THE EXPERIENCES AND CHALLENGES OF ECONOMIC MIGRANTS FROM ZIMBABWE IN RELOCATING AND ADJUSTING IN SOUTH AFRICA: A SOCIAL WORK PERSPECTIVE

by

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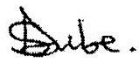**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

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DECLARATION

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I, Serbia Dube, declare that **The experiences and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating and adjusting in South Africa: A Social Work perspective** is my original work and that all the sources that I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Serbia Dube

6 February 2017

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research study to my mother Tsitsi Makaka who worked hard as a widow to see me through my high school education which enabled me to access tertiary education and to my children Tinevimbo, Anesu and Anopa. May this work inspire you to value education.

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ABSTRACT

In the past decade Zimbabwe has experienced serious economic and political challenges, forcing many to flee in search of better employment opportunities and lifestyles. This research, conducted in Tshwane Gauteng, aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of Zimbabwean economic migrants' experiences and challenges in relocating and adjusting in South Africa. Employing a qualitative approach, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted to collect data which were analysed using Tesch's framework (in Creswell, 2009:186). The ethical considerations of informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, debriefing, guidelines for dealing with research data and record management, and honesty with professional colleagues were applied in the research.

The research confirms that most Zimbabweans relocated to South Africa for economic reasons and their social and family situations were affected. Challenges were experienced with government officials, in terms of employment, accommodation, education, health services, travelling and with banking institutions. Language barriers and differences in cultural beliefs and values impacted negatively on participants' socialisation and adjustment. The research shows an alarming lack of social work visibility. The researcher recommends that social work should accept that economic migrants are part of their clientele.

Key concepts: economic migrant, experiences, challenges, perspective, social work, adjusting, relocation.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION, PROBLEM FORMULATION AND MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH

1.1   Introduction, background and problem formulation

The issue of Zimbabweans moving and settling in South Africa has been researched by various researchers and many reasons that prompt this movement have been highlighted, including the following: "An economy in free-fall, soaring inflation and unemployment, the collapse of public services, political oppression and deepening poverty proved to be the powerful virtually irresistible push factors for many Zimbabweans" (Crush & Tevera, 2010:1). Maphosa (2009:2) reiterates that the continued decline of Zimbabwe's economy, characterised by high levels of unemployment, high rates of inflation and the rising cost of living, continued to push many people out of the country in search of employment and better standards of living. According to the Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) (2009:5) the economic and political collapse of Zimbabwe has generated unprecedented outward migration to Southern African countries. Furthermore, it is reported that the decade-long political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe has led to a consistent exodus, primarily of the economically active sectors of the population, due in part to the ruling Zanu PF led government's economic policies and its consistent recourse to violence as a way of suppressing political dissent (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009:17).

According to Fournier and Whittall (2009:4), Zimbabwe is facing an extraordinary and multi-dimensional crisis which has resulted in an estimated three million Zimbabweans crossing the Limpopo River into South Africa as a matter of survival. However, the actual number of Zimbabweans living in South Africa is hard to establish because the available literature seems to present conflicting figures. According to a report from Africa Check (2013:1), estimates of Zimbabweans living in South Africa range from one million to three million but the report points out that the numbers cannot be substantiated and the data are unreliable. The same report highlighted that "the 2011 census shows that there are about 1.7 million 'non-South

African citizens' living in South Africa. This number includes figures from other countries not Zimbabwe alone" (Africa Check, 2013:1). Furthermore, observations by Statistics South Africa (2013:19-49) on documented immigrants in South Africa show that Zimbabwean immigrants topped the number of recipients in most categories of people who received different types of permits (temporary residence permits, study permits, visitor permits, work permits and permanent residence permits) in 2013. Therefore, the researcher could not obtain the actual numbers of Zimbabweans living in South Africa at the time of the research.

For the purpose of this research, these Zimbabweans who left Zimbabwe and moved to South Africa are identified as "economic migrants". An economic migrant is defined as a person leaving his or her habitual place of residence to settle outside his or her country of origin in order to improve his or her quality of life (International Organisation for Migration, [sa]). It is also applied to persons leaving their country of origin for the purpose of finding employment in another country.

It was found that Zimbabweans emigrate to South Africa with a commonly cited reason being the availability of economic opportunities in South Africa (Idemudia, Williams & Whyatt (2013:18). Zimbabweans fleeing across the border into South Africa risk beatings, rape or robbery in doing so (Idemudia et al, 2013:22). Fournier and Whittall (2009:6) further argue that the challenges of Zimbabweans do not end once they have crossed the border into South Africa. They are met with little sympathy from the South African Government, which often fails to meet not only its international responsibilities but also the responsibilities enshrined in the South African Constitution (Fournier & Whittall, 2009:6). Prospects of finding employment may be a significant reason to leave behind family, friends and community resources that buffer and offer social support against life's challenges (Idemudia et al, 2013:18).

There were several motivating factors for this researcher to embark on a research project focusing on the topic under scrutiny. The researcher developed a curiosity to know how Zimbabwean economic migrants were faring in South Africa. According to Idemudia et al (2013:18), there is a dearth of research examining the motivations for Zimbabweans migrating and their experiences encountered along the way and after

arrival in South Africa. Such research was deemed essential as large numbers of Zimbabweans may be at risk of experiencing emotional and physical trauma during this process (Idemudia et al, 2013:18). These factors triggered the researcher's curiosity to investigate and learn more about the experiences and challenges Zimbabwean economic migrants go through whilst moving to and settling in South Africa. Hence, the researcher wanted to make her contribution in this area, by means of this research.

Furthermore, as a social worker, the researcher has always regarded migrants as a vulnerable group. Engel and Schutt (2010:6) postulate that the nature of the social world is the starting point for the social work profession because much of what social workers do is in response to social, political and economic conditions. According to Martin and Kettner (cited in Engel & Schutt, 2010:6), social policies, programmes and interventions provided by human service agencies are based on assumptions about the cause of the social condition or conditions concerned. Generally, social workers deal with people who are vulnerable, who are struggling in some way to participate fully in society and economic migrants are people in very unsettled situations. They face many challenges such as being traumatised by leaving home, without visible means of subsistence and coming to a new country with no place to live. This qualifies them as clients of social services. Therefore, the researcher also wanted to understand the role of social work and the role that it could play in the lives of economic migrants from Zimbabwe living in South Africa.

Against this background, the researcher developed a need to obtain more information regarding the following aspects relating to the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa:

- Their feelings on leaving Zimbabwe and the dream for their life in South Africa.
- Their experiences and challenges on their way to South Africa.
- How they have adjusted and settled in South Africa.
- Their experiences and challenges with government officials in South Africa.
- Their movement in and outside of South Africa.
- Their access to social services.

- Their experience in seeking and finding employment.

The researcher foresees that this research study should contribute to -
- prospective economic migrants being better informed about life in South Africa before they commit or make a decision to relocate to South Africa;
- policy makers and government officials instituting policies that will enhance the lives of economic migrants;
- social workers being better equipped in dealing with this vulnerable category of people in South Africa; and
- other social scientists conducting research investigations on economic migrants.

This study is a qualitative inquiry into the experiences and challenges faced by economic migrants from Zimbabwe whilst relocating to and settling in South Africa. This chapter is an exposition of how research theory use was planned for this research, while the application of the theory in conducting the research is presented in the next chapter. In this regard, Creswell's (2009:64) research tips on theory use in a qualitative study were used, in terms of which –
- it should be decided if theory is to be used;
- if it is to be used, it should then be identified how the theory will be used in the study, inter alia as an up-front explanation; and
- the theory should be located in a manner consistent with its use.

1.2   Theoretical framework

In academic terms a "theory is a logical explanation for why something is as it is or does as it does" (Hofstee, 2006:92). In addition a theory is defined as "a systematic explanation for the observations that relate to a particular aspect of life" (Babbie, 2004:12). A scientific theory is described as a conceptual framework – "that is it is one of the three basic frameworks which make up the 'structure' of science: typologies, models and theories" (de Vos & Strydom, 2011:43). In this research, Schlossberg's (1981) classic Transition Process Model for analysing human adaptation to transition which provides the structure for analysing any transition was adopted as the theoretical framework of this study on the experiences and

challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in relocating and settling in South Africa. A social science model is a model "that consists mainly of words, a description of a social phenomenon, abstracting the main features of the phenomenon without an attempt to explain it or predict anything from the descriptions" (de Vos & Strydom, 2011:36). These migrants are experiencing a transition of moving from their country in search of a better life in another country, hence the use of Schlossberg's (1981) Transition Process Model to examine the social phenomenon under scrutiny, namely the resettling Zimbabwean economic migrants. Hofstee (2006:92) further postulates that theories are not cast in stone and that something may come along and disprove them tomorrow, but they are the best explanations the researcher currently has. Therefore, the data collected in this study will either confirm or disprove the Transition Theory.

According to Anderson, Goodman and Schlossberg (2012:30), transitions are often experienced as frightening or traumatic. They also point out that moving through a transition requires letting go of aspects of self, letting go of former roles and learning new roles. Schlossberg (1981:5) agrees by stating that "a transition can be said to occur if an event or non-event results in a change in assumptions about oneself and the world and thus requires a corresponding change in one's behaviour and relationships."

The extraordinary complex reality that accompanies and defines the capacity of human beings to cope with change in their lives, is described by Schlossberg's Transition Process Model (1981:3). Furthermore, the theorist postulates that individuals differ in their ability to adapt to change. For example, to one person a geographical move may present a great opportunity; to another it may mean a loss of support and identity. Schlossberg (1981:5) further argues that, it is not the transition itself that is of primary importance, but rather how the transition fits with an individual's stage, situation and style at the time of the transition.

In terms of the Transition Process Model (Schlossberg, 1981), the following three major sets of factors influence adaptation to transition:

- The characteristics of the particular transition.
- The characteristics of the pre- and post-transition environments.

- The characteristics of the individual experiencing the transition.

It is argued that all these three sets of factors interact to produce the outcome which may be adaptation or failure to adapt (Schlossberg, 1981:5). According to Schlossberg (1981:6), the outcome of a transition is not always positive but neither is it always negative. She further points out that often the outcome of the transition has both positive and negative aspects for some individuals.

The concept 'adaptation to transition' is defined by Schlossberg (1981:7) as a process during which an individual moves from being totally preoccupied with the transition to integrating the transition into his or her life. Thus, ease of adaptation to transitions depends on one's perceived and or actual balance of resources to deficits in terms of the transition itself, the pre- and post-environments and the individual's sense of competency, well-being and health. The model also assesses the ratio of the resources to deficits allowing for changes in the ratio as the situation changes.

The factors affecting adaptation as highlighted above are presented below, as explained by Schlossberg (1981:8-15).

- **Characteristics of the transition** – most transitions can be described by using a set of variables consisting of role change, affect, source, timing, onset, duration and degree of stress, respectively, entailing the following:
  - *Role change* - it might be a 'gain or loss'. According to Schlossberg (1981:8), regardless of whether a transition involves a role gain or loss, it is accompanied by some degree of stress.
  - *Affect* – this may be 'positive or negative'. According to the theory, some kinds of changes generate feelings of pleasure, whilst other changes are accompanied by painful feelings. However, it seems most transitions probably have elements of both the positive and negative affect (Schlossberg, 1981:8).
  - *Source* – transitions may result as a result of internal or external sources. Some changes come about as the result of a deliberate decision on the part of the individual, whereas some are forced upon

the individual by other people or circumstances. Schlossberg (1981:9) highlights that "it is hypothesised that individuals adapt more easily to transitions in which the source is internal".

o *Timing* - some transitions are on time whilst others are off time. Schlossberg (1981:9) states that there exists a socially prescribed timetable for the ordering of major life events and most adults have built-in social clocks by which they judge whether they are on time or off time with respect to life events. However, Schlossberg (1981:9) also states that not all transitions are scheduled.

o *Onset* - refers to whether it is gradual or sudden. According to the model, many of life's transitions are expected either because they are general, even inevitable, or because they are the result of deliberate decisions. Their onset may be said to be gradual. Schlossberg (1981:9) emphasises that, "transitions whose onset is gradual are usually easier to adapt to because the individual can prepare for them." However, "when a change occurs suddenly and unexpectedly no such preparation or rehearsal is possible" (Schlossberg, 1981:9). She further argues that these events are more difficult to cope with.

o *Duration of the transition* – it may be permanent, temporary or uncertain. The expected duration of the transition also determines the ease or difficulty of adapting to change. Thus a change that is regarded as permanent will be perceived differently from one that is viewed as a temporary state.

o *Degree of stress* - this is to some extent dependent on the characteristics already described. According to the model, any change or transition, whether it represents a gain or a loss, whether it is predominantly positive or negative in affect, causes some stress. Furthermore, the stressfulness of a particular event depends not so much on the event itself, as on the balance between a person's deficits and resources at the time the event occurs. Schlossberg (1981:10) adds that "the role of interpersonal support systems in cushioning the impact of stress is important."

- **Characteristics of pre-transition and post-transition environments**

  According to this model, the environment should be understood in its broadest sense. That is interpersonal support system, institutional support and physical setting, comprised of the following:

  - *Interpersonal support* – as has been argued, research evidence indicates that interpersonal support is important, even essential, to successful adaptation (Schlossberg, 1981:10). According to the transition model, there are two intimate relationships, the family unit and the network of friends. Hill (in Schlossberg, 1981:11) states that in a family unit the bonds of coherence and unity running through family life, of which common interests, affection and sense of economic interdependence are perhaps the most prominent. The theory also highlights that intimate relationships are an important resource during stressful transitions. Also, the individual's network of friends is an important social support system.

  - Institutional supports - these include occupational organisations, religious institutions, political groups, social welfare or other community support groups and various others (Lipman-Blumen cited in Schlossberg, 1981:11).

  - Physical setting - may be climate and weather, urban or rural location, neighbourhood living arrangement and workplace. These may contribute to stress, a sense of well-being or general outlook and thus may play a role in adaptation to transition.

- **Characteristics of the individual**

  The transition model highlights that various individual characteristics determine how an individual will adapt to a transition. The characteristics of the individual include psycho-social competence, sex (and sex role identification), age (and life stages), state of health, race-ethnicity, socio-economic status, value orientation and previous experience with a transition of a similar nature respectively, entailing the following:

  - Psycho-social competence – According to Schlossberg (1981:12) that various personality variables and behaviour mechanisms have been

proposed to explain an individual's success or failure in adapting to transition and one can easily get lost in a welter of terms and constructs. A three-faceted personality configuration of competent self is presented by Tyler (cited in Schlossberg, 1981:12), involving -

- self-attitudes – under the rubric of self-attitudes are included a moderately favourable self-evaluation, an internal locus control, the belief that one's actions have some causal relation to one's life) and a sense of responsibility;

- world attitudes - optimism and moderate trust as the basis for developing a pattern of constructive interaction with the world. Optimism can be termed hope, which other researchers see as a key factor in adaptation. It is also the feeling that what is desired is also possible which is an important psycho-social resource connected with goal-directed striving or simply with maintenance of the status quo (Tyler cited in Schlossberg, 1981:12); and

- behavioural attitudes - the competent self, an active coping orientation, high initiative, realistic goal setting, substantial planning, forbearance and effort in the service of attaining goals and a capacity for enjoying success, suffering failure and building from both. According to Schlossberg (1981:12), behavioural attitudes such as successful transition with the environment, the securing of adequate information about the environment and the maintenance of satisfactory internal conditions both for action and for processing information help in adaptation.

o Sex (and sex role identification) – As argued by Schlossberg (1981:13), the relationship between sex and adaptation to transition is complex. Males and females are socialised to different attitudes and behaviours and the extent to which the individual man or woman internalises these norms may significantly influence his or her ability to adapt.

o Age (and life stage) - According to Lowenthall and Chiriboga (in Schlossberg, 1981:13) the young may thrive better on stress than on lack of it. It has been argued that middle age is a period of high risk for both sexes, in that they are more likely to experience negative rather

than positive stresses and to be overwhelmed by them. Thus it seems to portray that young people are able to adjust well in transition.

o State of health – As stated by Schlossberg (1981:14) "the individual's state of health not only affects his or her ability to adapt to transition but may itself be a source of stress".

o Race/ ethnicity – According to Schlossberg (1981:14) the effects of the individual's racial/ ethnic background on his or her ability to adapt are probably mediated through other factors such as value orientation and cultural norms. On the other hand, one's racial/ ethnic background may be an isolating factor, making adaptation more difficult.

o Socio-economic status (measured by income, education and occupation) - Research found that high status (as measured by education in men and socio-economic background in women) was related to a greater exposure to stress probably because high status is associated with a more varied lifestyle (Lowenthall & Chiriboga, cited in Schlossberg, 1981:14). In addition, Hill (in Schlossberg, 1981:14) states that socio-economic status makes a difference to the amount of stress associated with different transitions. Thus, lower income families may be rendered more desperate by financial difficulties than middle income families, because lower income families may not only be restricted in income but also in health, energy, space and ideas for coping with stress. Therefore, it means that high socio-economic status people may adjust more easily in transitions, since they would have had other transitions in their lives before.

o Value orientation - An individual's basic values and beliefs are a factor in his or her ability to adapt to transitions. Values may be valuable or dysfunctional, dependent on the ease with which they can be translated into goals and behaviour and successfully pursued (Thurnher in Schlossberg, 1981:15). The Transition Model highlights that religious beliefs are an obvious example of a value orientation that is often said to sustain people through the trials of life. Therefore, beyond the comforts of religion, strong commitment to an ideology or cause may be a necessity in some situations.

o Previous experience with a transition of a similar nature - It is noted that experts agree that the individual who has successfully weathered a transition in the past will probably be successful in adapting to another transition of a similar nature (Schlossberg, 1981:15). The author also highlights that past experience to some extent determines a person's mental set, and if that past experience was unfavourable, then the mental set may become something of a self-confirming prophecy (Schlossberg, 1981:15).

Four Ss systems are identified for coping with transitions (Schlossberg, 2011:160-161). These are situation, self, supports and strategies and are described by Schlossberg as follows:

- Situation - refers to the person's situation at the time of the transition.
- Self - refers to the person's inner strength for coping with the situation. Thus the power of optimism cannot be underestimated. She also gave an illustration that, "attitude cannot buy groceries, but it can certainly make a difference in the quality of survival."
- Supports - the support available at the time of the transition is critical to one's sense of well-being. Schlossberg (2011:160) argues that professional associations can clearly be a source of support.
- Strategies - Coping strategies are classified as those that try to change the situation (for example, brainstorming, legal action), those that try to reframe the situation (for example, trying to see opportunities that might occur from not getting promotion) and those that help reduce stress (for example, meditation and exercise) (Pearlin & Schooler, cited by Schlossberg, 2011:161). Schlossberg (2011:161) highlights that there is no single magical coping strategy. Rather, the person who flexibly uses lots of strategies will be better able to cope.

Schlossberg's Transition Process Model of analysing human adaptation to transitions, as explained in this section, is applied in Chapters 3 and 4 of this report as part of the literature control on which the findings of the research as well as the suggested recommendations are based.

1.3   Research question

According to Maxwell (2005:67), the function of the research question is to explain specifically what the study will attempt to learn or understand. In other words, it is the central question which the researcher wants to answer by undertaking the research project (Boeije, 2010:24). It helps to focus the study and gives guidance on how to conduct it. Engel and Schutt (2010:24) note that a research question may emerge from the researcher's own experiences as well as querying the effectiveness of interventions. According to Boeije (2010:24), research questions in qualitative research often begin with words such as 'what', 'who' or 'how'.

Against this background and flowing from the title of this research report, the research question for this study was as follows:

> *What are the experiences and challenges faced by economic migrants from Zimbabwe whilst relocating to and settling in South Africa from a social work perspective?*

1.4   Research goal and objectives

Under this sub-heading, the research goals and objectives of this research study are presented. Whilst the research question is a reformulation of the title into a question, the research goal flows from the research question. The research goal is regarded as being the 'dream' that one wants to achieve with the research topic and it comprises the broader and more abstract information of the ends towards which the endeavour of the study is directed (Fouché & de Vos, 2011:94). The goal is the reason for one doing the research and what one wants to get from the research. It is argued that a truth goal is aimed at increasing one's general knowledge in a particular area (Primer, 1990:61). Therefore, the goal of the proposed study was formulated as follows:

> *To gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences, challenges and personal situations of Zimbabwean economic migrants immigrating to and settling in South Africa.*

The research objectives, according to Fouché and de Vos (2011:94), are the measurable steps taken systematically and realistically in the field, achievable within the research period, to realise the dream or goal. The research objectives are the precise description of that which needs to be undertaken to achieve the research goal (Babbie, 2007:114). Therefore, an objective is an aim or purpose of the plan. In order to realise the goal of the study, the following research objectives were formulated:

- To obtain a sample of Zimbabwean economic migrants who came to South Africa.

- To obtain data by conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews with participants, facilitated by open-ended questions contained in an interview guide.

- To explore the experiences and challenges the economic migrants encountered whilst immigrating to and adjusting in South Africa.

- To transcribe, sift, sort and analyse the data obtained according to the eight steps of data analysis constructed by Tesch (in Creswell, 2009:186).

- To describe the experiences and challenges Zimbabwean economic migrants faced *en route* to and settling in South Africa.

- To interpret and analyse the data and conduct a literature control in order to verify the data and draw parallels between the data and the theory.

- To report, draw conclusions and make recommendations about the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa.

1.5   Research methodology

In expounding the methodology applied in this research, this section explains the research approach applied, the research design followed and the research method used in the study.

1.5.1   Research approach

The qualitative research approach was used in this study. Qualitative research is defined as the research which attempts to increase our understanding of why things are the way they are in our social world and why people act in the ways they do

(Hancock, 2002:1). Qualitative research has been defined as a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human process (Creswell, 2009:4). Furthermore, the purpose of qualitative research is to describe and understand social phenomena in terms of the meaning the people bring to them (Boeije, 2010:11). Therefore, "Qualitative research is concerned with finding the answers to questions which begin with why? how? in what way?" (Hancock, 2002:2). The research questions are studied through flexible methods enabling contact with the people involved to the extent necessary to grasp what is going on in the field. By applying the qualitative research approach as defined above in the context of this research, the researcher explored the experiences and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in the process of relocating and adjusting to living in South Africa, in order to develop an understanding of it.

According to Creswell (2009:175-176), supplemented with the findings of other researchers as indicated, some of the characteristics of the qualitative approach are as follows:

- Qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the natural setting at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study. Consequently, this study was done in the province of Gauteng in South Africa with Zimbabwean economic migrants residing within the boundaries of the Tshwane Metro.

- The qualitative researcher is the key instrument in the process of data collection, collecting all the data personally. Qualitative researchers typically gather multiple forms of data by means of interviews and observations. The researcher then reviews all the data, makes sense of it and organises it into categories or themes that cut across all the data sources. In this research, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with participants based on an interview guide, to collect the necessary data. The data obtained from all participants were analysed and are presented in this research report.

- In qualitative research an inductive process of data analysis is followed. Qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories and themes from the bottom up, by organising the data into increasingly more abstract units of information. This inductive process illustrates working back and forth

between the themes and data base until the researcher has established complete themes. In this study the researcher generated meaning from what was said in the face-to-face interviews through the process of analysing and coding the data collected.

- Qualitative researchers are interested in participants' meanings. During the entire qualitative research process, the researcher keeps focus on learning the meaning that participants hold about the problem or issue investigated. The focus is not on the meaning that the researcher brings to the research or that writers express in the literature about the topic being investigated. In this research study, the researcher was interested in the meaning attached to experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa. Qualitative research seeks to explain the meaning of social phenomena through exploring the ways in which individuals understand their social worlds (Whittaker, 1999:6). Therefore, in this research project, participants were allowed to talk about their social reality, express their opinions on what they think, show their emotions and demonstrate what they do.

- Qualitative research is explorative and descriptive in nature (Kalof, Dan & Dietz, 2008:80). The participants were allowed to describe their experiences and challenges as well as giving their perspectives about being an economic migrant in South Africa. Qualitative research methods live up to this because of their flexible approach. In qualitative research, data collection and analysis can be continually adjusted to emerging data. Furthermore, qualitative research is descriptive in that the methods offer the opportunity for participants to describe the subject of the study in their own words and to do so largely on their conditions.

- The general goal of qualitative research is to enhance our general knowledge about complex events and processes (Mark, 1996:214). The researcher achieved this through in-depth interviews using a semi-structured interview guide consisting of open ended questions, consequently enabling participants to describe their individual perspectives of their experiences and challenges. Qualitative research is also used to provide 'rich' and detailed data leading to focused descriptions of a given phenomenon in the social

world. This is because the information gained is not limited to preconceived questions and categories.

- According to Boeije (2010:32), qualitative methods hold the promise to yield findings that reflect the participants' perspectives and that fit the substantive field. Consequently, it is expected that findings have relevance for the field and can easily be transformed into interventions for practitioners. Results relevant to the target group might encourage the adoption of new policy measures. Therefore, in this study of Zimbabwean economic migrants, conclusions and recommendations are made in line with the findings from the field.

- Qualitative research is also used when researchers choose to examine other people's experiences and emotions. It is assumed that uncommon topics can be more easily captured in this type of research that leaves much of the control to the participants, although within well-defined limits (Boeije, 2010:32). In this study, the researcher asked the participants to give accounts of their experiences and challenges in the process of relocating and settling in South Africa. Furthermore, their feelings and families' feelings about their relocation were also explored during the face-to-face interviews.

In view of the afore-mentioned characteristics and uses of qualitative research, the researcher concluded that this approach was suitable to realise the objectives of this study and to achieve its goal. The researcher's investigation indicated that this topic of study is relatively new and unexplored. Therefore, the qualitative research approach was employed to obtain rich, descriptive data that could be interpreted through the identification and coding of themes and categories leading to findings that can contribute to theoretical knowledge and practical use. Furthermore, the qualitative approach was applied because the primary focus of the research was aimed at understanding individuals' own accounts of their perceptions, feelings, experiences and the meanings they attach to being economic migrants in South Africa.

According to Creswell (2009:175), the research process for qualitative researchers is emergent. This means that the initial plan for research cannot be tightly prescribed and all the phases of the process may change or shift after the researcher enters the field and begins to collect the data. For example, questions may change, the forms

of data collection may shift and the individuals and sites visited may be modified. Thus, the qualitative approach was suitable since for this research project and the researcher could easily change and adapt the questions depending on the participant's response to the previously asked question.

1.5.2   Research design

Having reached clarity on which research approach to follow, a decision involving which research design should be used to study the topic, had to be made. According to Creswell (2009:3), informing this decision should be the world-view assumptions the researcher brings to the study, procedures of inquiry (called strategies) and specific methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation. The selection of the research design is also based on the nature of the research problem, the researcher's personal experiences and audiences for the study (Creswell, 2009:3). In addition, a research design is a plan that includes every aspect of a proposed research study from the conceptualisation of the problem to the dissemination of the research findings (Grinnell, 2001:547). In bearing the above in mind, the researcher compiled the plan that follows in the form of the research design to direct the execution of this research.

The researcher intended to explore and understand the personal experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa. Therefore, within the qualitative approach a phenomenological, explorative, descriptive and contextual research design or strategy entailing the following was employed:

- A **phenomenological research design** focuses on how life is experienced first-hand by those involved. Phenomenological research is defined by Creswell (2009:13) as "a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher identifies the essence of human experiences about a phenomenon as described by the participants .Understanding the lived experiences marks phenomenology as a philosophy as well as a method, and the procedure involves studying a small number of subjects through extensive and prolonged engagement to develop patterns and relationships of meaning." A phenomenological analysis is described as an "approach to qualitative analysis which emphasises the personal, lived experience" of the participant (Bless, Higson-

Smith & Sithole, 2013:394). Therefore, this research is focused on the participants' personal experience of being an economic migrant in South Africa. The researcher endeavoured to understand economic migration from the point of view of those who are economic migrants and describe how they see things, how they understand and experience the situation as well as how they interpret events.

- **Exploratory designs** are used in research topics about which very little information is available. The focus is on gaining insights and familiarity for later investigation or undertaken when research problems are in a preliminary stage of investigation (University of Southern California, [sa]). Exploratory studies are responsive to new concerns or to areas that have not been subjected to research; they tend to be more tentative and small scale where the samples drawn are concerned. Hence it provides ideas for further areas of inquiry (Royse, 1999:4). The researcher therefore included the explorative strategy of inquiry as part of the design as she wanted to explore and gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in immigrating to South Africa and their day-to-day living in South Africa.

- **Descriptive designs** refer to "Social research with the primary aim of describing (rather than explaining) a particular phenomenon" (Bless et al, 2013:390). A descriptive design helps provide answers to the questions who, what, when, where and how associated with a particular research problem. Therefore, it is used to obtain information concerning the current status of the phenomena being studied and describes "what exists" with respect to conditions in a situation (University of Southern California, [sa]). In this research, the researcher examined and described the experiences of the economic migrants in detail.

- **Contextual research** studies focus on specific events in "naturalistic settings". Naturalistic settings are defined as uncontrollable real-life situations sometimes referred to as field settings (Burns & Grove. 2003:32). Contextual studies seek to avoid the separation of participants from the larger context to which they are related (postulates that (Schurink, 1998:281). A contextual design was employed in this study to enable the

researcher to discover and comprehend how the context of the participants' lives influenced their experiences, perceptions and behaviour.

1.5.3   Research method

In describing the research method applied in this research, the focus falls on the research population, sampling and sampling techniques, method of data collection, piloting, method of data analysis and data verification.

1.5.3.1   Population, sampling and sampling techniques

A research population is "that group (usually of people) about whom the researcher wants to draw conclusions" (Babbie, 2004:110; 2014:119) or "the complete set of events, people or things to which the research findings are to be applied" (Bless et al, 2013:394). The research population of this study was defined as all Zimbabweans living and residing in the municipal boundaries of the Tshwane Metro in Gauteng, who came to South Africa because of economic reasons. However, due to time and money constraints the whole population could not be involved in the study and a sample was drawn from the population (Bless et al, 2013:162). A sample consists of cases (units or elements) that will be examined, and are selected from a defined research population (Boeije 2010:34). Whittaker (1999:3) concurs by stating that "sampling refers to the process of selecting the participants that will be involved in your study". The sample is chosen from the total possible data sources known as the research population. It has been argued that, in qualitative research, the sample is intentionally selected according to the needs of the study, commonly referred to as 'purposive sampling' or 'purposeful selection' (Boeije, 2010:34). According to Babbie (2014:200), purposive or judgmental sampling refers to "A type of nonprobability sampling in which the units to be observed are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgment about which ones will be the most useful or representative." In other words, the cases are specifically selected because they can teach a lot about the issues that are of importance to the research. Therefore, the purposive sampling technique as a subset of purposive sampling was employed by the researcher to select the participants.

In practical terms, participants were identified by means of the snowball sampling technique. The researcher identified a Zimbabwean economic migrant in Tshwane

and requested him to participate in the study. He agreed to be interviewed and after the interview the researcher asked this person to refer and recommend her to others who share the same characteristics. This sampling technique is known as snowball sampling or networking, which means that the initial number of participants is asked for names of others who are subsequently approached (Boeije, 2010). Babbie (2014:200) defines it as "A nonprobability sampling method, often employed in field research, whereby each person interviewed may be asked to suggest additional people for interviewing."

To meet the criteria and be part of the sample for this research, participants had to be -

- economic migrants from Zimbabwe, as defined in Chapter 1 (see 1.1 and 1.7). who were Shona or English speaking;

- residing in the municipal boundaries of Tshwane Metro for at least two years; and

- willing and available to participate in the research project.

In qualitative research, a specific sample size cannot be determined at the outset of the study and the number of participants to be included in the sample is only known once the data have reached a point of 'saturation'. This is when no significantly new data are produced and themes have been exhausted (Whittaker, 1999:35). Qualitative research is not concerned with representative samples in the statistical sense. However, "the researcher must be able to show that enough data has been collected to reflect the full range and depth of the topic of the research. This is achieved by the researcher demonstrating that the addition of further data is adding virtually no new information to what has already been learnt so far. When this occurs the researcher has some evidence for believing the topic has been exhausted" (Bless et al, 2013:239). Therefore, in this study, the researcher followed the principle of data saturation to determine the sample size applicable to qualitative research, as the researcher could not determine the size beforehand. After applying the principle of data saturation, the sample consisted of nine participants.

1.5.3.2   Preparation for and method of data collection

Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information on variables of interests, in an established systematic fashion that enables one to answer stated

research questions and evaluate outcomes (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, ([sa]). The researcher contacted possible participants telephonically after obtaining their particulars from other Zimbabwean economic migrants who she interviewed. She introduced herself and explained that she was referred to them by a previous participant. In preparing prospective participants for the interviews, the purpose of the call was briefly explained and appointments with each and every prospective participant were made. If they agreed, they were requested to meet at a time and place convenient to them. Appointments were set accordingly. On the day of the meeting the researcher introduced herself and the area or topic under study. The researcher handed the introductory letter (Addendum A) and the consent form to each prospective participant (Addendum B) and explained the contents to each and every prospective participant. A request to participate was made to each approached prospective participant and the role of the ethical issues to be applied, were clarified. Each prospective participant was given a copy of the consent form to sign once they had decided to voluntarily participate in the research. The researcher also asked the prospective participants to inform the researcher about their decision to participate in the study. Once participants indicated their willingness to participate, the researcher went and collected the signed consent form. When collecting the forms, the researcher took the opportunity to schedule a follow up appointment for the actual research interview. The dates and times of the interviews were set when it was most convenient for the participants.

In summary, the researcher started the process of data collection by making physical contact with the prospective participants who fitted in the sample. The aim of making the first contact was to ask the prospective participants to take part in the research study. The criteria for including them in the study were explained in detail; the researcher explained to them that their participation was voluntary and that it was within their rights decide not to participate. The participants were informed beforehand that the semi-structured interviews would be conducted in English and their permission was obtained for the interview to be recorded.

Semi-structured interviews, with the aid of a data collection instrument in the form of an interview guide (Addendum C), were employed to collect the data (Bless et al, 2013:21). Semi-structured interviews are described as "the classic structure for

qualitative researching in social sciences" (Whittaker, 1999:34). Furthermore, Milena, Dainora and Alin (2012:1279) point out that "there are various types of instruments used to collect data for qualitative research. Focus groups and in-depth interviews are the most utilised instruments that researchers are using in collecting their data" According to Donalek (2005:124), the interview is by far the most common method of qualitative data collection. In this case, the researcher develops a list of questions (the interview guide) and conducts the interviews, but there is flexibility during the interviews. In a semi-structured interview "the research may follow the standard questions with one or more individually tailored questions to get clarification or probe a person's reasoning" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:184). In this research, the researcher drafted a list of open ended questions comprising the interview guide, beforehand but the interviews were not strictly conducted according to the interview guide as the questions were adapted according to the flow of the interview. Thus, the method selected allowed the researcher and the participants to be flexible in obtaining the necessary information.

According to Maso (in Boeije, 2010:61) "an interview is a conversation in which one person is the interviewer restricts oneself to posing questions concerning the behaviours, ideas, attitudes, experiences, perspectives and so on with regard to the social phenomena, to one or more others, the participants or interviewees who mainly limit themselves to providing answers to these questions." Conducting the interviews is believed to be a reciprocal relationship and the researcher would be the main instrument in the process of collecting the data (Boeije, 2010:61). Conducting semi-structured interviews helps the researcher to see the 'slice' of the social world from the informants' perspective and the interviewer will be merely facilitating the process (Boeije, 2010:61). In this light, the interviews gave the researcher the opportunity to learn from the Zimbabweans' perspectives, experiences and language how being an economic migrant in South Africa feels like and what it entails. Participants were given the opportunity to share their stories, pass on their knowledge, and provide their own contribution to the topic. All the interviews were recorded with the participants' consent.

Several types of questions with different functions, as highlighted by Whittaker (1999:38), were employed in the study. These questions included open-ended

questions that allowed the participants to respond to the questions in whatever way they wished, as detailed or complex, in as long or as short a form as they felt was appropriate, with no restrictions, guidelines or suggestions for solutions given (Bless et al, 2013:209). Introductory questions were asked to open up the discussion and to encourage participants to respond to the research topic in an open way. The fact that these opening questions may lead to rich descriptive accounts that can be followed up as the interview proceeds, was utilised during the interviews. Follow up, specifying and probing questions, were asked to encourage the participants to expand and elaborate on their answers. The researcher identified particular responses that needed clarification and they enabled her to obtain more precise accounts. Silences in the interviews were used by the researcher as a way of giving participants time to think through their responses. Lastly, interpreting questions were also used to check understanding of responses and clarifying what they meant. Some interviews were conducted at the participants' offices and some at their homes.

At the beginning of the interview, all participants' biographical/demographic information was obtained by noting their gender and through asking the following questions:

- How old are you?
- What is your main language?
- Which province do you come from in Zimbabwe?
- What is the highest grade that you passed at school?
- Did you obtain or study for any further qualification after leaving school?
- What is your marital status?
- Do you have any children? If "yes", how many? What is their gender? How old are they?
- How long have you been living in South Africa?

The data for this research were collected by means of an interview guide used in the discussions with participants (Addendum C). The following open-ended guiding questions relating to the research topic were listed in the interview guide for discussion:

- What made you decide to leave Zimbabwe and relocate to South Africa?
- What were your and your family's feelings about this decision?
- What were your and your family's expectations when relocating to South Africa?
- How did you come to South Africa?
- What were your experiences and challenges during the process of moving to South Africa?
- With which South African government officials did you have to deal with during your process of migrating to and settling down in South Africa? Could you tell me your experience and challenges with these officials whilst in South Africa?
- How have you adjusted and settled in South Africa?
- What has been your experience and have you faced any peculiar challenges in the process?
- What have been your experiences in finding employment since you came to South Africa?
- What were your experiences and challenges whilst travelling in and out of South Africa?
- Tell me about your family situation.
  - Are you here with your family? If not, how are you managing your marital and family relationships?
  - What was the effect of your relocation to South Africa on your marital and family relationships?
- Please tell me about your socialisation with the people around you since being in South .Africa and whether there are any differences compared to your social life in Zimbabwe.
- Describe and specify whether you are able to access any social services such as health care, education, and housing since you came to South Africa.
- In coming to South Africa and whilst settling down to life here, did you experience any personal or social problems requiring professional assistance or what professional assistance could have helped you? If so, please describe.

- Did you receive any assistance from social workers or from any department of social services or welfare organisation? If so, describe it.
- Please describe your understanding of the nature of social work assistance and the work of a social worker in general.
- How do you think social workers could help Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa?

All interviews with participants were recorded and the researcher jotted down notes during the interviews where necessary. Furthermore, eye contact with the interviewees was maintained most of the time. The following interviewing techniques highlighted by many scholars, were employed by the researcher (Boeije, 2010; Whittaker, 1999; Creswell, 2009). Firstly, the researcher ensured that there was rapport with interviewees. This enabled the researcher and the interviewees to have a genuine interest in asking, answering and listening during the interviews. Thus, the more open the interviews were, the more the interviewee could determine the contents and flow of the discussion. The researcher also probed for more information on most questions. This was achieved through verbal or non-verbal behaviour of the interviewer when the interviewee's reply to the question was not clear, relevant or complete. In addition, the researcher probed by posing further questions, keeping silent or giving non-specified encouragement such as 'uhmm', 'yes' and 'yeah'. The questions were posed in simple and understandable language. Types of questions mentioned earlier were also employed as a technique to ensure the smooth flowing of the interviews.

1.5.3.3   Piloting

A pilot study is a "small study conducted prior to a larger piece of research to determine whether the methodology, sampling, instruments and analysis are adequate and appropriate" (Bless et al, 2013:394), developing "the intended action and thereby produce greater impact" (Bless et al, 2013:109). A pilot study is also defined as the "process whereby the research design for the prospective survey is tested" (New Dictionary of Social Work, (1995, sv "pilot study"). It is regarded as a small trial run of all the aspects planned for use in the main inquiry (Strydom, 2005:206). Whilst no full scale pilot study was conducted, the researcher did a pilot

test with three participants in order to discover any practical challenges in carrying out the research study using the qualitative approach. These participants did not form part of the sample from which the data required for the research were collected. In pilot testing the interview guide to be used in the study, the researcher tested the feasibility of the interview guide to determine whether the relevant data could be obtained from the participants (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:110; Royse in Strydom & Delport, 2011a:384) by testing the nature of the questions in the interview guide and making the necessary modifications to these questions in order to ensure quality interviewing (Strydom & Delport, 2011:385). This also assisted in establishing relationships with participants (Monette et al in Strydom & Delport, 2011a:385); estimating the time and possible cost involved in collecting the data; pre-empting any problems that may arise whilst conducting the interviews (Denzin & Lincoln in Strydom & Delport, 2011a:385); and testing the researcher's skills in conducting the interviews and collecting the required data. Conducting the pilot test by bearing the above mentioned factors in mind, enabled the researcher to collect the necessary data to gain practical knowledge of and insight into the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in relocating and settling in South Africa.

1.5.3.4   Method of data analysis

Once data are collected in a research project, it must be organised and checked for accuracy and completeness – it must be analysed (Bless et al, 2013:394). According to Jorgesen (in Boeije, 2010:76), "data analysis is a process of breaking up, separating or disassembling of the research materials into pieces, parts, elements, or units. With facts broken down into manageable pieces, the researcher sets and sifts them searching for types, classes, sequences, processes, patterns on wholes. The main aim of the process is said to be to assemble and reconstruct the data in a meaningful or comprehensive fashion." Babbie (2014:403) summarises the concept qualitative analysis by describing it as follows: "The non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations, for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships." The researcher prepared to undertake data analysis by transcribing the digitally recorded face-to-face interviews. Through the process of data analysis, the researcher gained an in-depth understanding of the experiences

and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating and settling in South Africa.

Many different forms or strategies of qualitative data analysis exist (Bless et al, 2013:338) and some computer data-based programmes exist that are especially suited to organise and interpret qualitative data (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:152). However, the following general list was compiled of "themes which are central to all qualitative research and underpin the way qualitative analysis is conducted" (Bless et al, 2013:340), describing that qualitative analysis aims to -

- describe and understand participants' lived experience;
- examine the way participants construct personal meaning in their lives;
- describe the range and diversity of participants' experience;
- amplify participants' voices; and
- study people in their natural context.

In taking this list into consideration, the data obtained in this study were analysed by the researcher according to the eight steps proposed by Tesch (in Creswell, 2009:186). The steps were executed by the researcher through -

- reading all the transcripts to get a sense of the whole and making some notes where necessary;
- picking the one document or interview transcript on top of the pile and reading it, asking herself questions about what it is about and writing thoughts in the margin;
- repeating step two whilst making a list of all topics and clustering similar topics together and putting them into columns arrayed as 'major topics', 'unique topics' and 'leftovers';
- looking at the data again with the list at hand, but this time abbreviating each topic as a code and writing it next to the appropriate segments of the text;
- refining and organising the topics, turning them into themes and then finalising the themes by grouping related topics together and reducing the list;
- alphabetising the codes after finalising them;

- assembling data material belonging to each theme in one place and preliminarily analysing them; and

- recoding the data where necessary.

The details and application of the eight steps are described in Chapter 2 (paragraph 2.5). An independent coder also analysed the data from the transcribed interviews. The process of data analysis produced themes, sub-themes, categories and sub-categories which were accepted by the researcher and her supervisor.

1.5.3.5   Data verification

Data verification relates to the validity and reliability of the research. Validity is "The degree to which a study actually measures what it purports to measure" (Bless et al, 2013:395). Gibbs (cited in Creswell, 2009:190) adds that "Qualitative validity means that the researcher checks for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures." Reliability, in turn, refers to "An estimate of the accuracy and internal consistency of a measurement instrument" (Bless et al, 2013:394), in the case of this research study, the interview guide used in interviewing the participants. Gibbs (in Creswell, 2009:190) augments that "qualitative reliability indicates that the researcher's approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects." Several reliability procedures are suggested, including the checking of transcripts to ensure that they do not contain certain obvious mistakes made during transcription, and ensuring that no drift in the definitions of codes, or a shift in the meaning of the codes occurred during the process of coding (Gibbs in Creswell, 2009:190).

The researcher used Guba's classic model of trustworthiness to show trustworthiness of the findings of this research study. Guba (in Krefting, 1991:215-221) suggests a model suitable to ensure the trustworthiness of data in qualitative research. The model highlights four components namely, truth value (credibility), applicability (transferability), consistency (dependability) and neutrality (confirmability) that display the trustworthiness of qualitative data, each entailing the following:

Truth-value (credibility) – The "determination of a given inquiry's 'truth value' is based on the extent to which it establishes how things really are and really work: that is, assessment of its internal validity. (Lincoln & Guba in Ryan-Nicholls & Will, 2009:76). It is emphasised that credibility refers to the authenticity of the data, meaning that the data are a true reflection of the participants' experience under study (Vivar, McQueen, Whyte & Canga Armayor, 2007:68). According to Sandelowski (cited in Krefting, 1991:215) qualitative study is credible when it presents such accurate descriptions or interpretation of human experience that people who also share that experience would immediately recognise the descriptions.

Applicability (transferability) - refers to the degree to which the findings can be applied to other contexts and settings or with other groups (Guba in Krefting, 1991:215). Transferability is concerned with the generalisation of the study, denoting the extent to which the data are relevant to a number of contexts (Robson cited in Vivar et al, 2007:68). Transferability can be guaranteed by recruiting information from a heterogeneous sample (participants with different characteristics such as sex, age, and marital status) (Vivar et al, 2007:68).

Consistency (dependability) - refers to whether the findings would be consistent if the inquiry were replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context (Guba in Krefting, 1991:215). To addres the issue of dependability or consistency more directly, the processes within the study have to be reported in detail, to enable a future researcher to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results Shenton, 2004:71).

Neutrality (confirmability) - According to the model, neutrality refers to the degree to which the findings are a function solely of the informants and conditions of the research and not of other biases, motivations and perspectives (Guba cited in Krefting, 1991:216). It has been argued by Robson in Vivar et al (2007:68) that confirmability concerns the concept of objectivity of the data.

The application of Guba's model (cited in Krefting, 1991:215-221) to this study is presented in Chapter 2 (see section 2.6).

1.6   Ethical considerations

Ethics are general agreements that researchers share about what is proper and improper in the conduct of scientific inquiry (Babbie, 2004:63, 129). Ethics in a research context is defined as follows: "Ethics is a set of moral principles which is suggested by an individual or group, is subsequently widely accepted, and which offers rules and behavioural expectations about the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents, employers, sponsors, other researchers, assistants and students" (Strydom, 2011:114). In this regard, Israel and Hay (in Creswell, 2009:87) explain that researchers need to protect their research participants, develop trust with them, promote integrity of the research and guard against misconduct and impropriety that might reflect on their organisation or institutions and cope with new challenges.

Most ethical issues in research, fall into one of four categories, namely protection from harm, informed consent, right to privacy and honesty with professional colleagues (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:101). The researcher, in agreement with the above submissions, found the ethical principles informed consent; anonymity and confidentiality; debriefing; adhering to guidelines for dealing with research data and record management; and honesty with professional colleagues relevant and applied them whilst conducting the study:

- **Informed consent**

  Informed consent is defined as the obligation to outline fully the nature of the data collection and the purpose for which the data will be used to the people or community being studied, in a style and language that they can understand (Boeije, 2010:450). In adding to this, Babbie (2014:66) defined informed consent as "A norm in which subjects base their voluntary participation in research projects on a full understanding of the possible risks involved." In obtaining informed consent it is intended to ensure that the participants are placed in a position where they can decide, with full knowledge of the risks and benefits of the study, whether and how to participate. The researcher gave the participants the introductory letter and the informed consent form which provided information about the purpose of

the study (see Addenda A and B). The intention was to make sure that participants were placed in a situation where they could freely decide to participate without coercion. The consent form also highlighted information on who to contact if later the participants had questions or concerns about the study or if they felt they had been harmed. Furthermore, procedures that would be used by the researcher to ensure that their participation and responses would be kept confidential were fully explored beforehand.

- **Anonymity and confidentiality**

  Anonymity and confidentiality concern data (records, field notes, digital recordings of interviews, transcripts and the like) and an agreement as to how the data will be handled in the research in order to ensure privacy (Boeije, 2010:45). Although closely related, the two concepts anonymity and confidentiality are not synonyms. According to Babbie (2014:68), "Anonymity is guaranteed in a research project when neither the researchers nor the readers of the findings can identify a given response with a given respondent." With reference to confidentiality, the same author states that "A research project guarantees confidentiality when the researcher can identify a given person's responses but promises not to do so publicly" (Babbie, 2014:68). In this research study, anonymity and confidentiality were dealt with in the consent form statement (Addendum B) which clarified what would be done with the information the participants conveyed to the researcher. The researcher also made sure that identities of participants would remain confidential by using pseudonyms when referring to participants in the transcripts of interviews and all documentation relating to the research, instead of their real names. All research data were kept under lock and key and will later be destroyed.

- **Debriefing**

  According to Babbie (2014:70), debriefing takes place when participants are interviewed to learn about their experience of participation in the research project and to inform them of any unrevealed purpose, and it is especially important if there is a possibility that they have been damaged by

participating. Debriefing entails interviews to discover and deal with any problems generated by the research experience so that those problems can be corrected (Babbie, 2004:68). The researcher dealt with this by explaining it in the letter requesting economic migrant's participation in the research study (Addendum A). After every interview, the researcher discussed the participants' feelings about the project in order to find out if the participant should be referred for any form of support.

- **Research data and records management**

  Research records include research data and are defined as follows: "documents containing data or information of any kind and in any form (including both paper-based and electronic format) created or received by an organisation or person for use in the course of their work and subsequently kept by that organisation or individual as evidence of that work, or because of the informational value of the data that such documents contain. Records associated with the research process include correspondence (including electronic mail as well as paper-based correspondence); project files; grant applications; ethics applications; authorship agreements; technical reports; research reports; laboratory notebooks or research journals; master lists; signed consent forms; and information sheets for research participants" (University of Melbourne, 2013). Certain universities have strict policies and guides on how research records should be dealt with (University of Melbourne, 2013; University of Hong Kong, 2016; University of Oxford, 2013; University of London, [sa]; Queensland University of Technology, 2015). The ethical issue of the management of research records consisting of information provided by participants closely relates to the ethics of confidentiality and anonymity as described above. Information provided by participants and in particular sensitive and personal information, should be protected and not made available to anyone other than the researcher, and data collected from participants should at all times be kept under secure conditions (Bless et al, 2013:32). The information provided by participants in this research, was kept in locked electronic files and tapes, transcriptions and notes were kept under lock and key to avoid access by any unauthorised person. Names of the participants were kept anonymous in the

documentation by the use of pseudonyms instead of their real names (Bless et al, 2013:33; Creswell, 2009:91). As recommended by Creswell (2009:91), the data collected, processed and analysed during this research, are to be kept safe for a reasonable period of time, after which it will be discarded and destroyed.

- **Honesty with professional colleagues**

    Apart from conduct relating to research subjects, researchers also have an ethical responsibility towards professional colleagues and other researchers. In the first instance, "Researchers must report their findings in a complete and honest fashion, without misrepresenting what they have done or intentionally misleading others about the nature of their findings. And under no circumstances should a researcher fabricate data to support a particular conclusion," (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:102). The deductions made and conclusions drawn after processing and analysing the data obtained in this research were clear and comprehensive and left no room for misrepresentation of facts. Secondly, appropriate credit should be given where credit is due and full recognition given for the use of any material belonging to another researcher is obligatory. "Any use of another person's ideas or words demands full acknowledgement; otherwise, it constitutes plagiarism and documentary theft. To appropriate the thoughts, ideas, or words of another – even if you paraphrase the borrowed ideas in your own language – without acknowledgement is unethical and highly circumspect" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:102). In drafting this research report, the candidate endeavoured constantly to acknowledge her indebtedness to other researchers and authors in the prescribed manner.

The ethical considerations applied in this research as described above, were applied as prescribed by the Policy Guidelines for Course of Conduct, Code of Ethics and the Rules for Social Workers set by the South African Council for Social Service Professions (specifically general ethical standards 5.1.4(a) to (q). This application is described in detail in paragraph 2.5.

1.7   Clarification of key concepts

The concepts that are key concepts to the research study are clarified as follows:

- **Economic migrant** - An economic migrant is defined as a person leaving his or her habitual place of residence to settle outside his or her country of origin in order to improve his or her quality of life (International Organisation for Migration, [sa]). It is equally applied to persons leaving their country of origin for the purpose of employment. Furthermore, the UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants [sa] defines a migrant worker as a "person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national. For the purpose of this research, an economic migrant is regarded as a person who left Zimbabwe and settled in South Africa in search of a better life.

- **Experiences** – Something that happens to you that affects how you feel (Cambridge Dictionary [sa], sv "experiences"). According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary ([sa], sv "experiences") experiences mean the process of living through an event or events. In this research study, 'experiences' refers to the events the economic migrants undergo whilst moving from Zimbabwe and settling in South Africa.

- **Challenges** - The situation of being faced with something that needs great mental or physical effort in order to be done successfully and therefore tests a person's ability (Cambridge Dictionary [sa], sv "challenges"). According to the Oxford English Dictionary ([sa], sv "challenges") challenges means a task or situation that tests someone's abilities. Therefore, in this research 'challenges' refers to the problems Zimbabwean economic migrants faced in their endeavour of moving from Zimbabwe and settling to life in South Africa.

- **Perspective** - The action of looking into or through (Oxford English Dictionary, [sa] sv "perspective"). According to the Cambridge Dictionary ([sa] sv "perspective"), perspective is defined as a particular way of considering something. In this research study 'perspective' refers to looking

into the issues of economic migration through the eyes of the social work profession.

- **Social work** – The core definition of the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) for social work reads as follows: "The social work profession promotes social change, problem-solving in human relationships, and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance wellbeing. Utilizing theories of human behaviour and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work" (Hare, 2004:709). The following global definition of the Social Work Profession was approved by the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) General Meeting and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) General Assembly in July 2014:"Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing" (IFSW, 2014). Therefore, enabling Zimbabwean economic migrants to cope with their experiences and challenges encountered during their relocation to and settling in South Africa addressed in this research, falls within the ambit of the social work profession.

- **Adjusting** - Refers to a person getting used to a new situation by changing his or her ideas or the way he or she does things. The person becomes familiar with a new situation or way of living. In psychology, adjustment is the behavioural process by which humans maintain equilibrium among their various needs or between their needs and the obstacles of their environments (Macmillan Dictionary, [sa] sv "adjusting"). The Cambridge Advanced Learner's dictionary and Thesaurus. ([sa] sv "adjusting") defines adjusting to become more familiar with a new situation. In this research

'adjusting' means the process of economic migrants adapting to the South African environment.

- **Relocation** - The action of moving to a new location, especially in order to live or work (Oxford English Dictionary, [sa] sv "relocation"). In addition, the Online Cambridge Dictionary ([sa] sv "relocation") defines relocation as the process of moving to a different place to work. In this research, 'relocation' refers to the participants' movement from Zimbabwe to South Africa to work and reside.

1.8 Challenges and limitations encountered in conducting the research

During the research process the researcher encountered two major problems. Firstly, some prospective participants would agree to participate and sign the consent forms. However, on the actual scheduled day of the interview they would disappear and put their phones on voicemail. Others would just tell the researcher at the time that the interview was scheduled, that they could not continue. The researcher thanked them for their initial willingness to participate in the research and repeated the snowball sampling technique by asking the other participants to refer her to other possible participants. Secondly, some participants did not want their interviews to be recorded because they were staying illegally in the country. However, in dealing with this matter, the researcher emphasised the aspect of confidentiality and that their identities and location would be protected by the researcher. This solved the problem.

1.9 Structure of the research report

The structure of the research report is as follows:

Chapter 1 Introduction, problem formulation and motivation for the research

This chapter deals with the introduction to the research, research question, research goal and objectives, research methodology, ethical considerations, clarification of key concepts, challenges and limitations encountered in conducting the research and the structure of the research report.

Chapter 2 A description of the application of the qualitative research approach

This chapter is an account of how the qualitative approach was applied in researching the experiences and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating to and adjusting to living in South Africa. The chapter focuses on the qualitative research approach, research design, research method, and ethical considerations as applied in this research.

Chapters 3 and 4 Presentation of research findings

In these two chapters the research findings are presented in the form of themes, sub-themes, categories and sub-categories, which are discussed, compared and contrasted with the existing literature related to the topic in the form of a literature control.

Chapter 5 Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter provides a summary of the research report and outlines the overall conclusions drawn and recommendations made resulting from the research.

CHAPTER 2

APPLICATION OF THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH

2.1   Introduction

This chapter is an exposition of how the researcher employed the qualitative research approach in her quest to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating and adjusting to living in South Africa. Applying a qualitative research approach enabled the researcher to obtain a perspective on the economic migrants and their situations, including the state of social services and social work services available and rendered to them. This discussion follows on the theoretical explanation of the research approach in Chapter 1. Therefore, frequent cross-references are made to the qualitative research, design and methods as introduced in Chapter 1.

2.2   Qualitative research approach

As described in Chapter 1, the researcher used a qualitative research approach in the study. In contrast with quantitative research, where research is "conducted using a range of methods which use measurements to record and investigate aspects of social reality" (Bless et al, 2013:394), qualitative research is "conducted using a range of methods which use qualifying words and descriptions to record and investigate aspects of social reality" (Bless et al, 2013:394),

The characteristics of qualitative research and their application listed in Chapter 1 (see 1.5.1) are supplemented with the following characteristics applied in this research:

- The qualitative approach investigates the meaning that people hold about their experience. According to Hancock (2002:2), qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. That is to say, it aims to help the researcher to understand the world in which people live and why things are the way they are. In this study, economic migrants from Zimbabwe were interviewed in order to explore and understand their

experience of moving from Zimbabwe and settling in South Africa. The challenges they faced before and after moving to South Africa, as well as the meaning they attach to this whole process, were explored in order to understand it. Through applying the qualitative approach, the researcher obtained an understanding of how they have adjusted to living in South Africa. This understanding is reflected in this research report.

- The general goal of qualitative research is to enhance our knowledge about complex events and processes. Thus, it presents the views, experiences and perspectives of people. "The purpose of qualitative research is not to generalize to other subjects or settings, but to explore deeply a specific phenomenon or experience on which to build further knowledge" (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011:152). Economic migrants from Zimbabwe who were participants in the study shared their experiences and views about the matter under scrutiny. They stated their reasons to decide to leave Zimbabwe; described the challenges they faced in preparing to move; the moving itself; and the process of settling down in an unfamiliar locality. They also expressed their views about matters encountered in their process of resettling in South Africa. In other words, how they have adjusted to and were coping with living in South Africa.

- In terms of the qualitative approach, researchers tend to collect data in the natural setting where people are experiencing the phenomena being studied (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011:152). Furthermore, Thomas and Magilvy (2011:152) point out that the intent of qualitative research is to provide a close-up view, a deeper and richer understanding within a specific context. Hence, as far as the context of this research is concerned, all the Zimbabwean economic migrants who participated in the study resided within the boundaries of the Tshwane Metro in Gauteng province at the time of the study. The researcher inter alia also investigated if the economic migrants were here in South Africa with their families.

- The qualitative approach is used when researchers choose to examine other people's experiences and emotions. "Qualitative research is concerned with the opinions, experiences and feelings of individuals producing subjective data" (Hancock, 2002:2). In this research study, the experiences of

economic migrants from Zimbabwe living in South Africa were investigated. Furthermore, their feelings about the whole process of moving from Zimbabwe and settling in South Africa were explored.

- According to Thomas and Magilvy (2011:151), qualitative researchers tend to focus their attention in depth by identifying and researching a single phenomenon while burrowing deeper. This is the ability or need to gain a thorough understanding of a specific phenomenon or experience with a limited number of participants. Thus, the researcher gained a deeper understanding of economic migration by interviewing nine economic migrants from Zimbabwe now living in South Africa.

In view of the characteristics and uses of the qualitative research approach, the researcher found that this approach was suitable to realise the goal and objectives of the study. By means of applying this research approach, the researcher was able to understand the perceptions, feelings, experiences and meanings that economic migrants from Zimbabwe attach to having moved to and living in South Africa. The participants were able to relate their individual experiences, the challenges they faced or are still facing, their coping mechanisms and their understanding of the nature of social work.

2.3   Research design

In designing a research project, the overall decision involves which design should be used to study the topic. Guiding this decision should be the world-view assumptions the researcher brings to the study, procedures of inquiry and specific methods of data gathering, analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, the selection of the research design is also based on the nature of the problem, the researcher's personal experiences and audiences for the study (Creswell, 2009:3). The research design, "allows the researcher to draw conclusions about the relationship between variables" (Bless et al, 2013:395). As previously explained in Chapter 1, the researcher used the phenomenological, explorative, descriptive and contextual research design (see section 1.5.2). This was applied as follows in the study:

- The **phenomenological research design** enabled the researcher to focus and explore, "how life is experienced and provided a description of how

things are experienced first-hand by those involved" (Denscombe, 2007). The participants were given the opportunity to share their experiences without much interruption. In other words, the participants were considered as "experts" who could inform the researcher about their experiences of relocating and settling in South Africa. A phenomenological study is described by Leedy and Ormrod (2005:139) as "a study that attempts to understand people's perceptions, perspectives and understanding of a particular situation. In other words, a phenomenological study tries to answer the question: "What is it like to experience such and such?" Applying this strategy allowed the researcher to obtain rich information about the personal experiences of the economic migrants from Zimbabwe living in South Africa. The researcher was also able to understand the concept of economic migration from the participants and the description they gave of their experiences as well as how they interpreted the events in their lives as economic migrants.

- **Explorative designs** are utilised in research "conducted to gain insight into a situation, phenomenon, community or individual" (Blaokie cited in Fouché & de Vos, 2011:95). Such a study could result from a lack of basic information about a new area of interest, or to get acquainted with a situation to formulate a problem or develop a hypothesis (Fouché & de Vos, 2011:95). Explorative research is described as "Social research that explores a certain phenomenon with the primary aim of formulating more specific research questions or hypotheses relating to that phenomenon" (Bless et al, 2013:391). Exploratory studies are therefore responsive to new concerns and they tend to be more tentative and small scale. Hence, they provide ideas for further inquiry. The researcher included the explorative strategy of inquiry to explore and gain a deeper understanding of the   experiences and challenges Zimbabwean economic migrants faced in migrating to and in their day-to-day living in South Africa. The strategy allowed the researcher to explore participants' feelings about their experiences, their coping mechanisms and their understanding of the nature of social work.

- As mentioned in Chapter 1 (1.5.2), the **descriptive design** has been defined as larger scale efforts that attempt to characterise a population group

(Royse, 1999:24). According to Babbie (2014:95), the aim of many social science studies is to describe situations and events, and in these studies researchers observe and then describe what they observed or heard. Due to the careful and deliberate nature of scientific observation, scientific observations are more accurate and precise than casual observations. Descriptive research is described as "Social research with the primary aim of describing (rather than explaining) a particular phenomenon" (Bless et al, 2013:390) It is against this backdrop that the researcher decided to include a descriptive research design as part of the research inquiry. This enabled the researcher to describe the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa; the emotions they felt about the whole experience; the coping strategies they used to overcome the challenges; and to provide a description of the help they received from social workers where applicable; as well as how they understand social work in general.

- A **contextual research design** is summarised as being concerned with identifying what exists in the social world and the way it manifests itself (Ritchie & Lewis, 2005:27). Contextual research can also be described as a design research methodology employed to allow the researcher to obtain a deep understanding of the research participants. It examines the context of where the participants live, work and play in order to understand their behaviours, needs and goals as they relate to the research phenomenon. It focuses on understanding not just what, but why (compare Weissman, 2014). The researcher chose to include a contextual design as a strategy of inquiry in order to focus and report on the Zimbabwean economic migrants living and working in Tshwane Metro, South Africa. It also enabled the researcher to look deeper into and understand the experiences of these economic migrants from their perspective, with specific reference to their challenges, experiences and emotions and the process of their adjusting to life in South Africa. Furthermore, the contextual design made it easier for the researcher to explore what being an economic migrant meant to Zimbabwean economic migrants living and working in Tshwane, South Africa.

In the above research design as prescribed, are implied the "plans and procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis" for this research (Creswell, 2009:3).

2.4   Research method

According to Creswell (2009:15), the research method involves the forms of data collection, analysis and interpretation that researchers propose for their studies. As explained in Chapter 1 (see subsection 1.5.3), these aspects are now elaborated on in the form of an exposition of how the research methods were applied in this research study, by focusing on the population, sampling and sampling techniques, recruitment and preparation of participants, method of data collection, pilot testing of the research instrument, data analysis, and data verification:

2.4.1   Population, sampling and sampling techniques

As defined in Chapter 1 (see subsection 1.5.3.1), in research a population is that group (usually of people) about which the researcher wants to draw conclusions (Babbie, 2004:110; 2014:119). The population therefore represents and experiences the research problem. The population of this study consisted of all Zimbabwean economic migrants residing in the Tshwane Metro. However, as is usually the case in research, due to time and resources constraints, the whole population could not be involved in the study. Babbie (2014:119) adds that researchers are almost never able to study all the members of the population that interests them and it is impossible to make every possible observation of them. Therefore, the researcher selected and drew a sample from the said population as its representatives. In general terms, a sample is described as "The group of elements drawn from the population that is considered to be representative of the population, and which is studied in order to acquire some knowledge about the entire population (Bless et al, 2013:395). However, as "qualitative research does not concentrate on the 'average' person (representative of the population at large) but rather on the diversity of cases" (Bless et al, 2013:175, 395), a sample in qualitative research need not be representative of the research population concerned. For the purpose of this research, a sample consists of cases (units or elements) that would be examined and are selected from a defined research population (Boeije, 2010: 34).

According to Whittaker (1999:3), drawing a sample or sampling refers to the process of selecting participants who will be involved in the study. It is described as "The technique by which a sample is drawn from the population" (Bless et al, 2013:395). As stated in Chapter 1 (1.5.3.1), the researcher selected the sample, by using a purposive sampling technique in the form of snowball sampling as a subset of purposive sampling, to choose participants who were possible data sources and who met the following criteria:

- Economic migrants from Zimbabwe who were Shona or English speaking.
- Participants residing in the boundaries of the Tshwane Metro in Gauteng Province for at least two years. (This time frame was seen as appropriate because it was assumed that economic migrants who would have been in South Africa for about two years would have sufficiently experienced in terms of challenges and adjusting to life here.)
- Zimbabwean economic migrants who were willing and available to participate in the research project.

In selecting the participants that comprised the sample for this research, a sample was drawn purposively by selecting the first participant purposively in terms of the selection criteria, followed by using the non-probability sampling technique snowball sampling, as a subset of purposive sampling. As is done in purposive sampling, the researcher purposefully selected the participants that comprised the sample, by judging that they met the above criteria (Bless et al, 2013:177). Snowball sampling (also referred to as chain or referral sampling) is described as "A more sophisticated sampling technique, particularly useful for identifying people not listed or difficult to find, is to find a few participants and then to rely on each participant to guide you to the next one etc." (Bless et al, 2013:176). It is explained that "Snowballing involves approaching a single case that is involved in the phenomenon to be investigated. Information is then sought from this person that enables him or her to locate other members of that population – hence the term *snowball sampling*" (Babbie, cited in Strydom & Delport, 2011:393). The researcher eventually identified nine participants through snowball sampling who comprised the sample in this research. The size of the sample was determined by means of applying the principle of data saturation in terms of which sufficient participants have been interviewed when information

obtained starts to become repetitive (Alston & Bowles, 2003:81; Sarantakos cited in Strydom & Delport, 2011b:391). Nine participants were interviewed when the data obtained in the interviews started to become repetitive. Therefore, the sample consisted of nine persons who were economic migrants from Zimbabwe residing in the municipal boundaries of the Tshwane Metro.

2.4.2   Recruitment and preparation of participants

Initially, the researcher identified one Zimbabwean economic migrant in Tshwane and requested him to participate in the piloting of this study. He agreed to participate and to be interviewed. After the interview, the researcher asked this person to refer and recommend her to other Zimbabwean economic migrants known to him who shared the same experiences. He recommended quite a number of persons. This sampling technique was subsequently applied to other participants. Therefore, the sampling technique of snowball sampling was applied by asking participants for referrals to other possible participants. Some of the recommended prospective participants refused to participate because of their own personal reasons. However, they recommended some of their friends to be participants. In this way, all the participants were obtained by means of snowball sampling.

The researcher made telephonic calls to the persons identified, introduced herself and her proposed research, and explained that she was referred by a previous participant. After that, appointments were set with each prospective participant and the researcher requested to meet them at a time and place convenient to them. Therefore, each prospective participant gave the researcher when they would be available and where to meet.

On the day of the first meeting, the researcher introduced herself as a Master's student at Unisa and explained the topic under study. She also explained why they were approached to participate. The researcher brought the consent form (Addendum B) along and explained the content to each and every prospective participant. A request to participate was made to each of them and the necessary ethical issues were clarified. Each prospective participant was given a copy of the consent form to sign in their own time once they had decided to voluntarily participate. The researcher also asked the prospective participants to inform her if they decided to participate in the study.

Some participants called the researcher and expressed their willingness to participate and some confirmed through SMS messages. Therefore, the researcher arranged for times to collect the consent forms from the participants. On collecting the forms, the researcher took the opportunity to schedule for a follow up appointment for the actual research interview. The dates and times of the interviews were set when it was most convenient for the participants. Most of the interviews were subsequently done at the economic migrants' homes or places of work and only one was done in the parking lot at a shopping mall.

2.4.3   Method of data collection

Semi-structured interviews with the aid of the interview guide (Addendum C) were employed by the researcher to collect the data. "Semi-structured interviews (sometimes referred to as focused interviews) involve a series of open-ended questions based on the topic areas the researcher wants to cover" (Hancock, 2002:9). Semi-structured interviews are generally used by researchers to gain a detailed view of a participant's beliefs about, perceptions or accounts of a certain topic. Due to this method of interviewing, both the researcher and the participant have much more flexibility. As Smith, Harré and Van Langenhoven (cited in Greeff, 2011:351-352) put it: "The researcher is able to follow up particular interesting avenues that emerge in the interview, and the participant is able to give a fuller picture. Semi-structured interviews are especially suitable when one is particularly interested in complexity or process, or when an issue is controversial or personal. With semi-structured interviews the researcher has a set of pre-determined questions in an interview schedule, but the interviewer is guided rather than dictated to by the schedule. Participants share more closely in the direction the interview takes and they can introduce an issue which the researcher had not thought of. In this relationship, participants can be perceived as the experts on the topic and should therefore be allowed maximum opportunity to tell their story." To summarise, the researcher develops a list of questions but there is flexibility during the interviews. Hence, in this study the researcher drafted a list of questions beforehand as a guideline for the interviews, but the interviews were not strictly conducted according to the interview guide.

In semi-structured interviews the interviewer also has the freedom to probe the interviewee to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the interviewee (Hancock, 2002:9). The researcher was able to ask further and probing questions on certain responses given by the participants during the interviews.

Conducting semi-structured interviews helped the researcher to see the 'slice' of the social world from the informant's perspective and the interviewer merely facilitated the process (Boeije, 2010:61). In this research, the interviews gave the researcher the opportunity to obtain information and learn from the Zimbabweans' perspectives, experience and language on how being an economic migrant in South Africa feels like. The questions the researcher used to explore the topic of the study are listed in Chapter 1 (see subsection 1.5.3.2). Also listed in Chapter 1, are the biographical questions asked to collect biographical information of the participants in order to compile a biographical profile of them. The research instrument comprising of the interview guide containing all these questions, is attached as Addendum C.

In Chapter 1 several types of questions with different functions were discussed (see subsection 1.5.3.2). The researcher used these questions as a technique to obtain an in-depth understanding of the economic migrants' experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa. Furthermore, the researcher employed the following types of questions and interviewing techniques during the interviews to generate all possible information from the participants:

- Follow up, specifying and probing questions – The researcher sought clarification for example, she asked the following questions:
  What was your experience of moving from Zimbabwe to South Africa through the bush? Was it safe?
  So, how are you managing your family relationships when your family is staying in Zimbabwe and you are staying here?
- Interpreting questions – were used by the researcher to check her understanding of responses and clarifying what they meant. For instance, the researcher asked:
  What do you mean you were taken to a secluded area?

So you haven't faced any peculiar challenges in settling and adjusting in South Africa?

- Open-ended questions - were asked to allow the participants to respond to the questions in whatever way they wished. According to Hancock (2002:9), the open-ended nature of the questions defines the topic under investigation but provides opportunities for both the interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topic in more detail. For example the researcher asked:

  What made you decide to leave Zimbabwe and relocate to South Africa?

  What were your and your family's feelings about this decision?

- Probing – Probing questions were asked to encourage the participants to expand and elaborate their answers. For example:

  What else were you expecting?

  Why do you think economic migrants do not need social work help?

- Silence and nodding of the head were used by the researcher as a way of giving the participants time to think through their responses and also expand on their responses.

- Empathy is a powerful data collection tool. According to Friesen (2010:129), being empathic increases the quality of responses one gets from someone else because the person senses that you are being non-judgemental. Applying this technique enabled the participants to feel safe and secure and this made them reveal their true feelings in the interviews. For instance, some were able to divulge that they were staying in South Africa illegally.

2.4.4 Pilot testing the research instrument

According to van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001), the term 'pilot studies' refers to mini versions of a full scale study (also called 'feasibility' studies), as well as the specific pretesting of a particular research instrument such as a questionnaire or interview guide. The purpose of the pilot study has been described as "to investigate the feasibility 'of the planned project and to bring possible deficiencies in the measurement procedure to the fore" (Huysamen cited in Strydom, 2005:206). As indicated in paragraph 1.5.3.3, no full scale pilot study was conducted in this study. As prescribed, the researcher did a pilot test in order, "firstly to improve the face and content validity of the [research] instrument, and secondly, to estimate how long it

takes to complete …" and only after the necessary modifications were made following the pilot test, the interview guide was presented to the full sample (Delport & Roestenburg, 2011:195).

The researcher conducted a pilot testing exercise with three male participants living and working in Tshwane. The economic migrants from Zimbabwe who participated in the pilot testing were aged 28 years, 38 years and 37 years old. One of the participants had been staying in South Africa for the past two and half years at the time, one relocated to South Africa in 2006 and the third one had been staying in the country for four years. The information obtained during these interviews was not included in the actual data of the study. The interviews were recorded and transcribed for the interview guide and the information obtained to be evaluated. Through the pilot testing, it was highlighted that some questions were not clear. Therefore, some questions were edited, reworded and some were completely removed from the interview guide as they caused confusion for the participants. Consequently, the researcher modified the interview guide before conducting the actual interviews of this study. Through this process, the researcher was also able to test her interviewing skills, especially probing further on certain questions.

2.4.5   Data analysis

In dealing with the research material and the data collected, data analysis attempts to critically investigate and unearth meaning and understanding by vigorously exploring themes, perspectives and trends, issues or outcomes that relate to a research question and subsequent aims and objectives (Carey, 2009:29). In this research, the researcher followed and applied the eight steps of Tesch (listed in Creswell, 2009:186) as follows to analyse data from the recorded interviews which were subsequently transcribed word for word:

- Reading all the transcripts to get a sense of the whole. The researcher read through all the transcripts carefully, whilst jotting down some ideas that came to mind which were related to the topic.
- Picking one document or interview transcript on the top of the pile and reading it, asking questions about it and writing thoughts in the margin. In doing this, the researcher applied Creswell's (2009:186) emphasis not to think of the substance of the information but the underlying meaning.

- The second task was done on all transcripts whilst making a list of topics. Similar topics were clustered together and then put into columns arrayed as 'major topics', 'unique topics' and 'left overs'. For instance, the following were initially formulated as major topics:
  - Economic migrants' experiences related to relocating to South Africa.
  - Economic migrants' experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa.
  - Economic migrants' social and family situations affected by their relocation.
  - Economic migrants' experience of socialising and support in South Africa.
  - Economic migrants have an understanding of social work and social services and suggestions on how social workers could help economic migrants.
- With the list at hand, the researcher looked at the data again. This time, abbreviating each topic as a code and writing down the code next to the appropriate segments of the text. This preliminary organising scheme was employed to see if new categories and codes emerged.
- Refining and organising of topics and turning them into themes. The researcher found the most descriptive wording for the topics and turned them into categories. The list of categories was reduced by grouping related topics together. Furthermore, the researcher drew lines between the categories to show interrelationships.
- Finalisation of themes and alphabetising them. The researcher made a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and alphabetised the codes.
- Assembling data material belonging to each theme in one place. With the help of the independent coder, the researcher used the cut and paste function in MS Word, to assemble data material belonging to each category in one place and performed a preliminary analysis.
- Recoding the data where necessary and reporting the research findings. Preliminary analysis was performed. Where there were any discrepancies, the researcher revisited the data and made necessary adjustments in order to do justice to the voices of the economic migrants or their experiences.

Applying the above eight steps enabled the researcher to engage in a systematic process of analysing the textual data. It is emphasised that the key process in analysing qualitative social research data is coding – the classification or categorisation of individual pieces of data (Babbie, 2014:409). Therefore, in conducting Tesch's process of analysing the data (in Creswell, 2009:186), the researcher in conjunction with the independent coder, applied Creswell's (2009:186) research tip to be on the look-out for and analyse the data for material that could address codes -

- on topics that readers would expect to find, based on past literature and common sense;
- that are surprising and that were not anticipated at the beginning of the study;
- that are unusual and that are, in and of themselves, of conceptual interest to readers; and
- that address a larger theoretical perspective in the research.

Against the above background, the data analysis and coding enabled the researcher to understand better the messages being put forward in the text of the interviews and to retrieve data appropriately, as needed (Babbie, 2014:409).

As stated by Bless et al (2013:22), in qualitative research "data collection and analysis may in turn lead to more literature study, making the process even more flexible and cyclic." In this study, the data collection and analysis led to further literature study being conducted as expounded in the literature control presented in Chapters 3 and 4, to confirm, underscore, highlight or contrast the themes identified in analysing the data.

2.4.6 Data verification

As indicated in Chapter 1 (section 1.5.3.5), Guba's model of ensuring the trustworthiness of qualitative data as espoused in Krefting (1991:215) was applied in this research. Guba (in Krefting, 1991:215) argues that the worth of any research endeavour, regardless of the approach, is evaluated by peers, grant reviewers and

readers. The characteristics to ensure trustworthiness are truth value, applicability, consistency and neutrality. These were applied in this research study as follows:

- **Truth value** – According to Lincoln and Guba (in Krefting, 1991:215) "Truth value asks whether the researcher has established confidence in the truth of findings for the subjects of informants and the context in which the study was undertaken". Truth value also establishes how confident the researcher is with the truth of findings asked on the research design, informants and context. It has been argued that, in qualitative research, truth value is usually obtained from the discovery of human experiences as they are lived and perceived by participants (Krefting, 1991:215). In this study, credibility of the study was ensured when the researcher used the exact words of the participants in processing the data. The accurate descriptions or interpretations of the economic migrants' experience and challenges (compare Guba in Krefting, 1991:215) are presented in Chapters 3 and 4.

  Truth value is established by the strategy of credibility and "Credibility is the element that allows others to recognise the experiences contained within the study through the interpretations of participants' experiences" (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011:152). Therefore, for the purpose of this research, the researcher applied the following strategies to ensure credibility:

  - **Interviewing skills** - The researcher made use of the various interviewing techniques during the interviews as discussed in section 2.4.3. In applying these skills, the researcher engaged with the participants for a prolonged period of time which varied from 45 minutes to an hour +per interview. This was essential in order to create rapport between the researcher and the participants, thereby making participants feel at ease to volunteer personal and often more sensitive information.

  - **Triangulation** - This concept is described as "the comparison of multiple perspectives by using different methods of data collection" (Krefting, 1991:219). In other words, it is based on the convergence of multiple perspectives for mutual confirmation of data to ensure that all aspects of the phenomena have been investigated. In this study, triangulation was achieved through interviewing a range of

Zimbabwean economic migrants living in South Africa, the number which was determined by means of the principle of data saturation. This maximised the range of data that contributed to the complete understanding of the concept.

- o **Authority of the researcher** - The researcher is a social worker who acquired good investigative skills during the course of her professional education and training. She holds a Bachelor of Social Work Honours degree in Social Work. Furthermore, the researcher has thorough experience in interviewing gained during her career. She is knowledgeable and thoroughly versed in the matter under investigation, as she has read widely about people who migrate to other countries due to economic reasons in general and in particular about people from Zimbabwe who migrated to South Africa. In addition, she has first-hand personal experience in this regard as she and her husband also migrated to South Africa from Zimbabwe for economic reasons.

- o **Tactics to help ensure honesty in participants** – According to Shenton (2004:66), each person who is approached to participate in a research project "should be given opportunities to refuse to participate in the project so as to ensure that the data collection sessions involve only those who are genuinely willing to take part and prepared to offer data freely". The researcher was open and transparent about her research to the participants. No-one was coerced to participate and the researcher emphasised that if the participants felt uncomfortable during the course of the interviews, they were free to withdraw from the study.

- o **Peer examination** - This involves the researcher discussing the research process and findings with impartial colleagues who have experience with qualitative methods (Krefting, 1991:219). The researcher was supervised in this research by a supervisor who is experienced in the field of qualitative research. Furthermore, the researcher consulted about this research with a colleague who is a lecturer in the Department of Social Work at another university.

- **Applicability** – In this context, "applicability refers to the degree to which findings can be applied to other contexts and settings or with other groups. It is the ability to generalize from the findings to larger populations" (Krefting,

1991:216). Applicability is established through the strategy of transferability. Transferability is regarded as the ability to transfer research findings or method from one group to another (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011:153). The researcher gave detailed descriptive particulars and data of the research population and the sample of the study, as well as of the geographic boundaries of the study. This should allow the application of the findings and its comparison to other contexts and settings or with other groups, by other researchers.

- **Consistency** - This is whether the findings would be consistent if the inquiry were replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context (Krefting, 1991:216). Consistency is defined in terms of dependability. It has been argued that dependability occurs when another researcher can follow the decision trail used by the researcher (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011:153). The researcher described the specific purpose of the study, exact methods of data gathering, analysis and interpretation used in the study. This dense description of methods provides information of how unique the situation was (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011:153). The researcher also made use of an independent coder to achieve consistency. The independent coder analysed the interview transcripts independently. Therefore, the researcher is of the belief that if the study were to be repeated with the same participants in the same way, the results would be the same.

- **Neutrality** - This refers to the degree to which findings are a function solely of the informants and conditions of the research and not from other biases, motivations and perspectives (Krefting, 1991:215). It is also suggested that conformability be the criteria of neutrality. Thomas and Magilvy (2011:153) pointed out that conformability in research occurs when credibility, transferability and dependability have been established. The researcher did not use her own perceptions of the phenomena but used the transcripts of the interviews with the participants to reflect the participants' contribution. This is known as "reflexivity, which is a self-critical attitude on the part of the researcher about how one's own preconceptions affect the research" (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011:154). Furthermore, in conducting the research, the researcher was intensely involved in the whole research process as this

enhances research findings through intimate familiarity and discovery of hidden facts, according to Krefting (1991:217). The use of the independent coder and guidance of the supervisor enabled the researcher to be transparent.

In applying the four criteria of Guba (in Krefting, 1991:215) as presented above, the trustworthiness of the data collected and analysed to scrutinise the phenomenon of economic migrants from Zimbabwe relocating to and settling in South Africa from a social work perspective, ensured that a true picture of the phenomenon emerged and is presented.

2.5   Ethical considerations

With reference to ethical considerations, Kalof et al (2008:197) define ethics as rules and definitions about what is and is not permissible to do when conducting research. It is also highlights that research ethics refer to "rules of morally good conduct which should be grounded in moral and political beliefs" (Carey, 2009:11). Thus, researchers need to protect their research participants, develop trust with them, promote integrity of the research and guard against misconduct and impropriety that might reflect on their organisations or institutions and cope with new challenges (Creswell, 2009:87). It is noted that in conducting social work research in South Africa, social workers have to adhere to the terms of the Policy Guidelines for Course of Conduct, Code of Ethics and the Rules for Social Workers (specifically general ethical standard 5.1.4(a) to (q)) set by the South African Council for Social Service Professions (SACSSP) (SACSSP, [sa]:9-12). Against this backdrop the researcher found specific ethical considerations relevant and considered and applied them throughout whilst conducting the study, namely informed consent; anonymity and confidentiality; debriefing; adhering to guidelines for dealing with research data and record management; and honesty with professional colleagues. These ethical considerations respectively entail the following:

- **Informed consent**

  Informed consent is described as "The ethical principle that research participants should be told enough about a piece of research to be able to make a decision about whether to participate in it" (Bless et al, 2013:392). In terms of ethical standard 5.1.4(e) to (h) of the Policy Guidelines of the

SACSSP ([sa]:10-11), referred to above, the researcher obtained all participants' written and informed consent to participate in the research and informed them about their right to withdraw from the research at any time should they so wish. In this study, the researcher firstly ensured that participants were eligible to give informed consent. Thus, the right of the participants to know that they are being researched and the requirement that they should have actively given their consent to participate in the research, were respected. The researcher gave the participants an introductory letter which provided information about the purpose of the study (see Addendum A). In agreeing to participate in the research, participants had to sign an informed consent form (see Addendum B). No one was coerced to participate in the study. The consent forms also highlighted information on who to contact if at a later stage, the participants had questions or concerns about the study, or if they feel they have been harmed. Furthermore, procedures that were to be used by the researcher to ensure that their participation and responses were kept confidential were fully explained. A statement was also included that their participation was completely voluntary and that participants could withdraw at any time without consequences.

- **Anonymity and confidentiality**

  In research the concept 'anonymity' refers to "The assurance that the identity of research participants remains unknown" (Bless et al, 2013:389). To ensure anonymity, the assurance is given to research participants that their identity will remain unknown (Babbie (2014:289). According to Wiles, Crow, Heath and Vikki (2008:418), 'confidentially' means not disclosing any information gained from an interviewee deliberately or accidentally in ways that might identify an individual. In research, protecting participants' identities is regarded as the clearest concern in guarding research subjects' interests and well-being, with two related techniques assisting researchers in this regard, namely anonymity and confidentiality (Babbie, 2014:68). In terms of confidentiality, information provided by participants, particularly sensitive and personal information, should be protected and not made available to anyone other than the researcher (Babbie, 2014:68). Bless et al (2013:390) agree with this by stating that "Information provided by participants, particularly

sensitive and personal information, should be protected and not made available to anyone other than the researchers." As required by ethical standard 5.1.4(l) and (m) of the Policy Guidelines of the SACSSP ([sa]:11), the researcher ensured the privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of participants in conducting and processing the research and informed them accordingly. The introductory letter and the consent form addressed in detail the issue of anonymity and confidentiality clarifying what would be done with the information the participants shared with the researcher. Real names of the participants were not used in the transcripts of the interviews and were substituted with pseudonyms in all research documentation. All interview tapes and transcripts are kept under lock and key and in due course the original data will be destroyed.

- **Debriefing**

According to McBurney (cited by Strydom, 2011:122), "Debriefing sessions are sessions during which subjects get the opportunity, after the study, to work through their experiences and its aftermath, and where they can have their questions and misconceptions removed." In addition it is emphasised that "Through debriefing, problems generated by the research experience can be corrected" (Babbie in Strydom, 2011:122). The researcher carefully considered the possible consequences for participants resulting from their participation in the research and ensured that they had access to appropriate supporting service as prescribed by ethical standard 5.1.4(d) and (i) of the Policy Guidelines of the SACSSP ([sa]:10, 11), by arranging for the availability of debriefing facilities to participants. This was explained in the letter requesting economic migrant's participation in the research study (Addendum A). Assurance was given to all participants that if the interview touched on sensitive issues for the participants that they might find difficulties dealing with afterwards, counselling would be offered to them by counsellors from Famsa, Pretoria where the researcher was employed. According to Strydom (2011:122), the easiest way to debrief participants is to discuss their feelings about the project immediately after the session to minimise possible harm which may have been done in spite of all the researchers' precautions against such harm. Therefore, soon after the

interviews the researcher discussed and explored the feelings of some of the participants about the study because they were very emotional after relating their experiences. However, none of the participants went to Famsa Pretoria to receive further intervention and professional assistance.

- **Guidelines for dealing with research data and record management**

  Most university policies and guidelines about research data and record management inter alia include prescriptions of how researchers should deal with matters such as privacy and confidentiality, de-identifying research data, access to research data, storage of research data, retention of research data and disposal of research data (University of Melbourne, 2013; University of Hong Kong, 2016; University of Oxford; University of London, [sa]; Queensland University of Technology, 2015). In applying the above mentioned research data and record management guidelines in this research, instead of writing participants' real names on electronic audio recordings, notes and transcripts, pseudonyms were used for all participants on the transcripts, recordings and notes to ensure confidentiality and anonymity of the participants (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005:102). Data collected from participants were at all times kept under secure conditions (Bless et al, 2013:32). All information obtained from participants in this research in the form of the processed data provided by the participants, were kept in locked electronic files. CDs, notes and electronically and written transcripts were kept under lock and key to avoid access by any unauthorised people. All these records will be destroyed in due course. As prescribed by ethical standard 5.1.4(d), (l) and (m) of the Policy Guidelines of the SACSSP ([sa]:10, 11), all possible consequences for participants relating to their privacy, anonymity and confidentiality in dealing with the research data provided by them, were carefully considered in applying the above record management guidelines developed to ensure the participants' protection.

- **Honesty with professional colleagues**

  In applying the ethical principle requiring a researcher's honesty towards professional colleagues this researcher focused on correctly and honestly

reporting her findings in this research. In writing her report, the researcher at all times endeavoured to ensure that the investigation proceeded correctly and that no one would be deceived by her findings, inter alia bearing in mind that "If errors occur in the study, this may lead to other researchers wasting their time and funds by relying upon the findings" (Strydom, 2011:126). In addition, the researcher guarded throughout writing this research report, not to incorporate or copy any other researcher's work without proper acknowledgement. In this regard, cognisance was also taken of UNISA's Policy for copyright infringement and plagiarism (UNISA, 2005) in which it is emphasised that "Citation is a form of respect for the relevant author's proprietary rights" and "Fair use is a form of respect for the author's economic rights." The Policy is clear in that "Where a student or researcher's work is not authentically his/her own, such work does not qualify as an academic output," with details being provided of actions to be taken in this regard. By critically examining the emerging knowledge relevant to this research, fully utilising the research evidence that emerged and by not having been involved in plagiarism, as prescribed by ethical standard 5.1.4(e) and (q) of the Policy Guidelines of the SACSSP ([sa]:10, 12), the ethical principle requiring a researcher's honesty towards professional colleagues was applied.

The application of the ethical principles in this research as described above, also correlates as follows with the guidelines for social work research as proposed by the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) in the United States of America (Williams et al cited in Strydom, 2011:128), by the researcher having -

- carefully considered the possible consequences of participating in the research for the research participants;
- ensured that participants consented voluntarily and were informed about the intended research, without any implied deprivation or penalty for refusal to participate, and with the necessary regard for participants' privacy and dignity;
- ascertained that participants were protected from unjustified physical or mental discomfort, distress, harm, danger or deprivation;

- conducted any discussion of evaluation of services or cases, only for professional purposes and only with people directly and professionally involved;
- treated all information obtained about participants confidentially; and
- taken credit only for work actually done in direct connection with her own scholarly and research endeavours and gave credit for the contributions made by others.

2.6   Conclusion of the chapter

This Chapter described how the qualitative research approach was applied and used in the study. This approach was used to explore and describe the experiences and challenges of the Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa through the phenomenological, explorative, descriptive and contextual research designs. Purposive sampling in the form of snowball sampling was used by the researcher to obtain the sample of participants interviewed for the study. These participants related their first-hand experiences in relocating and settling in South Africa as economic migrants.

Data were collected through conducting in-depth interviews with the use of an interview guide consisting of open-ended questions. Pilot testing led to the research instrument being adapted. The data obtained were analysed by means of Tesch's well-known eight steps as explained in Creswell (2009:186). The trustworthiness of the data was achieved through employing Guba's classic model of ensuring the trustworthiness of qualitative data (in Krefting, 1991). The researcher was guided by the necessary ethical considerations which included informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, debriefing, document management, and honesty with professional colleagues.

In the next two chapters the research findings and literature control are presented.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND LITERATURE CONTROL (I)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the first part of the research findings of the study, subjected to a literature control. Analysing the data collected during the interviews with participants, produced five major themes with sub-themes which were further categorised, where necessary. These were agreed upon by the researcher and the independent coder under the guidance of the supervisor. Guided by the supervisor, the researcher decided to present the research findings and the literature control in two chapters. This chapter deals with the biographical profile of participants and themes 1 and 2. Chapter 4 deals with themes 3 to 5.

The goal of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and personal situations of Zimbabwean economic migrants immigrating and settling in South Africa. The qualitative research approach was used to investigate the experiences and challenges faced by these Zimbabwean economic migrants whilst immigrating and settling in South Africa. The data were provided by a sample consisting of nine Zimbabwean economic migrants who were purposively selected from the research population, by using the 'snowball' sampling technique. The sample size was determined by applying the principle of data saturation.

The participants were interviewed using semi-structured interviews based on an interview guide consisting of open-ended questions, as described in sections 1.5.3.2 and 2.4.3. All the interviews were recorded, transcribed and the data collected were analysed according to Tesch's eight steps (listed in Creswell, 2009:186) (see section 1.5.3.4). Guba's classic model outlined by Krefting (1991:215-221) was employed to verify the data (see section 2.6). In the next section, the biographical information of the economic migrants who participated in the study is presented.

3.2 Biographical profile of participants

The participants' biographical profiles are shown in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Biographical data of participants

Partici-pant (pseudo-nym)	Gender	Age	Main language	Province of origin	Highest qualifica-tion obtained in Zimbabwe	Post-school qualification	Marital status and family situation	Children number, gender and ages	Period in South Africa	Migrant status in South Africa	Employment when interviewed
Abel	Male	40	English	Manicaland	Diploma in Education	Started BA Theology In Zimbabwe and SA (unfinished)	Married-family in Zimbabwe	2 boys, aged 11 years & 2 months 1 girl, 2 ½ years	6 years	Legal	Manager in construction company
Batsirai	Male	48	English	Manicaland	Honours degree in Social Work	Paralegal (unfinished)	Single- children staying with their mothers in Zimbabwe and South Africa	3 girls, aged 12, 8 & 4 years	8 years	Legal	Social work manager
Chipo	Female	30	Ndebele	Matebeleland North	Honours degree in Social Work	Master's degree in Social Work	Single/ divorced-staying with children	2 girls, aged 9 & 7 years	Since 2010	Legal	Social worker
David	Male	31	English	Matebeleland South	Honours degree in Social Work	Master's degree in Social Work. Currently studying for PHD	Married-living with wife and children	2 boys, aged 9 & 4 years	Since 2008	Legal.- Permanent resident	Social work Lecturer
Edson	Male	33	Shona	Masvingo	A level	Started Accounting in Zimbabwe not finished	Single/ widowed-child is staying in Zimbabwe	1 girl, aged 9 years	Since 2008	Legal	Self-employed – small business
Fungai	Female	44	Shona	Chimanimani in Manicaland	O level	Nursing in SA	Married-living with children	2 boys, aged 23 & 20 1 girl, aged 15 years	10 years	Legal- acquired citizenship	Nurse
George	Male	41	Shona	Manicaland	Diploma in wood carving	Bachelor in Technical Education	Married- wife and children staying in Zimbabwe	1 boy, aged 18 years 2 girls, aged 13 & 8 years	4 years	Legal	High school teacher
Hilda	Female	36	Shona	Manicaland	O level	Counselling	Married- living with husband, no children	None	2 years	Illegal	Self-employed. Owns a tavern
Itayi	Female	37	Shona	Harare	Master's degree	Currently studying PHD	Married-living with husband and children	2 boys, aged 17 & 12 girls, aged, 9 & 6	Since 2007	Legal Permanent resident	Lecturer

Table 3.1 shows the gender, age, main language, province of origin, highest school grade, post-school qualification, marital status, number of children and period of stay in South Africa, as well as the migrant and employment status of the participant in South Africa. To safeguard the identities of the participants the researcher used pseudonyms in place of their real names.

The gender distribution of the participants in this research consisted of five males and four females. The oldest participant was 48 years old whilst the youngest was 30 years old. The average age of the participants was 37.7 years. Three of the participants were youths (in other words, persons between the ages of 14 and 35 years (The National Youth Policy, 2009-2014, 2008:12), two were males and one a female. Six participants were adults (three males and three females). In his research on *Rural livelihoods in Zimbabwe: Impact of Remittances from South Africa*, Maphosa (2009:26) states that the participants in his study showed that sex distribution of migrants was still male dominated, with wives and children traditionally remaining at home while husbands and fathers migrated. However, in contrast to this, in the current study two women participants were at the forefront in bringing their families to South Africa and some male economic migrants had managed to have their families join them in South Africa.

Zimbabwe consists of ten provinces. According to the participants' profiles the economic migrants who took part in this research came from five provinces in Zimbabwe, namely Manicaland, Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South, Masvingo and Harare. Among the participants five were from Manicaland, with one from each of the other four provinces. Five of the participants indicated their home language as being Shona whilst three said at home they speak English and one speaks Ndebele.

In his research referred to above, Maphosa (2009:24) found that migrants had varying levels of educational attainment, ranging from those with no formal education to those with tertiary education. The author explained it as follows: "The fact that most of the migrant labourers left [Zimbabwe] after completing secondary education, could be an indication of the value of education particularly the belief that education enhances an individual's chances of getting a good job either inside or outside the country" (Maphosa, 2009:25). In this study, all the participants had some training before leaving Zimbabwe. Four of the participants had Honours degrees, two had

studied further to attain Master's degrees and two were studying towards their PhDs. One participant managed to acquire a post-graduate diploma. Three other participants attained diplomas, of which two of them studied in Zimbabwe and the other one studied in South Africa. One of the participants only did the Advanced Level, which is the highest high school grade in Zimbabwe. He subsequently dropped out of tertiary education because of financial constraints. Most of the participants with diplomas and university degrees were employed in their fields of training. Others managed to secure jobs before relocation to South Africa because of their qualifications. This corresponds with what Makina (in Crush & Tevera, 2010:262) found, namely that those Zimbabwean migrants who came to South Africa after the year 2000, were more educated than those who came before.

Most participants in the study were married, namely three males and three females. Of the married males, one was living with his wife and children in South Africa whilst the other two men's wives and children were staying in Zimbabwe. Amongst the women, two were living with their husbands and children here in South Africa, whilst the other woman was living with her husband and they do not have children. Of the participants who were single, one male had children but they were staying with their mothers in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Another male was single because his wife passed away and his daughter was staying with his extended family in Zimbabwe. One participant, a female, was single because she was divorced. She was living with her children.

The period of living in South Africa for the economic migrants varied from two years up to ten years. Eight of the participants were staying in South Africa legally, whilst one was illegal. The latter is described as follows: "In earlier years illegal migrants crossed borders through what was known as the *dabulaphu* method. It entailed crossing the border through illegal entry points and walking most or all the way to the destination. Only adult men used to emigrate the *dabulaphu* way because of the risks involved" (Maphosa, 2009:26). In this study, one female also reported coming to South Africa illegally. Two of the legal participants have managed to acquire South African identity cards and one of them has become a South African citizen.

3.3 Presentation of themes and literature control

In processing and analysing the data collected in this research, the following five major themes came to light:

Theme 1 Economic migrants' experiences related to relocating to South Africa

Theme 2 Economic migrants' experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa

Theme 3 Economic migrants' social and family situations were affected by their relocation

Theme 4 Economic migrants' experiences of socialising and support in South Africa

Theme 5 Economic migrants had an understanding of social work, social services and suggestions on how social workers could assist economic migrants.

The major themes were divided into sub-themes which were further categorised where necessary.

Table 3.2 presents an overview and summary of themes 1 and 2 dealt with in this chapter, followed by a detailed discussion of these themes and their literature control.

Table 3.2   Overview of themes (Part I)

THEME 1: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES RELATED TO RELOCATING TO SOUTH AFRICA		
1.1 Reasons other than economic, why migrants from Zimbabwe relocated to South Africa	1.1.1 Some migrants relocated to South Africa for political reasons as well as economic reasons	
	1.1.2 Some migrants relocated to South Africa for professional reasons associated with economic reasons	
	1.1.3 Some migrants relocated to South Africa for	

	a better life	
1.2 Economic migrants' experiences before relocating	1.2.1 Economic migrants had difficulties in raising money to relocate	
	1.2.2 Economic migrants prepared to relocate	
1.3 Economic migrants' experiences of relocating	1.3.1 Some economic migrants travelled to South Africa on foot, entered the country illegally and experienced hardships in doing so	
	1.3.2 Travelling to South Africa by bus was usually legal and uneventful	
	1.3.3 Many economic migrants relocated legally	
	1.3.4 Some economic migrants entered South Africa illegally	
1.4 Feelings experienced by economic migrants and their families on relocation	1.4.1 Economic migrants' feelings on relocating	1.4.1.1 Economic migrants experienced the pain of separation from family members and relatives
		1.4.1.2 Economic migrants experienced fear of the unknown and the unfamiliar
		1.4.1.3 Economic migrants experienced other feelings on relocating
	1.4.2 Feelings experienced by families of economic migrants who remained in Zimbabwe	1.4.2.1 Some families had negative feelings about the participant relocating to South Africa
		1.4.2.2 Some families had mixed and positive feelings

		about the participant relocating to South Africa
		1.4.2.3 Some families had positive feelings about the participant relocating to South Africa
1.5 Expectations of economic migrants and their families about relocation	1.5.1 Economic migrants had varying expectations about relocating to South Africa	1.5.1.1 Some economic migrants did not know what to expect or had no specific expectations
		1.5.1.2 Some economic migrants expected the stay to be short and temporary
		1.5.1.3 Some economic migrants expected to generally have a good or better life
		1.5.1.4 Many economic migrants expected to be employed
		1.5.1.5 Some economic migrants expected to be employed according to their training and experience
		1.5.1.6 Some economic migrants expected better economic conditions in general
	1.5.2 Economic migrants' experiences on the meeting of their expectations	1.5.2.1 Some economic migrants' expectations were met
		1.5.2.2 Some participants' expectations were not met
	1.5.3 Economic migrants experienced various positive effects in relocating	

THEME 2: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES AND CHALLENGES IN RELOCATING AND SETTLING IN SOUTH AFRICA		
2.1 Economic migrants' experiences with South African officials in various state departments	2.1.1 Economic migrants' experiences with officials in general and/or general comments on officials	
	2.1.2 Economic migrants had different experiences with the Department of Home Affairs at the border (immigration officers) and elsewhere	2.1.2.1 Economic migrants had positive experiences with officials from the Department of Home Affairs at the border (immigration officers)
		2.1.2.2 Economic migrants had challenging experiences with the Department of Home Affairs at the border
		2.1.2.3 Economic migrants had positive experiences with the Department of Home Affairs at offices other than at the border posts
		2.1.2.4 Economic migrants had challenging experiences with the Department of Home Affairs elsewhere
	2.1.3 Economic migrants had challenging experiences with the South African Embassy/ Department of External Affairs	
	2.1.4 Economic migrants had challenging experiences with the Department of Labour	
	2.1.5 Economic migrants	

	had challenging experiences with the South African Police Service	
	2.1.6 Economic migrants had challenging experiences with the Department of Education	
2.2 Economic migrants' experiences and challenges in different areas of life	2.2.1 Economic migrants had varying experiences of finding employment and securing an income	2.2.1.1 Some economic migrants had secured a job before relocating
		2.2.1.2 Economic migrants relocated without the prospect of employment
		2.2.1.3 Economic migrants experienced finding employment and securing an income relatively easy
		2.2.1.4 Economic migrants' experiences of finding a job and securing an income were challenging
		2.2.1.5 Economic migrants started with temporary, informal menial jobs
		2.2.1.6 Economic migrants experienced the challenge of not knowing where to start looking for a job
		2.2.1.7 Economic migrants were challenged by regulatory issues
		2.2.1.8 Economic migrants were gradually able to secure better jobs and incomes

		2.2.1.9 Economic migrants experienced that they had an income but were unable to support family back home
		2.2.1.10 Economic migrants experienced that the workplace was satisfactory
	2.2.2 Economic migrants' experiences of finding accommodation and housing	2.2.2.1 Economic migrants resided temporarily with friends
		2.2.2.2 Economic migrants rented accommodation
		2.2.2.3 Economic migrants experienced challenges in renting accommodation
		2.2.2.4 Economic migrants have bought houses
		2.2.2.5 Economic migrants would like to buy homes but experienced various challenges
	2.2.3 Economic migrants' experience of accessing education for themselves and their children	2.2 3.1 Economic migrants were able and unable to access education for themselves
		2.2.3.2 Economic migrants' children were attending public, semi- private and private schools
		2.2.3.3 Economic migrants experienced challenges in accessing education for children
	2.2.4 Economic migrants' experiences of health and medical services since	2.2.4.1 Economic migrants have not needed to utilise health care facilities

		relocating
		2.2.4.2 Economic migrants experienced negative discriminatory treatment at public health care facilities that they ascribe to being foreigners
		2.2.4.3 Economic migrants use private health care facilities if possible
		2.2.4.4 Economic migrants experienced good service at public health facilities
	2.2.5 Economic migrants experienced challenges travelling to and from South Africa	
	2.2.6 Economic migrants experienced challenges with banking policies and services	
	2.2.7 Economic migrants experienced language and culture-related challenges	2.2.7.1 Economic migrants experienced language-related challenges
		2.2.7.2 Some economic migrants experienced other culture-related challenges
		2.2.7.3 Some economic migrants experienced discrimination and xenophobia
2.3 Economic migrants' general/concluding reflections on relocating and settling in South Africa		

In the next part of this chapter, the first two themes are presented with their accompanying sub-themes, categories and sub-categories (where applicable). Storylines to substantiate the themes are provided subjecting them to a literature control to support, confirm and/or contrast the themes and the storylines.

3.3.1 THEME 1: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES RELATED TO RELOCATING TO SOUTH AFRICA

According to Jackie MacKay (the then Director-General of Immigration Services) cited in *The Star (*2009:5), many Zimbabweans are economic migrants. What they want is to come into the country to work and go "home" and take money back. Fournier and Whittall (2009:5) point out that political instability and mismanagement in Zimbabwe have led to an economic crisis, with high inflation and prices doubling at the time on average every 24 hours. The economic collapse brought industrial and agricultural production to a virtual standstill, there were shortages of essential goods, and basic infrastructure and public services have all but collapsed. Chikanda (2010:51) reported that most of the health care professionals who left Zimbabwe migrated to countries where their qualifications are recognised, such as the UK, South Africa and Botswana. The researcher also pointed out that the poor salaries that Zimbabwe's health care professionals are paid, compared with those offered to their counterparts in more developed countries, have hastened the emigration of Zimbabwean health staff (Chikanda, 2010:51). The participants' responses to the question, "*What made you to decide to leave Zimbabwe and relocate to South Africa?"* confirmed the above-mentioned literature that lead to this theme. The economic migrants from Zimbabwe who participated in this study cited various reasons for them deciding to leave their country of origin.

The transition process model, or Schlossberg's (1981) model for analysing human adaptations to transitions, was adopted as the theoretical framework for this study. The source of the transition is given as one factor that influences adaptation. "Some changes come about as a result of a deliberate decision on the part of the individual, whereas others are forced upon the individual by other people or circumstances" (Schlossberg, 1981:9). This was evident in the experiences of economic migrants from Zimbabwe who reported that the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe

made them leave the country. Furthermore, they took conscious decisions to relocate to South Africa in search of a better life.

Almost all of the participants mentioned economic reasons as the main cause for relocating to South Africa. This is illustrated in the quotations taken from the transcribed interviews as follows:

Abel: "*…. but the main thing was it was becoming a bit hard in Zimbabwe. So I had to leave because I wanted to search for greener pastures here in South Africa. …it was a bit difficult you know, because the money I was earning could not sustain me and my family so I decided to quit.*"

Batsirai: "[The] *regression* [recession] *caused me to leave that country. You know we leave the country because we want to earn a living that is a decent one.*"

Chipo: "*Ya, it was the hectic situation there, I couldn't find a job. I couldn't find a source of living and ya things were hectic, I had children to take care of, so I had to come here to look for greener pastures.*"

David: "*After too much inflation. So I just decided to cross the border in search of better opportunities .I finished my degree I struggled to find a job in Zimbabwe and also the economy was performing badly. It was in 2007, 2008, things were really bad, things were really at a standstill. But at the end of the day the poor performing economy pushed us even although we didn't want to.*"

Edson: "*Things were not well with me, so.... I had a big burden, my family, so I had to come and look for better stuff…: My brothers were going to school; I was the only one working, my kid and my wife, my wife passed away. So, my wife, my kid, my brothers and my parents as well. They were begging me for anything they wanted so it was too much for me so I had to relocate. I was working but it was not better for me.*"

Fungai: "*...for economic situation. Again...the money, it was really difficult for us to really use it even if you have a lot of money but you can't do anything. You just have money but you can't really buy what you want to.*"

George: *"…economic challenges in Zimbabwe left me with no option but to leave. I was working there, the salary was too low. I couldn't help upkeep my family, children and even to sustain my personal life."*

Hilda: *"Economic problems. Okay,…both of us me and my husband we were not working. So we decided to relocate to South Africa so that we can find something to do. To earn a living".*

In analysing this first main theme the economic migrants' experiences related to relocating to South Africa, the following five sub-themes emerged:

> Sub-theme 1.1 Reasons other than economic, why migrants from Zimbabwe relocated to South Africa
>
> Sub-theme 1.2 Economic migrants' experiences before relocating
>
> Sub-theme 1.3 Economic migrants' experiences of relocating
>
> Sub-theme 1.4 Feelings experienced by economic migrants and their families on relocation
>
> Sub-theme.1.5 Expectations of economic migrants and their families about relocation

The above mentioned sub-themes and their accompanying categories and subcategories (where applicable) are discussed and presented in the narratives below, together with the necessary literature control.

3.3.1.6 Sub-theme 1.1 Reasons other than economic, why migrants from Zimbabwe relocated to South Africa

The sub-theme regarding reasons for economic migrants' relocating to South Africa unfolded into three categories. The participants also mentioned other reasons besides economic reasons that made them move to and settle in South Africa. These reasons are described below.

- CATEGORY 1.1.1 SOME MIGRANTS RELOCATED TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR POLITICAL REASONS AS WELL AS ECONOMIC REASONS

The participants in this study made mention of political instability in Zimbabwe as an additional factor for their relocation to South Africa. The following quotations are provided to support this category.

Participant **Fungai** gave this response as another reason for relocating from Zimbabwe: *"…that time it was because of politics, they were busy fighting each other…. even if you have a lot of money but you can't do anything. You just have money but you can't really buy what you want to."*

George also mentioned politics as the other reason why he decided to come and settle in South Africa. This was his response: *"Political situation as well, was also a factor as well too. Sometimes you couldn't feel secure as teachers. By then it was 2011 when I left Zimbabwe. Whereby, some teachers were threatened with this and that. But as in my case I wasn't but the situation you will never know what would happen…you will be on target."*

The participants in this research confirm the sentiments expressed in the literature. The *Cape Argus* (2009:8) reported that, "a little over a year ago, Esther Dzomba had a home in Zimbabwe and was studying nursing. But all changed when her mother was killed, allegedly for supporting the opposition MDC, forcing her daughter to flee the country. Fearing that she too would be attacked, the 22 year old flagged down a truck and made her way to Joburg."

- CATEGORY 1.1.2 SOME MIGRANTS RELOCATED TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR PROFESSIONAL REASONS ASSOCIATED WITH ECONOMIC REASONS

Another participant felt that his career was not progressing. Therefore, this was a 'wake-up call' for him to decide to leave Zimbabwe and settle in South Africa. Participant **Batsirai** was very concerned about his career. Therefore he decided to move to South Africa. These were his words*: "To stabilise my profession. For me just to live in a different country and experience a different economic climate that empowers me in terms of professional development that was the whole motive of my relocation."* This confirms what Chikanda (2010:60) points out, namely professional factors such as heavy workloads and insufficient opportunities for self-improvement influenced emigration from Zimbabwe.

- CATEGORY 1.1.3 SOME MIGRANTS RELOCATED TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR A BETTER LIFE

With the collapse of the economy and political instability in Zimbabwe, there also was a decline of basic services and quality of life in general. Therefore, this

motivated other economic migrants to relocate to South Africa in the hope of finding better lifestyles for themselves and their families.

Participant **Abel**'s response implied that search for a better life was a force that made him decide to relocate: "*….the main thing was it was becoming a bit hard in Zimbabwe. So I had to leave because I wanted to search for greener pastures here in South Africa.*"

Edson said that a quest for a different life from the one he was living in Zimbabwe made him leave the country, he explained: *"Things were not well with me, so …I had a big burden, my family, so I had to come and look for better stuff."*

Itayi was not hesitant to mention: *"Search of greener pastures and looking for a stable life."*

3.3.1.7   Sub-theme 1.2 Economic migrants' experiences before relocating

The information shared by the participants in the face-to-face interviews showed that people were living in dire situations and the decision to relocate to South Africa had to be made. This sub-theme on the experiences of the economic migrants' experiences unfolded into two categories described below.

- CATEGORY 1.2.1 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS HAD DIFFICULTIES IN RAISING MONEY TO RELOCATE

The following storylines testify to participants' difficult financial situations in Zimbabwe. Consequently, it was hard for them to get the money required to fund the journey to South Africa. Therefore, they had to try by all means to get the money to facilitate their relocation.

David: *"Yeah, it was a huge challenge. Firstly…. back then you needed to prove that you can sustain yourself in South Africa. So I had to buy some travellers cheques and it was quite a lot of money for an unemployed graduate. So I had to sell a few things, I had to borrow from few people afterwards. I remember I had my nice radio that I loved so much that I got from college and I had to sell that one to raise money for bus fare."*

Chipo: *"We had no money; we had to look for money to travel from Zimbabwe to South Africa. Yaah, the challenges* [in this country] *are there, because most of the time you will be scared. It was a thousand rand and I think it was 2010 and a R1 000 was a lot of money. I struggled to raise it, I struggled to pay it because I had borrowed it. I think it took me a year or more to actually pay it back."*

- CATEGORY 1.2.2 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS PREPARED TO RELOCATE

Despite the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe at the time, some participants were able to actually plan for their relocation to South Africa. Their experiences before relocation are encapsulated in the following excerpts:

Fungai: *"... my husband he had applied to work at Unisa University."*

Itayi: *"I applied for the job, I got the job and then I was given the papers to apply for permit, so I applied* [for a job] *before I came down…* [from Zimbabwe]*"*

3.3.1.8   Sub-theme 1.3 Economic migrants' experiences of relocating

This sub-theme emerged in the participants' response to the researcher's question on *"How did you come to South Africa?"* and also her request to participants to share their experience and challenges during the process of moving to South Africa. These experiences are described as follows: "Zimbabweans fleeing across the border to South Africa risk beatings, rape or robbery by bandits called the *guma-guma.* The challenges facing Zimbabweans do not end once they have crossed the border. In South Africa they are met with little sympathy from Government, which often fails to meet not only its international responsibilities but also those enshrined in the South African constitution" (Fournier & Whitall, 2009:6). Thus, this sub-theme unfolded in to the following four categories explained below.

- CATEGORY 1.3.1 SOME ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TRAVELLED TO SOUTH
  AFRICA ON FOOT, ENTERED THE COUNTRY ILLEGALLY AND
  EXPERIENCED HARDSHIPS IN DOING SO

Lefko-Everett (2010:275) in her study of migrant Zimbabwean women in South Africa, observed that migrant women experienced trauma and irregular entry, including crossing rivers and difficult terrain, constant fear of being caught, attacks

by wild animals and abuse and victimisation by armed gangs. One participant related similar experiences in the following lines:

Abel: "*I came through the bush* [on foot]. *It was very tough; we met a lot of challenges along the way. Hunger, some robbers there, at some point we were dropped along the way and we did not have money to proceed up until we met a 'good Samaritan' who brought us here… It was just those people who got a job, who carry people illegally, we came here illegally. They helped us, we had to pay money so that they escort us to cross the border and then they had to organise transport for us and after which the driver will take care of us. Ya, at first I came with a friend and other friends but he was the one who knew the way to come here so he was the one who took me.*"

He also emphasised that: *"We were six of us from the same village."*

- CATEGORY 1.3.2 TRAVELLING TO SOUTH AFRICA BY BUS WAS USUALLY LEGAL AND UNEVENTFUL

Some participants came to South Africa by bus and they entered the country through the official port of entry. These participants recounted their experiences in the following manner:

Batsirayi came to South Africa legally and indicated this by saying: *"By bus. No* [not illegal] *at the time I had a permit which was a number of days that you are permitted to get into the country. Then from there on I applied for asylum."*

Hilda said: "*it was legal by bus.*"

David also reported that he came into the country legally: "*I came legally. I had a passport and a visa. Back then, we were given six months visa before travelling to South Africa. Travelling, no I did not encounter any challenges.*"

- CATEGORY 1.3.3 MANY ECONOMIC MIGRANTS RELOCATED LEGALLY

The following utterances made by the participants confirm that they came to South Africa as regularised migrants:

Edson: *"I came legally… [having a passport], those temporary ones [visa] which were issued by the border."*

Fungai: *"Legally. .. my husband he had applied to work at Unisa University. Then he was employed there as a lecturer. So the Unisa gave him the work permit to work as a lecturer. Yes all our family members had our papers when we came."*

George: *"I applied for a permit before I left Zimbabwe. I got it from the embassy. So I came legally."*

Itayi: *"We came legally. I obtained my permit in South Africa. I applied for the job, I got the job and then I was given the papers to apply for the permit, so I applied for a job when were in Zimbabwe before I came down… I can't really say we faced a lot of challenges, except for applying for the papers for the rest of the family. When we moved to South Africa, they came with visas and then we applied for the permits when we were here."*

- CATEGORY 1.3.4 SOME ECONOMIC MIGRANTS ENTERED SOUTH AFRICA ILLEGALLY

Among the economic migrants who participated in this study, some came to South Africa illegally. The following actual words of the participants from the transcriptions of the semi-structured interviews, sum up the experiences of these participants relating to their coming into the country through illegal means:

Abel: *"At first I came illegally. Yaa … I had a passport, but you know during the time the passports were not valuable* [valid]."

Chipo: *"…the very first time I came I was actually a border jumper, my passport was not yet out then I came here but things did not work out because I didn't have papers. So I went back home and luckily my passport was out and I came back again. But you always have to dodge the policemen you know, the car you are in is stopped and you are asked where are you going?... , the first days you are always scared, you see the police van or you see even a security person and you think they are police, you are just scared for your life."*

From the above utterances it may seem that these participants came into the country illegally and later regularised their migrant status whilst in the country. However,

participant **Hilda** came to South Africa and is still staying in the country illegally, she openly stated the following: "*And I am staying illegally, so you know you have a crime already. So you are not free to stay in South Africa because you are always scared of the police.*"

3.3.1.9 Sub-theme 1.4 Feelings experienced by economic migrants and their families on relocation

This sub-theme was deduced from the information the participants provided on the researcher's question on: "*What were your and your family's feelings about this decision?*" The researcher wanted to understand the feelings and emotions the economic migrants and their families experienced when they took the decision to relocate to South Africa. Coulshed and Orme (1998:100) indicate that "a state of crisis can occur when making social readjustments. Although individual and ethnic group variations exist, many immigrants similarly go through a pattern of adaptation to an unfamiliar and probably discriminating environment. The loss of support networks together with a sense of powerlessness means that the process of emigrating goes through critical phases such as excitement, disenchantment, perception of discrimination, identification crisis and marginal acceptance." Taking these statements into consideration, the researcher wanted to know the emotions of participants and their families and if relocating posed a crisis.

Under this sub-theme, two categories emerged with their accompanying sub-categories as presented in the following sections.

- CATEGORY 1.4.1 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' FEELINGS ON RELOCATING

The participants mentioned that they and their families experienced various emotions when they made the decision to leave Zimbabwe and relocate here in South Africa. These emotions are described in the sub-categories below.

o Sub-category 1.4.1.1 Economic migrants experienced the pain of separation from family members and relatives

According to Maphosa (2009:3), despite the benefits of labour migration in sending countries, it often led to serious social problems, especially in the family life of the migrant. In the excerpts from the face-to-face interviews, the participants spoke

about their pain of separating from their loved ones in Zimbabwe. This correlates with Hishongwa (cited in Maphosa, 2009:3) who states that migration prevented African men from fulfilling their roles as fathers, husbands and members of the community. Murray (in Maphosa, 2009:3) states that the separation from spouses generates acute anxiety, insecurity and conflict. The participants confirmed that they experienced pain on leaving their loved ones in Zimbabwe. They related their experiences along the following lines:

Abel: *"Yoh, …at first it was hard for (us)* [them] *because it was difficult to leave each other."*

George: *"It was a tough decision, because we knew the life that we are going to spend was going to be a life of a family which is divided, whereby I will be separated with my wife, from the children, relatives and friends who I was accustomed to."*

Abel: *"But I am just doing it because things are tough in Zimbabwe. But I don't like that on my own. I need to live with my family, but the situation hasn't permitted me to do so. I don't like the situation I am in."*

George: *"Because instead of giving necessary parental guidance to my children as often as possible, I am not. And I feel my children; they are left without option but to get (silence). Actually, they are half-baked in terms of how they should live and the necessary guidance they should get from their father. Yes, from their mother they get the necessary guidance but to their father it's bad."*

"Yes, so separation, that separation is giving us headache every day, it's more like we are boyfriend and girlfriend. Part here and parting. Its giving us a lot of travelling, putting us on high risk of being involved in accidents."

Abel: *"A lot, you know, if you do not live with your spouse, you know a lot of things happen. As for me a lot of things were said about me, because I left my wife in Zimbabwe, she was working back home and a lot of things were said about me and her. Because the general consensus say if a husband is away they will have girlfriends and when a woman is away she can have some sugar daddies. So people can say anything and at one time it disturbed me. So at first it disturbed me to the extent that I wanted to go back home but I had nothing to do when I go back home. I*

was so disturbed and upset to the extent that we quarrelled every now and again with my wife."

- o Sub-category 1.4.1.2 Economic migrants experienced fear of the unknown and the unfamiliar

Participants **Edson** and **Batsirai** expressed the fear they experienced when they took the decision to relocate to South Africa. They recounted the feelings they experienced as follows:

Edson used the following words to express his fear: "*The most thing was actually fear, going where I did not know and where I would end up into and on the transport as well it does not move in the right way, you travel long distance for a long time, get exhausted, hunger on the way, meeting people you don't know, it's different. People who speak a different language."*

Batsirai explained his experience to the researcher as follows**:** "*Of course, you leave a country without any idea or clue whether you will be employed or get a job in your line of study or area or fields of study."*

Despite their fear, it did not discourage these two economic migrants to relocate to South Africa. This is in line with Schlossberg's (2011:160) findings about the importance of a person's inner strength for coping with situations. Schlossberg (2011:60) states that the power of optimism, also termed hope, cannot be underestimated, as it is a key factor to adaptation and it is the feeling that what is desired is also possible. In summary: "Attitude does not buy groceries but it can certainly make a difference in the quality of survival" (Schlossberg, 2011:60).

- o Sub-category 1.4.1.3 Economic migrants experienced other feelings on relocating

Some participants felt good about their decision to relocate because of the prospect of a better life.

David shared with the researcher how he felt about relocating: "*We had mixed feelings…on one hand we were excited with the prospects of getting better life, the prospect of getting better job opportunities. On the other hand, we were afraid to be cut off from our social capital. So we were coming to a country where we knew*

nobody, leaving our people so that is what made us to have some mixed feelings. But at the end of the day the poor performing economy pushed us even/although we didn't want to."

Hilda felt good about their decision to relocate: "*It was our **only option** left for us to relocate to South Africa., because we had tried other things. So for us that was the only option left, so it was good for us."*

Batsirai also shared the same feelings as **Hilda** "*Great, that I have made a decision, I felt great, I felt that that was **the right thing to do** at the time in order for me to save my professional development."*

Itayi had the following to say: "*We just moved, we **never thought** [about feelings] because it was just terrible in Zimbabwe so we had to get a better place for the family."*

- CATEGORY 1.4.2 FEELINGS EXPERIENCED BY FAMILIES OF ECONOMIC MIGRANTS WHO REMAINED IN ZIMBABWE

The researcher asked the participants to relate their families' feelings about the participants' relocation to South Africa. This was meant for the researcher to gain an understanding of how the families felt when the economic migrants decided to move to South Africa. Furthermore, this question was asked to the participants because the researcher could not interview the economic migrants' families in Zimbabwe because they were not part of the population of this research study.

This category evolved into two sub-categories as presented below.

o Sub-category 1.4.2.1 Some families had negative feelings about the participant relocating to South Africa

Lefko-Everett (2010:272) states that decisions to migrate are not always welcomed by family and community members. Some participants' families were not happy about the participant's relocation. Although some of the families still supported the participant's decision to leave the country, they were not happy about it. This is evidenced in the following utterances by the participants.

Abel said: "*…at first it was hard for us* [them] *because it was difficult to leave each other.*"

Chipo expressed the negative feelings of her family**:** "*…people were just scared in the family how I was going to survive and you know even myself I was scared for myself.*"

Edson mentioned that: "*So some didn't want me to come here others just said, 'no just try maybe you will come up with something. She* (wife) *didn't think it's a good idea but she just said, 'let me let you go and if you are man enough you will think about us'.*"

o   Sub-category 1.4.2.2 Some families had mixed and positive feelings about the participant relocating to South Africa

Other participants reported their families' mixed feelings as follows in the accounts of their experiences:

Edson explained his family's feelings as follows: "*They* [the feelings] *were mixed…but the thing is I am the one who decided to come to this side. So some didn't want me to come here others just said, 'no just try maybe you will come up with something' and my wife also she was not decided yet. She didn't think it's a good idea but she just said, 'let me let you go and if you are man enough you will think about us'.*"

Abel reiterated this about his family's feelings about his relocation: "*…since they know that South Africa has got a lot of potential they were expecting something big from me.*"

3.3.1.10   Sub-theme.1.5 Expectations of economic migrants and their families about relocation

The decision to relocate was accompanied by hopes of a change in lifestyle by the economic migrants and their families. Under this sub-theme, three categories unfolded as explained below. The categories are also accompanied by various sub-categories.

- CATEGORY 1.5.1 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS HAD VARYING EXPECTATIONS ABOUT RELOCATING TO SOUTH AFRICA

The participants made mention of various hopes or expectations they and their families had when they took the decision to relocate to South Africa. The experiences of the participants in this regard, confirm what Schlossberg (1981:6) postulates that the outcome of a transition is not always positive but neither is it always negative. Thus, often the outcome of the transition has both positive and negative aspects for the same individual.

The economic migrants' expectations about their relocation are explained in detail with evidence from the participants' reports in the following six sub-categories:

- Sub-category 1.5.1.1 Some economic migrants did not know what to expect or had no specific expectations

The following views expressed by some participants seem to suggest that they did not have clear expectations of what they would achieve by relocating to South Africa.

Batsirai expressed that he had no clear expectations when he relocated and stated that: "*…. there were no expectations ….Of course, you leave a country without any idea or clue whether you will be employed or get a job in your line of study or area of fields of study.*"

Itayi actually expected that the process of relocating and settling in South Africa was not going to be easy. She was quite aware that it was not going to be smooth sailing. She put it in this way: "*You are leaving your home country and coming to a new country so you expect hiccups here and there.*"

- Sub-category 1.5.1.2 Some economic migrants expected the stay to be short and temporary

Some participants reiterated that they did not foresee their relocation to South Africa to be long or permanent when they decided to seek for greener pastures. Their experiences confirmed what Makina (2010:239) pointed out on the expectations of migrants by stating that "…they are in a larger limbo state as well, very much tied up with the future of Zimbabwe itself. Johannesburg's large Zimbabwean population are not immigrants who intend to settle and integrate, they share the common sense of

displacement and harbour strong hopes of returning home one day when the conditions that drove them into migration are removed. They are temporary migrants biding their time."

The following storylines underscore this sub-category.

Abel: *"I wasn't expecting to spent many years here, I thought maybe things could be fine back home then I would have to go back. So I was expecting to work a few years here and go back."*

Chipo: *"Actually, my personal expectation was I didn't think I will spend 3 years in the country. I thought within 3 years I would have fixed my things and Zimbabwe will be fine and I go back home."*

Participant **Edson** was unsure about when he could think of going back to Zimbabwe. These were his words about the matter**:** *"the thing is we don't even know* [when we will be going back] *because like now things are not well and actually getting worse. So something is more important to us, though we are planning but our plans are actually determined by what is happening there back home."*

- o Sub-category 1.5.1.3 Some economic migrants expected to generally have a good or better life

When recounting the expectations they and their families had, the participants cited a desire and hope for a good or better life. They had hopes that South Africa was going to give them better opportunities. The researcher got the picture that these economic migrants regarded South Africa as their "Canaan". This is because the participants spoke about the expectation for a better life along the following lines:

Chipo: "*The expectations were that things will change, like there was going to be a big difference in our life, in our lifestyle, in our economic situation."*

David: "*We were expecting to really have a very good and better life."*

Edson: "*…it was actually being able to do things we could not do when we were there. You know when you are growing up you have many things you would want to do in life like building a home, getting a car and also all those things, so when I was coming here I thought one of these things will come up after going that side."*

Fungai: *"We were expecting a lot of things. We were expecting a good life such as having houses, cars and also education, a better education for the children."*

George: "*However, because others were coming here to work and you could see they were somehow improving in terms of their well-being, in terms of supporting their families, so I also thought if I could leave Zimbabwe one I will be a little bit safer political crisis and political threats and whatever which was happening back home in Zimbabwe."* This is in line with what Rogerson (1999:16) said, namely that "the attraction of friends and relatives already resident in South Africa was also an important consideration for migration."

Hilda: *"(sigh), we expected that we were going to, our life was going to improve than what it was when we were in Zimbabwe. So we expected our life to change."*

o Sub-category 1.5.1.4 Many economic migrants expected to be employed

Due to the collapse of the economy there was high unemployment in Zimbabwe. Therefore, many economic migrants hoped to become employed when they relocated to South Africa. They expressed themselves as follows in this regard:

Batsirai: "*So I thought I would come in and look for a job and start working. So one of the expectations is that I will get a job in my area of study or area of specialisation and be able to work and earn a living."*

George: *"Too I was thinking khuri (that) maybe at one point I will get employment so that I might sustain myself and also the life of my family and relatives."*

Edson: *"…it was actually being able to do things we could not do when we were there."*

Hilda: *"We expected to get jobs."*

The above utterances by the participants confirm what was observed by Maphosa (2009:34) that the reasons given for migrating include lack of employment in Zimbabwe and better pay prospects in South Africa. Furthermore, Dreby (2010:10) also noted that Mexican migrant mothers and fathers in her study, regardless of educational background, went to New Jersey to work. This highlights the fact that people migrate to other countries in order to improve their lives economically.

- Sub-category 1.5.1.5 Some economic migrants expected to be employed according to their training and experience

From the biographical profiles of the participants, the researcher noted that the economic migrants had acquired some sort of professional training before leaving their home country Zimbabwe. Some were holders of degrees and others had college diplomas. Therefore, they had an expectation to get jobs in line with their specific training

Participant **Batsirai** showed that his profession was of paramount importance to him. He highlighted that concern about his profession informed his decision to leave Zimbabwe. Thus it was logical for him to get a job in line with his training: "*To stabilise my profession. So one of the expectations is that I will get a job in my area of study or area of specialisation and be able to work and earn a living.*"

Hilda also reported her wish to work in line with her training: "*Like myself I thought I was going to get a job I went to school for.*"

The participants were expecting to get jobs in line with what they trained for in Zimbabwe but some research studies present observations that contradict the participants' expectations. In a research study conducted by Dreby (2010:9) on the lives of Mexican migrant parents in New Jersey, it was observed that " the parents in the study some had college level training, high school and others six to nine years of schooling." However, it was also noted that, upon arrival in New Jersey, migrants of diverse backgrounds found themselves on a relatively equal playing field because legal status in particular, prevents those with higher levels of education from gaining an edge (Dreby 2010:10).

- Sub-category 1.5.1.6 Some economic migrants expected better economic conditions in general

As encapsulated in the words of the participants, it seems their life in Zimbabwe was dire and they really expected a change once they relocated and settled in South Africa. According to Chikanda (2010:59), economic factors are given as the reason for wanting to leave the country, and these include the desire to receive a better remuneration in the intended country of destination, or to save quickly for later use in

the home country. Batsirai and Itayi confirmed the above when they recounted their expectations in the following words:

Batsirai: "*For me just to live in a different country and experience a different economic climate that empowers me in terms of professional development - that was the whole motive of my relocation… You know we leave the country because we want to earn a living that is a decent one.*"

Itayi: *"We just expected to get a better salary from the jobs we are doing."*

- CATEGORY 1.5.2 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES ON THE MEETING OF THEIR EXPECTATIONS

The previous category demonstrated that the participants had various expectations, as expressed in their individual accounts. This caused the researcher to be more inquisitive and curious to know if these expectations were realised. Their accounts on whether they have achieved what they had hoped for unfolded into this category. This category is accompanied by three sub-categories as participants tried to explain what they have achieved so far. These are explained in detail below.

o Sub-category 1.5.2.1 Some economic migrants' expectations were met

Affect, according to Schlossberg (1981:8), may be 'positive or negative'. According to the theory some kinds of change generate feelings of pleasure, whilst other changes are accompanied by painful feelings. However, it seems most transitions probably have elements of both positive and negative effects (Schlossberg, 1981:8).

With reference to their achievements, some participants were happy to share and demonstrate that their relocation has generated good feelings. The economic migrants expressed their happy feelings to the researcher in the following manner:

Participant **Edson** was pleased to highlight that he was able to meet some of his expectations although he was still working on some of them: "*yes some* [expectations] *were actually achieved. I have managed to build my rural house, it is big enough for me and my family and my brothers as well. I am actually working on that as well for now* (like buying a car)*. I haven't got it."*

Fungai alluded to how their expectations were met because her husband was working: "*…we did* [meet the expectations]. *OK* [we managed to reach our expectations], *because when we are here we did not struggle to get a job. Since the father of the children was having his qualifications. So we did manage to meet our expectations that we want. My family was happy to be here in South Africa because the way they were living* [in Zimbabwe] *it was not the same way they are living now."*

George expressed that he was achieving his expectations: "*… to a larger extent we are. Though challenges still prevail, yes, because right now I am able to get food on my table, a meal for my family, to dress my family, they need clothing and also the basics at least the basics."*

Itayi gladly said: "*Yes, we are happy* [about the decision] *because ever since we moved Zimbabwe we now have a better stable life."*

Regarding expectations in general, the above storylines were somewhat in contrast with Dreby's (2010:4) observations regarding the Mexican parents, namely that unmet parental expectations (particularly of migrant mothers) caused tensions and caused hurt feelings in parent- child relationships. The author further noted that children left behind in Mexico felt resentful of their parents' absence (Dreby, 2010:4).

o Sub-category 1.5.2.2 Some economic migrants' expectations were not met

Although some participants had achieved or were achieving their goals, it was sad to hear others express that they were failing in their expectations due to various factors. The same was also noted by Dreby (2010:11) that work in New Jersey was not always easy to obtain as Mexican parents had expected and many struggled to maintain a steady job. One participant in Dreby's study (2010:11) was quoted saying, "I would say 75 per cent of the people come fooled by this country (meaning the United States of America). They are fooled by us immigrants who go back (to Mexico), we get a nice pair of shoes, good clothes and we say I earn so much and I have a car. Everyone thinks that by coming they will make money quickly and they think coming here is living well." Some economic migrants from Zimbabwe expressed during the face-to-face interviews that they were failing to meet their expectations, and examples of the supporting storylines are as follows:

Chipo: *"No I am not even near any of them now. I am still fighting for them. No even here things are not as great as we thought, and things are getting even worse at home. So you find that whatever I get there is family to take care of, there are parents, you know brothers and sisters are all not working. So basically, I am working here to take care of them back home because the situation is still the same."*

David: *"Unfortunately, when we arrived we realised that it is not as easy as we thought, we realised that South Africa has got its own challenges. For starters I had to somehow struggle to get a job. I had to register with their council of which it was something I was not aware of. But only to find out there were some regulatory issues and policies that I had to deal with."*

Hilda: *"Unfortunately, there were challenges that we faced* [not able to meet expectations]. *So we ended up* [with] *what we were not expecting, just finding ways to get some money. Like myself I thought I was going to get a job I went to school for. Unfortunately I could not find a job so we ended up doing buying and selling instead of maybe going to a professional job."*

- CATEGORY 1.5.3 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS EXPERIENCED VARIOUS POSITIVE EFFECTS OF RELOCATION

Most of the participants in this research study expressed sentiments that their decisions to relocate to South Africa had had positive effects for them and their families. They explained this as follows:

Abel: *"We also managed to support a lot of people whom we could not support during our tenure in Zimbabwe. So I can say these are some of the things we managed to do to mention a few. But there are a lot of things we managed to do."*

Participant **George** expressed that relocating to South Africa was a gain: *"We used to always fight for or always scramble for the little we got when I was in Zimbabwe. So it was survival of the fittest or from nothing. So positively, they now have something on their table. They feel their father is working and we have changed our children from being day scholars to boarding. They are now a little bit better; they can now devote more time to learning than more time travelling to and from school."*

Fungai reported that: "*since we are working and my kids now they are managing to study better than before.*"

Abel further stated that: "*we could not achieve when I was home that we achieved now. So it has become a little bit better. Yes, when I was home my wife so much wanted to have her own home. I remember I bought her a stand, my first stand I bought it when I was a boy, I had not yet married. So we did not have money to build that stand and we sold it because of some problems. Then when I moved here, we bought another stand and we have managed to build that house together. We also bought a car that I could not afford when I was home* [because of their income]. *Yes, it was profitable after some time.*"

Hilda had this to say: "*I can say financially it changed for the better*"

Itayi explained that: "*Because we have our own house in our own name, we bought it through a loan, we have cars, and the whole family is here. What are left are the extended families that are in Zimbabwe, so you can say you are ninety-five per cent settled.*"

These utterances by the participants confirm what Lefko-Everett (2010:278) discovered in her research study entitled *The voices of migrant Zimbabwean women in South Africa,* that many women in her study felt that their lives had improved significantly as a result of migration to South Africa.

3.3.2 THEME 2: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES AND CHALLENGES IN RELOCATING AND SETTLING IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to Maphosa (2009:35), young people in the area where he did his research had considerable knowledge about the conditions in South Africa, such as high incidences of crime, xenophobia, unemployment, arrests, harassment and deportation of immigrants. However, Maphosa (2009:35) states that despite this knowledge about the unfavourable conditions in South Africa, many still expressed the desire to work in South Africa. During the face-to face-interviews with the participants, it transpired without any doubt that economic migrants faced a number of challenges when relocating and settling in this country. This confirms what Maphosa (2009:12-13) postulates that "The impact on the host countries have often focussed on the negative impacts of immigration and this debate which is often led

by the media reports and political statements gives rise to xenophobic feelings and often violence against immigrants. There are media reports of Zimbabwean immigrants in Botswana and South Africa being assaulted by law enforcement agents and ordinary people. These result from the perception of immigrants as taking away jobs from the locals and committing crimes."

Polzer (2010:384) argues that the Bill of Rights in the South African Constitution sets out basic socioeconomic (in addition to civil) rights for 'everyone', without discrimination by nationality or legal status. Various government departments have the mandate to uphold these rights through public service delivery. However, it has emerged that "when Zimbabweans tried to access their constitutional rights in South Africa, many have experienced discrimination and exclusion from public services (especially basic health care and education)" (Polzer, 2010:384).

In confirming the above, the participants gave accounts of their experiences with various officials from different government departments during their processes of relocating and settling in South Africa. The development of this theme was, for instance, informed by the following responses of participants when relating their experiences:

Hilda: "… *but I can say, since I was saying we had challenges.*"

David: "*Unfortunately, when we arrived we realised that it is not as easy as we thought, we realised that South Africa has got its own challenges.*"

This theme has three sub-themes that are accompanied by various categories and sub-categories explained below.

In delving deeper, the following three sub-themes emerged from this second main theme:

Sub-theme 2.1	Economic migrants' experiences with South African officials in various state departments
Sub-theme 2.2	Economic migrants' experiences and challenges in different areas of life
Sub-theme 2.3	Economic migrants' general/ concluding reflections on relocating and settling in South Africa

The above mentioned sub-themes and their accompanying categories and subcategories (where applicable) are discussed and presented in the narratives below.

3.3.2.4 Sub-theme 2.1 Economic migrants' experiences with South African officials in various state departments

It is general knowledge that when a person moves from one country to another, there are official processes to be followed. Therefore, this sub-theme was deduced from the information that participants provided on the researcher's question: "*With which South African government officials did you have to deal with during your process of migrating to and settling in South Africa. Could you tell me your experience and challenges with these officials?*"

The economic migrants reported different experiences and challenges when dealing with the officials in various government departments. Consequently, the participants' responses to the above question unfolded into the following six categories.

- CATEGORY 2.1.1 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES WITH OFFICIALS IN GENERAL AND/OR GENERAL COMMENTS ON OFFICIALS

The following quotations from the participants demonstrate their general feelings about government officials in South Africa:

George: *"…officials are different. It depends with whom I meet. Some of them were so friendly and could assist me. Some were reluctant of which you have to go back because they might be requesting something that should not be requested."*

Itayi: ''*No* [officials did not give challenges] *we were in Polokwane, it's a small city it wasn't difficult."*

The above explanations by the participants seem to suggest that the nature of interaction between government officials and economic migrants depended on the personality of the official. Another thought portrayed is that government officials in small cities are easy to deal with. However, this differs with the observations of Park and Chen (2009:37) in their study of Chinese migrants in small towns in the Free State province. They stated that almost all of the interviewees expressed concerns about corrupt South African government officials from Home Affairs, the revenue

service (SARS) and the labour departments as well as the local police (Park & Chen, 2009:37).

- CATEGORY 2.1.2 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS HAD DIFFERENT EXPERIENCES WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS AT THE BORDER (IMMIGRATION OFFICERS) AND ELSEWHERE

Participants had much interaction with immigration officers. This is so because the Department of Home Affairs is the one department that regulates the entry, stay and departure of economic migrants in South Africa. This category unfolded into the following four sub-categories, demonstrating that the participants had considerable interaction with these officials:

- Sub-category 2.1.2.1 Economic migrants' had positive experiences with officials from the Department of Home Affairs at the border (immigration officers)

Some of the participants reported that they had good experiences with the immigration officers. Their experiences are explained along the following lines:

Batsirai: *"Nothing* [no challenges], *I just give them my passport, they stamp, and I left. I get into the bus. We don't dialogue."*

Hilda: *"Maybe I can say officials at the border. I had no challenges."*

One participant thought that the good experience she had with officials at the border was due to the fact that when she relocated to South Africa the immigration rules were relaxed at that time. The participant gave her opinion on the experience as follows:

Itayi: *"The border people and the Home Affairs, when we came down here, it wasn't that difficult. The rules were still a bit relaxed so I didn't experience a lot of challenges."*

- Sub-category 2.1.2.2 Economic migrants had challenging experiences with the Department of Home Affairs at the border

When recounting their experiences from the officials at the border, some economic migrants reported the challenges they encountered. The following storylines testify to

the participants' difficult experiences with Department of Home Affairs' officials at the border:

One participant felt discriminated by the way he was treated by the officials and expressed himself as follows about it:

Abel: "*So we had challenges there by the border, the way they handle foreigners there is different from the way they handle their own people.*"

Another participant had difficult experiences because the officials were unfriendly:

David: *"And in coming to South Africa then I dealt with the immigration officials at the Beit Bridge border post. I felt a sense of being unwelcome. Because I remember they were saying, 'why are all these people going to South Africa?' 'Go back to your country, fix your things'. 'You are coming here to steal and you are coming here to take our jobs.' That was not so cool."*

This seemed to have been a challenge for the participants because they were coming from dire situations in Zimbabwe in search of greener pastures and at the border they were spoken to in such words by the officials.

One participant felt that he had a difficult experience at the border due to the ignorance of the immigration officers. He expressed himself as follows:

George: "*…normally it's at the border post. That's where I normally had a few challenges. As I said earlier on my permit is from, I got it outside South Africa .Most officials from the border post, some of them don't even know or they pretend not knowing this type of permit. So at times they ask you, 'go back' until you try and say, 'look here, look here', again you have to give them certain documents to support that this is a valid passport. So, ignorance from the officials …*"

Furthermore, another participant reported her challenges as follows:

Hilda: "*…the challenge that I am facing travelling in and out of South Africa is the issue of days at the border that you get to stay inside South Africa. …we're not, we are not getting enough days from the border, they are not permitting us to stay for a long time, so at the border you are getting very few days sometimes you get three days or five days. Yet you need to come and work in South Africa. So it's a challenge because for you to get some more days you have to pay. And sometimes you won't be having the money to pay for the days, sometimes you end up overstaying here in South Africa and sometimes you end up staying illegally in South Africa because at*

the border they are not giving us much time to stay in South Africa. So, that's the biggest challenge that I am facing."

These utterances show that the officials at the border do not consider that a person is coming to South Africa for economic reasons and they need enough time to work and earn an income. The challenging experiences of some participants support what the *New Zimbabwean* (2015) reported about experiences of Zimbabweans in South Africa. The online newspaper cited Mr Nqabutho Mabhena (the head of the Zimbabwean community in South Africa) as follows: "you find that officials do not ask the traveller but just give three days to a person to Cape Town. When the immigrant gets to Cape Town he or she is already declared an undesirable person in terms of law. It boils down to the attitude of the particular immigration officer. That is not the official position of the South African government, but officials do it at the borders." Furthermore, the same newspaper quoted Minister Malusi Gigaba criticising the officials at the border saying "the person who says you have three days to Cape Town is telling you hogwash, ignore them" (*New Zimbabwean,* 2015).

o Sub-category 2.1.2.3 Economic migrants had positive experiences with the Department of Home Affairs at offices other than at the border posts

Some participants stated that their experiences with the officials from the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa were good. They said the procedures to regularise their stay were not difficult. They had the following to say about their experiences in this regard:

Batsirai: *"I have never seen them, I don't know but when you are renewing your staying in South Africa you can't say you are having… it's just a procedure you make your application, gave them your papers and they renew."*

"So the interface is only that has to do with the submitting your papers and on the face to face. No."

Fungai: *"We did use the Pretoria immigration…no we did not have any challenges."*

In confirming the positive experiences of some participants with officials at the Department of Home Affairs' offices, the *Cape Argus* (2009:12) quoted Talent

Gwatidzo (a Zimbabwean national) who described Home Affairs officials in Cape Town assisting her, as "kind and efficient".

o Sub-category 2.1.2.4 Economic migrants had challenging experiences with the Department of Home Affairs elsewhere

According to *The Star* (2009:13), one Maurice Djunga lives in fear because he cannot get through the Home Affairs Department's bureaucracy. The same paper reported that "Home Affairs' inability to resolve its queue problems means people who have tried to get legal papers are trapped in illegality, facing unpayable fines" (*The Star,* 2009:13). *The Star* (2009:13) commented as follows on this: "Here's the problem: the queues at most Home Affairs have for years been so long that those people who stand in them have no guarantee they will ever get into an office to talk to an official." Participants in this study concurred with the above reports by describing the difficulties they faced to legalise their stay in South Africa as follows:

David: "… *I had to go to Home Affairs to apply for the work permit and I had to wake up early to be on the queue and it took me about three to four days for me to actually get served. Yes, because the first time you go there they would give you a number and they will close before they serve you and the following morning you have to restart again the queue. Ya, after that and the work permit took more than three months, but they were saying it will take one month, whilst at work I was being threatened with dismissal, 'produce a work permit or else you go'."*

Edson: *"... when I was going for applying for the permit* [have come into contact with officials]. *That's when I went to Home Affairs. …you know standing in long queues in a country that is not your home, it was difficult. And you know people when they are working and they know they are at home, they just work at their own pace. You, you are expecting something from them, you have to be patient. So I had to wait until I get everything I wanted. The thing is I was the first one to go to Home Affairs, because when I heard that they were issuing free permits, I said no this is the chance let me go quickly and it was easy first time. But now that we are renewing, ya, the fact that it was done online it was also a bit easier because you just do the application online and you go submit but waiting for the outcome was actually*

something different. It takes like more than the time they publish. Yes I got it [the permit]"

Chipo: *"… when we are applying for the permits, remember when the DZPs* [Zimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit] *came… so with those immigration officials. It was very difficult, for me what happened is, I was living in Pretoria by then and I was working in, is it East Rand? The time I wanted to apply I went to Pretoria, you know queues were long and I queued for the whole day until 3 and only to be told you can't apply here go and apply where you are working. Even when I went there I stood in the queue again and around past 2 when I managed to get in. They told me to go and apply where there is my address. So I had to go back and actually change my address and put it on the other side."*

"I remember there was a time … my days were expiring, I was having an interview, so I actually went for the interview first and then I took a bus trying to go back home to try and stamp my passport out and unfortunately I reached there after 12 pm and I was given a fine for overstaying with a few minutes… you know. It was just hectic, you get frustrated sometimes kuti (that) mara, why are they treating us like this? Why don't they try to understand how things are happening? I mean, you know there was that kind of thing , it was sort of self-pity because I know the country I am coming from, I know the situation I am in, so I am expecting the next person to understand and treat me better. But you feel people treat you the same that is the law if you overstay, you overstay. But if you are in a desperate situation, to understand that they are just doing their job. It was always thinking no, they are unfeeling {not empathetic}, they are cruel, you know that kind of thing."

"…the challenges [in this country} *are there, because most of the time you will be scared was a thousand rand and I think it was 2010 and a R1 000 was a lot of money. I struggled to raise it, I struggled to pay it because I had borrowed it. I think it took me a year or more to actually pay it back."*

The economic migrants have opinions about the cause of the challenges they faced when they sought to get permits from the Department of Home Affairs. From the quotations provided, ideas emerge about why the participants faced challenges with Home Affairs officials. Firstly, it seems that the Department is under pressure with the volumes of people who want its service. Secondly, one gets the idea that some

of the officials have bad attitudes and this causes them to be ineffective in serving the people needing their assistance. Furthermore, it is evident from these quotations that officials at some Home Affairs do not have clear guidelines on how to do their work.

- CATEGORY 2.1.3 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS HAD CHALLENGING EXPERIENCES WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY/ DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

A participant who had his visa processed whilst still in Zimbabwe also reported that he did not receive a good service. The participant's experience is encapsulated in the following excerpt:

David: *"At first I dealt with officials at the South African embassy in Zimbabwe. I found it very, very frustrating because those were the guys that processed my visa."*

The participant's experience is in line with what the *Daily News* (2015) stated, namely that "hundreds of Zimbabwe immigrants thronged the South African Embassy in Harare." Many people interviewed by the reporter of the newspaper indicated their frustrations with the officials there (*Daily News*, 2015).

- CATEGORY 2.1.4   ECONOMIC MIGRANTS HAD CHALLENGING EXPERIENCES WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

Economic migrants come to South Africa to seek employment and thus they are joining the South African labour market. To qualify, they need to be cleared by the Department of Labour to show that their skills are needed in South Africa. From the participants' utterances it is clear that they faced various challenges in this regard. These challenges include ineffectiveness of the officials in giving clear guidelines on how and where to apply for the labour certificates. Participants expressed themselves as follows about this:

Batsirai: "… *when you want to apply for a work permit and you want to go through the normal process. You need to be cleared by the Department of Labour. That is where the challenge is. The challenge is to get a Labour certificate, you see that is hindering now. Because now the Labour Department is no longer interested in*

employing foreign nationals, so initially, that was the hindrance although eventually they will give you your certificate but is after a struggle maybe one, two, three, four times. Even if you meet the criteria they will not consider you, but at some time we got exemptions. The other deterrent was that they wanted adverts. We had to comply again with the newspaper article and it should meet a certain criteria and if it doesn't you need to re-advertise. And organisations do not want that because it's a cost they don't want to incur by advertising posts in the newspaper and yet the Department wants that and you want to get your certificate."

David: *"Firstly, for me to get a job I had to interact with the Department of Labour officials. Who made it very cumbersome for me to get the labour benchmarking letter so that I can apply for a work permit. I still remember I had to wait for longer and longer periods of time. To actually finally make the application I was sent from pillar to post. I remember I was in Johannesburg, at first I went to labour office in Gandhi Square, Joburg CBD and they said, 'no'. After **waiting** for a long time in the queue I was then told by the officials, 'no it is not us who deal with that, it is our office in Braamfontein'. So I had to struggle and walk all the way to Braamfontein asking people along the way, and some of them were even dodgy people that I was asking you know."*

The experience of these participants confirm observations made by Wrench (2016:6) that since 2002, the labour market and the workplace are frequently the main areas of complaints of discrimination by immigrants living in European Union member states. He further stated that, "even with fluency of language and parity in educational attainment, members of minority ethnic groups suffer labour market exclusion and marginalisation in comparison with their majority national peers" (Wrench, 2016:6).

- CATEGORY 2.1.5 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS HAD CHALLENGING EXPERIENCES WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

According to Rogerson (1999:16) in a survey conducted in South Africa entitled *Building skills: Cross-border migrants and The South African Construction industry*, the results of the survey painted a regrettable picture of police bribery and brutality towards vulnerable migrant workers in South Africa. The participants in Rogerson's (1999) survey recounted their experiences with the police. Most described their

experiences with them as having been bad. The issues of police asking for bribes and discrimination were highlighted by economic migrants' interviewed in this study. Some of the economic migrants used lying as a strategy to evade deportation and arrest. The following storylines taken from the transcribed interviews confirm the above observations are given below:

Chipo: "*I have had to deal with the police… I remember at one time I met them in Joburg and I didn't have my documents with me so they wanted to arrest me and deport me. So I had to explain to them …that guys even if you deport me my documents are in the house of which by then I didn't even have any documents. For some reason that woman was lenient and they let me go, …actually they were expecting some money from me and I didn't have the money: So I said even if you deport me my documents will still be here, so what's the use I will always come back to get my documents. For some reason, they let me go.*"

Hilda: "*Even to meet with the police, if you see police you will be scared because you will be thinking that they are going to ask for the passport, vele (yes) you will be knowing that my passport overstayed. And I am staying illegally, so you know you have a crime already. So you are not free to stay in South Africa because you are always scared of the police.*"

Chipo: "*… actually I approached the police … but like I said you know, there is always a feeling that you don't belong and you actually feel like you are not being helped. I remember I was just given forms no one wanted to listen to my story. I wanted a protection order because there was sort of violence involved. So I was only given forms to fill, that was in January and then I was told to come for the issuing of the protection order in August. So I even asked to say I am trying to protect myself so you think if this person wants to kill or to harm me they will leave me until August, anything can happen, why don't I get it issued. I was told it is how it works. I took those papers and teared* [tore] *them, I put them aside, I never went to court because I really it wasn't helping. And the issue that the person I was talking was speaking Sotho and I didn't really understand what they were saying. So … you could feel that you don't really fit, like you are harassing people and as if there is that unspoken word that why don't you go and get help from wherever you come from.*"

These experiences concur with what Maphosa (2009:30) found in his study, namely that bribing law enforcement agents referred to as *kudiza,* is another way of surviving for migrants in the streets of South Africa, either with forged documents or without any documents at all. He also postulated that, even crossing the borders in and out of South Africa become easier when one is prepared to bribe (Maphosa, 2009:30).

- CATEGORY 2.1.6 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS HAD CHALLENGING EXPERIENCES WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

According to Landau (2010:73), foreigners face significant obstacles in accessing the educational services to which they are entitled to in South Africa. Participant George recounted his experience with officials at the South African Qualifications Authority and the Department of Higher Education in the following words:

George: *"I dealt with the Department of Higher Education. I also dealt with, I don't know SAQA, the Department of Basic Education. … there are also challenges in terms of understanding what you have, especially the permits. Some of them did not know the permits. I remember in 2012, I spend five months, almost six months without being paid, saying, 'You don't have the right permit'. An official from the Department of Basic Education didn't know the type of permit I was holding, she only knew one type of permit. So those were some of the challenges I faced with these officials."*

3.3.2.2   Sub-theme 2.2 Economic migrants' experiences and challenges in different areas of life

This sub-theme unfolded into seven categories accompanied by a number of sub-categories.

- CATEGORY 2.2.1 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS HAD VARYING EXPERIENCES OF FINDING EMPLOYMENT AND SECURING AN INCOME

In the first theme, the participants stated that they came to South Africa in search of greener pastures, employment and a better lifestyle. Therefore, the researcher wanted to acquire an in-depth understanding of their experiences in finding employment in South Africa. In analysing the data obtained from the interviews with the participants to explore this aspect, ten sub-categories were distinguished.

o   Sub-category 2.2.1.1 Some economic migrants had secured a job before
     relocating

Some participants planned their relocation in such a way that they applied for jobs before leaving Zimbabwe. Hence, they relocated with the assurance that they would have an income after their relocation, because they already had a job waiting for them in South Africa. In response to the question about their experience in finding employment, they said the following:

Fungai: "… *my husband he had applied to work at Unisa University.*"

Itayi: "I *applied for the job, I got the job and then I was given the papers to apply for a permit, so I applied* [whilst still in Zimbabwe] *before I came down…*"

According to Schlossberg (1981:8-15), characteristics of a transition process can affect adaptation. One of these characteristics is the onset of the transition. Thus Schlossberg (1981:9) writes that transitions where the onset is gradual are usually easier to adapt to because the individual can prepare for them. Participants Fungai and Itayi's relocation were planned because the former's husband and Itayi secured jobs in South Africa before relocating. Consequently, they did not face any challenges searching for employment when they relocated.

o   Sub-category 2.2.1.2 Economic migrants relocated without the prospect of
     employment

Some participants had to search for jobs when they arrived in the country. They had the following to say about their experiences in finding employment in South Africa:

Edson: "*When I got there and I started to stay with him until I got a job* [I got the first job]*… through my friend's employer.*"

Batsirai: "*Of course, you leave a country without any idea or clue whether you will be employed or get a job in your line of study or area of fields of study.*"

- o Sub-category 2.2.1.3 Economic migrants experienced finding employment and securing an income relatively easy

Some economic migrants stated that it was not difficult for them to find employment in South Africa. Their accounts on finding employment were mentioned along the following lines:

Abel: *"I have managed to get a formal job … Right now I am managing. I am a site agent, they call it a site agent in construction industry whereby you manage the tools, the people and you manage the job."*

Batsirai: *"After obtaining my asylum I was able to study, not necessarily to study but to work rather. Then I started my registration with the council, yah then when I applied for my registration I was already working for this organisation. . Yes, so I can just say I stayed a month after arriving in the country without a job."*

Chipo: *"Okay, after the temporary job, actually I think it was by luck or God's grace was just on my side. It so happened that when that contract was coming to an end, a colleague told me there was a post at this organisation. So I applied and it turned out I was the only one who applied for the job and so I just got the job. But it's not really the job I can say I like or it is not the job that is to my satisfaction. But any way I am just thankful for it, it's a job at the end of the day."*

David: *"In finding employment, it was, I can't say it was really challenging… You know, you are new and you don't know anyone in the field so I didn't know where to start to look for a job. So at first I was doing just the part-time menial jobs. … It was not that difficult because when I started identifying sources where I could apply. Then I started to apply and then started being invited for interviews. So it was easy but that was back then, the experience is different from colleagues who are coming to South Africa now."*

Edson: *"I just managed to get help from my friend. He just directed me how to come to his place. When I got there and I started to stay with him until I got a* job *(I got the first job)… through my friend's employer. He just helped me with a small job and then he kept on calling me until he said, 'you can now come to work at the firm now, I can see something in you and I can now trust you because of your friend. I think you can work with your friend.' That's all. … manufacturing these chemicals."*

Fungai: *"To me I didn't struggle also because the moment we came here I was studying as a nurse and immediately when I finish*[ed] *my schooling I didn't really struggle."*

Itayi: *"I never had a challenge, I apply and get called for an interview and get the job."*

The participants' experiences seem to confirm what Polzer (2010:393) observed, namely that Zimbabwean networks play a key role in providing initial accommodation, information about accessing documentation and introduction to various forms of employment.

o   Sub-category 2.2.1.4 Economic migrants' experiences of finding a job and securing an income were challenging

The Forced Migration Programme (FMSP) (2009:51) points out that the majority of Zimbabwean migrants, who relocated to other countries in Southern Africa, whether skilled or unskilled, are working in the informal sector due to lack of passports (which deter them from legal migration routes) and high levels of unemployment in the host countries. However, in this research study, the researcher observed that some of the skilled economic migrants secured formal jobs but only after encountering a number of challenges. In discussing the question ''what have been your experiences in finding employment since you came to South Africa?'' participants responded as follows:

George: *"Also securing employment here it's a little bit difficult."*

Chipo: *"It was hard."*

David *"For starters I had to somehow struggle to get a job."*

Edson: *"…at first it was very, very big challenge because I actually stayed for around four months without working."*

The above utterances of the participants in the current research, illustrate that for them to secure employment in South Africa was not easy. In confirming this sub-category of economic migrants' challenging experiences of finding a job and

securing an income, the *Cape Argus* (2009:8) referred to a lady called Dzomba who could not contribute because she could not find employment without a valid working permit. In addition to this, Polzer (2010:393) recommends that, since access to formal and legal livelihoods are strongly dependent on documentation, civil society has the mandate or power (except through advocacy) to intervene in the improvement of livelihood conditions through regularisation of migrant status. This gives a clear impression that economic migrants are facing challenges in getting employment due to lack of legal papers.

- o Sub-category 2.2.1.5 Economic migrants started with temporary, informal menial jobs

Maphosa (2009:14) states the fact that in many cases immigrants take the jobs that the natives do not want. Stalker (in Maphosa, 2009:14) referred to these jobs as "Three – D –jobs, the dangerous, dirty and difficult jobs". Maphosa (2009:14) also adds that immigrants generally work harder than the natives of the same sex and age, save more, have a higher propensity to start new businesses and are more likely to be innovative. Makina (2010:236) also found in his study that given the high rates of unemployment in South Africa, it is remarkable that hardly any migrants from Zimbabwe are unemployed or are not engaged in some kind of activity.

The above literature was buttressed by the participants in this study. Although the participants had formal professional training, according to the information shared in the face-to-face interviews, upon arrival in South Africa some of the economic migrants had to take menial temporary jobs to enable them to get an income. They could not be choosy but had to be focused on their survival. This is confirmed by the following storylines:

Abel: *"At first I was not able to work formally I was a mere 'dhaka boy' (someone who helps builders by mixing mortar), from there I moved on to be a gardener. I could just do any job that comes along the way."*

Batsirai: *"So when you leave your country you are prepared to go and work, so whatever you lay your hands on as long its work it is suffice to say it will give you something, it will."*

David: *"So at first I was doing just the part-time menial jobs."*

Edson: *"He just helped me with a small job."*

o   Subcategory 2.2.1.6 Economic migrants experienced the challenge of not knowing where to start looking for a job

Maphosa (2009:29) states that networks help new migrants by providing them with information and linking them to individuals, who can arrange for acquisition of identity documents, secure employment and accommodation. This is in contrast with participant David's story, where his experiences in finding employment are encapsulated in the following excerpt:

David: "*You know, you are new and you don't know anyone in the field so I didn't know where to start to look for a job."*

o   Sub-category 2.2.1.7 Economic migrants were challenged by regulatory issues

Most participants related their frustrations when regulatory issues incapacitated them to secure employment. These included having the relevant permits to work in South Africa; registration with professional bodies for some; having business licences to run a business; opening bank accounts; as well as having a driver's licence. As mentioned earlier, Polzer (2010:393) recommends that, since access to formal and legal livelihoods are strongly dependent on documentation, civil society has the mandate or power (except through advocacy) to intervene in the improvement of livelihood conditions through regularisation of migrant status. This highlights the importance of legal documents in the lives of economic migrants. The economic migrants referred to their experiences of regularising their stay in South Africa as follows:

One participant had the following to say concerning temporary visas.
Chipo: *"When you are coming you are given a certain number of days and you find that the period that you are given its not sufficient for the kind of business you want to do in the country… you are looking for a job and you get 30 days and within those 30 days you should be going out. There was a time the day my days were expiring, I*

was having an interview, so I actually went for the interview first and then I took a bus trying to go back home to try and stamp my passport out and unfortunately I reached there after 12 pm and I was given a fine for overstaying with a few minutes …. you know. It was just hectic, you get frustrated sometimes kuti (that) mara, why are they treating us like this? Why don't they try to understand how things are happening?"

"Now you get to a point where you sit down and you want to look for a job, but you don't even have papers and you are scared to get arrested."

Participant Chipo expressed her experiences of not having a driver's licence affected her job-seeking endeavours. She stated her story in the following manner:

Chipo: *"I would apply for employment you know, when you get there at first it was the issue of the permit. I didn't have a work permit; I didn't have a driver's license. And besides that some vacancies would like, specify that South African citizens only."*

Participant David mentioned that he had to register with a professional body before he could look for a job. He stated this in the following words:

David: "*I had to register with their council of which it was something I was not aware of. So I thought I would come in and look for a job and start working. But only to find out there were some regulatory issues and policies that I had to deal with."*

Some economic migrants experienced challenges in opening bank accounts and to acquire business licences. They expressed their experiences in the following manner:

David: *"For the bank account luckily for me there is one bank that understood and opened an account for me. But it was after trying various banks."* David's experience confirms what Landau (in Crush & Frayne, 2010:72) states that patterns of exclusion are evident in private sector industries where poor foreigners are typically unable to access even the most rudimentary banking services.

Hilda: "*Like now we have a business, we are doing buying and selling. … it was not easy because you need to have capital to establish where to do the business … It's a tavern. Okay, I can say maybe being a foreigner trying to set up a business in a foreign land is not an easy thing. Because there is a lot that is needed especially the*

paperwork, you need to have licences, you need to have the permits and all that. So it's a long process."

Economic migrants experienced discrimination in the work place in South Africa. One participant related facing challenges of discrimination at work and she spoke about this along the following lines:

Fungai: *"Where I work, most of the people I work with are Afrikaners. So, they are pushing you to talk their language and again they are whites most of them. So they just undermine you if they look at your skin and they think you cannot manage and they are not even giving you the good position since you are a foreigner and since you are a black. Most of the … of the good positions is for white people not the blacks, especially foreigners. It really hurts. Because if you just look at them you just think they are also human beings, why are they doing this to me, it's only the skin but at the end we are all human beings."*

Fungai's storyline confirms Marz's ([sa]) comment that, "the United States is often referred to as a country of immigrants yet discrimination against immigrants in the workplace is still a problem causing citizens and lawful residents financial and emotional hardships. For this reason, the federal government has passed laws that aim to protect immigrants from employment discrimination."

o   Sub-category 2.2.1.8 Economic migrants were gradually able to secure better jobs and incomes

The researcher requested the participants to explain *how they have adjusted in South Africa*. From the utterances of the economic migrants, it shows that after spending some time in the country they managed to adjust and get better jobs. They were also beginning to realise some of their expectations. This contradicts Makina's sentiments (2010:236) expressed as follows: "being in Johannesburg does not guarantee a high or even a living wage." Participant Hilda is the only one who could not get a job, but she and her husband started a business that was flourishing. Abel explained his experience in this regard as follows:

Abel: *"I have managed to get a formal job … Right now I am managing. I am a site agent, they call it a site agent in construction industry whereby you manage the tools, the people and you manage the job. .. but with time I adjusted to do a better*

job….. And from there, since I knew something in my mind now I got another job which I think is stable, much more stable than the previous ones."

"Ya, I can say so because there were we could not achieve when I was home that we achieved now. So it has become a little bit better. Yes, when I was home my wife so much wanted to have her own home. I remember I bought her a stand, my first stand I bought it when I was a boy, I had not yet married. So we did not have money to build that stand and we sold it because of some problems. Then when I moved here, we bought another stand and we have managed to build that house together. We also bought a car that I could not afford when I was home [because of their income]. Yes, it was profitable after some time."

- o Sub-category 2.2.1.9 Economic migrants experienced that they had an income but were unable to support family back home

In his study, Maphosa (2009:33) discovered that not all households with migrant labourers received remittances. He mentions that factors accounting for non-remitting behaviour included the employment status of the migrant, level of income and marital status. This was confirmed by participants in this research study who made mention of being able to sustain themselves in South Africa through the income they had, but failing to support their extended families in Zimbabwe. However, they mentioned the high cost of living as the reason. This was stated as follows:

Fungai: *"The effect* [with the extended family in Zimbabwe] *now is we can't even manage to send them money or food because of the cost of living now."*

Itayi: *"There are certain goods that are prohibited in Zimbabwe so we cannot take them to our families back home."* This indicates that the laws in Zimbabwe are making it difficult for economic migrants to support their families.

- o Sub-category 2.2.1.10 Economic migrants experienced that the workplace was satisfactory

The following comments testify to the participants' good experiences at the workplace:

Chipo: "[In South Africa] *It is, I can say it's good especially from work perspective because I am the only foreigner here, so everyone else is South African. We are working well considering our environment, is a helping environment and I can't really complain.*"

David: *"…colleagues at work are very understanding maybe because they are professionals, we connect very well."*

The participants' experiences contradict some of the literature consulted. According to South African Human Rights Watch (Human Rights Watch, 1998:123), immigrants from African countries have been the target of attacks, often because they are perceived as being in direct competition with South Africans for jobs. Furthermore, McGregor (2010:197) mentions that Zimbabweans in Britain were unhappy because their work prevented them from socialising and spending time with family due to "anti-social hours, short notice of work and exhaustion."

- CATEGORY 2.2.2 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES OF FINDING ACCOMMODATION AND HOUSING

Several researchers observed that migrants experience challenges in accessing housing in South Africa (Maphosa, 2009; Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009). In this regard, Maphosa (2009:14) states that "Immigrants have also been blamed for a strain on social services such as housing, electricity and water provision". It is against this backdrop that the researcher wanted to gain an in-depth understanding of how the economic migrants from Zimbabwe were accessing housing in South Africa.

This category was informed by the responses the participants gave in relation to their access to housing. Therefore, it unfolded into five sub-categories as the economic migrants explained their experiences. These are described in detail below.

o Sub-category 2.2.2.1 Economic migrants resided temporarily with friends

According to Hill (cited in Schlossberg, 1981:10), intimate relationships are an important resource during stressful transitions and the individual's network of friends is an important social support system. The research findings revealed that economic migrants from Zimbabwe were given shelter by their friends until they secured

employment and can provide for themselves as encapsulated in the following words of participants:

Edson: *"I just managed to get help from my friend. He just directed me how to come to his place. When I got there and I started to stay with him until I got a job."*

"He [friend who helped him to settle] *gave me food. He helped me with shelter, and money for transport. We actually worked … together before, now he is doing his own thing and I am also doing my own things and we are still friends. He just stood for me. Him and his wife actually helped me a lot."*

This corresponds with what was reported in the *Cape Argus* (2009:8) when it reported the case of a Zimbabwean who was suing the Department of Home Affairs, "now in desperation as she faces losing the home she is sharing with a friend in Manenberg as the friend can no longer afford to provide for her, Dzomba has taken her case to the Cape High Court."

o   Sub-category 2.2.2.2 Economic migrants rented accommodation

The following excerpts from some of the interview transcripts gave rise to this sub-category and sum up the experiences of the participants relating to renting accommodation:

Abel: *"…living in a mkhukhu (shack). You see these and other things I could not adjust easily but now I have adjusted because I can stay in the mkhukhu in the location and even bathing in the house in the dish which I have never experienced before."*

Chipo: *"…actually with housing you know as long as you are able to rent or afford to rent it's not really difficult but ah looking at a professional like me, I would have loved to have access to getting my own property. But I cannot because I don't have the permanent residence."*

Edson: *"...But on housing we just go around and rent. We don't stay permanently in places, we just think of renting, we don't think of owning our own stuff or investing so much, we just think of getting what we need, we* [want to] *go back home."*

George: *"…housing you have to rent, in terms of where I am staying. Yes, it's not a problem, except that you have to know the area you are staying is it safe or unsafe."*

Itayi: *"… when I got here they were ready to receive me at my new workplace and I got accommodation, rented accommodation."*

The participants mentioned that they rent different types of accommodation in South Africa. Their experiences contrast with what was observed by Maphosa (2009:53) who found in his research that migrants lived in overcrowded conditions in South Africa. For instance twenty people both men and women shared one small room. In addition, it was observed that "the common feature is that many Zimbabwean migrants live in poor neighbourhoods and shanty towns with fifteen to twenty people sharing the rent of a single house" (The Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009:31). The participants' situation also contrasted with Dreby's (2010:13) research findings that in America migrant parents share apartments with other Mexicans. This contrast seems to suggest that participants in this research had settled better in South Africa, as compared to the aforementioned studies. Furthermore, participants in this study seem to be staying in South Africa for longer periods or permanently contrary to participants in other studies, which result in them not sharing accommodation. In addition, factors such as having a stable job and income as well as staying with their family might have influenced the type of accommodation the participants in this study opted for.

o   Sub-category 2.2.2.3 Economic migrants experienced challenges in renting accommodation

Hayes and Humphries (2004:24) state that there were allegations of poor standards, malpractice and even profiteering regarding accommodation provided by private landlords. The following quotation from one participant demonstrates the economic migrants' challenge in renting accommodation as a foreigner in South Africa:

Fungai: *"Housing we also have challenges, the banks sometimes do not want to give you money because they are afraid of you to run away. And if you are renting the owner of the flat they want you to pay three months deposit plus rent for that*

month. Meaning that you have to pay rent for four months. It's really difficult for you to get that amount. [This requirement is] *for the foreigners only, if you are a South African they just ask deposit for one month and the rent."*

However, the experience of the economic migrants in this study contradicts what was observed in earlier studies, as explained in the above sub-category. Their experiences contrast with what was observed by Maphosa (2009:53), namely that migrants lived in overcrowded conditions in South Africa, with twenty people, both men and women, sharing one small room. Dreby (2010:13) states that migrant parents share apartments with other Mexicans in the United States of America. The Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) (2009:31) observes that "the common feature is that many Zimbabwean migrants live in poor neighbourhoods and shanty towns with fifteen to twenty people sharing the rent of a single house in South Africa, Botswana, Malawi and Mozambique". Literature consulted by the researcher on migrants' experiences showed that many migrants share a single room (Maphosa, 2009; Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009; Dreby, 2010) as a money saving strategy.

o   Sub-category 2.2.2.4 Economic migrants have bought houses

Some participants reported that they had managed to buy their own houses in South Africa. Most of them bought the houses through banks and one participant stated that they financed their own purchase through their business. Furthermore, acquiring a South African ID book was mentioned as an enabler in buying houses. This differs with what other researchers observed in other related studies. Firstly, according to Dreby (2010:13), Mexican migrant parents in USA share apartments with other Mexicans. The Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) (2009:31) observes that, rather than migrating with their families in a more permanent manner, migrants' households continue to reside in Zimbabwe while breadwinners support them through travel for short periods across the border.   Participants expressed themselves as follows in this regard:

David: *"For the house I had to wait many, many years, I should have bought it five years ago. But I then bought it this year, I had to wait for five years to acquire the South African ID and only then I would finally qualify to get a better bond."*

Hilda: *"OK, we are not renting, we bought it … through this business…* [challenges], *like I said the issue of papers, you have to go through each and every stage but at the end it was OK, we managed."*

Itayi: *"But I can't really complain because when I got here they were ready to receive me at my new workplace and I got accommodation, rented accommodation before we moved into our own house. … We managed to buy our own house using a loan and we never got challenges in applying for the loan. We applied and it was approved and we managed to buy the house."*

These three participants were living in South Africa permanently with their families

o Sub-category 2.2.2.5 Economic migrants would like to buy homes, but experienced various challenges

Some participants mentioned that they were failing to buy houses in South Africa because of their migrant status in the country. Participants had the following to say about this:

Edson: *"...But on housing we just go around and rent but there is no option to buy because our permits, they want permanent residence or citizens for you to get a house."*

David: *"Then there come a time I wanted to buy a house. Based on my salary I could qualify, based on my credit criteria I could qualify but by the mere fact that I didn't have a thirteen digit bar coded green ID book, they said, 'the best that we could do for you is to give you 50 per cent.' What can you do with a 50 per cent bond; buy a house in the RDPs…of which they are not for sell. … so it was a struggle, but ya now it's a little bit better but I still get that."*

Fungai: *"Housing we also have challenges, the banks sometimes do not want to give you money because they are afraid of you to run away."*

The storylines above confirm the experiences of Mexicans in the USA as follows: "Mexican born migrants in the USA have lower median personal incomes, greater poverty, and fewer people own their own homes" (Rosenblum, Kandel, Rbando Seelke & Wasem, 2012:17).

- CATEGORY 2.2.3 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES OF ACCESSING EDUCATION FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR CHILDREN

As shown in the participants' biographical profiles, most of them had young children and some relocated together with their children. Consequently, there was a need for the children to have access to education. In addition, some of the participants were pursuing further studies here in South Africa. Hence, they were requested to give a description of their experiences in accessing education in South Africa. This category culminated in three sub-categories described in detail below.

- Sub-category 2.2.3.1 Economic migrants were able and unable to access education for themselves

Some participants were unable to obtain access to educational facilities, although they wanted to, whilst others were able to obtain access despite facing some challenges. The following quotations are provided in support of this sub-category:

Abel: *"Education, I tried like I said I haven't finished though I just want to."*

Chipo: *"Like I said I managed to do my Master's, it wasn't easy because you know, there are a lot of requirements into the university as a foreigner than when you are a local because they will need your study permit or work permit and all those stuff but at least I managed to access."*

Edson: *"I will be paying for myself* [for studies*], I will just be doing distance learning, it's easier that way than going to colleges it's even expensive because when you are doing it full-time at colleges it requires a lot of money."*

These descriptions of the economic migrants support Landau's observations (2010:73) that despite the Constitution's provisions on access to education for all, foreigners face significant obstacles in accessing the educational services to which they are entitled.

- Sub-category 2.2.3.2 Economic migrants' children were attending public, semi-private and private schools

Unlike the Mexicans in USA in Dreby's study (2010:2), who voluntarily left their children in Mexico, some Zimbabwean economic migrants were staying with their

children in South Africa. Thus, the economic migrants who participated in this research reported that they were able to enrol their children at different types of schools in South Africa. However, some expressed sentiments that they were failing to access public schools because of their migrant status in the country. Below are examples of the storylines describing these circumstances:

Fungai: *"Education… our problem is we are not managing to get the government schools. Because we are foreigners, we end up forcing ourselves to put our kids in private schools …"*

Itayi: *"My daughters are at a semi-government, former model C school. I think they are quite happy there because we haven't seen any challenges."*

o   Sub-category 2.2.3.3 Economic migrants experienced challenges in accessing education for children

Landau (2010:73) postulated that section 5(1) of the South African Schools Act 84 of 1994 prescribes that "a public school must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way." The author further argues that despite these provisions, foreigners face significant obstacles in accessing the educational services to which they are entitled (Landau 2010:73). Conflicting policies and lack of legal documents have proved to be a hindrance for economic migrants' children to access education in South Africa. Some economic migrants confirmed this as they related their experiences and challenges on access to education in the following manner:

David: *"When I took my son to school, at first they were saying give us your study permit. We are talking about a child who is going for grade one. I had to negotiate and beg. That is the only thing that you have to do if you want your things to go well in South Africa. You have to beg the officials. It does harm your self-esteem at times you know."* The challenge that participant David faced was also mentioned by Dreby (2010:8) that Mexicans in the United States have few opportunities to legalise their status and reunite with their families. Thus the Mexicans seemed to leave their children in their home country because of challenges like the one David experienced.

Fungai: *"… education… our problem is we are not managing to get the government schools. Because we are foreigners, we end up forcing ourselves to put our kids in*

private schools … [Government schools] they want …proof of residence, where you are staying, they want that one you get when you give birth. The one [birth notification] from the clinic, they want those things and the transfer where he was studying before. So immediately, they get those things and wena (you) provide the Zimbabwean ones. And again the address where you are staying, maybe you are not staying in Mamelodi they are not going to take, they will say, 'you are not staying here in Mamelodi whilst you are staying in Sunnyside."

"Since we were new here we didn't know which school is better. We just thought any school is okay…, we only heard about Pretoria Secondary. We just thought it was the best school but in the end it was not." "… people are struggling to place children in school because they are not documented."

George: *"Higher education was a little bit easier. But it seems there are some changes that have been enforced by the Department of Home Affairs that it's like right now I wanted to apply for my child to get into university. I realised that my child should get a permit first so that she can be enrolled in the university, whilst, one of the requirements to get a study permit is that registration with a university. So such a thing you see now, how can you get a permit whilst you are not registered and how can you register without a permit?"*

- CATEGORY 2.2.4 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES OF HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES SINCE RELOCATING

Health is an important social service to people in general. Hence, the researcher wanted to gain insight into how the economic migrants were accessing it. One author states that the large concentration of illegal immigrants in the country places an inordinate burden on the State, decreasing its capacity to deliver impoverished South Africans from misery (Hussein in Maphosa, 2009:14). Examples were given of clinics in the former Kangwene and Gazankulu areas of South Africa which are now being over-stretched by the demands placed on them by Mozambican immigrants residing in those areas (Husein in Maphosa, 2009:14). However, Simon (cited by Maphosa, 2009:15) postulates that as migrants contribute to the national coffers through the payment of taxes, it results in the balance between those receiving these services and paying for them being in favour of the South African citizens. It is further alleged that a cocktail of inadequate documentation, ignorance and outright

discrimination prevents many non-nationals who are legally in South Africa from accessing critical social services (Landau, 2010:72). Therefore, this category unfolded into the four sub-categories described below.

- o Sub-category 2.2.4.1 Economic migrants have not needed to utilise health care facilities

One participant has never been to a clinic or hospital since coming to South Africa. He had this to say about the matter:

Edson: *"But on health it is not a problem because I have never been that side, I have never been to hospital since I came here."*

With reference to the health situation, Schlossberg's (1981:13) found that "the individual's state of health not only affects his or her ability to adapt to transition but may itself be a source of stress." No clear deduction can be made in this regard from Edson's experience as stated above. However, apparently the participant possibly was not stressed by challenges of accessing health services because he did not require them due to his good health.

- o Sub-category 2.2.4.2 Economic migrants experienced negative discriminatory treatment at public health care facilities that they ascribe to being foreigners

To link this category and supporting storylines, reference is made to Fournier and Whittall (2009:6) who underscore the fact that although the South African Constitution guarantees access to health care and other essential services to all of those who live in the country, this policy is not always respected. The risk of deportation and more recently xenophobic violence deter many Zimbabweans from seeking treatment at public health care facilities. Landau (, 2010:73) emphasises that section 27(1) of the Constitution states that everyone has the right to obtain health care services, including reproductive health care. The Constitution states clearly that no-one, regardless of nationality, documentation or residential status, may be refused emergency medical treatment (Landau, 2010:73). Several participants recounted their negative experiences in this regard at public clinics and hospitals as follows:

Chipo: *"But when it comes to health, I don't wanna lie I have never been to a local clinic like for 3 years now because every time I went there I feel like the treatment was kind of , you know…. I remember there was a time I went there I was pregnant and the nurse actually told me 'you Zimbabweans like giving birth. Like every time someone comes here pregnant is from Zimbabwe, they are from Zimbabwe'. So it didn't go down well with me. Even after that when I was taking my kids maybe for immunisation, you just feel the moment you hand out a yellow immunisation card or passport you just feel like you are being treated different. And someone speaks in a language you cannot understand and you really feel out of the way."* Chipo's experiences confirm the observations of Lefko-Everet (2010:283) that at public clinics and hospitals, Zimbabwean women in South Africa experience xenophobic language, sub-standard treatment, and neglect, and are overcharged for services or simply refused care and this was common among pregnant women.

David: *"It is something that I experienced. When I took my younger brother to the hospital, one hospital actually refused to treat him they said, 'where is your work permit', or 'where is your permit?'… So I felt that it was because of being a foreigner that they felt let's find a way of not assisting this person."*

Fungai: *"And most of the time we end up just going to the clinic where we are going to face a lot of challenges not getting medication immediately or someone to attend you because of your language again. Someone will just say ha this one is a foreigner, okay we will attend them. Then we end up really struggling because of that."*

David: *"You think twice before going there because nurses would also ill-treat you because you are a foreigner, you know but the facilities are there."*

George: *{fear of public clinic}* *"when you get for example to a public hospital or clinic you might come across someone who does not speak English well. Ya, you need to speak with her in a language she knows, or a language you might attempt to know or to speak. So at times it does not give the reality of your illness or the real sense of how deep your illness is, because there are certain things that you may not be able to express in their language. And also the time span you might have at a public hospital is a bit longer because there are queues, long queues at times, you may spent almost half a day and you have to wake up a little bit early to get to the queue."*

Fungai: *"With the birth certificate because they really don't know where exactly to go and register because when they go to the clinic they are told to go and get your birth certificate in Zimbabwe and yet in Zimbabwe again they are saying you need to go back to South Africa."*

o   Sub-category 2.2.4.3 Economic migrants use private health care facilities if possible

According to Schlossberg's (1981:13) theory, social status (measured by income, education, and occupation) affect adaptation. In this study, it was observed that some participants have medical aid so they use private health facilities because they can afford to, whilst others have opted to use private doctors because of the treatment they received at the public health facilities. Thus, their social and economic status helped them evade the stresses associated with accessing public health services. In the excerpts from the transcribed interviews the participants spoke about their reasons for using private health institutions in the following manner:

Chipo: *"So after that I have told myself… I am not going back to a local clinic. So if there is a need I go to a private doctor otherwise I have just asked my God that me and my kids should not fall sick."*

George: *"Normally I use the private sector."*

Itayi: *"There is no fear. I am supposed to be on medical aid when I got employed. So I have to use the medical aid, so I haven't gone to a public hospital."*

Batsirai: *"I can buy health services… as long as I am working."*

o   Sub-category 2.2.4.4 Economic migrants experienced good service at public health facilities

Participants Hilda and Abel received good service at public health facilities. Interestingly, Hilda reported her good experience although she was staying in the country illegally. This contrasts with what was observed in Botswana, as "government clinics and hospitals in Botswana exclude those without documents" (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009:67). Good services experienced at public health facilities by these two participants were articulated as follows:

Abel: *"Ya, I have been able to access health care because when I fell sick I go to the clinic. It was very becoming because when I went to the clinic I appreciate their health facilities, the way they treated me was quite pleasing."*

Hilda: *"Yes* [was able to access health services] *I had no challenges, it was nice, it was fine."*

- CATEGORY 2.2.5 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS EXPERIENCED CHALLENGES TRAVELLING TO AND FROM SOUTH AFRICA

According to the Forced Migration Studies Programme (2009:24) study, Zimbabweans who are working in neighbouring countries usually migrate alone, leaving their families and other dependents behind, for short periods of time. This shows that they are frequently moving between the Zimbabwe and the 'host' country. Dreby (2010:10) highlights the challenge of Mexican immigrants in the USA, in relation to travelling, being the lack of legal status and immigrants settling farther away from Mexico, which in turn makes return trips more difficult and costly. Experiences of participants in this study in relation to this category are described as follows:

Abel: *"Ya at first, during the first years I was travelling in and out because I was doing that job of delivering things to Zimbabwe and coming back. So we had challenges there by the border, the way they handle foreigners there is different from the way they handle their own people. At times we spent a lot of time to stamp our passports and at times along the way we were stopped here and there because they would be searching for illegal migrants. So it is not easy to drive with a foreign passport."*

Edson: *"When you are going home they just want you to go. Those people at the border, the thing is, they say 'you give us a lot of work when you go up and down'. So sometimes they will just be on a go-slow, they don't work, they leave you for hours standing in the queue and it's painful."*

George: *"…normally it's at the border post. That's where I normally had a few challenges. As I said earlier on my permit is from, I got it outside South Africa. Most officials from the border post, some of them don't even know or they pretend not knowing this type of permit. So at times they ask you, 'go back' until you try and say,*

'look here, look here', again you have to give them certain documents to support that this is a valid passport. So, ignorance from the officials."

Hilda: *"The challenge that I am facing travelling in and out of South Africa is the issue of days at the border that you get to stay inside South Africa. … we are not getting enough days from the border, they are not permitting us to stay for a long time, so at the border you are getting very few days sometimes you get three days or five days."*

"Yet you need to come and work in South Africa. So it's a challenge because for you to get some more days you have to pay. And sometimes you won't be having the money to pay for the days, sometimes you end up overstaying here in South Africa and sometimes you end up staying illegally in South Africa because at the border they are not giving us much time to stay in South Africa. So that's the biggest challenge that I am facing."

Itayi: *"…the process at the border, it takes longer to cross over to Zimbabwe especially on the Zimbabwean side and on the South African side when you are coming back to South Africa* [challenges when going there]. *When you are going to Zimbabwe, they have to check all your goods. There are certain goods that are prohibited in Zimbabwe, but unfortunately, they do not tell us well before we start the journey. They only tell us when you are at the border* [when coming back] *checking of the permits … some people their permits might be rejected."*

- CATEGORY 2.2.6 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS EXPERIENCED CHALLENGES WITH BANKING POLICIES AND SERVICES

Participants mentioned their challenging experiences with banking institutions in South Africa because they are foreigners and described their experiences with banking institutions in the following lines:

David: "*I recall when the first time I wanted to open a bank account. Now that I was employed and my employer wanted that bank account so she can deposit the money into the account. I struggled because they said we cannot open a bank account for you because you are having a passport. Some of them were even ridiculous. I remember one bank said to me, 'For us to open an account for you, you must bring*

us a three months bank statement'. How can I bring a bank statement if I am trying to open an account? Even after acquiring the South African ID, people actually read the place of birth Zimbabwe and then you see by the look on their faces... Recently, I wanted to get a car on credit I struggled even though I had an ID they would say, 'Zimbabwe? You will probably go back to Zimbabwe'.'"

"For the bank account luckily for me there is one bank that understood and opened an account for me. But it was after trying various banks."

Fungai: "*The banks sometimes do not want to give you money because they are afraid of you to run away."*

These experiences are substantiated as follows: "Patterns of exclusion are also evident in private sector industries where poor foreigners are typically unable to access even the most rudimentary banking services. Banks are still unwilling to open accounts for other Africans immigrants who do not have the requisite 13 digit number or foreign passport (Landau, 2010:72).

- CATEGORY 2.2.7 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS EXPERIENCED LANGUAGE AND CULTURE-RELATED CHALLENGES

Maphosa (2009:29) claims that fluency in one of the South African languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, Sesotho and Venda is an advantage because one can be given away by the lack of mastery of a language. He further points out that migrants from Matebeleland have an advantage over migrants from other areas in Zimbabwe because they can easily master the South African languages such as Zulu which has similarities to Ndebele, Sotho and Venda which are spoken in some parts of Matabeleland.

This category emerged in response to the request put to the participants to tell the researcher about their experiences on how they have adjusted and settled in South Africa. This category developed into the following sub-categories:

o   Sub-category 2.2.7.1 Economic migrants experienced language-related challenges

As indicated above, according to Maphosa (2009:29), fluency in one the South African languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Venda, is an advantage because one can be given away by the lack of mastery of a language. He further reiterates that, "migrants from Matebeleland have an advantage over migrants from other areas because they easily master South African languages such as Zulu which have similarity to Ndebele, Sotho and Venda which are spoken in some parts of Matebeleland" (Maphosa 2009:29). In contrast, the following utterances made by the participants in this research seem to suggest that most of them failed to converse in South African languages. Participants Chipo and David are from Matebeleland but they also experienced language challenges in Pretoria. Consequently, this affected their day-to-day interaction with the locals and it became a hindrance in their adjustment to living in South Africa. Examples of storylines supporting the notion that Zimbabwean economic migrants faced language barriers are as follows:

Abel: *"Because I could not speak their language, the only language I speak is English. So other people do not understand English. So it was a bit difficult at first and also many other problems."*

Chipo: *"Yes, it was hard … the language too. As much as I know Ndebele, you know Pretoria is full of people who speak Pedi, Sotho. It was very hectic to get used to the language around. So even you are walking around and want to ask about a street and you start speaking in English you start to feel uncomfortable because you feel people will be able to notice that you are a foreigner".* This differs with the sentiments of Maphosa (2009:29), alluded to earlier, that migrants from Matebeleland who speak Ndebele easily master South African languages.

David: *"I did not know quite a lot of the places and then I could not speak some of the languages especially Pedi, Sotho, I still remember when I went to Pretoria to go register with the council I struggled to find a person to ask for directions because we couldn't understand each other in terms of communication."*

Edson: *"The fact that I could not speak their language, though now I can speak, it is still difficult."*

Fungai: *"We were struggling with the language, especially to the kids. Like the little one, when we came here she couldn't manage to talk English and again the South African languages. So she was really struggling for her to get friends. Even us, we were struggling even if you really want to go somewhere we were busy thinking twice whether to go or not because of the language."*

"Where I work, most of the people I work with are Afrikaners. So, they are pushing you to talk their language and again they are whites most of them. So they just undermine you if they look at your skin and they think you cannot manage and they are not even giving you the good position since you are a foreigner and since you are a black."

George: *"I am not accustomed to their … language, I don't even speak the native language and in this case most of the time you will be speaking in English and some of the people here might not be able to speak with you in English… for example you meet someone else who speaks Zulu and you don't know Zulu, but still you need his or her help, something of that nature."*

Hilda: *"The challenge that I faced for me to get a job is … Like I said I am a counsellor and for me to counsel people from the community here in South Africa you need to be familiar with the local language. But unfortunately, I can't speak the local language. To be honest, I didn't apply for anything* [employment]*, I just thought of this language barrier and I never tried to apply for anything."*

o Sub-category 2.2.7.2 Some economic migrants experienced other culture-related challenges

Participants reported their challenges to adjust and fit in with the cultures of the local people. The experiences of the economic migrants in this study is in contrast to what Bhagwati and Hansen (2009:3) found when they stated that it is widely believed that skilled immigrants create fewer assimilation problems and are more desirable in modern knowledge based economies than unskilled immigrants. Some of the economic migrants in this research study even related how they experienced culture

shock. The following storylines testify to participants' experiences with South African cultures:

David: "*Challenges, challenges. Number one I had to adjust in terms of my dressing style. I was told after I was robbed of my cell phone and I was told it was because of my big shoes that they could see I am a foreigner. So ya that is challenge number one, trying to fit, having to try to change your look, having to negotiate your way with thieves, at times because I did not know quite a lot of the places*".* This corresponds with Anderson, Goodman and Schlossberg (2012:30) who argue that transitions are often experienced as frightening or traumatic. They further argue that moving through a transition requires letting go of aspects of self, letting go of former roles and learning roles. Thus, the economic migrants had to learn new cultures and ways of doing things in South Africa, but it seems some experience difficulties to let go of their Zimbabwean culture and adopt the cultures of the communities they are staying in.

Edson: *"It's still difficult because culture, for you to be put into another culture it takes time to adapt to it."*

George: *"So the culture … was a challenge… Firstly, the people. I am not accustomed to their culture. Cultural, very peculiar, quite unique. …* [what] *I was accustomed to is different from their culture. At times you find that you hate someone else by the mere doing something else which they regard as normal, yes, for example I am used to certain things. For example, maybe dressing, what I might call normal dressing to them it's not normal."*

In his study, Maphosa (2009:59) observed that elderly members of communities in Zimbabwe are often contemptuous of the dressing, language, style of walking and other behavioural traits exhibited by young migrants coming back from South Africa. The participants' experiences and the above observations from Maphosa's study show that there are differences between South African and Zimbabwean cultures. However, in this study, the research emphasis was on the adjustment of economic migrants to South African cultural environments.

- o Sub-category 2.2.7.3 Some economic migrants experienced discrimination and xenophobia

Economic migrants in this study reported experiences of discrimination and xenophobia during the face to face interviews with them. This is in confirmation with what Crush and Frayne (2010:8) observed in their study, namely that migrants are said to deprive citizens of already limited employment opportunities, compete for scarce public resources such as land services, health and housing and outcompete businesses. They added that the belief that migrants undermine development for citizens is extremely pervasive in migrant receiving countries, often developing into attitudes and acts of intolerance and xenophobia (Crush & Frayne, 2010:8). *The Citizen* (2015) reported that the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, called for the deportation of foreign nationals living in the country, saying it was unacceptable that locals were made to compete with people from other countries for the few economic opportunities available. The King expressed himself as follows about it: "Most government leaders do not want to speak out on this matter because they are scared of losing votes. As the king of the Zulu nation, I cannot tolerate a situation where we are being led by leaders with no views whatsoever. We are requesting those who come from outside to please go back to their countries" (*The Citizen,* 2015). These utterances by the King are believed to have led to xenophobia and displacement of foreigners in South Africa at the time.

The following excerpts from the transcripts of the interviews gave rise to this sub-category and they demonstrate the experiences of the participants relating to discrimination and xenophobia:

David: *"I feel a sense, an issue of discrimination like everywhere you go they will say, 'you are a Zimbabwean'… Even after acquiring the South African ID people actually read the place of birth Zimbabwe and then you see by the look on their faces. Recently, I wanted to get a car on credit I struggled even though I had an ID they would say, 'Zimbabwe? You will probably go back to Zimbabwe'."*

"So I think xenophobia is no longer in the streets, it is now in the offices."

"So I felt that it was because of being a foreigner that they felt let's find a way of not assisting this person."

Economic migrants from Zimbabwe are facing various challenges in South Africa. They highlighted these challenges in the following statements:

Edson: *Mostly it is discrimination. Fighting as well, we hear from TVs and radios sometimes. The fact that you are from outside, you just don't feel free because you are in a foreign country, the fact that we always think of going back home when things are alright."*

Fungai: *"Because other people are fighting because of language, because of what, I don't know whether I can say, where you are coming from, they are giving you problems about that."*

"Where I work, most of the people I work with are Afrikaners. So, they are pushing you to talk their language and again they are whites most of them. So they just undermine you if they look at your skin and they think you cannot manage and they are not even giving you the good position since you are a foreigner and since you are a black. Most of the… of the good positions is for white people not the blacks, especially foreigners. It really hurts. Because if you just look at them you just think they are also human beings, why are they doing this to me, it's only the skin but at the end we are all human beings."

George: *"Despite the fact of threats to be evicted from this country by the natives of this country, when xenophobia, ya at times when you think of those cases."*

Hilda: *"…personally, I feel most of the South Africans that we stay with most of them do not like us as Zimbabweans."*

"…because at times they you find out that they call us names."

"For example, you hear them saying, 'girigambas' (dung beetles), *calling Zimbabweans girigambas* (dung beetles), *you know those names to scold, something like that."*

3.3.2.3 Sub-theme 2.3 Economic migrants' general/ concluding reflections on relocating and settling in South Africa

Although the participants expressed that they are facing various challenges as highlighted in their experiences discussed in the preceding sections of this theme, it

is not all dark and gloomy for the economic migrants from Zimbabwe who relocated to South Africa. The following quotations of what participants said, with the aspects that played a role pointed out, show that they have somehow managed to settle in South Africa despite the challenges they faced:

George: *"Ya, quite well I have though at times life is threatened. Because at times you feel you are comfortable, at times you are not, at times you are not safe …. but somehow I felt I am somehow secure… yes somehow."*

Participant Abel stated that having his stay in South Africa helped him to adjust, he had this to say: "*I have managed to settle well since after I got my stay here regulated through a work visa, and I got a permanent job. I think I managed to adjust and I am kind of fine now."*

Fungai: *"We are okay now… We are settled because now we are South African citizens. We do have the papers now as South Africans. To us we did not struggle, like I said before since we came here with the papers, so everything was okay."* This confirms what Landau (2010:71) states that official identity papers cannot prevent discrimination or ensure social inclusion, but they are valuable for finding work, accessing social services and preventing arbitrary arrest, detention and deportation.

Participants' attitude about their situation also helped them to adjust in South Africa. According to Thoits (1995:60) personal coping resources such as a sense of control or mastery over life are presumed to influence the choice and the efficacy of the coping strategies that people use in response to stressors. The following statements by economic migrants confirmed this:

Edson: *"I've adjusted. If you are in Rome you have to do what the Romans do for you to fit in."*

"I can just say we are at home, we are in Africa. Though we face challenges, I cannot say we don't have challenges in this world, the fact that we are in Africa, with Africans, we just need to be one. That's all."

 "…for now I sort of feel at home although it's not my home, home is the best. The fact that I am just doing something to help my family back home, I just feel like I am in my home doing something. Because the thing is I haven't done any crime here

and I don't even get anyone harassing me around here, though I see others being harassed, but to my side it has never happened."

"But when you have something you are doing in life, you just take it as your home for things to be well with you. If you don't take it as your home you will always feel different like you feel discouraged, you feel hated, and you feel something else different. But if you take it like you are at home even if it's not home just take it as home then your things will be well".

The participants' experiences were in line with Schlossberg's Transition Process Model as discussed in Chapter 1. Adaptation to transition in terms of the model is defined as a process during which an individual moves from being totally preoccupied with the transition to integrating the transition into his or her life (Schlossberg 1981:7). Therefore, ease of adaptation to transitions depends on one's perceived and/ or actual balance of resources to deficits in terms of the transition itself, the pre-post environment and the individual's sense of competency, well-being and health.

Participant Fungai stated that her studying for a nursing course helped her secure a job easily. She related her experience in the following words:

Fungai *"We didn't face challenges. To me I didn't struggle also because the moment we came here I was studying as a nurse and immediately when I finish my schooling I didn't really struggle."*

Participants Edson and Fungai's utterances are in line with Schlossberg's (2011:161) arguments that strategies help to cope with transitions and that there is no single magical coping strategy but rather, the person who flexibly uses lots of strategies will be better able to cope. In this case, Edson adopted the strategy that as long as he is in Africa he is at home whilst Fungai's qualification in nursing enabled her to get a job.

3.4   Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter consists of the first part of the findings of the research study. Participants' experiences related in the face-to-face interviews and transcribed were quoted and substantiated by a literature control. The biographical profiles of the

participants were described and two themes deduced from the data collected, were discussed in this chapter. The themes focused on the experiences of the participants related to relocating to South Africa, and the experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa. In the next chapter the second part of the findings of the research study is presented.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND LITERATURE CONTROL (II)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of the presentation of the second part of the research findings of the study, subjected to a literature control. As indicated in Chapter 3, processing and analysing the data collected in this research, produced the following five major themes:

Theme 1   Economic migrants' experiences related to relocating to South Africa

Theme 2   Economic migrants' experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa

Theme 3   Economic migrants' social and family situations were affected by their relocation

Theme 4   Economic migrants' experiences of socialising and support in South Africa

Theme 5   Economic migrants' understanding of social work, social services and suggestions on how social workers could assist economic migrants

These five major themes were divided into sub-themes which were further categorised where necessary.

Following the biographical profile of the participants and themes numbers 1 and 2 dealt with in Chapter 3, this chapter deals with themes numbers 3, 4 and 5 and their sub-themes as further categorised.

4.2 Presentation of themes and literature control (continued)

Table 4.1 presents an overview and summary of the themes dealt with in this chapter, namely themes 3, 4 and 5, followed by a detailed discussion of these themes and their literature control.

Table 4.1   Overview of themes (Part II)

THEME 3: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' SOCIAL AND FAMILY SITUATIONS WERE AFFECTED BY THEIR RELOCATION		
3.1 Economic migrants' relocation changed the structural arrangement of families	3.1.1 Some economic migrants relocated alone, leaving behind their families	
	3.1.2 Some economic migrants relocated with some members of their nuclear family remaining in Zimbabwe	
	3.1.3 Some economic migrants relocated as couples	
	3.1.4 Some economic migrants relocated with siblings or to join siblings	
3.2 Economic migrants' experienced that relocation has affected relationships in various ways	3.2.1 Couples' relationships have been affected differently by relocation	3.2.1.1 The relationships of couples who relocated together have not been negatively affected
		3.2.1.2 The relationships of couples who did not relocate together have been negatively affected
	3.2.2 Parent-child relationships have been affected negatively by a parent and/or parents' relocation	
	3.2.3 Relationships with extended family members in Zimbabwe have been both negatively affected and not affected by relocation	3.2.3.1 Relationships with extended family members in Zimbabwe have been negatively affected
		3.2.3.2 Relationships with extended family members in Zimbabwe have not been negatively affected
3.3 Economic migrants manage	3.3.1 Relationships with	3.3.1.1 Relationships with

and maintain different relationships with family members in Zimbabwe in various ways	spouses/partners in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through visits and remittances	spouses/partners in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through visits
		3.3.1.2 Relationships with spouses/partners in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through remittances
	3.3.2 Relationships with children in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through visits, remittances and electronic media	3.3.2.1 Relationships with children in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through visits
		3.3.2.2 Relationships with children in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through remittances
		3.3.2.3 Relationships with children in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through electronic media
	3.3.3 Relationships with extended family members in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained	3.3.3.1 Extended family relationships are maintained through visits
		3.3.3.2 Extended family relationships are maintained through remittances

THEME 4: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES OF SOCIALISING AND SUPPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Economic migrants socialise with various groups	4.1.1 Economic migrants socialise with people from Zimbabwe	
	4.1.2 Economic migrants socialise with neighbours and others where they are living	
	4.1.3 Economic migrants socialise with the church community	
	4.1.4. Economic migrants socialise with colleagues from the workplace	
	4.1.5.Economic migrants socialise	

	with South Africans	
4.2 Economic migrants experience various challenges in socialising	4.2.1 Some economic migrants expressed general difficulty in socialising in South Africa	
	4.2.2 Economic migrants experienced that language differences made socialising difficult	
	4.2.3 Economic migrants experienced that cultural and value differences make socialising with South Africans challenging	
	4.2.4 Some economic migrants are introverts by nature which makes socialising challenging	
	4.2.5 Economic migrants experience that mutual suspicion and fear makes socialising challenging	
THEME 5: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIAL WORK, SOCIAL SERVICES AND SUGGESTIONS ON HOW SOCIAL WORKERS COULD ASSIST ECONOMIC MIGRANTS		
5.1 Economic migrants' experience of social work services	5.1.1 Most economic migrants had not made use of social work services	
	5.1.2 One economic migrant had made use of social work services repeatedly	
	5.1.3 Three economic migrants are employed as social workers	
5.2 Economic migrants' understanding of social work	5.2.1 Some economic migrants did not have any understanding of social work	
	5.2.2 Economic migrants' understanding included that social workers offer assistance to	

	vulnerable, needy people who have problems and cannot manage on their own	
	5.2.3 Economic migrants' understanding included that social workers offer material assistance	
	5.2.4 Economic migrants' understanding included that social workers offer counselling	
	5.2.5 Economic migrants' understanding included that social workers offer child protection and care services	
	5.2.6 Economic migrants' understanding included that social workers offer specialised assistance	
5.3 Economic migrants' suggestions on how social workers could help Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa	5.3.1 Social workers can help with providing information about services and linking economic migrants with resource organisations	
	5.3.2 Social workers could mediate with Home Affairs regarding birth certificates of children born in South Africa	
	5.3.3 Social workers could advocate and mediate for easier access into the country at the border	
	5.3.4 Social workers could offer services at refugee centres	
	5.3.5 Social workers could educate the locals to enhance harmony	
	5.3.6 Social workers could help those without work and who want to return to Zimbabwe	
	5.3.7 Social workers could assist economic migrants with accessing	

	accommodation, jobs and materially	
	5.3.8 Social workers can assist economic migrants with counselling	
	5.3.9 Social workers should listen to economic migrants to hear what their needs are	

4.2.1 THEME 3: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' SOCIAL AND FAMILY SITUATIONS WERE AFFECTED BY THEIR RELOCATION

The researcher was curious to know how relocation has affected the social and family situations of the economic migrants from Zimbabwe. Sambajwe and Makatsjane (cited in Maphosa, 2009:17) found that in Lesotho, while labour migration to South Africa is beneficial to Lesotho in the short term, by adding to the national and family income in the form of remittances, the high dependency on migratory employment has serious negative long-term political, economic and social implications on the migrant sending country, the family and community. These researchers argue that due to the absence of males from homes, women have to play multiple roles of being household heads, full-time farmers and house helpers in addition to their role of bearing and rearing children (Sambajwe & Makatsjane cited in Maphosa, 2009:17). Other scholars, Murray and Hishongwa respectively (cited in Maphosa, 2009:18), concur with the above arguments that labour migration has some negative impact on the families. It is added that these negative impacts are due to long periods of spousal separation and deprivation of children of family life leading to behavioural problems (Sambajwe & Makatsjane cited in Maphosa, 2009:18). Accoding to Thoits (1995:64), social support is considered to be a coping resource; it is a social fund from which people may draw when handling stressors. Social support usually refers to the functions performed for the individual by significant others, such as family members, friends and co-workers. These significant others can provide instrumental, informational and emotional assistance. Furthermore, Anderson et al (2012: 95) argue that, almost always a transition in one area of a person's life has an impact on other areas of that person's life as well as on the lives of the person's significant others.

Therefore, the researcher asked the following questions: *"Are you here with your family? If not, how are you managing your marital relationships"* and *"What was the effect of your relocation to South Africa on your marital and family relationships?"* Consequently, theme 3 regarding the social and family situation unfolded into the following three sub-themes:

Sub-theme 3.1   Economic migrants' relocation changed the structural arrangement of families

Sub-theme 3.2   Economic migrants experienced that relocation affected relationships in various ways

Sub-theme 3.3   Economic migrants manage and maintain different relationships with family in Zimbabwe in various ways

These sub-themes were accompanied by categories that are further accompanied by sub-categories, where necessary, as presented below.

4.2.3.1   Sub-theme 3.1 Economic migrants' relocation changed the structural arrangement of families

According to Hayes and Humphries (2004:81), immigration procedures serve to break up two-parent families and this cannot promote the health and well-being of the children and it causes distress, separation and feelings of loss. In analysing participants' accounts of their personal experiences in this regard, the researcher gained the impression that the participants' families changed as a result of their relocation. This sub-theme culminated into four categories as explained below.

- CATEGORY 3.1.1 SOME ECONOMIC MIGRANTS RELOCATED ALONE, LEAVING BEHIND THEIR FAMILIES

The participants stated that they came to South Africa alone, although some mentioned that they were later joined by their families, namely their spouses and children. Participants expressed themselves as follows:

Abel: *"I am staying here alone."*

Batsirai: *"When I left Zimbabwe I was a single person. … I had separated with my wife, I married customarily and paid lobola … I had a girlfriend …. fiancée in South*

Africa ... and we stayed together. Then we decided … the relationship was not working and we separated and so I started stay alone."

Chipo: *"I was coming alone… When I was starting, looking for a job I was coming alone."*

David: *"I first came alone."*

These participants' words confirm the findings of Sambajwe and Makatsjane (cited in Maphosa, 2009:18) and Murray and Hishongwa (in Maphosa, 2009:18) mentioned above. Furthermore, the experiences of the economic migrants in this study also confirm the Forced Migration Studies Programme's (2009:24) report that their research fieldwork established that Zimbabweans who migrated to neighbouring countries usually migrate alone, leaving families and dependants behind.

- CATEGORY 3.1.2 SOME ECONOMIC MIGRANTS RELOCATED WITH SOME MEMBERS OF THEIR NUCLEAR FAMILY REMAINING IN ZIMBABWE

From the quotations given below, it is clear that these participants relocated and left some members of their family (wives or husbands and children) in Zimbabwe. Then they looked for, secured employment and legalised their stay in South Africa. Thereafter, the remaining members of the family joined them. This differs from the experiences of Mexicans in the USA, who have few opportunities to legalise their status and reunite with their families (Dreby, 2010:8). Dreby (2010:2) also commented that the Mexican migrants chose to move to places in the United States where they could earn more money for their labour, while their children remained behind in Mexico where the cost of living is low.

Participants expressed themselves about this as follows:

Batsirai: *"…one* [child] *is here, the other one is at a boarding school back in Zimbabwe…, they are staying with their mothers and I am staying alone."*

David: *"I first came alone and then my wife followed after six months … my first son was and she couldn't come with him because we still had to process paperwork, still to find proper accommodation. So as a result that boy stayed in Zimbabwe for almost about two years whilst we were here."*

Chipo: *"I was coming alone… there was a time actually I had to leave both my kids back home. When I was start looking for a job I was coming alone I had to leave both my kids back home. So I think I separated with my kids for 2 or 3 years."*

- CATEGORY 3.1.3 SOME ECONOMIC MIGRANTS RELOCATED AS COUPLES

According to the Forced Migration Studies Programme's (2009:24) report, their research fieldwork established that Zimbabweans who migrated to neighbouring countries usually migrate alone, leaving families and dependants behind. The same report also mentioned that "rather than migrating with them [their families] in a more permanent manner, migrants' households continue to reside in Zimbabwe" (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009:31). In this study a contrast was observed, in that some participants reported as follows that they had relocated with their spouses and children:

Itayi: "*… we just moved together."*

Hilda: *"I am staying with my husband and we relocated together"*

- CATEGORY 3.1.4 SOME ECONOMIC MIGRANTS RELOCATED WITH SIBLINGS OR TO JOIN SIBLINGS

According to Rogerson (1999:16), the attraction of friends and relatives already resident in South Africa was also an important consideration. Some economic migrants in this research study made mention of also having siblings who are in South Africa in the following manner:

Batsirai: *"I am here with family … my brothers, sisters, children that are here… but remember I am not married. I am a single person."*

Chipo: *"… and I have a sister and brother who also stay here but most of my family are back home."*

A similar trend was observed in Malawi by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (2009:66) in that the government takes an unofficial position that friends and relatives will support Zimbabweans "returning" to Malawi and the government even helps in tracing the migrant's relatives.

4.2.3.2 Sub-theme 3.2 Economic migrants experienced that relocation has affected relationships in various ways

In recounting the stories of their relocation the participants make mention of various ways in which their personal relationships were affected by their relocation to South Africa in search of greener pastures. "One of the greatest problems created by labour migration is its disruption of family life. This includes family conflicts, strained marriages and the shifting of raising children to the elderly or domestics" (Maphosa, 2009:55). On the positive side, Crush and Frayne (2010:16) noted that many migrants were remitting sizeable sums of cash to their families within the region. Furthermore, Crush and Frayne (2010:16) also state that migration is seen as an essential thing, it is a household strategy, at its most abject, to stave off poverty and hunger. Participants in this research study related similar experiences. This sub-theme is accompanied by three categories and several sub-categories.

- CATEGORY 3.2.1 COUPLES' RELATIONSHIPS HAVE BEEN AFFECTED DIFFERENTLY BY RELOCATION

When the participants related their experiences on how their relocation affected their marital relationships, it was clear that the effects of the relocation depended on whether they relocated as a family or not. The economic migrants' experiences of this issue are explained in the following two sub-categories:

o Sub-category 3.2.1.1 The relationships of couples who relocated together have not been negatively affected

Participants who migrated with their families or with partners did not mention any negative impact of the relocation on their relationships. Their experiences are in line with Thoits' (1995:64) arguments that social support is considered a coping resource; it is a social fund from which people may draw when handling stressors. Social support usually refers to the functions performed for the individual by significant others, such as family members, friends and co-workers. These significant others can provide instrumental, informational and emotional assistance. The participants spoke about this in the following lines:

Itayi: *"On my marital, there was no effect because we just moved together."*

Hilda: *"…on marital relationship I can say there is not much difference or changes because I am staying with my husband and we relocated together. So, there is no challenge."*

- o Sub-category 3.2.1.2 The relationships of couples who did not relocate together have been negatively affected

Leaving a partner or family members in Zimbabwe proved to be problematic and had a negative impact on the participant's relationship. They stated that the separation was not good for their relationships and that was bothering them. Their experiences confirm what Maphosa (2009:55) points out, namely that some marriages are strained or break up, mainly as a result of long periods of separation between spouses. He adds that cases of domestic violence, separation and divorce resulted from accusations of infidelity (Maphosa, 2009:55). Murray (cited in Maphosa, 2009:3) observed that in Lesotho, separation of spouses generated acute anxiety, insecurity and conflict. Furthermore, the prolonged absence of husbands and fathers was said to be associated with high incidences of conjugal breakdowns and desertion (Murray cited in Maphosa, 2009:3). With reference to the negative impact of their relocation to South Africa on their relationships, some participants' related their experiences in the following lines:

Abel: *"A lot, you know, if you do not live with your spouse… a lot things happen… me a lot of things were said about me, because I left my wife in Zimbabwe, she was working back home and a lot of things were said about me and her. Because the general consensus say if a husband is away they will have girlfriends and when a woman is away she can have some sugar daddies. So people can say anything and at one time it disturbed me. But with time you have to realise where you found your woman. After all I knew my wife and she knew me. So we had to swallow everything that was said and we moved on. At the time I had one person, I don't know the person who was sending me messages saying my wife was doing this and that. So at first it disturbed me to the extent that I wanted to go back home but I had nothing to do when I go back home. I was so disturbed and upset to the extent that we quarrelled every now and again with my wife. Until I discovered that person maybe has other feelings my wife or our family. Maybe, it was a jealous person."*

Fungai: *"My own [marital] relationship so far it's not good… I don't know if I could say whether it is because of freedom or having money … Now … our relationship is no longer the same like when we were in Zimbabwe'.*

These sentiments confirm what Pasura (2010:213) observed in his study about the Zimbabwean diaspora in Britain. He pointed out that the absence of extended family members and the lack of proximate kinship ties in the diaspora, contribute to the high divorce rate, because in Zimbabwe extended family help to resolve marital problems. Therefore, lack of extended family support to mediate and resolve marital problems when people are living in the diaspora, leads to divorce. In addition, Thoits (1995:64) argues that social support is considered a coping resource; it is a social fund from which people may draw when handling stressors. Social support usually refers to the functions performed for the individual by significant others, such as family members, friends and co-workers. These significant others can provide instrumental, informational and emotional assistance.

Participant George confirmed Pasura's (2010:217) observations that there are many couples living in "separate worlds" (one in the United Kingdom and the other in Zimbabwe or South Africa) because both were unable to get visas to the United Kingdom. George had this to say: *"It's not that thing we expected that when you are married you have to live like a boyfriend and a girlfriend again… separation is giving us headache every day… Part here and parting. Its giving us a lot of travelling, putting us on high risk of being involved in accidents."*

- CATEGORY 3.2.2 PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS HAVE BEEN AFFECTED NEGATIVELY BY A PARENT AND/OR PARENTS' RELOCATION

With reference to Mexican migrants in the USA, Dreby (2010:2) expressed sentiments that migration is a gamble for Mexican parents because they leave their children hoping to better provide for their children and the children's future. However, as mentioned earlier in the same research study, Dreby (2009:4) discovered that the parent-child relationships were infested by tensions, hurt feelings because of parents' unmet expectations and resentfulness in children because of parents' absence. Thus, emotional fallout was observed in Mexican migrants and their children.

Zimbabwean economic migrants living in Tshwane, South Africa also experienced relationship difficulties with their children. In recounting their experiences, the participants' stories highlighted that parent-child relationships were compromised by the parents' relocation to South Africa and leaving the children in Zimbabwe. Although some later reunited in South Africa, they were still experiencing bonding issues with their children. Some participants were even questioning their fatherly role in the lives of their children. This seems to have been a huge price the economic migrants paid in order to obtain an income and a better life. The participants recounted their experiences as follows:

Chipo: *"It was hard, it was hectic … was not an easy thing. It took me a long time to adjust to that. Even when my kids came here there was a time you could feel there was no that clique that is a parent and a child because they kind of bonded with their grannies and not me."*

George: *"Sometimes I spent six months without seeing or talking to my children who are in boarding school because when I go they will be at school and there are restrictions to visit them as well. So at times you take long without interacting with my children… it's quite bad because instead of giving necessary parental guidance to my children as often as possible, I am not. And I feel my children; they are left without option but to get….. Actually, they are half-baked in terms of how they should live and the necessary guidance they should get from their father."*

David: *"My relocation had a huge impact and effect on my family, because when I relocated my first son was still very young, he was about two years and I first came alone and then my wife followed after six months, she couldn't come with him because we still had to process paperwork, still to find proper accommodation. So as a result that boy stayed in Zimbabwe for almost about two years whilst we were here. Until now I feel we have not really bonded much with him and so until now I feel if I had not relocated our relationship could have been better. Now I feel we lack that father-son connection even the mother-son is somehow lacking. He is closer with the grandmother because she is the one who brought him up."*

- CATEGORY 3.2.3 RELATIONSHIPS WITH EXTENDED FAMILY IN ZIMBABWE HAVE BEEN BOTH NEGATIVELY AFFECTED AND NOT AFFECTED BY RELOCATION

This category emerged as participants recalled their experiences on how their relocation impacted on their relationships with their extended families in Zimbabwe. This category culminated into two sub-categories as described below.

- Sub-category 3.2.3.1 Relationships with extended family in Zimbabwe have been negatively affected

The role and importance of extended family in one's life seems to change as one relocates and settles in another country. Some participants seemed to be finding this reality hard to accept. This is evidenced in the following quotations taken from the transcribed face-to-face interviews:

Chipo: *"Actually, to tell the truth, here there is no more relying on family, we rely on friends* (for support)*."*

David: *"So you see there is a lot of a breakdown in the families because things happen, someone gets sick or someone loses a child, we are no longer there anymore to support each other… even my mother I can go for a year without seeing her. Ya, it's really hard, it's not easy."*

George: *"But you cannot fulfil all the social obligations that you have to."*

The above views confirm what Dreby (2010:4) stated that Mexican parents cling to their parenting roles even when these roles are difficult to fulfil. The experiences of economic migrants suggest that they tend to rely on the support of friends since their families are in Zimbabwe. This is in line with what was observed by Crush and Tevera (2010:29) that Zimbabweans in the United Kingdom have strong ties, and migrant networks provide advice about moving, accommodation and help in obtaining visas.

o   Sub-category 3.2.3.2 Relationships with extended family in Zimbabwe have not been negatively affected

For some participants, the relationship with extended families was not negatively affected. If anything, it was somehow strengthened. The economic migrants' experiences confirmed observations by Maphosa (2009:10) that migrants neither settle permanently in South Africa nor cut ties with their country of origin but maintain close ties through, among other things, frequent visits, sending remittances and communication. The participants alluded to this in the following quotations:

Hilda: *"Ya, family relationships, it's okay, no problem."*

"No, we relate very well."

Edson: *"…actually it didn't affect so much. Let me just say … it actually tightened our relationship. The thing is, the fact that I was focused on something, doing something… that I could not let them down, I was determined to do something, they could see it … The fact that I did it and they saw the results of my determination, they now say, 'we follow you because whenever you want to do something you are determined and you don't look back,' they now believe in me, whatever I do something, they just say, 'do it, we will see the results'."*

4.2.3.3   Sub-theme 3.3 Economic migrants manage and maintain different relationships with family members in Zimbabwe in various ways

This sub-theme emerged as participants related their experiences on how they were managing their relationships with spouses, children and extended families in Zimbabwe. These experiences confirmed what was observed in other studies done on Zimbabwean migrants. For instance, Crush and Tevera (2010:19) state that "Zimbabwean migrants within Southern Africa but also those living outside the region, return home relatively frequently. When they are away they also maintain very close contact with relatives and kin still in the country." In addition, Maphosa (2009:20) states that remittances are sent out of affection and responsibility towards the family. As far as its use is concerned "Literature shows that for the most part, remittances are used for daily expenses such as food, clothing and health care" (Meyers in Maphosa, 2009:22). To show that they care for their families in Zimbabwe, remittances sent by the economic migrants are used for the development

of the family. This is in line with Maphosa's (2009:22) observation that remittances are spent on building or improving housing, buying land or cattle and buying durable consumer goods such as sewing machines and television sets.

The three categories and their accompanying sub-categories described below, suggest that various means were employed by the economic migrants to maintain and manage their relations with their loved ones back home.

- CATEGORY 3.3.1 RELATIONSHIPS WITH SPOUSES/PARTNERS IN ZIMBABWE ARE MANAGED AND MAINTAINED THROUGH VISITS AND REMITTANCES

Economic migrants are maintaining and managing their marital relationships through visits and sending remittances to their spouses. This is explained further in the following two sub-categories.

- Sub-category 3.3.1.1 Relationships with spouses/partners in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through visits

According to Hishongwa (cited in Maphosa, 2009:31), some Namibian men abandoned their families back home as a result of establishing second families in South Africa where they migrated to as contract labourers. This is in contrast with what the economic migrants reported. Participants in this study mentioned that they visited their loved ones in Zimbabwe whenever it was possible to do so. Their partners and children visited them sometimes here in South Africa. Participants informed the researcher about this in the following quotations:

Participant George mentioned his experiences of visits in the following manner:
George: *"…it's not that thing we expected that when you are married you have to live like a boyfriend and a girlfriend again… separation is giving us headache every day… Part here and parting. Its giving us a lot of travelling, putting us on high risk of being involved in accidents."*

"My wife occasionally comes here though she also have to face challenges at the border that she gets very few days."

o   Sub-category 3.3.1.2 Relationships with spouses/partners in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through remittances

In concurring with the literature consulted (Maphosa 2009; Crush & Tevera 2010), payment of remittances serves a big purpose in maintaining the relationship between economic migrants and their families in Zimbabwe. Participants were specific about sending money and groceries to their families and spouses back home and stated this as follows:

Batsirai: *"Whilst I am here, the mother on the side calls me there is no grocery for this and that and that one calls there is no grocery for this, this. So I go and provide the grocery."*

George: *"Yes, because you have to send money home for their upkeep regularly."*

Hilda: *"Ya, when we get some money to support them back there at home we sent them. We support them."*

- CATEGORY 3.3.2 RELATIONSHIPS WITH CHILDREN IN ZIMBABWE ARE MANAGED AND MAINTAINED THROUGH VISITS, REMITTANCES AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA

Bloch (cited in Crush & Tevera, 2010:28) writes that Zimbabweans in the UK are "active economic, social and political transnational actors." Nearly everyone has close family members in Zimbabwe with whom they maintain frequent contact by telephone, email and text messages. Participants who left their children in Zimbabwe have also devised several ways of keeping in contact with their children. These include visits, remittances and communicating by means of electronic media. Most of the experiences of economic migrants in this study confirm findings in the literature. These are explained in detail in the following three sub-categories:

o   Sub-category 3.3.2.1 Relationships with children in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through visits

Participants and their children have reciprocal visits regularly as evidenced in the following utterances:

Edson: "*I go there occasionally to see her like now this Christmas I am going there, I was there recently…*"

Chipo: "*…seeing like eye to eye, physically it's when there is a wedding, or someone has died. Just to … meet it's very big problem.*"

George: "*My family is in Zimbabwe, they occasionally come here during holidays. My children are at school.*"

The above statements are in contrast with the experiences of Mexicans. As mentioned earlier, Mexicans in the USA have few opportunities to legalise their status and reunite with their families (Dreby, 2010:8).

o Sub-category 3.3.2.2 Relationships with children in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through remittances

Participant Edson reiterated that he consults his daughter on what to buy her and this is intended to maintain their bond and as an assurance to the child that her father loves her although he is far. He spoke about this along the following lines:

Edson: "*she must know…. she has someone who is taking care of her, buy her what she wants, I don't just buy, I actually I ask her what do you want my daughter, she says I want this and that, and I buy it for her.*"

According to Dreby (2010:2), Mexican parents leave their children hoping to better provide for them and their future through their hard work in the USA. Thus Edson's experience confirms this.

o Sub-category 3.3.2.3 Relationships with children in Zimbabwe are managed and maintained through electronic media

Participants mentioned that they have adopted modern day technology to maintain and manage their relationships with their children. Facebook, Skype, WhatsApp, phone calls and text messages are used to maintain and manage these relationships. The experiences of the participants are confirmed by other researchers. For example, according to Dreby (2010:5) technological advances have enabled migrants to maintain more dense social and economic ties in home and host countries than in the past. Furthermore, Bloch (cited in Crush & Tevera, 2010:28)

also points out that "nearly everyone (Zimbabweans in the United Kingdom) has close family members in Zimbabwe with whom they maintain frequent contact by telephone, email and messaging."

The economic migrants related their use of electronic media to help them keep in touch with their children in the following quotations:

Batsirai: "…*we meet on Facebook. Yes calling telephonically to some extent, sending SMS' to some extent, social media that's what we are using.*"

Chipo: "*It's very hard, thank God for the phones, we are always on the phones, on WhatsApp, but seeing like eye to eye, physically it's when there is a wedding, or someone has died, just to stand up and meet it's very big problem.*"

Edson: "*Sometimes I call her* (daughter), *I call my mom even if I don't get her on the phone I tell my mom to greet her, tell her this and that, though her mom is not around anymore, tell her I love her maybe… Make her feel that she is loved, make her happy always. Actually, I was supposed to stay with her but she didn't have papers".* "*But I sorted out everything for her. I am just waiting for the papers to come out. If possible I first I have to get a place here for her to study.*"

George: "*Ya, we chat* [support family]. *Yes, but at times you have to try and use the available networks. Normally, with the expensive charges now on cell-phones you have to resort to other modes of communication such as the Skype, the WhatsApp, whatever so that you can try to give yourself thirty minutes, forty minutes, an hour talking with your family in case they need you or there is a challenge.*"

- CATEGORY 3.3.3 RELATIONSHIPS WITH EXTENDED FAMILY MEMBERS IN ZIMBABWE ARE MANAGED AND MAINTAINED

Participants reported that they still maintain their relationships with extended families in Zimbabwe. These relationships were managed in various ways, as set out in the two sub-categories below.

o Sub-category 3.3.3.1 Extended family relationships are maintained through visits

Participants stated that they maintain their relationship with their extended families by visiting each other often and particularly during the December festive season. The

economic migrants also visited their extended families during good and bad times such as for weddings or funerals to offer their support. One participant pointed out that their extended family members visit them when they seek medical treatment in South Africa. Crush and Tevera (2010:19) state that "Zimbabwean migrants within Southern Africa but also those living outside the region return home relatively frequently. When they are away they also maintain very close contact with relatives and kin still in the country". Thus, the participants' recounted experiences with maintaining their relationships with their extended families in Zimbabwe confirm the literature. The economic migrants related their experiences in the following manner:

Abel: *"My family has an opportunity to come and they come to visit here and there."*

David: *"I make it a point that every December holiday I visit them. And if there is any significant ceremony or function that is happening such as weddings, funerals and stuff like that I make it a point I go there to be with family."*

Hilda: *"… sometimes they visit. For example last time we had an aunt who was not feeling well, she came here for treatment. So she visited."*

Itayi: *"We visit them as much as we can… they do come to visit. Family relationships, there was no significant effect because if they want to come here they come and when we want to go to Zimbabwe we go."*

o Sub-category 3.3.3.2 Extended family relationships are maintained through remittances

Payment of remittances is important to maintain extended family relationships as recounted by the participants. Economic migrants helped and supported their families back home by sending them money. The money is used in times of difficulties and to buy food. Some participants even highlighted that they would sometimes deny themselves basic resources in order to support extended families back in Zimbabwe. This fulfils the Shona idiom, "*ukama igasva hunozadziswa nekudya",* meaning family relationships are important and they are fulfilled by eating or sharing. The participants' experiences confirm what was observed in other studies. For example, "Migration means cash for children's education, for health services, for shelter, for starting small business and yes for small luxuries" (Crush &

Frayne, 2010:16). With reference to sending remittances to their families in Zimbabwe, Abel and Edson had this to say:

Abel: *"We also managed to support a lot of people whom we could not support during our tenure in Zimbabwe."*

Edson: *"During times of difficulties I find some cents and send them so that they can also survive."*

"I just surprise them whenever they don't even expect, I can help them with something, I just say no take this, I don't want you to suffer, I am working. So it's better you get something and here I can run around to get something to survive but I know that side is not like this side. Here I can go for days without food but I don't want you to go for days without food, without clothing or anything the way I help my family, usually I just send money for them to see what they can use it for."

4.2.2 THEME 4: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES OF SOCIALISING AND SUPPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

This theme was deduced from the information the participants provided in response to the following question: "*Please tell about your socialisation with the people around you since being in South Africa and whether there are any differences as compared to your social life in Zimbabwe?"* During the analysis of the data obtained about the participants' accounts of their experiences in socialisation, it became clear that economic migrants socialised in different ways as well as at different levels with the local people. Therefore, this theme culminated into the following two sub-themes:

Sub-theme 4.1 Economic migrants socialise with various groups
Sub-theme 4.2 Economic migrants experience various challenges in socialising

The two sub-themes of theme 4 are accompanied by various categories as explained below.

4.2.2.1   Sub-theme 4.1 Economic migrants socialise with various groups

The participants said they socialise with different people in South Africa. The following categories highlight the different groups of people that economic migrants

socialise with and the nature of the interactions. Furthermore, reasons are also given to substantiate a person's choice of people with whom they interact.

- CATEGORY 4.1.1 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS SOCIALISE WITH PEOPLE FROM ZIMBABWE

Some participants mentioned that they only socialise with Zimbabwean friends while others had both Zimbabwean and South African friends. One participant reiterated that his socialisation with either South Africans or Zimbabweans was on a professional level. Examples of the supporting storylines are as follows:

David: *"I can say all my friends are from Zimbabwe. I don't have local friends."*

George: *"I have South African and Zimbabwean friends. I have them."*

Batsirai: *"So my interaction with South Africans or Zimbabweans turns out to be business like you know, it's professional that's the kind of interaction I have with them."*

Edson: *"Yeah I do* [have SA friends], *but they are not many, they are just those friends for a day, you just say, 'how the day', tomorrow is again 'how is the day', that's all."*

The above storylines support Landau's (2010:77) assertion that "rather than striving to integrate, foreigners instead cling to their outsider status, make conscious efforts to avoid close personal relationships with South Africans."

- CATEGORY 4.1.2 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS SOCIALISE WITH NEIGHBOURS AND OTHERS WHERE THEY ARE LIVING

Some of the participants reiterated that they socialise very well with South Africans who are their neighbours and regarded them as part of their support system here in South Africa. The economic migrants alluded to this as follows in their own words:

Abel: *"Ya we interact with them* [South Africans] *so well because I live with them, so it's just 'hi' 'hi', it's ok".*

Chipo: *"So we kind of build our own small cliques or relationships in communities we are staying"*

Fungai: *" …I think let me say, at the moment we are okay with my neighbours that we are staying with."*

- CATEGORY 4.1.3 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS SOCIALISE WITH THE CHURCH COMMUNITY

Participants who attended church stated that they socialise with other people from their churches. They recounted their experiences along the following lines:

Abel: *"I started going to church and…, the way I socialise now is a bit open and I can see and want to do more in life."*

Itayi: *"I go to church and we socialise. …: At church I greet people but we don't have those long discussions that you could have when you are at home."*

According to the theory adopted for this study, an individual's value orientation (basic values and beliefs) is a factor in his or her ability to adapt to transitions (Schlossberg, 1981:14). Hence, these participants are able to socialise with people who share the same beliefs and values with them. Participants Abel and Itayi's experience confirm Schlossberg's (1981:14) argument that "Religious belief is an example of a value orientation that is often said to sustain people through trials of life."

- CATEGORY 4.1.4 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS SOCIALISE WITH COLLEAGUES FROM THE WORKPLACE

Some participants pointed out that they socialise with work colleagues and that their interactions were healthy. The participants' utterances seem to suggest that socialisation at work was good because it was on a professional level and they treat one another professionally.

Chipo: *"So we kind of build our own small cliques or relationships … at workplace."*

David: *"…colleagues at work are very understanding maybe because they are professionals; we connect very well although at a professional level…: Yes not personal level."*

The above statements are in contrast with the argument of Crush and Tevera (2010:41) that acceptance and integration have not been the experience of most Zimbabweans in the major destination countries such as South Africa, the United Kingdom and Botswana. However, it should be noted that their arguments were referring to socialisation in general not particularly at the workplace as highlighted by the participants in this study.

- CATEGORY 4.1.5 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS SOCIALISE WITH SOUTH AFRICANS

Participants also mentioned in the following words that they socialise with their South African friends:

Abel: *"Ya we interact with them* (South Africans) *so well because I live with them, so it's just 'hi' 'hi', it's ok."*

Edson: *"Yes, I do* (have SA friends).*"*

George: *"I have South African and Zimbabwean friends. I have them."*

4.2.2.2   Sub-theme 4.2 Economic migrants experience various challenges in socialising

Landau (2010:77) observed that, rather than striving to integrate, foreigners instead clung to their outsider status and made conscious efforts to avoid close personal relationships with South Africans. Although the participants said they socialise with their South African counterparts, their socialisation was marred by various challenges. These are explained in the following five categories:

- CATEGORY 4.2.1 SOME ECONOMIC MIGRANTS EXPRESSED GENERAL DIFFICULTY IN SOCIALISING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Some participants articulated their challenging experiences in socialising with South Africans in the face-to-face interviews with the researcher. Hence, due to these challenges they found it difficult to make friends. The economic migrants spoke about these challenges in the following manner:

Edson: *"It's not much, the fact that, as I said it's not your home it's so difficult to mingle with people."*

David: *"Ya, it's very, very different, I struggle to make proper friends."*

The participants' experiences differ with Maphosa's findings (cited in Crush & Tevera, 2010:39) who state, when talking about illegal migrants' way of evading arrest by the police, that "irregular migrants seek to minimise the odds of being arrested and deported by 'blending' as far as possible into local communities and populations."

- CATEGORY 4.2.2 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS EXPERIENCED THAT LANGUAGE DIFFERENCES MADE SOCIALISING DIFFICULT

The issue of the language barrier mentioned earlier in theme two also was a challenge to the participants in the beginning when it came to socialisation. However, as they began to know and speak the local languages, it seems from their statements that it became easy for them to socialise with South Africans. Participants expressed themselves as follows about this:

Abel: "[difficult to socialise] *because I could not speak their language, the only language I speak is English. So other people do not understand English. So it was a bit difficult at first and also many other problems."*

Edson: *"The fact that I could not speak their language though now I can speak."*

Maphosa (2009:29) points out that fluency in one of the South African languages such as Zulu, Xhosa and Venda is an advantage. This has proved to be true because economic migrants in this research study failed to socialise with South Africans because they could not speak the local languages.

- CATEGORY 4.2.3 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS EXPERIENCED THAT CULTURAL AND VALUE DIFFERENCES MAKE SOCIALISING WITH SOUTH AFRICANS CHALLENGING

Lack of knowledge of the culture, norms and values of the people in the communities in which they resided, was also mentioned as a hindrance to participants'

socialisation. Some indicated that they even experienced culture shock to such an extent that they were not able to socialise with South Africans. The participants expressed themselves as follows about it:

George: *"The fact that I could not speak their language though now I can speak. It's still difficult because culture, for you to be put into another culture it takes time to adapt to it. But when you are in your own country like right now if I go back home, when I go back to Zimbabwe, back in the rural areas I just know what to do but here you cannot do something which you do not even know about, like let me see, I can say, let's say they are at a party."*

"You don't even know the right or wrong thing to do at that time."

"Ya, we are in a foreign land and the languages we speak are different so the way we socialise it's definitely going to be different."

"You know, the way of life is different. …at home normally, dialogue is the centre stage. Whilst here immediately they don't resolve their differences through dialogue, they use physical violence, they use weapons. Yes, yes, even if you approach the security agency, the law enforcement agents you are more secure there for example when you are resolving differences whilst I am in Zimbabwe than when you are here. At times it makes no difference. Yes, when you are having a policeman there, you might not feel safe there because most of the guys want to use weapon for example. So those are some of the differences in how they resolve their matters. Yes especially physical and revenge."

"Yes, at times we have, from the Zimbabwe perspective, we have …limits, we have limits for example you are invited for a gathering with your South African counterparts. Yes, at Zimbabwe we are not used to this deep hugging of your wife or someone's wife but when they are welcome here , where I am staying they need that deep hugging with your wife, even the males they can kiss your wife in your presence. Whilst when I am with Zimbabwean counterparts we do the Zimbabwean way, we do not have the deep hugging, kissing of the opposite sex, so I feel much better when I am with the Zimbabwean counterparts."

Abel: *"Ya, most of the people that I lived with especially during my first years here, I live with people who do not know God, so it was, so the way I socialise with them*

was partially. Because you know we were not swimming in the same pool, most of the friends I had that time they were beer drinkers and some of them do not know God and it was difficult to socialise with them. But it was because their view of life and my view were different."

The experiences of the economic migrants in this study support Schlossberg (1981:13) who states that the effects of the individual's race or ethnic background on his or her ability to adapt are probably mediated through other factors such as value orientation and cultural norms and one's racial or ethnic background may be an isolating factor, making adaptation more difficult.

- CATEGORY 4.2.4 SOME ECONOMIC MIGRANTS ARE INTROVERTS BY NATURE WHICH MAKES SOCIALISING CHALLENGING

Some participants found it difficult to socialise with people because of the nature of their personalities. It is their nature that they do not socialise with people, regardless of where they are staying. The following are examples of the supporting storylines:

Abel: *"Since I don't talk so much at home, they see me as a quiet person and most of all as someone who do not want to socialise."*

Batsirai: *"So my interaction with South Africans or Zimbabweans turns out to be business like you know, it's professional that's the kind of interaction I have with them … , even when I was in Zimbabwe I did not have friends. My interaction was with family and of course one or two family friends. That's the same pattern of interaction."*

Chipo: *"Ya, it's very different because I notice in Zimbabwe I was someone who was introvert, someone who is calm and collected. I just kept to myself and my family understood me as I am."*

- CATEGORY 4.2.5 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS EXPERIENCED THAT MUTUAL SUSPICION AND FEAR MAKE SOCIALISING CHALLENGING

Lack of trust between South Africans and foreigners, and fear that one may be harmed by other persons, were suggestions made by participants as factors causing socialisation to be difficult. They expressed their opinions in the following manner:

David: *"I guess it's because of this issue of the mutual suspicion between locals and foreigners."*

"Because I don't think I can relate that well with any of the guys as compared to how I related with my friends in Zimbabwe. So perhaps they have this fear of me being a foreigner probably thinking that I am a criminal and I am also thinking oh locals they know each other very well and they might plot against me."

There have been debates about the relation between immigration and crime and many observations have been made about this. Firstly, Savona (cited in Maphosa, 2009:15) argues that lack of integration, lack of status and failure to realise the dream of a better life, by illegal migrants lead them to commit crime. Secondly, Marten (cited in Maphosa, 2009:15) concluded that migrants in Sweden generally had a higher rate of committing crimes than the indigenous Swedes. Thirdly, Killians (cited in Maphosa, 2009:15) noted that in Switzerland the proportion of non-Swiss offenders increased substantially. On the other hand, Simon (cited in Maphosa, 2009:16) concludes that the perception that immigrants are more disposed to crime has no basis in fact because immigrants, especially illegal immigrants, are more likely to avoid engaging in activities that attract law enforcement agents. Participant David's utterances given above seem to confirm the arguments of the highlighted debates.

4.2.3 THEME 5: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIAL WORK, SOCIAL SERVICES AND SUGGESTIONS ON HOW SOCIAL WORKERS COULD ASSIST ECONOMIC MIGRANTS

In contemporary times the scale and complexity of the phenomenon of persons migrating from a country of origin to another, "challenges the very nature and identity

of social work itself, its ethical claims, its positioning vis-à-vis state policy, its strategies and its 'portrait'" (Williams & Graham, 2014). Therefore, this theme of economic migrants' understanding of social work, social services and suggestions on how social workers could assist economic migrants, was investigated and a literature control conducted about it to support and confirm, and/or contrast the themes and the storylines presented. In the literature control of this theme, substantial use has been made of the extensive article of Williams and Graham (2014) about social work and migration, titled *'A world on the Move': Migration, mobilities and social work.*

This exposition is based on the information the participants gave in response to the researcher's questions on whether the economic migrants have used the services of social workers; what their understanding is of the nature of social work assistance; and how they thought social workers could help economic migrants in South Africa. Consequently, the theme culminated into the following three sub-themes:

Sub-theme 5.1 Economic migrants' experience of social work services

Sub-theme 5.2 Economic migrants' understanding of social work

Sub-theme 5.3 Economic migrants' suggestions on how social workers could help Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa

The sub-themes deduced from theme 5 are presented with the accompanying categories and sub-categories (where applicable) below:

4.2.3.1   Sub-theme 5.1 Economic migrants' experience of social work services

Although it is stated in an international context that, "A plethora of government agents, including social work, have been engaged in assisting the migrant to settle and assimilate" (Williams & Graham, 2014) this is not the case in South Africa. Literature currently available seems to suggest that little is being done by civil society to help Zimbabweans living in South Africa, in that "Civil society has been largely ineffective in putting pressure on the government to change its policies and practices in relation to Zimbabweans and has also not been able to mobilise and coordinate a sufficient parallel welfare support and protection system" (Polzer, 2010:379). The author also emphasises the needs of migrants which include the immediate humanitarian needs for shelter, food, health care as well as education for children,

livelihood needs for income opportunities, labour rights and access to remittance channels, and finally the need for protection (including physical safety, legal security and non-refoulement) (Polzer, 2010:381).

This sub-theme highlights how the participants experienced social work services during the process of their transition from Zimbabwe and adjusting and settling in South Africa. This sub-theme unfolded into three categories as explained below.

- CATEGORY 5.1.1 MOST ECONOMIC MIGRANTS HAD NOT MADE USE OF SOCIAL WORK SERVICES

Most of the participants had not made use of social work services and some gave various reasons for not using them. These included not seeking for social work help and some were not aware that social workers could assist economic migrants. The following quotations taken from the transcribed interviews underscore this category:

Chipo: *"When I came to South Africa I was married, then I got here I had to get divorced. It was hectic and I really needed professional assistance but I didn't seek for it … because I don't know why I did not seek for it but maybe it's the helper in me, I thought I could help myself. It was not easy but I managed to get over it."*

David: *"Ha, no I didn't."*

Fungai: *"I have never been to them and I have never have any assistance from them."*

George: *"U. U.* (meaning No). *I didn't know that that there were social workers who could assist us. Where I was staying … most of the people didn't know much about these social organisations which could assist. Yes, so I was just relying from motivation from my friends such a thing."*

Itayi: *"No,* [not at all]."

On the other hand, some participants mentioned that social welfare services were meant only for South Africans. The following quotations are given expressing this belief:

Batsirai: *"Aah not only, you know if you talk about social welfare services, not on welfare level. If you look at welfare level, its provision, it is not applicable for non-citizens. At a welfare level I wouldn't say I meet the criteria."*

"No that's not we were talking about [local clinics]*. At welfare level, when I am saying welfare level I am saying non-paying."*

"Then it's different when you are not a South African you cannot demand a welfare service. You can only demand a welfare service when you are a citizen according to the Social Assistance Act."

The experiences of economic migrants as evidenced and their utterances confirm what was concluded in the research by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (2009:8-9) in South Africa, Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. It was observed that in all four countries, there are very few capacitated professional organisations specifically working on advocacy and intervention for Zimbabweans or migrants generally (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009:8-9). Furthermore, it was indicated in the same Forced Migration Studies Programme (2009:8-9) report that, in all these countries government policy discourages the creation of "pull factors" through direct assistance and also discourages assistance to undocumented migrants, creating strong disincentive to the establishment of the much needed direct assistance organisations for this population. According to the report, generally in Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia, state welfare support is reserved for citizens and there is no special policy for the support of vulnerable migrants (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009:66).

- CATEGORY 5.1.2 ONE ECONOMIC MIGRANT HAD MADE USE OF SOCIAL WORK SERVICES REPEATEDLY

One participant related his experience of using social work services during difficult times. These included assistance during the burial of his brother's son, also palliative care for his critically ill brother as well as HIV and Aids counselling during antenatal check-ups for his pregnant wife. Participant Abel's experience confirms the observations in the Forced Migration Studies Programme (2009:8-9) (2009:66) report that in Botswana the extremely vulnerable cases can be assisted by social

workers but on an *ad hoc* basis. The participant's experiences related to using social work services are encapsulated in the following excerpts:

Abel: *"…because I have met them in times of difficulties."*

"Ya, we did, when at one time we went with my wife when she wanted to get some check-ups. We went there for counselling here and there concerning HIV and Aids status and what what."

"And some years back I got assistance from the social workers when my brother's son was killed by a tractor in Limpopo there. We went to the social department and they assisted us with burying that little boy."

"At one time, I had a brother who was seriously ill and we were referred to the social workers and they took us to a secluded area there in Kempton Park. Ya, since they suspected that this guy had TB. Yes, I got assistance I could not keep him at home because his wife was also seriously ill and I had no one to live him with, and I also had to go to work. So these people helped me, took him, took care of him until the time of his death."

- CATEGORY 5.1.3 THREE ECONOMIC MIGRANTS WERE EMPLOYED AS SOCIAL WORKERS

Three economic migrants who participated in this research were employed as social workers. The contribution of migrant social workers to social work internationally, is noted. As observed by Williams and Graham (2014), 'migrants have made and are making key contribution to social work and social welfare workforce in countries all over the world.'

From the three migrant social workers participating in this research, one participant seems to suggest that social workers do not need social work services. The reason presented being that they did not use social work services because they are social workers and they were the ones helping people. This was postulated as follows:

Batsirai: *"I am a social worker and I am providing assistance, and so I am not a benefactor of pro-bono services … from social workers."*

4.2.3.4   Sub-theme 5.2 Economic migrants' understanding of social work

This sub-theme is intended to highlight the participants' knowledge of social work. Their responses gave rise to the following six categories.

- CATEGORY 5.2.1 SOME ECONOMIC MIGRANTS DID NOT HAVE ANY UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIAL WORK

Some participants stated that they had no knowledge about social work and what social workers do. The economic migrants were very specific when answering the question related to the knowledge of social work and expressed themselves as follows in this regard:

Edson: "I *don't even know how they work."*

Itayi: *"I don't really know exactly how social workers come in."*

The economic migrants' reflections about being ignorant about the functions of social workers could probably be ascribed to the fact that no such services were available to them. The impression is gained that this could possibly be due a lack of social workers working with migrants. This would confirm Jordan and Jordan's arguments (cited in Hayes & Humphries 2004:43) that social workers still do not accept that the social problems faced by asylum seekers and others subject to immigration controls, are any of their business. This is elaborated on by Williams and Graham (2014) who highlighted that social work has not responded adequately to the challenges of migration and the nexus between social work and migration has not been fully understood and theorised. Furthermore, Cox and Geisen (quoted in Williams & Graham, 2014) argue "that social work is clearly lagging behind in developing appropriate models of research which can inform and answer questions about policy and practice given its limited and myopic view of the migrant." These arguments are evidenced in this research by the fact that only one participant used social work services whilst most participants were not aware that social workers could assist them.

- CATEGORY 5.2.2 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' UNDERSTANDING INCLUDED THAT SOCIAL WORKERS OFFER ASSISTANCE TO VULNERABLE, NEEDY PEOPLE WHO HAVE PROBLEMS AND CANNOT MANAGE ON THEIR OWN

Some participants were knowledgeable about social work and social services. They stated that social workers help people solve their problems, help underprivileged, vulnerable and needy people in society. Social work services such as counselling and provision of material assistance were mentioned by the participants. Although not stated in so many words, it is inferred that this knowledge of participants is in line with Williams and Grahams' (2014) explanation that social work is one of the professions heavily enmeshed within the web of stakeholders in the field, namely the migrants, their families and communities and the network of informal and formal institutions at the interface of these encounters. The economic migrants highlighted their knowledge in the following words:

Abel: *"So I think their work is to help people who have problems, basically the problems you cannot solve."*

Chipo: *"Social work assistance is to assist anyone who is underprivileged in any way. It can be monetary, psychologically, socially … a social worker has to come in as long as you need assistance with maybe food, somewhere to stay, counselling."*

George: *"Yes, they are there to assist the vulnerable groups who are in the society and those who are in need of support. … economic support, yes, in trying. .. social workers they are more of assisting needy people in our society."*

Abel: *"I understand that if you have problems you go to them they can help you, assist you with ideas."*

These expectations of participants regarding social work and social services were expressed in fairly general terms. It is however clear that from the service renderer's perspective the task of social workers responsible for assisting migrants settling in their new country is much more arduous. For instance, Ottosdottir and Evans (cited in Williams & Graham, 2014) refer to social workers having to "follow national policy on immigration and asylum yet at the same time meet policy requirements in safeguarding vulnerable adults and children." In expanding on this, Williams and

Graham (2014) explain that "social workers need to be well versed in social policy and legislative requirements, migration theory and policy, welfare entitlements and the system, able to work cross-nationally and attuned to the profession's ethical responsibilities. They need a confidence as key framers and shapers of policy in the implementation processes."

- CATEGORY 5.2.3 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' UNDERSTANDING INCLUDED THAT SOCIAL WORKERS OFFER MATERIAL ASSISTANCE

Participants showed that they know that social workers help with rendering material assistance such as by providing food and shelter. The economic migrants made mention of the following:

George: *"To source items to help those who don't have something."*

Hilda: "... *a social worker has to come in as long as you need assistance with maybe food, somewhere to stay."*

Itayi: *"If you do not have food in the house, I think you can also approach the social workers."*

Although talking about migrants returning to their home country, Schwarzer, Kammerer-Rutten, Schleyer-Lindenmann and Wong (2016:251) mention that "for returnees, both host and home countries must have support structures such as social services centres with properly trained social workers to provide strategies and solution for families in trouble due to displacement and adjustment in a 'foreign' local environment."

- CATEGORY 5.2.4 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' UNDERSTANDING INCLUDED THAT SOCIAL WORKERS OFFER COUNSELLING

Presently, social workers everywhere are faced with the issue of human migration and the inflow of migrants and immigrants brings new social and economic problems that fall in the domain of social service (Elliot & Mayadas, 2000:639). Dealing with

these new social and economic problems, would include the offering of counselling services where necessary by social workers in their assistance to migrants. Participants in this research highlighted that social workers offer social counselling as part of their casework services. They articulated this in the following manner:

George: *"They help you, counsel you psychologically."*

Hilda: *"… a social worker has to come in as long as you need assistance with maybe …, counselling."*

George: *"They might need psychological support, social support" (*meaning the economic migrants*)."*

The economic migrants' understood that social workers offer counselling services. The above utterances by the participants confirms Coulshed and Orme's (1998:100) arguments that "the loss of support networks together with a sense of powerlessness means that the process of emigrating goes through critical phases such as excitement, disenchantment, perception of discrimination, identification crisis and marginal acceptance." In addition, it is emphasised that immigrants can suffer post-traumatic disorder because of cultural bereavement (which means departing from their familiar cultures to what is unknown), poor social support in the receiving countries, the negative impact of fear of being sent home, separation from spouse, threats to family and discrimination. Indeed, this highlights the need and importance of counselling, as a service social workers can provide to economic migrants (Hayes & Humphries, 2004:82).

- CATEGORY 5.2.5 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' UNDERSTANDING INCLUDED THAT SOCIAL WORKERS OFFER CHILD PROTECTION AND CARE SERVICES

The researcher noted that economic migrants from Zimbabwe were very much aware that social workers offer statutory services which include dealing with child protection issues which include statutory issues. Statutory social work is however not the whole of social work (Hayes & Humphries, 2004:33) and the participants were

able to point out a number of services offered by social workers in promoting children's welfare. Examples of the storylines to demonstrate this are as follows:

David: *"But the majority of social work assistance in South Africa I think is mainly in the field of child protection."*

Fungai: *"I understand they can help you to take care of your kids maybe if you are struggling with the kids, they can even help take the kids to the what, they call it what, UNICEF whatever, I don't know that department, they can take you to that department where they will help you with the grant."*

George: *"For example where I am staying they sourced out and interacted with organisations that provide basic items for child headed families. Yes, so in short, I'm saying these."*

Hilda: *"OK. Social work I think is something to do with … with people in general, helping people in the way of life, the way they socialise and maybe trying to help where there are challenges in people's lives."*

Fungai: *"From what I understand, they help those in need, like if you have a child that you cannot take care of you can approach the social workers."*

The above views of participants correspond with the fact that three main delivery modes relevant to social work and migration are inter alia identified, namely specialist therapeutic services, services geared to wider social groups that take account of the particular needs of migrants and services that focus on community development strategies (Lyons & Huegler cited in Williams & Graham, 2014).

- CATEGORY 5.2.6 ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' UNDERSTANDING INCLUDED THAT SOCIAL WORKERS OFFER SPECIALISED ASSISTANCE

One participant was of the opinion that social workers offer specialised services. He referred to the specialisation of social work services in South Africa in the following lines:

David: *"Okay, in South Africa, I think the nature of the social work assistance is quite specialised you know. You get social workers who specialise mainly in rehabilitation,*

counselling, alcohol issues, family problems and you get some who specialise in social development and stuff like that."

This view corresponds with Williams and Graham's (2014) explanation that the scale and complexity of contemporary migration have demanded for far reaching change from within the profession: highlighting issues in interventions, in the training of social workers and in the types of research they undertake and pertinently raising questions for social work about the adequacy and nature of responses within particular welfare regimes.

Participant David's sentiments are in line with Hayes and Humphries' (2004:25) observations about asylum seekers that social work now finds itself confronted with an inescapable reality, as dispersal places real people with real problems into areas without networks or traditions of support. The same can be said of economic migrants from Zimbabwe relocating and settling in South Africa, in that: "Workers in statutory and private settings and within mainstream and specialist provision are often unprepared to deal with both the practical and ethical issues this raises" (Hayes & Humphries 2004:25). Furthermore, the recommendation by Elliot and Mayadas (2000:637) that, if social work is to keep pace with economic globalisation, it needs to assume a more central international perspective, both in practice and professional education, also applies to this scenario. Therefore, this research study will assist social workers to understand the dynamics of economic migration and this will help them to offer proper intervention to address the needs of this category of the population.

4.2.3.5 Sub-theme 5.3 Economic migrants' suggestions on how social workers could help Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa

The view that civil society or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have managed to pick up much of the slack of government in dealing with Zimbabwean migrants is challenged (Polzer, cited in Crush & Tevera, 2010:41). According to According to the author, civil society has failed to develop coherent responses to the challenge of Zimbabwean migration (Polzer, cited in Crush & Tevera, 2010:41). Therefore, the participants in this research study were given the opportunity to express their opinions on how social workers could help economic migrants in South Africa. It was also highlighted that the cumulative impact of actors dealing with legal

and protection issues and those providing social welfare, has been relatively small in relation to numbers and needs of immigrants (Polzer, 2010:41). It is also pointed out that where Zimbabwean issues have brought together a wider range of South African civil society institutions, including labour unions and social movements, this has been mainly focused on advocacy regarding the situation within Zimbabwe rather than the plight of Zimbabweans in South Africa (Crush & Tevera, 2010:41).

The participants were at liberty to give these suggestions in the face-to-face interviews because of the rapport between them and the researcher. Hence, they gave a plethora of suggestions which unfolded into the following nine categories.

- CATEGORY 5.3.1 SOCIAL WORKERS CAN HELP WITH PROVIDING INFORMATION ABOUT SERVICES AND LINKING ECONOMIC MIGRANTS WITH RESOURCE ORGANISATIONS

The participants suggested that the economic migrants from Zimbabwe settling in South Africa need to be linked with organisations that deal with economic migrants. Thus, social workers should be part of a resource centre to provide that information. More so, social workers should provide information on services available in South Africa for economic migrants and how to access them. Social work is in a unique position to assist migrants in this regard, as "Social work is one of the professions heavily enmeshed within the web of stakeholders in the field: the migrants, their families and communities, and the network of informal and formal institutions at the interface of these encounters" (Williams & Graham, 2014).

The participants' sentiments about this matter were articulated as follows:

David: *"I know there are a lot of organisations that deal with migrants… But most migrants do not know about those organisations. That is where social workers should come in to link those people with those organisations or to link migrants with maybe with the department of Home Affairs for their papers…   You see people struggle, queuing there and they are so clueless. I saw people making mistakes, people lying about their names and ages and it comes back to them because there is no one to give them information on about what to say when they are there for a document. Struggling to take children to clinics like myself I experienced that. Social workers can come through that because everyone has a right to health; everyone*

has a right to education. So social workers could come and link people with resources and also you know that is the part of advocating for change that wherever they go to access, they will be received same like any other national will be received."

George: *"Social workers… have to come out and educate migrants of those services that migrants can get when they are in South Africa. Like in my case I didn't know and it's not only me who doesn't know, there are other people who doesn't know… Social workers should come out … to areas were migrants are, in any form, it could be through social networks, fliers, or whatever. They should improve their awareness campaigns and also if they are well known, accessibility to them as well. Because we might know that social workers can provide those services but if they are not easily accessible or they are not located in the areas whereby they are needed most, it does not help as well."*

Due to the fact that, "as a profession, social work is well placed to significantly identify the nature of needs, shape the discourses of settlement and integration, develop practice models and contribute to policy development" (Williams & Graham, 2014), it should be easy for social workers to ensure that migrants become aware of their services and ensure that their services and resources are accessible to them. This includes the availability of information and referral of migrants to other departments and resources. The above statements by participants also support what Coulshed and Orme (1998:50) wrote in this regard, namely that "all social workers spend about one third of their time in face to face client work, the rest is spent in intra-organisational and inter-organisational communication. A great deal of this effort is connected to mobilising resources."

- CATEGORY 5.3.2   SOCIAL WORKERS COULD MEDIATE WITH HOME AFFAIRS REGARDING BIRTH CERTIFICATES OF CHILDREN BORN IN SOUTH AFRICA

The participants suggested that social workers should help parents who give birth in South Africa to obtain their children's birth certificates. From the following quotation the impression was gained that children being born in South Africa were at risk of becoming stateless, as both the South African and Zimbabwean governments are refusing to register them as citizens. One participant expressed this as follows:

Fungai: *"I think what I want the social worker to help those who give birth here. Some of them are struggling to take their children back home. With the birth certificate because they really don't know where exactly to go and register because when they go to the clinic they are told to go and get your birth certificate in Zimbabwe and yet in Zimbabwe again they are saying you need to go back to South Africa."*

In addressing a number of key issues that have delineated the social work approach to the migrant, Williams and Grahams' (2014) refer to the failure to address a number of issues, including second- and third-generation descendants of migrants and the access of migrants to substantive citizenship. The above opinion expressed by the participant corresponds with this finding. Social workers dealing with migrants should attend to these matters as strong advocacy within systems is required to ensure that people access the support they need (Hayes & Humphries, 2004:84).

- CATEGORY 5.3.3 SOCIAL WORKERS COULD ADVOCATE AND MEDIATE FOR EASIER ACCESS AT THE BORDER

The participants in this research reiterated that social workers could advocate for better services and general treatment to economic migrants by officials at the border as well as advocate for better immigration laws. They said this in the following words:

Hilda: *"…I feel maybe, this is because of the challenges that I mentioned before especially the issue of having few days at the border. I think social workers can chip in and help maybe liaising with the superiors from Home Affairs maybe to come in and help us get more days at the border so that when we come this side at least we can have enough time to work and maybe when we have enough money then we can go back and have more days at the border. Because honestly, when you have three days you cannot do anything with them. So I think social workers must chip in and maybe talk to Home Affairs superiors to help us. I think, anything else they can do, I think umm, what can I say, maybe the issue of papers, because I was talking about having more days at the border, maybe I think to make permits for Zimbabweans to make them easy to access. So that at least each and every one who can have the papers to go and have the permits, maybe to have that privilege."*

David: *"Social workers should be taking the Department of Home Affairs into task saying, 'what are you doing, don't you see that these cumbersome immigration regulations that you have and are impacting on the dignity, and on the self-esteem of people?'"*

- CATEGORY 5.3.4 SOCIAL WORKERS COULD OFFER SERVICES AT REFUGEE CENTRES

Participants were of the opinion that social work services are greatly needed at refugee centres in South Africa where asylum seekers and refugees are screened and their status determined. They highlighted a number of issues that social workers could deal with at these centres. These services include helping with applying for permits as well as linking people with various resources according to each one's needs. The following storylines clarify the services that social workers should provide at refugee centres in South Africa according to participants:

Chipo: *"I think social workers can play a big role there especially in the receiving you know, refugee centres, talk to people about them, about their refugee status, how they can apply for them, to link them with resources, like kind of jobs, link with organisations that employ them, how they can regularise their stay, they can also stand for them. Like you asked a question about accessing social services, people are struggling to place children in school because they are not documented."*

David: *"Those drop-in centres should be manned by social workers so that migrants can ask for instance, what steps I should follow if I want to get a work permit or asylum seekers permit. Social workers should be able to refer and direct them, and they should even make those officials understand. Social workers should be writing background reports saying, 'this is Mr. So and So , he is coming from so and so, from where and where, this is how his family situation is like, this is what he needs, please assist.' So I feel social workers let the economic migrants down."*

The participants' opinions are in line with the example given by Elliot and Mayadas (2000:639) of how human migration affects social work in the United States, where a group of depressed women in a similar situation, living in an urban metropolitan attended classes for English and participated in asset-based cooperative programs operated by a local mental health agency to achieve economic self-reliance.

- CATEGORY 5.3.5 SOCIAL WORKERS COULD EDUCATE THE LOCALS TO ENHANCE HARMONY

In theme 2, the economic migrants highlighted their experiences of xenophobia and discrimination. Therefore, they felt that social workers should embrace the task of educating South Africans in order to bring harmony between them and the foreigners. Methods such as conducting awareness campaigns were mentioned as ways to achieve this. This supports Hayes and Humphries' (2004:83) argument that social work is the main professional group in a position to address issues of oppression and discrimination on a day-to-day basis. In addition, Coulshed and Orme (1998:100) also point out that many immigrants go through a pattern of adaptation to an unfamiliar and probably discriminating environment. It is of paramount importance that social workers be actively involved in working with economic migrants as they try to adjust and settle to life here in South Africa. The participants gave their opinions on the role of the social workers to enlighten society as follows:

David: *"For starters they need to embark on massive awareness campaigns and try to change the mind-set of the* [local] *people…, they should educate them that being a foreigner does not equal being a criminal… issues of social justice, human dignity, so when people are being treated with indignity, social workers should protest, social workers should educate… So social workers should adopt that educational role, they should sensitise communities, they should make communities see that we can live together in harmony, and we can actually form a good support system for each other."*

"So I believe social workers should be playing that pivotal leading role. Look at the recent xenophobic attacks that could have been prevented if the society have been sensitised, and that is the role of the social worker. But unfortunately, I have never seen one social worker commenting against the xenophobic attacks or trying to make communities see that violence or beating each other is not the way to address your problems."

- CATEGORY 5.3.6 SOCIAL WORKERS COULD HELP THOSE WITHOUT WORK WHO WANT TO RETURN TO ZIMBABWE

Suggestions were made that social workers could facilitate the return of economic migrants to Zimbabwe, especially those that failed to secure jobs in South Africa. From the quotation given below one gets the impression that there are Zimbabwean economic migrants who are struggling and are becoming destitute in South Africa because they do not have the money to travel back to Zimbabwe.

Fungai: "*The social worker can sit down, talk to them if they want to go back but the thing is they do not have money to go back home. But if they can get that help I think some of them want to go back.*"

This suggestion by participant Fungai confirms what was highlighted by Schwarzer et al (2016:251), namely that the duration of stay varies based on the needs, availability of jobs and the management of migrants through policies in the host countries when members of the family are unable to adjust. The option is to return. This proposition of the participant links with the fact highlighted by Williams and Graham (2014), that migration theory has developed to such an extent that a contemporary picture is conveyed that goes well beyond seeing the migrant, mostly male, on a one-way journey outward. Attention is also drawn to the role of families, friends and networks in assisting settlement, sustaining connections with home and with a community of interest. As part of this, the notion of return migration is also raised (Williams and Graham, 2014). Furthermore, "We are now more attuned to what has been left behind as a result of migrations and more attuned to the notion of return" (Williams & Graham, 2014). Consequently, social workers rendering services to Zimbabwean economic migrants should also attend to this matter.

- CATEGORY 5.3.7 SOCIAL WORKERS COULD ASSIST ECONOMIC MIGRANTS WITH ACCESSING ACCOMMODATION, OBTAINING JOBS AND MATERIALLY

Life transitions (migration in this case) throw an individual into a state of helplessness, where coping strategies are no longer successful in mastering problems and where a person's psychological defences are weakened (Coulshed & Orme, 1998:96). This is evidenced in the participants' remarks below. Some Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa were struggling to make a living and

meeting their basic needs. Therefore, the participants suggested that social workers should help them to cope in this regard with their new circumstances. This was expressed in the following manner:

Hilda: *"… Zimbabweans that we see… I think some of them don't have even places to stay. Maybe social workers can chip in to talk maybe with the government to see how best those people can be assisted."*

Itayi: *"There are a lot of migrants who do not have accommodation, who do not have food, who are busy looking for jobs. I don't know if social workers can help in that regard."*

Abel: *"Ya, they can help them in many ways, assist them, counselling them, help them maybe materially; if you have they provide a way out."*

- CATEGORY 5.3.8 SOCIAL WORKERS CAN ASSIST ECONOMIC MIGRANTS WITH COUNSELLING

One participant showed much appreciation of social workers. He mentioned that when economic migrants come to South Africa, they are traumatised and experience psychological, physical and financial problems. Hence, social workers could help these people through offering counselling services to them in order to assist them in sorting matters out. The following quotation is given in support of this category:

Abel: *"If you are traumatised they will counsel until you realise what life is really is. They will counsel you psychologically because when you come here you have psychological problems, financial problems, so sometimes hey help financially, psychologically, physically. So they can help a lot."*

Participant Abel's words confirm Coulshed and Orme's (1998:109) assertions that crisis incidents have revealed the long-term psychological effects of trauma and how early counselling can prevent pathological outcomes in the years to follow. Therefore, social workers should be available to offer counselling to economic migrants. Hayes and Humphries (2004:46) emphasise this need for counselling by stating that, "traumatic experiences in their country of origin and their flight may be compounded by separation, loss and social dislocation in this country (meaning host

country) making them especially vulnerable." This vulnerability was also observed in the participants of this study.

- CATEGORY 5.3.9 SOCIAL WORKERS SHOULD LISTEN TO ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TO HEAR WHAT THEIR NEEDS ARE

One participant suggested implied that social workers should conduct research on the needs of the economic migrants and establish how best to help them. This view confirms Coulshed and Orme's(1998:61) argument that, "To ensure that the services are relevant and appropriate local authority social service departments are required to consult users through open days, public meetings, surveys and setting up forums."

Participant **Fungai** stated her opinion about this as follows: *"I don't know how the social worker is going to help; maybe it is better to sit down with the people so that they can hear what they are going to say."*

According to Bernstein and Weiner (1999:183), in the absence of hard empirical data about either South African internal migration or cross-border immigration, all kinds of wild guesses about numbers and trends gain credence. They further assert that one of the major problems with dealing with migration issue in South Africa is the absence of accurate information. Thus, further research on trends of migration and numbers of migrants in South Africa will help to resolve the problem of lack of scientific information on the issue on economic migration. The experiences of the economic migrants from Zimbabwe who participated in this research study may be used as a basis to develop future researches on this group of the population. Thereafter, social work interventions would be implemented accordingly as informed by the research findings. These areas of research form part of the recommendations in Chapter 5 and evidence from the utterances of the participants are given to support the recommendations.

Ironically, a participant in this research study suggested that Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa do not need any social work assistance. The reasons for this line of thinking are also evident in the utterances of the participant. These sentiments were expressed in the following lines:

Batsirai: *"I don't think economic migrants in South Africa need help. I don't think they need social work   help."*

"But of course there are those who purport to be economic migrants when they are not economic migrants. They have just left the country because in the country they left they were not doing anything. Because in the country they left they were not productive they are coming from and how do you expect them to be productive in the country they arrive."

"You know they are migrants. [not economic migrants]. *Yes like any other person who have migrated but they cannot be categorised as economic migrants because the reasons, the push factors are different. The push factors of economic migrants if I am to say it, firstly, is they look at themselves, they look at their social status, they look at the level where they were and see things are falling down, and things are crumbling."*

"They are migrants and yes by the virtue of the fact that they came here without any aspirations, then they face challenges and they found themselves by Marabastad there and if you go to Marabastad you might think all those people that are dirty there are South Africans and yet they are Zimbabweans."

"…I think my observation is that you cannot be an economic migrant when you have not set your mind to what you are going to do when you leave your country. So when you leave your country you are prepared to go and work, so whatever you lay your hands on as long its work it is suffice to say it will give you something, it will give you an income. Whether now you want to buy a house, you want to buy a limousine; you want to buy what then there is no preference. But the extents that you can earn a living and have a decent life if you are an economic migrant then the opportunities are here. That's why they keep on coming."

Participant Batsirai's sentiments support the arguments by Bernstein and Weiner (1999:84) that the whole question of immigration into South Africa by both skilled and unskilled people has emerged as one of the most important areas of controversy in the "new" South Africa. The following scenario was given by the participant, to justify who can be referred to as a Zimbabwean economic migrant:

Batsirai: *"If I am working in Zimbabwe as a social worker, I go to an office, when I am in the office I am supposed to attend to clients but I cannot attend to clients because the issues that are affecting clients requires them to be doing petty trading,*

money spinning, and I am sitting in the office waiting for clients who are running around spinning money out there. Then I will say no, no let me put my jacket on my chair and start joining money spinning colleagues out there because I am being left out. At the end of the month I get $300 but the one spinning money out there they make $3 000. So it's a one thousand time difference. So I said no, no this profession is only the bhachi (jacket) the body is out there spinning money. That's professional regression I am talking about. Then you decide no-no I cannot compete with these because they will be laughing at me saying papa (father) you were to university, you were doing nothing all those years you spent at the University. Look at us. So I said no, no I cannot subject myself to such humiliation then I decided let me go out there where my profession is still being respected and I can earn a living. Those ones now you see we can call them economic migrants."

Participant Batsirai even went further to suggest what should be done with people from Zimbabwe who are not economic migrants according to the above statement. The following storylines explain his thoughts in this regard also highlighted that this is not a concern for social workers:

Batsirai: *"No it is not the social workers but the department of Home Affairs that is supposed to help them."*

"By deporting them."

"Why were they not educated in the country where they come from? You come to another country you now want to be educated. Educated of what? Go to Marabastad and tell them you want to educate them, they will steal the clothes you are wearing. The only thing that can help is to deport them. But I think South African government is being kind because we are one, and they leave us to roam the streets and do what we want to do."

This participant's opinion is supported by Crush and Frayne (2010:16) who postulate that most migrants are not desperate people. They said the migrants are usually the most innovative, independent, and resourceful members of a household, community or society (Crush & Frayne (2010:16).

4.3 Conclusion of the chapter

Building on the two themes presented in Chapter 3, economic migrants' experiences related to relocating to South Africa and their experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa, the researcher continued to present the findings of the research study by focusing on themes 3, 4 and 5 in this Chapter. These themes relate to economic migrants' views and experiences on how their social and family situations were affected by their relocation; their socialising and support in South Africa; and their understanding of social work, social services and suggestions on how social workers could assist economic migrants. As in Chapter 3, participants' experiences related in the face-to-face interviews were quoted and substantiated by a literature control. The findings demonstrate that most economic migrants from Zimbabwe had challenges in their family situations and socialisation in South Africa. Furthermore, it is clear from the participants' experiences that social work services need to be visible and accessible in migrant communities. The latter is in line with Collett's (cited in Hayes & Humphries, 2004:77, 84) argument that immigration is a social work issue and social workers are poorly trained in dealing with these issues.

Chapter 5 presents the general conclusions of the research study and recommendations are made regarding the experiences and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating and adjusting in South Africa, from a social work perspective.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1   Introduction

Zimbabwe has witnessed a continuous economic collapse since the year 2000 and this has resulted in the mass exodus of people from Zimbabwe to different countries, including South Africa (Crush & Tevera 2010:1; Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2009:5, 17). Although no accurate statistics could be obtained about the number of Zimbabweans living in South Africa, it is estimated that there are more than one million Zimbabweans living in South Africa (Africa Check, 2013:1). During their transition process, the economic migrants from Zimbabwe encountered various experiences and challenges. Therefore, the rationale for this study was to gain a fuller picture of the economic migrants' experiences and challenges faced whilst relocating and settling in South Africa, to understand the role of social work and the role it could play in the lives of Zimbabwean economic migrants migrating to and living in South Africa, as well as to contribute towards the social work knowledge base.

This research project focused on and investigated the experiences and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating to and adjusting to living in South Africa, from a social work perspective. The first chapter of this research report dealt with the introduction, problem formulation and motivation for the research. A description of the application of the qualitative research approach in conducting this research was presented in the second chapter. This research project's outcome culminated in the research findings and literature control presented in the third and fourth chapters, which provided an account of the experiences and coping challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating to and adjusting to living in South Africa. This chapter rounds off what was started in the introductory chapter and its purpose is to tell the reader what was discovered in conducting the research and its value (Hofstee, 2006:155). In this chapter, the research report is summarised and conclusions are drawn in analysing the research process and the

research findings, followed by making recommendations to address the research problem and related matters.

5.2 Summary and conclusions

This section presents the summary and conclusions regarding the application of the research methodology, as well as the summary and conclusions pertaining to the research findings of this research study about the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in relocating and settling in South Africa.

5.2.1 Summary and conclusions related to the research process

The summary and conclusions related to the research process applied in this study, focus on the following: the research question, the research goal and objectives, the qualitative research approach, the research design used, the method of data collection, piloting, the process of data analysis and data verification.

- **The research question**

According to Boeije (2010:24), the research question refers to the central question which the researcher wants to answer by doing the research project. This study was motivated by the researcher's need to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and challenges of Zimbabweans who relocated to South Africa in search of greener pastures. Therefore, the research question of this study formulated at the outset read as follows:

What are the experiences and challenges faced by economic migrants from Zimbabwe whilst relocating to and settling in South Africa from a social work perspective?

The research question of this study was answered by the research findings and conclusions reflecting the experiences and challenges Zimbabwean economic migrants faced whilst relocating and settling in South Africa. Therefore, the researcher concludes that the search for answers to the research question provided direction to the research by enabling the researcher to obtain a deeper understanding of how Zimbabwean economic migrants were faring in South Africa.

- **The research goal and objectives**

The problem statement and research question of the research study culminate into the formulation of the research goal and objectives of the study, with the research goal indicating "the central thrust of the study, …" (Fouché & Delport, 2011:108). A research goal is defined as the aim that the researcher wants to achieve through undertaking the research process (Primer, 1990:60). The goal of the research study was:

To gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and personal situations of Zimbabwean economic migrants immigrating and settling in South Africa.

The research objectives "identify the specific issues the researcher proposes to examine" (Fouché & Delport, 2011:108) and are the steps taken to realise the research goal. The objectives for this research study and how they were achieved are listed in Table 5.1 below:

Table 5.1   Description and application of research objectives

Description of objectives	How the objective was realised
- To obtain a sample of Zimbabwean economic migrants who came to South Africa.	The sample was drawn purposively by means of snowball sampling. The criteria for selecting the sample required that participants had to be Zimbabweans who were English or Shona speaking, residing in the Tshwane Metro for at least two years, who were willing to participate in the research.
- To obtain data by conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews with participants, facilitated by open-ended questions contained in an interview guide.	Face-to-face interviews were conducted with each participant at a time and place convenient to them to obtain the data required for the research. The interviews were audio recorded.
- To explore the experiences and challenges the economic migrants encountered whilst immigrating to	During the interviews the personal situations of the participants were scrutinised. Various interviewing skills

and adjusting in South Africa.	were employed by the researcher to obtain the required data. Empathy, asking open-ended questions and probing where necessary enabled the researcher to achieve this objective.
• To transcribe, sift, sort and analyse the data obtained according to the eight steps of data analysis constructed by Tesch (in Creswell, 2009:186).	Applying Tesch's well-known eight steps coding process as explained in Creswell (2009:186), to transcribe, sift, sort and analyse the data obtained, proved to be most useful in analysing the textual data obtained, in a systematic process resulting in meaningful research findings.
• To describe the experiences and challenges Zimbabwean economic migrants faced *en route* to and while settling in South Africa.	The transcribed data were analysed by the researcher and the independent coder. The data were divided into themes about the experiences and challenges of the participants, were discussed and listed.
• To interpret and analyse the data and conduct a literature control in order to verify the data and draw parallels between the data and the theory.	The researcher conducted a literature review, adopted Schlosberg's Transition Process Model as the theoretical framework of the study and the collected and processed data were subjected to a literature control to compare and contrast with the existing literature.
• To report, draw conclusions and make recommendations about the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa.	Interpreting and analysing the data enabled the researcher to report, draw conclusions and make recommendations about the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa.

Having obtained clarity on the research goal and having operationalized the research objectives directed the research process towards finding answers to the research question stated at the beginning of this research study.

- **The qualitative research approach**

Qualitative research refers to a way of exploring and understanding the interpretations that people ascribe to a social phenomenon. The qualitative research approach was a very suitable approach to investigate the research question because it is flexible in nature. Thus, it enabled the researcher to obtain sufficient information and data to understand the complex experiences of economic migrants from Zimbabwe living in South Africa.

The qualitative research approach employed in this study enabled the researcher to gain an increased understanding of the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in relocating and settling in South Africa, by understanding the participants' own accounts, perceptions, feelings and their feeling about being economic migrants in South Africa. In addition, the qualitative research approach allowed the researcher to collect the data in the natural setting where the participants experienced the issue under study. This enabled the researcher to understand how the economic migrants from Zimbabwe derive meaning from their situation and how this meaning influences their day-to-day living in South Africa. Furthermore, it can be concluded that the qualitative research approach was most suitable to achieve the research goal and objectives, because it helped the researcher to understand the meaning the economic migrants attached to their specific situations and circumstances.

- **The research design used**

Phenomenological, explorative, descriptive and contextual research designs were used in this study.

The **phenomenological design** provides a description of how things were experienced first-hand by those involved, in this case the relocation and settling in South Africa of economic migrants. This research study was consistent with the aims of phenomenological research design as it provides a description of how the

economic migrants experienced their specific situations and circumstances first-hand.

The **explorative design** was well suited to explore the topic under investigation from the context that exploratory studies are typically done to satisfy the researcher's curiosity and desire for better understanding of a matter on which relatively little existing research is available (Babbie, 2004:88).

Through a **descriptive research design** a picture of the specific details of a situation are described and presented. Hence, applying a descriptive research design helped the researcher conduct an intensive examination of the situation and circumstances of the Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa.

A **contextual research design** focuses on events in their natural setting. Therefore, this research study was done with Zimbabwean economic migrants in the context of the new milieu that they relocated to, namely the city of Tshwane.

The research designs adopted for this study were well suited for the study because they helped the researcher to explore, understand and describe the personal experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa.

- **Population and sampling**

The population representing and experiencing the research problem addressed in this research study consisted of all Zimbabwean economic migrants residing in the Tshwane Metro. The sample was selected by the researcher using a purposive sampling technique in the form of snowball sampling as a subset of purposive sampling. Participants had to be economic migrants from Zimbabwe who were Shona or English speaking; residing in the boundaries of the Tshwane Metro in Gauteng Province for at least two years; .who were willing and available to participate in the research project. The size of the sample was determined by means of applying the principle of data saturation in terms of which sufficient participants were interviewed when information obtained started to become repetitive. The sample consisted of nine participants, five males and four females with an average age of 37,7 years. Most of the participants were qualified or professional people.

The population selected met the requirements of the group to which the results of the research are applicable, namely economic migrants from Zimbabwe.. Applying the sampling technique, purposive sampling in the form of snowball sampling, enabled

the researcher to procure information-rich participants who were able to answer the research question posed at the outset of the study by providing a first –hand and insider's perspective of the situation under investigation.

- **The method of data collection**

Data collection in a research study consists of gathering the information required for the research in a systematic way. It is an important process in qualitative research because it provides the information to be analysed in order to answer the research question and achieve the research goal. In this research, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were employed to collect the data using an interview guide consisting of open-ended questions. This method of data collection was most suitable for the study because it inter alia allowed the researcher to probe to ensure that the required information was obtained. Because of the interview guide's flexibility, the research topic could be investigated in great detail thereby obtain rich data. The face-to-face interviews afforded the researcher to develop reciprocal relationships with the participants that enhanced the quality, depth and richness of the data obtained. Furthermore, the questions matched the research topic exactly the way it was introduced by the researcher and the questions were asked using simple language that the participants could easily understand. Consequently, the researcher was able to obtain a detailed description of the social world and circumstances of the Zimbabwean economic migrants resettling, living and working in South Africa and how they experienced it.

- **Piloting**

Piloting can be described as the pretesting of the research methodology on a small number of people having similar characteristics to those of the target group of participants. It is done to determine the feasibility of the planned research project, the suitability of the data collecting instrument, the capability of the researcher to collect the required data, to highlight possible problems in the planned research methodology and to take the necessary corrective actions. It also orients the researcher to the project he or she has in mind. The researcher conducted pilot testing by interviewing three economic migrants from Zimbabwe in the same way as the main study was to be undertaken, as described in Chapter 2 (see paragraph 2.4.4). This resulted in some of the research questions being reviewed and some of were reformulated, so that the participants could easily and fully

understand them. It also proved to be a good and practical experience, preparing the researcher for what could be expected in conducting the interviews and collecting the data for the research.

- **The process of data analysis**

Data analysis attempts to critically investigate and unearth meaning and understanding by vigorously exploring themes, perspectives, trends, issues or outcomes that relate to the research question and subsequent aims and objectives (Carey, 2009:29). Tesch's well-known eight steps of data analysis (cited in Creswell, 2009:186) were employed to analyse the data and research findings, the results of which are presented in Chapters 3 and 4. The process of how data analysis was applied has been described in detail in Chapter 2 (see paragraph 2.5). The author provided the researcher with a user-friendly step-by-step guide on how to analyse the data in order to identify the themes, sub themes, categories and sub-categories presented in Chapters 3 and 4 of this report (Tesch' in Creswell, 2009:186). Conducting the prescribed eight steps of data analysis, enabled the researcher to assemble the collected data systematically and interpret the information obtained in a methodical, logical and meaningful way, to obtain the "full picture" required for and presented in this research report.

- **Data verification**

The purpose of data verification is for the researcher to check and ensure the accuracy of the findings by employing certain strategies. In this research study, Guba's classic model for data verification (in Krefting, 1991) was successfully used to verify and ensure the trustworthiness of the data collected from the participants (see Chapter 1 paragraph 1.5.3.5 and Chapter 2 paragraph 2.4.6). The researcher successfully verified the data by means of applying the model in that the comprehensive and accurate descriptions of the Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa were presented to such an extent that economic migrants from other countries should easily recognise the descriptions applicable to their situations, thereby ensuring the truth value of the data. To achieve applicability, deep descriptions of the phenomenon concerned were presented to enable the research study to be replicated by other researchers in other contexts. Furthermore, the exact words of the participants were used in processing the data. Credibility in this study

was realised by employing strategies such as interviewing skills, triangulation, authority of the researcher, tactics to help ensure honesty of participants and peer examination. Consistency was achieved through the use of an independent coder to assist by codifying and sorting the data according to identified themes. The guidance of the supervisor and the use of the independent coder ensured that the researcher remained transparent, thereby ensuring her neutrality.

The conclusions of the research study are in line with the goals and objectives of the study mentioned earlier. Applying the research methodology according to the qualitative research process was functional in affording the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating and settling in South Africa.

- **Ethical considerations**

Throughout conducting the study, the researcher considered certain ethical considerations relevant to the participants in this research, and applied them throughout. These ethical considerations were informed consent; anonymity and confidentiality; debriefing; adhering to guidelines for dealing with research data and record management; and honesty with professional colleagues. In applying these ethical considerations, the researcher adhered to the Policy Guidelines for Course of Conduct, Code of Ethics and the Rules for Social Workers (specifically general ethical standard 5.1.4(a) to (q)) set by the South and to the guidelines for social work research as proposed by the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) in the United States of America (Williams et al cited in Strydom, 2011:128). The ethical considerations applied in this research enabled the researcher to "strike a balance between supporting freedom of scientific inquiry on the one hand, and protecting the welfare of participants on the other" (Bless et al, 2013:29). It also enabled the researcher to meet her "obligation to respect the rights, needs, values and desires of the informant(s)" (Cresswell, 2009197-198) as well as to research colleagues ((Bless et al, 2013:36).

5.2.2 Summary and conclusions related to the research findings

In this section, the main findings and conclusions are recapped before deducing conclusions from the research findings (Hofstee, 2006:156, 157).

The model for analysing human adaptation to transition, also known as the Transition Process Model by Schlossberg (1981), was adopted as the fitting theoretical framework for this study to analyse the adaptation and transition of economic migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa. The experiences, challenges and coping actions of the economic migrants from Zimbabwe who relocated to and lived in South Africa, who participated in this research were compared and contrasted with this theory. Most of the findings confirmed what Schlossberg (1981, 2011) postulates in this theory.

It has been observed in the research that the demography of the participants relocating from Zimbabwe ranged from youths to adults and included both sexes. Their age groups represented the population of the country's economic active category. Furthermore, all the participants were educated. This is congruous with what Makina's finding (referred to in Crush & Tevera, 2010:262), that Zimbabwean migrants who came to South Africa after 2000, were more educated than those who came before that year. Female participants were staying with their immediate families (husbands and children) whilst their male counterparts left theirs in Zimbabwe. Only one male participant reported that he was living with his family in South Africa. Hence, one may conclude that it was easier for men to participate alone in the diaspora whilst their immediate families stayed in their home country.

Findings also portrayed a picture that economic migrants regularised their stay when they arrived in South Africa as well as upgraded their migrant status as they adjusted to living in South Africa. For example, some participants have applied for permanent resident permits while others have acquired South African citizenship.

The research findings which emanated from the data are presented in Chapters 3 and 4 in terms of themes, sub-themes, categories and sub-categories. These findings were verified by a literature control and the afore-mentioned theoretical

framework. The following themes were identified in analysing and processing the data:

- Theme 1   Economic migrants' experiences related to relocating to South Africa
- Theme 2   Economic migrants' experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa
- Theme 3   Economic migrants' social and family situations are affected by their relocation
- Theme 4   Economic migrants' experiences of socialisation and support in South Africa
- Theme 5   Economic migrants' understanding of social work and social services and suggestions on how social workers could help economic migrants

The economic migrants' experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa in summary, supplemented with the researcher's conclusions in this regard, are as follows:

Theme 1: Economic migrants' experiences related to relocating to South Africa.

From the varied responses of participants, their decisions to relocate to South Africa were influenced by the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe. The bad economic climate in Zimbabwe led many to seek better lives and opportunities in South Africa. Although some of the participants also mentioned political and professional reasons as additional factors that led to their leaving Zimbabwe, it is clear that these reasons are intertwined with the economic deterioration in Zimbabwe. Other participants reported that practising their professions was affected negatively by the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe. Therefore, they relocated to South Africa for professional progression reasons.

The researcher concluded that economic migrants experienced challenges before relocating to South Africa. These include difficulties in raising money for travelling. Hence, some had to borrow and others even sold their valuables in order to raise the money to be able to relocate.

The findings on this theme led the researcher to conclude that economic migrants from Zimbabwe often plan for their relocation, whilst others just relocate without planning or making prior arrangements. Prior planning for relocation involved securing a job, applying for a visa or permit, acquiring a passport and arranging accommodation with friends in South Africa before relocating.

Economic migrants use various ways to enter South Africa. Some participants reported experiences of entering the country illegally, by jumping the border with the assistance of paid human smugglers. It also transpired that coming to South Africa illegally was accompanied by traumatic experiences such as being robbed, suffering hunger and thirst, as well as having to walk long distances on foot. It can also be concluded that for those economic migrants who spent time to prepare for their relocation and entered the country legally, relocation was safe and they did not face those kinds of challenges.

Another conclusion reached by the researcher pertains to the status of economic migrants. Observations made in the research indicate that three scenarios existed. The first one was that economic migrants come into South Africa illegally and then regularise their stay once they are in the country. Some come legally but they overstay in the country, fail to regularise their stay and they become illegal economic migrants. Lastly, some come to South Africa legally on permits and visas and later upgraded their migrant status to attain permanent residence and become South African citizens.

The researcher also came to the conclusion that participants and their families experienced mixed emotions because of the economic migrants' decision to relocate to South Africa. Participants shared feelings of pain caused by separation, fear of the unknown, excitement because of the prospects of a better life, a sense of loss of social support. Some felt good because it was the only solution for survival, and others felt it was the right thing to do. Furthermore, some did not consider their feelings when taking the decision to relocate because of their terribly desperate situations in Zimbabwe. Family members experienced mixed feelings. Negative feelings were influenced by fear of what would happen to the economic migrant in the foreign country, whilst positive feelings were due to the expectations of good

things the economic migrant would bring from South Africa to the family members who remained behind.

The findings of the research led the researcher to conclude that economic migrants had various expectations about their relocation to South Africa. Some of the expectations were not clear. Some expected to stay in South Africa temporarily, hoping to go back to Zimbabwe when things change for the better. Others expected to get better job opportunities with better salaries and live a better life in South Africa than the one they lived in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the economic migrants expected better economic conditions that would facilitate professional development and better education for themselves and their children.

On this theme, the researcher also concluded that some economic migrants managed to meet their expectations whilst others failed to do so. Met expectations included the building or buying of family houses, provision of basic human needs for the family, for example food and clothing, a stable and better life, family happiness because of better lifestyles and better studying and educational opportunities for family members. The expectations which were not met for some economic migrants included failure to secure jobs in their field of training. The worsening situation in Zimbabwe forced economic migrants to stay longer in South Africa than they originally expected. Challenges South Africa is facing as a country, such as high unemployment rates, corruption and inequalities also had a negative impact on the economic migrants, thus making them fail to realise their goals.

Theme 2: Economic migrants' experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa

The economic migrants' experiences and challenges in relocating and settling in South Africa in summary, supplemented with the researcher's conclusions in this regard, are as follows:

- Economic migrants' experiences with government officials.

Economic migrants had both bad and good experiences with immigration officials at the Beitbridge border post. Challenging experiences commented on were unfriendliness, unwelcome attitude and the use of xenophobic language by the officials. Also ignorance of valid permits and inefficiency were rampant. Furthermore,

allocation of a few unrealistic days issued at the border to economic migrants to stay in South Africa posed challenges for the participants. Positive experiences at the border included the fact that no hassles were experienced by some economic migrants. Some participants attributed their positive experiences at the border to the fact that they came to South Africa at an earlier stage when the rules to enter the country were more relaxed.

The participants experienced challenges and difficulties at the Department of Home Affairs due to long queues, inefficient officials, lack of adequate information about application procedures and lack of clear guidelines for Home Affairs officials. Some participants felt frustrated by the way in which they were dealt with by officials at the South African embassy in Zimbabwe. The researcher concluded that the economic migrants felt frustrated by the process of regularising their stay because their jobs depended on them having the necessary work permits. Consequently, even where proper procedures were followed, they felt they were not receiving a good service. The conclusion is drawn that although all sorts of blame can be placed on Home Affairs officials, it should be noted that personnel of this department could in all probability be overburdened by the heavy workload of having to meet the demand for their services, as Zimbabweans are coming to South Africa in large numbers.

Inefficiency of officials and an apparent lack of clear guidelines on application procedures for the applicants made registration and clearance with the Department of Labour difficult for some economic migrants from Zimbabwe. However, when one analyses the participants' reports about this, one is persuaded to think that the economic migrants seemed to get impatient with the officials because they were so eager or under pressure to join the labour force in South Africa, so that they could start to earn an income. Hence, they saw the process of having to obtain the necessary labour certificate as cumbersome. They seemed to think that everything should be done fast and quickly for their sake. From the findings in this study it can be concluded that economic migrants from Zimbabwe expect to be treated with pity and leniency by officials in South Africa.

Economic migrants experienced various challenges and difficulties in their dealings with members of the South African Police Service (SAPS). Segregation and xenophobia were highlighted by participants. Lying and bribing were used in certain

instances employed to evade the police. On the other hand, economic migrants who were in the country illegally had a general fear of the police. It is concluded that as far as SAPS is concerned, although the researcher understands that some police might be corrupt, economic migrants seem to think that they must be given special treatment, even when they are on the wrong side of the law.

Dealing with officials at the Department of Education proved challenging because officials do not know and fail to recognise some permits that the participants hold. This resulted in economic migrants teaching in South Africa, having had their salary pay-outs delayed. It is the researcher's opinion that economic migrants' lives were inconvenienced by the officials' limited knowledge on the types of permits.

- Economic migrants' experiences in finding employment.

The participants' experiences in finding employment varied in many ways because some relocated after securing jobs in South Africa and some relocated without prospects of employment. Finding employment for some economic migrants from Zimbabwe was easy, because they had the necessary qualifications to secure a job. For others finding employment was difficult, as they did not have the legal documents that allowed them to stay and work in South Africa. Some did not know where to start looking for jobs and lack of language competency also hindered other economic migrants from getting jobs. Not having a driver's licence for instance, was a hindrance in obtaining employment for some. Furthermore, having to register with professional bodies before they could practise their professions, delayed some participants in obtaining employment and starting to earn an income.

Economic migrants who relocated without employment prospects started with temporary menial jobs, despite having formal professional training. Their focus was on survival. So any menial job that came their way was happily grabbed. Gradually, these economic migrants were able to secure better and more stable jobs.

Other experiences of the economic migrants furthermore, included some being prone to discrimination and a lack of promotion opportunities, whilst others had satisfactory experiences in this regard at their workplaces.

The researcher reached the following three conclusions on the economic migrants' experiences in finding employment:

- o Having the necessary qualifications is essential in securing a job in South Africa.

- o Access to employment for economic migrants from Zimbabwe is hampered mostly by lack of legal papers to stay in the country, lack of driver's licences and economic migrants practising certain professions not being registered with the statutory professional body.

- o Economic migrants from Zimbabwe do not mind taking temporary and menial jobs upon arrival in South Africa.

- Economic migrants' experiences in finding accommodation

Economic migrants from Zimbabwe frequently resided temporarily with friends after arriving in South Africa. This also highlights the importance of personal networks for support in the diaspora and dispersion of the Zimbabweans. The participants rented accommodation that ranged from shacks to flats. Challenges and difficulties faced and mentioned by the economic migrants in this regard, included ill-treatment of them by landlords who, inter alia, demanded three months' rent deposits for foreigners.

As participants regularised their migrant status to permanent residence and citizenship, buying a house through bank loans became possible and quite easy. Therefore, economic migrants who managed to upgrade their migrant status in South Africa were able to buy houses. Economic migrants who owned businesses managed to buy a house without a bank loan. Some economic migrants would have liked to buy and own properties but their work permits and the fact that they were not South African citizens, were a hindrance because banks are not keen to give loans to persons who only hold work permits and are not South African citizens. These findings highlight the importance of obtaining and possessing a South African identity document in the economic development of a person.

In this research study it became clear that friends play an important role of providing accommodation to economic migrants upon their arrival in South Africa. Furthermore, renting a flat is expensive for foreigners as they are being charged exorbitant deposits. Lastly, having obtained South African identity documents facilitates acquisition of houses and properties by economic migrants in South Africa.

- Economic migrants' experiences in accessing education for themselves and their children.

Economic migrants and their children experienced difficulties in accessing education and educational institutions, due to conflicting policies, lack of legal documents and application requirements being so stringent. Schools and institutions of higher learning require children of economic migrants to have study permits for them to access education. Hence, some are forced by these circumstances to enrol their children in private schools where an oversight on legal papers prevails as the major requirement at private schools is affordability. However, with the required and appropriate permits, it was easy for some economic migrants to enrol their children in public schools. From these findings, it can be concluded that it is quite challenging for economic migrants to raise their children in South Africa without the necessary legal papers.

- Economic migrants' experiences in accessing health and medical services

There were various experiences with economic migrants accessing health and medical services. Among the economic migrants interviewed some did not need health services, because since they came to South Africa they never became sick. Discrimination, xenophobia and being denied treatment by health officials were some of the difficulties faced by participants at public health facilities. Furthermore, lack of legal papers to stay in the country made access to public health care challenging for some. Some economic migrants shy away from using public health facilities because they fear being misdiagnosed due to their language deficiency and bad treatment (discrimination and xenophobia). So, they opted for using private medical services. In addition, some economic migrants could afford to pay for private health services. Therefore, they did not use public medical services. It is therefore, the researcher's opinion that economic migrants from Zimbabwe choose to use private medical services because of the rampant discrimination in the public health sector.

- Economic migrants' experiences travelling in and out of South Africa

Experiences of economic migrants show that entering South Africa was more difficult than going out of the country, because of challenges experienced at the border when entering South Africa. Participants indicated that they had had difficulties in finding

their way in Pretoria, since they could not ask for direction because of language barriers. The researcher nevertheless concluded and appreciated the fact that there is need for South Africa to safeguard its borders and account for those who enter into the country.

- Economic migrants' experiences with banking facilities

Economic migrants suffered exclusion and discrimination in accessing banking services, due to the use of permits and passports. Consequently, economic migrants from Zimbabwe could not open simple banking savings accounts and also could not access credit services available to South Africans. It was therefore deduced that local banks and financial institutions apply stringent security measures against economic migrants who do not have South African identity documents. Their experiences highlighted the importance of acquiring a South African identity document (ID). Economic migrants' experiences relating to language and culture

Most economic migrants found South African languages and cultures difficult to adapt to. Some even experienced a measure of culture shock. For instance, participants from Matebeleland in Zimbabwe where Ndebele is the main language struggled with South African languages spoken in Tshwane. Some participants feared to go to public health facilities because they thought they would be misdiagnosed by their lack of clear descriptions of their sickness since they could not converse in the local languages. The researcher concluded that language proficiency is important when one relocates to another country because failure to speak the local languages impacted negatively on the day-to-day lives of some of the economic migrants from Zimbabwe living in South Africa.

- Economic migrants' experiences of discrimination and xenophobia.

The lives of participating economic migrants in South Africa were infested with discrimination and xenophobia. Some of this was orchestrated by politicians, government officials and ordinary citizens. Derogatory names were sometimes used to label Zimbabwean economic migrants living in South Africa. Discrimination and xenophobia persist even if the economic migrants are living in the country legally. Xenophobia and discrimination were experienced by the participants in hospitals, banks, workplaces, in the communities where they live as well as in government

offices. The impression is gained that in certain instances discrimination and xenophobia are deeply rooted in South African society.

- Economic migrants' experiences of adjusting to living in South Africa.

Despite all the challenges economic migrants from Zimbabwe faced in South Africa, they remained resilient and focused so that they succeeded in adjusting to life here. None of the participants mentioned anything about returning to Zimbabwe any time soon. Adjustment to living in South Africa for them was made easy by having a job and income and legal papers enabling them to stay and work. Studying further opened employment opportunities for some. However, none of the participants mentioned that they were one hundred per cent adjusted to living in South Africa. From these findings, the researcher concluded that the economic migrants seem to be coping well in South Africa despite the challenges they face.

Theme 3: Economic migrants' social and family situations are affected by their relocation

Social and family situations were somehow affected by the economic migrants' relocation to South Africa. Relocation changed the structural arrangements of families because most participants relocated alone and left their families in Zimbabwe. As mentioned before, family members were separated, husbands separated from their wives and children separated from their parents. Problems of trust between husbands and wives living separately were also observed. Although some participants were later joined by members of their nuclear family, there were still reports of relationship problems experienced (lack of bond), especially between parents and children.

Families who relocated together did not face such challenges. Some participants reported that their relationship strengthened since they relocated with their husbands. However, one woman reported that her relationship with her husband was not good at the time. She said that relocation had caused this problem because she had sentiments that suggested that her husband was having too much freedom, had more money and the individualistic lifestyle in South Africa which he did not have while they were in Zimbabwe. It seems these factors led him to have extra marital affairs.

Relationships between economic migrants and their families in Zimbabwe were maintained by participants through mutual visits, telephone calls, Skype, WhatsApp and Facebook. Remittance payments were also used to improve and maintain the well-being of people in Zimbabwe. However, fathers questioned their fatherly roles in the lives of their children and they lamented that their involvement in the children's upbringing was minimal and this would negatively affect their children's well-being.

Extended family relationships were negatively and positively affected by the participants' relocation. The extended family is an important component in the daily lives of Zimbabweans. Therefore, lack of extended family input in their lives and not being able to fulfil their social obligations because they were living in South Africa, were pointed out by participants as negative impacts on social and family situations. From the participants' reports, it seems that the economic improvement gained through relocation of a family member outweighed the negative impact of relocation on families. Since the economic migrants were now able to support their extended families back home, their relationships have been strengthened.

From these findings it can be concluded that geographical distance seems to negatively affect parent child and family relationships. However, economic migrants from Zimbabwe and their families are willing to sacrifice their family relationships and bonds in order to gain economic emancipation by relocating to South Africa.

Theme 4: Economic migrants' experiences of socialisation and support in South Africa

The participants socialised with various groups of people in South Africa. There are some who deliberately chose to socialise with Zimbabweans only. Furthermore, some participants found it difficult to make friends with South Africans. Others socialised with work colleagues, neighbours and their church community. In addition, some pointed out that their personalities as introverts have caused them not to socialise fully with South Africans. However, it seems some have deliberately chosen to hide behind their personalities as a way of evading socialising with the locals. Therefore, they did not make an effort to socialise with South Africans.

Economic migrants also failed to socialise with South Africans because of language barriers and differences in cultural values. The experiences of most participants

seem to suggest that there is a mutual fear and suspicion between South Africans and foreigners. This, in turn, made socialisation difficult or tended to make it superficial in nature. The impression is therefore gained that socialisation of economic migrants from Zimbabwe living in South Africa, is influenced by various factors such as language and culture, individual personality and misconceptions by both foreigners and South Africans. However, it is clear that socialisation between the two groups of people is achievable if there is a will to do so.

Theme 5: Economic migrants' understanding of social work and social services and suggestions on how social workers could help economic migrants.

Most economic migrants in this research study did not make use of social work services during their relocation and settling in South Africa, because of various reasons. Some mentioned that they were not aware that social workers could help economic migrants. Thus, social workers are not visible in economic migrants' communities. Others decided not to seek professional social work help even if the need was there. They felt that because they were social workers themselves they could help themselves and solve their own problems. Furthermore, some participants relied on their families to resolve any challenges they were facing, whilst others did not see the need for social work intervention because they did not face any challenges that needed social work assistance.

One participant used the services of social workers and he did so repeatedly when faced with different challenges such as the illness of a brother, death of a relation and during antenatal classes. It seems the knowledge that he had about social workers helping, made him able to access their services. Awareness and visibility of social workers in migrant communities should make their services more accessible.

Economic migrants in this study had a general knowledge that social workers offer assistance to vulnerable groups and needy people in societies. Furthermore, the general understanding among participants was that social workers offer material assistance, counselling services, child protection services, palliative care services and other specialised services. It is interesting to note that most participants did not see themselves as part of a vulnerable group, despite all the challenges they experienced in the process of relocating and settling in South Africa.

Surprisingly, the participants had a lot of suggestions on how social workers could help Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa. Participants' suggestions of how social workers could assist Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa in dealing with the challenges to cope with relocating and settling down to living in South Africa, included that social workers should -

- be visible in communities to enable economic migrants to access them;

- be employed in most government departments so that they can uphold the rights of service users;

- link economic migrants with resources such as accommodation, job opportunities, and food as well as provide necessary information to them;

- mediate with the Department of Home Affairs to issue birth certificates to children born in South Africa, enable easier access at the border and advocate for better immigration laws;

- educate South Africans to enable integration with foreigners;

- help those economic migrants who have failed to make it (meet their expectations) in South Africa, to return to Zimbabwe; and

- do research to understand the needs of economic migrants.

The researcher found these suggestions valuable and concluded that Zimbabwean economic migrants relocating and settling down to living in South Africa could indeed benefit from social work interventions during the relocation process and afterwards, to cope with their new living circumstances. The researcher also concluded that social work is a well-known profession but social workers are not visible in the work of assisting economic migrants in South Africa.

Despite the arguments put forward by other participants that there were some people from Zimbabwe in South Africa who did not fit into the category of being economic migrants, because of the fact that they were not economically active in Zimbabwe before coming to South Africa and they came to South Africa without a proper plan to look for a job, the researcher came to the conclusion that everyone who came from Zimbabwe in search of a better life in South Africa, is an economic migrant as defined in Chapter 1 (see 1.1 and 1.7). Whether they were not educated and not employed in Zimbabwe are not important. It might be the collapse of the economy that has caused them not to be able to study and get jobs in Zimbabwe. Therefore,

financial and economic reasons clearly played an important role in their decisions that their situations would be better if they relocated and settled in South Africa. It would therefore be very misleading and unfair to adopt the stance given by some participants that they are not economic migrants.

5.3   RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the presentation of the research findings and conclusions deduced from this study, the following recommendations or "Suggestions for Application of Research" (Hofstee, 2006:159) are made by the researcher about the research approach applied in the research project, the research findings of the research and about further and future research that could be undertaken regarding the phenomenon or related phenomena studied in this research.

5.3.1   Recommendations pertaining to the research approach applied

A call is made by (Williams & Graham, 2014) from a social work perspective, "for genuine engagement, working together and partnerships with migrants in developing ways of thinking about needs" and in addition such "services require a much greater level of negotiated practice, built on mutual responsibility and mutual respect" (Williams & Graham, 2014). The authors were also "struck by the lack of voice, representation and participation of migrants and their descendants" (Williams & Graham, 2014). Due to the very nature of the qualitative research approach followed in this research, this research project provided an excellent opportunity for the migrants concerned to have their voices heard and to express their experiences and challenges in relocating and adjusting in South Africa, for social work to respond to.

Based on the above conclusions, it is recommended that the qualitative approach be used when investigating the social needs and circumstances of a particular group of people in a specific context such as Zimbabweans relocating and adjusting in South Africa. In applying this research approach, use of the phenomenological, explorative, descriptive and contextual research designs or strategies are recommended as a suitable framework for conducting the research. The reason being, that it proved to be useful in this research by ensuring that participants were able to contribute to the research in answering the research question and are best equipped to do so due to

the fact that they are able to provide insight in their own lived experience. Applying this research approach, research designs and sampling technique enabled the researcher to obtain "access to the felt experiences, embodied nature and expressed emotions of migrations, as well as the structural dimensions" and to "capture the social and cultural capital migrants carry with them, and their strategies and mechanisms for coping and resilience".

Use of the purposive non-probability sampling technique is recommended. In order to obtain suitable participants in this type of research context, it is recommended that a sample be drawn purposively by selecting the first participant purposively in terms of the selection criteria, followed by using snowball sampling as a subset of purposive sampling. To obtain information rich data required for this type of research, it is recommended that data be collected from participants, by means of conducting semi-structured interviews aided by open-ended questions contained in an interview-guide. (Williams & Graham, 2014)

As far as qualitative data analysis is concerned, the use of Tesch's eight step data analysis process (in Creswell, 2009:186) is recommended. To verify the qualitative data obtained, the use of Guba's classic model for qualitative data verification (in Krefting, 1991:215-217), supplemented by the work of subsequent researchers such as Shenton (2004) and Ryan-Nicholls and Will (2009) who elaborated on it, is recommended.

5.3.2 Recommendations pertaining to the research findings

The scale and complexity of contemporary migration have demanded far-reaching change from within the profession: highlighting issues in interventions, in the training of social workers and in the types of research they undertake (Williams & Graham, 2014). Bearing this in mind and based on the findings and conclusions of this research study, the following recommendations are made from a social work perspective to assist economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating and adjusting to living in South Africa:

- The social work profession has a social change mandate, which is driven by the need to challenge and change those structural conditions that contribute to marginalisation, social exclusion and oppression (IFSW, 2014:1).

Therefore, it is recommended that social workers employed in organisations working with migrants should find ways and means to influence policy changes in South Africa so that economic migrants are not marginalised.

- Based on the fact that economic migrants and their families experience pain of separation, trust issues and other social and relationship problems due to their relocation, the researcher recommends that social developmental NGOs and Government departments must through their social workers, offer counselling and therapy services to economic migrants and their families to prevent and deal with any traumas experienced by these people and their settling down process in the new country. Furthermore, Anderson et al (2012:37) point out that adults in transition are often confused and in need of assistance, thus economic migrants from Zimbabwe generally experienced confusion whilst readjusting to life here. The authors also emphasise that when these people are able to explore the issue more fully, understand the underlying meaning and develop a plan, they are more likely to be able to cope effectively and resolve the problem (Anderson et al, 2012:37). Therefore, social workers should assist economic migrants experiencing social problems resulting from their relocation through presenting casework, group work as well as community work services. They can also provide a framework for the economic migrants to better understand their situations and can influence the economic migrants to cope more creatively in settling down in their new country.

- Principles of social work include respect of diversity, upholding human rights and social justice (BASW in Hayes & Humphries, 2004:86; Hayes & Humphries, 2004:86). According to Polzer (in Crush & Tevera, 2010:379), the South African Government has not fulfilled its international or domestic legal obligations towards Zimbabwean migrants, resulting in significant abuses of migrant rights, such as access to health services and education. As social work is regarded as the profession in a position to address issues of oppression, discrimination and xenophobia (Hayes & Humphries, 2004:83), the researcher recommends that social workers in organisations concerned with migrant issues must advocate for the upholding of human

rights by government officials as stipulated in the Bill of Rights enshrined in the South African Constitution (South Africa, 1996: Chapter 2).

- According to the BASW (cited in Hayes and Humphries, 2004:86) principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work. Thus the participants' suggestion about the need for providing social work services at refugee centres needs to be considered by social service departments and organisation in South Africa. In doing so, social workers could help to promote the well-being of refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants seeking to regularise their stay in South Africa.

- The human dignity of the children born to economic migrants in South African illegally needs to be restored through national registration. Social workers can play a pivotal role in this regard by raising awareness and mediating with the Department of Home Affairs to curb the problem of stateless people in South Africa in later years.

- From the findings, there is a lack of accurate statistics when it comes to issues pertaining to economic migration in South Africa and this has negative policy implications on migrants. Therefore, the researcher recommends that countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) must have a regional social work body like Interpol for the police, which work hand in glove with international organisations such as International Migration and the departments of Home Affairs in the region to deal with immigration issues. This body should champion the upholding of migrant rights in the region and it could also hold accountable the departments of statistics in keeping accurate statistics of migrants in Southern Africa and, in turn, influence migration laws based on true trends of the phenomenon. Furthermore, this body of social workers should have an information disseminating department that would tell the real story about immigration in this region. Through the regional body, social workers must embark on campaigns targeting Zimbabwean prospective migrants and those already in South Africa, with the view of informing them about the full scope of the dangers and challenges related to migrating to South Africa. This would help economic migrants to take informed decisions about their plans to migrate.

- It is recommended that the Department of Home Affairs should employ social workers who should educate economic migrants that they should abide by the governmental rules and regulatory issues in South Africa. This education could be executed through putting up charts in immigration halls, issuing pamphlets at the ports of entry and by electronic media explaining the 'dos and don'ts' for migrants. This would inform the economic migrants that they are expected to be law-abiding migrants and should not break the law or bend the rules because they are in desperate situations.

- It was noted that social workers from Zimbabwe who relocated to South Africa and participated in this research, did not seek professional social work services when faced with personal problems resulting from their relocation. Therefore, it is suggested that the possibility be investigated of enabling a social worker from the South African Council for Social Service Professions, as part of the Council's registration process of social workers who obtained their social work qualifications in foreign countries and who relocated to South Africa, to interview these social workers, with a view to assist them in settling down and fitting into the South African community If necessary, they should be referred for professional help to other social workers from organisations that do render services in this respect. It is a matter of "a physician does not heal himself" and they would not be able to render quality services to their clientele if they have unresolved issues themselves. It is however realised that taking on this responsibility is beyond the existing legislative mandate of the Council, as it is not a service delivery body and not foreseen to be one in planned legislation.

- Integration efforts by government and civil society should target both Zimbabweans and South Africans to enable them to live in harmony with one another. In particular, Zimbabweans must be encouraged to stop their arrogance and embrace South African languages and cultures and give heed to the old adage: "When you are in Rome do as the Romans do" to be assimilated into the South African community. Integration efforts could be achieved through education campaigns, awareness campaigns and community forums in which social workers could play a role.

- It is recommended that Schlossberg's Transition Process Model (1981: 2011) be used as a theoretical framework for structuring social work interventions directed at providing services to economic migrants experiencing challenges in coping with relocating and settling in South Africa (see Chapter 1, paragraph 1.2) with specific reference to the themes as suggested by the participants in this study. This intervention directed at economic migrants, should be planned around the four "Ss" within Schlossberg's Transition Process Model (1981: 2011), namely *Situation, Self, Supports* and *Strategies*. As indicated below, this recommendation could be developed more by means of further and future research.

5.3.3 Recommendations for further and future research

With reference to migration, Williams and Graham (2014) cited Midgley, Valtonen and Negi and Furman who refer to the fact that that social work has not responded adequately to the challenges and opportunities of these multiple sources of social change. In addition, reference is made to Cox and Geisen who point "to the lack of recognition of the impact of migration in social work research, citing the paucity of comparative studies" and argue "that social work is clearly lagging behind in developing appropriate models of research which can inform and answer questions about policy and practice given its limited and myopic view of the migrant" (Williams & Graham, 2014). It is therefore recommended that further and future social work research about migration in general and the migration from Zimbabweans in particular, should be planed and undertaken to deal with the matter.

Little prior research could be found about the topic of economic migrants migrating to South Africa, studied in this research. As far as the research approach, is concerned, it is recommended that as more information becomes available about this phenomenon, research according to the qualitative approach could be followed up and supplemented with research applying the quantitative research and/or mixed method research approaches, about the experiences and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating and adjusting to living in South Africa and social work's responsibility in this regard.

Further research is needed to exhaust different aspects of the economic migration phenomenon and phenomena related to it. Based on the findings of these research endeavours, social workers should be enabled to deal with the specific problems faced by economic migrants. As evidenced in this research, most participants did not seek professional social work assistance although they were facing challenges. Therefore, in-depth research should be undertaken to show why this is so. Based on that research, social workers and their employers should devise ways to make their services more accessible to economic migrants.

The following future research projects relating to Zimbabwean economic migrants that relocated to South Africa could be undertaken:

- The development of a social work guideline by using Schlossberg's Transition Process Model (1981: 2011) as a theoretical framework for structuring social work interventions directed at providing services to economic migrants experiencing challenges in coping with relocating and settling in South Africa. The guideline could be planned around the four "Ss" within Schlossberg's Model (1981; 2011), namely *Situation, Self, Supports* and *Strategies*. In addition, research could be undertaken to determine whether and/or how the guideline could be supplemented by the application of the macro analytic, trait-oriented approach to stress and coping, as expounded by Krohne (2002) and Thoits' (1995:53-79) research about stress, coping, and social support processes.
- An investigation of the experiences and challenges of families who remained behind in Zimbabwe when their family members (who may be husbands, wives, children, parents and relatives) relocated and settled in South Africa. This could take the form of involving the next of kin of any economic migrants who relocated to South Africa, or it could be restricted to the next of kin of the participants in this research.
- A quantitative study on a bigger scale and/or a mixed method research study about Zimbabwean economic migrants who relocated and settled in South Africa, from a social work perspective, to build on and expand on the results of this qualitative study.

- A follow up study of the social situation of Zimbabwean economic migrants who relocated and settled in South Africa who have been living in South Africa for a certain number of years, from a social work perspective.

- Economic migration has become an international issue and the world is now a global village. Therefore, the researcher recommends that research should be undertaken for curricula of social work at South African universities to incorporate immigration issues. Graduates should be equipped to work with and offer appropriate interventions to economic migrants as well as in communities of economic migrants.

The above recommendations for future research on this phenomenon will help exhaust and highlight important aspects of economic migration from a social work perspective. Without this further research, the challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating to and adjusting to living in South Africa are bound to persist.

5.4   Conclusion of the chapter

In this last chapter of the research report, summaries and conclusions related to the research process and research findings were presented. Recommendations pertaining to the experiences and challenges of economic migrants in South Africa and recommendations for further and future research were also highlighted in this chapter. This research project highlighted the experiences and challenges of Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa. However, it is important that other research endeavours develop the study of this phenomenon further.

In conclusion it is emphasised that in assisting migrants from other countries, as practitioners of the social work profession, "we are well placed to significantly identify the nature of needs, shape the discourses of settlement and integration, develop practice models and contribute to policy development. Above all, we have discretion: the scope to interpret policy and shape its implementation" (Williams & Graham, 2014). This researcher fully subscribes to Williams and Grahams' (2014) conclusion after their lengthy discourse of migration, that "It is clear to us that there is a lot more to be shared, investigated and theorised in what is an emerging field. Migration is not a specialism of social work, but a central concern for the profession, …"

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ADDENDUM A

LETTER REQUESTING ECONOMIC MIGRANTS' PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH STUDY

Dear ……………………………..

I Serbia Dube, the undersigned, am a social worker in service of Famsa Pretoria, and also a part-time Master's student in the Department of Social Work at the University of South Africa. In fulfilment of requirements for the Master's degree, I have to undertake a research project and have consequently decided to focus on the following research topic:

THE EXPERIENCES AND CHALLENGES OF ECONOMIC MIGRANTS FROM ZIMBABWE IN RELOCATING AND ADJUSTING IN SOUTH AFRICA: A SOCIAL WORK PERSPECTIVE.

In view of the fact that you are well-informed about the topic, I hereby approach you with the request to participate in the study. For you to decide whether or not to participate in this research project, I am going to give you information that will help you to understand the study, the aims of the study and the reasons why there is a need for this particular study. Furthermore, you will be informed about what you will be asked or what you will be requested to do during the study, the risks and benefits involved by participating in this research project, and your rights as a participant in this study.

This research project originated as a result of the researcher's need to advance her career and the researcher's curiosity to know how Zimbabwean economic migrants are faring in South Africa and to gain insight into their experiences and challenges in relocating and adjusting in South Africa. Furthermore, the information gathered from this study will be used for educational purposes and contribute to the knowledge of social work literature and influence policy changes.

Should you agree to participate, you would be requested to participate in a face-to-face interview that will be conducted at your place of residence and at a time convenient to you. During the interview(s) the following questions will be directed to you:

1) Biographical questions.

- Gender?
- How old are you?
- What is your main language?
- Which province do you come from in Zimbabwe?
- What is the highest grade that you passed at school?
- Did you obtain or study for any further qualification after leaving school?
- What is your marital status?
- Do you have any children? If "yes", how many? What is their gender? How old are they?
- How long have you been living in South Africa?

2) Questions on the topic under study.
- What made you decide to leave Zimbabwe and relocate to South Africa?
- What were you and your family's feelings about this decision?
- What were you and your family's expectations when relocating to South Africa?
- How did you come to South Africa?
- What were your experiences and challenges during the process of moving to South Africa?
- With which South African government officials did you have to deal with during your process of migrating to and settling down in South Africa? Could you tell me your experience and challenges with these officials whilst in South Africa?
- How have you adjusted and settled in South Africa?
- What has been your experience and have you faced any peculiar challenges in the process?

- What have been your experiences in finding employment since you came to South Africa?

- What were your experience and challenges whilst travelling in and out of South Africa?

- Tell me about your family situation.
  - Are you here with your family? If not, how are you managing your marital and family relationships?
  - What was the effect of your relocation to South Africa on your marital and family relationships?

- Please tell me about your socialisation with the people around you since being in S.A and whether there are any differences compared to your social life in Zimbabwe.

- Describe and specify whether you are able to access any social services such as health care, education, and housing since you came to South Africa?

- In coming to South Africa and whilst settling down to life here, did you experience any personal or social problems requiring professional assistance or with which professional assistance could have helped you? If so, please describe it.

- Did you receive any assistance from social workers or from any department of social services or welfare organisation? If so, describe it.

- Please describe your understanding of the nature of social work assistance and the work of a social work in general.

- How do you think social workers could help Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa?

With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded and transcribed word-for-word. Your responses to the interview (transcribed and audio versions) will be kept strictly confidential. The interview transcripts and tapes will be coded to disguise any identifying information. The transcripts and tapes will be stored in a locked safe at No.208 Ontario flat, Pretoria and only I will have access to them. The transcripts and tapes (without any identifying information) will be made available to my research supervisor and an independent coder with the sole purpose of assisting and guiding

me with this research undertaking. My research supervisor and the independent coder will each sign an undertaking to treat the information shared by you in a confidential manner. The transcripts and audio records of the interviews will be destroyed upon the completion of the study. Identifying information will be deleted or disguised in any subsequent publication and/or presentation of the research findings.

Please note that participation in the research is completely voluntary. You are not obliged to take part in the research. Your decision to participate, or not to participate, will not affect you in any way now or in the future and you will incur no penalty and/or loss to which you may otherwise be entitled. Should you agree to participate and sign the information and informed consent document herewith, as proof of your willingness to participate, please note that you are not signing any of your rights away.

If you agree to take part, you have the right to change your mind at any time during the study. You are free to withdraw this consent and discontinue participation without any loss of benefits. However, if you do withdraw from the study, you would be requested to grant me an opportunity to engage in informal discussion with you so that the research partnership that was established can be terminated in an orderly manner.

As the researcher, I also have the right to dismiss you from the study without regard to your consent if you fail to follow the instructions or if the information you have to divulge is emotionally sensitive and upset you to such an extent that it hinders you from functioning physically and emotionally in a proper manner. Furthermore, if participating in the study at any time jeopardises your safety in any way, you will be dismissed.

Should I conclude that the information you have shared left you feeling emotionally upset, or perturbed, I am obliged to refer you to a counsellor for debriefing or counselling at Famsa Pretoria (should you agree).

You have the right to ask questions concerning the study at any time. Should you have any questions or concerns about the study, contact the researcher (Serbia Dube) on this cell number 079 369 5027 or my supervisor Dr. Lombard on 012 546 5974 or 078 116 8018.

Please note that this study has been approved by the Research and Ethics Committee[1] of the Department of Social Work at Unisa. Without the approval of this committee, the study cannot be conducted. Should you have any questions and queries not sufficiently addressed by me as the researcher, you are more than welcome to contact the Chairperson of the Research and Ethics Committee of the Department of Social Work at Unisa. His contact details are as follows: Prof AH (Nicky) Alpaslan, telephone number: 012 429 6739, or email alpasah@unisa.ac.za.

If, after you have consulted the researcher and the Research and Ethics Committee in the Department of Social Work at Unisa, their answers have not satisfied you, you might direct your question/concerns/queries to the Chairperson, Human Ethics Committee, College of Human Science, PO Box 392, Unisa, 0003.

Based upon all the information provided to you above, and being aware of your rights, you are asked to give your written consent, should you want to participate in this research study, by signing and dating the information and consent form provided herewith and initialling each section to indicate that you understand and agree to the conditions.

Thank you for your participation.

Kind regards

―――――――――――

SERBIA DUBE

Contact details: +27 79 369 5027
Email: serbiadube@yahoo.co.uk

―――――――――――――――

ADDENDUM B

Consent Form

I,…………………………………………………….agree out of my free will to participate in this research project, which focuses on an investigation into the experiences and challenges of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating and adjusting in South Arica: A social work perspective.

I understand that the information that I will share will be used for research purposes only and that nowhere will my identity be made known in any research report / publication. I am also aware of the fact that I can withdraw at any time during the study without incurring any penalty.

…………………………………………

………………………………………….

Date

ADDENDUM C

INTERVIEW GUIDE

At the beginning of the interview all participants' biographical/demographic information will be obtained, of the following questions will be asked:

- Gender?
- How old are you?
- What is your main language?
- Which province do you come from in Zimbabwe?
- What is the highest grade that you passed at school?
- Did you obtain or study for any further qualification after leaving school?
- What is your marital status?
- Do you have any children? If "yes", how many? What is their gender? How old are they?
- How long have you been living in South Africa?

Questions relating to the research topic:

1. What made you decide to leave Zimbabwe and relocate to South Africa?
2. What were you and your family's feelings about this decision?
3. What were you and your family's expectations when relocating to South Africa?
4. How did you come to South Africa?
5. What were your experiences and challenges during the process of moving to South Africa?
6. With which South African government officials did you have to deal with during your process of migrating to and settling down in South Africa? Could you tell me your experience and challenges with these officials whilst in South Africa?
7. How have you adjusted and settled in South Africa?
8. What has been your experience and have you faced any peculiar challenges in the process?
9. What have been your experiences in finding employment since you came to South Africa?

10. What were your experience and challenges whilst travelling in and out of South Africa?

11. Tell me about your family situation.

    11.1 Are you here with your family? If not, how are you managing your marital and family relationships?

    11.2 What was the effect of your relocation to South Africa on your marital and family relationships?

12. Please tell me about your socialisation with the people around you since being in S.A and whether there are any differences compared to your social life in Zimbabwe.

13. Describe and specify whether you are able to access any social services such as health care, education, and housing since you came to South Africa?

14. In coming to South Africa and whilst settling down to life here, did you experience any personal or social problems requiring professional assistance or with which professional assistance could have helped you? If so, please describe it.

15. Did you receive any assistance from social workers or from any department of social services or welfare organisation? If so, describe it.

16. Please describe your understanding of the nature of social work assistance and the work of a social work in general.

17. How do you think social workers could help Zimbabwean economic migrants in South Africa?

Margaret Grobbelaar
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EDITING OF MA in SOCIAL WORK DISSERTATION: Student No: 48024635

At the request of Mrs S Dube I edited her MA in Social Work dissertation entitled: The experiences and challenge of economic migrants from Zimbabwe in relocating and adjusting in South Africa: A social work perspective.

Whilst I have edited this dissertation to the best of my ability, the responsibility to do the corrections and implement my comments and suggestions correctly, remains that of the student.

Yours sincerely

M Grobbelaar
12 December 2016