swazi			1		
Ugandese	1		1		
Zambian			1		
Zimbabwean	1	2	2		

Overall, it is the Mozambican and Congolese respondents' change in life satisfaction in particular that draws attention. Mozambican respondents seemed to be particularly unhappy in their country of origin, possibly because of poverty, unemployment and the civil war that raged until the 1990s. Moving to South Africa seemingly improved their situation significantly. The Congolese respondents on the other hand are less satisfied currently than they were in their country of origin. This might be due to forced migration factors

(such as political instability and war) whereby respondents were forced to flee their country.

5.7 XENOPHOBIA

A nation wide survey by the South African Migration Project (SAMP) on the attitudes of South Africans towards immigrants was done in 1997/98. The survey provided some interesting findings. It became apparent that South Africans on the whole carry strong anti-immigration sentiments, with 25% of the population calling for a complete ban on migration into the country and approximately half calling for a strict limit on the number of foreigners allowed into the country (McDonald & Randford, 2000). Bearing this in mind it was decided to include a number of questions that relate to xenophobia in the questionnaire. The first question in this regard probed respondents' experience of the attitude of South Africans towards them in general. Most of the respondents (40%) regarded South Africans as friendly towards them with 23% viewing locals as unfriendly. The remaining 37% of respondents had mixed feelings and described the local population as neither friendly nor unfriendly. An analysis of the results of this question by nationality in Table 5.11 provides interesting results. Nearly half of Kenyan and Malawian respondents considered the local population to be unfriendly towards foreigners while most Mozambican, Senegalese and Swazi respondents regarded the local population as friendly.

Table 5.11: A representation of how respondents experience the attitude of South Africans toward them according to their nationality (frequency) (n=30)

Nationality	Attitude		
	Friendly	Mixed	Unfriendly
Congolese		2	
Kenyan	3	1	3
Malawian	1	2	2
Mozambican	3	2	
Senegalese	2		
Swazi	1		
Ugandese	1	1	
Zambian			1
Zimbabwean	1	3	1

The next question related to respondents' experiences of aggression against them as foreigners. Most respondents (67%) did indeed experience acts of aggression against them due to their foreign status. Acts of aggression were defined as physical and verbal attacks that related to their status as a non-South African person. This finding seems to

corroborate SAMP's finding that a significant percentage of South Africans carry anti-foreigner sentiments.

The last question related to attitudes of traders towards each other. This was overwhelmingly positive with 97% of respondents reporting that they viewed their co-traders as friendly. This suggests that xenophobia does not exist between foreigners of different nationalities at a particular location such as the Hartebeespoort Dam. The fact that the Hartebeespoort Dam attracted a large number of foreign traders might therefore not only be due to the geographic location and the tourism potential of the area, but also because of a preference for being part of a 'friendly' community of foreign traders.

5.8 CITIZENSHIP AND RESIDENTIAL STATUS

A number of questions were put to respondents on whether they wish to remain in South Africa permanently and whether they would like to obtain South African citizenship. This was followed by questions that probed for reasons for wanting to obtain South African citizenship as well as a motivation for not having obtained citizenship yet. Figure 5.10 display the results of the question "Would you like to stay permanently in South Africa". Half (50%) of the respondents confirmed that they would like to stay in South Africa compared to 47% that did not have such a desire. Further analysis by cross-tabulating these results by nationality sheds more light on the type of people that would like to remain in South Africa.

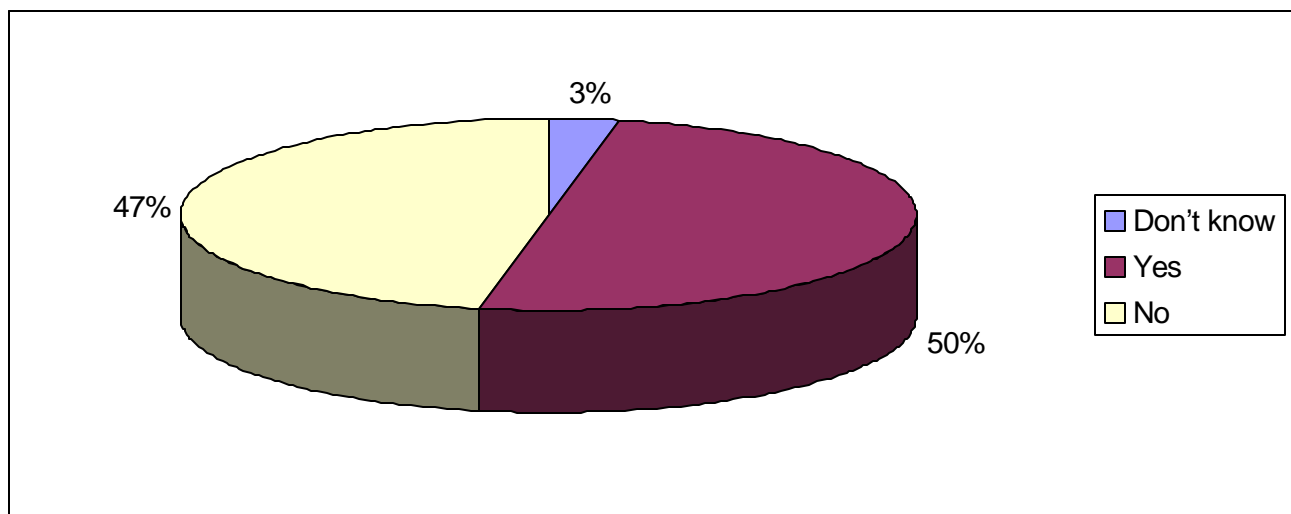


Figure 5.10: A graphical representation of respondents desire to stay or not stay permanently in South Africa

It is evident from Table 5.12 that Zimbabwean respondents in particular expressed their interest in staying permanently in South Africa. The Zambian, Senegalese and Congolese respondents also showed an interest in staying permanently in South Africa. The proportion Mozambican and Malawian respondents that preferred not to stay permanently in South Africa were slightly higher than those that preferred to stay. The majority of Kenyan, Swazi and Ugandan respondents on the other hand were not in favour of staying in South Africa on a permanent basis.

These results seem to suggest that respondents of nationalities such as Zimbabwean, Zambian, Senegalese and Congolese believe that they are better off in South Africa than in their home countries and are therefore less likely to leave once they have come to South Africa. However, Kenyan, Swazi and Ugandan respondents are likely to return to their countries of origin, which is consistent with a circular migration pattern. It nevertheless also appears that some movement of respondents such as the Congolese are linked to refugee movements induced by war and famine. These movements can possibly also become permanent depending on personal circumstance and whether such a person will receive asylum in South Africa.

Table 5.12: A cross-tabulation of respondents desire to stay in South Africa by their nationality (frequency) (n=30)

Nationality	Permanent stay in South Africa		
	Don't know	No	Yes
Congolese	-	-	2
Kenyan	1	5	1
Malawian	-	3	2
Mozambican	-	3	2
Senegalese	-	-	2
Swazi	-	1	-
Ugandese	-	2	-
Zambian	-	-	1
Zimbabwean	-	-	5

The next question focused upon whether respondents wanted to obtain South African citizenship or not. The results show that 7% of the respondents have already obtained South African citizenship. Of the remaining people, 37% indicated a definite no whereas 53% answered positively and 3% were unsure on whether they wanted to obtain South African citizenship or not. Respondents were also asked to motivate their reasons for wanting to acquire South African citizenship. Table 5.13 provides an overview of the reasons provided by the respondents.

Table 5.13: Reasons provided by respondents for wanting to obtain South African citizenship (n=16)

Reasons	Frequency
Better employment prospects	1
Ensure permanent stay	1
Married to a South African	1
Nothing in particular	3
Privileges	3
Security reasons	2
To avoid police harassment	1
To be able to move freely	1
To be able to work anywhere	1
To have a better life	1
To live legally	1

Most of the respondents mentioned privileges unique to South African citizens as their main reason for needing citizenship. These privileges included benefits such as being able to open a bank account and qualify for social grants and pensions. Other reasons were related to security and probably referred to people’s insecurity of being labelled as foreigners. Respondents also mentioned privileges that relates to employment and the perception that citizenship will enable them to acquire permanent employment. Some respondents also felt that having South African citizenship would enable them to move around freely. This points to the fact that some respondents might be ‘illegally’ in South Africa and are therefore careful of movement that might expose their status. This factor might also have a particular pronounced influence on the movement patterns (both in South Africa and across national borders) that can be expected from respondents that are so-called illegal or “undocumented” migrants. People without the necessary travel documentation are more likely to stay in areas where they are less likely to be noticed or reported to authorities. It is also likely that their status will inhibit their movements as referred to earlier as this might enhance their chances of being caught.

Following the question on the reasons for wanting to acquire South African citizenship, respondents were asked what prevents them from acquiring South African citizenship at the moment. The results of this question are displayed in Table 5.14.

It would appear from responses that complicated and/or difficult procedures in acquiring South African citizenship constitute the main reason that inhibits people from applying. The lack of proper identity books or other legal documents also seem to be problematic to some people. A number of respondents nevertheless indicated that nothing prevents them from applying for citizenship and that they have never consciously considered such an option.

Table 5.14: Factors reported by respondents that prevent them from acquiring South African citizenship (n=16)

Factors	Frequency
Citizenship procedure	8
Lack of money	1
No identity documents/waiting for id.	3
Nothing	4

5.9 SYNTHESIS

This chapter presents the main findings of the quantitative section of the study. Biographical details of the respondents showed that most people are in the age category 20 to 30 years. Kenyans represented the largest group of people among the nine nationalities captured during the survey. Most of the respondents originated from urban areas in their home countries. The reasons provided for coming to South Africa were mostly economic of nature. An analysis of personal traits of respondents showed that most traders considered themselves rather conservative. This implied that they do not consider their movement patterns and trade activities as 'risky' behaviour. Most of the respondents came to South Africa after 1996 with the number of migrant traders visiting South Africa increasing progressively over time. The majority of migrant traders considered Johannesburg their main destination when they left their home countries. Interestingly, some respondents did not know what their destination would be after leaving their home country. Networks of friends and family located or formerly located in South Africa were also of particular importance in migrants' decision to move to South Africa.

Economic considerations once again played an important part in migrants' decisions to move to the Hartebeespoort Dam area after their arrival in South Africa. The majority of the respondents did not visit their home countries very often with the exception of migrant traders from neighbouring Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Distance played an important role in the frequency of home visits recorded. Some migrant traders also undertook local business visits to a number of towns across South Africa. Distance seemingly played less of a role during these travels. Important factors in determining business destinations in South Africa were listed as places with vibrant tourism activities. Other important facts were cost and the availability of transport to particular destinations.

Questions on respondents' satisfaction with life revealed that many respondents did not substantially improve their lives by moving to South Africa as a higher percentage of respondent considered themselves to be more satisfied when they were in their home countries. Xenophobia was not considered a major problem by most of the respondents with the largest proportion of migrant traders viewing South Africans as friendly people. No significant reports of xenophobia between foreign migrant traders were observed. Half of the respondents interviewed had a desire to stay permanently in South Africa. More than half of the respondents wanted to apply for South African citizenship in order to obtain privileges such as easy access to banks or to qualify for government grants such as a pension. During the gathering of information, security of tenure, was mentioned as playing an important part in migrants' perception of the advantages of having South African citizenship.

The quantitative information provided by this chapter gave an interesting but limited perspective on the migrant trader phenomenon at the Hartebeespoort Dam. The fact that many of the migration theories relate to individuals, their life circumstances and perceptions reveal the limitations of only using quantitative research methods. The results of in-depth interviews in the next chapter provides more detailed information on individual migrants, their lives and the factors that motivated them to leave their countries for South Africa.

CHAPTER 6: QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS: FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports on the results of the in-depth qualitative interviews conducted with five respondents. The interviews were deemed necessary due to the inherent limitations of quantitative methods when investigating the movement patterns of people. The interviews were essentially unstructured but with the specific aim of obtaining the respondents life history. Particular emphasis was placed on obtaining more in-depth information on the reasons why informal migrant traders moved around. Where the questionnaire survey found that migrants had moved to South Africa for economic reasons, the in-depth interviews revealed hidden reasons for example the unemployment of a spouse or educational needs of children as the real reasons for migrating to South Africa. Qualitative methods therefore focus on providing understanding beyond the one-dimensional results that are often obtained with questionnaires. This deeper insight was also useful in the evaluation of the different theories of migration, such as the cumulative causation of migration model, the network theory, the value expectancy theory and Lee's theory of migration. Assessment of these theories generally needs a more detailed level of information than that obtained from the questionnaire used in this study.

The five respondents selected for the in-depth interviews originated from the countries Kenya, Mozambique, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Zimbabwe. The sample of five candidates comprised four men and one woman. Of the five people interviewed, one was a refugee, two were business owners and the remaining candidates were employees that earned fixed weekly wages. Real names of respondents are used but surnames were not recorded (in most instances) to guarantee respondents anonymity.

6.2 MALE CONGOLESE RESPONDENT

Emmanuel¹² was born in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and is the second youngest of 17 children. Most of his brothers and sisters currently live outside the DRC. Emmanuel is 35 years of age, a widower with two children. His highest qualification obtained in the DRC is a LLB degree from the University of the Congo.

¹² Personal interview conducted with Emmanuel (surname unknown), 25 May 2004

Emmanuelle grew up in the countryside but moved to Kinshasa after completing his school career. He then enrolled at the University of the Congo to study Law. After completing his degree he managed to secure employment in Kinshasa. It would seem as if his studies had a profound affect on his view of life considering that he described himself as someone that enjoys fighting for the rights of the poor. Before leaving the DRC in 2000, he established a non-governmental organisation called the “Union for Peace Education and Justice”. This organisation assisted the poor in their fight against those who wronged them.

Due to the nature of the organisation’s work, Emmanuel became involved in political issues. This was during the reign of the former president Laurent Kabila. The day that Kabila took power, it was said that it was a day of freedom, but Emmanuel argued that people were still bound and not free. He expanded on this by saying the people did not have economic freedom. He called on his political supporters to boycott the day of independence as he continued to argue that they were not free as he considered president Kabila a dictator that was replacing another dictator. Government soldiers in Kinshasa arrested Emmanuel on the 30th of June 2000 where he led a public protest against Independence Day celebrations. After being arrested he was blindfolded and moved to Kanaga where government soldiers reportedly tortured him. In an attempt to gain his freedom, Emmanuel convinced his capturers of his viewpoints. They assisted his escape from the detention centre where he was kept during his ordeal. However, his escape had a high price that led to the death of his wife after soldiers questioned her. After receiving this news, Emmanuel feared for his life and decided to leave the DRC. After avoiding capture in the DRC he travelled by bus via Zambia and Mozambique to his destination in South Africa. After leaving his country Emmanuel was unable to keep contact with many of his friends and relatives. He, however, had a brother that lived in the USA but who moved back to the DRC after independence to take up a position in the DRC parliament. Despite clashing political viewpoints Emmanuel still keeps limited contact with his brother.

Emmanuel’s decision to come to South Africa hinged on the fact that he could not remain in either Zambia or Zimbabwe due to ties with Kinshasa at that time. He also perceived South Africa as a country with a good human rights record. He also considered South Africa to be the ideal place to positively influence change in his country as the result of large numbers of Congolese refugees that reside in this country.

Emmanuel reported that he perceived South Africa as a place of justice and freedom but was shocked by an incident in Johannesburg where a Congolese person was unjustly killed. The perpetrator was caught but allegedly bought his freedom by bribing the police. Emmanuel initially stayed in Johannesburg but decided to leave after acquiring knowledge of an opportunity to open a shop at the Hartebeespoort Dam. This business was opened in support of an organisation called the 'Touch of Africa'. Emmanuel is chairperson of this organisation that aims to assist refugees in Johannesburg.

Emmanuel currently resides in Elandsrand when attending to the business at the Hartebeespoort Dam. He reported that the Hartebeespoort Dam business is not faring well financially which is of concern to him. He mentioned that it was particularly difficult for a non-South Africa to obtain finance for running a business in South Africa and added that it was also difficult to obtain a permit for doing business and opening a bank account. These difficulties as well as the poor financial performance of the business has prompted him to consider returning to Kinshasa despite being concerned for his life.

6.3 MALE KENYAN RESPONDENT

Boniface¹³ is 33 years of age and of Kenyan origin. He was born in Matsiku village in the Makweni province. This village is located approximately 200km from Nairobi the Kenyan capital. He was born into a family of livestock farmers. Compared to other people in Kenya, his family did not in his words "lack much in terms of food and other basic necessities". He grew up in a family where his mother was responsible for agricultural activities while his father was employed in the coastal city of Mombassa. During school holidays it was expected of him and his nine brothers and sisters to assist their mother with farming activities.

Boniface attended school in his village area until the equivalent of grade 10 after which he left to attend boarding school in another district. After school Boniface enrolled at a university in Nairobi for a four-year degree in Geography. Three of his brothers and sisters also obtained qualifications at either college or university level. Most of his brothers and sisters were employed either as lecturers or teachers. His youngest sister recently joined him at the Hartebeespoort Dam. She is currently employed at the Chameleon village.

¹³ Personal interview with Boniface Kyengo, 25 May 2004

Boniface was employed in numerous professions after completing his degree. He was initially employed as a teacher but then moved to employment at the main electricity provider in Kenya. Most of these jobs were temporary in nature and did not last very long. After struggling to obtain permanent employment in Kenya, Boniface decided to further his studies by enrolling for a MA degree in a foreign country. Having had to choose between South Africa and Nigeria, a cousin advised him to rather go to South Africa due to better educational opportunities. After accepting this advice he applied for more information from the University of Port Elizabeth and received a letter that provided information on the courses and costs. Due to the high costs of tertiary education Boniface needed to raise money to enable him to enrol at the University of Port Elizabeth. A friend of his brother offered to assist him by bringing him to South Africa and introducing him to the curio trade at the Hartebeespoort Dam where he planned to obtain enough money to pay for his tuition. Getting to South Africa was not without its difficulties as obtaining a visa for a first time visit to South Africa proved to be difficult.

According to Boniface, trading at the Hartebeespoort Dam is not an easy way of earning a living due to increased competition and lower business volumes. This prompted him in 2003 to seek other ways of generating additional income such as attending and marketing his products at trade shows and festivals to generate additional income. A friend introduced him to this type of marketing and sales. Despite being demanding due to travelling and other difficulties Boniface maintains that it is worthwhile to attend trade shows and festivals to supplement his income. Reportedly, a trade show or festival of 2 to 3 days can generate as much profit as a month at the Hartebeespoort Dam site, despite additional costs such as travelling and renting a stall.

In contrast to the Hartebeespoort Dam location that is frequented by foreign tourists, most customers at trade shows and festivals are local people. Articles with utility value, jewellery and other personal accessories are in demand by people at trade shows and festivals in contrast to more traditional African arts and crafts at the Damdoryn location. Boniface provides employment to a Zimbabwean assistant whom he pays R200 per week. This arrangement allows him to attend trade shows and festivals while being assured that his stall at Damdoryn will continue to generate business in his absence.

Boniface is married to a Kenyan wife and has an infant daughter. Both his wife and daughter live with him at Brits in a house that they share with a woman from Uganda. He came to South Africa in 2000 for economic and educational reasons. He wanted to further

his studies at the University of Port Elizabeth (UPE) but found it too expensive to enrol immediately. Despite his goal of enrolling at university it would seem as if the demanding nature of his work would prevent Boniface from furthering his studies in the near future. He also maintains regular contact with his relatives in Kenya and occasionally sends money (two to three times per year) to his parents. Remittances of up to R1000 are often sent (about 10 000 Kenyan shillings). Keeping contact with relatives is relatively easy due to the fact that family members in Kenya have access to cellular phones. He has also used e-mail in the past to keep contact. A local pay phone seem to be the most affordable way of keeping contact with family in Kenya.

Boniface claims that he has no regrets about either coming to South Africa or being in business at Damdoryn but would have preferred permanent employment in Kenya, even though it might have been lower paid. He further maintains that his migration to South Africa has opened doors for him that would otherwise not have been the case. He has, through his travels, also become knowledgeable on South Africa, its people and its history. He has also been attempting to learn South African languages and has a basic understanding of Zulu.

Boniface reported that it was particularly difficult for a foreigner to open a bank account in South Africa. He therefore resorted to opening a Post Bank account that has fewer requirements. Many of the respondents agreed on the difficulty of opening bank accounts in South Africa. Other problems that he and other traders often have to face were harassment by the local police for bribes. This is despite the fact that most migrant traders have legal documentation that entitles them to work and stay in South Africa. This was reported as one of the reasons for wanting to obtain South African citizenship.

6.4 MALE MOZAMBICAN RESPONDENT

Marcos¹⁴ is 24 years of age and of Mozambican origin. He is not married but has a girlfriend that comes from Mozambique. He has one child that is living with relatives in Mozambique. Marcos speaks fluent English, which he learned in South Africa after his arrival in 1996. He also speaks local languages such as Tswana and Zulu.

Marcos reported that he was born in a rural area, but moved with his parents to Maputo because of the war between FRELIMO and RENAMO that decimated much of the rural

¹⁴ Personal interview with Marcos (surname unknown), 15 September 2004

area. He lived for most of his life in Maputo where he also attended school and obtained a secondary school qualification. He also has two sisters and five brothers of whom four currently reside in Mozambique. The remaining brother is staying in South Africa. Marcos' father used to be employed at a South African mine until 1995 when he retired and went back to Mozambique. He is currently involved in farming activities.

During the war, Marcos lost family members to gruesome atrocities and shock tactics that were used to intimidate local inhabitants to join either side of the conflict. After the end of the war in the early 1990s, Mozambique was ravaged by famine that caused people like Marcos to seek better opportunities elsewhere. In Marcos' own words, "there was no money there". He also reported that job creation programmes after the war placed an emphasis on employing more people at low wages. Earnings were often only enough to buy food and nothing else.

Marcos claims that it is difficult obtaining the correct documentation for legal residence in South Africa. Those without the correct documentation always live in fear of getting caught and being repatriated to Mozambique. In the past, Marcos has twice been arrested and repatriated. After being arrested he was kept at a facility called Jericho for two weeks and then transferred to Lindela repatriation camp near Krugersdorp from which he was deported back to Mozambique by train. He nevertheless returned to South Africa immediately after his deportation. Marcos also reported that there are fraudsters that claim that they can help you obtain the necessary documents to legalise your stay in South Africa for R1000. These fraudsters will then disappear with your money without providing any assistance.

Marcos still recalls the exact date that he decided to leave his country and move to South Africa namely, 16 December 1996. He used a taxi to travel to the border where he crossed the fence illegally near Resano Garcia in an attempt to obtain access to South Africa. He travelled with a group of people who were accompanied by a 'border runner' that assisted them in safely crossing the border without being caught. After crossing the border Marcos went to Schoemansville where he obtained employment in a fruit and vegetable shop owned by his brother. His brother sold the fruit and vegetable shop and bought a shop at Damdoryn. This prompted Marcos to leave and join the new business at Damdoryn. Marcos currently stays on a farm near Damdoryn in a one-room brick structure that he rents for R100 per month. The room is without any electricity but equipped with a water tap and ablution facilities.

Marcos in contrast to other foreign traders, does not have any problems or reservations in dealing or mixing with local or South African people. He is, however, adamant that he does not want to be associated with people who smoke and drink and attempts to follow what he calls a “good way”.

He often communicates with his family in Mozambique by telephone. He also occasionally (once a year) visits Mozambique for up to one or two weeks at a time. During these visits he will take groceries and furniture with him. The cost involved in returning home is reportedly relatively affordable but returning to South Africa is considered expensive when travelling without the necessary legal documentation.

Marcos also attempts to send money to his family in Mozambique on a regular basis. Damdoryn is located near mines that employ large numbers of Mozambicans that return to Mozambique on a regular basis. He often uses friends employed at the mines to courier money to his family.

Marcos still considers Mozambique his home country and would like to return when things changes for the better. His immediate future plans are nevertheless to stay in South Africa for at least 10 years during which time he plans to save enough money to open a business in Mozambique. He will then also relinquish his “space” or position in South Africa to a young Mozambican person. Working in South Africa is according to him an attractive proposition for Mozambican youngsters who observe the relative well-being and material wealth of people who return home after being employed in South Africa. In Marcos’ own words, “if you are old you think that you should be in South Africa”.

When asked about his preference for starting a business in Mozambique as opposed to South Africa, Marcos replied that he would like to go back to his parents and his family in Mozambique and that he would prefer a business in his country of birth. The business that he envisages starting would be based on importing South African goods and selling it to his fellow countrymen and women.

Despite having an older brother and a father that used to work in South Africa, Marcos claimed that he did not know much about South Africa before he decided to leave his country.

6.5 MALE ZIMBABWEAN RESPONDENT

Cassius¹⁵ is of Zimbabwean nationality. He is 26 years old, single and has no dependants. He comes from the Mberengwa district in the Midlands province of Zimbabwe where he grew up and completed his schooling up to secondary level. The Shona culture dominates in this area. Cassius has four sisters and two brothers. Both of his brothers live in South Africa. His parents live in Zimbabwe in the Mberengwa district.

Cassius came to South Africa in 2000. He had no relatives, friends or supportive networks in South Africa when he decided to leave his country. After crossing the international border between South Africa and Zimbabwe in October 2000 he found employment on a farm in the Limpopo Valley. He stayed at the farm for a short period of time until he saved enough money for transport to Johannesburg.

Cassius left his country due to economic hardship and the fact that he could not find employment. Currently, Cassius has no plans to return to his country permanently. Despite not wanting to return to his country permanently he visits his relatives in Zimbabwe up to three times a year for up to three months at a time. He favours undertaking trips to his home country during festive seasons such as Christmas and Easter. He also prefers to travel either by bus or train, which is more affordable than taxis. Train travel is nevertheless considered as inconvenient due to the long time that it takes to reach its destination. Crossing the border by train at the Beitbridge border post is also reported as particularly time consuming. Cassius mostly travels alone when returning home and often takes groceries and money for his parents. During these trips, he prefers to take at least R1200 for transportation and his parents. During his stay in South Africa, Cassius keeps regular contact with his family in Zimbabwe by using a local public phone.

After moving to South Africa, he initially stayed in a shack in Alexandra near Sandton. This accommodation was not pre-arranged, as he did not have any contacts in South Africa at that time. Cassius currently lives in a flat in Brits which he shares with a flat mate. His share of the rent amounts to R400 per month, which he considers as relatively expensive.

Cassius owns a stall at the Damdoryn location. This was not always the case since he started off by working for someone else in the area. When asked about how well his business was performing at the moment he replied that business was low and that he was

¹⁵ Personal interview with Cassius (surname unknown), 15 September 2004

having difficulty in making ends meet. This reply correlates with that of other traders at Damdoryn. Unlike some of his competition at Damdoryn, Cassius only trades from the Damdoryn location. He also buys most of the arts and crafts that he sells from foreign wholesale merchants who market their merchandise at Damdoryn. He mentioned that he occasionally attempts to do some of the smaller woodcarvings himself although he never received any type of training.

During his stay in South Africa, Cassius has learned to speak local languages such as Tswana. He is also able to converse relatively fluently in English. As a Zimbabwean, Cassius alleges that he faces constant harassment from the police. He also reported being arrested once but was released before deportation due to a friend that paid a bribe on his behalf. Cassius was adamant that deportation to Zimbabwe would not keep him from returning to South Africa. In an effort to evade harassment, he is even prepared to apply for South African citizenship if the opportunity arises. Thus far, he has been unable to apply, as he is familiar with the procedures required.

Cassius seems to be fairly conscious of living costs as he mentioned that the only reason that would prompt him to leave the Hartebeespoort Dam area would be when the cost of living becomes too high. According to him, the relatively low subsistence cost in the area was one of the things that convinced him to remain and conduct business in the area.

When asked about the attitudes of local people towards foreigners, Cassius mentioned various incidence of xenophobia against foreigners. Actions of name calling such as using the phrase “kwere-kwere” (an African that is not from South Africa) are the order of the day. In contrast foreigners at the Damdoryn location mostly showed goodwill towards each other despite occasional conflict over the space to trade.

6.6 FEMALE KENYAN RESPONDENT

Grace¹⁶ is from Kenya and used to live in the eastern side of the Kenyan capital Nairobi. She is 44 years of age and has three sons who are staying in Kenya at the moment. The eldest son is 23 years old.

Before coming to South Africa, Grace worked for various employers in Nairobi over a 25-year period. She was born in a rural area where she completed her schooling career. Her

¹⁶ Personal interview with Grace (surname unknown), 16 September 2004

surviving parents still remain in this particular rural area. Grace grew up in a large family of eight siblings. All seven of her brothers and sisters still live in Kenya.

After completing school, she did a course in bookkeeping and accounting at a college in the Central Province. She started her working career as a typist at a law firm in Nairobi. After leaving the law firm, Grace was asked by a former colleague to become a supervisor at a newly established supermarket. She was employed at various other jobs over a twenty-year period in and around Nairobi before she decided to seek better earning opportunities in South Africa. Before moving to South Africa, the supermarket that employed her closed down. She then decided to change her profession to that of business entrepreneur. This was a decision that she discussed with her husband and that she has not yet regretted. Her husband and brother assisted her in travelling to and setting up a business at the Hartebeespoort Dam. She travelled by air from Nairobi to South Africa. Her brother knew South Africa as a land of many opportunities and therefore encouraged her to grab those available. He was reportedly also one of the pioneers that established African arts crafts and curios as a major attraction at the Damdoryn location.

Kenya was reportedly, experiencing an economic downturn due to political instability when Grace decided to leave in 1996. She has never regretted her decision to come to South Africa. Having three profitable 'shops' in South Africa enables Grace to go back to Kenya to visit her family every second month. She often stays for up to two months in Kenya before returning to attend to her business interests in South Africa. The 'shops' that she co-owns with her brother are located at Damdoryn, Sandton and Oudtshoorn. She used to own five shops located at the Bruma flea market in Johannesburg but decided to close these shops after rent became unaffordable. It appears that the 'shop' at Damdoryn has the highest turnover of all the 'shops'. This 'shop' is situated on the land of a smallholding that borders the R27 road. The 'shop' is supplied with electricity and is situated in a lock-up facility unlike many other open stalls that are on the road reserve. Good months have in the past seen the shop nett up to R30 000 per month. Grace is of the opinion that the World Trade Centre incident in 2001 had a major and long-term negative effect on business at Damdoryn. It is reported that profits are still down on that made before 2001.

Grace has a surprisingly good relationship with the owner of the land on which her 'shop' is located. When asked why he did not ask her to leave as he did with other people that used to occupy stalls on his land, Grace replied that she was one of the first people that had an agreement with the owner and that she maintained her good relationship by paying

her rent regularly unlike other traders who did not pay what they owed. The reluctance of some people to pay their monthly rent caused the landowner to evict all traders with informal stalls from his property. When this happened, Grace and a few other traders approached the landowner and requested him not to evict them because of the acts of other traders. She and other traders of the 'pioneering group' that started to trade from the Damdoryn location maintained that they were a separate group and did not support the actions of the 'latecomers' that did not pay their rent regularly. In doing so they convinced the landowner not to evict them. Despite not being evicted from the smallholding, the future trading activities of the 'pioneering group' is also in the balance due to the smallholding being for sale. It appears that prospective buyers are reluctant to buy the smallholding with informal traders still present on the land. Prospects for trading from the new Tsosoloso Madibeng Cultural Village site also seems uncertain due to preference given to local people. Grace perceives this as unfair discrimination due to her status as a "pioneer" in the area. She also mentioned that some of the South Africans who owned 'shops' in the area rented it out to foreigners due to challenging trading conditions that local people have difficulty coping with.

Grace currently stays in Brits. She used to stay in Randburg after running a business in Sandton, but decided to move closer to her business at the Hartebeespoort Dam. She also owns her own pickup truck or 'bakkie' that she use to travel to art festivals and trade shows in cities such as Grahamstown, Nelspruit, Kimberley, Thabazimbi and Potchefstroom where she sells her products. Apparently those art festivals and trade shows that are more profitable for business are remotely located and far from Johannesburg. Another trader usually accompanies her. Costs of attending festivals usually differ but can be up to R2000 when travel and stall rental costs are added together.

Grace reported that she is 'happy' to stay in South Africa running her business despite the sacrifices that she has to make for being away from her family in Nairobi. Both she and her husband accept that circumstances had forced them to be apart for extended periods of time. She also mentioned that it is impossible for her and her husband to raise and properly educate their children on the salary that her husband earns as a civil servant in Kenya. Providing her children with good education opportunities in Kenya is reportedly very expensive and one of the main reasons why Grace decided to enter into business in South Africa. Grace further mentioned that her two youngest sons' tuition cost approximately R5000 per term or R15000 per year. When asked whether she would not prefer to have her sons educated in South Africa, Grace indicated that she wants her sons

to grow up the Kenyan way and to be mature before visiting South Africa. She continued by saying that most foreign people lose their way in South Africa and that she would not want that to happen to her sons. She was nevertheless considering bringing her eldest son to South Africa to teach him the ropes of the business so that he can take over her business interest. This will enable her to return to Kenya.

Grace does not view South African people as threatening to her as a foreigner because she thinks that they understand the reasons why foreigners like her stay in South Africa. She also does not feel insulted when called a “kwere-kwere” as she accepts that it is a name that is assigned to foreigners by local people. She also accepts that she is a foreigner and does not pretend to be a South African.

When requiring medical attention, Grace prefers to consult with a private Indian doctor in Brits. She pays between R120 and R130 per consultation that also includes medicine. She also prefers to go to private hospitals where she receives a good standard of service even though she has to pay a substantial amount to acquire such a service. Grace also reported that she is keen to stay at Damdoryn until the World Cup soccer event in 2010 takes place. This, in her view, has the potential to enhance profits significantly.

6.7 SYNTHESIS

Most of the respondents grew up in rural areas but soon moved to urban areas for reasons that ranged from better education facilities to civil wars. Whereas most of the respondents in the questionnaire survey listed economic motives for their move to South Africa the in-depth interviews revealed that reasons were often more complex than seemed the case. A good example is that of Grace who’s main motivation was to earn enough to offer her children with the best educational opportunities that the reportedly pricey Kenyan educational system offers. Reasons for selecting South Africa as destination were also somewhat more complex than recorded in the questionnaire survey. Two of the respondents for instance had relatives that owned established businesses in South Africa. This and reports of good business opportunities moved them to seek better livelihoods in South Africa. Another respondent reported that he had to flee to the Congo because his political views were frowned upon by the government of the late president Laurent Kabila. His perception of South Africa as a country with respect for human life and his fears for being captured and repatriated by countries allied with the Congo, prompted his flight to South Africa.

International travel patterns recorded by the questionnaire survey were confirmed by the in-depth interviews. It showed that those respondents who stayed in countries neighbouring South Africa visited their home countries much more often than those that stayed a greater distance from home. Personal wealth, a previously unaccounted factor, was revealed to have significant implications for international travel patterns. It appears that the more wealthy respondents visit their home countries more often despite being a long distance from home. This proves that the basic premises of the gravity model, that a clear relationship between distance and frequency of movement exist, are not applicable to all movement patterns of migrant traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam. The Mozambican respondent's life story reveals a 'culture of migration' that the questionnaire survey did not report on. This 'culture of migration' provides evidence of the applicability of the cumulative causation of migration theory to some migrants at Hartebeespoort Dam.

Nationality and type of employment appear to be significant factors that provide clues to the people that are more likely to travel extensively in South Africa. With the in-depth interviews it became clear that business owners are more likely to travel locally than those respondents who are employed by people. Kenyan respondents also appear to travel more extensively than traders of most other nationalities. Kenyan traders, among others, frequented art festivals such as the 'Klein Karoo Kunste Fees' at Oudtshoorn, 'Aardklop' at Potchefstroom and the 'Grahamstown Art Festival'. These destinations proved to be popular for earning extra income above that generated by activities at the Hartebeespoort Dam.

Respondents also commented that they keep regular contact with family members in their respective home countries. The preferred method of keeping contact is by public phone. Regular remittances of money and goods to family members were also reported, which correlated with the findings of the questionnaire survey. Only the Congolese respondent did not report sending remittances home due to his lack of knowledge of the whereabouts of his family members.

Xenophobia was a subject that some of the respondents reported on. It is well known that local people often refer to foreigners as 'kwere-kwere'. Migrant traders often experience this negatively although one of the respondents mentioned that she believed that this is just a name given to foreigners by local people and that they do not mean any harm when calling a person a 'kwere-kwere'.

Qualitative research methodology can be a useful tool in migration studies. In this chapter its usefulness is demonstrated by establishing the real motives of individuals for migrating to South Africa. In turn, knowledge of these 'motives' provides a better understanding of migration processes observed in this study.

CHAPTER 7: REVISITING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SUPPOSITIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter revisits the research questions and suppositions originally posed in Chapter 1. Attempts are made to answer the questions on the basis of the findings of the questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews in the previous two chapters. The suppositions made are also dealt with in the course of the chapter.

7.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

7.2.1 What factors best explain the decision of migrant traders to move to and trade at the Hartebeespoort Dam?

The findings of this study confirm that economic reasons are the main driving force behind the movement of migrant traders to South Africa. Push factors such as political instability, war, widespread unemployment and poverty were reported as the main factors that drove migrant traders to leave their home countries. Pull factors to South Africa were mainly reported as a vibrant economy and better employment opportunities. The Hartebeespoort Dam area on the other hand is well known by word of mouth (to potential migrants) as a tourist hotspot that attracts migrant traders who specialise in arts, crafts and curios aimed at domestic and international tourists. An informal network of traders, friends and family serves as a significant facilitation factor that assists new entrants to enter the informal sector at the Hartebeespoort Dam. Having friends and family at the Hartebeespoort Dam simplifies the task of obtaining accommodation and also facilitates the acquisition of knowledge of business contacts and other information needed to enter the informal sector at Damdoryn.

7.2.2 Do migrant traders of different nationalities, gender, age and educational qualification level exhibit different movement patterns?

Migrants of different nationalities did exhibit different travel patterns both internally (nationally) and internationally. Respondents from countries that border on South Africa (Zimbabwe and Mozambique) displayed a tendency to visit their home countries relatively frequently whereas most respondents from Senegal, Zambia, Uganda and the DRC had not visited their home countries in the past 12 months. With regard to local travel, it was

noted that Kenyan and Congolese respondents travel fairly frequently to trade shows and festivals throughout South Africa to earn additional income. The majority of respondents of other nationalities did not display this type of behaviour.

Surprisingly, gender also appears to be a key variable when examining the travel patterns of respondents. Women generally displayed behaviour of not moving around much, whether locally or internationally. Men on the other hand displayed greater mobility. This difference is possibly attributable to some women feeling more vulnerable when travelling alone in a foreign country or across international borders.

Age was not found to be a significant indicator of migration but level of education was. Respondents with higher educational levels generally displayed higher internal (local) mobility behaviour than those with low educational qualifications. There nevertheless seems to be a link between nationality and educational qualifications as most of the Kenyan and Congolese respondents had educational qualifications higher than the average and both nationalities displayed relatively high internal mobility behaviour.

7.2.3 Are foreign migrants' movement patterns limited to international movements?

It appeared (as discussed in Chapter 6) that male migrants of mostly Kenyan and Congolese origin travel extensively in South Africa to market their goods at various trade shows and festivals such as the 'Grahamstown Festival', the 'Klein Karoo Kunste Fees' in Oudtshoorn and the 'Aardklop' festival at Potchefstroom among others. Most of these trade shows and festivals are only for a short period of time. The length of stay of respondents were therefore mostly between four and seven days. Most respondents shared transport with at least one other migrant trader. This was reportedly more cost effective and allowed traders to travel vast distances to towns and cities such as Grahamstown, Oudtshoorn and Kimberley to attend trade shows and festivals where they marketed their goods.

7.3 SUPPOSITION ON THE SUITABILITY OF WESTERN MIGRATION MODELS

The first supposition made was, that Western migration models do not offer a satisfactory explanation for cross-border and local movement patterns of foreign migrant traders observed at the Hartebeespoort Dam. Western migration models were developed using Western case studies. However, the nature of migration is such that individual qualitative

issues are important thus a general model can be questioned. In an attempt to analyse this supposition, it is necessary to revisit the characteristics of the migration models referred to in Chapter 2. One attribute that all these migration models have in common is that of being conceptualised from a Western point of view. One can therefore evaluate their suitability in explaining typical 'African' patterns of migration observed by way of comparing the main characteristics of the migration models under review with the findings of the research. In the following section the characteristics of each of these migration models and theories are summarised in a table. In the same table the applicability of these characteristics to the study area is also indicated. The applicability of each of the migration models to the findings of this research will also be discussed.

7.3.1 Economic theories

(i) Cumulative causation of migration

A summary of the most important characteristics of this theory and the applicability of these characteristics is presented in Table 7.1. One of the main features of the cumulative causation of migration theory is the distribution of migrants' income to their countries of origin (Massey et al., 1993). The respondents at Damdoryn confirmed this characteristic by indicating that they are regularly sending remittances to relatives in their countries of origin. The distribution of land and the organisation of agricultural products are not of any relevance to the findings of this study since very few of the respondents originated from a rural area where agricultural activities persist.

Table 7.1: A summary of characteristics of the cumulative causation of migration theory

Theory/model	Characteristics	Applicability to the study area
Cumulative causation of migration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The distribution of income • The distribution of land • The organisation of agrarian products • The culture of migration • Regional distribution of human capital • Social labelling of jobs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High • Not applicable • Not applicable • Partial • Partial • Not applicable

A 'culture of migration' featured particularly strongly amongst certain individual respondents such as those of Mozambican and Kenyan origin. One example is a

Mozambican respondent who indicated that working in South Africa is an attractive proposition to Mozambican youngsters who observe the relative well-being and material wealth of people returning from South Africa. To quote his words, “if you are old you think that you should be in South Africa”. This ‘culture of migration’ by Mozambicans is not new and has its roots in the history of labour migration where men were recruited to work in South African for many generations (refer to Chapters 1 and 3). Despite the termination of this practice of recruitment by mines, a culture still seems to exist where young Mozambican males seek their fortune in South Africa.

The regional distribution of human capital as contained in the cumulative causation of migration model is not a major feature of foreign traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam although 23% of the respondents indicated that they either had university degrees or diplomas. The reason being that none of the respondents actively uses their education as a basis for practising professional careers in South Africa. None of the ‘jobs’ that the respondents did were considered ‘foreigner jobs’ despite the fact that the majority of traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam were foreigners.

(ii) World systems theory

The world systems theory is less applicable contextually to the findings of the study due to the micro nature of the study (refer to Table 7.2). Land consolidation, raw material extraction and labour demand therefore do not explain any of the migration features observed at the Hartebeespoort Dam.

Table 7.2: A summary of characteristics of world systems theory

Theory/model	Characteristics	Applicability to the study area:
World systems theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land consolidation • Raw material extraction • Labour demand • Transport and communication links • Ideological links • Global cities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not applicable • Not applicable • Not applicable • High • Partial • Partial

However, transport and communication links played a significant role in the facilitation of the movement of foreign traders to and from South Africa. It also assisted foreign traders to communicate with and remit money and goods on a regular basis to relatives in their countries of origin. It can be assumed that the process of economic globalisation creates

some cultural links between South Africa and the countries of origin of the respondents. Accordingly, it can also be assumed that modern consumer tastes, culture and language will be transferred to countries of origin, which in turn, encourages international migration to South Africa. One can once again refer to the Mozambican respondent who reported that young people are keen to go to South Africa due to the relative material wealth and well being that they observe when Mozambican ‘migrants’ return home.

The “global cities” assumption of the world systems theory is particularly not applicable in the context of this study. Although most of the respondents reported that their main destination was Johannesburg, the centre and economic hub of the Gauteng province, they did not stay or even reach Johannesburg. The area around the Hartebeespoort Dam is still very rural and most respondents live in smaller urban areas.

(iii) The network theory

The migrant trader phenomenon at the Hartebeespoort Dam has been identified as growing with more migrants seeking to establish businesses in the area. This is in line with the network theory’s assumption (Table 7.3) that international migration expands over time (Massey et al., 1994; Boyd, 1989; Portes, 1995).

Table 7.3: A summary of the characteristics of the network theory

Theory/model	Characteristics	Applicability to the study area:
Network Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International migration expands over time • Falling costs and risks of movements • Institutionalised migration • Expanded networks lead to less diverse socio economic groupings • Government policy experience difficulty to control migration • Reunification promoted by certain government policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High • High • High • Not applicable • Partial • Not applicable

The applicability of the network theory to this study area is further expanded in Table 7.3. It can also be assumed that the costs and risks of movements have decreased over time with the establishment of networks at the Hartebeespoort Dam. The establishment of networks lead to the institutionalisation of migration that is visible at the Hartebeespoort Dam and is already starting to become less dependent on the factors that originally caused the migration. An example of this phenomenon is a Kenyan woman that indicated

that she wants her son (currently staying in Kenya) to take over her business in the near future when she plans to retire. The next assumption of the network theory, which expanded networks lead to less diverse socio economic groupings, has not been observed at the Hartebeespoort Dam. It would seem as if the opposite has been happening the past seven years with a larger variety of migrants from different nationalities relocating to the Damdoryn area due to good business prospects.

A new South African migration policy saw the light in 2004 because of the inability of old policies to effectively control migration. Neither this nor any other government policy supports reunification of family members that will benefit migrants at the Hartebeespoort Dam.

(iv) The neo-classical economics theory: micro-economic models

The neo-classical economics theory is characterised by the economic motives of the migrant. The applicability of this to the study area is indicated in Table 7.4. Most of the respondents at the Hartebeespoort Dam came to South Africa for economic reasons. It can therefore be accepted that most migrant traders expected to be better off financially than in their home countries. However, it is doubtful if all of the migrants expected benefits to exceed costs because some did not even know what their destination would be when they left their country of origin. This is especially true with regard to the refugees.

Table 7.4: A summary of the characteristics of the neo classical economics theory: micro- economic models

Theory/model	Characteristics	Applicability to the study area:
Neo classical economics theory: Micro-economic models	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expectations of being better off • Benefits expected to exceed costs • Viewed as investment decision • Migration is primarily a economic phenomenon • Gains judged by difference in rural and urban work income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High • Partial • High • High • Not applicable

One can also accept that the migrants who came to South Africa primarily viewed their move as an economic investment decision. Other migrants came to South Africa because of a need for better education opportunities and are likely to have viewed their decision firstly as an educational investment and secondly as one that would benefit their future economic prospects. Migration was in the case of 77% of respondents primarily an economic phenomenon. The assumption that gains, judged by the difference between

rural and urban work income are not applicable in the case of this study because most of the respondents originated from urban areas.

7.3.2 Non-economic theories

(i) The institutional theory

The creation of institutions to facilitate entry into a country is partially applicable to this study (refer to Table 7.5). A Congolese refugee referred to an organisation called the 'Touch of Africa', of which he is a chairperson. This organisation assists new refugees to obtain legal documentation and provide limited material resources.

Table 7.5: A summary of the characteristics of the institutional theory

Theory/model	Characteristics	Applicability to the study area:
Institutional theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private institutions are created for the demand of people where laws limit entry • Governments have difficulty to control migration flows 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial • Partial

No reference was made to other organisations that were primarily created to assist people where law limit their entry. In reference to the network theory earlier discussed, one can once again refer to the fact that the new migration legislation, which came into existence has as primary aim the elimination of difficulties experienced by the Department of Home Affairs in effectively controlling international migration to South Africa.

(ii) The value-expectancy model

The value-expectancy model is in essence a statistical model where the strength of migration intentions is measured by conducting a questionnaire survey (Kok et al., 2003). The characteristics of this model are weighted up against the applicability of these characteristics in the study area in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6: A summary of the characteristics of the value-expectancy model

Theory/model	Characteristics	Applicability to the study area:
Value-expectancy model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual and household demographic characteristics • Societal and cultural norms • Personal traits • Opportunity structure differentials between areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial • High • Partial • High

Due to the small size of the survey utilised for the purposes of this dissertation, it would be difficult, if not impossible to generate results of large enough statistical significance to justify using the value-expectancy model in analysing the data generated. However, despite these limitations, it is still possible to evaluate the applicability of the main characteristics of the value-expectancy model with regard to the empirical findings of the survey conducted (Table 7.6).

Individual and household demographic characteristics encompass a large number of characteristics of which only a limited number were obtained during the empirical work. Comments and judgements are therefore limited to those characteristics for which information were obtained. Gender and age (mostly males between 20 and 40 years of age) were variables that were good indicators of the type of migrants that one could expect to find at Damdoryn with other variables such as educational status, marital status and the number of children not being of significance.

Societal and cultural norms are understood to include political climates and policies, community norms and sex roles among others. Of these characteristics, political climates and community norms were found to be significant factors that caused respondents to migrate to South Africa. Political climates (historical or present) in countries such as Kenya, Zimbabwe, DRC, Uganda and Mozambique were also found to be a significant factor in the relocation of many of the respondents to South Africa. Empirical evidence of a 'culture of migration' among Mozambican respondents could be regarded as a community norm that plays an important role in the migration of Mozambicans to South Africa.

Personal traits such as 'enjoy working with people' and being extroverts were found among most respondents. However, unexpectedly, most respondents also viewed themselves as relatively conservative. The empirical findings therefore concurs with the value-expectancy model that personal traits could perceivably be used as an indicator of whether a particular person is more or less likely to move than others. Opportunity

structure differentials between areas, as identified by the value-expectancy model, are without doubt one of the major reasons why respondents choose South Africa above other countries as their destination. The economic, business and educational opportunities that South Africa presented in comparison with other African countries were named by the majority of respondents as the main reason for selecting this country as their destination.

7.3.3 Other laws and models

(i) Ravenstein and Lee's laws of migration

The first characteristic of Ravenstein and Lee's laws of migration is that the majority of migrants only go a short distance (Ogden, 1984). This statement is only partly applicable to the study area, because most of the migrants at Damdoryn travelled some distance to reach their destination in South Africa (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7: A summary of the characteristics of Ravenstein and Lee's laws of migration

Theory/model	Characteristics	
Ravenstein and Lee's laws of migration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of migrants go only a short distance • Migration proceeds step by step • Long distance migration go by preference of great centres of commerce or industry • Each current of migration produces a compensation counter current • The local population of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas • Females are more migratory than men in their country of birth, but males more frequently venture beyond • Most migrants are adults, families rarely migrate out of their country of birth • Large towns grow more by migration than natural increase • Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves • The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centres of industry and commerce • The major causes of migration are economic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial • Partial • High • Partial • Not applicable • Partial • Partial • Not applicable • Partial • Not applicable • High

However, it is also true that many respondents from Zimbabwe and Mozambique travel relatively short distances to reach South Africa.

The assumption that migration proceeds step by step is true in the case of some of the respondents who did not immediately move to their final destination when migrating to South Africa (Table 7.7). One example is that of a Mozambican respondent that obtained employment on a farm in the Tzaneen area to obtain enough money to travel to Johannesburg.

The next assumption of Ravenstein and Lee's laws of migration is that long distance migration goes by preference of great centres of commerce or industry. This statement correlates with the finding that 60% of respondents chose Johannesburg and surrounding metropolitan areas as their main destination when travelling to South Africa (Tables 7.7).

The characteristic that each current of migration produces a compensation counter current was not observed as one of the main patterns of migration at the Hartebeespoort Dam. This is primarily because more than 50% of the respondents indicated that they would like to obtain South African citizenship. The likelihood of the development of a counter current is likely to be small in such cases (Table 7.7).

The assumption of Ravenstein and Lee that the local population of towns are less migratory than those in rural areas is not applicable in the context of this study due to the fact that most of the respondents originated from urban areas in their countries of origin.

Whether females are more migratory than men in their country of birth could not be established but it was observed that more males than females were involved in informal activities at Damdoryn. This observation correlates with Lee and Ravenstein's assumption that males more frequently venture across national borders than females (Table 7.7).

The assumption that most migrants are adults and that families rarely migrate out of their country of birth does seem to offer a plausible explanation for the observation that most of the respondents were in fact adults who were not accompanied by family members.

It was not within the scope of this survey to be able to establish whether large towns grew more by migration than natural increase. The same applies to the assumption that migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves. However, it can be said that relatively efficient transport systems did facilitate easier movement of migrants to South Africa.

It was also beyond the scope of this study to establish whether the major direction of migration is from agricultural areas to centres of industry and commerce. Lee and Ravenstein's last assumption that major causes of migration are economic correlates with the findings of this study that showed that 77% of respondents came to South Africa for economic reasons.

(ii) The gravity model

The assumption of the original gravity model dictates that there is a clear inverse relationship between distance and frequency of migration (Ogden, 1984). This assumption partially correlates with the observations in this study (Table 7.8).

Table 7.8: A summary of the characteristics of the gravity model

Theory/Model	Characteristics	Applicability to the study area:
The Gravity model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A clear inverse relationship between distance and frequency of migration exist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial

The largest number of respondents originate from countries directly bordering South Africa with the exception of Kenyan respondents that represented a fairly significant proportion of respondents. An analysis of travel patterns related to home visits revealed that distance and cost played an important role. Respondents from more distant countries did not pay frequent visits to their home countries whereas respondents from neighbouring countries went home relatively often by comparison. Local travel in South Africa for business reasons revealed that cost and distance played less of a role than on an international scale. The opportunity of generating additional income was in most instances identified as the major factor that determined local business travel patterns.

(iii) Zelinsky's model of mobility transition

Zelinsky's model (1971) assumes that with modernisation, different types of movement succeed one another as the dominant wave (Table 7.9). This assumption could not be tested due to the timeframe and scope limitations of the study. The same is also true with regard to the remark that demographic transition dictates international and internal migration patterns in predictable ways.

Table 7.9: A summary of the characteristics of the mobility transition model

Theory/model	Characteristics	Applicability to the study area:
Zelinsky's model of mobility transition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With modernisation, different types of movement succeed one another as the dominant wave • Demographic transition dictates international and internal migration patterns in predictable ways 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not applicable • Not applicable

7.4 DEDUCTION

An evaluation of the main characteristics of the migration theories discussed in Chapter 2 in the context of the empirical findings suggest that none of the migration theories offer a satisfactory explanation for migration behaviour of respondents at Damdoryn. This supports the assumption that “western” migration models do not offer a satisfactory explanation for cross-border and local movement patterns of foreign migrant traders observed at the Hartebeespoort Dam. However, it should be noted that the sum of characteristics of the migration models reviewed went a long way in explaining the migration behaviour recorded at the Hartebeespoort Dam despite the fact that not a single model could offer all the answers to the migration phenomena recorded. The value expectancy theory proves to be the theory with the least shortcomings and comes close to providing an explanation for the migration phenomenon recorded at the Hartebeespoort Dam. However the weak point of this model is its heavy reliance on quantitative techniques that might point to what seems to be meaningful relationships of statistical aggregates but where one, as Chang (1981:308-309) puts it ‘...try to read too much meaning into such poor causal structures, as the meaning may not be there’.

7.5 SUPPOSITION OF CIRCULAR MIGRATION MODELS IN MOVEMENT PATTERNS OF AFRICAN TRADERS

The second supposition is that the widely accepted assumption that circular migration offers a satisfactory explanation for the movement patterns of foreign African traders could be disputed. The definition of circular migration refers to longer-term movements between places of origin and destination that may involve one or more cycles of outward and return movement.

7.6 DEDUCTION

Circular migration was not found to be the dominating type of movement among respondents although it did provide an explanation for some of the movement patterns observed. Empirical evidence also suggests that many of the (50%) respondents did not favour returning home at all. Older married respondents with families who remained in their countries of origin are more likely to conform to the circular migration pattern whereas younger unattached respondents with fewer social and other ties to their home countries were more likely to stay in South Africa. Nationality was also found to be an important indicator of a respondent propensity to embark on circular migration. For example, all Zimbabwean respondents wanted to stay permanently in South Africa whereas the majority of Kenyan respondents did not exhibit such a desire. The Kenyan respondents are therefore more likely to display circular migration behaviour than the Zimbabweans due to their desire of not wanting to stay in South Africa permanently.

These findings discredit the widely accepted assumption that circular migration offers a satisfactory explanation for the movement of foreign African traders in South Africa. It is therefore clear that the variables nationality, gender, marital status and social ties with family in home countries have an important impact on the movement patterns of migrant traders.

CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION: AN ASSESSMENT OF COMPARABLE STUDIES

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarises the findings of the previous three chapters. Empirical findings are summarised in Table 8.1 and represents an overview of the assumptions and the main characteristics from both the qualitative and the quantitative survey results. The findings are interpreted by comparing the results of these chapters with analogous studies undertaken by Rogerson (1997), Peberdy & Crush (1998) and Viljoen & Wentzel (2000).

8.2 INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS: A COMPARISON

The most significant difference between the Hartebeespoort Dam study and the studies of Viljoen & Wentzel (2000), Rogerson (1997) and Peberdy, & Crush (1998) is that the Hartebeespoort Dam sample consisted only of traders who sold arts, crafts and curios whereas the other studies (excluding Peberdy & Crush, 1998) included respondents involved in activities such as selling fruit and vegetables, food retailing, panel beating, etc.

The countries of origin of the respondents at Damdoryn were mostly Zimbabwe, Kenya, Mozambique and Malawi. In total, interviews were conducted with migrant traders from nine countries. Rogerson (1997) on the other hand, interviewed people from 19 countries in the Johannesburg CBD. Findings of the other studies showed a remarkable similarity to this study in terms of representative nationalities, with the exception of the Viljoen & Wentzel (2000) study where interviews were limited to Zimbabwean and Mozambican respondents only.

The majority of the respondents at the Hartebeespoort Dam were males (77%). This gender profile correlates with that of the other studies. Interestingly, the gender profile in Rogerson's (1997) study and that of Peberdy & Crush (1998) correlates exactly with that of the Hartebeespoort Dam study. Females therefore seem to constitute a minority that has not changed significantly between 1997 and 2004.

Table 8.1: Migration characteristics observed at the Hartebeespoort Dam

Characteristics	Detail
Gender composition	Most of the traders at Damdoryn are males.
Age composition	83% of the respondents are in the age category 20 to 40 years.
Educational qualifications	Most of the people (54%) have at least a secondary school qualification. A fairly significant number of respondents (23%) had either a diploma or a university degree.
Nationality	The nationalities with the largest representation at Damdoryn are Zimbabweans, Kenyans, Mozambicans and Malawians.
Locality of origin	Most of the respondents originated from urban areas in their home country.
Personality traits	The single personality trait "enjoy working with people" stood out with 97% of respondents that agreed with the statement. Only half of the respondents perceived themselves as risk takers. 70% viewed themselves both as conservative and extroverts
Social differentiation	Traders perceived themselves as a unique group and mostly associated with their own kind or other foreigners.
Life satisfaction	Fewer respondents perceived themselves as satisfied with their lives in S.A. when compared with their home countries.
Main reasons for migrating	The main motivation for respondents move to South Africa is clearly of an economic nature that represented 77% of the responses. Other reasons were war, famine, and educational opportunities.
Culture of migration	Evidence of a 'culture of migration' were found with some of the respondents reporting having a father that worked in South African mines or that young people in their country of origin look up to them and aspire of coming to South Africa.
Main destination	The main destination of most respondents was large urban centres such as Johannesburg.
Movement patterns	Distance and cost played an important role in the movement patterns of respondents when visiting their home countries. Some evidence of circular migration was found. Half of the respondents nevertheless indicated that they are planning to stay permanently in South Africa. Internal movement patterns in South Africa were less dependent on distance and cost and more on the locality of 'shows' or events that offered respondents the opportunity of generating additional income.
Future movement	Future movements of respondents were closely tied to the welfare of their business at Damdoryn. Most respondents indicated that deterioration of business might force them to leave Damdoryn.
Networks	The majority of respondents had friends or family in South Africa when they decided to leave their countries of origin. Half of the respondents made prior arrangements for accommodation before relocating to South Africa. Networks are mostly of an informal nature. The only formal organisation mentioned was tied to refugee assistance.
Transport & communication	Well-established transport and communication networks assisted travel as well as regular communication with relatives in countries of origin.
Xenophobia	Most respondents have been victims of xenophobia. Foreign traders therefore prefer to mix and stay with people of their own or other foreign nationalities (non-South Africans).
Remittances	Most traders were remitting goods and money to relatives in their country of origin.
Opportunity structural differentials	The perceived opportunity structural differentials between respondents' countries of origin and South Africa can be considered as relatively high.

In this study, the age composition of the respondents was biased towards mostly younger people since 50% were in the age group 20-30 years. The other studies had similar findings and Rogerson's (1997) findings mirrored the age profile found at the Hartebeespoort Dam. The study by Viljoen and Wentzel (2000) found that the younger working-age categories represented most of their respondents.

Education levels at the Hartebeespoort Dam were generally high with 77% of the respondents having either secondary school or higher qualifications. Kenyan and Congolese respondents were generally people with the highest educational qualifications. Rogerson's (1997) study had very similar findings with 79% of his respondents having

secondary or higher education levels, whereas, Peberdy & Crush's (1998) study had a much higher percentage (90%) of respondents with secondary or higher qualifications.

In this study all of the respondents originated from urban areas in their countries of origin. This reflects a migration pattern of urban to urban movement (across international borders) unlike the predominant rural to urban movements (and in some cases rural to rural) in almost all African countries. This particular phenomenon was not interrogated by any of the other studies.

An assessment of personality traits revealed that 97% of respondents “enjoy working with people”. Of the total number of respondents, surprisingly, only half perceived themselves as risk takers. More than two thirds of the traders interviewed were of the opinion that they led conservative lifestyles whereas the same percentage felt that they were extroverts. None of the other studies investigated the personality traits of migrants during the execution of their research.

From the observation and interviews in this study, it seems as if migrant traders perceive themselves as a group with their own identity that included fellow countrymen and other foreign traders. Although none of the other studies made conclusive findings on this point, Rogerson (1997) did indicate that migrants prefer to employ family members, fellow countrymen or other foreigners to the detriment of local people. Rogerson (1997) also observed that established businesses did in some instances employ local people. Viljoen & Wentzel (2000) also refer to foreign traders' preference for employing fellow countrymen rather than South Africans. It is believed that foreign traders in many instances feel vulnerable and somewhat alien to South Africa people and their customs and therefore prefers to associate with countrymen and other foreigners. It was also found that most of the traders who shared accommodation shared it with other foreign traders.

The analysis of the life satisfaction of respondents in this study in South Africa in comparison to their own home countries showed that fewer respondents perceived themselves as more satisfied with their lives in South Africa than in their home countries. Life satisfaction of respondents seem to be centred towards the success of their business ventures in South Africa, (economic reasons) whereas life satisfaction in their home countries were more closely linked to family life, culture and customs (social reasons). Respondents generally led more satisfied lives in their countries of origin when compared to their current situation in South Africa. Lower life satisfaction in South Africa seems to be

tied to a perceived lack of success with their business ventures. Life satisfaction was not one of the characteristics interrogated by any of the other studies.

The main reason why respondents in this study decided to migrate to South Africa was clearly of an economic nature (77% of responses). Other reasons cited were war, famine, and educational opportunities. Rogerson (1997) found that 83% of respondents quoted economic reasons for selecting South Africa as their destination. War in Angola and Mozambique and marriage to a South African spouse were cited as other reasons. The majority of respondents in Peberdy & Crush's (1998) survey cite economic motives such as the strength of the Rand and opportunities offered by the tourism market as reasons for coming to South Africa. Viljoen and Wenzel (2000) mentioned that economic reasons played an important role in the decision of both Zimbabwean and Mozambican interviewees to trade in South Africa.

Evidence of a 'culture of migration' was found with some of the respondents in the study since they reported having a father who worked in South African mines or that young people in their country of origin looked up to them and aspire to come to South Africa. Many of the respondents also had relatives and/or friends in South Africa when they decided to leave their home countries. Several quotes annotated by Rogerson (1997) suggest traces of a culture of migration by particular respondents. The other studies did not make any reference to this phenomenon.

The main destination of most respondents at Damdoryn was large urban centres such as Johannesburg. The studies of Rogerson (1997) and Peberdy & Crush (1998) only conducted interviews in urban centres such as Johannesburg and Cape Town. Viljoen and Wenzel (2000) on the other hand conducted interviews in areas such as Nelspruit, near the border with Mozambique as well as Phokwane a rural area located in the Limpopo Province. Their findings suggest that not all migrants prefer to move to large urban areas such as Johannesburg and Cape Town for a number of reasons. The main reasons being less vulnerable to detection (of illegal migrants) by police and being closer to their country of origin (Mozambique in this case).

In this study, distance and cost played an important role in the movement patterns of respondents when visiting their home countries. Some evidence of circular migration was found. Half of the respondents nevertheless indicated that they are planning to stay permanently in South Africa. Internal movement patterns in South Africa were less

dependent on distance and cost (when compared to international travels) and more on the locality of trade shows or festivals that offered respondents the opportunity to generate additional income. Peberdy and Crush (1998) observed similar internal movement patterns with traders moving around between areas such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Grahamstown and George.

Rogerson's (1997) study found that most of the people (95%) interviewed were keen to stay in South Africa and in some instances even consolidating their stay by having their families join them. The study by Peberdy & Crush (1998) did not come to any substantive conclusion with regard to whether respondents wanted to stay permanently in South Africa or not. Viljoen and Wentzel (2000) found that the Mozambican interviewees were more inclined to stay permanently in South Africa than Zimbabweans. This differs with the findings of this study where all Zimbabwean respondents indicated that they wished to stay permanently in South Africa with less than half of the Mozambican respondents keen on staying here permanently. This disparity can be attributed to the current political and economic turbulence in Zimbabwe which acts as a significant push factor. The comparably better political and economic prospects of Mozambique (when compared to conditions before 2000) seem to be less of a significant push factor in the present study. Peberdy & Crush (1998) documented seasonal movement patterns of especially Zimbabwean traders between South Africa and their countries of origin. Viljoen & Wentzel (2000) made a similar finding with regard to the travel patterns of Zimbabwean migrants. This correlates with the finding that Zimbabwean respondents travelled to their country of origin on a regular basis. However, the average annual frequency of eight trips per year recorded by Peberdy & Crush (1998) is significantly higher than the three found in this study. Higher travel costs in 2004 (compared with 1997) and the current volatile economic and political situation in Zimbabwe could possibly explain this lower frequency of travels.

Although most of the respondents wanted to stay permanently in South Africa, their immediate future movements were closely tied to the welfare of their businesses at Damdoryn. Most respondents indicated that threats to the economic viability of their businesses might force them to leave Damdoryn (or even South Africa in some instances). A parallel can be drawn between this finding and the fact that most respondents came to South Africa for economic reasons. Future movement of respondents are therefore more likely to be determined by the economic welfare of their businesses rather than any other factor or combination of factors. Rogerson (1997: 271) came to a similar conclusion and described his findings as an, "...endorsement of a positive outlook on their Johannesburg

businesses and possible future prospects in South Africa emerged in responses to questions on future plans.”

The importance of networks of friends and family in assisting the move to, and business operation (to a lesser extent) of respondents in South Africa must be underscored. The majority of respondents had either friends or relatives in South Africa when they decided to leave their countries of origin. The networks identified were mostly of an informal nature and not particularly integrated. The only formal institution referred to was linked to a refugee assistance programme that was managed by expatriates.

Rogerson (1997) identified the existence of a limited international network of connections among SADC migrants interviewed and more integrated international networks among non-SADC migrants. These networks reportedly assisted migrants in starting-up and running businesses. Peberdy & Crush (1998) also reported on the existence of migrant networks. Viljoen & Wentzel (2000) pointed out that the existence of networks in both the sending and the receiving country was an important factor that facilitated migration to and from South Africa. The contact of potential informal traders with family members, friends and business associates in South Africa and in their respective home countries was also reported as important for the creation of social support, information and business networks.

Well-established transport and communication networks assisted travel, remittances, the receiving of goods as well as regular communication with relatives in countries of origin. Peberdy & Crush (1998) refer to the usage of rail, bus, private and air transport as well as the post office for sending and receiving of goods abroad. Reference is also made to the fact that large-scale importers import the majority of arts, crafts and curios sold by migrant traders. Viljoen & Wentzel (2000) also reported that telephone and postal services were frequently used to communicate with family members in Zimbabwe and that couriers (friends etc.) were occasionally asked to deliver their mail to family in Zimbabwe. Money orders were found to be a popular method of sending cash remittances to relatives in home countries. Most of the traders interviewed remitted goods and money to relatives in their country of origin. This finding is corroborated by two of the three studies used for comparison. Money is sent either by courier (friend or family member) or by postal order. Peberdy and Crush (1998) found that clothes and electronic equipment and appliances are the most popular goods exported to other African countries by traders. They also

found that 56% of respondents took goods out of South Africa to trade and reported that much of the profits made by exporting goods are reinvested on return to South Africa.

Most respondents (67%) in this study reported acts of xenophobia against them. Xenophobic acts included actions that ranged from verbal insults to physical attacks. Observations made by the respondents support foreign traders' preference to mix and stay with people of their own or other foreign nationalities (non-South Africans). The spatial implications are therefore that one is likely to find groups of migrants clustered in areas where they work and live together. This provides for better security and a higher sense of safety. All three of the studies used for comparison, mention that xenophobia against foreign traders seems to be rife. This is especially true against the background of violence of local against foreign traders in 1997 and 1998. Nevertheless, it does seem as if local traders accept that foreign traders dominate the African arts, crafts and curio markets as indicated by Peberdy & Crush (1998). However, the type of violence seen against foreign traders in the 1990s was not been repeated after 2000, which might indicate a better acceptance of foreigners among local people.

One of the major reasons for respondent's selection of South Africa as destination was linked to the perceived opportunity of the structural differential between the respondents' countries of origin and South Africa. This differential could be considered as relatively high due to the difference in levels of development between South Africa and most other African countries. In some cases such as Zimbabwe, this differential has continued to grow larger because of an economy that has been contracting since 2001. Peberdy & Crush (1998) also reports that favourable perceptions of South Africa are further supported by the countries status as a democracy and a lack of corruption.

8.3 CONCLUSION

The findings of this research compares favourably with similar studies on migrant traders in South Africa. Some differences in migration patterns were nevertheless observed but could be explained by changes in push, pull and facilitation factors in Africa over the last decade.

An analysis of the main reasons reported for coming to South Africa confirms that economic reasons are the main cause of migration from other African countries. Networks of friends and relatives who reside in South Africa appear to play an important role in

facilitating migration to South Africa by shaping perceptions of prospective migrants on the country and possible economic prospects.

Various spatial patterns of migration were observed from the research findings. Both internal and international movement patterns were identified as applicable to foreign traders at Damdoryn. Obstacles such as cost, distance, effort in obtaining travel documents and language barriers influenced international patterns of movement. Modern communication on the other hand provides the means for traders to stay in contact with family and friends in their countries of origin on a regular basis. This probably lessened the need for migrants to frequently travel to home countries. Political conditions in countries such as the DRC and Uganda forced people to flee their country and were not conducive to visits home due to life threatening risks. Local travel patterns displayed a tendency of closer destinations being visited more frequently. This is consistent with the main assumption of the gravity model where an inverse relationship exists with more people preferring to travel to nearby areas in relation to more distant areas. Nevertheless, an important determinant of local business travels was found to be the spatial location of trade shows and festivals that some traders attended during the course of the year. It was also noted that traders mostly of Kenyan origin seemed to display this movement pattern of visiting trade shows and festivals.

The observation of migration behaviour at the Hartebeespoort Dam brings the following question to mind namely: *How will future migration patterns differ from those observed during the study period?*

Any future movements of respondents are likely to be determined by the economic prospects of migrant traders at the Hartebeespoort Dam (excluding personal factors such as illness or other unforeseen circumstances). Economic conditions conducive to trade in African arts crafts and curios will not only keep migrant traders in the area but are likely to draw more traders. However, should it become unprofitable to trade in the area, most of the migrant traders are likely to move to other locations to conduct their business. It is also likely that a small number of traders might consider returning to their home countries in the event of trading becoming unprofitable. Conditions for the decline in profitability include fewer tourists in the area as well as increased competition from new traders.

A major factor that is expected to influence the presence of migrant traders at the current Damdoryn location is the construction of the Tsosoloso Madibeng Cultural Village. Any

exclusion of migrant traders without legal documentation at this new flea market facility will see traders continuing to occupy areas on the road reserve of the R27. This has the potential to cause conflict with the local and provincial authorities that could provoke a clampdown on trading activities in non-designated areas. Such a scenario is likely to push traders to other more suitable and less regulated areas. Nevertheless, the presence of migrant traders at Damdoryn is likely to continue for the foreseeable future given the current development in the area that are likely to encourage tourism to the Hartebeespoort Dam.

Empirical findings of this study suggest that an explanation for the migration patterns observed at the Hartebeespoort Dam cannot be sought in individual migration theories but rather through a combination. Theories, models and laws of migration that are of particular importance in explaining some of the findings include the network theory, the gravity model, micro economic models in neo-classical economics theory, the value expectancy model as well as Lee and Ravenstein's laws of migration. However, Western migration models' inability to provide a holistic and integrated explanation for the migration phenomenon observed in this study reveals the need for more research on the movement patterns of African foreign migrant traders. This will assist the development of one model that could offer an adequate explanation for the migration patterns of foreign migrant traders within and to South Africa.

Finally, the findings of this study endorse the use of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies to better explain and understand migration patterns and processes. The qualitative methodology is particularly useful to assess individual reasons and motivations for migrating, whereas, quantitative methodologies are better suited to assess and record biographical details and incidences of travel.

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ANNEXURE A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Date:

1. Biographical details:

1.1 'Name' for respondent

.....

1.2 Age

.....

1.3 Gender

.....

1.4 Nationality

.....

1.5 Marital status

.....

1.6 Have a partner (girlfriend, etc)

.....

1.7 Wife/partner's country of residence

.....

1.8 Wife/partner's nationality

.....

1.9 Number of children

.....

1.10 Children's country of residence

.....

1.11 Educational status

.....

1.12 Occupation

.....

1.13 Types of goods/products sold

.....

1.14 Current area of residence (South Africa). (Town/city)

.....

1.15 Type of dwelling?

.....

1.16 Home country and area of residence before moving to South Africa

.....

2 Migration history details: First ever cross-border visit undertaken

2.1 When did you visit another country other than your country of birth for the first time?

.....

2.2 Do you have fond memories of your first trip? (If yes, why; if no, why not?)

.....

.....

.....

.....

3 Questions on South Africa and Hartebeespoort Dam as destination

3.1 When was the first time that you visited South Africa? (year)

.....

3.2 Why did you decide to travel to South Africa? (Main reason)

.....

.....

.....

3.3 How did you decide? (If other people, who and why?).

.....

.....

.....

3.4 What was your main reason for coming to the Hartebeespoort Dam?

.....
.....
.....

3.5 Please describe how you travelled from your home country to SA. (mode of travel, alone or with friends/family, route travelled and time duration, what problems)

.....
.....
.....
.....

3.6 What place in SA did you consider to be your destination when you left your country?

.....

3.7 Where did you stay when you arrived at you SA destination? (name of town/ area)

.....

3.8 Had you arrange for accommodation in SA before you left on your trip?

.....

3.9 What type of accommodation did you move in to? (shack, flat, hostel etc.)

.....

3.10 Did you have any friends/family living in SA at the time of your move to South Africa?

.....
.....

4 Trips during the last 12 months (Cross Border)

4.1 Did you undertake any trips to your home country during the past 12 months?

.....

4.2 How many trips have you undertaken to your home country during the past 12 months?

.....

4.3 What were the reasons for undertaking these trips?

.....
4.4 Are there particular times of the month/year that you favour doing these trips?

.....
4.5 How did you travel – by taxi, bus, train or by private car?

.....
4.6 Did you travel alone?

.....
4.7 Did you take home any money or goods such as bicycles, radios, tv's or groceries when you went home?

.....
4.8 How long were your trips on average? (duration of stay: one day, 2-3 days, 3-7 days, 7-14 days, 14-30 days, more than 30 days.)

.....
4.9 Do you sometimes experience difficulties during your travels? (e.g. with transport, documentation for crossing the border, paying tax at the border, harassment etc.) (If yes, describe)

.....
5 Local South African trips

5.1 Did you undertake any local business trips during the past 12 months? (If yes, why) (local trips imply any trips made to a South African destination other than the Hartebeespoort Dam area)

.....
5.2 How frequently did you undertake such trips? (every day, every week, every month)

.....

5.3 How did you travel – by taxi, bus, train or by private car?

.....

5.4 Which cities/towns did you visit the most often? (Limit of 4)

.....

.....

.....

5.5 On average, how long were your trips? (Duration: day trip, 2-3 days, 3-7 days, 7-14 days, more than 14 days.)

.....

.....

6 General questions?

6.1 How important would you consider the following things when you decide to travel (for business purposes) to a specific place?

1. Not at all 2. To some extent 3. To great extent 4. Totally

A safe place to go to

Cost

Transport

Housing/accommodation/place to stay

Vibrant local tourism economy

Knowing people or having friends in the area

6.2 Did you consider any of the above-mentioned factors when you decided to come to Hartebeespoort Dam? (current location). If yes, which were more important?

.....

.....

6.3 Indicate the extent to which you are extrovert, enjoy working with people, risk taker, conservative person, adventurer, enjoy challenges)

1. Not at all 2. To some extent 3. To great extent 4. Totally

Extrovert

Enjoy working with people

Risk taker

Conservative person
Adventurer
Enjoy challenges

6.4 How long would you like to stay at Hartebeespoort Dam?
.....

6.5 Are there things that will cause you to leave the Hartebeespoort Dam? (Please motivate)
.....
.....
..
.....

6.6 How do you experience the attitude of South Africans in general towards you?
.....

6.7 What is the attitude of other traders towards you?
.....

6.8 Have you ever experienced any actions of aggression against you as a non South African?
.....

6.9 How satisfied are you with your life as a whole at the moment?
(0. Don't know; 1. Very satisfied; 2. Satisfied; 3. neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4. Dissatisfied; 5 Very dissatisfied.) - reason
.....
.....
.....
.....

6.10 How satisfied were you with you life before you left your home country for South Africa?
(0. Don't know; 1. Very satisfied; 2. Satisfied; 3. neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4. Dissatisfied; 5 Very dissatisfied.) - reason
.....
.....

.....
.....

6.11 Would you like to stay permanently in South Africa? (Please motivate)

.....
.....
.....
.....

6.12 If yes, are you interested in acquiring South African citizenship, why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

6.13 (If yes in 6.12) What prevents you at the moment from acquiring SA citizenship?

.....
.....
.....

6.14 Do you have to pay rent for this stall? (to whom)

.....

6.15.1 Are you a member of an organisation that represents traders in the area? (If yes, provide details)

.....
.....