



**THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN UNDOCUMENTED MIGRATION: THE
CASE OF UNDOCUMENTED ZIMBABWEAN MIGRANTS IN BOTSWANA**

by

CANISIO MUTSINDIKWA

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SUPERVISOR: PROF. D GELDERBLOM

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DECLARATION

I **CANISIO MUTSINDIKWA**, declare that **The role of social capital in migration: The case of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in Botswana** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Canisio Mutsindikwa

Signed at **GABORONE**

On the **25TH** Day of **MAY** 2012

ABSTRACT

This dissertation was carried out to try to understand the role of social capital in the migration of Zimbabwean migrants to Botswana. It describes elements and types of social capital Zimbabwean undocumented migrants used to come to Botswana. Questionnaires and in-depth interviews were used to obtain data from respondents.

Though the influence of macro factors initially pushed migrants to migrate, there was evidence of the existence of social networks. Findings showed the use of social networks by Zimbabwean undocumented migrants. Though kinship networks were dominant in the initial migration stages there was a wane in the destination as migrants reverted to friendship networks for flexibility. Linking existed at both the place of origin and destination. Social control, channelling and negative social capital were discovered among migrants. Migrants developed mechanisms to counter the Botswana's enforcement policy.

Key words:

Social capital, undocumented migration, bridging, bonding, linking, instrumental social capital, value introjection, social control, reciprocal exchange, enforceable trust.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my wife Marthatone, son Peace, daughters, Aleta Vanessa and Natasha, my parents Vincent and Aleta (snr), and all the brave and persevering migrants who traverse and transform the global village and change communities, and last but not least, Almighty God who has promoted migration since the creation of the Earth.

The LORD spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying "Moses my servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou, and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them, even to the children of Israel.Be strong and of a good courage....."

Joshua 1 verses 1-9

May God Almighty make leaders understand that the world cannot *be* without migration and make them ratify migrant rights and UN conventions and save the world's poor from vicious circles of poverty.

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Definition of terms

Chipadagu- a migrant who has decided to stay in a foreign country without valid travel documentation

Cellpreneurs- Zimbabwean migrants who survive by selling second hand cell phones

Chibuku - a commercially produced traditional opaque beer made from sorghum

Guma-guma – a cross border agent who assists undocumented migrants to cross the border for monetary payment.

Gumbabkumba - a large cattle class truck used to deport large numbers of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in Botswana and South Africa.

Madzibaba – one African Church popular with Zimbabweans migrants. they wear white garments as their symbol.

Malaicha – a person who provides informal courier services to transport goods from destination country to relatives of migrants in Zimbabwe.

Marounds- Rotating credit associations among Zimbabweans.

Marwana – Zimbabwean women migrant who survive by shop lifting and selling stolen goods.

Operation Murambatsvina – Also called operation Tsunami, it was a Zimbabwean government initiated destruction and demolition of urban structures such as housing and informal commercial structures, ostensibly to clean-up the cities. However critics generally claim that it was politically motivated to demolish opposition urban strongholds.

Pantsula - A young Motswana crook or petty thief who also steals cell phones for sale.

Spoto – A local informal drinking beer place where people drink mainly traditional Chibuku beer in Botswana,

Zvipadagu _ Plural for ‘chipadagu’ meaning migrants who have decided to stay in a foreign country without travel documentation.

List of acronyms

AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

BWP – Botswana Pula (currency) at present equivalent to 7.8US\$ or ZAR1.05

CID – Criminal Investigation Department

ETD – Emergency Travel Document, a document supposed to be used by people who need to attend urgent business outside Zimbabwe, but has been used as temporary travel document by people who do not have passports or are awaiting final determinations of applications for passports.

SARS – Severe and Acute Respiratory Syndrome.

TTD – Temporary Travel Document, a travel document replacing the ETD after the government discovered that ETDs were now being forged by unscrupulous criminals.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM SETTING

1.1. Introduction

Undocumented migration is one of the key debates taking the contemporary rapidly globalizing world by storm. Undocumented migration is being driven by poverty, political instability and persecution. Structural adjustment programmes have failed in some countries because of corrupt governments. Facing rising unemployment, hunger and danger of persecution from intolerant regimes in their home countries, migrants have had no option except to move across the borders to areas where they perceive political stability, chances of economic reprieve and better lives. This view is supported by de Haas (2009:4) who points out that, “Structural *forces majeure* in the international political economy such as warfare, colonialism, conquest, occupation and labour recruitment often play a role in initiation of migration processes.” Most of the time the migrants did not have the necessary travel documents (passports). That might be because of lack of money to procure the necessary documentation and because access to the documentation is tough. This view is supported by Lesetedi and Moroka (2007:8) who make the following observation;

“From their side, Zimbabwe nationals complain that getting a passport in Zimbabwe is expensive; and that the rules for obtaining them are stringent, resulting in more Zimbabweans entering Botswana illegally along secret paths, often referred to as border jumping.”

Undocumented migration has become a daily issue which has attracted enough attention to warrant deeper research. De Haas (2005) explains that the problem of undocumented migration is showing no signs of abating and has continued to be a cause for concern and consternation among world nations, civil society and international bodies. Lives are being lost daily as migrants try to cross seemingly insurmountable obstacles, especially rough seas. Policymakers in various countries (especially Northern states) have crafted anti-migrant policies which have attracted the concern of the migrants themselves, human rights groups and supra-national bodies such as the United Nations (Newland 2005:1). Newland goes on to reiterate that as a result of the migration problem the United Nations and related institutions have begun to be more focused and made the issue a serious priority since 1999. Human trafficking has been escalating as a result of these tough policies. In the European Union

tempers have been flaring as diplomats in Brussels throw accusations and counter accusations at one another (Lerougetel and Schwarz 2010; Severance 2010). Numerous conferences on the 'scourge' of undocumented migration have been held, most of the time without solutions, but mostly deadlocks (United Nations General Assembly 2003:4). The pro-migration paradigm (especially from the perspective of the Doha round of talks on trade) argues that if trade in services is to succeed, it must also involve the movement of persons who provide them (Newland 2003:1). Some of the conflicts have shown a North-South paradigm in which Southern states claim that they have been disadvantaged by the migration trend. This trend was at first taking the best workers from the South (especially between 1945 and 1975) and then later they began to deny Southerners entry thus affecting the potential remittances contributions, especially from their former colonial rulers (Hermele 1997: 133). Some scholars have argued that Northern states exploited or plundered Southern resources during colonialism, so naturally Third World states have a 'right' to expect some poverty alleviation to help ease the challenge of undocumented migration (Martin and Widgren 2002:5). As a result, some democratic countries have softened their stance and mooted integrationist policies. However this trend has not been commonly embraced and the economic recession has led to change of heart in some liberal states. Scholars from various disciplines have also thrown in their weight in support of certain migration paradigms, some economic, some political, some social. A number of non-governmental organizations have emerged in support of the undocumented migration cause. Churches have also been thrown into the fray as they chide some heavy handed state responses to the 'scourge' of undocumented migration. Regardless of this flurry of activity concerning them, undocumented migrants continue to move seemingly undeterred. The key question should be 'is there an end in sight?'

The following questions emerge on the basis of an initial assessment of the issue. Why do movements take place in certain directions rather than others? What are the reasons why some people do not migrate at all despite facing similar problems as practicing migrants? Of particular interest has been the cumulative causation mechanism of migration in an environment increasingly becoming politicized, marred by host state hostility and characterized by increasing risks and escalating expenses. It has been noted that movements in certain directions have resulted in concentrations of populations with particular characteristics in certain areas rather than others. These concentrations of people in certain destinations may be of kin or friends. It would be interesting to find how much friends or/and

relatives can influence people to migrate to certain destinations. This thesis seeks to demonstrate that social networks and social capital may provide answers to some of the questions about reasons why some migrants go to certain destinations rather than others and why some people do not migrate.

This chapter deals with the following issues;

- a) The background to the study that is being undertaken. Undocumented migration has now become a key issue the world over in general and in particular in Southern Africa.
- b) The streamlining of the research problem so that the problem area is clearly specified.
- c) The purpose of the study so that the reasons for carrying out the research are clarified.
- d) The research questions are given so that there is guidance on the areas to be covered.

1.2. Background to the study

The current study was motivated by the fact that the undocumented migration problem has come to the spotlight more than ever before in the past decade. This has especially been triggered by the world economic recession which affected both host nations and countries of origin of undocumented migrants. They are referred to as migrants rather than immigrants because most do not intend to settle permanently in the host country (Maharaj 2004:6). In reading newspapers, popular magazines and watching television, hardly a day passes without news of one kind or another about undocumented migrants. On several fronts undocumented migration continues unabated, even under extreme adversity with migrants finding new solutions in the face of seemingly great obstacles put in their way by policies of host country governments. This has been particularly true of undocumented migrants from Africa to Southern Europe because of its accessibility (particularly Spain, France and Italy) (World Economic & Social Survey 2004:192; Martin 2009:12; Boubakri 2004:6). Some of these undocumented migrants do not stop in these states, but continue to move northwards to Central and then Northern Europe. Other undocumented migration streams which have attracted attention and motivated this study are those from conflict ridden Asian states to Europe, especially those from Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq and Sri Lanka (Boubakri 2004:3). Yet other great movements that have been noted involve the movements of Asians from poor states, particularly from relatively poor countries such as the Philippines, Bangladesh and

parts of India towards the oil rich Arab states such as Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, Dubai and Saudi Arabia (Battistella (n.d) <http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/battistella> accessed 24/11/2011; Martin 2009:48-50).

Another motivating factor that drew attention to this research was the seemingly serious challenges encountered by undocumented migrants before, during and after migrating to certain destinations. The attention brought to the topic of undocumented migration by anti-migrant regimes such as those of President Sarkozy in France and Berlusconi in Italy was significant (France 24.com). Criminalization of undocumented migration caused public concern and produced mixed feelings from various stakeholders, including even the Pope at the Vatican (Lauter, Los Angeles Times 24/08/2010) and the European Justice Commission as seen in the protest by Viviane Redding the European Commission's Justice Commissioner in Brussels in September 2010 (The Economist, 16/09/2010). This happened after Roma gypsies were forcibly deported to Albania and Romania by France. Thus undocumented migration as a topic has come to be the vanguard of social issues of the contemporary social world. Closer home in Southern Africa, the xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa, massive deportations of Zimbabweans, Malawians and Mozambicans from both Botswana and South Africa and the subsequent public outrage raised questions about how migrants manage to survive or integrate in such communities.

These observations led to a number of fundamental questions about undocumented migration such as the following:

Why do migrants from certain countries or areas within countries prefer to move to certain destinations to the exclusion of others?

How do these migrants manage to reach decisions about which destinations to go to?

How do the immigrants manage to reach the destination countries, even under serious challenges?

How do the immigrants manage to survive and live within the host country even under adverse circumstances?

In light of these issues it is the purpose of this study to answer all the above stated questions of why and how migrants move to certain areas of destination and how they manage to survive in the same.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Whilst there are several studies that have been conducted on migration in southern Africa, there are still some gaps that need to be filled. One of the gaps is that of the role of social capital in migration. The problem is that there are hardly any studies on migration and social capital in Southern Africa, let alone specifically on migration between Zimbabwe and Botswana. There has long been great interest in the dynamics involved in the social process of migration in the Southern African region with particular reference to destination choices and sustenance of directional migration streams regardless of hostile reception in chosen host countries. There has also been intrigue as to why some people migrate while others do not in the Southern African region. Most of the available information on social capital and migration in Southern Africa is implied in studies about other regions and other issues, not specifically about social capital and social networks. Due to lack of available studies on Southern Africa people may just assume that migration trends are the same as in studies conducted elsewhere in the world. Most studies on undocumented migration and social capital are based on information from studies on migration from Latin America, especially from Mexico to the United States. Research on migration and social capital within the context of Southern Africa is needed to bring a wealth of knowledge in understanding the dynamics of the growing undocumented migration trend in different countries or regions.

Within the context of rapid socio-economic developments in the Southern African landscape it cannot be fair to assume that the dynamics of migration remain the same. It would also not do justice to assume that studies carried out in other cultural settings are squarely applicable to Southern Africa. For example it cannot be assumed that migration trends between Mexico and the United States are exactly the same as those between Zimbabwe and Botswana. Therefore there is the issue of a lack of proper and specific research on migration and social capital between Zimbabwe and Botswana. A key concern is that migration policy may be

informed by erroneous premises when policy makers just copy migration policies of other states without understanding the dynamics in their own context.

The key concern is that undocumented migration from Zimbabwe to Botswana has been reportedly increasing. Betts and Kaytaz (2009:6) point out that “Estimates vary radically, but, it is conceivable that over two million Zimbabweans may have left Zimbabwe as a result of the desperate situation in the country. They have fled for a combination of inter-related reasons – most notably mass livelihood collapse, state failure, and environmental catastrophe. For many, emigration has represented the only available survival strategy.” Certain types of migrants are concentrating in certain geographical areas of the destination country in such a way that they may invoke characteristic trends. These trends may need certain policy responses designed to deal with problems related to such trends. For example too many of a certain category of migrants in an area may lead to easily noticeable problems such as crime. This study therefore has been prompted by the need to investigate the driving force behind undocumented migration and unravel the mechanism through which more and more undocumented migrants continue to move not only to Botswana, but to specific geographical areas within Botswana. This happens despite more stringent and tough anti-immigration policies crafted against their entry by the destination country and the level of uncertainty involved in the whole migration enterprise. Statistics suggest that undocumented migration is on the increase in Botswana, despite the toughened socio-human environmental conditions in which undocumented migration takes place. Increasing numbers of deportees reported between 1997 and 2000 (8,465 in 1997, 12,000 in 1999, 25,511 in 2001 to 26,585 in 2002) may be used to show this phenomenon (Campbell (sa) citing The (Botswana) Daily News 2000-2004).

1.4. Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to unravel the undocumented migration dynamics between Zimbabwe and Botswana. This might help stakeholders to be in a position to understand the nature of the process of cumulative causation in migration. The purpose of the study is to have an appreciation of the role played by social capital in undocumented migration with the aim to inform policy makers on the need to align migration policy to realistic migration issues and accept and understand migration as a complex and inevitable phenomenon which

needs to be understood in a systematic manner to enhance sound and well informed social policy. The research thus aims at advising migration policy makers to find viable and all inclusive solutions to migrant problems, which recognize vital social and economic implications of social policy so that policy gaps are avoided or minimized. It also aims at providing a body of knowledge unique to Southern Africa in general and on migration between Zimbabwe and Botswana in particular to guide and inform any further research on the topic.

Massey and Aysa (2005), after studying migration between Latin America and the United States, argue that each region or culture may be unique as far as the use of social networks in facilitating migration is concerned. This study therefore wishes to find out how Zimbabweans in particular use their social capital in the process of migration to Botswana. The intricacies involved need to be explored.

1.5. Aims of the study

The main aim is to investigate the role of social capital among undocumented Zimbabwean migrants to Botswana.

The specific objectives derived from the main objective include the following:

- To investigate whether Zimbabwean undocumented migrants in Botswana use their social capital in the process of migration.
- To investigate and explain elements of social capital among Zimbabwean undocumented migrants.
- To investigate the ways in which social capital promotes an increase in Zimbabwean undocumented migrants moving to Botswana.

1.6. Research Questions

In light of the foregoing discourse the following research questions shall guide this research;

- Do Zimbabwean undocumented migrants use social capital in migration to Botswana?
- Which elements of social capital are particularly important among Zimbabwean undocumented migrants?
- In what ways does social capital promote undocumented migration amongst Zimbabwean migrants living in Botswana?

1.7. Assumptions

Social capital prior to and during migration is important in determining whether one becomes a successful undocumented migrant.

The degree of the effect of social capital in causing undocumented migration depends on the type (s) of social capital used by the individual undocumented migrant.

1.8. Delimitation of the study

This study focuses on Gaborone, the capital city. The study focuses on ‘unemployed’ undocumented migrants in Gaborone, surviving on menial ‘piece jobs’ at BBS Shopping Mall, White City, and Gaborone West Phase 2 where they wait to get clients who need to have their odd jobs done. It also focuses on informal hair ‘dressers’ at Knockout shop near the Railway Station. These undocumented migrants are engaged in officially prohibited work and the research may include both women and men with different livelihoods. This delimitation can be defended on the grounds that Gaborone, being the capital city of Botswana is expected to be a hub of activity, thus attracting the largest numbers of both documented and undocumented migrants. Major cities are critical destinations as they are complex spaces that concentrate a wide variety of groups. This is justified by the fact that global cities are home to multiple Diasporas and activist networks and organizations (Sassen 2006).

1.9. Limitations

The study had the following limitations;

- Time constraints: the researcher was employed on a full time basis and had to work extra hard to carry out the research.
- The study was limited to Gaborone.
- Respondents were only recruited from specific venues for logistical reasons.
- Respondents could have been reserved and suspicious due to lack of trust or fear of victimization due to their undocumented status.

The researcher therefore has chosen a study within the Gaborone area where he is based and is familiar with quite a number of undocumented migrants, who can easily lead to others. To avoid excessive costs a sample of 177 respondents was proposed. The researcher introduced himself from an academic viewpoint to avoid suspicion and lack of co-operation. This was designed to avoid reservations which might have limited the amount of information. The introduction made possible the volunteering of information (reduces constraints).

1.10. Overview of the Dissertation

The thesis emanating from this study is structured into chapters as follows;

Chapter 1 presents the introduction. It deals with the motivation and purpose of the research which is to find out why undocumented migrants move towards certain destinations rather than others and how they cope when they arrive in destination countries. Furthermore it contains the background to this thesis, the research problem and purpose of the study. Objectives of the study, assumptions, limitations and delimitation are explained in this chapter.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature related to undocumented migration and social capital. The chapter further highlights theoretical views on causes of undocumented

migration. It goes on to deal with the problem of undocumented migration, and defines, describes and analyses undocumented migration. The chapter proceeds to present the history and theoretical background of the concept of social capital and its problems. It also deals with types of social capital, sources of social capital and its less desirable aspects. Lastly the chapter raises aspects of the interaction between social capital and migration.

Chapter 3 summarizes literature on Zimbabwean migrants and social capital in Southern Africa. In this chapter the trends of the undocumented migration phenomenon in Southern Africa are described. Secondly the nature of Zimbabwean migrant's social capital is described in general terms. Having already presented the theoretical discussion and the discussion on undocumented migration the research questions are raised in this chapter.

Chapter 4 describes the research methodology, design and data collection methods. The tools of the research are identified and described. The research approach is also described in this chapter including data sources. Sampling approaches together with issues of validity and reliability were attended to. Participants, procedures and ethical considerations are also clarified in the chapter.

Chapter 5 deals with the study findings and their interpretation. It presents the findings from the field work using the methodologies, participants, tools, approaches and procedures described and explained in chapter 4. Findings about Zimbabwean undocumented migrants and their social capital are tabulated and classified in order to show the social capital mostly used by them.

In Chapter 6 the findings presented in Chapter 5 are discussed to highlight important points in the research and their implications. In this chapter conclusions reached by the study are presented and recommendations are made on the basis of the conclusions reached.

1.11. Chapter Summary

In this chapter the general introduction to the research topic was given. The background to the study highlighting the nature and development of undocumented migration was briefly dealt with. The chapter briefly described the problem that the research focuses on. The problem is that of increasing migration despite toughened migration controls by the Botswana

Government, to unravel how social capital plays a role in influencing undocumented migration. The purpose of the research was highlighted in this chapter. In summary the purpose of the research is to provide a better understanding of the role of social capital in the migration process by both policy makers and the academic community. Research questions and objectives are put forward in this chapter. The research objectives, in short are to investigate whether social capital plays a role in causing undocumented migration and how it causes this in relation to undocumented Zimbabwean migrants. The limitations and boundaries of the study have been highlighted. Finally an overview of the whole thesis is presented to provide the guiding roadmap of this research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the introduction and setting of the problem which is the subject of this study. Social capital advocates have argued that individuals do not act alone, but as collectives at certain times in order to succeed. In this chapter the evolution of the social capital theory, its components, sources, consequences and less desirable aspects are explored. Many scholars have come up with theoretical and practical views about social capital and social capital and migration and these are examined in this chapter. This section describes and explains the phenomenon of undocumented migration from the viewpoints of various authors. The chapter proceeds to deal with how scholars define and explain the concept of social capital and concerns they have raised about social capital. Much research has been done the world over on the area of social capital. These studies are highlighted in this section to provide insight to the researcher so that an informed framework for treating this study will be established.

Trends as shown by different researchers and theorists are explained to take stock of what has been done concerning the topic so far to provide a platform for reflection on what needs to be done. This entails exposing where gaps occur in the current researches. Trends, theories and methodological issues of these authors are highlighted to help clarify and operationalize key concepts. The theoretical foundations constitute the framework from which the quality and quantity of social capital used in undocumented migration are analysed. The chapter also provides an overview on migration theory and proceeds to explain the nature of undocumented migration in order to provide a clear background to the context in which migrant social networks originate and operate. The chapter further highlights and isolates the key social capital elements in migration and the nature of the resources that reside in migrant networks. Lastly empirical studies done so far by various social scientists on social capital and migration are described by the researcher.

2.2. Overview of theories of migration

According to Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor (2004:2) at present there is no single coherent theory of international migration. The theories are fragmented,

isolated from one another and focus on disciplinary orientations. There is need for a coherent theory which explains all aspects and gaps not explained by other theories. Macro-level theories seem to simplify the explanation of the process of migration in simple terms of spatial disequilibrium between places or push-pull factors (Elrick 2005:4; Kurekova 2011:5; Hagen–Zanker 2008:4). In the view of classical migration theorists migrants move as individuals in response to macro forces. They are perceived to be rational individuals who weigh costs and benefits in order to make migration decisions.

According to Elrick (2008) while the origins of migration are in social, economic and political forces, later on social networks take over as a key influence on migration. People move from areas of disadvantage to areas where life seems to be better. Classical theories explain migration as solely being governed by political and economic forces. People are assumed by these classical theories to move to areas where they perceive better jobs to be available and where there is ostensibly no persecution or danger. The neoclassical human capital view posits that people migrate when their educational level is high enough to increase their chances of getting employed abroad (Yorimitsu 1985). In this case a person is assumed to make a decision to migrate to an area where his or her qualifications give him or her higher chances of landing paid employment. This individualistic and rationalistic explanation seems not so convincing because it does not explain the migration of people with little or no education.

The other theory put forward by Borjas and Bronars explains migration on the basis of joint decision making (Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa and Spittel 2001). This theory assumes that groups decide that some of their members migrate so that they may increase their income as a corporate group. Migration has been explained on the basis of the household's need to diversify and minimize risk associated with relying on fewer ways of production especially in the face of failures in structural adjustment policies and agriculture (Palloni et al 2001). This has been propounded by new economics of labour migration theorists and this view has been seen as more plausible by most migration theorists than the neo-classical economic theory. However these theories do not explain why migrants choose certain destinations rather than others or why some people do not migrate at all despite the prevalence of economic disadvantages or political persecution. While it is true that people move because of political

and economic challenges, the factors determining the direction and perpetuation (magnitude) of migration have not been fully explained by these theories.

At the meso- level are social networks (at the place of origin and at the destination). They are the basis of social capital, and may explain the direction and perpetuation of migration. Besides these there are the traditionally acknowledged and obvious effects of the macro forces and idiosyncratic forces surrounding each individual migrant. Social networks have been studied extensively in Latin America and the Caribbean (Massey and Aysa 2005). Networks have been empirically found to play a key role in influencing individual decisions to move in these areas. Considering that people may not find it easy to migrate across borders on their own (Gelderblom 2000), it is worth trying to find out how far social capital could make it possible for large numbers of Zimbabweans to migrate to Botswana. Migration, as pointed out by Elrick (2008) becomes more of a social enterprise as pioneers settle and invite more immigrants to join them.

The network and social capital perspective need further analysis to find out how far it solves this enigmatic riddle. Despite emphasis on the political and economic dimensions the social aspect as a cause of migration has largely been underestimated. Elrick (2008: 1-2) argues that while it is primarily the political and economic factors that trigger migration after the initiation of movement social forces take over. In fact to underscore the high social dimension of migration Elrick (2008:2) argues that, “migration is always a highly interactive process.” The social aspect may determine who migrates and where people migrate to and what they may do for a living after migrating.

2.3. The Social capital problem and the ‘capital’ metaphor

The concept of social capital has been more of a problem than that of human (and other capitals) though its utility to human problems is very promising (Adam and Roncevic, 2003:157). According to Granovetter the study of social capital in the new economic sociology challenges the pure “market” approach to economic action (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993:1321). In their view the social structure can constrain, support or derail individual economic action. Financial capital, human and physical capital are tangible forms of capital or have tangible ramifications while it is difficult to specify the heuristic of social

capital in purely tangible terms. These problems have been highlighted in many studies (Portes 1998; Pieterse 2003:3; Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2002:5; Fukuyama 2000:27; Schuller 2000; Nan Lin 2004; McGonagall, Doherty, Mills, Mort, MacDonald, Morag, Buckle, Allan and Cotts 2005). Social capital is a relatively new concept and has been haphazardly applied in trying to solve various social and economic problems. Many have over-generalized the use of the concept so that its theoretical value is under threat from random users (who may even think that social capital and sociality are the same thing) (Portes 1998:3). According to Woolcock (1998: 161) the concept of social capital is not entirely new but derives from classical sociological theory, particularly in the works of Georg Simmel (reciprocity transactions), Durkheim (Value introjection), and Max Weber (enforceable trust) (Woolcock 1998). Nevertheless the concept of social capital and its utility in policy formulation and sustainable development is fast gaining momentum in a world where purely economic solutions have met with various degrees of failure and success. Failures of economic structural adjustment policies in Africa and Asia are cases in point. Differing views have been postulated to define social capital.

Before delving into the different definitions or views of social capital, it would be important to define the words 'social' and 'capital'. In economics and business the term capital refers to assets which people or a person possesses to start or boost the business. A person or individual having more capital is more likely to succeed in his or her business ventures than one who has less. People are seen as deliberately investing in social relations so that in future they expect to benefit from the social capital deposited in the network. 'Social' relates to relationships with others and implies the social structure. According to Tsai and Goshal (1998:465) to simplify the explanation of the concept of social capital, it should be viewed from three vital dimensions. These are the structural dimension, the cognitive dimension and the relational dimension. The structural dimension deals with the individual and other members' positions in the network. Basically it refers to the type of network in which people find themselves. It is the hardware of social capital. The cognitive dimension argues that for a network to be sustainable there must be common understanding, norms, common codes and a common paradigm among network members which define its membership. The relational dimension deals with aspects of emotional attachment to other network members such as trust and trustworthiness. This is supported by McGonagall et al (2005) and Narayan (1999:6) who point out that social capital is intrinsically relational in that it resides in social networks of

relations. The people involved must be somehow related to each other and have a certain level of emotional attachment. Only network members can claim access to network resources.

‘Capital’ relates to a resource to be used to one’s advantage. It gives the impression of a means to an end. The term capital implies usefulness and value which can be relied upon in the future. According to McGonagall et al (2005), “it is a form of power, a currency - a resource which can be traded, exchanged, drawn upon, invested or cashed.” This view is also supported by Alejandro Portes (1998:2) who points out that though social capital is non-monetary in form it ‘can be an important source of power and influence like the size of one’s stockholdings or bank account.’ Therefore capital can be seen as referring to a reserve of resources to be tapped later for purposes of advantage. It refers to embedded and actual resources.

2.3.1. Different definitions of social capital

Divergent definitions of social capital have been put forward by a number of authors. None of the postulates can be said to be right or wrong per se, and one can regard the definitions as complementary. They have an acceptable degree of convergence. Most of the time the position one takes depends on the use to which one intends to put the term (Woolcock, 1998). In this analysis the definition of social capital shows different approaches with some common threads being apparent as shall be seen. The different theoretical orientations shall be explained according to views given by Bourdieu (Alessandrini 2006:4; Siisiainen 2000), Burt (2000), Lin (2004), Coleman (Alessandrini 2006:4), Putnam (Alessandrini 2006:2), Portes (1998) and Fukuyama (2000).

Coleman (Lin 2004:2) defines social capital as a function or set of functions of the social structure which results in advantage for the individual. Coleman (ibid) asserts that social capital is defined by its function (Burt 2000). According to Coleman (ibid) it is not a single entity, but a variety of entities having two things in common. They consist of some aspect of social structure, and facilitate certain actions of certain individuals within the structure. It implies that in migration the fact that migrants may help one another because they have close relations with one another is in itself social capital. The problem with this definition is that it skirts a watertight definition of social capital. Coleman (Lin 2004:2) seems to be confusing social capital as a term with its functions. Functions highlighting certain aspects of social

capital cannot be said to be social capital. While it is true that social capital is related to structure it is not true that all actions of individuals facilitated within the structure are social capital. The elements of trust, reciprocity and embeddedness are not alluded to by Coleman's definition. Though these functions highlight certain aspects of social capital they are not social capital per se (Portes 1998:5). Coleman (ibid), though an avid contributor to the theory of social capital seems to have caused some definitional confusion of the social capital concept which has haunted the concept. However as will be seen in later paragraphs Coleman (ibid)'s heuristic stance can be found to have made a great contribution to the theory of social capital. Coleman's (ibid) functional definition of social capital can be summarized as, "aspects of social structure that actors can use as resources to achieve their interests" (Alesandrini 2006:1). Thus in Coleman's view networks (structure) constitute a form of social capital an individual can depend on. Coleman maintains that the family forms the key basis of social capital and migration may create some destabilization of the family. It implies therefore that an individual can belong to various family mediated networks which could give him or her access to resources possessed by those networks linked to him or her via close family ties. Networks are highly norm governed (institutionalized) with members having clear expectations and obligations towards their network colleagues.

Robert Putnam defines social capital as features of social organization such as networks, trust and norms (Burt 2000). Putnam asserts that ethnicity is critical to social capital and like Coleman feels migration makes people leave behind their co-ethnics, also disrupting the social structure. Putnam argues that "the central idea of social capital....is that networks and the associated norms of reciprocity have value." It seems to suggest that networks are in themselves social capital. This adds to the problematic of definitions of social capital. Putnam's position seems to imply that aspects like norms, trust and networks are social capital yet they are simply epiphenomenal or attendant to the concept. They are indispensable parts of social capital, yet not social capital itself. While they facilitate or necessitate social capital to say that they themselves are social capital would be tautological. Putnam emphasizes community cohesion while Coleman focuses on the individual.

The idea of norms as social capital is also echoed by Francis Fukuyama (2000:1) who defines social capital as "An instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between individuals." The trace of Coleman's problematic seems to be echoed in this definition by

Fukuyama (2000). He seems to be arguing that norms are social capital yet norms are only part of social capital. That social capital is defined by its building blocks raises serious problems. Fukuyama departs from Coleman (Burt 2000; Lin 2004) and Putnam (Siisiainen 2000; Burt 2000) in that he does not support too much bonding but is an advocate of open networks or reaching wider networks (what he calls wider radii of trust). Fukuyama (2000) views trust and loose relations as key to social capital to avoid negative externalities associated with too much bonding. These differences notwithstanding Putnam and Fukuyama mainly study social capital at a macro level, within the context of democracy, good governance and economic development and considering this aspect their definitions appear to be relevant. Social capital is seen as the sine qua non for successful modern democracy (Fukuyama 2000:1)

Definitions by Bourdieu (Portes 1998), Ronald Burt (2000) and Nan Lin (2004) will be analysed before the operational definition for the purpose of this thesis can be alluded to. They locate social capital at the meso level of the social structure. They have taken a different definitional postulate from that of Coleman (Portes 1998; Alesandrini 2006:2), Putnam and Fukuyama (2000). Bourdieu defines social capital as “the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Burt 2000:2; Portes 1998:3; Nan Lin 2004:3). Resources in Bourdieu`s view are either mobilized or potential. If a network member is not using them now, they are still reserved for him in his or her ‘account’. These resources may be deliberately invested by mutual members for possible future exploitation. Bourdieu (Siisiainen 2000; Portes 1998; Burt 2000) and Nan Lin (2004) view the creation of social capital (potential resources embedded in networks) as instrumental. Virtual resources refer to resources actually invested or embedded in one`s networks to be called upon when the time comes. Individuals can get access to advantageous resources as and when the need arises.

I think that relationships are mostly governed by norms and values which govern exchange and reciprocity in networks. These may ensure conformity in the exchange process (Portes 1998). Institutionalization is guaranteed by various modes of constant and consistent interaction among network members. This may produce and reproduce sustained social relationships which can make members feel that they belong to the same network

(recognition). Within the institutionalized relationships can be sanctions which may be meted on defaulters and free riders so that they can conform, and others can learn (vicariously) the perils of non-conformity in the process of exchange. This may ensure the prevalence of trust that obligations would be met by network members who may refuse to oblige when they owe others. The relationships may not be like pleasant encounters with strangers, (sociality) but are governed by set and recognized norms and can have specific informal rules of conduct among people familiar with one another to an acceptable extent. Mutual acquaintances, norms and relationships imply networking in which everyone is linked to everyone else (institutionalization). This idea of mutuality is the key to guaranteeing of reciprocity and they make it possible for the group to impose effective sanctions since with this tight networking each member will learn about the errant member's non-conformist behaviour. In effective networks a member knows not only his or her close or immediate friends, but also friends of friends. The best tendency would be for one to widen his or her resources via these relationships.

To support Bourdieu's definition Nan Lin (2004:3) simply and quite succinctly defines social capital as 'resources embedded in ones networks – social resources'. In this case Bourdieu (Portes 1998), Burt (2000) and Nan Lin (2004) focus on the individual creating social relations for the purpose of exploiting future social capital. These resources are available to certain networks and individuals and can lead to economic inequality. Contrary to Coleman and Putnam's focus on the value of closer relations, Burt (2000) and Nan Lin (2004) seem to favour loose or weak relationships as the best form of networking.

Bourdieu, Nan Lin (2004), Burt (2000), Putnam (Burt 2000:3), Coleman (Burt 2000:3) and Fukuyama (2000) concur on several issues as far as the definition of social capital is concerned. They are in agreement that it is located at the meso-level of the social structure and resides in social networks, and that what happens at the meso-level affects what takes place at the macro and micro-levels (Nan Lin 2004,). Coleman puts it more clearly when he argues that "social capital is rooted precisely at the juncture between individuals and their social relationships: it is contained at the meso level structure in social networks (Nan Lin 2004). All agree that social capital resides in the social structure of society and that belonging to a network creates certain value expectations from group members. Society can be perceived as a mosaic of overlapping social networks, or as Fukuyama (2000) puts it-

‘overlapping radii of trust’. All certainly agree that social capital formation and access is governed by norms of reciprocity, values, networks and trust. These are the bastions of social capital.

All the theorists cited in this thesis agree that having social capital offers an individual more advantage in life compared to those who do not possess it. They concur that social capital is all about advantage in accessing resources and creating complex exchange processes only understood by the actors within their institutionalized network. These areas of convergence, concerning the heuristic of the term ‘social capital’ lends credence and strength to the relatively new theory. It is obvious that the various authors agree that those with social capital usually succeed more than those who have not.

2.3.2. Heterophily versus homophily

According to Bourdieu, the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected (Alessandrini 2006:2). Depending on the actor’s orientation the quality and quantity of social capital can be seen from the points of view of homophily (bonding) and heterophily (Bridging). This shall be reflected from points of views of Bourdieu (Portes 1998) Burt (2000) and Nan Lin (2004) on one hand and Coleman (Portes and Landolt 2000:531), Fukuyama (2000) and Putnam (Portes 1998:18) on the other. The aspect of quality has led Nan Lin (2004:4) to refine the definition of social capital as, “... the extent of the diversity of resources (heterogeneous resources) embedded in one’s social networks.” This modified definition by Nan Lin (2004) merely advances his and Bourdieu’s definitions referred to above and adds quantitative and qualitative factors of social capital. Bourdieu (Portes and Landolt 2000:531) and Nan Lin’s (2004) definitions have an economic orientation (Alessandrini 2006:2). Lesser diversity is thought to give network members access to homogeneous or similar resources.

2.3.3. Bonding/Homophily/ closure principle

As asserted by Coleman and Putnam (Portes 1998) bonding is a key form of social capital. Some groups tend to be highly homogeneous and closed, with greater degrees of cohesion. This applies mainly to families, households and ethnic and religious groups. Excluding non -

members is of paramount importance in such groups. In such networks the exclusion of 'them' and accentuation of 'us' becomes the cement for group identity and cohesion. According to the homophily principle it is not looked upon favourably for a close friend or kin to deny help to others. It may be viewed as bad conduct to do so. Close kin are seen as the most dependable and there is an emotional appeal besides the purely humanitarian appeal. There appears to be more obligations towards the in-group vis-à-vis outsiders and this can serve as a strong bond. This principle postulates that similarity makes the network much stronger and therefore more efficient. The second argument in favour of homophily mainly associated with Coleman and Putnam is the closure principle (Portes 1998; Burt 2000:7). They see cohesion among group members such as families, ethnic and religious groups only as generating superior social capital resources. According to Coleman closure is vital in that there must be sufficient cohesion in the group to make compliance with norms and respecting obligations possible (Nan Lin 2004:4).

The other advantage of closed networks is that since their relationships are closer, it can be easier to control members against deviating from group norms. Closure is likely to prevent opportunistic conduct and free-riding by members since other members would quickly detect the member's conduct. This would rapidly lead to the network member's loss of reputation (Ahuja, Arndt, Bigelow, Epstein and Greenberg 2000). There is likely to be a greater degree of social control. Strong or closer relations can have the merit of guaranteeing that members meet their obligations without absconding. The shame of abscondment from one's obligations can weigh heavily on the offender as his/her friends are likely to impose sanctions on him/her very effectively. Costs of transactions can be lowered by the prevalence of a high degree of trust. To avoid isolation one may have to conform to set norms and values. Non-conformists would be pressurized to conform by informal non-legal sanctions. In a group with solid relations there is greater likelihood of exceptionally good deeds also being easily noticed. These may be rewarded to encourage more conformity among network members.

Too much bonding can produce information redundancy, too much cohesion and equivalence. According to Burt (2000) redundancy is measured by the degree to which group members possess the same information, which does not add value. Cohesion is when group members are very close to one another and exclude outsiders, and equivalence is the degree to which network members are at the same level hierarchically. Homogeneous groups can

have the problem of having people with similar ideas, leading to lack of new ideas and innovation or redundancy. On the other hand though, in the in-group, information diffusion among network members is faster. As information moves to the periphery it may become less effective. However, most of the information moved among members is mostly similar and lesser than that from less dense networks. Closed network have other problems. This led Schuller (2000:2) to conclude that “Strong ties can also be dysfunctional, excluding information and reducing the capacity for innovation.” The insularity of the network leads to a dearth of creativity.

However this argument does not have the effect of dismissing closure as ‘bad social capital’ or any such negative connotations. Closure is absolutely necessary for any group to stay together and results in high social solidarity and good and productive community relations. Social solidarity is a major return on social capital. This is the major argument for closure by Coleman. (Burt 2000).

2.3.4. Bridging /Heterophily/ Structural holes

Groups having members with different characteristics may have viable links. Also called heterophily or bridging, it entails having networks which are loose and reach to other networks. In the case of bridging network members are dissimilar or heterogeneous (Granovetter 1973:1364). When members can reach out to other networks they may have access to more or wider resources, for example superior information. This view is corroborated by Burt (2000) who asserts that weak ties have lesser network constraint. He argues that this is because weak ties provide for ‘brokerage opportunities between groups’. In this case some group members reach out to other groups and bring more information and innovations. These boundary spanners, information entrepreneurs or brokers are active in getting more information. They are also referred to as bridges and improve both information quality and quantity. The more a group has brokered linkages with other groups the richer it is in its social capital. This can give the open network more leverage in the community or marketplace since members can get information ahead of closed groups. This has led Nan Lin (2000) to conclude that less dense networks are associated with the likelihood of reaching more diverse embedded resources. Those who act as bridges or structural holes are entrepreneurs who generate and control the flow of information, modifying it according to the

circumstances. They have power to influence the nature of the information and if they get away from the group there may be a breakdown of linkages with other groups. This may lead to greater network constraint which may translate into impoverished resources for the particular network.

While the bridging principle postulates that network diversity seems to be very important in facilitating social capital, the key question is whether an individual is properly connected - widely enough to achieve the goals one desires to accomplish. The idea is that those who are well connected normally succeed. Weak ties are loose and impose fewer constraints on individuals than closed groups. Weaker ties add more options and the idea is that mixing with other networks brings diverse resources. In this case ties among network members are not rigid, but flexible. They allow members to interact with outsiders. This facilitates the movement or filtering of information to the network and among network members. The network is thus rich in resources and has more diversity.

2.3.5. Remarks and implications for migration

The question which might naturally arise for the lay man is whether it would be best to adopt the bonding (dense) networking or bridging (less dense) networking mode as the better one. These seemingly contrasting views by Coleman (Alessandrini 2006; Portes 1998); Fukuyama (2000), Putnam, Bourdieu (Portes 1998), Burt (2000) and Nan Lin (2004) seem to present a dilemma of choice. Nevertheless one needs not be troubled. In fact one cannot say either bridging or bonding is the best way of social capital generation per se without analyzing the context. Both should be seen as inherently interactive and complementary. They should be seen as two sides of the same coin which are indispensable to each other. Initially, bonding may be vital in that it can give the individual a base or 'springboard' from which to operate in seeking other networks (external to his/hers). Extreme bonding is typical of small groups or minorities. Strong ties are indispensably vital in that they are a prerequisite for further and more enriching wider social networks and act as the individual's reference point in his or her interaction with external groups. Information as already proved by research, diffuses in a hierarchical manner – from the in group first to external links later making the in-group a vital pre-requisite (Schuller 2000).

The implication that can be derived from the homophily argument is that migrants and potential migrants who are close to each other in the social structure like kin are likely to trust each other, and have greater obligation to reciprocate each other's actions. In such networks migrants have greater emotional attachment to one another. This implies that closer relationships are the basis of better and more reliable migrant social capital. Sanctions against defaulters and free riders should be more effective among people who are close. These migrants are likely to want to travel or stay with their relatives and friends because they would feel a sense of community and security among each other.

The concept of bridging can be applied to migration and social capital. The implication of the heterophily principle is that migrants with links to other networks find it easier to move because they are likely to have more diverse information and more options to exploit as opposed to those who rely only on close friends and relatives. They could get more information on accommodation, jobs and activities of the law enforcement authorities, personal safety and where to get false documents and so on. However, as Lin (2004:4) explains greater or lesser diversity does not necessarily imply inferiority. In fact much depends on the intended utility of the social capital. Therefore migrants may benefit more from using the widened social capital resources.

2.4. Sources of social capital

The motives of benefactors in the generation of social capital need to be understood. The provision of social capital may be purposeful, so there is a need to understand the theoretical background of the basis of social capital in order to understand how it applies to the process of undocumented migration. It can be argued that individuals and groups can have their own diverse motivations for providing resources to network members in need. These are dealt with in this section. The sources of social capital can be classified as either instrumental or consummatory. Instrumental sources can be further subdivided into reciprocal exchange and enforceable trust. Consummatory sources can also be divided into two subsections – value introjection and bounded solidarity (Portes 1998). These will now be explained in detail below.

2.4.1. Instrumental Sources

People may assist others for instrumental or utilitarian reasons. They expect that they can get something in return for a good deed or at least that they would not be denied help in time of need. Under the instrumental paradigm the aspect of reciprocal exchange will be dealt with first. This deals with the creation of obligations so that those who benefit are obliged to pay back to the benefactor at a later stage. It is understood among participants in the network that benefactors can expect something in return for their generosity (Portes 1998:7). This is, however not similar to market exchange such as repaying a loan to a bank. The repayment in the case of owed social capital may not be exactly in the same form in which it was incurred. Repayment may be in another form at an unspecified time. What is important is whether the benefactor would perceive that whatever action taken would be tantamount to repaying what is owed him or her. The donor may call upon his/her embedded investments at a time suitable to himself or herself, and when it is not likely to affect his or her reputation. For example a man might allow a neighbour to use his water well or might use his tractor to plough his neighbour's corn fields, fully aware that he would later be able to call upon his neighbour to do him a favour in the future. Maybe the neighbour might be working in town, having an influential job. The benefactor might later ask the neighbour to take his son to the city and find him a job. Under such circumstances the neighbour would feel obliged to return the favour (or debt) already rendered. He can not only look after his benefactor's son, but he can also give him accommodation and food until he lands a job. If the beneficiary refuses to reciprocate he can be reminded of the 'good things' done for him in informal ways. He might be ostracized by network members for not returning the favour. The motivation of the donor would be that he or she would get something equivalent (in his own perception) back.

The fungibility factor is active here. The fungibility factor states that favours could be returned in another form, provided it would appear to the benefactor as satisfactory. What is important is that the beneficiary who was given the favour is expected to return it, in whatever acceptable form. It is like a debt incurred. In the case of migrants, they may help one another knowing that sometime in their journey of migration they may be assisted by the current beneficiary in other circumstances. They can call upon others to return favours given before, for example, if they are arrested by host country authorities or lose their employment.

The second instrumental source of social capital is referred to as enforceable trust (Portes 1998:7). In this case people may donate for causes of certain people in their community in ways profitable to the beneficiaries and applauded by that community. In this case the provider of the donation does not have to know the person to whom he or she would be donating in personal terms, that is they do not have to know one another, or expect the beneficiary to pay back directly to them. Enforceable trust can be explained as follows:

“As in the case of reciprocity of exchanges, the motivation of donors of socially mediated gifts is instrumental, but in this case, the expectation of repayment is not based on knowledge of the recipient, but on the insertions of both actors in a common social structure.” (Portes 1998: 8)

A suitable example may be of a prominent businessman who donates blankets and food to orphanages in his community. The reward comes, not from the orphans, but from the community – the indirect beneficiary, in the form of honours and medals and other venerated ways of recognizing outstanding achievements. It would be the duty or obligation of society to ensure that such acts are duly rewarded as expected by the donors. This entails that such a norm would be highly esteemed in society and should therefore be encouraged through appropriate rewards. Such largesse would be directly correlated to veneration and honour and people would take such action with full expectation of the proportional honour owed by the community. Thus the deed would be done as a means to an end, not as an end in itself. According to Portes (1998:7) the instrumental sources represent the under-socialized human being who does good, not for its own sake, but for utilitarian purposes.

The principle of reciprocal exchange implies that some migrants can assist others fully knowing that they may be helped by their beneficiary sometime in the future. The help can be given, not directly to the benefactor, but to any close family member or friend of his whom he may recommend. Once a migrant is assisted he or she may feel obliged to help potential migrants recommended by the benefactor. The benefactor will be in a position to ‘demand’ and expect the required assistance to be extended to him or her or those he or she might recommend without question, since this would be like repaying an old debt.

Some migrants assist fellow or potential migrants because it might make people perceive them and their families (in the place of origin) as generous or honourable. There may be some gain by the benefactor, though not so direct. For example an individual can get honour in his home community for being a person who loves others because he or she can help anyone who asks to go abroad with them. They can even build their business based on this reputation or even start lucrative political careers because of this ‘kindness’ of offering assistance to prospective migrants.

2.4.2. Consummatory Sources of Social Capital

Consummatory sources of social capital constitute the second set of sources of social capital. They are made up of two constructs – value introjection and bounded solidarity. These sources are explained from an understanding of the works of Portes (1998), Portes and Landolt (2000:533), and Mcgonigal et al (2005). Under the concept of value introjection it is understood that some people do good things not necessarily expecting some returns in cash or in kind. Their behaviour is non-utilitarian or non-instrumental. It is an end in itself rather than a means to a calculated end (return). It represents those people who were well socialized to understand that altruism should be the normal way of life. They would have internalized values learnt from an early stage and throughout life. Returns however, can come to the community through imitation of good deeds by members, of exemplary behaviour exhibited by enterprising and altruistic members of the community.

As an example, some individuals can feel that the only normal way to behave would be to honour all promises and obligations, respect authority, make sure that children are safe, obey traffic lights even when nobody is watching – all good for its own sake. This behaviour if and when imitated by all others can ensure that there would be peace and harmony in the community. People would be bound to see kids not as “my kids”, but “our kids” as all adults are obliged to ensure that all the community’s children would be safe, as a norm. This is applicable to migration in that some migrants assist simply because they were socialized during childhood that an individual should assist others in distress expecting no returns in any way, only expecting that their behaviour would be imitated by others for the good of the community as a whole as exemplary behaviour. They just feel that humans must love fellow human beings.

The second consummatory source of social capital is bounded solidarity. This concept is related to Coleman's idea of the need for strong ties among network members. The concept deals with the idea of cohesion in the promotion of common group interests for survival. The behaviour exhibited by the individual (s) would not be for the benefit of the whole society but for the particular group (which might be a clan, a tribe, or an ethnic group). The behaviour would be bound by distinct group identification of 'them' versus 'us'. The boundary that defines insiders and outsiders would be very distinct. Outsiders would not be expected to benefit from the largesse of members. The behaviours, actions and donations are resources limited to group boundaries.

Examples of consummatory sources can be of ethnic groups or minorities such as the Tamils in Sri Lanka assisting intelligent children with scholarships to advance the group's power base against the perceived threats of the Sinhalese majority. The Basques can do the same thing because of perceived threats from the mainstream Spanish society. The aim would be to widen their intellectual and ideological power base against the hegemonic and perceived repressive apparatus of majority groups. This would, in their belief, advance their interests. Beneficiaries would not be expected to pay back in cash or in kind nor would they be expected to treat their donors as gods, but are expected to exhibit greater fervour towards the group's ideological orientation in return for the extended largesse. This loyalty to the group would be the pay back which would ensure group survival. Those who donate do so as sign of altruism, but specifically to preserve a particular minority or ethnic group and its ideology. They would not assist anyone who would not be of their kind. Their perception of the relationship between themselves and the larger group(s) would be that the larger groups would be excluding and oppressing them. This aspect would tend to bring them together. Wilpert (1967) in a study of Turkish migrants gave a good example of selective assistance for certain migrants (Gelderblom 2000). In this case the Turkish harbinger migrant assisted only those from his ethnic group.

2.4.3. Less desirable Aspects of social capital

It would be highly erroneous to view social capital as always exhibiting positive consequences. Whilst all the good things have been said about social capital, there are negative aspects of the concept. Bad social capital could have negative externalities,

especially when certain social groups get a kind of close solidarity which is anomic or against the common good. Some groups can be highly cohesive, but pose a threat to society at large because of negative deviance. Groups with too much dense social capital such as the Mafia, Neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan are known to use their social capital to promote anti-social behaviour (Fukuyama 2000; Siisainen 2000). In this case social capital may be abused or used for ends which are anti- social. Since social capital is about advantage derived from membership in particular networks, most proponents of the concept tend to turn a blind eye to the negative ends to which social capital may be put. Migrants may form criminal gangs – a negative externality.

Portes (1998) put forward four negative consequences of social capital. These are: exclusion of other people or groups, excessive demands on other members (particularly the successful ones), downward levelling norms and the tendency to stifle the freedom of the individual. The first issue is that of exclusion of other groups. There can be a tendency for network members to favour their own members to the exclusion of other community members who are considered to be outsiders. As a result certain jobs can be occupied by certain social groups to the exclusion of others. Certain sections of the New York fire and water departments for example are reportedly dominated by people of Polish and Italian ethnic origin (Portes 1998:13). There can be a tendency to recruit relatives who are even overseas thus side-lining locals who can be readily available (because they are seen as outsiders). This tendency can be easily interpreted as nepotism (a negative externality of social capital). This argument goes along with the concept of channelling in migration. This is where the choice of jobs available to new migrants can be stratified based on the jobs of earlier migrants. This can have the effect of perpetuating inequality and also preventing upward mobility of individual migrants as they may tend to adhere to certain norms of job seeking and communicate only with fellow network members thus limiting the information available to them about other opportunities elsewhere.

The second problem is that of excessive demands on successful members. Some less successful members of networks may want too many favours from their more hardworking and enterprising colleagues (Portes 1998:16). An example of this free riding behaviour is when those who do not have much may expect those who have to assist them with jobs, goods or even money. They can keep on borrowing without necessarily returning the favours

extended to them. This can lead to the destruction of the businesses of the hardworking persons. Network members can even become violent if denied access to what they think is rightfully theirs by virtue of network membership. By the same token some migrants can abuse the social capital available to them by excessive free-riding. This may affect relations among members leading to network break-up. A case in point is one reported by Gelderblom (2000) in which successful members of a network in QwaQwa in South Africa ended up abandoning their social network because they felt other members were free-riding and putting unbearable pressure on them.

The third problem of social capital deals with the stifling of personal freedom. Just because the member enjoys group solidarity and resources, he or she is forced to conform to tight group norms (Portes 1998:16). Any attempt at changing from group norms is viewed as negative deviance or rebellion and can attract various kinds of reprisals. If an individual attempts to change from group norms he or she is seen as a sell-out and may risk being ostracized or stigmatized or being physically attacked by fellow members. An example is a black American who tries to enter 'better' jobs normally occupied by whites, by acquiring better education. Such a person is seen as a quisling trying to play to enemy rules. Bonds in this case have the negative effect of limiting opportunities available to the individual. As a result some members may decide to leave such suffocating groups.

The last problem associated with social capital is downward levelling norms (Portes 1998:17). In this case there might be a tendency by a network to inhibit the upward mobility of its members. In poor networks those who try to reach out and get better, upper class jobs would be stigmatized and seen as quislings or sell-outs. This tends to keep poor networks poor and escalate the level of inequality between networks. Downward levelling could have an effect on migrant success. New migrants may find it hard to reach out to better and wider networks merely because their benefactors may see the moves as lack of gratitude or loyalty to their erstwhile benefactors. They would end up being channelled to jobs similar to those of their benefactors and they would not seek better paying jobs.

2.5. Social capital and undocumented migration

Undocumented migrants mostly need to have people they know in destination areas before migrating. Going to a place without auspices would prove to be psychologically harrowing

and uncomfortable for undocumented migrants. Undocumented migrants thus may tend to move, not as individuals but in groups. New migrants may follow the path of older and enterprising ones. This would mean that the earlier undocumented migrants would clear the way for the new ones through support in various ways. Most researchers on migration have adopted the social network perspective of looking at migration (Vertovec 2002:2). Because migration mainly entails movement to strange, new areas with cultures and languages different from areas of origin, undocumented immigrants may tend to see each other's support as indispensable. This argument is aptly supported by Castles (2004:207) when he points out that, "Today, migration scholars emphasize the role of migration networks in easing the move to a new country, and providing help with work, housing and other needs on arrival. Such links provide vital resources for individuals and groups, and may be referred to as 'social capital'." This supports the commonly held view that networks provide channels for the process of migration. Castles (ibid.) posits that migrants in Europe after the cold war succeeded "...only if they could link with existing social networks of previous migrants....."

One critical aspect of social capital may be that social networks have value, though not in purely economic terms as perceived by market forces, but in social terms. Gelderblom and Adams (2006) refer to social capital as migrant networks of 'mutual help' or reciprocal exchange. There is high informality in exchange which is mostly effective. Networks can therefore be viewed the defining component of social capital in migration. Studies from Latin America indicate that massive Mexican undocumented migration today reflects the prior development of social networks that support and sustain it (Massey and Aysa 2005; Singer and Massey 1997; Massey 1998).

Migrant networks may provide social infrastructure capable of supporting mass migration. Migrant networks are highly institutionalized and the force for migrants to conform to required norms can be very substantial. They must have well defined norms of reciprocity. Most migrants do not migrate permanently, but they may move back and forth between home country and destination. This is supported by Vertovec (2002) who states that migration has become transnational and networked. Migrants may maintain ties both at home and at the destination. Vertovec refers to this movement, not as 'migration' but 'mobility'. He gives the reason for taking this stance as being that 'migration' implies permanent movement which

may mostly not be the case, whereas ‘mobility’ does not imply permanence. Some migrants can return to their home countries after meeting targets from working abroad.

Migrants may need to send remittances and goods back home. If migrants cannot return to the home country they may have to depend on friends, acquaintances and relatives in moving goods and remittances to their families. This is supported by Martinello and Rea (2004) who argue that the lack of legal status combined with harsher border enforcement makes migrants less likely to return home periodically for family visits, which may lessen their ties with their families left behind and discourage the flow of remittances. According to Martinello and Rea (ibid.) undocumented migrants create networks to deal with the issue of threats of deportation. They point out that “.....these individuals have by necessity generated sizeable networks to deal with the very obstacles set in their path”.

Undocumented and unskilled immigrants may be more dependent on social networks than legal migrants because of lack of status and need for security. This is supported by Elrick (2008) in his study of Romanian migrants in Spain when he points out that, “Migration networks have their greatest quantitative effect where the international migration of poorly qualified and unskilled worker is concerned.” According to Elrick (2008:2) “the more political, institutional and economic obstacles there are to oppose plans to migrate the more important migrant networks become.” The migration plans referred to here are obviously of undocumented migrants since legal migration is not a cause for serious concern.

Social networks could also be useful when migrants wish to return to their country of origin. Maintenance of ties with the home area again may come into play. Home contacts can help returnees to settle easily. Networks may reduce the level of anxiety and uncertainty one might have when coming back after a long time abroad. This is supported by Tsuda (1999:21) when he asserts that, “.....not only does this transnational employment network greatly simplify and facilitate the migration process, it allows Japanese-Brazilians to actually find employment in Japan before they migrate by providing them with specific information about job availability and working conditions while still in Brazil”. This can increase the chances of migrants migrating back to Japan.

Networks may reflect a class dimension which can make them selective in accepting members. This may have the effect of creating and perpetuating inequality and social

stratification among the migrants. Resources of a member may end up determining which network they join (class formation). High class networks may have more resources than lower class ones, thus having more enriched social capital than the lower class networks which may have limited resources and may be susceptible to downward levelling and channelling. The lower classes will be more likely to remain in lower class jobs and can find upward mobility difficult. This argument is supported by Salaf and Wong who argue that ,”.....dimensions of class position and social power such as class profile of the network, have been shown to have considerable conditioning upon migrant processes” (Vertovec 2000). Some networks therefore can exhibit class characteristics and can continue to reproduce at a certain level. Salaf and Wong also discovered that middle class migrants, in contrast to working class ones often used different kinds of networks for different purposes (Vertovec 2000).

Well established networks may have the capacity to acquire vast resources and wield a lot of power. Some larger networks can have power which they can exercise economically, socially and politically. A case of South-East Asian migration social networks studied by Cheung (2004) supports this view. According to Cheung (2004: 675) the Chinese in South East Asia have managed to use their social capital to construct their society transcending national geographical borders. In Cheung`s view (2004:675) view the business and social networks of the Chinese Diaspora in South-East Asia can be interpreted as a result of social capital. Unger discovered that the ethnic Chinese used their social capital to penetrate the economy of Thailand (Cheung 2004:676). The Chinese Diaspora had quite a significant effect on the economy of Thailand. The ethnic Chinese are reported to have been successful in Thailand because of strong social capital as they formed local social networks of social groups. Cheung (2004:676) asserts that social relations among the Chinese Diaspora are reinforced by a strong ethnic identity.

2.6. A survey of elements of migrant social capital.

Key aspects central to this discussion are those of bonding and bridging. Putnam and Goss define bonding social capital as that kind of social capital that brings together people who are like one another in important respects whereas bridging social capital brings together people who are unlike one another (Brettel 2005:854). The number and quality of relationships of

migrants determine their success in the migration process. In the view of Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa and Spittel (2001:1263) migrant networks are “..... sets of ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non - migrants to one another through relations of kinship, friendship and shared community origin.” According to Gelderblom and Adams (2000) the amount of resources possessed by a particular network are very important in determining the success of a network. They view networks with more information and more resources as having more power.

Social capital as already observed from the discourse up to this point is centred on relationships or networks among social actors who may be individuals or groups and create mutual benefit for the network members. They assist in helping the individual or group to function effectively. Stocks of social capital are embedded in the network and people have access by virtue of membership via institutionalized norms and values. Therefore in this context it should be important to highlight, albeit briefly, the kinds of networks in which members may be involved which may give them advantage (social capital). Social capital resides in these characteristic networks. It will also be assumed that the types and number of networks used by an actor determines the degree of success available to that actor and hence the quality of social capital. In this section the elements that make up social capital shall be analysed. The network elements will be listed haphazardly and duly analysed. These are: the immediate family, the extended family, kinship group, community of origin, friendship groups, former co-workers (colleagues), religious groups, common ancestry, common language, voluntary associations (for example credit groups and hometown associations). Each of the elements of social capital shall be explained in detail below. Some types of networks may be directed mostly by economic motives (gains through each other) and prospects of obtaining employment abroad.

2.6.1. The nuclear and extended families

Generally children are assisted by their parents and siblings as they grow up within the nuclear family. In the case of Cape Verdean migrants mothers help their children while siblings help each other in migrating. The extended family or kin can also be vital social capital. In the case of Cape Verdean migrants, uncles and aunts are expected to help also (Carling 2002:3). This observation that families do not migrate individually directly contrasts

Putnam and Coleman's views that migration breaks family bonds. Albanian migrants in Greece depend mostly on close kin (brothers, sisters, cousins and close relatives) (Iosifides, Lavrantiadou, Petracou and Kontis 2007:1347). Most Albanian migrants in Greece are distributed according to kinship and presence of relatives. According to Iosifides et al (2007:1352) non kin may not be trusted because of the distrust and inter-family violence back in Albania. Kin are likely to contribute the money and other means to enhance a family member's capacity. For example in the case of Albanian migrants those who are entrepreneurs would employ family members. This study is supported by Reynoso's (2003:13) study among Dominicans in the United States. She gives a revealing case of how undocumented migrants could use other relatives' visas to enter the United States and have false marriages with relatives (like brothers) to facilitate their entry. People can use their links to obtain jobs for their offspring, relatives and siblings. In the case of Angolan migrants in the Netherlands van Wijk (2010) discovered that most Angolan migrants to Holland first moved to Portugal where they had relatives in the substantial Angolan community there. These would guarantee their relatives' stay to Portuguese authorities for their initial entry into Europe. The emotional support offered by families can be highly invaluable in all communities. The family may give advice on which alternative choices of livelihood and the profession one may choose.

The Roma in France live as kin in the same makeshift camp. Brothers, sisters, parents, cousins live together in arranged caravans (France 24.com 21/10/2010). Ojong (2006:143) also gives an account of how Ghanaian women entrepreneurs in South Africa learn hairdressing skills from their relatives back in Ghana. Without these networks these women would not have these survival skills they use in South Africa. Considering the business requirements of the South African Immigration Act, Ojong (2006:147) discovered that most of these women stay 'without documents' in the country by having marriages of convenience with South African 'husbands' to get resident permits. These women do not forget to send remittances to Ghana where they got their skills training. In other words the family's social capital contributes to the development of members' human capital. This human capital can then lead to the acquisition of even more social capital when members succeed. Successful ones can be under obligation to assist the others to migrate since they may have benefitted from family contributions and sacrifices in the first place. This view is supported by other scholars of migration such as Massey. Family is among the six bases of social capital put

forward by Massey (1998:3) kinship, is considered the most secure type of social organization.

Kinship based migrant networks are likely to exhibit a high degree of bonding, strong norms and a relatively high degree of social control. Closeness, by its very nature may breed conformity and concern for close ones. By the same token distance or anonymity may breed maladaptive behaviour or/and neurosis which might result in possible anomie. Family mediated social capital may result in a more helpful, responsible and respectful community. Family mediated social networks may represent weak ties (bridging), which essentially may mean accessing resources of wider networks. Therefore greater correlation may be found to exist between family support and the degree of success of its members. This may be because a member may also have access to wider connections through family members (family mediated social networks). Migration is more often not an individual decision, but the whole family in its quest to diversify its livelihoods may send those with potential for successful migration abroad (selectivity of migration). As most migration is not permanent but cyclical, migrants may still need to maintain their home base. It can be seen that the family's social capital may be indispensable for the sustainability of migration. Brothers and sisters can provide accommodation, finance, job tips and trip expenses to their siblings in the destination country. Therefore the family may be one of the most important sources of social capital in migration.

2.6.2. The community (bridging social capital)

Community has been also empirically proven to be the basis of undocumented migrant social capital. Its effects are stronger in remote rural communities, despite being eroded by rapid urbanization and its attendant Durkheimian organic solidarity (Massey and Aysa 2005: 5). Massey and Aysa (2005) go on to argue that community relationships are highly institutionalized and people communicate easily about their migration experiences with those at home in rural settings. In their illegal slums in France the Roma live first according to kinship but they also live according to the villages they come from in Romania France24.com, (21-10 2010). In these communities most community members may meet when burying the dead or at weddings. If an individual does not attend funerals in the community, he or she may be likely to face serious sanctions. Help given will be returned in

case of a problem happening to the previous benefactor. Likewise, one who did not help may not be assisted in turn. There are also systems of cooperation such as working parties in rural communities where those overwhelmed by farm work, especially widows were assisted by the community. If you are a regular at other people`s work parties you are more likely to be assisted in turn. Likewise those with certain tools would provide for those without. This ensures that the community members can be trusted to assist others. This is mostly prevalent in rural areas. By the same token these community feelings still operate in other spheres, such as the migration process where common community origin still brings the nostalgic feeling of ‘community’. People from the same community living elsewhere are likely to unite for survival, all the time knowing one day one would need the assistance of another and this may still extend to migration as a mechanism for survival.

Community belonging may still be a critical social capital factor and people of similar origin are more likely to help each other, lest news of lack of concern for others reach people back home. Retaliation can come from the home front and the culprit`s family will suffer sanctions and humiliation. All these factors underscore the level of the community in influencing the possibility of people migrating (Massey 2000:203). This is what Mexicans called *paisanaje* or sharing the same community back in Mexico. Coming from the same place put obligations of mutual help on the shoulders of migrants and festivities such as the fiesta of the patron saint brings communities together. People would feel a touch of being at home and at these gatherings people could exchange information about jobs, news about home, funerals and weddings. They may also meet new friends.

What becomes clear is that communities with more migrant connections may be more likely to migrate. In the villages in Latin America, according to Massey and Aysa (2005), the more some people migrate to the United States the more the social capital that accrues to the community as a whole. Generally social capital was observed by Massey and Aysa (2005) to be weak in urban areas with less solidarity vis-à-vis the rural areas with their strong links to one another. The resultant hypothesis was that generally social capital has stronger effects in villages and small towns than in large cities or metropolitan areas. It may be easier to have more consistent norms, sanctions and social control in the rural area. In a small town or village most people are likely to know and trust each other and the likelihood that a few migrants can influence members of the village to migrate may be very high. They form a

community in the real sense. This cannot be said about the large urban area where there is less community feeling and individual social capital is emphasized.

2.6.3. Voluntary associations

In the absence of traditional community support people of diverse origins may form associations to drive forward their common causes. These associations such as rotating credit associations create a sense of trust among members. Most Dominican migrants in New York studied by Reynoso (2003:19) belonged to voluntary associations. They used these associations to develop their home areas in the Dominican Republic. Most migrants could borrow from these informal traditional associations called 'San' to finance funerals, small businesses or weddings. This may also create strong solidary groups sharing most critical information about opportunities. They may assist each other in the achievement of personal goals by making sure each member uses his share of the money wisely. Strong social control via sanctions and rewards can ensure that members pay their dues on time. Voluntary associations may make it easier for new members to quickly integrate into new communities such as urban areas or foreign settings.

Orozco and Rouse echo Reynoso's views stated above. Home town associations studied by Orozco and Rouse (2007) allow people from the same town to link together to develop their hometown. It caters for fellows' material and emotional well-being and creates community feeling in unfamiliar settings. Others have burial societies to help alleviate effects of funerals and sickness while in far - away environments. According to Orozco and Rouse (2007) home town associations recreate a sense of community of their place of origin among the recent migrants with similar backgrounds. They also represent a transnational identity rooted as much in the migrant's country of origin as in the migrant's adopted home. This indicates that hometown associations are critical for the adaptation of new migrants.

Migrant associations can also assist in enhancing savings since undocumented migrants are likely to have no bank accounts due to lack of documentation. They can therefore create rotating credit associations whereby they give others money in turns. The money accumulated can be sent home to help families. The money may also be sent home through the same social network of close friends and relatives. In most cases the association may insist on knowing whether the money contributed was actually used wisely. This may act as a

source of social control and prevent extravagance. At association gatherings members who may be misbehaving may be reprimanded so that they undertake their responsibilities at home

The implication from the discussion above is that migrants can depend on members of the community who have migrated before or who are current migrants. These may be neighbours or acquaintances. Communities with more cohesive cultures (such as rural areas) can result in more people migrating than communities where there is no such solidarity, such as the urban area. Community members in this case can provide social capital on which migrants can depend. However in the absence of stronger forces to migrate the same community feeling may serve to inhibit migration. Therefore those with stronger familial bonds may find it harder to migrate.

2.6.4. Friends and friends of friends

Friends and acquaintances can give information to each other about migration destinations. Close friends represent bonding social capital while friend of friends represent bridging. Gelderblom and Adams (2000) make a number of references to migrants using friends as auspices. This is supported by van Wijk (2010:7) in his study of Angolan undocumented migrants to the Netherlands. They were reported to meet in the street and at school and discuss destinations and the most favoured was the Netherlands because some people had acquaintances who had been there before. These indicate movement widening the individual's networks beyond the family as a result of more information about destination countries from friends. This exposes one to resources that are more diverse than those of the nuclear family, the extended family and the community (which are mostly solidarity based and rather closed). Friends constitute relationships based on common interests rather than belonging to a close sanguinary group. In his study of Angolan migrants van Wijk (2010:10) found out that one tactic used was to use friends who had acquaintances in performing groups going to Portugal such as musicians, actors or footballers. The subject would then join the group as one of the performers and get a 'work passport' to Portugal. He or she would then just disappear in Portugal. Van Wijk's (ibid) work explains how Angolans with friends who have relatives in high government posts get assistance to obtain entry visas into Europe or

Portugal for free, and then they would later become irregular migrants at the expiry of their visas.

Massey (1998:203) postulates that growing up together would bring about closeness and obligations which could be called upon by migrants as they move. People who grow up together can develop an old boys` network whose members may be very close. Not assisting one friend would be seen as not assisting all and the perpetrator would risk being isolated at least or being ostracized or ridiculed at worst. These old boys` networks may continue with some nostalgia into adulthood. They may pass information to one another about jobs, safety of borders and destinations and so on. Friends can lend each other money for transportation to the destination and provide initial accommodation and food to their friends. They can also give psychological support to one another and find it easier to adapt to the destination. When friends get into trouble with the police because of lack of documentation their counterparts can find ways of rescuing them. They can either find fake documents or bribing the police. They will be trying to create a sense of security or recreate the home social relations abroad.

2.6.5. Common ancestry and common language (ethnicity) – bonding

Ethnic groups can be a source of social capital. The prevalence of ethnic social capital in migration has been demonstrated by various migration studies. According to Bankston and Zhou, “An ethnic community’s social capital encompasses resources available to an individual through their membership in that community or group and is found in the closed system of social networks inherent in the structure of relations between persons and among persons within a collectivity”. (Giorgas 2000:2) Some people, although not close kin can trace their ancestry to one common ancestor spanning generations. There may be close identity based on common culture, beliefs, morals, norms and values. Bankston and Zhou go on to argue that ethnicity can be considered a distinct form of social capital which is constructed from one’s cultural endowments and includes obligations and expectations, information channels and social norms (Giorgas 2000:4). This can be observed via totems and rituals observed by people having common ancestry and common culture. Once people discover that they belong to a common ancestor they begin to show reverence to each other especially when they are segregated against by the dominant host society. Among Dominican migrants ethnic social capital was the most prevalent because they felt racially despised by

the Native Americans. As a survival strategy Dominicans had no choice but to embrace ethnic cohesion (Reynoso 2003:12).

The relationships generating social capital may also be wide enough to allow both close relations and intermarriages. According to Cheung (2004:677) ethnicity plays a key role in the building of social capital among the Chinese community. Cheung (2004:677) asserts that “.....the ethnic groups may not be able to survive in a foreign country where ethnic support is lacking. The maintaining of social capital is important among the Chinese Diaspora because Chinese businessmen abroad have an inclination to form partnerships with people of similar background in ethnicity, kinship, place of origin and dialect”. To support this assertion Gelderblom and Adams (2000) cite the study by Wilpert (1992) of a network of study of Turkish immigrants linked to Sweden via the networking efforts which originated from one man. This man ended up inviting members of his own clan only to the town of Goteborg in Sweden where he had secured a job. In this case members of the wider community were excluded because they were considered outsiders. This case study clarifies the bonding concept.

Ethnic cohesion can be the basis of economic and social relations because of the structural principle of kinship. This view clearly indicates the importance of ethnic identity in social networks, and thus social capital formation with particular reference to South-East Asian migrants. The tradition of *Guanxi* is respected and recognized as an important part of social relations among people of Chinese ethnic origin in South East Asia. *Guanxi* is the art of social relations which is held in high esteem among Chinese ethnics. These relations demand that deserving people get assistance from their co-ethnics when they need it (Cheung 2004:676).

Language and its importance in social capital formation are also emphasized by Cheung (2004:677) as a tool or weapon for building social capital among the Chinese Diaspora in South –East Asia. Language binds the Chinese together. He asserts that diversity is bridged by functional use of Chinese language to link Chinese from the mainland with Chinese from other areas like Taiwan. Chinese language makes social networks and business connections much easier and smoother. According to Cheung (2004:667) “...if the Chinese language is considered as social capital it can serve as a medium beyond cultural exchange.” This may

explain why migrants want to join people from the same area of origin as themselves. They feel more secure among similar people.

Arabs from different countries find it easier to accommodate fellow migrants from other countries on the basis of common language, just as the Swahili language can link Kenyans, Tanzanians and Ugandans in Botswana. Language as a medium of communication is a critical factor in social capital formation because it will be understood between the actors. In strange and unfamiliar environments migrants with many things in common such as culture and language can link because the only viable link existing between them at the time may be ethnicity or common language (Brettel 2005:560).

2.6.6. Religious affiliations and quasi -religious institutions -bridging

Religious orientation may be a very important element of social capital formation in some cases. Religious beliefs can spell fundamental differences or fundamental similarities. The fact that religion constitutes a form of social capital provides reasons why people in certain religious networks emphasize helping fellow worshipers in need. Moslems in the United States and Europe have great cohesion. An example is given by Brettel (2005:858) when she studied Indian communities in the Dallas – Fort Worth area. These Indians have created religious associations which they may depend on for social, religious and economic needs. Norms and values of different religions may sometimes be so different that they may cause conflict with outsiders and more cohesion with insiders. This conflict however, sometimes forces people even from different countries or even continents to unite and create institutionalized relationships whereby help is not to be denied to those who affiliate to the same cause or are of the same religious orientation. Among the ethnic Chinese the doctrine of Confucianism – a Chinese quasi-religious doctrine which has principles governing how a typical good person should behave controls social and economic conduct (Cheung 2004). According to Cheung the core values espoused by Confucianism include close family ties. Religious organizations offer moral support and give hope and spiritual assurances to troubled migrants

Common religion as a critical element of social capital worth mentioning can be seen in Collyer's (2005) example. Collyer (2005) discovered that Muslims (in France) from any country who became stranded ended up being given accommodation in mosques and being

supported in significant ways until they got livelihoods or jobs. Here common language and religion can be key forms of social capital.

2.6.7. Former co-workers and co – students and neighbours (bridging)

Some social capital might be based on people who once worked in the same organization or studied at the same school or college/university and may be acquaintances who shared common experiences, and maybe even a common fate. They may have similar reference points. Neighbours may know someone's situation at home and develop some sympathy (Gelderblom and Adams 2000). They may be bound together by common critical incidents such as being initiated together and feel they should remain in touch with one another especially in a new environment. These people may not necessarily have been friends. They can communicate via cell phones or through electronic mail and thus pass vital information about the business environment (such as job availability) to one another. They may end up inviting each other and working together. Through this they can feel a sense of comfort from the association. Later they can invite their own friends, widening the network. Former co-workers can link with one another in the migration process. Sometimes employees ask employees to bring any good employee they know and they can invite acquaintances. Former colleagues naturally want to recreate the working environment they once enjoyed as colleagues. Vertovec (2002:4) refers to these as occupational groups. This kind of social capital eases adjustment.

2.7. Social capital and migration

Elrick (2008:2) cites what he terms the facilitating hypothesis which “states that the social network contacts at the target destination help the (potential) migrants in many ways, for example, with knowledge about jobs, interim funding or helpful contacts.” Meyer argues that “connections with earlier migrants provide new migrants with many resources that they use to diminish the risks and costs of migration, information about procedures, financial support, job prospects, physical attendance and emotional solidarity.” (Vertovec 2002:3)

For networks to have better quality and up to date information they may need to have ‘weak’ links to other groups. Gelderblom and Adams (2000) argue that information shared between migrants and the prospective migrants also extends to the level of safety of destination areas.

The deterioration of conditions such as xenophobic violence in South Africa and tightening immigration regulations in destination areas are cases in point. They say such information may have the effect of discouraging migration at certain times. People having connections can have certain levels of mutual trust based on past links. These past links may determine the nature of the social capital a migrant can access. The more the links a migrant has the better as he or she can have diverse sources of information and opportunity to compare and verify the information about prospects in the destination area. However Albanian migrants depended more on bonding social capital and tended to depend more on close relatives to find jobs, accommodation and get reliable information because they needed more security as they had undocumented status. (Iosifides et al 2007:1348)

In the view of some authors, networks are critical in motivating the migration decisions of new migrants and assisting them with transport fares (Ojong 2006; Gelderblom and Adams 2006). This is corroborated by Massey et al when they argue that networks constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to foreign employment (Elrick 2005). Once the number of migrants reaches a critical threshold the expansion of the network may reduce the costs and risks of movement, which may cause further movement and so on. Earlier migrants may assist newer migrants by informing them which smugglers to use safely, which border post is lax enough to use and provide the cash for the movement.

Maintaining connections with the village of origin may be very important because most migrants do not intend to move permanently, but must maintain their home base. According to Gelderblom and Adams (2006) networks (social capital) ensure that individuals remain linked to their roots or villages of origin. When migrants have left the area of origin they may need to maintain close ties with relatives and friends at home, who assisted them to move in the first place and also send remittances. They go on to assert that migrants give each other support and assist in adapting to the new environment in the destination area. Massey et al (2001:1264) support this view by pointing out that “.....the key hypothesis is that social network connections create conditions that facilitate the migration of others.” This may imply that all things being equal people who are related to migrants are more likely to migrate. Massey et al argue that network connections increase the likelihood of international migration because they lower costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration. This seems to be plausible reasoning since migrating to a foreign land without

auspices may not be an attractive proposition. “As social beings, humans are inevitably enmeshed within interpersonal webs of strong and weak ties, to more distant relatives, casual acquaintances and friends of friends” (Massey and Aysa 2005). Having ties to someone who migrated can yield social capital that people can draw on to gain access to an important kind of financial capital, that is, foreign wages, which offer the possibility of accumulating savings abroad and sending remittances home (Palloni, Ceballos, Massey 2001:1264, Massey and Aysa 2005:2). Most of the time people migrate to areas where they have links with some others to get jobs abroad. New migrants can also get their friends and relatives to migrate thus creating even more social capital for future migrants (Palloni, Ceballos and Massey 2000:1264). This reinforces the idea that social capital is associated with cumulative causation of the migration process and the numbers of migrants increases with more membership in migrant networks.

Expenses and risks have a fundamental effect on whether one has to use social capital or human capital in migration. This view is supported by Massey and Aysa (2005). They found out that the effects of social capital are greater when the expense of making the journey is considerably high. Their conclusion was that the greater the costs of the trip the greater the need for social capital. They also concluded that the tougher the entry obstacles or barriers to migration the greater the dependence on social capital. Where costs are less and there are no risks there is less need for dependence on social capital and people would migrate alone using their human capital.

Ojong (2006), in her study of Ghanaian entrepreneurial women discovered that there was a clear trend of activities of networks and the use of social capital and facilitation of migration. This starts with the learning of skills in Ghana before coming to South Africa, making travel arrangements for new migrants and finally finding jobs and accommodation for them in South Africa. In the exact words of Ojong (2006) “Ghanaian women who settle in South Africa bring to their entrepreneurial activities an appreciation and experiences of ethos, methods, traditions, risks and opportunities associated with entrepreneurship that they have learnt from extended networks of skilled relatives and associates among whom they have grown up”. The imparting of skills is done informally by people who are close and belong to the network. This seems to be similar to the guilds of the old times where skills were passed to children of friends and close relatives as favours by skilled craftsmen and women.

Ojong (2006) goes on to argue that the women who succeeded assisted their relatives to come from Ghana and start their own businesses in South Africa or find work. Ojong (2006) gives the case study of a woman who supported her sister from Ghana with food, rentals and other things until she had settled in South Africa long enough to start her own business. Without this support the sister would have found it very hard to survive in the new and strange environment of South Africa. Ojong`s case study exhibits considerable usage of social capital factors in the migration process. However the shortcoming of Ojong`s (2006) study is not sating explicitly how social capital is utilized by undocumented migrants. This is nevertheless implied.

Older migrants may assist newer migrants to learn how to survive and progress in the new foreign environment. Migrants can get reassurances and assistance from those already in the destination area. They may thus be able to adapt easily to the destination. If they amass in considerable number, a typical home-like situation is created. The fact that migrants may get support in terms of accommodation, finding jobs, adaptation, circulating goods and services and psychological security is dealt with by Gelderblom and Adams (2000), Vertovec (2002) and Machava and Polzer (2000); Faist (2000) and Hugo (1981). Social networks may help in reducing assimilation shock if earlier migrants speak their language. Gelderblom refers to networks as providing conviviality and adaptation to new migrants.

2.7.1. Channelling/stratification effect of social capital

Networks have been found to have the effect of channelling migrants to specific geographical areas and even specific types of job and even stratifying them so that migrants are not able to change to other types of jobs (Gelderblom and Adams 2006; Iosifides et al 2007:). This view is supported by Vertovec (2002) who states that social networks often guide migrants into or through specific places and occupations”. Vertovec (2002) also cites extensive works by researchers such as Massey, Goldring and Durand, in their studies of Mexican migrants, as supporting this view about the channelling effect. The segmented labour theory guides this view and postulates that certain jobs are branded `migrant` jobs, especially the three D jobs (dangerous, dirty and degrading). This explains why certain migrant ethnic groups occupy certain job niches. Migrant social capital therefore can have the adverse effect of interfering negatively with prospects of social mobility.

From the above discourse migration is a process and networks appear to be its lifeline and migration in turn creates networks. These networks may propel newcomers into certain occupations and destinations. This view is exemplified by Tim Elrick's (2008:3) study of Romanian immigrants to Spain and the Schengen area when he pointed out that "Once the first pioneer migrants had gained a foothold in Western EU countries (in particular Germany, Italy and Spain), migration networks gradually developed between various Romanian communities and individual towns in respective destination countries". Gelderblom and Adams (2006) assert that, "networks affect both the likelihood of migration and the destination chosen by the migrant. Besides a facilitating function one can consequently also distinguish the channelling effect of the network". Hugo (1981); Faist (2000); Taylor (2006:4) are of the same position in this regard. Machava and Polzer (2006) in their study of Mozambican immigrants in Bushbuckridge in South Africa also discovered the same channelling phenomenon. In this study they point out that, "The presence or absence or nature of social networks and their effect on migrant job seeking has been much debated. Social networks among migrants are generally seen to facilitate finding employment, independently of legal status, although they may not consistently improve wage levels or quality of employment." According to Machava and Polzer good relations and links with locals can neutralize this effect.

Machava and Polzer also point to the fact that foreigners even with papers and no connections had a hard time finding employment. They had to join their counterparts in jobs which were degrading. Gelderblom and Adams' argument supporting this claim is based on the idea that auspices are necessary in the destination, to encourage migration in the first place. They also point out that employer prefer employees exhibiting characteristics similar to their current employees leading to clustering of employees from similar places of origin or kinship or friendship in similar jobs or occupations. Hugo (2003) discusses how Indonesian migrant workers channel their colleagues into certain menial occupations when he points out that, "Sectors of the Malaysian economy have become dependent on foreign labour, much of it undocumented. These sectors have adapted to the circularity of the movement, with many workers allowed to arrange their own replacements from their home areas when they decide to return home to Indonesia permanently or make a visit in a form of 'relay' migration." Those without proper networks remain in marginalized labour where they are forced towards

certain occupations. This is because of their relationships with migrants similar to themselves in terms of class.

2.7.2. A Case of Constraints in Accessing Preferred Social Capital

Under adverse conditions it has been proved by empirical research that social networks may be disrupted. Though networks may wish to continue, there are conditions that can render social capital unworkable. The study by Collyer (2005) on the connection between social capital and migration among the Algerian migrants to France and the European Union can be used to exemplify this problematic. His analogy points to the view that social capital does not always work in all situations because of adverse external factors. According to Collyer (2005:705) there is substantial evidence to point to disruption to networks due to the new restrictive migration policies in some of the European Union countries, especially Italy, France, Spain and the United Kingdom because of global recession. These tight immigration controls have greatly disrupted the effectiveness of social networks and by the same vein the resultant quality of social capital (Carling 2002:1). According to Collyer (2005:705) “The growth of pre-entry and post-entry controls has created a series of barriers to the smooth operation of social networks”. In this case the option for the networks would be to cease to exist or change their modus operandi like resorting to the use of less desirable options.

When policies become tough, older migrants will not be in a position to fulfil their obligations of assisting relatives and friends. They may be afraid of provoking the wrath of the law against protecting and keeping undocumented aliens. Collyer explains how the new European Union migration restrictive laws affected social networks, particularly concerning the new migrants. Collyer (2005:705) argues that “First, restrictions have prevented social networks acting as a physical pole of attraction for new migrants as it becomes more and more difficult for new migrants to join family and friends.” However Collyer (2005) states that networks under such circumstances have not been destroyed but have resorted to the sending of information and remittances and providing of financial support for prospective migrants to go to new destinations where there are less restrictive policies. These options, however imply going to destinations without auspices, a less preferred option because actors cannot effectively access their preferred social capital. There is a chance of opening up new

networks elsewhere, though. Under these conditions new migrants were more likely to be rejected by family, relatives and friends.

There is an uncertain future for undocumented immigrants (formerly dependent on social capital) since even smuggling fees were usually paid by relatives and friends in the European Union. Once in Europe the new migrant would move in with friends. Now this trend is receding fast. In Collyer's (2005) view the social capital of the earlier migrants, instead of increasing, is getting depleted, because fewer new migrants are being accommodated. An observation by Collyer (2005:709) is that, "Supplying new migrants is becoming an increasingly onerous task and may last indefinitely. In social capital terms the price of supplying a new migrant is now too great for many social networks to bear". The effects of restrictive migration policies, even on individuals wishing to join their families have been dire. Collyer (2005:709) argues that "...this results in family being less willing to sponsor or encourage family members to migrate at all." These observations militate against commonly held conclusions that the solidary networks like families are more effective in assisting their members with resources. In this case the social capital network tends to decrease rather than multiply as it purports to do.

The conclusion that can be reached is that new migrants later did not seek help from close ones fearing to strain relations with them or embarrassment of not being welcome. According to Collyer (2005) as an alternative, sometimes Mosques offered the migrants sanctuary. This shows that once the preferred social capital has failed migrants they can switch to alternatives such as new destinations. The Algerians abandoned the 'strong' family ties or bonds for 'weaker' non family ties in the last resort. Although Massey and Espinosa found it difficult to measure the strength of weak ties such as friendship, acquaintances or friends of friends they claim that weak ties are equally as important as strong family ties. (Massey and Aysa 2005). However looking for an alternative will not be as good as using the preferred social capital, like the family or friends.

2.7.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter dwelt on the review of the literature on migration and social capital. It attempted to highlight the different theoretical views of migration to try and point to gaps in migration theory. The chapter also dealt with social capital and its various definitions. The postulates of

various authors such as Bourdieu (Portes 1998), Nan Lin (2004), Burt (2000), Coleman (Alessandrini 2006) Putnam (Lin 2004; Portes 1998) and Fukuyama (2000) were taken into account. It points out the similarities and difference between the views of the various authors in order to facilitate the finding of a working definition of social capital for the purposes of this thesis and how the term applies to the causation of undocumented migration.

In this chapter the concept of social capital is seen from two distinct bases, one of closed networks (bonding) and the other of open networks (bridging). Sources of social capital, seen as mainly consummatory or instrumental are dealt with in this chapter. The consequences of social capital are also treated in this chapter. Less desirable aspects of social capital were dealt with. Elements of social capital to be subjected to analysis were highlighted. Basically the authors indeed agree that migrants use social capital residing in social networks to migrate. The chapter brings to attention a case of how tough regulations by the government of a destination country can hurt the efficacy of networks and migrant social capital. Lastly the point that the nature and use of social capital are not uniform across cultures is highlighted.

CHAPTER 3

A GENERAL SURVEY OF UNDOCUMENTED MIGRATION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

3.1. General background to undocumented migration

This chapter defines and explains the nature of undocumented migration as a social problem in order to operationalize the concept so that sampling parameters become easier to define. It explains how host nations and their people have defined and reacted to the problem of 'undocumented migration'. The chapter highlights the nature of undocumented migration globally and narrows it to Sub-Saharan Africa. Finally the chapter deals with Zimbabwean migrant movements in Southern Africa and their consequences both to migrants and to the host countries. It should be noted that since the liberation of South Africa and the aspect of the phenomenally high economic growth of Botswana, the majority of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa have been moving towards South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. As a result most Zimbabweans who choose to go to African countries have moved towards South Africa and Botswana (and sometimes, Namibia).

The other key objective of this chapter is to isolate the dimensions of social capital which are known about Zimbabwean undocumented migrants in southern Africa. This part shall be guided by the broader aspects of social capital unravelled in Chapter 2. It can be seen that while in chapter 2 a number of elements of social capital were highlighted there may be some aspects of social capital which are more relevant to Zimbabwean undocumented migrants, which can lend themselves to empirical investigation. This chapter also intends to indicate what empirical studies highlight about what is known about Zimbabwean migrants in Southern Africa in general before investigating the case of social capital of Zimbabwean migrants to Botswana. The general aim of the chapter is to focus the study on the principal objectives of this study.

Migration, particularly, undocumented migration has become the problem child of globalization and rapid economic transformations which have been disrupting peoples' livelihoods the world over. Undocumented migration has become one of the hottest debates. Undocumented migration has been perceived to be driven by forces beyond the control of

governments due to globalization, although they make frantic efforts to stop it (Castles 2004:2005; Samers 2003; de Haas 2005:1). Undocumented migration has become a self-sustaining industry on its own from Madrid to Jakarta and from Stockholm to Pretoria, involving short and long distances, all races and of late, both sexes (Hernandez-Leon 2005). Many people - from traffickers to lawyers are employed in this enterprise. The more countries adopt restrictive immigration policies the more profitable the businesses of undocumented migration such as human trafficking and smuggling become (Friebel and Guriev 2002). The most comprehensively studied undocumented migration is between Latin America and the United States.. However, there are also continental and regional movements the world over. One of the key original reasons why migration occurs is the existence of uneven economic development in regions of the world or among individual countries (Schuerkens 2005:535).

3.2. Defining Undocumented migration

The definition of undocumented migrants may seem easy but in reality it is not so cut and dried. There is great controversy in defining the undocumented migrant. What could be the most straightforward definition of an undocumented migrant has been given by Campbell (n.d.) when he defines it as follows; “an undocumented migrant could be defined as a person who enters a country of which he or she is not a citizen without demonstrating at the port of entry that he/she possesses documents that justify such entry”. This point is corroborated by Waller (2006:1), but she goes further to give an all-inclusive and comprehensive definition where she defines an undocumented migrant as a foreigner who enters a country without authorization or by fraudulent means, or who remains in that country beyond the date dictated by the visa given to him or her. The person may have been given a work permit and continues to stay after his or her work visa has expired, or may be engaging in some activities not authorized by his or her work permit. This point is supported by Maharaj (2004: 4) who states that once the permits of some migrants lapse they simply stay and ‘join the ranks of the undocumented aliens’.

The term ‘undocumented migrant’ has been seen as a humiliating label. Sociologists have argued that the term “illegal migrant” is a derogatory term which depicts migrants who are

not documented as threats and criminals violating the host country's laws. Besides violating of the immigration laws migrants are pictured as rapists, spreaders of disease and thieves (Vigneswaran 2007). There is, however no scientific and empirical evidence to support these claims. Most scholars, as a result find it more comfortable to use the term 'undocumented migrants' meaning people who are disenfranchised and too poor to afford documentation and yet need to diversify their embattled livelihoods through migration. The presence of undocumented migrants can be used as a platform for the expression of nationalism. In such cases host populations may pressurize their politicians to use the repressive state machinery against the perceived aliens. Migrants are blamed for taking jobs and other resources such as housing from locals. The basis of these accusations is yet to be scientifically validated. Newspapers are alleged to be pedalling and fuelling such sentiments by engaging in biased reporting against undocumented migrants (Vigneswaran 2007; Maharaj 2004: 8). The result would be the legitimization of the denial of welfare services, arbitrary arrests and deportation of undocumented migrants. While definitions by Waller and Campbell shall be adopted as the operational definitions for this thesis it is worth noting the problematic of the creation of the 'illegal migrant'. Critics view the 'illegal migrant' as a creation of host country state apparatus and nationals – as an irrational response to unfounded perceived 'threats' and 'flooding' by 'illegal' migrants. They should rather see them as 'undocumented, disadvantaged and suffering populations' in their home countries. Criminality of the migrants may therefore arise when migrants are denied entry into legitimate employment in destination countries and resort to illegitimate means to survive.

3.3. The nature of contemporary undocumented migration

Vast developments in communication and transport have made it easier for undocumented migrants to move across global space (Elrick 2008:1; Schuerkens 2005:535). The advent of cell phones, telephones, television, newspapers (and other print media), and the internet have simplified the journey of migration. People learn about new opportunities in other places and can reach these areas today without any problem. Communication about prospects of jobs and the comfortable free life in certain destinations has been facilitated between current migrants and prospective migrants. Cell phones are widely used to pass information about prospects and safety of places of destination and fast transportation is used to move monetary

remittances and goods to the country of origin. On the other hand these technologies also aid the growth and spread of smuggling, trafficking in persons and corruption.

Contemporary migration is no longer simply rural-urban or urban-urban, because migration has become transnational as migrants move across frontiers and oceans to seek a better life. People are migrating without documents from one country to another and often come back to their countries of origin. Most of the undocumented migrants have no intention of settling permanently in the new country, but want to enjoy both worlds (destination and place of origin). Since the 'discovery' of America and Australia migration has become an internationally accepted phenomenon for betterment of life. Migrants from Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are part of the population that now make up what is now the United States of America, and many were at one time undocumented immigrants before status regularization amnesties (Massey 2003:2). Later in the 21st century some migrants have also moved from former colonies of Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany and others towards the metropolitan capitals where they perceived better prospects and where adaptation seemed easier (Massey 2003: 3-4; Hermele 1997: 133-158). The study of undocumented migration of Angolans to the Netherlands mostly via Portugal can exemplify this trend (van Wijk 2010). They obtain visas into the European Union fraudulently to get to their destination (van Wijk 2010:11). The trend of globalization has seen many people moving to every other part of the globe. Those with professional qualifications which are in demand may find it much easier to move legally across the globe, but the bulk of the movement is made up of undocumented migrants who have low qualifications and who find it difficult and dangerous to move. Despite much publicized rhetoric against undocumented immigrants, the fact that they still exist is an indicator that they are both necessary and useful the world over. They have a part to play in global, regional and national economies.

Migration, (both legal and undocumented) has brought both positive and negative consequences to the global landscape. It has brought development all over the world. Whole communities have benefited in terms of health, education, housing and various business enterprises from migration proceeds. Ban Ki Moon (2006) emphasized this point in his address to the Global Forum on Migration. In her study of Dominican migrants in New York, Reynoso (2003:19) describes how the migrants from Dominican Republic have sponsored

many projects like schools, clinics, funeral homes and aqueducts in their poor home country. Ideas, knowledge and skills have been spread globally with great rapidity and almost all nations on earth have benefitted from these ideas. Undocumented migrants have brought multifarious cultures together, enriching those cultures in the process. Migrants have created enterprises and institutions which have employed people both in countries of origin and destination. Undocumented immigrants have also assisted in propping up the economies of some developed countries as they grapple with the consequences of ageing populations. Migrants who are less skilled are no different. They have gone a long way in assisting the destination populations by gladly undertaking the three D jobs (dirty, degrading and dangerous) (Bloch 2008:8). Few people who are nationals of host countries would do those jobs if undocumented migrants were not willing to do them. Migrants send remittances home and these are critical for development in their households, home areas and even their countries (Newland 2003; Crush et al 2005:18; Tevera and Chikanda 2009:26).

While undocumented migration has brought such developments across the globe it has also brought many problems and dangers especially to the undocumented immigrant. Some migrants suffer from communicable diseases and are also blamed by local populations for spreading these diseases (such as AIDS, SARS, swine flu and so on). Human trafficking has dogged undocumented migrants as they move across the rugged global terrain to the 'promised lands' (Bhabha 2005; Grant 2005:12). In the United States undocumented immigration is criminal and the government has built a formidable fence along its border with Mexico and even deployed helicopters, patrol vehicles and increased border guards with searchlights in an operation called 'Operation Gatekeeper' (Singer and Massey 1997:1). Corrupt officials have amassed wealth from this burgeoning migrant enterprise as migrants silently suffer, but still pursue their endeavours with iron single-mindedness and determination. Cases of xenophobia, (as in South Africa in 2008, and France in 2010), discrimination and racism have been documented as local populations blame migrants, especially the undocumented for all sorts of evils, from taking their jobs and housing to spreading diseases and criminal conduct. These cases of xenophobia range from mere negative attitudes towards undocumented migrant communities, to verbal attacks and to extremely violent physical attacks on foreigners. Spain, despite its formerly democratic open migration policy is changing its formal policy from the one of tolerance to one of considerable repression against undocumented immigration (Grant 2005:7).

There are also many other cases such as the militarization of immigration laws in Italy, where the army deployment to undocumented immigrant spots was legalized under the Berlusconi regime in 2008. In this case migrants were deemed to have no legal rights and the laws were draconian and *prima facie* xenophobic. These constitute the formidable arsenal that undocumented immigrants have to cope with in their daily business. Despite all these recriminations in the contemporary global village there is resounding consensus that migration is indeed critical for development worldwide. As a result of this consensus there have been many international institutions, laws, rules and regulations which have been developed by global consensus to ease the journey of the migrants, including the undocumented ones as they inevitably traverse the globe seeking better lives (Grant 2005:15-32)

Governments across the globe have relentlessly developed anti-migration policies (especially targeting undocumented immigrants) to try to stem the ‘massive movement’ or what they perceive to be ‘the tide of migrants’ or ‘migration crisis’ (Crush et al 2005:24; Castles 2004:1). The media and the public put the numbers of undocumented migrants in millions while academics put them in thousands. However Solomons (2000) admits that determining the numbers of undocumented migrants in any country may not be practical as they may always be evading detection, making it difficult to count them. The policies adopted by governments range from mildly negative policies to repressive approaches such as the use of armies against the perceived ‘migrant waves’. Spain in 2010, after being hard hit by the global recession reversed its formerly humane migration policy for one of repression. However the Spanish removal of especially Romanian migrants had a human rights dimension in that they offered free airfare and financial aid to deportees to enhance their livelihoods in Romania after deportation. The Czechs and Japanese had similar incentives to persuade their own undocumented migrants to leave (Papademetriou and Terrazas 2009). This behaviour by Spain may have been in response to the global recession and pressure from fellow European Union partners, particularly its neighbours, France and Italy to evict undocumented migrants (Christian Science Monitor, 7/08/2008). The Christian Science Monitor also draws a sharp contrast with repressive behaviour exhibited by the French and the Italians, who have been reportedly on the ‘warpath’ against undocumented migration, “cracking down” on them. The Italian crackdown has been castigated as a human rights issue

by many ordinary people, governments and institutions because Italy went on to declare a state of emergency on undocumented migrants.

In the United Kingdom election campaign, the Conservative Party made the immigrant 'problem' their campaign theme from 2009 to 2010. The double fences, search lights and helicopters along the United States-Mexico border are well celebrated. With elections pending and the recession biting, governments' first scapegoat would be the migrants. Adepoju (1995) describes how Ghana blamed its economic downturn on migrants (Campbell n.d.). Campbell also goes on to give the example of how Nigeria expelled undocumented Ghanaian migrants in the face of recession. Governments do not deny that migrants are vital in the development landscape, but they (governments) are vulnerable to their electorates, and whenever things go wrong migrants are more often 'the problem' and may become targets of government 'culling' to make economies more manageable by expelling the migrants to 'employ' locals in the face of elections (McCabe, Lin & Tanaka 2009). These expulsions may be somewhat cautious just to appease the xenophobic electorates at the same time maintain an optimum number as labour for the bourgeoisie who may need cheap, docile labour. Samers (2003:557) explains that there is a link between migration policy and capitalist interests and this explains why sometimes governments relax undocumented migration to accommodate periodic labour demands whenever possible. Samers (ibid) goes on to argue that some governments also justify their tough migration policies by referring to security threats posed by migrants (such as terrorism). This seems plausible, especially after the September 11 bombings in the United States and bombings in London and Paris, particularly by the militant Islamic group Al Qaeda. However migrants have come to learn that this would be mere rhetoric which would soon pass and remain largely undeterred.

Governments may normally 'allow back' some migrants when there are critical labour shortages in the economy to assist the capitalist system. Migrants are often sacrificial lambs or scapegoats in host nation politics. Their relationship with governments of host states is dependent on the political climate. This relationship seems often uneasy and flexible. There is always an easy uneasy truce which both sides have come to understand. All this repression is ignored by migrants as a recent January 2010 case of Afghan migrants found abandoned by human traffickers on the Corsican beaches and many other migrant attempts to reach Europe indicate (France24). They still continue to move despite these reports of repression. France's

history is fraught with migrant deportations. Between 1998 and 1999 France deported 15 000 undocumented migrants (Samers 2003:569). In September 2010 France once again deported ‘undocumented’ Roma gypsies to Romania and Bulgaria accusing them of criminal activities, though no evidence of criminality could be furnished. Because of this undocumented migrant issue French nationalistic sentiments have come to the fore. According to the European Union Justice Commission the French Roma deportations may constitute criminal segregation against a minority ethnic group of the European Union (France24.com; The Economist 2010)

Despite all these problems faced by undocumented migrants, the burgeoning enterprise of undocumented migration continues to bloom. No tough policy has managed to stem undocumented migration so far. The media’s attitude has not helped either. Weiner and Zolberg argue that sections of the media and academics argue that there is ‘a global migration crisis’ (Castles 2004:205). Some states have been trying to restrict and manage undocumented migration without much success. The only changes noted are that costs of undocumented migration may become higher, the routes become circuitous and dangerous and the business of trafficking grows by the day. Corruption, smuggling, human trafficking and forged documentation have become the order of the day and this has increased undocumented migration even more defeating original intentions of governments (Maharaj 2004: 10; Crush et al 2005:24). Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield (1994) have dubbed this anomaly ‘the gap hypothesis’ (Samers 2003:560). The other notable development is that migration has become an industry with both legitimate businessmen and criminal syndicates as a result of repression (Hernandez-Leon 2005).

As governments adopt restrictive immigration policies there may be great motivation for those without passports to explore methods of crossing borders without documents and become unwelcome migrants in the destination country. Legal migrants enter the country with proper documentation and obtain valid work permits when employed in the destination country, but when permits expire they may continue to stay in the country as undocumented migrants. According to Grant (2005:9) even with its tough migration policy the European Union still has its share of ever increasing undocumented migrants. A case in point is that of Afghan immigrants smuggled into Corsica and the so called ‘Jungle’ migrants at Calais in France, near the English Channel in early 2010 (France24.com).

3.4. Undocumented migrants rights issues and social capital implications

The mechanisms through which undocumented migrants have managed to continue with their migration despite vast anti-migrant resources deployed by governments are an open question. Besides having to deal with the law enforcement agencies of destination countries issues of segregation and discrimination, are key issues raised in undocumented migration. This segregation interferes with migrant rights. It could prove difficult if not impossible to divorce social capital from the context of rights of migrants. This can be defended within the context of the notion of common fate among undocumented migrants (bounded solidarity). It may therefore, be imperative that segregation and exploitation of undocumented migrants be addressed and analysed. In host countries undocumented migrants may continue to suffer abuse due to their foreign or undocumented or irregular status. Within host states migrants may be like second class citizens.

Undocumented migrants are also employed in unregulated labour sectors (black economy) and are exploited by employers since their rights are difficult to underpin. Migrant network cohesion may become necessary as a bulwark against a hostile exploitation and segregation as hosts refuse to integrate them. Networks may help in ensuring that wronged migrants get restitution and justice (especially when employers refuse to pay), and create a sense of community.

Undocumented migrants may be vulnerable and more susceptible to risk because of lack of documentation (Zard 2005; Grant 2005:1). Migrants need support. Networks may thus be important for their success most of the time. From the beginning they may have to rely on networks. They need to know which places of entry would be safe, where to go, the agents to use to cross the border and safe ways of sending back remittances. Such contacts may also be important on which border post officials are more susceptible to bribes and the kinds of fake documents that may pass them through and where to find them. They may also need to get information about where to obtain fake documentation to show to the police to avoid likelihood of early apprehension when they reach the host country. Considering the dearth of

undocumented migrants' rights there might be heavy reliance on social and psychological support from each other against police and other hostile action.

Migrants may also be prone to xenophobia and are scapegoats for most things which go wrong in host nations such as security risks, prostitution, unemployment, drug abuse and dealing, theft and so on (Grant 2005:3). Crush, Williams and Peberdy (2005:9) support the argument of Grant (ibid.) when they point out that, "Most countries of the region tend to see undocumented migration more as a threat than an opportunity. Migrants are viewed as carriers of disease, takers of jobs and perpetrators of crime. Policy has tended to focus, as a result, on control and exclusion." Crush et al have proceeded to mention that this sort of mentality has also spread even to legal migration and issues of permanent residence and change of citizenship are difficult.

Labelling migrants as *prima facie* criminal and prevention from entry to legitimate employment may make undocumented migrants resort to the use of bad social capital (criminality). The association of migrants with criminality therefore could be correct to an extent, but the host society may have a hand in the creation of criminal subcultures. This criminal tendency could be a by - product of exploitation, discrimination and exclusion from the socio-economic sphere and lack of due process to redress wrongs done to migrants. According to Maharaj (2004: 9) this treatment has a tendency to push desperate migrants into the underworld and the negative social capital which could reproduce criminal networks with their negative externalities.

The ideas given above serve to give the vivid context in which migrant solidarity should thrive for the sake of survival in the increasingly xenophobic world of international migration. This case of lack of defined rights may have led to greater and closer networking among the undocumented migrants for the reason of security against perceived and real threats from authorities and citizens of the host countries. Common fate and the need to survive might have brought migrants together. They need to psychologically support one another. This view is supported by Portes and Sensenbrenner in their ethnic entrepreneurship studies in the United States when they pointed out that, "Social capital is high in groups with distinct pheno-typical or cultural characteristics, which increases prejudice toward them and thereby lowers the probability of entry and exit; (ii) engaged in strong, frequent confrontation

with other groups perceived to be more powerful; (iii) suffering a high degree of discrimination and without alternative avenues for social honour and economic opportunity.....” (Woolcock 1998:165).

Considering the above stated issues the undocumented migrant rights issue becomes relevant to the study of social capital. Social networking becomes more cohesive and necessary when groups feel that they may be suffering a high degree of discrimination, under threat from dominant groups and are in constant confrontation with the authorities.

In summary, facing high costs of transportation, dangers of border crossing, lack of accommodation and food, migrants need each other. Migrants could be faced with possible xenophobic attacks by nationals of the host country, social profiling and police harassment. They can only succeed to traverse foreign terrain with its frustrations and threats if he or she has some kind of capital to deal with all situations they encounter. There is need for mutual support for one another. In this context the role of social capital is examined to try and find out how far it aids and abets undocumented migration.

3.5. Background to migration in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Africa

In sub-Saharan Africa migration is nothing new. Most ancient African states were consequences of migration for one reason or another. During the colonial era migrants moved from less prosperous states to those which had better economies and social amenities. In West Africa, people moved to the oil fields of Nigeria and the cocoa growing areas of the Ivory Coast. In Southern Africa there was movement from countries in the region to the goldmines of the Witwatersrand, and to the mines and farms of the then Northern and Southern Rhodesia to an extent. These were mainly movements for economic reasons. Some movements have been to escape persecution and war. In East Africa Somalis have migrated to countries like Kenya, Eritrea, Tanzania and others trying to escape the conflict in their country. Sudanese refugees have moved to other regional states. However in this thesis the interest is in movement involving some choice of destination by the migrants.

The past two decades have witnessed increasing socio-economic pressures for many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular. Africans whose domestic economies were severely disrupted by political and economic mismanagement and

civil wars, were compelled to migrate when social, political, economic and environmental conditions fell below the critical threshold for them to stay in their countries (Adepoju 2000:384). This has prompted a flurry of activity as individuals flee from their countries where they feel threatened socially, or economically, to areas where they feel socially secure and economically enhanced. These economic problems and social threats constitute the push and pull factors influencing migration

Accepting the macro factors to be the ultimate and only causes of migration can be problematic however. There may be other factors at the micro, meso- and macro level that impinge upon migrant decision-making and ultimately determine the success of migration. The explanations for migration are mainly associated with economic gain while non-economic factors are relegated to the background (de Haas 2005; Haug 2008:587). A case in point is that of families and households seeking alternative livelihoods diversification strategies. This view sees the decision to migrate as rationally determined by weighing costs and benefits. Human capital may seem to play a role because it may be assumed that the better educated a person is, the greater the chance one has to get a job in the destination country. Haug (2008:586) argues that neoclassical micro-economic explanations of migration seem clear cut, but upon close scrutiny they are difficult to prove through realistic research. Some factors emerge which cannot be fully explained by neo-classical economic models.

A healthy cross-border trade has been the result of migration in Africa in general and Southern Africa in particular. Migrants have found it better to diversify their livelihoods activities by undertaking cross-border trade and avoiding poverty in areas with scarce resources. Mozambicans, Zambians, Malawians, the Swazi and the Sotho among others are also engaged in this enterprise in large numbers. Both women and men have been roped into this vital risk diversification strategy and it cannot be denied that migration is now a lucrative source of livelihoods for many as they learn from each other. Muzvidziwa (2006) supports this point in his study of Zimbabwean women cross border traders. While the motives of migrants as triggers of more migration are not questioned, what needs to be understood are the factors that fuel migration in both magnitude and direction.

In his study of Zimbabwean cross border women traders Muzvidziwa (2006) makes an observation of the critical role played by social capital in assisting migrants. He asserts that

social networks function as a major resource that enabled women traders to maximize their urban investment strategies. According to Muzvidziwa “Non-kin (particularly friendship) networks became more pronounced and their utility was acknowledged by women cross-border traders as enabling them to cope under hard times.” Here Muzvidziwa (2006) was clearly implying that cross border traders women were facing economic problems and left their children and belongings under the care of close friends whom they also brought ‘goodies’ from their international excursions. Muzvidziwa (2006) argues that these women establish networks abroad, creating and maintaining vital social links between home and destination country. Muzvidziwa does not, however dwell on the topic of social capital per se, but he vividly highlights its importance to Zimbabwean migrant women in helping them to cope under tough economic conditions.

Migrant networking and the resultant social capital has made international migration an attractive strategy for risk diversification among Zimbabwean women. The cross border women may have acted as harbingers who opened the way for those who may have needed more sedentary jobs abroad by providing information. The relative deprivation approach would seem applicable in this case because families left at home would see migrant families as accumulating more wealth relative to their own and also see the need to migrate. Networks created by harbingers may have made it easier for migrants and potential migrants in the community to easily access a reliable source of income (jobs) in certain destination areas. He touches, albeit briefly, on the dependence of those cross border women traders on non-kin links as opposed to closer kin links, because closer kin relations feel they have more legitimate claim to economic goods and financial support from the migrant women.

Before the economic crisis in Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe was both a destination and source of migrants with most people going to South Africa and a recipient of migrants from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia. (Crush and Tevera n.d.) However since 2001 the problems which may have led to migration from Zimbabwe were initially political and economic instability caused by untimely massive land reforms and urban slum clearances which degenerated into a fully-fledged economic crisis and high unemployment (Tibaijuka Report 2005). Violent election campaigns against perceived political opponents of the ruling Zimbabwean regime may have worsened the situation and fuelled migration. Destruction of the once vibrant informal sector in the slum clearance exercise and dispossession of commercial farms led to

high unemployment and removal of sources of livelihoods. In this scenario, it is therefore not surprising that large numbers of undocumented migrants moved to other regional states including Botswana where it was perceived to be safer and the environment economically conducive. There was both political and economic insecurity in Zimbabwe which might have precipitated this influx of undocumented immigrants. Costs of travel documents were hiked by the state to a level beyond the reach of the ordinary person making most people move without the documents (Bloch 2008:8). The above view is echoed by Bloch (2008:3) who puts it more aptly when she argues that, "migration from Zimbabwe is motivated by a collapsed economy, lack of jobs, hyper-inflation and human rights violations". A SAMP National Immigration Survey carried by the University of Botswana in 2001 also confirms that there was a significant increase in undocumented Zimbabwean migration to Botswana after Zimbabwe's political and economic problems (Crush 2001).

3.6. Consequences of Zimbabwean undocumented migration in Southern Africa

The results of Zimbabwean undocumented migration in southern Africa have been documented to an extent. Reactions of host countries and governments range from mild hostility to outright violence against migrants. Cumulative causation has also resulted from more migration increasing numbers of undocumented immigrants in host countries. These states feel besieged by foreigners. In Botswana research by Campbell (sa) revealed that in general the population of Botswana is anti-migrant and especially against undocumented migrants. Previously Botswana had a friendly immigration policy until the media started writing and talking of floods of undocumented immigrants coming to Botswana (Lefko-Everett 2004). However Botswana's once friendly policy may be the one responsible for increased migration. This is because once Botswana assumed the policy of alleviating its labour needs (at one time) from Zimbabwe they may have automatically triggered the phenomenon of cumulative causation due to the development of migration related networks. The initial trigger could have been the need for bona fide (legal) migrants to be joined by their families – and friends. Friends may have later called their friends and an unassailable and intricate network may thus have developed, which Botswana has been trying to tackle with little or no success in the past decade. The extent of the problem of the Zimbabwean undocumented migrants was highlighted by the attempt to erect a 500 kilometre electric fence

(imitating the double fence along the US-Mexico border), along the Zimbabwe-Botswana border. Undocumented immigration has been made a criminal offence and the fine has been hiked as a deterrent factor and deportations of undocumented migrants have escalated.

Massive deportations involving 6000 undocumented migrants (also derogatively called '*makwerekwere*' by locals) were reported to have taken place in November 2006 by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) (Zimbabwe Situation, 08-11-2006). By their own admission the Botswana police were reported to have indicated the futility of the task since the '*makwerekwere*' always came back as soon as they were deported probably after bribing some officers at the border. This phenomenon has been dubbed "the revolving door syndrome" (Bloch 2008: 8, Maharaj 2004: 5). The police indicated that they deport about 400 '*makwerekwere*' a week and vowed to continue doing so. Considering the fact that most deported migrants reportedly always come back the cost of deportations for the Botswana government must be astronomical. It would be analogous to filling the proverbial bottomless pit. The relationship between social capital and the 'revolving door syndrome' needs to be understood.

3.6.1. Zimbabwean undocumented migrants and xenophobia

Because it became manifest in South Africa, the issue of xenophobia deserves special mention. Reactions to undocumented migrants by ordinary citizens can turn violent. These can include both verbal and physical attacks on foreigners as in the South African xenophobic attacks which led to loss of migrant lives and property in 2008. In this much publicized case South Africans attacked foreigners blaming them for soaring crime, taking their accommodation, jobs and general social decay. In the light of these developments the impact of these reactions on migrant networks and social capital need to be investigated to account for continued undocumented migration activity.

In the case of Botswana, Crush (2001) argues that Botswana began to have a xenophobic attitude towards all migrants, particularly undocumented ones, especially after the Zimbabwean political and economic crisis. The Ditshwanelo report (2006) argues that, "Many Botswana also believe that the increase in crime is attributable to the presence of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants." Zimbabweans suspected of intending to commit

crimes have been evicted from some villages. The Ditshwanelo report (2006:13) has summarized the alleged attitude of the government of Botswana and its reaction to the migrant crisis by emphasizing increased police raids and reports of police mistreatment of Zimbabweans. Citizens may end up following the example especially by law enforcement agents. Media actions have been reported to affect attitudes of ordinary people towards Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa and Botswana.

Under these difficult circumstances it implies that undocumented migrants need each other more in order to survive. Adverse conditions highlighted by xenophobic attitudes in the host country may justify the migrant's need for social capital for the sake of collective security which networks can offer. Undocumented immigrants may find themselves employed in the exploitative black economy of the destination country because of their lack of proper documentation and attitudes of host country citizens. The effect of xenophobia on migrant social capital needs to be unravelled.

3.7. Background to social capital in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, historically men migrated to find work in towns or abroad and women were left in the village. Inside Zimbabwe migrant relations in towns are based mainly on family (kinship), ethnicity, friendships, voluntary associations, community and clubs. Zimbabwe is basically a patrilineal society emphasizing relationships along the father's line. Males were the ones who migrated and inherited family property while women were married and previously did not have a tradition of migration. Trends have changed however, as migration has become largely international and many Zimbabwean women are migrating both to cities and abroad in almost the same proportion as men, although men continue to be slightly more dominant. According to Tevera and Chikanda (2009:16) the figures of sexes of Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa are 56% men and 44% women. It therefore becomes clear that both men and women's social capital has to be unravelled by this research. In Zimbabwe males are expected to maintain close ties with kin at home to ensure their portion of land is kept for them and close kin look after their family and property until they return since they are not expected to stay abroad for good. Land is important in Zimbabwean tradition and can serve as security against old age or loss of employment in Zimbabwe where people get paltry pensions. Some often buy some equipment, chemicals and fertilizers to use on their family

farms to avert famine. Most single women may have kids whom they left with their mothers and therefore need to maintain ties with their mothers, sending remittances home (Bloch 2008:13). People are largely expected to assist one another in the process of migration. Before, life was mostly communal based on mechanical solidarity and a lot of community collaboration where members of society had obligations towards each other, and the tradition to an extent remains. This norm extended to migration to towns to seek jobs and better lives.

Migration has become increasingly embedded into Zimbabwean culture and it would seem little can be done to halt it in the near future. Cumulative migration seems to be becoming the norm rather than the exception. In the beginning before migration became international there was internal rural-urban migration and migration to the farms after blacks were dispossessed of the main resource, land, during the colonial era. The availability of better paying jobs in South Africa led to migration to South African gold mines during this era (Bloch 2008:8; Crush, Williams and Peberdy 2005:1). Undocumented immigration during this era was motivated mainly by economic reasons. It was and still is more commonplace for members of the same household to be employed in the same town, work at the same company and live in the same neighbourhood because they followed the community harbingers' footsteps. The social networks may also have included the extended family, the community and close friends. In the Zimbabwean situation siblings are expected to care for one another, especially the elder ones for the younger ones, particularly with regard to schooling and seeking jobs in the city. People from the same community are considered 'brothers' and 'sisters', when in a foreign territory and are expected to look after one another. The further the distance they move from the home area, the stronger the 'brotherhood' or 'sisterhood' bond. This becomes particularly close if they have the same totem. Those who are selfish are generally frowned upon.

The pioneers have to provide accommodation and food until their siblings get jobs good enough to make them get their own accommodation and livelihoods. The grouping together of these people provides security for the members of the network. For example if a migrant to the city or foreign country encounters a misfortune, network members including close friends will come to the rescue following norms of their home community social structure. These networks may also provide a source of social control for those who become distracted by the pleasures of the destination enough to divorce or become delinquents or criminals. On the

other hand networks may lead their members to crime and delinquency. Messages would reach the village and culprits will find themselves ostracized by their people. This social control was particularly powerful where people meet regularly in burial societies which serve also as a basis for credit associations in towns. Burial societies in cities as such are based on same roots of origin extending from kinship to districts or/and provinces. It remains to be seen whether these societies have been exported abroad by migrants.

3.8. Empirical studies of Zimbabwean migrant social capital in Southern Africa

Most research on Zimbabwean migrants has cited economic and political reasons for their migration. According to Bloch (2008:13) this is to a large extent true. However in most studies the role of social networks as influencing the direction and composition of migration has not been emphasized (Bloch 2008:4). Whilst there are not many detailed works about Zimbabwean social capital in Southern Africa, a number of authors have undertaken studies which allude to the use of social capital among Zimbabwean migrants in the region. The available studies are based on the Southern Africa Migration project headed by Jonathan Crush and Vincent Williams, a project similar to the studies of migration in Latin America spearheaded by Douglas Massey. Crush and Williams (2001:13) documented studies done on Zimbabwean undocumented migrants mostly with particular reference to South Africa. Their discoveries highlighted the prevalence of social networks in finding employment and determination of migrant destination. It remains to be seen whether the same applies to Botswana or not.

3.8.1. Bonding and bridging social capital among Zimbabwean undocumented migrants

Although there is a dearth of studies on Zimbabwean social capital there are social capital trends that can be observed among Zimbabwean migrants. Bonding is observed when family members stay and work together. Parents and children may assist one another and so do siblings (brothers and sisters). Members of the extended family are also evident though the extent is yet to be known. These relationships may be on the father or mother's side. Friends may assist their friends. These aspects represent close homogeneous networks or bonding. Some Zimbabweans may associate on the basis of common community back in Zimbabwe and may belong to the same ethnic groups.

In the case of bridging friends may introduce their friends at social gatherings such as bars, places for seeking work. These friends will become informants for jobs, availability of cheaper accommodation, the security situation and good and bad news. Strangers may meet in these places and find some common ground for cooperation. Some people meet others at work and these may become partners in a number of useful ways. People who may acquaint may belong to different tribes or ethnic groups (Ndebele or Shona). However the extent of the networks of certain types of capital needs to be investigated. The observable types of social networks among Zimbabweans are suggested below.

3.8.1.1 Bonding social capital among Zimbabwean undocumented migrants – Family and Kinship ties

For Zimbabweans, the family and kinship are key sources of support and this must also extend to providing assistance before, during and after migration. Family including the extended family members may be found working for the same employer confirming the prevalence of the channelling effect. The Southern Africa migration Project (Crush and Williams 2001:13) supported this view when it indicated that 30% of Zimbabwean migrants in Southern Africa had immediate family members in South Africa. It can be argued that these contacts may be instrumental in providing information rapidly and more accurately. This type of social capital may help prospective migrants to get jobs, food and accommodation, thus triggering the phenomenon of cumulative causation. Immediate family members and kin in the extended family create a closely knit network where people can share much information by virtue of relational proximity typical of the bonding or homophily. In Zimbabwe family members and kin are expected to assist each other. Any default in doing so is frowned upon and attracts considerable sanctions. Close kinship ties also can make it easier to move remittances home via more obligatory and dependable channels. The degree of social control is high and very effective.

3.8.1.2. Bridging and bonding social capital – friends and friends of friends

Studies have shown that Zimbabwean migrants may also use friendship as their essential source of social capital. This view is corroborated by the Southern Africa Migration Project which discovered in its research in 1997 that 42% of Zimbabwean migrants had friends in South Africa (Crush and Williams 2001:13). These friends are mainly people who were from

same schools, villages or locations or who grew up together back in Zimbabwe. Friendship among Zimbabwean migrants can constitute both bonding and bridging social capital. This may be because some friends may be close because they grew up together and have similar interests, but not as close as family and kin in terms of normative sanguinary relations. Thus friends may be viewed as closely bonded and having certain voluntary commitments, though not as enforceable by norms as brothers and sisters. Friends of friends may also be seen as bridging social capital but they may belong to other social networks. These may be the bridges which facilitate communication and resource sharing between different social groups. Friends of friends may bring information about jobs but they are not as much obliged to do so as close friends. The information they may possess may be new and enriching. Close friends represent bridging social capital with tight obligations; though not as tight knit as familial ties. The coagulation of friends creates a sense of security from threats abroad as friends are expected to help one another. Friends can recreate the sense of community found back home, in the destination country.

3.8.1.3. Bridging social capital - community belonging.

As already alluded to, belonging to the same community can serve as a source of social capital. People may come from the same rural area in Zimbabwe or from the same residential suburb where they may be neighbours. These people may have had community ties assisting one another finding jobs, doing work or during bereavement back in Zimbabwe. They may also belong to the same ethnic group. These ties may extend to assisting each other during migration the process as others reciprocate for other favours extended to them. The SAMP study proved that 54% of Zimbabweans had ties with community members (Crush and Williams 2001:13). This supports views about the essence of community ties being a source social capital among Zimbabweans in Southern Africa.

Rogerson confirms the view that social networks exist among Zimbabweans in general (both undocumented and legal) for the purpose of finding jobs (Crush and Williams 2001:7). They also exist for the purpose of providing accommodation for new migrants. These provided material and emotional support, and a sense of community. This view of the existence of social networks for accommodation among Zimbabweans in South Africa is supported by Tevera and Chikanda (2009:3) who argue that social networks are important in determining

where Zimbabwean migrants stayed during their migration. They point out that most Zimbabwean migrants do not stay alone but with relatives 15.5%, with friends 16.5%, with co-workers 15% and with household members 18%. What is not clear is whether both legal and undocumented migrants used this type of social capital in similar proportions. Legal migrants can also, to an extent support their relatives who are undocumented immigrants, but the nature and extent of the support needs to be explored to be understood. However the reverse may be true if the people with the capacity to obtain legal status (for example those having better qualifications) are still new.

3.8.1.4. Credit and saving groups (marounds) – Bridging and bonding.

Studies on the sending of remittances by Zimbabwean migrants were done by Tevera and Chikanda (2009) as already alluded to. The undocumented nature of the migrants may have serious implications on methods of saving during the period of accumulation of money before sending home. This may be because undocumented migrants cannot have access to banks to ensure that they saved money until they have enough to send home or buy groceries for their relatives at home. Undocumented migrants may need lump sums to finish projects such as building houses at home or buying farm equipment. They can take turns to give one person or two per month to accumulate such lump sums. This is a form of revolving credit which Muzvidziwa (2006) referred to as (*a*)*marounds* (Shona and isiNdebele languages) among Zimbabwean cross border women traders. This is not an entirely new concept because historically Zimbabwean migrants to towns were known to save money through rotating credit associations. At each turn the migrant could receive a lump sum making it easier and more convenient to send reasonable amounts of cash home. These groups should be dependent on trust and capacity to contribute as required and may extend across social groups, for example co-workers or close kin may form such groups. Members may introduce outsiders (their own workmates or friends) who are trustworthy and can pay regular contributions. As groups meet they share valuable information and news. The groups are a typical survival response to adverse conditions. This view is supported by Granovetter and Coleman in their studies of immigrant rotating credit associations as an example of embeddedness and social capital (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993:1322)

3.8.1.5. Religion

Sometimes religion may constitute viable social capital, especially for migrant integration. There are several churches frequented by Zimbabwean migrants and their role in facilitating migration remains murky. Among Zimbabwean migrants there are churches such as the apostolic sect to which some migrants go for protective prayer. They are given 'divine water and stones'. Whether this works does not really matter. What matters is that new migrants may be introduced to these religious sects by current migrants. In cases of bereavement religious groups may be a critical source of solace. They may form societies for saving money on the basis of church membership.

3.9. Existing gaps in studies of Social Capital in Migration

According to Massey and Aysa (2005:2), "Although the existence and importance of migrant networks have been documented in migratory systems throughout the world, few studies have undertaken direct comparison of the importance of networks across multiple settings." While the above distinguished authors have come out with many research studies, what is conspicuously missing is a study of the role played by social capital in the case of undocumented migration in Southern Africa particularly between Zimbabwe and Botswana. It is therefore the intention of this study to research into this area which has not been deeply studied. Massey and Aysa (2005:2) citing Massey et al (1998:107) have given implicit support for the need of a research on networks in a different setting and involving different cultures when they assert that, "Far too much of the research is centred in Mexico, which because of its unique relationship with the USA may be unrepresentative of broader patterns and trends." They also go on to lament the absence of comparative data for different countries when they point out that, Cross-national research to date has been limited by lack of comparable and reliable data for different countries." (Massey and Aysa 2005:3). More research on the work of networks needs to be done to account for different cultures in role of social capital in migration. To reinforce this view Massey and Aysa (2005:5) point out that, "Prior work has found that social capital effects are not uniform across people and settings." Similar lamentations have been echoed by Curran, Filiz, Chang and Tangchonlatip (2005) in their study of social capital and cumulative causation in Thailand.

3.10. Chapter Summary

In the above chapter the explanation of the area of undocumented migration served to provide the context in which undocumented migration occurs as a process among Zimbabweans in general. The chapter places social capital in the context of causes and consequences of undocumented migration which may tend to gravitate towards migrant solidarity as they find themselves under serious adversity. The above studies indicate that undocumented migrants use one kind of social capital or another before, during and after migrating. Security concerns from xenophobic populations and law enforcement agents seem to suggest the need for networking to provide information on security and to support one another in case of exposure to apprehension or violence. The empirical evidence is based on studies mostly done in South Africa (especially under the Southern Africa Migration Project). However it remains to be seen whether the same processes take place in other southern African states like Botswana. Migrants may also support each other in getting jobs, accommodation and sending remittances

It was observed that in Zimbabwe`s case most of the undocumented nature of migrants was the result of high costs of obtaining documents. Undocumented immigrants were also found to be employed in the black economy of the destination country because of their lack of proper documentation and their rights are at best limited or non-existent. In this context migrants tend to resort to solidarity for survival. The various kinds of social capital which may be in use by Zimbabweans have been highlighted, but the significance of each aspect needs to be unravelled. The last part presents the research questions that have arisen from the above discussions from to three.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with review of the literature concerning this study. This chapter deals with the research methodology used in this study. It describes the research design or the proposed plan of the research. This chapter further includes a clarification of the data sources which were used to obtain data for this research. Both secondary and primary sources were used. Critical research concepts of reliability and validity are addressed in this chapter. This chapter clarifies the instruments and tools used in this research. Issues of sampling including the population, sample, sample size, sampling technique(s) are dealt with in this chapter. The key terms are defined in this chapter. The chapter clarifies the data analysis methods which are employed in this research. Ethical considerations which were observed by this research are also clarified. Under this sub-topic issues such as confidentiality and informed consent are explained. The chapter explains how the study tool was pretested.

4.2. Research Design

The exploratory research design was adopted because there were few or no references to the topic of the use of social capital and migration between Zimbabwe and Botswana in particular and Southern Africa in general. This goes along with the explanation that exploratory research is done to provide insight into a phenomenon or preliminary research to guide more detailed research into a topic in the future.

Yin (1984) describes a research design as a plan of the proposed research work. He goes on to argue that it is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysing of data in a manner that seeks to combine relevance to the research topic with economy in procedure. The research that was conducted in this study was made within the sociological terrain where practice, theory and social relations are inseparable entities hence the need for observations and judgments that are influenced by human values.

The research as a descriptive study sought to find out the processes involved in the use of social capital in influencing undocumented migration of Zimbabweans to Botswana. The purpose of this research was to provide insight into the process involved so that simplistic

considerations into the processes of undocumented migration would be discarded for more comprehensive and realistic considerations. The intention was to provide the ground for further research or inquiry to investigate the phenomenon and discover more details involved in the process. The limited time and budget of the research warranted the adoption of this research design.

4.3. Research approach

The research approach used a mix of qualitative and some quantitative methods for easier analysis of data. Qualitative research may be defined as a methodology which depends more and more on the subjective experiences of the respondents taken on a cumulative basis to show a pattern or trend.

4.3.1. Qualitative Methods

According to Mack, Woodson, MacQueen, Guest and Namey (2005:2) the qualitative approach provides information about behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions and relationships of individuals. Its major advantage is that it provides detailed accounts of issues and can yield more data to explain complex phenomena and it suited this research. The qualitative approach easily identifies intangible factors such as beliefs, opinions and behaviour. Strauss and Corbin define qualitative research as any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification and there is minimum manipulation of phenomena being researched (Golafshani 2003:600). These are participant observation, focus groups and in-depth interviews. All three qualitative methods are briefly explained here although only the in-depth interview is used in this thesis.

Observation involves watching the respondents closely and without asking them any questions and recording pertinent phenomena. In participant observation the researcher mixes unobtrusively with the respondents and observes them in a natural setting. The main advantage is that bias and subjectivity are eliminated if the researcher is good. However it can be dangerous when dealing with people like drug dealer or criminals. It can also raise ethical questions.

The second qualitative method is the focus group. According to Mack et al (2005:51), “The focus group is a qualitative data collection method in which one or two researchers and several participants meet as a group to discuss a given research topic.” The discussion could have been tape recorded. The advantage is that they can yield more information in a very short time and more views are aired at one occasion on a certain research topic. The problem of focus groups is that they cannot be used to obtain highly personal information.

The third and last qualitative research method is the in-depth interview. This is the one which was used in this research. The questions in in-depth interviews were mainly unstructured to allow the respondent to say what they thought or knew in sufficient depth to allow more understanding of the problem. This approach involved the subjects explaining their experiences and the researcher recording them. It sought to explore and explain undocumented migration phenomena. These experiences could be credibly only understood and explained by the respondents. In depth interviews are flexible and iterative allowing for question redesign as the researcher proceeds (Babbie 2004:300). Initial questions shaped questions which followed. Though guided by the researcher’s questions the interview took the form of natural conversations in which the respondent dominated the discussions. The researcher noted and transcribed the non-verbal communication expressed by the respondent, which showed how the respondents really felt about certain issues. The researcher used probes and prompts to mine and elicit more information. Respondents could also explain experiences of other people they knew in addition to their own experiences. Transcribing was done soon after the interview without interrupting the respondents.

Respondents were allowed to interpret their experiences in context. Only the subjects provided the required information and the attendant interpretations. The researcher did not try to impose his own interpretations since it would have been fallacious. It is quite evident that while the quantitative method is highly reliable it falls short of giving detailed views of phenomena involved in a process. This is where qualitative data took over because it involved clear respondent interpretations. Simple answers from the questionnaires were not able to adequately answer the questions involved in the complex process of undocumented migration (non-linear in nature). There was some need to go deeper to obtain more clarifications through interviews. In depth interviews also enabled the researcher to obtain

more valid information to explain phenomena from the relatively smaller sample, and questions were open – ended in this research.

4.3.2. The Quantitative Method

The quantitative research method involved obtaining and analysing data in numerical form. The research method provided values in statistical form. After familiarization with the problem area the researcher developed a hypothesis and created instruments to gather data to test the hypothesis. After the researcher familiarized himself with the nature of the problem and generating the hypothesis quantitative methods focused on using data to confirm or reject the hypothesis. The main quantitative research tool that was used in this thesis was the structured questionnaire as a standardized instrument to ensure that responses fitted predetermined criteria. Questions used the quantitative research were closed ended, uniform and rigid. Respondents were asked similar questions in the same order to avoid the possibility of anything tainting the data that is obtained. The data obtained were useful in determining the quantity of variation and predict causal relationships among and between variables. According to Denzin and Lincoln researchers who use quantitative methods emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables (Golafshani 2003:597). Results in quantitative research are illustrated and summarized by the use of charts and graphs. The results are expressed as statistics. Quantitative research was used to determine the characteristics of the population. This research method had the advantage of high reliability because it could not be subject to bias through subjective interpretations. According to Babbie (2004) this is an element of quality of quantitative data over qualitative data.

4.3.3. Differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches

The differences between the quantitative and qualitative approaches to social research are aptly brought forward by Mack et al (2005). The key difference is that the qualitative method is very flexible while the quantitative approach is rigid and inflexible. The quantitative approach ensures that respondents are asked exactly the same questions in the same order. In contrast the qualitative method is iterative and the nature of the questions improves as the research progresses and questioning methods can be altered as the researcher comes across new enriched information. Using the qualitative approach respondents are allowed to express

themselves freely to open ended questions. In the process respondents can bring issues the researcher may have initially overlooked and these issues will be added to the questions iteratively. The qualitative method allows probing and prompting to get clarifications from participants. The quantitative method does not do so.

Qualitative research is richer in that it explains phenomena from the individual respondents' viewpoint. General trends can be observed in qualitative research data even if the respondents' manner of answering may not be the same. This can be achieved through classifications of responses. The trends observed can be objective to a greater extent. However quantitative approaches ensure that all variations are quantified so that causal relationships can be observed.

Questions for the quantitative approach are closed ended and designed to predict causal relationships. The question design is stable throughout to make statistical computations simpler and prove or disprove set hypotheses. While quantitative methods are castigated as too structured (using structured questionnaires or structured observation), they are also praised for their high reliability. Qualitative methods are not structure-less but they are open ended and the respondent is free to answer the questions in his or her own manner, but within certain parameters.

In the qualitative method data is captured using instruments such as tape recorders, field notes and transcripts. The advantage of using audio tapes is that the recording of data is unobtrusive if used well. In quantitative methods data is captured in numerical form. This is done by assigning weights or values to responses given by participants.

4.3.4. Combination of qualitative and quantitative data

The two methods are used as a combination so as to take advantage of the strengths of the two approaches. This is in line with the triangulation concept. According to Patton, "Triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods. This means using several kinds of methods or data, including both quantitative and qualitative methods" (Golafshani 2003:602). Quantitative techniques are represented by the utilization of the questionnaire, which involves short and direct answers which can be easily quantified and tabulated for analysis. This is because the answers to the questionnaires have definite options and numbers opting for a

particular response could be counted and represented on charts and graphs. Quantitative methods are used to 'explain phenomena' while the qualitative method are used to generate 'understanding' of the same phenomena because of their depth. However since the answers to these questionnaires are decidedly short most of the information to explain the snap answers from the questionnaires are obtained from the interviews, which certainly represent the qualitative methodology. This triangulation provides a key to the research since it unlocks potential explanations locked in the brevity of the questionnaires. This methodology (qualitative) is also flexible and allows for the use of more sub-techniques to obtain more comprehensive data in the research.

Different respondents interpret situations, phenomena and events in different ways and the way they perceive things can only be understood by asking them (qualitative data). Mere numbers on their own do not convey any meaning, but can only be interpreted using the qualitative approach. Migrants are individuals and groups. They are social actors with different experiences or similar experiences which they themselves may view as dissimilar in some ways. Their experiences are largely subjective, and are not exactly the same. An example is that what one person may view as danger another may see as adventure. Subjective explanations by individuals are critical to the conveyance of meaning of phenomena and generalizations can be made after noting the values of cumulative trends which can be then quantified after noting common trends in the experiences and interpretations of various respondents.

The quantitative approach on the other hand is employed in as far as it supports the main methodology. It answers questions on the 'what' part of the research, which does not need much detail. Data from the questionnaire is sorted and classified to try and justify the existence or absence of correlation between the relevant variables. Relationships between certain types of social capital and the incidence of migration are quantified. Questionnaire data is used for example to quantify how many people use a certain type of social capital, before, during and after migration. In this case conclusions are arrived at on the basis of numerical data to find which social capital proves most popular. Incidence of feelings towards certain phenomena is quantified in a group by capturing the number of people possessing certain feelings towards a certain subject, event or phenomenon. Quantitative approaches is used to justify the conclusions arrived at whenever possible.

The qualitative method is used to explain the why and the how part of the research questions and responses answered in the questionnaire. There is need to probe and prompt to get clearer responses and to assist the respondent to understand the question. Therefore while it is clear that the data had to be quantified to an extent they needed to be explained and interpreted via interviews with the respondents. Quantitative data could not provide the clear picture of the phenomena under observation.

4.3.5. Research Methods

Following the above discussion the research instruments which were used in this thesis are the structured questionnaire and the in-depth interview described below.

4.3.5.1. The structured questionnaire

The structured questionnaire was used to obtain specific responses for easier quantitative analysis. The questionnaire was made of mostly closed-ended questions for easier and clearer data analysis. The questions were the same for all respondents and this uniformity made data analysis a lot easier. The questionnaire was done in very simple English (determined by a pre-test). Clarity of questions was one of the key considerations in the construction of the questionnaire. There were simple instructions on how to answer the questions to cater for various language competency levels of potential respondents. The length of the questionnaire was modest to ensure the respondents did not get frustrated with a longer questionnaire and at the same time long enough not to exclude important information. The researcher personally distributed the questionnaire to respondents at their piece job waiting posts in the three locations in Gaborone already stated. If possible the researcher insisted on waiting for them to complete the questionnaire in order to ensure a good response rate from this highly mobile community. Non responses were followed up to improve the response rate, where possible.

4.3.5.2. The in-depth interview

The in-depth interview was used to get more detailed information on the research topic. The in-depth interview is one of the key qualitative research tools. According to Mack et al (2005:29) “The in-depth interview is a technique designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participant’s perspective on a research topic. During the in-depth interview the person being

interviewed is considered the expert and the interviewer is considered the student.” Boyce and Neale (2006:3) explain that in-depth interviewing involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspective on a particular idea, programme or situation. This aspect is aptly emphasized by Lofland and Lofland when they point out that the researcher should adopt the role of the “socially acceptable incompetent” who needs to be ‘taught’, when interviewing (Babbie 2004:302). The interviewer’s position is of one who does not understand the issue at hand. In this case the researcher knows that it will be the respondent who has the information he needs, not the other way round. As a result the interviewer learned to listen attentively, talk less and probe and prompt when necessary to get clarifications. The researcher did not give his own opinion on any issues and checked his body language. A tape recorder was supposed to be used and notes to be taken. However the tape recorder was not used as most respondents were not comfortable with it. Data was summarized soon after each interview whilst details were still fresh.

Focus was on the use of open-ended questions (Babbie 2004:244) to get detailed information. The respondents did do most of the talking. Follow up questions were vital for obtaining full information. Respondents were met one at a time and reasonable time (of about 1 hour) was allocated to each respondent taking into account commitments the respondent was having. The interviewer ensured that the respondent were always at ease by establishing rapport from the start. Questions were reviewed daily. Those that proved effective in eliciting information were noted while those that were not effective were revised iteratively. Also the researcher sometimes discovered questions that he should have asked were but overlooked. This resulted in a more improved interview guide.

4.4. Research tools

4.4.1. Questionnaire Instrument

The questionnaire instrument was made up of a modest number of closed ended questions. They were not too many to avoid discouraging respondents. Clarity and brevity were key issues in constructing the instrument. Choices on the questionnaire were as exhaustive as possible. The questions had a logical order to elicit responses. The tools were pretested to find whether they were up to standard using five peers and corrections were done. The

questionnaire was distributed to potential respondents at the places where they seek work and at their homes, according to where they felt comfortable.

4.4.2. Interview guide

An interview guide listing pertinent issues to be explored was developed. The interview took the form of requiring the respondent to tell his or her story and a guide was used to probe for more information. The construction of the interview guide included some anticipated probes in areas where clarification was needed. Where necessary the questions were translated to vernacular languages. A tape recorder and a note book were prepared although only the latter was used due to respondents' preferences. The tape recorder was tested for efficacy though. Notes were taken short hand and key issues were summarized soon after the interview when it was still vivid to the interviewer. Informed consent was sought before the interview and assurances of confidentiality were given. The respondents were allowed to ask questions of their concern when the interview came to a close.

4.5. Sampling Issues

4.5.1. Population

Kumar (1996) defines a population as a set of all members for which a study intends to study. Labovitz and Hagerdorn (1976) argue that population are in two kinds of population, which are the target population and the study population. The most ideal population for this study was all Zimbabwean undocumented migrants in Botswana. However because of constraints of cost and practicality it was impossible to interview all of them. Undocumented migrants are an elusive lot, so it was not possible to establish viable rapport with all of them. The target population is the actual population to whom the researcher would like to generalize. The target population for this study was all undocumented migrants in Botswana. The migrant population that the researcher found feasible to study was the undocumented migrants in Gaborone, although all undocumented migrants in Botswana were part of the target population.

4.5.2. The Sample

A sample is an observed subset of a population which is supposed to represent that population. Leedy (1993:27) defines sampling as “.....a portion of the overall population that one wishes to study.” The major motivation of examining a sample rather than the whole population is that collection of complete information on the latter would typically be prohibitively expensive. It may be preferable to devote resources to subsets of the population in the hope that such a concentration of effort will produce accurate measurements. Kumar (1996) defines sampling as a process of selecting a few (sample) from a bigger group (sample population) to become the basis for estimating or predicting a fact, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group.

4.5.3. Sample size.

The proposed sample size will be as tabled below;

Table 1: Sampling plan

Questionnaire Survey	In - Depth Interview	Total
152	25	177

Thus the total sample size for the questionnaire was the expected 152 respondents. In addition there were 25 respondents (12 males and 13 females) for in depth interviews making the total 176 respondents according to the predetermined quota. Since convenience sampling and the snowball technique were employed to fulfil the set quota all respondents managed to respond to the questionnaire. The response rate was also improved by the fact that the researcher was present to assist respondents by clarifying questions where necessary. Moreover the researcher emphasized prompt responses since undocumented migrants are very mobile making it imperative to get them to respond when they were available. Gender was considered because there is a general consensus that migration patterns and decision making are likely to be gender influenced also. In choosing the sample size the researcher considered the resource limitations in terms of funding, scope and time. Other researches done were used as a yardstick, for example the research done by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). This research took place from August to October 2006 and included samples of 2200 questionnaire respondents and 2200 interviewees with more

resources available to them than this research. Other researches for Masters' degree were observed to be in the same range. For example a Masters' Degree student at the Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada used 50 survey questionnaires and 70 interviews. However the resources at the student's disposal were not indicated.

4.5.4. Sampling Technique

The sampling techniques which were employed in this research are the non-probability techniques, namely, judgmental or purposive sampling and consecutive sampling. Considering that undocumented is a sensitive topic, snowballing had to be factored in and respondents were selected on the basis of availability until the required numbers stated in the sample were obtained. The idea was for the researcher to gain the confidence of about 5 or more different influential people among the undocumented immigrants (gate-keepers). These potential respondents led to other respondents until the quota needed was fulfilled. The researcher therefore became familiar with other respondents on talking terms before the formal commencement of fieldwork to ease entry. However, most migrants are no longer ashamed of their undocumented status. They sometimes proudly announce to people they are familiar with that they are *zvipadagu*, meaning some 'hard core' women and men (Undocumented) who can survive danger of apprehension. The singular is *chipadagu*, and such a person is known to tell about his or her exploits concerning his or her ability to travel to, and survive in a foreign place. This made entry into the group easier.

The use of snowballing could have created a problem of reliability since the gatekeepers might have selected only their friends and relatives, similar to themselves. However, to minimize this potential bias each member was asked to introduce another new person until all respondents needed in the sample were selected. Non probability sampling is a method in which the sampling methods used do not afford all members of a population equal opportunity of being selected as part of the sample. Non-probability sampling in the view of Babbie (2004: 182-3) is a sampling method in which observations are not selected randomly or units of the sample are selected on the basis of availability, personal judgment or convenience. Thus, the probability of a member being chosen was not equal.

This method also selected the sample on the basis of the availability and accessibility of the respondents. One rationale for choosing other non-probability sampling techniques was that it

would have been an almost impossible feat to obtain a genuinely randomized sample since the real numbers of the undocumented migrant population are hard or impossible to accurately determine. Also undocumented migrants are subject to constant flux or movement for many reasons. The other reason for selecting the non-probability sampling technique was that there was a chance that only a limited number of respondents might have shown genuine interest in voluntarily giving detailed information and responses required by the research, especially answering the questionnaire and interview questions. It would have been openly counterproductive to focus on a sample made up of some unwilling or incapable respondents. Yet another reason for choosing these non-probability techniques is that some of the migrants looking for the piece jobs are legal migrants (through valid papers, though looking for jobs illegally) or masquerade as legal migrants, making purposive or judgmental sampling the only viable methodology in this exploratory study.

This is a mixed bag and only the judgmental method and snowballing could succeed in picking a viable sample of willing and able respondents. If the earlier definition of undocumented migrant advanced by Waller (2006) and supported by Maharaj (2004), that undocumented migrants may be migrants 'engaging in some activities not authorized by his or her work permit' then all migrants who gather for piece jobs at places prohibited by the police were viewed as being undocumented migrants. The issue of validity was not compromised because respondents willing to share their experiences were giving subjective information and the experiences they had encountered in their migration lives which would be true from their own interpretation of the social capital they may have used in the process of their migration.

The issue of reliability could have been, however compromised to an extent since the members of the population were not accorded similar opportunities of selection into the sample. The researcher was aware of the potential problem of bias and the possibility of selecting respondents with similar characteristics. To avoid this, the researcher selected respondents on different occasions and at different places to try to minimize the problematic of bias. Since this is an exploratory research designed to provide an insight into the problematic of how social capital contributes to the process of migration, generalizations for the whole migrant population may not have been realizable nor may they have been necessary. Nevertheless an opportunity for providing a window or insight of some

understanding of the social processes involved in undocumented migration should prove invaluable and open the gate for further and more detailed research.

However the researcher was aware of the unrepresentativeness of the sample and therefore strategically located and picked sample members at different intervals and places. Like its judgmental counterpart the consecutive technique is not subject to randomization.

4.6. Key Data sources

The key data sources were the internet, journals, textbooks, newspapers, the television, archives of newspapers and government records.

4.7. Data Collection methods.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher employed the primary data collection method.

4.7.1. Primary Data collection

Primary data is data collected for the purpose of solving the current problem at hand (Saunders 2000). Since there is not much secondary data on the social capital of Zimbabwean migrants to Botswana the research largely depended on primary data collection. In this study, the two major methods employed are the questionnaire survey and in - depth interviews.

4.8. Data Analysis and interpretation

For the study, research data collected was subjected to simple, descriptive statistics and analysis. In order to describe the extent and impact of the role of social capital descriptive statistics was used for analysis. Factor analysis was employed. Factor analysis forms groups of variables that have strong correlations with one another (Kumar 1996). In addition chi-square tests were used to test the significance of variables and relationships. Tools such as graphs, pie charts and tables were also used, while the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) software was fully employed. The in-depth interview questions were derived from the questionnaire and were used to give explanations for the quantitative results, to explain why respondents felt the way they did and how these feelings evolved. Recorded responses which gave more detailed, representative and inclusive data already mentioned by

most respondents were quote or cited to explain feelings, beliefs and opinions expressed in the questionnaire responses.

4.9. Issues of validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are two important measures when defining the quality of a research. These measures therefore were given the respect they deserved. They are dealt with below;

4.9.1. Reliability

The concept of reliability refers to the consistency of the data gathering instrument in obtaining the same results in a similar situation. It refers to the extent to which an instrument maintains consistency in whatever it is measuring, wherever it is administered as long as the population is the same. Reliability is related to an instrument that gives consistent results (Zikmund 2000) and consistency gives the researcher confidence that the results actually represent what he intended to study. Reliability can be assessed by posing the following questions (Easterby- Smith et al 2002);

Will the measures yield the same results on other occasions?

Will similar observations be reached by other observers?

Is there transparency in how sense was made from the data?

Given that reliable instruments obtain similar responses when administered to different respondents, the researcher simplified the questions as much as possible in instrument design.

Kumar (1996) claims that objectivity refers to the absence of subjective judgments. In addressing this problem, the questionnaire in this study was pretested with a group of 5 potential respondents and flaws were noted and rectified. As already alluded to, it was difficult to establish absolute reliability to any larger extent, as the case studies deal with the perceptions of people on an intangible varying subject. The use of both questionnaires and interviews assisted in reinforcing the reliability of the data.

In short, the researcher took care to ensure that the results would be reliable. This is aptly summarized by Babbie (2004:141) who argues that if care is not taken bias could creep into

the research. Babbie (ibid) goes on to describe reliability when he points out that “That quality of measurement method that suggests that the same data would have been collected each time in repeated observations of the same phenomenon.” The reduction of the possibility of getting the answer wrong means that attention had to be paid to two particular technical considerations: reliability and validity (Babbie 2004:141).

4.9.2. Validity

Best and Kahn (1993, also see Labovitz and Hagerdon 1976; Babbie 2004:143) define validity as that quality of the data gathering instruments that enables them to measure what they are supposed to measure. Thus it is also defined along the lines of defensibility of the inferences researchers make from the data collected through the use of the instrument. According to Yin (1994), there are three forms of validity; construct validity, internal validity and external validity. For construct validity it was important to establish correct operational measures for the concepts that were being studied (the role of social capital in migration) and that objective judgment is used to collect data. In quantitative research validity refers mainly to construct validity in which “the construct is the initial concept, notion, question or hypothesis that determines data to be gathered and how it is gathered” (Golafshani 2003: 599). The way the instrument is constructed determines its credibility. Internal validity will entail establishing the causal relationships, which show that specific conditions lead to other conditions – such as the impact of legal migrants on development, either of home or destination country. External validity concerns the establishment of the field to which findings can be generalized. In quantitative research the credibility of the research is based on the quality of the questionnaire while in qualitative research researcher skills are vital. In the light of these considerations the researcher tried to improve both.

The potential lack of validity in the conclusions was minimized by a research design that built in the opportunity for in-depth interviews after the questionnaire results were tabled. Again the reliability of the study was further influenced by the fact that peoples` perceptions vary over time, which makes it difficult for the researcher to achieve the same results even if the same sample were to be used. To increase the validity in this study, the researcher selected multiple sources of evidence, namely questionnaire groups and personal interviews. Thus in addition to furthering the increase in validity, the researcher established literature to

construct the frame of reference. In qualitative research reliability is not very important though validity is. The preoccupation was to get in-depth understanding which did not lend itself to cast iron predetermined criteria of quantitative research.

4.10. Ethical Considerations

4.10.1. Ethical approval and research permit

The researcher sought formal approval for conducting the research from the Higher Degrees Committee of the Department of Sociology in the College of Human Sciences at the University of South Africa. This was done before the commencement of the data collection exercise so as to allow time for their response and for field work to be completed.

4.10.2. Confidentiality

The researcher made an undertaking to keep all sensitive personal information given by respondents confidential. Information given by respondents for the purposes of this research was kept confidential, except where express approval was given by the respondents. Names of respondents were not divulged and were recorded as aliases to protect respondents. The questionnaires did not request the names of respondents in line with this rationale.

4.10.3 Informed Consent

Consent of respondents was sought and relevant authorities were informed wherever possible about the research. Participation was voluntary. Even where information was not of sensitive nature consent was still sought.

4.10.4. Provision of debriefing, counselling and additional information

The researcher disclosed the purpose of his research in as far as it did not undermine the confidential status of other stakeholders. The respondents were debriefed by providing explanations and assurances that their identities would not be revealed without their consent. Opinion leaders were contacted for this purpose to allay any fears the respondents could have been having about their need for confidentiality.

4.10.5. Pre-test or Pilot Study

Prior to using the questionnaire to collect data it was pilot tested. The purpose of the test was to refine the questionnaire so that respondents would not have problems answering the actual (final) questions and recording the answers correctly. In addition this enabled the researcher to obtain assessment of the questions` validity and the extent of the reliability of data collected. A pre-test was done with 10 of the questionnaire participants randomly chosen from one of the places (spots) where undocumented immigrants wait for piece jobs (namely White City location). After pre-testing a refinement process was undertaken and the final questionnaire was constructed without any inconsistencies.

4.10.6. Chapter summary

In this chapter the research design and approaches used in this research were presented. The chapter explained how both qualitative and quantitative methods (the latter in a supportive capacity) were used to unearth facts about the social capital used by Zimbabwean undocumented migrants. Differences between qualitative and quantitative methods were unravelled and tenets of their combined usage were explained (triangulation). The chapter explained the usage of structured questionnaires and in-depth questions in the research. Methods of data collection are explained as well as issues of validity and reliability. Issues of data analysis and ethical considerations are explained in this chapter. Issues of respondent confidentiality, debriefing and counselling were explained together with how pretesting is going to be used in ensuring good research questionnaires.

CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1. Introduction

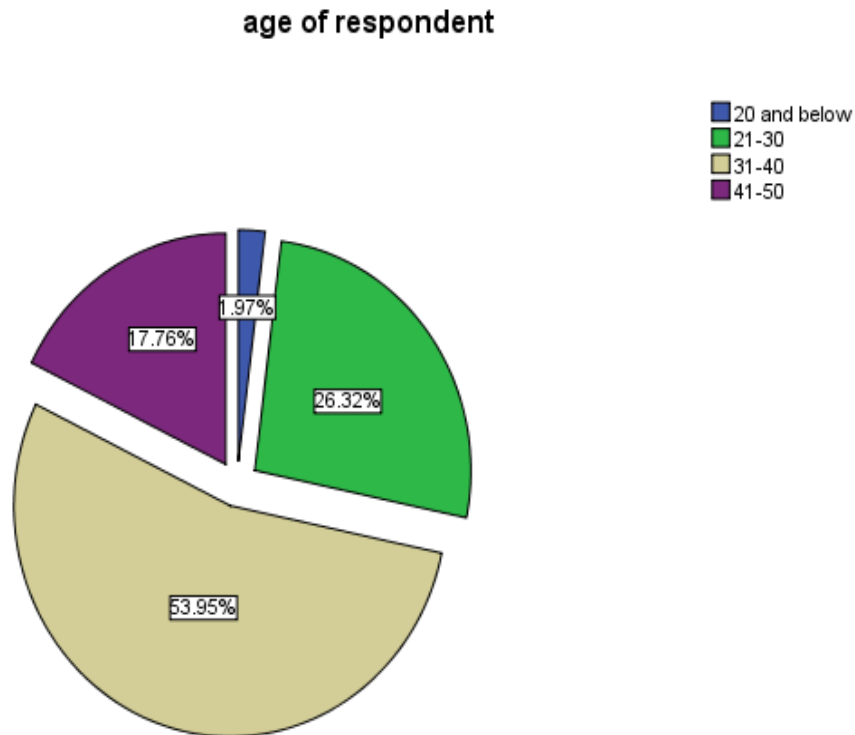
In this chapter the findings from the field work using the methodologies, participants, tools, approaches and procedures described and explained in chapter 4 are presented. Findings about Zimbabwean undocumented migrants (whether they use social capital, types of social capital used and how the social capital is used) are tabulated and classified in order to find the social capital mostly used by them according to the problem statement in Chapter 1 and the subsequent research questions. Responses are analysed to find elements of social capital which are used more by Zimbabwean undocumented migrants. Lastly data is presented and analysed to prove whether social capital among undocumented Zimbabwean migrants living in Botswana promotes undocumented migration. Data is presented also in the form of graphs and pie charts for clarity and easier comprehension.

Section 5.2 presents the demographic data which includes the main characteristics of the sample of respondents. These characteristics include such aspects as gender, age, place of birth, marital status, number of dependants, estimated monthly income, occupation in Botswana and in Zimbabwe, period working in Botswana, number of dependants, income and level of education. Section 5.3 presents issues of the migrant's initial activities and movements from the place of origin such as obtaining destination information, care for dependants and/or things left behind, transport, advance accommodation arrangements and border crossing. Finally in section 5.4 data on issues about the social capital used by the undocumented migrants at the destination for facilitating aspects such as job finding, security, accommodation, comforting and psychological support in times of death, sickness, funerals, arrest and deportation are presented. In this section data on aspects of mode of home connections and sending of remittances in cash and in kind are presented and analysed briefly. In this section also data is presented on the role played by the church, money saving clubs and how migrants feel about cooperation and conflict resolution among undocumented migrants.

5.2. Respondent demographic data

5.2.1. Respondents' age data

Figure 1 - Age of the respondents



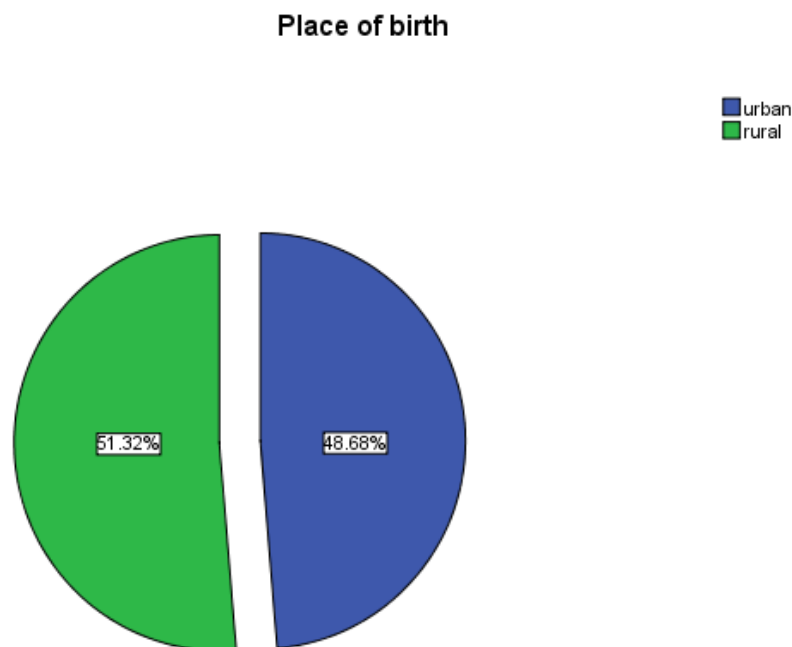
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The respondents were aged between 18 and 50 years of age. The majority of respondents (54%) were between 31 and 40 years of age. This can be explained by the fact that these are the people who are economically active and married or have families to look after which made them migrate to Botswana to seek paid employment. This age group is followed by the age group from 21 to 30. This made up about 26% of the respondents, and those between 41 and 50 made up 17.8% of the respondents. The age group with the least numbers was the one for age 20 and below (2%). The position of the 21-30 age group can be explained by high incidence of being married or/and having dependants which made this group migrate to

Botswana. Besides these formed the most active and energetic group. The 41-50 group had a somewhat low in percentage of migrants, maybe because of conservatism and fear of the unknown inherent in older people. The least percentage for age 20 and below can be attributed to very young people not feeling the need to move because they were not breadwinners or had not yet married and did not have more or any dependants.

5.2.2. Respondents' place of birth

Figure 2 - Place of Birth of respondents in Zimbabwe



n=152

About 51% reported having some rural origins and 48.7% came from urban settings. The rural and urban statistics are vital in explaining initial causes of migration and extent of social solidarity and likely effect on the sharing of migration information. These statistics are heavily biased towards rural population considering the Zimbabwean recent Rural - urban population distribution statistics (Urban 35% and rural 65%) (<http://www.nationmaster.com> [online] accessed 10/03/2012). This high rural origin trend can be attributed to rural poverty

and loss of farm jobs after the government decided to pursue its fast track land acquisition programme taking land from white farmers who initially employed a substantial part of the rural population. Besides this, the fact that some new young farmers got farm land during the government re-distribution exercise meant that they had to work for inputs to put farms into operation as the government had no adequate input schemes. This is exemplified by a testimony from one male respondent pseudo name John Phiri:

My family originally came from Malawi in the late 1960s. In fact my grandfather came and was working on this white man's farm in Odzi in Manicaland province. My father grew up on the farm and he and all of us were employed in the farms around. In Zimbabwe we never dreamt of a life without farm work, let alone being given a farm of our own. After the farms were taken the employer went away and we were given pieces of farm land to do our own farming. It was good and bad at the same time. We no longer had jobs and we had land without inputs, plus there was drought. Besides we did not know how to plan real farm work. I came here to find a job and feed my family and also buy cattle, seeds and fertilizers. A family friend in a neighbouring farm came with me first time and I stayed with him for about two months when I got settled enough to go and stay with some friends I met here.

The inclusion of rural peoples is also attributed to the fact that in rural settings there is high solidarity, close association and some forms of society feeling resulting in diffusion of migration related information and altruism to help others.

While the urban area cannot be seen as having the same high societal or community feeling to facilitate migration, the reasons why a significant number migrated can be implicated from the urban situation in Zimbabwe during the politico-economic debacle. Firstly, the urban 'clean-up operation' dubbed Operation Murambatsvina in 2008 decimated the informal sector base (tuck shops, workshops, informal industries, flea markets, vegetable vending and so on) in which the majority of urban Zimbabweans were employed. Secondly, the formal industry was not creating sufficient jobs while schools were churning large numbers of graduates, who consequently faced serious unemployment in this dire situation. One respondent echoed a view expressed by numerous others:

Most of us had good jobs, but we lost our jobs when flea markets were destroyed in Operation Murambatsvina. Even the room I rented was targeted as an illegal extension of the

house. There were no jobs and when my uncle invited me to come with him I seized the opportunity with both hands to get away from the situation.

5.2.3. Respondents’ gender information

Table 2 : Gender of respondent

Gender	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative %
Male	75	49.3%	49.3
Female	77	50.7%	100.0
Total	152	100	

There were slightly more female respondents than males (51%) compared to the 49% for males. The slight variation can be statistically justified as implying that there are more female undocumented migrants. Statistics from Nation Master.com citing the CIA Factbook for 2010 states that there are slightly more females than males in the 15-64 age group, approximated at 1.03 male (s)/female (www.nationmaster.com). The same source approximates that there were 6,133,639 females compared to 6,123,166 males in Zimbabwe in 2005. These statistics may justify the variations in the figures. The same may be justified by the fact that many females turned to cross-border migration as a livelihood diversification strategy during the time of Zimbabwe’s economic and political hardships (see Muzvidziwa 2006). There is still no real proven clarity as to whether males are actually more than females among undocumented migrants. Because it is so difficult to determine further research on this issue is needed.

5.2.4. Comparative occupations of migrants in Zimbabwe and Botswana

Figure 3 – Migrants' occupations in Zimbabwe

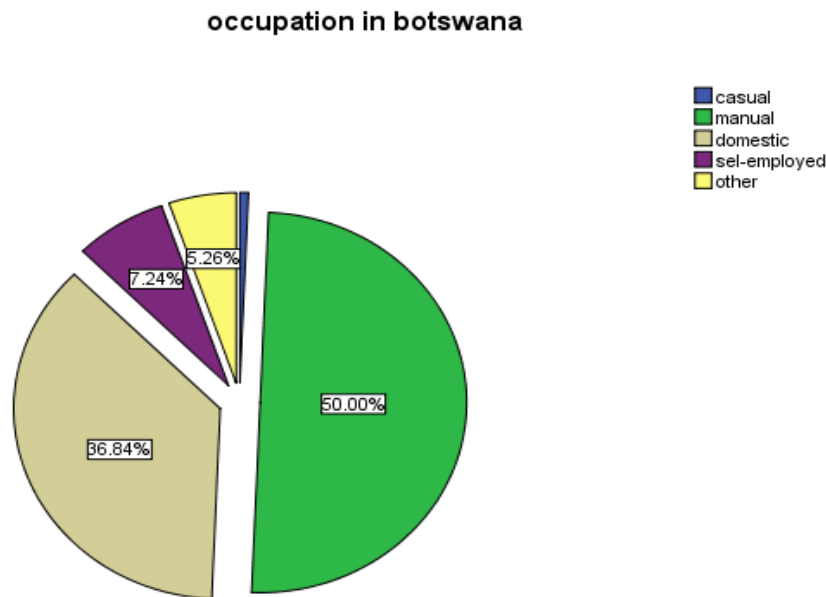


n=152

The results indicate that the numbers of Zimbabweans employed in the various sectors back home are as follows: 31% were employed casual sector; about 26% were unemployed; about 16% were employed in the manual sector; about 7% were employed in clerical jobs; 13.82% were self-employed and only about 2% reported having been employed as domestic workers. About 3% claimed to have been employed in other areas. Casual work, which included working in shops, flea markets and super markets and others sectors, though involving physical exertion and low status, is not labelled as derogatory compared to domestic and other menial jobs migrants occupy in Botswana. In Botswana those jobs are for locals, who feel better in them rather than being employed in low status 'Zimbabwean jobs' such as manual labour and domestic employment. A substantial proportion of respondents were self-employed in Zimbabwe, with the informal sector being the key production mode. Clerical employees are also visible as the migrants were in their own country compared to the absence

of such employment opportunities for Zimbabweans in Botswana. Domestic employment occupies a very small part of the female labour economy, while construction employees were a more significant, but quite modest number among males.

Figure 4 – Respondents’ occupation in Botswana



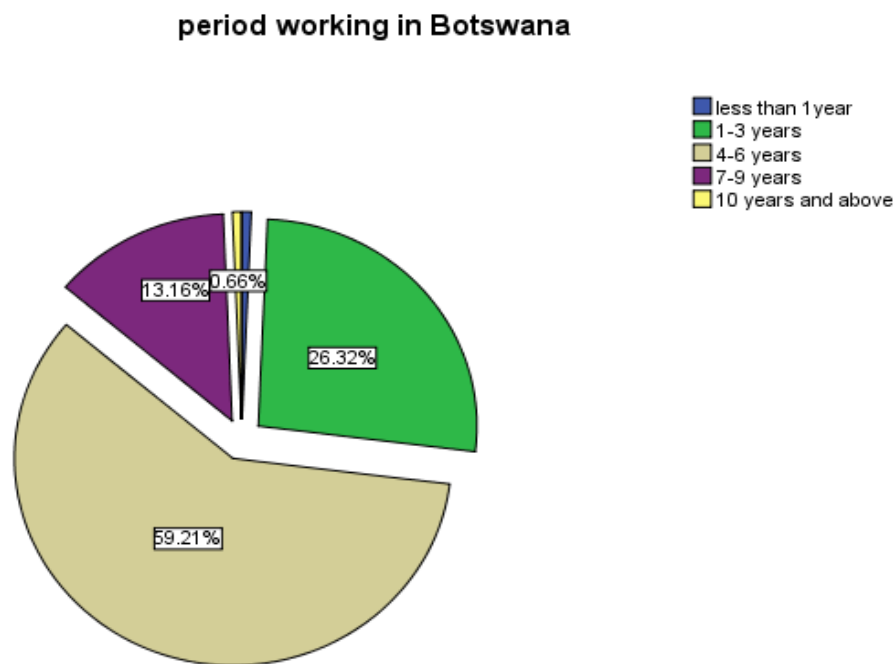
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The data on occupations in Botswana and Zimbabwe can be comparatively analysed. About 30.9% were employed as casual employees, while in Zimbabwe (working in shops, flea markets and government) but in Botswana only 0.7% was engaged in this sector. While jobs in this sector are low paying and lack job security they are not classified as ‘non-citizen jobs’ had had less rigour than jobs Zimbabweans do in Botswana. Occupying them in Botswana is mostly for lowly educated nationals, who guard them jealously from being taken by foreigners. These jobs are seen as ‘better’ than the high exertion construction, farm and domestic jobs which typically are for Zimbabweans in Botswana. From Zimbabwe only about 16% were employed in the manual sector, but in Botswana the proportion rose to 50%. Only 2% were employed as domestic employees in Zimbabwe, yet in Botswana about 37%

were engaged in paid domestic employment. For clerical employment there was 7% employed while migrants were in Zimbabwe and in Botswana there are none in this sector. The number of self employed in Zimbabwe was 14% and came down to 7% in Botswana. Those employed in ‘other’ endeavours were 5% in Botswana and 3% in Zimbabwe. The reasons given for the shift as people moved from Zimbabwe to Botswana are several. Firstly, there are only certain types of jobs open to foreigners. Secondly most people already working in a sector heard of openings and referred friends and relatives. Thirdly there are only a few jobs where foreigners can be self- employed.

5.2.5. Respondents’ period working in Botswana

Figure 5 - Period working in Botswana



n=152

Respondents were asked about the period they had spent working in Botswana. The majority (about 59%) had been staying in Botswana for between 4 to 6 years followed by those with 1

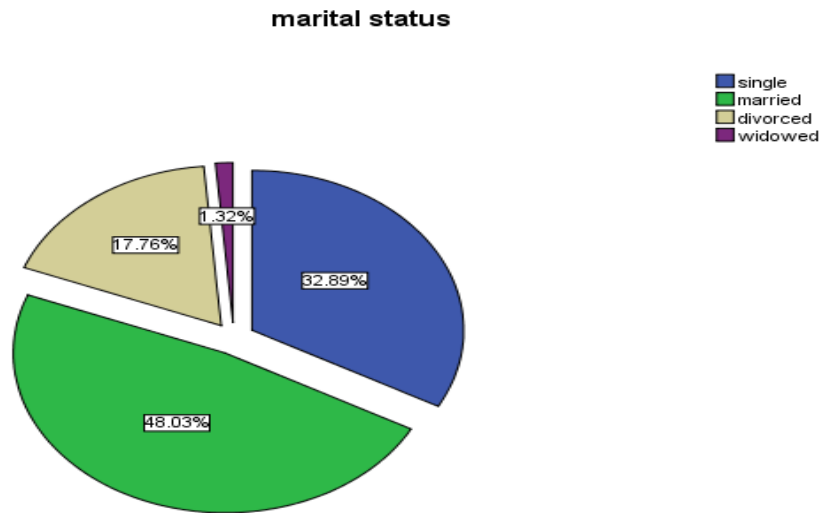
to 3 years who make up about 26%. The combined percentage from 1 to 6 years gets to 86%. The period coincides with several socio-economic and political developments in Zimbabwe. This can be attributed to the effects of the 2002 electoral violence and subsequent land acquisitions. The period also coincides with the hardship caused by operation Murambatsvina in urban areas and the demise of the Zimbabwean currency and economy. Others moved after the electoral violence and drought of 2008-2009. These generally claim that they moved to look for work after being told about opportunities by cross-border relatives and friends and did not cite politics as influencing their decisions to migrate. This is corroborated by the testimony of Leo, a male respondent where he pointed out the following:

A friend of mine whom I used to go to school with was in Gaborone and he informed me that I could go there and I could make money for myself. My sister who used to be a cross border trader also supported the idea. I came to Botswana in 2006 when there were no jobs in Zimbabwe. After Operation Murambatsvina jobs were scarce.

About 59% of the respondents generally claim to have moved after the electoral violence and serious drought of 2008-2009. About 13% reported having worked in Botswana for 7 to 9 years. These generally claim that they moved to look for work after being told about opportunities by cross-border trader relatives and friends and did not cite politics as influencing their decisions to migrate. They testify that Botswana migration policy was more tolerant at the time they migrated. Only about 0.7% reported having come to Botswana for less than a year. This can be explained by the dollarization of Zimbabwe's economy (using the United States dollar), political agreement among opponents and hope for economic recovery (some migrants are reported to have returned to Zimbabwe around 2009). The other explanation given by respondents was that jobs were becoming scarce daily in Botswana and some were considering returning to Zimbabwe. The last 0.7% reported having worked in Botswana for 10 years or more. Maybe most of this cohort have moved to other areas, returned to Zimbabwe, or regularized their status one way or another.

5.2.6. Respondents' marital status

Figure 6 - Marital Status of respondents



n=152

On being asked about their marital status 48% revealed that they were married. They may have migrated to look after their families. 33% indicated that that they were single. Some single people had dependants in the form of children from pre-marital pregnancies (mostly women). From evidence in in-depth interviews this group attributed its migration to the need to look after their kids, to avoid unemployment in Zimbabwe and the women wanted to prove to their relatives and defaulting boyfriends who had denied marrying them that they could make it in life without their help as single mothers. The presence of other women in the same predicament strengthened this view towards men and relatives who believed that women should marry in order to make it in life. The divorced cohort was 18% and these now single people wanted to look after their children and send them to school. Most of these had the same motivation to move as the single (with kids) cohort, plus grievances against ill treatment after the divorces by their spouses. A characteristic response that was given by a divorced lady, Viola;

My husband married another woman with support of his relatives and I was left with the kids, stranded. At first he paid maintenance, but after he lost his job after the Tsunami (Operation Murambatsvina) in which we lost our accommodation, the money was worthless because of inflation. I also did not want him to think that I wanted to depend on him, so I joined my friend who was working here in a hair salon. She borrowed me the bus fare and I am doing well here with many others like me who help so much. I can save money for my kids' school through our club.

The last group which was only 2% reported that they were widowed and had similar problems as the latter two but had additional problems (such as dispossession of property following husbands' death, based on custom and refusal of relatives to help these women look after the kids).

Table 3: Relationship between respondents' gender and marital status

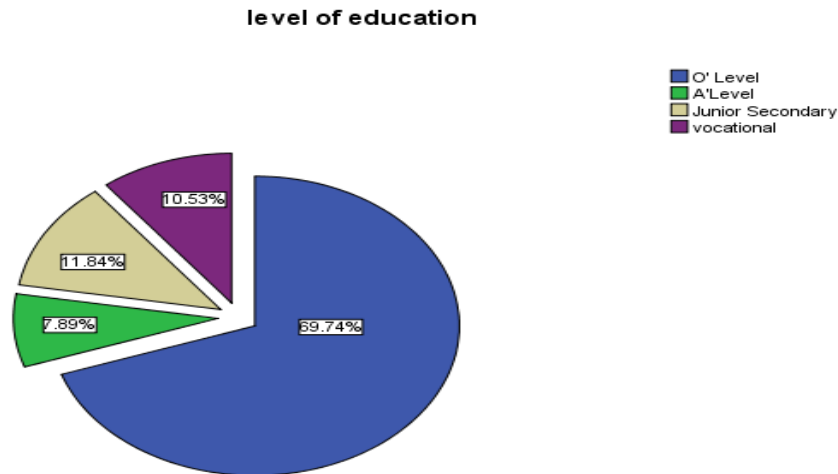
		Respondent's marital status									
		Single	%	Married	%	divorced	%	widowed	%	Total	%
Gender of respondent	Male	20	40	46	63	9	33	0	0	75	49
	Female	30	60	27	37	18	67	2	100	77	51
Total		50	100	73	100	27	100	2	100	152	100

p = .008

There is a statistically significant relationship between gender and marital status. 60% of the single respondents were females while 40% were males. This shows that there were significantly more single females than males. 63% of the married respondents were males, while 37% were females, showing significantly more married men than women. 33% of the divorced respondents were male, while 67% were females. This indicates that more women were divorced. 100% of the widowed respondents were females, indicating a very significant difference.

5.2.7. Level of education of respondents

Figure 7 – Respondents’ level of education



n=152

The respondents were asked about their level of education. About 70% reported that they had reached Ordinary level of education (grade 11 or form 4) and 8% indicated that they had done their advanced levels. 12% reported having been to school up to junior certificate (secondary) and they seemed more satisfied by this scenario which greatly elevated their earning power relative to other groups. This made vast economic sense at the time when Botswana’s employment sector did not recognize low and middle qualifications of Zimbabweans. For most of these groups of people unemployment levels and poor currency in Zimbabwe forced them to do the menial jobs they were doing in Botswana Some tell accounts of qualified nurses and teachers having stooped to those low levels. 11% reported having attended vocational education. These ones said they were mostly employed by informal tuition centres or private colleges part-time in the evenings and also did piece jobs by day boosting their incomes. Some had once been formally employed but employment papers had expired, and they decided to overstay. The quality of passes achieved were not looked into considering the fact that this could not have had an important impact on their chances of getting well paid employment inside Zimbabwe taking into account the levels of unemployment there as well

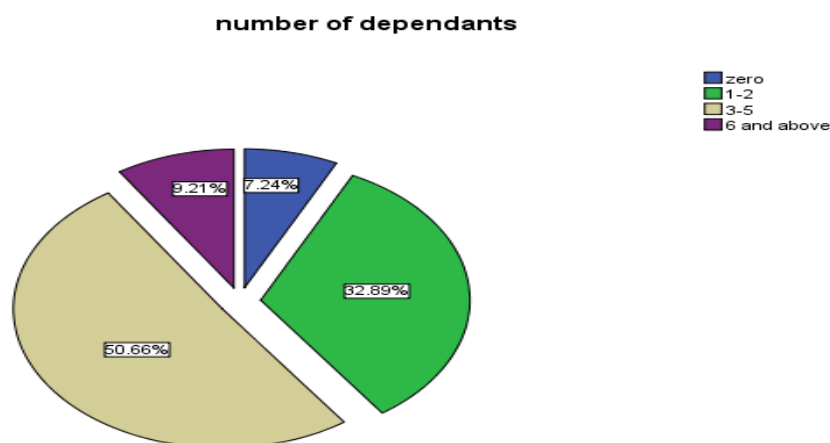
as the level of transferability of qualifications to the Botswana job market. One migrant, Caroline gave the following statement about Zimbabwean academic qualifications which was common among the migrants:

In this place level of schooling does not count for us Zimbabweans. Some of us have passed our O' levels but we have put aside our certificates because they are useless here. I have put mine under the bed. Our jobs do not need us to apply. We do any job provided the person pays. You cannot select jobs here because this is not our country and we know our place here.

This shows that since Zimbabweans are undocumented and lack transferrable skills they mostly do not hope to get move into better paying job sectors and are thus stuck in the degrading menial jobs. This has led to the creation of a low class of workers who are docile and have no employment rights. The fact that they are employed despite tough laws indicates employers' preference to exploit undocumented migrants in the Botswana capitalist system where most employers are government employees (yet it is the government that passes anti-migrant laws).

5.2.8. Respondents' number of dependants

Figure 8 - Number of dependants of respondents



n=152

The majority of respondents had dependants, which may explain in part the reason why they decided to migrate to Botswana. This is exemplified by two male respondents, Sekuru, Thomas and Mary, a female respondent:

I found that even if I was working every day in Zimbabwe my family was drawing towards starvation. Even if I continued to work, for how long was I going to hold? School fees, clothes...All these I could no longer afford.

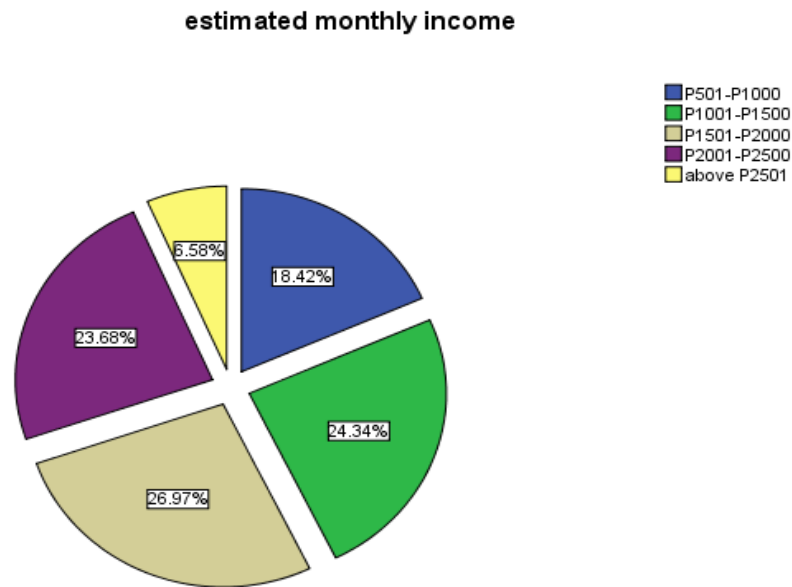
Things got a bit bad when my girlfriend became pregnant and she eloped to me. I was just from finishing my o levels and jobs were hard to come by after Operation Murambatsvina, you remember it? Now I was now married and soon I would be having two people to look after.

After my boyfriend refused responsibility for my pregnancy I felt I had to do something to save my child. In Zimbabwe there were no jobs and Murambatsvina had wiped any hopes of getting a job.

With escalating costs of school fees and also rising food prices in the hyper-inflationary environment in Zimbabwe and the shortage of jobs this appears logical. A very significant number (60%) had between 3 and above dependants who may have expected to be assisted by the migrant. Only 7% reported having totally no dependants.

5.2.9. Migrants' monthly income

Figure 9 – Migrants' estimated monthly income in Botswana Pula



n=152

The majority of respondents (27%) claimed they got between BWP1500 and BWP2000 closely followed by 24% who indicated that they got between 1001 and 1500BWP per month. 18% were paid between BWP501 and 1000BWP. About 24% reported earning between 2001 and BWP2500 monthly. The relatively high incomes could be attributed to some migrants having several piece jobs and working for different employers and thus making efficient use of time. For those women employed in domestic work, piece jobs came in handy as a way of generating extra income and these were mostly done during weekends. The advantage for some domestic employees is that they stayed with employers and so had no expenses on food and accommodation. They got connected to piece jobs through friends who survived through these piece jobs. The other sub-set which earned a bit higher incomes were self- employed hairdressers and some who acted as part-time tutors in the various informal tuition centres in Gaborone.

5.3. Movement, destination choice and border crossing

This section deals with the initial stages of the migration trajectory and the types of social capital used. It looks into the issue of how the migrant obtained information about the destination and its advantages relative to his or her current position (place of origin). The section goes on to unravel the social capital aspects that led the migrants to choose his or her destination (s). In this section aspects such as financing the journey and care for property and dependants left behind is presented together with the methods of border crossing used to cross into Botswana. Generally the section deals with the planning, financing and transit parts of the migrant's journey and the social capital aspects involved up to crossing into Botswana.

5.3.1. Ways respondents learned about Botswana

Table 4 : How the respondent got knowledge about Botswana.

Knowledge about Botswana	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative %
Through a friend	53	34.9	34.9
Through a relative	80	52.6	87.5
Through member of my community	18	11.8	99.3
Other	1	0.7	100.0
Total	152	100	

In Table 3 ways through which migrants got information about Botswana are evaluated and compared. As shown in Table 3 (above) the research findings indicate that information about Botswana was learned through various agents, including relatives (kin and family), friends (in their various categories), community members and other media such as strangers and the mass media. This knowledge could have overcome the fear of the unknown familiar with people wishing to move to new places. 53% of the respondents learned about Botswana through their relatives such as uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews and family members currently doing paid work in Botswana in various areas or who had visited Botswana before for the same reason as exemplified by Thomas's revelation:

My sister and her husband were working in Botswana and used to send goodies home to us. They used to tell us that Botswana was a land of opportunity where people could make fortunes because people there needed everything to be done for them. They told me that anyone could have something to do in Botswana and that Botswana was easier and safer to stay in than South Africa where my brother in law once worked and left after he was threatened there. I had no job in Zimbabwe..... and jobs were hard to come by after Operation Murambatsvina.

Another one, Brian had an almost similar story but just wanted a better job:

I came to Botswana through a distant relative. She is a sister to my brother's wife back in Zimbabwe. She told me that I could easily get a job here in Gaborone as an auto- electrician. She told me that there were many construction projects for buildings and roads, so when she was coming she came with me. What really triggered me to actually consider crossing the border was that I wanted a better job. Botswana was known for its good pay, even when working informally.

Around 35% claimed that they got information about Botswana and its opportunities via friends who had been to Botswana or were still coming to Botswana to seek paid employment. Responses indicated that 12% of the respondents got knowledge of Botswana as a potential paid work destination from community members such as neighbours who had been or were currently engaged in economic activities in that country. One female respondent, Vicky had this to say:

There were people in my community who were coming to Botswana and they seemed to be doing very well. They had nice clothes and brought great groceries and when I asked they told me how things are like in Botswana. They gave me advice of how to go about the business of going to Botswana. It's like I was pregnant with my second child and my husband lost his job and got a low paying one. We were in a dilemma, with baby coming we could not figure out a way to buy preparation, let alone feed ourselves. There was famine and life was tough so I came here.

As implied from these findings reasons for seeking information were purely economic as seeking information was motivated by comparing their standard of living vis - a - vis the information provider.

5.3.2. Migrants' ways of financing the initial migration journey

Table 5 : How the migrants' journeys were financed

Mode of financing	frequency	percentage	Cumulative %
By myself	56	36.8	36.8
By close relative	84	55.3	92.1
By friend (s)	10	6.6	98.7
Borrowing from community	2	1.3	100
Total	152	100	

As indicated the questionnaire yielded the role played by relatives, friends, community members and the undocumented migrants themselves to finance the journey to Botswana. Financial help in this case referred to money for transport, food and advance accommodation arrangements at the destination. Relatives topped the list and respondents indicated that they provided help in various ways (financial, accommodation, food) at 55%. Sekuru, a male migrant's experience indicates the trend among certain migrants who were helped by relatives:

I had saved some money to use for the ETD, since a passport could take too long and was too expensive, but my nephew provided me with bus fare to Botswana.

A single lady with one child (not married), Thembi, gave the following version of how her brother with connections at the passport office in Harare helped her;

My brother working in Bulawayo facilitated my ETD and paid for it. He had friends at the passport offices. In those days getting a travel document was difficult. I guess he was glad to help me since I used to beg money from him to look after my son. Now he would be free since I would be able to look after myself, my son and help him to take care of mother. She (my mother) was worried about me and agreed to look after my son for me..... My son would need a good future and I was his mother. His granny would take care of him while I work.

Thomas, a male respondent gave the following narration:

My mother agreed to give me money to process a temporary travel document to Botswana. My mother had a church mate at the passport office so I easily got a Temporary Travel Document. I had heard that you could use that for 90 days in Botswana and then go AWOL inside Botswana and come back after you get what you came for. Accommodation was guaranteed. My sister told me to come and she would meet me at the bus rank, but we failed to get in touch and I became stranded. I was lucky that I arrived during the day. I met 3 Zimbabwean guys who, like me spoke Shona and I told them my predicament and they offered me accommodation.

Another respondent Godfrey gave the following story of how he was were assisted by relatives to move to Gaborone.

My sister and her husband were working in Gaborone legally and when my wife died suddenly and I was struggling to keep the family alive alone during the height of the drought and economic crisis in 2007. I was a kombi driver and the kombi I was driving developed problems thus affecting my source of income. Even if it was there the salary I used to get was not enough to feed my family. When my sister and her husband noticed my plight, they volunteered to assist me to come here to try to find work here, even when I did not have papers. It was better that way. Now I think life is better for my family. When I sent them a message telling them that I was now OK they started asking if they could also come. When they arrived I simply showed them how we survive here.

The fact that relatives helped most at this stage may be attributed to the fact that relatives (family-nuclear and extended) were the closest persons to the migrant at the time and more obliged to help. They also could have felt the burden of supporting a person who could work and support others and himself or herself, relieving the benefactors of burdens they were obliged to carry (dependants). Among the relatives were intricate webs of relatives and obligations because they lived together. Sometimes they just wanted to wash their hands and later say 'I tried to help as expected...' They provided transport money and assurances of initial food and accommodation before the prospective migrants found work and became settled.

Around 36% of the migrants, having gained knowledge and support assurances, were able to save money to procure short term Emergency Travel Documents (ETDs) (for only 90 days stay in Botswana since passports were too expensive to get), transportation and money to declare at the border. This category of migrants could have seen that they could get more support if they showed their preparedness to move to their sponsors. They were mostly not totally destitute but had some jobs in Zimbabwe which had become low paying due to hyper-inflationary conditions fuelled by social and political upheavals in Zimbabwe. Some in this category had some possessions to sell to get money to move.

About 7% were sponsored by friends. This situation arose when friends were close and felt like helping each other for old times' sake and to be together. In most cases the help was not entirely free, for the debt had to be repaid in cash value. This was made easier by the fact that most of the time a friend came to take another after assurances of jobs, especially when a prospective employer asked for the earlier migrant to bring another. Bruce, a male migrant from Matabeleland had this to say:

I wanted a job.... badly and I couldn't find one locally in Zimbabwe since I lost my other job. Things were hard over there as I was working on a farm which was taken by the government. Everything was not right. There was total lack of jobs that even graduates did not have jobs. My friend came back a few months later after being deported. He told me that there were many construction jobs in Gaborone as the Chinese were constructing roads and building apartments all over the city. He told me that his boss wanted four people immediately and I thought I had a good chance, but travel papers were not there. They were expensive and getting them was tough unless you knew someone at the passport offices. My friend told me it was easy to cross the border without papers. That is what prompted me to come here. I had not much to leave at home. I left my few belongings (bed and radio) with my parents, who were quite supportive since they also expected me to buy them fertilizers and other farm inputs as my friend was doing for his own parents. My father was only too happy to help me since he knew that I would help equipping our farm acquired from the land reform programme. The previous year we had not harvested much, so my father was really interested for me to get a job in Botswana, so he gave me money for bus fare and encouraged me. My friend offered to lend me money for food to be repaid after I found a job. He helped me with

finding accommodation in Gaborone and initially provided food for me before I could find a job to look after myself.

Only 1% indicated that they used money borrowed from neighbours and other well - wishing community members. This may be attributed to lack of strong bonds with distant people

5.3.3. Migrants' mode of border crossing.

Table 6 : How the migrants crossed the border

Mode of border crossing	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative %
With papers	55	36.2	36.2
Without papers by themselves	45	29.6	65.8
Without papers using agent	52	34.2	100.0
Total	152	100	

The questionnaire indicates that 36% of the undocumented migrants crossed the border legally with papers and later overstayed the 90 days allowed for visitors in Botswana. The following revelation by one respondent, Sekuru, sheds light to how migrants deal with travel document issues:

It's like at first I had my papers so crossing was not a problem because also my nephews knew the formalities at the border. In those days getting a passport was difficult in Zimbabwe so I obtained an emergency travel document (ETD) which could only make it possible for me to enter Botswana. That was the last time I used a document in Botswana. My nephews assured me that once I was inside Botswana papers were no longer important even when they expired. They said everyone was doing that. I wanted just to buy my welding machine and compressor to return to Zimbabwe to start my small business.

The welding machine was a clear indication that migrants sometimes come to the destination with specific targets to accomplish, but as job seeking takes time they could not meet their targets using the available short term documents, and beside learned about the usefulness of the idea of overstaying from older hard core illegal migrants (*zvipadagu*).

The majority (64%) crossed the border through unauthorised entry points along the long Zimbabwe – Botswana border. Of that percentage 34 % crossed using a cross border agent (*guma-guma* in Shona vernacular meaning ‘one who is after squeezing all the cash’). A married male respondent, Dylan had the following to say:

My friend knew some of the agents who got undocumented migrants to cross the border. He advised me that crossing on our own would be like committing suicide because the crossing agents, also called ‘guma-gumas’ in Shona language considered the whole border area as their territory. He told me stories of how these guma-gumas could rape, attack or even murder undocumented migrants who attempted to cross without paying for their services. We paid 100 pula each with some other people who were crossing and in no time we were across the fence dividing Botswana and Zimbabwe. Once we crossed my friend and some guys who seemed to know the ways took us to bus stop to wait for kombis to Francistown from where we were going to board local buses which were not usually searched at checkpoints. My friend told me that police assumed these buses ferried only locals and targeted buses registered to ferry people from Zimbabwe only. He also advised me that haulage trucks were also safer than buses from Zimbabwe, since they were hardly searched.

Those who crossed by this mode may have mostly been warned by friends and relatives or even strangers, about the dangers of crossing the border without the help of those who understood and/or controlled it. Mostly the undocumented migrants would have been referred to the *guma-guma* (agent) by the bus conductor of the bus they may have used or through their friends in Botswana, or via friends accompanying them. The migrants’ narratives revealed the grim danger posed by the Zimbabwe-Botswana undocumented border crossing, especially to women. Most of those who used this means to cross and were attacked vow never to do so without consulting those who understand the border better, or an escort. The following excerpts from interviewees demonstrate this point. A typical revelation of stories of border dangers was narrated emotionally by Vongi, a female respondent:

The border gave me the worst nightmare of my life. In my first crossing I had a valid passport so crossing into Botswana was not a problem. The real problem came on my second crossing. This crossing is the most traumatizing thing I encountered in my short life. It happened like this: the Botswana border authorities refused to let me pass on the grounds that I did not

have the required quota of days on my visa and sent me back to the Zimbabwe side at around 9pm. I met 8 other women and six men on the Zimbabwe side, with the same predicament. Then we met two young men,(agents) who help people cross “the guma-gumas” and they agreed to help us to cross..... we were accosted by a group of 15 men who robbed us of our possessions and cash at knife point. Some were raped as we watched when they refused to hand over their handbags. As for me I was left with a 50 pula note, but I handed over my handbag. As soon as they finished with me they allowed me to go and I slipped through the Botswana fence. I cannot tell what happened to those I left behind, but for all I know they may have been killed and as long as I live I shall never use the bush way to cross the border.

Asked whether she thought such attacks were common on the border Vongi confidently gave the following shocking story common with most undocumented migrants who tried to cross the border on their own:

Oh, yes. If you refuse to listen to bus conductor’s advice on which agent to use among the guma-gumas then you are likely to put your life in danger. Like this man who was working in Botswana and decided to take his wife to Botswana who, unfortunately did not have papers. The conductor offered to assist for a fee, but the man was adamant. he decided to take his wife across the border himself. As soon as he reached the bushhe met a gang of guma- gumas who gang raped his wife, and they later killed her in front of him. If only this man had listened to the conductors his wife could be alive today. Those who use gangs recommended by bus conductors almost always succeed to cross safely and are also assisted at checkpoints inside Botswana by bus conductors who bribe the police officers or find a way of avoiding checkpoints in Gaborone

The rest, 30% crossed on their own with strangers who also had a similar mission - to breach the border. These mostly took the risk because they did not have enough cash to give the *guma-gumas*. They might have been emboldened by numbers of men who joined them to brave the danger of the no-man’s land along the frontier. In a few cases they crossed without incident, but in some cases they were attacked, sometimes with fatal consequences (death) and other harm such as robbery, sodomy and rape. Suspects were often the *guma-gumas* who felt the undocumented migrants were trying to circumvent paying them on their own turf.

5.3.3.1. Significance of relationship between gender and border crossing mode

Table 7: Relationship between gender and mode of border crossing

		How did you cross the border?						Total	
		With papers		Without papers not using agent		Without papers using agent			
Gender of respondents		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	Male	19	25	30	40	26	35	75	100
	Female	34	44	11	14	32	42	77	100
Total		53		37		60		152	

p= 0.001

There was a significant statistical relationship between mode of border crossing and gender of respondent. More women (44%) than males (25%) entered Botswana with papers (mainly temporary ETDs) and later over-stayed without papers. This entry mode may be attributed to the fact that women were more vulnerable to border robbers and guards than men due to physical endurance and possibilities of rape and murder were high. More men, (40% of men compared to 14% of females), crossed the border without papers not using crossing agents. The larger number of men crossing the border was attributed to the fact that men thought if they were a group they could face the potential assailants. The 14% number of women who used this mode could do so due to encouragement and assurances of security because of the presence of the men in the group who may claim to have crossed using the same mode before. A slightly greater proportion of women (42%) used border crossing agents who managed to escort them across safely compared to 35% of the men. Use of this mode of crossing could be attributed to advice by friends and relatives who had seen the dangers before or heard the stories of the dangers to both men and women. Yet others may have experienced the dangers in previous crossings.

5.3.4. Migrants' reasons for destination choice

Table 8: Reasons for choosing destination

Reason for choosing destination	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative %
More job opportunities	13	8.6	8.6
My relatives	75	49.3	57.9
My friends	53	34.9	92.8
Presence of ethnic group/community	9	5.9	98.7
Other	2	1.3	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

For most of the migrants the choice of destination was not a chance factor but there were specific motivations for the choices made. About 35% indicated that they moved specifically to Gaborone because they had friends working and residing in that city. Pako, a male undocumented migrant surviving on selling and repairing cell phones gave a typical response:

Ben, my friend was staying in Gaborone with 5 other guys sharing a room and naturally I came and stayed with them.

Some also gave the same reason for moving from an initial smaller town to Gaborone. 49% indicated the presence of a relative in that city (though most did not go to live with them upon arrival). The case of Thomas shows how the presence of a relative initiated movement but did not determine provision of accommodation by the relative, but by ethnic group members:

Of course, my sister and brother in law lived in Gaborone and they had invited me to come so they could find work for me to take care of my family. My sister had told me to come and that she would be waiting for me at the bus rank, but we failed to get in touch and I became stranded. It was luck that I arrived during the day. I started roaming around 'spotos' in the White City neighbourhood until I met 3 Zimbabwean men who, like me spoke Shona and I told them my predicament. One of the guys who happened to be staying with a Zezuru lady offered to take me to his house. He said he 'could not abandon a 'brother'. They lived like a family with 3 other guys and cooked and ate together, and I stayed with them 3 months in which they introduced me to Botswana. I met most Zimbabweans at 'spotos', funerals and so on, and got friends. They showed me where to wait while looking for jobs and to expect

trouble from the police. I left my first Good Samaritan when he started making some big demands like asking me to buy relish daily. Now that I knew Botswana, I found no need to bother my sister and her husband because I thought I could be a burden on accommodation as you know it is not easy in Botswana. Besides my elder sister would want to play 'elder sister' to me and command me around, a situation I was not really looking forward to with pleasure.

The respondents could also use their relatives as support in the last resort in case of emergency because they would always be available to assist. In Zimbabwe it is looked down upon to completely ignore a kinsman in distress if relatives know about it. This option was therefore open to migrants when their preferred options ran out or failed. Some relatives were the ones who went to take their relatives to Gaborone for better jobs. A widowed lady, Senzeni, from Matabeleland gave an account of how her uncle assisted her:

My uncle on my mother's side who is very close to our family saw the problems I was experiencing, trying to raise my children single-handedly after my husband's death. He came and took me to return with him to Botswana. He also paid agents to get me across and we stayed together for quite some time in Botswana.

8.6% reported that they moved to Gaborone solely because of high prospects of getting jobs without initially knowing anybody there. Their motives were raw economic ones unaffected by emotions of reaching others across the frontier. They mostly had been assured by information entrepreneurs that there were always helpers 'speaking the same language' in Gaborone, even among sellers of wares at the bus rank to ask for directions of where to seek accommodation. Most people who come without auspices are always advised to ask for assistance from white clad Shona speaking women (belonging to the African apostolic religious sect), who are now Botswana citizens. These dominate the informal business of selling wares and changing money (currencies) at the Gaborone Bus rank and are conspicuous by their white dresses and headgear. They were also assured of the safety and ease of job opportunities of Botswana vis- a vis South Africa by veteran migrants. Only about 1% reported having come to Gaborone because of other factors such as chance.

5.4. Social capital and coping with undocumented life in Botswana

In this section the social capital used by the undocumented migrant inside Botswana (the destination) is presented and analysed. The section goes further to explain, briefly the types of social capital used and the purposes for which such social capital is utilised. It also goes on to address how this social capital is used. The issues addressed here include accommodation, finding jobs, sickness, bereavement, financial management, role of the church and links to other groups. This section also explains how links are maintaining with the home front, sending remittances, visiting and assistance. It also deals with how migrants deal with security threats of arrest and deportation. Basically the section deals with issues that enhance or disturb possible undocumented migrant success and psychological well being.

5.4.1. Type of accommodation used by migrants

Table 9: The kind of accommodation used by the respondents

Type of accommodation	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative %
Alone	16	10.5	10.5
With a friend	26	17.1	27.6
Shared accommodation in a group	73	48.0	75.7
With a relative	7	4.6	80.3
With employer	28	18.4	98.7
Other	2	1.3	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Respondents were asked about the type of accommodation they used. Findings indicate that the majority of migrants lived in groups per room, sharing the rent (48%). The reasons for sharing for most were to cut costs of accommodation to save money to send home, and provision of a sense of security. Decent accommodation is expensive in Gaborone. Moreover most undocumented migrants did not care much for the quality of accommodation and simply wanted somewhere to sleep before going to work in the morning. One female migrant, Senzeni typically explains this issue;

Here we came to make money not to spend. These houses are not our houses. We just need somewhere to sleep after work. There is no electricity here but I feel comfortable living with all these people. I pay 50pula a month and I save a lot. What I need is money to build my own small house in my village. It's better to live like a slave here and live like a 'king' in Zimbabwe. Do not think I do not have money. I have it, but it has its serious purposes and plans.

Consistent with the concept of saving and security 17% indicated that they shared with a friend. These also wanted to avoid problems of staying with too many people, such as potential for conflicts. 4.6% stayed with relatives and 18% stayed with employers in stay-in domestic jobs. Those who stayed with relatives did so to save costs by sharing rent with people who were close and therefore more likely to be considerate and more sympathetic depending on the nature of the relationship. Those who stayed with employers did so because they would save on accommodation, transport and food costs. If they fell sick or had problems they could get more attention and problems would be speedily resolved. 11% indicated that they stayed alone. The main reasons for staying alone were affordability due to having more piece jobs (one could have a domestic job and a piece job done during weekends or a string of piece jobs) and need for privacy, especially for those who had spouses or boyfriends who visited regularly. They could stay alone if they were expecting some relatives to come and join them in Botswana. Sometimes the undocumented migrant's life was fraught with lack of stable accommodation due to bad attitudes of and eviction by relatives, getting attached to a 'spouse', lack of steady jobs and so on. Milly, a single female respondent with two children gave this story:

As I said first I stayed with my sister and her husband in their one room. For that reason we could not stay longer together. Later they decided to give me some cash to go and find a room to rent. I met a friend during my stay with my sister and she introduced me to a place where Zimbabweans share accommodation in large number paying five pula per day. We shared a room with ten other people. The problem was that I could not get a real job to find enough money to pay rent. When the landlord came for her rent I escaped and went to stay with another friend I had met at a piece job. She shared the room with her sister. She had taken in her sister because she was gravely ill after attempting an abortion. She died afterwards and the landlord evicted us and we again had to look for accommodation.

Another friend found me a place where I could stay alone. She introduced me to a white guy who employed me as a day time maid to do some chores for him. Later he introduced me to his friends so that now I am occupied every day and making good money, better than most, so I can now afford a room and I can accommodate my relatives when they come from Zimbabwe. When the work increased I called my brother from Zimbabwe to come to earn money for himself. We stay together in my room. After all he is my brother.

Pako, who survives by selling and repairing cell phones informally, had a similar situation:

Ben, my friend was staying in Gaborone with 5 other guys sharing a room and naturally I came and stayed with them. As I told you I used to share with five other guys and cook with one of them. Now I can afford to stay alone on my own. I stay with my 'wife' whose papers have since expired. Now she puts on the white clothes of the local Shona people (now citizens of Botswana), called Zezurus. They are a religious sect of a local church with Zimbabwean origins. She also finds piece jobs and we can afford our own room alone-with some privacy at last!

Migrants sometimes found it hard to continue to stay with relatives (about 5%). A characteristic response was given by Melody a single young lady;

At first I stayed with my aunt who brought me here. A few weeks after we arrived I found some piece jobs and raised some money, but my aunt took me to be a younger woman who had no use for money and started making some demands for me to cover her expenses and wash her clothes. After a time I refused. Later I left to stay with a friend and my aunt stayed at a boyfriend's place. Now I stay where I work. It is cheaper and more convenient that way. When my aunt went back to my mother and told her that she wanted to help my younger sister I could not allow her to get under the bad influence of my aunt, so I went to collect her before my aunt did so. Now she works here and lives with her employer and visits every weekend.

Another one, Melody pointed out the following revelations:

I did not want to go and stay with the cousin brother because I thought as he had a family I would be bothering them. Also I felt that visiting a relative without warning would make him uncomfortable and would expose his lifestyle or the extent of his 'poverty'. Most people think

you say things about them back home. My sister's friend had also advised me that living with a relative would create very demanding obligations. It's like they would expect you to buy relish or something, or 'show gratitude' by doing their bidding. If you say you now want to go and stay alone because you are now working they think you are being ungrateful. So it's better not to go and stay with them at the outset to avoid creating such an obligation. She also advised me that they might become jealous if I was successful. Relatives also expect you to remain in low paying jobs. Relatives also talk too much when they visit back home and say you are doing bad things here in Botswana like, prostitution. They can even bewitch you. That's why I chose my sister's friend.

Some respondents avoided relatives because of free riding behaviour. One of twins living in Mogoditshane is a case in point. Kelly a young lady with one child gave this testimony common among migrants:

No I did not know anyone in this city. I chose Botswana because I heard that it is not as dangerous as South Africa. I also heard that there were more opportunities for getting jobs here. I came to Botswana to find a job after I could not secure a job there in Zimbabwe after my workplace was closed during the urban clean-up operation. At first I came alone, and then my parents asked me to take my twin sister with me so that she could work for herself. We used to stay together, but I could not stand her. All she did was go around with married men, and I left her because I was the one paying rent and buying food and even her sanitary pads.... Imagine such laziness. She was pulling me down. Now she has a kid with this boyfriend, whom I hear has a wife back there. When I told the news back home she came and fought me here. She never goes home... She says I sold her out to my parents, but what could I do... Tell me... Imagine my twin sister cannot talk to me because she is irresponsible. Each time the 'husband' beats her she escapes here with her kid and goods, only to go back to him because she cannot work for herself

5.4.1.1. Significance of relationship between gender and type of accommodation

Table 10: Relationship between gender and kind of accommodation

		Kind of accommodation used													
		Alone		With a friend		In group		With a relative		With employer		Other		Total	
		n	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Gender of respondent	Male	8	11	14	18	44	59	5	7	3	4	1	1	75	100
	Female	8	11	12	16	29	37	2	3	25	32	1	1	77	100
Total		16		26		73		7		28		2		152	

p=0.001

A significant statistical relationship between gender and kind of accommodation is noted. 32% of women compared to 4% of males indicated that they stayed with their employer. 59% of males shared accommodation in groups compared to 37% of the females. The variance between male and female accommodation may be caused by the fact that more women are employed in domestic work and may opt to stay-in (stay with the employer) to save accommodation costs and avoid cramped and risky conditions. Those who stay-in are less likely to be apprehended than those staying out (who risk raids in well-known Zimbabwean lodging places or detection during transit to work). Most males do manual work and are not accommodated by employers, except if they stay on construction sites. They stay in large numbers to save costs of accommodation and for security reasons, as do a relatively low number of women. Sometimes males and females were mixed in a room. Caroline, a single mother gave the following explanation:

Accommodation is hard to find and sometimes we have to share with some boys, especially the ones old enough to be our younger brothers who cannot think of any mischief. Mostly they know our real boyfriends and even call the 'big brothers'. This is not a problem at all. It is just like sleeping with men on a train at night on a long journey. No harm.....and we get along well.

5.4.2. Accommodation set-up favoured by the migrant

Table 11: Respondents' favoured accommodation set-up

Preferred Set up	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative %
Friends	93	61.2	61.2
Relatives	55	36.2	97.4
Alone	4	2.6	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

61.2% of the respondents felt it was better or more comfortable to stay with friends than relatives. Some thought relatives could be too demanding. They may want them to do their bidding in areas such as choice of jobs and life-style. Relatives were also seen as likely to be too critical and abusive. For example elder relatives may want younger ones to do their chores like sweeping the house, washing their clothes or dishes and sometimes demanding them to buy food and cook for them. Besides stifling freedoms relatives were seen as more likely to be jealous of the migrant's success and give bad reports back home. The chances of them being compared on success factors were seen as something leading to potential conflict. Friends would not be like that since they will not be in a competitive position due to comparisons caused by proximity like having the same place of origin and exposure to comparisons by their people. Some would end up smearing others or engaging in character assassination to explain disparities in success such as attributing the other's success to deviant means such as prostitution or other activities like stealing. Relatives would more likely take it as bad or a sign of ingratitude when you decide to find your own accommodation later, so it is better to avoid staying with them from the start. Relatives were also more likely to claim that they were responsible for the success of their benefactor, implying that without them the migrant would have been a failure. Sometimes relatives have other ulterior selfish agendas for assisting others. A case of one lady, Viola whose sister first came to Botswana is a typical example:

My sister sent money home and I was happy when she convinced my mother that I should come to Botswana to help her while I looked for a job. When I got there I found out that the real reason why my sister called me was to make me her baby sitter, for nothing while she slept around with boyfriends. I do not support making money that way! She tried to justify it

by saying that I was supposed to help her since she was helping paying my fees and sending groceries home during the drought. When I left her for a better job she accused me of many things...lack of loyalty, stealing her money and other bad things, but I had to find my own job. Here friends can take care of you: relatives just want to abuse you just because you are younger or something like that.

About 36% indicated preference to live with relatives. Husbands with wives coming to Botswana preferred having them stay with some people who would see to it that their fidelity would be watched and misdemeanours would be reported and this would deter wives from misbehaving.

5.4.3. Class of people likely to help with job related information

Table 12: People likely to assists with job related information

People likely to assist	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percent
Friends	111	73.0	73.0
Relatives	41	27.0	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Research findings indicated that 73% of the respondents were more likely to be assisted with job related information by friends. The revelation of Tich, a male migrant summarises how this occurs:

They hear something and they refer me, I do the same. Sometimes you get two jobs at once, so what do you do? You give the job to a close colleague. He gets a job too many, he gives me. It goes on like that. But if he gets a job too many and decides to give to some other guy when I do not have one, then it is not good. I will have to find one who gives one good turn to another. Jobs are scarce so you give ones you find to those who will remember you when times are drier in terms of jobs. Some guys can have several jobs because they are good at job seeking, so you better be their friend. They can speak Setswana and they know all the corners so they are good at job seeking.

About 27% showed that relatives mostly assisted with information on jobs. The reason why relatives were not as helpful as friends were attributed to grudges back home in Zimbabwe

and jealousies of families. Some people also did not have any relatives in Gaborone. Some undocumented migrants did not like relatives to help them because later such relatives would attribute their success to that help given implying that they would not have succeeded if they were not given that help. Yet some did not want relatives to know the kind of job they were doing, for example if it was dirty, degrading or low paying. They would rather boast about having ‘a good job’ to relatives and keep it under wraps for good. Friends who usually come from distant areas in Zimbabwe did not pose such threats.

5.4.4. People likely to assist with information on police raids

Table 13: People likely to help with information related to police raids

People likely to give information	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Friends	105	69.1	69.1
Relatives	25	16.4	85.5
Strangers	4	2.6	88.2
Any other undocumented migrant	18	11.8	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

People agreed that raids by police take place sometimes. 69% responded that they got warnings and information about impending police raids from friends. Only 16% reported that relatives were more likely to inform them about possible police raids. This is because most people are closer to their friends than relatives or other types of relationships. They are likely to stay together and have cell phone numbers of their friends. Friends passed numbers to other friends creating a network of people connected by proximity and communications gadgets. Friends know that once a friend is arrested they lose a vital part of their security system in every sense of the word. Relatives, usually those staying with the undocumented migrant can warn the person or hide that him or her if they happen to be legal migrants, like close relatives with work and residence permits. However in the majority of cases it is normally friends who are within reach and who quickly understand the migrant’s predicament. Relatives tend to think of apprehension of the undocumented migrant in terms of costs and their own losses as getting money used for fine back is not usually easy. Friends understand because their friends can reciprocate more easily than relatives who assume they have a right to help. Therefore most migrants did not maintain tight contact with relatives as

they understood that relatives viewed them as looking forward to help from relatives as an obligation.

About 12% of the respondents asserted that any acquaintance that was also an undocumented migrant could just pass information to neighbours who were also undocumented migrants and in turn they would pass it on. This was mainly to ensure the person stayed out of police reach lest police interrogate him and, he or she may reveal that the neighbour is also likely to be an illegal migrant also. About 3% of the respondents asserted that strangers could also warn someone when they found that the person was an undocumented migrant.

5.4.5. How the respondents acquired their current job

Table 14: How the respondents got current jobs

How current job was obtained	Frequency	percentage	Cumulative percentage
Through my good education	2	1.3	1.3
Through friends	108	71.1	72.4
Through relatives	41	27.0	99.3
Other	1	0.7	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

The majority of the respondents showed that they got their current jobs through help from friends (71%). They insisted that friends tended to help because they would have been helped before and this help continued to grow with time. Moses, a male migrant gave the following typical narrative:

After doing piece jobs at the White City waiting area a friend got me a four month job to make and install tiles. Two people were needed so I invited a friend..... After the guy got injured by a sharp tile I had to take care of him for months until he was OK. The boss also paid him half pay until he was ok, but he could not cook for himself, so I helped. We were trained by some Zimbabwean supervisors there and we got good skills to make tiles. Even until now these guys still contact us when they need extra hands. After that contract I got another job related to construction again at Evergreen Landscaping Company - a Landscaping company, this time to do landscaping. I was there for some time till recently

when the engagement ended, and now they call me for piece jobs here and there, and tell me to look for people if they need extra help. They think since I do my work well my friends can do the same kind of work.

The temporal element created a sort of trust for mutual benefit. Friends also enjoyed working with their friends. 27% claimed getting their current jobs from help by relatives. Reasons for help by relatives were mainly utilitarian. In some instances they found a job for a relative to find excuses to ask them to go and find their own accommodation or for them to buy food and other groceries if they also lived together. Only 2% claimed that they got jobs due to personal attributes such as superior qualifications. These were mainly those with vocational qualifications who had been employed in the formal sector before work permits expired and now are mostly teaching in informal centres around Gaborone area. Jobs were mostly low paying and leaders exercised some power to influence moneys paid for labour so that prices could not be undermined. Godfrey gave the following narration of how migrants through their leaders try to influence labour wages charged:

We get jobs from colleagues, but we make sure we charge agreed labour charges. Some people go to work for anything and as a result most 'employers' come expecting cheap labour. We have noticed this and agreed that we charge certain amounts for certain jobs. Our leaders ensure that we stick to the rules. Those who undercharge are banished from the group's job seeking places. Like there were some guys who used to work for small amounts, now they have gone to work in the Botswana Building Society Shopping complex (mall) because our leaders here suspended them for charging less and letting local employers exploit us. If I feel hungry and wish to do this job I must make sure nobody knows about it.

Others were not employed in the conventional sense, but depended on deviant ways of survival. Either they saw piece jobs as low paying and demeaning, or once worked in these jobs and were not treated well by employers. The women among these became 'professional' shoplifters, called *marwanas* among the migrants. They sold their usually high quality booty to the lowly paid undocumented migrants at very low prices and are therefore popular among the migrants, who also feel that the 'brave' women are hitting back at the exploitative system. The men also took to repairing, buying and selling electronic gadgets mostly cell phones and computers, most of which were stolen. The network of suppliers included local petty thieves

called *pantsulas* who do not hesitate to snatch cell phones and steal laptops. Joining these ‘professions’ require connections and trust. Trust was needed since there was risk of getting caught and therefore need for bailing out those arrested.

I once worked in Chinese shops but I quit when I found that I was being used for nothing. Since my abusive husband divorced me I am not afraid of anything out there. When I came here I discovered that these Chinese also do not pay their employees. When I left they did not pay me a cent and I decided to get back at them. I had a friend who was in the same situation and she was brave enough to hit back by organizing young attractive ladies to lift goods from shops. When I told her my problem she confided in me and asked me to join her since I was an attractive woman and together we easily manage to take whatever we want from these shops. When the guards see attractive ladies they let their guard down and the rest is as easy as A, B, C. It is so easy as the security is not as tight as in Zimbabwe. Now we have some apprentices of people we trust and we train them. Now we now have a team. We make money: we share the ‘profits’. We have boyfriends with cars and they sometimes assist us to be mobile. We need to go to new places where they do not know us. When we hire a car we pay BWP600 a day and we go as a team and share the cost (BWP150 each). Upon reaching our destination we separately get into shops and do our jobs and bring our loot to the car.....The car must be a discreet distance away. If one is caught you must never attempt to go to the car. Nor should you reveal any names even when tortured because once that happens then the group is destroyed. We would have worked for nothing. We do not leave our arrested colleague alone, but we come back and pay fine to get her out...or talk to the officer if he is the talking type to drop charges... It’s tough but it pays you see. I have a strong team. We train them to be good and never to panic. Sometimes it’s dangerous because the CID guys can beat us, but we stick to our stories.

The response shows that trust is a basis for recruitment into these ‘professions’ as there is the perennial risk of apprehension by the police, so one had to trust that others would not reveal the names of accomplices when caught. On the other hand the one caught had to trust that her colleagues would pay the fine or bail in good time. With good looks and smart dressing they claim to hook the male officers into convenient affairs which make their jobs easy. This delicate arrangement requires careful recruitment and plenty of trust and strict adherence to rules.

The males in the deviant category have resorted to what they call cell phone repairing which in fact proved to be more of buying and selling all types of cell phones and sometimes laptops and computers. As a result young desperate Zimbabweans migrants and young local Batswana males (mostly) end up stealing phones to sell to these guys at very low prices. Pako, a male undocumented migrant gave a typical story which most of the few people in this trade refused to divulge freely:

My friend Ben taught me the trade of repairing cell phones after I found piece jobs stressing. Sometimes people also come to sell their old cell phones. So I now also buy and sell. The problem is that sometimes the young men, mostly Batswana, bring stolen phones, but how can I know whether the phone was stolen or not? I have discovered that where there is risk is where the money is. Since I started repairing and selling cell phones I have had encounters with the police, but it soon changed into some sort of 'careful' friendship because some officers want cheap cell phones or to get phones repaired, you see what I mean? They have become so used to me that sometimes we drive around and drink together so they no longer ask for my passport. I also speak their language fluently. I even get some of the undocumented guys I know out of jail through my friend. In Botswana learning their language is the key. After all police are people like me and you.

5.4.6. Modes used by respondents to send remittance money to Zimbabwe

Table 15: How respondents send money to relatives in Zimbabwe

Method of sending money	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Through Western Union	119	78.3	78.3
Through friends	6	3.9	82.2
By bus	6	3.9	86.2
Through relatives	21	13.8	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

All respondents indicated in varying degrees that they were obliged to send money periodically to their relatives at home, back in Zimbabwe. The various methods for sending money available to most respondents were through friends and/or relatives, by bus

conductors and drivers and through Western union. About 78% of the respondents indicated that initially they used buses mainly for sending money back home (usually after being directed to the 'honest and reliable' bus driver by a friend, relative or acquaintance who had used them before), but now they have changed to sending through Western Union after friends and relatives advised them of its convenience and security guarantee. This happened after some people lost their money to dishonest cross-border bus personnel and once trusted friends who were supposed to deliver to their relatives but abused the money. This led to deterioration of trust between bus conductors and the people, who then advised each other against using the dishonest bus conductors they once used. A respondent, Senzeni gave the following reason typically given by respondents for changing the mode of sending money home to Zimbabwe;

We used to send money through people like relatives and bus drivers. This used to cause a lot of tension. Sometimes you felt others were using you to take money to their people, and yet they never told that they were planning to go to Zimbabwe and you may also wish to send something. There was this problem of someone using your money when you send to your people....and he would say it was stolen or something. Sometimes they would talk about the amount you sent just to humiliate you to other people. No secret! However we used to know that so and so is trustworthy and never fails to deliver or does not talk too much. Now it does not matter much. With Western Union these problems are over. At first we were misinformed that Western Union needed a valid passport, but some of our friends employed in government clarified that Western Union only need an identity document to complete the transactions. Now almost everyone sends money via Western Union and no more fighting over undelivered funds.

Responses for sending money by relatives were 14%, especially where relatives were close and had resident and work permits. 4% of the respondents still used the remaining trust worthy bus conductors referred to them by close friends and relatives. Sending money through friends was only 4% because most undocumented migrants could not go back home due to lack of documentation. In addition, friends who were not from the same area back in Zimbabwe could not be fully trusted and could abscond with the money. Only close ones whose place of abode was known could be used if trusted.

5.4.7. Modes of remitting goods home to Zimbabwe

Table 16: How respondents send goods to relatives in Zimbabwe

Mode of sending	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Through friends	13	8.6	8.6
By bus	105	69.1	77.6
Through relatives	34	22.4	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

On sending groceries home, which most respondents saw as important, there was a reverse of the money sending trend with 69% reporting that they used buses to get groceries back home to Zimbabwe. Bus conductors and drivers used were not picked randomly but carefully referred by people who knew them well. They used bus conductors because goods could not be sent by Western Union and ‘bush’ couriers (Zimbabwean self-imposed carriers, also called *malaichas* by migrants) could not be trusted and charged high amounts for their service. Relatives did not go home often enough. 22% responded that they used relatives to take goods and groceries to their families in Zimbabwe. Those with relatives with work and residence permits found it easier to do that. They could also send those people whose ETDs had not yet expired. The friends could be those who were going back because of funerals or other emergencies. These were reportedly used by 9% of the respondents.

5.4.8. Whether migrants have documented friends and/or relatives

Table 17: Having friends and/or relatives who are documented migrants

Having a documented relative/friend	frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
None	61	40.1	40.1
A few	84	55.3	95.4
Many	7	4.6	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

The research results indicate that 55% of the respondents had a few relatives in Botswana who had resident and work permits and 5 % reported having many such relatives or friends.

Those with documented relatives and friends enjoyed certain privileges although most did not stay with their relatives. Since they could not bank their cash or keep it safely in crowded rooms the undocumented people could give the money to their documented counterparts for safe – keeping. If they also bought large and expensive items they could keep them with the documented colleagues since there was lack of space and security where they stayed. If they were close enough they could provide shelter from impending police raids. Documented migrants also used their connections in the police to get undocumented relatives released from police custody where possible. 40% of the respondents did not have documented relatives or friends in Gaborone, but it may be erroneous to conclude that they did not have access to such social capital as their friends could refer them to approachable benefactors. Grey, a male resident, narrated how the documented relatives can be useful:

When I sometimes visit my brother who is a resident with papers I go with my friends. We drink together as we move around with his car and sometimes they buy him beer also. They are now quite close with my brother and see him just as a brother and respect him. Whenever they get arrested my brother tries by all means to get them released just as he does with me

5.4.9. Respondents’ perception of importance of rotating credit associations

Table 18: Perception of the importance of ‘rounds’ or rotating credit associations

Perception of rotating credit, “rounds’	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Extremely unimportant	17	11.2	11.4
Unimportant	18	11.8	23.0
Neither important nor unimportant	25	16.4	39.5
Important	67	44.1	83.6
Extremely important	25	16.4	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Respondents indicated that the issue of savings was a big issue which concerned them. Sometimes they needed lump sums to send home, buy quantities of fertilizer and large items such as refrigerators, wardrobes, solar panels and so on. They said that was where rotating credit proved their value. 44% thought that rotating credit associations, (popularly called

‘marounds’ among Zimbabweans) were important and 16% thought that these clubs were extremely important. Of the respondents 16% indicated that rotating credit clubs were neither important nor unimportant. 12% thought such clubs were unimportant while 11% thought that such associations were extremely unimportant. The low rating of rotating credit where it was low was attributed to low trust after the migrants may have tried to form these clubs and failed because of lack of trust. One respondent, Senzeni, a widow, gave her reasons for such a negative attitude:

Our money saving club failed at the outset. Only on the first round was it smooth sailing. There were 4 of us in the group and we had to contribute BWP400. Other members began to give excuses and paying the money in small instalments which defeated the whole purpose of the rounds concept. What we needed was a lump sum to buy big items. So the rounds came to a halt and we took property from those who owed others. This caused bad relations with our colleagues. Sometimes it just starts when they cannot manage their funds properly.

5.4.9.1. Gender and perception of money savings clubs

Table 19: Gender and perception of saving through ‘rounds’ or money saving club

		Gender perception of money saving clubs or ‘rounds’											
		Extremely unimportant		unimportant		Neither unimportant nor important		Important		Extremely important		Total	
		n	%	N	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	
Gender of respondent	Male	14	19	10	13	18	24	27	36	6	8	75	100
	Female	3	4	8	11	7	9	40	52	19	24	77	100
Total		17		18		25		67		25		152	

p= .000

There is a statistically significant relationship between gender and positive opinions about saving money through credit associations. Female respondents were more likely to think that it was important save money to send home or buy big items through credit associations popularly known as “marounds”, implying taking turns to give and receive money from each

other. 24% of females compared to 19% thought credit associations were extremely important compared to 8% of the males. 52% of females thought the same associations were important compared to 36% of the males. Only 9% of females were non-committal compared to 24% of males who took such associations as neither important nor important to them. 19% of males compared to 4% of females thought credit money saving associations were extremely unimportant. This can be attributed to the high level of trust between undocumented migrant women, and job stability which would not disrupt turns as they fall due compared to men's instability and high levels of distrust among the males due to too much mobility. Besides, Zimbabwean migrant women seem motivated to accumulate money and property to prove their worth to relatives at home who originally disapproved of them migrating. They were committed to buying big items and groceries to feed their people especially in hard times, more than their male counterparts who are more complacent. A female respondent, Mary gave a revealing narrative of this trend:

My parents at first did not want me to migrate, but I convinced them even though members of the community and extended family thought it was a bad idea for a woman. My friend was working here and helping her family and most people said a lot of bad things about how women get money in Botswana, like asking "how can she buy all these things? Maybe she sells her body in Botswana and so on." My friend got me a job as a domestic servant like herself. I have discovered that success is from hard work. My brother also came with us but he never sends anything home. He stays with his friends and squanders his money. For us women who were not married and have children we have to work and have something to show for the absence from home. Boys will always get inheritance when parents die, or feel like giving them. We have to sweat while time is there.

A male migrant, Bruce shows that men can save money through rounds but the trust is limited to people who are very close and who stay with each other or come from the same location, in a town or village in Zimbabwe:

Men can get a building contract and move away whilst they owe the club. Men's jobs are not at a specific place and can just materialize and they just have to go and work. Sometimes they are tempted to go without telling colleagues, thinking they would return and pay, but things will not always go according to plan and they fail to come back. Now I have joined my sister

who is doing the savings rounds with three other ladies. They only trust me because of my sister, but I trust them. Men are mostly bad planners or crooks.

5.4.10. Respondents' views towards the importance of burial societies in Botswana

Table 20: Respondents' views on the importance of burial societies in Botswana

Perception of burial societies	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative frequency
Extremely unimportant	37	24.3	24.3
Unimportant	50	32.9	57.2
Neither important nor unimportant	40	26.3	83.6
Important	24	15.8	99.3
Extremely important	1	0.7	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

When asked about the whether they saw burial societies as important a total of 57% were against formation of such societies with 24% viewing them as extremely unimportant while the other 33% thought that burial societies were just unimportant. The rationale for the majority to be against the idea of burial societies was mainly logistical and concerned with migrant instability due to constant movements among undocumented migrants. Lack of overall trust was also a factor. Ad hoc contributions usually done were seen as adequate to provide for the services of bereaved people. Non-viability of burial societies among migrants is represented by a typical response given by two respondents, female and male. Melody (female respondent) had this to say:

I do not think they are workable because people are always on the move and who can keep the money. We cannot have bank accounts here, you see? Contributions are enough. People have their own relatives who do the rest.

26% were non-committal and did neither saw them as important nor unimportant. A respondent who is active in mobilizing people for funerals among the migrants, Pako gave the typical logistical rationale shared by others for not having burial societies:

Not really that way (a burial society). We cannot organise burial societies because we do not know when some people can be deported, plus keeping moneys contributed would be a serious problem. However if a colleague dies here we make contributions. All guys who are informed of the problem will be expected to assist in cash or kind. Like one guy who is resident here. He came to the funeral of an undocumented colleague and volunteered to have his car to be used to assist carrying mourners and making funeral arrangements. As a result he gets respect from the whole group. Besides this all people gather at the deceased's home to console the bereaved just like at home. We also contact the deceased's next of kin back in Zimbabwe if necessary.

The remaining 17% indicated that burial societies were important or extremely so. These may have had a large number of relatives and people from the same communities back in Zimbabwe and were thus not affected by factors negating burial societies already stated. A male respondent, Don who is an auto electrician expressed the following views:

I know of some burial societies which are based on church affiliation or where more people are related in the group. Members usually trust one another and contribute monthly to a fund. Members can then borrow money if they need to buy things like big items. This helps those guys who cannot get a bank loan because of lack of documentation.

A respondent's views gives the typical importance placed on funerals and sickness:

A case from Melody a female migrant reveals the extent to which the social rule enforcement regarding assistance for funeral purposes could go;

Our leaders always ensure that we cooperate. They are more serious on issues of funerals and sickness when some stingy people do not like to contribute. Like there was a time when we had to help this lady whose infant child died here in Botswana. Leaders asked us to pay and most paid since leaders showed that this was a serious situation and we also thought it was. After most of us paid BWP5 each one lady said she did not have a penny. One lady leader took her handbag and shook it...and out came some money! It was shameful! The girl was punished by being chased from the place where we seek jobs for quite a while, and we supported it. She was banished until she apologised. From now on most people pay. I think it is good for them because later this girl also lost her sister and we helped. We learned a

lesson here.....Leaders are free to punish anyone and mostly they will be right.....They can even beat someone if it's a serious issue. It is for their own good! Even when some employers under-charge their service leaders can chase away the prospective employers and advise them to come back when they have a fair price. Even if we are willing to work for less leaders can stop us because it lowers the rates paid by employers.

The migrants, however did not show a negative attitude towards helping in case of death and had other methods of coping if one of them lost a beloved one. The main alternative was to deal with bereavement and death situations ad hoc (when and as they occurred). In case of death members of all groups were told of the situation and the person (s) affected so that people could gauge what amounts they could pay. Contributions were collected by group leaders (who are people of honest standing among the migrants) to assist during funerals. Names and amounts contributed were taken down and a record was kept so that those who contribute always would be noted in case they also have problems later. Names of contributors and amounts and resource contributed towards the funeral are read aloud at the funeral so that members have to know who was supportive and who was not. This exposed non- and under - performers and shamed them acting as a tool for social control. Those who refused to contribute were also noted so that in case of similar problems they could expect nothing as well from the group.

5.4.11. Information on respondents' attachment to money saving clubs

Table 21: Whether the respondents belong to a money saving club

Belonging to a money saving club	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Yes	64	42.1	42.1
Once belonged	56	36.8	78.9
Never belonged	32	21.1	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Respondents were asked whether they actually belonged to 'marounds' or money saving clubs. 42.1% indicated that they currently belonged to such clubs because they had trusted friends who were reliable and were having stable income sources.

Two female respondents Viola and Vicky tell about how they managed to build a successful money saving network;

There were originally only two of us in the club. We were wary of new members and we trusted only each other. Before accepting members we first assess their motives, like those who come and say they need to take the first turn to be given money. We assess whether we know enough about the aspiring member. We ask what people say about her or him and selecting a member is not easy. If you make a mistake we are done for. Usually we must know about your home background, like we can have phone numbers of your relatives which we may have taken just for security purposes. We may have interacted with them by phone and know where they are so that if in any eventuality you cannot pay we see them or find you. Becoming a member is just not easy. That's why most people are not having clubs.

Money saving clubs are good, but only with close people you can trust. You can't have a money club with a total stranger who comes from Gokwe where you do not even know anybody. How do you follow up if he goes with your money? Most guys are crying after some people who seemed honest at first proved very uncooperative. Money does things to people you know. We use to do it as the four of us but we stopped and I am now doing it only with R., my friend. Also to have these money saving rounds you have to be sure the other people have a source of income to honour their promises. Other want money, but they can't work hard enough to return it.

Of the respondents 37% indicated that they once belonged to a money saving club at one or more times. They had given up due to deteriorating levels of trust among members, some of whom defaulted leading to clubs' demise. In some cases members were deported and never returned, making some club members lose out. An excerpt from an interview with one respondent, Saddam is revealing, about money serving clubs (aka, *marounds*):

I think they are important (money saving clubs). Like if you want to buy a big item, you need to get help from colleagues and they also get their turn. I was once a member of a club in Francistown, but you need to trust the people. Sometime some guys get money and disappear for good. There are some we trust even if they are undocumented. We know that they return and own up after deportation. Deportation is part of life. It's no excuse to avoid owning up because we always sponsor deportees to return. Now in Gabs I don't have people I trust, plus

most do not have regular income, so why create problems and enemies with your eyes open. Women can be trusted more than men. You can do rounds if the other guys are getting money regularly. That way we remain friends.

Vongi, a woman from Harare gave this important revelation;

Oh yes. You can never buy something like a good plasma TV, fridge or nice bed with your own pay, so 'rounds' boost your money to buy big items. Only you must learn never to do 'rounds' with a stranger. Mostly you have to know where they come from back in Zimbabwe or know them for a long time or have been in thick and thin with them and know where they are from. You must be able to understand your colleagues and trust is very important. In fact it is the most important thing. Mostly we do rounds when most of us are aiming to buy big items like furniture, like kitchen units, fridges and so on, not clothes or if we need to boost our household utensils we can contribute small amounts and buy pots for one another.

Some respondents indicated having problems with relatives who were in the same savings clubs as themselves as they turned to abuse their relational closeness to their own advantage. This is one reason why bonding gave in to bridging among the undocumented migrants. The following story by Siphon, a female respondent on the nature of the problem;

I used to belong to another group where my cousin was a member also. When my turn came to get my money from the group my cousin started to drag, but I could do nothing to make her pay up. I think she was taking advantage of the fact that she knew that her father used to pay my fees when my father passed away. If I fought with her over my money what would people at home think.....? Obviously that I am ungrateful for the help her father gave me at that time. I left the group. We will see if she gets rich with that money...now nobody trusts her!

Another respondent, Themba showed total disillusionment towards money saving clubs caused by a relative's unreliable behaviour towards the group obligations which he had promised to fulfil. He had this to say;

I shall never again join these groups because of my cousin. He was deported and never returned, yet he was supposed to fulfil his obligations paying back these guys. He came back,

not here, but to Francistown. The guys think I know where he is and they will not let me join. These (relatives) people can mess you up.....

The remaining 25% showed that they were never involved with clubs. Some were sceptical about their viability. Some reported conflicts and violence which they witnessed after member failed to own up. They also told of lost friendships. These preferred to keep their money on themselves wherever they were. Others also felt they did not yet have stable jobs to commit themselves to these clubs.

5.4.11.1. Significance of the relationship between gender and savings club membership

Table 22: Relationship between gender and belonging to a money saving club

		Belonging to a money saving club							
		Yes		Once belonged		Never belonged		Total	
		N	%	N	%	n	%	N	%
Gender of respondent	Male	15	20	32	43	28	37	75	100
	Female	37	48	29	38	11	14	77	100
Total		52		61		39		152	

P=0.000

There is a significant statistical relationship between gender and belonging to a money saving club. About 48% of females compared to 20% of males actually belonged to money saving clubs. 38% of females once belonged to a money saving club compared to 29% of males, while 37% of males never belonged to such clubs compared to 14% of females. Females prove more likely to belong to savings clubs than their male counterparts. The main reasons may be found to be high levels of trust prevalent among women, job stability and need to raise money to look after dependants. Women had relatively more dependants than men and thus needed more cash. Women in domestic employment and hair salons proved more stable and in constant contact with each other enough to trust that others would not abscond. Vongi, a female respondent had this to say:

Oh yes. You can never buy something like a good plasma TV, fridge or nice bed with your own pay, so 'rounds' with other close colleagues can boost your money to buy big items.

Only you must learn never to do 'rounds' with a stranger. Mostly you have to know where they come from back in Zimbabwe or know them for a long time or have been in thick and thin with them and know where they are from or where they work. You must be able to understand your colleagues. Mostly we do rounds when most of us are aiming to buy big items like furniture, like kitchen units fridges and so on, not clothes or if we need to boost our household utensils we can contribute small amounts and buy pots for one another.

This is a version from one of two male respondents, Thomas who saved money between themselves because they worked on the same site daily:

Yeah. I have rounds with my 2 friends I work with and we give P600 per month to each other and we save that way. When they give me either I buy something big or send money home to my family. Most men do not trust one another, like women do. Most men are crooks and can change town after receiving a round of cash. I never do it with men I do not know about. As for me I trust these guys because we work together and I know how much they get and when. I know when someone leaves his job and we stay at the same house. Keeping the money in the form of property ensures it is not stolen or squandered. That's why most Zimbabweans always come back after deportation. Imagine you being deported before you take your fridge to the wife back in Zimbabwe and you have worked 4 months for it.

5.4.11.2. Relationship between migrant's income and belonging to a money saving club

Table 23: Relationship between monthly income and belonging to a money saving club

		Belonging to a money saving club							
		Yes		Once belonged		Never belonged		Total	
		N	%	N	%	n	%	N	%
Monthly estimated income	501-1000	7	4.6	18	11.8	3	2	28	18.4
	1001-1500	9	5.9	13	8.6	15	10	37	24.5
	1501-2000	12	7.9	15	10	14	9.2	41	27.1
	2001-2500	20	13	10	6.6	6	3.8	36	23.4
	Above 2501	4	2.6	5	3.3	1	0.7	10	6.6
Total		52		61		39		152	100

p= 0.005

There is a statistically significant relationship between income and belonging to a money saving club. Those with higher incomes tended to belong to money saving clubs (about 16% of those earning above P2000) because they could afford it. They had extra cash to spare after fulfilling more urgent and immediate commitments such as rent, food and sending remittance money home to Zimbabwe. Only 5% of those earning between P501 and P1000 could afford joining a money saving club. The figures indicate a trend progressively showing the pattern

5.4.12. Perception of importance of church to respondents while in Botswana

Table 24: Respondents' perception of church while in Botswana

Perceptions towards attending church	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Extremely unimportant	16	10.5	10.5
Unimportant	39	25.7	36.2
Neither important not unimportant	40	26.3	62.5
Important	36	23.7	86.2
Extremely important	21	13.8	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Respondents were asked their opinions about the importance of the Church in their migration life. 38% responded that the Church was important in their lives in Botswana. They affirmatively responded that the church had a role to play in their adaptation to Botswana life. Though some were regular partakers in church activities, others were not regular. 26% were non-committal where church issues were concerned and 26% viewed the church as unimportant to them in Botswana. Those who saw church as important (24%) gave several reasons for that importance. The first was the sense of security provided by God's divine powers. The second rationale was church as a source of social control. The third reason was that church members in some cases assisted members facing arrest and/or deportations. The fourth reason for church attendance was that if a person was sick or bereaved church members provided a bona fide comforting community. Siphon, a female migrant:

Church is important. After I was deported 3 times I needed to go to Madzibaba (African apostolic church) for cleansing. My Shona friend advised me and since then I have never met a policeman who asked for papers or arrested me. The prayers also chase away evil spirits sent by jealous relatives from home in Zimbabwe. Sometimes they cast evil spirits on you, especially when you say goodbye to them when coming here. It was at church where I was told that some relatives are jealous of my success so I must never bid anyone farewell when I leave for Botswana.

Don, a male migrant who used to attend church regularly gave the following version:

Churches are important in case of problems such as sickness and death. The church members can come and comfort the bereaved and make substantial contributions. Some can even volunteer transport to repatriate the corpse. If you do not belong to a church you can find yourself stranded with a corpse of a beloved one. I am a Catholic, but I do not usually attend as I am busy weekends doing my piece jobs, but I regret that.

Milly, a female respondent had this to say:

The church is very important. God gives you good fortune and blesses your life. Also you must know that most prospective employer attend church and get to know your manners and it improves chance of getting employment. In case of funerals members of the church can make contributions and provide support in kind also. They can make someone feel important, wanted and liked. You will feel at home if you have a problem and your self- confidence is rejuvenated.

Mary, a female respondent's response, typifies the views of most female undocumented migrants on church as a source of social control:

The church is very important. If you do not go to church you will find yourself with plenty of problems. Most ladies who do not like church end up cohabiting with men here in Botswana. Even married women can take their rings aside and stay with men, who may also have wives at home. Some end up taking alcohol and drugs and having unwanted pregnancies. Abortions are common among the undocumented migrants. Imagine getting pregnant here in Botswana. Most family members do not take such things lightly and end up accusing you of being a prostitute and you can find it hard to return home to your people with an additional family member, especially when the man refuses to be responsible for the pregnancy as often happens. This will not reflect well in your home community and this will play into the hands of the detractors of migration of daughters whose pessimistic views of women will be proved. When you attend church regularly you are always reminded of the consequences of infidelity. We do not have aunts here who can advise us as in the past. The church elders and pastors do that here. You also avoid life of serving time in prisons here, like most marwanas (shoplifters) who are now shameless and boast of time in jail. Church gives you the good side of life and you have fewer problems.

Saddam, a male respondent who used to go to church gave a lengthy response which sums up points raised by most respondents about the church and its role;

Personally from experience I think the church plays a role in most migrants' lives. The church can give you self-confidence and you feel protected. Most people here go to the apostolic Churches and Pentecostals where personal problems are directly addressed. They can pray for you to get good luck or foretell your problems before they happen. Most migrants have been to these churches when in trouble. From my experience after several deportations, my friend persuaded me to go to the Bethsaida Apostolic Church where I was baptized, though I was already a catholic at home in Zimbabwe. This was not just a church, but a shield, and since I joined it I was never arrested. I sincerely think if you really believe it works for you. The church was also good in that when we looked for accommodation or jobs we easily got references of good behaviour from elders in church. Besides, that church accommodated me and a friend for some time when I did not have a house. In exchange for sleeping in the church we just maintained the garden and yard. The church membership was also good in that it was made up of Batswana, Shona and Ndebele, so I easily learned Setswana and SiKalanga and perfected my rudimentary Ndebele. I now speak all languages and can pass for a Motswana easily. I can look for jobs and get favours from Batswana neighbours. I learned faster in the church. This particular church was very helpful in that it protected its members, like us without papers. If the elders heard that one of us was arrested they would send money to assist the deportees in their ordeal. We used this money to return from the border as a result we kept the church's rules. If one misbehaved the church would ostracise him or her. In times of funerals the church plays a pivotal role. They come to provide moral support and resources. Like the guy I referred to who died in Bontleng, Gaborone, members of the apostolic sect came in droves and made things easier. As for me it was the church which introduced me to Gaborone. We used to come for church sessions by train and effectively avoided checkpoints, so when I came here I felt at home. I bet that if it was not for the church some guys could have succumbed to HIV/AIDS. So though I no longer go to church regularly I think the church played a big part in my life in Botswana, especially the initial part. When church members from Zimbabwe came for sessions here we could send our goods. It was all so smooth. Now I can't save the way I used to do when I was in the church.

They pointed out that church members visited them in hard times and they felt secure and appreciated. Some potential employers could be contacted at the church and some members could share job related information. Members pointed out that churches like the African apostolic sects have leaders who would pray for good fortune and luck to find jobs and avoid police apprehension. The church in some cases was like an extended family, providing a basis for solidarity. Even irregular church goers went to these churches when faced by problems and claim that they were cleansed of bad luck. Moses a male respondent gave the following version of how the African apostolic churches (particularly those originating in Zimbabwe) typically work:

Most churches are free and are held in open spaces and all who want to attend can attend. They can be assisted in their problems by prophets who distribute holy water and cleansing prayers. The prophets can foretell problems a person is likely to encounter in the near future. They can also publicly name and shame people engaging in prostitution and criminal actions and tell them to desist from such acts or else face consequences. Most accused people admit their crimes and this shows the authenticity of the prophets claims. Most people who attend know what to expect and are not forced and they do not pay anything. After cleansing things go well for most who obey the rules and even police will not be a menace. It depends, but most people believe.

5.4.12.1. Significance of relationship between gender and perception towards church

Table 25: Relationship between gender and perception about church

		Feelings towards church attendance while in Botswana											
		Extremely unimportant		Unimportant		Neither important nor unimportant		important		Extremely important		Total	
		n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	
Gender of respondent	Male	8	11	27	36	22	29	11	15	7	9	75	100
	Female	8	10	12	16	18	23	25	33	14	18	77	100
Total		16		39		40		36		21		152	

p = 0.008

There is a significant statistical relationship between gender and church attendance. This significance might be attributable to how males and females find jobs. Females are more likely to meet some of their prospective employers at the church and get references which would make it easier for them to get jobs from there. About 18% of females perceived the church as extremely important compared to males. 33% of females compared to 15% of the males thought church attendance was important. Women's domestic jobs require that employers have more reliable references than male manual jobs. In most female domestic jobs trust is needed more since domestic servants are most likely to be left alone with property and small kids or babies while employers will be at work. Church attendance is associated with meekness and likelihood of trustworthiness. Males met more prospective employers (mainly from the manual sector) at drinking spots in the suburbs (called *spotos* in Setswana) than at churches and most men tended to be drinkers of alcohol. In this case the social spaces for men are different from those of women. Most men's jobs involved tough talk which involved language antithetical to church etiquette and contractors are mainly difficult people who need to be handled by hard ball tactics not consistent with church values. Interviews indicated that men who claimed to attend church were not regular in attending, but went there when they had problems. They frequented the African independent churches like the African Apostolic Church also called (*vapositori* in Shona). These respondents claimed to get cleansing to chase bad luck and attract good luck from the church 'prophets'. This reveals the utilitarian aspect of church attendance by men.

Some claimed the church prophets could detect 'sins' a person was doing and shame a person publicly. This acted as a form of social control and instilled a psychological sense of confidence, as one man, Godfrey gave the following typical story:

I had been arrested three times in a row paying fines. When I told my friend about my problem he asked me to go to a prophet who used to offer services for free in Mogoditshane location. He advised me not to wear red and to take off my shoes when we got to the shrine (also called masowe in Shona, meaning 'sacred place of prayer'. When I got there I saw people being told their problems. Two young men were told to stop their house breaking habits and look for honest jobs. They did not argue, which I think meant the prophet was telling the truth. After confession in public they were given 'sacred water' under oath that

they would never do any more crimes again. I think it works because since I received water to remove bad luck I had no serious problems with the police

5.4.13. Relationships to which migrants attribute their success

Table 26: Attribution for success in Botswana as a migrant

Factors for success	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Friends	101	66.4	66.4
Relatives	42	27,6	94.1
Family member	7	4.6	98.7
Other	2	1.3	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Respondents had various views about relationship factors which made them succeed as undocumented migrants. 66% thought that friends played the most crucial role in their success in Botswana, while 28% attribute their success to relatives. 5 % attributed their success to siblings and other very close family members like parents. Only about 1% attributed their success to other factors such as their own capabilities or good employers. The reason why these migrants depended on friends was the jealousy that relatives may have compared to the understanding nature of most friends as Grey, a young married man reveals:

With friends you are equals regardless of age. With relatives either you are older and superior or younger and subordinate depending on the relationship and rules governing it. Older relatives expect younger ones to ‘respect’ them and any progress above them would be interpreted as disrespect. They think “What would people think back home if I make less money than this small girl?” Relatives also expect you to assist at their beck and call. With friends it is different. We are equals and you are free to help if and when you like. Friends make my day and I see my relatives if I have to! They cannot help you whole heartedly.

Moses, a young man gives a characteristic response;

My friend and I were first assisted to get accommodation by my friend’s brother for a month. After that the brother of my friend found my uncle and we moved to his house. He offered 3 of

us the room and we had to pay nothing until we got some jobs. We stayed and found jobs and later when my uncle noticed we had begun to drink and smoke he asked us to find other accommodation. I decided that if I went on staying with my uncle he would end up saying “if I did not help him he would not be like this” yet I am working for myself, so I then moved in with my girl- friend I met here. That’s where I stay now.

5.4.14. Whether migrants have police acquaintances of friends

Table 27: Having police acquaintances or local friends

Police friend	Frequency	percentage	Cumulative percentage
Yes	109	71.7	71.7
No	43	28.3	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Respondents were asked whether they had police acquaintances or connections to police. Respondents indicated that 78% had either Botswana police friends or acquaintances through friends. These connections were mainly encountered in social spaces such as *spotos* and bottle stores in most cases and churches in other cases. Police officers were mostly met at drinking places where the undocumented migrants bought them beer and drank and chatted with them. This case can be exemplified by Brian, a middle-aged respondent:

Where ever people gather, like at the Spoto (Shebeen selling opaque brew) we meet all sorts of people. We see police officers who are our friends. We buy them beer all the time. Some are really our buddies, and if raids are coming they warn us and using our cell phones we contact all our friends. Police are people, just like us you know, so we can be friends with some of them.

29% claimed that they did not have any police or local acquaintances of serious nature. This may not mean that they did not enjoy privileges of using police connections via their colleagues.

5.4.15. Relationship between having police friends and time in Botswana

Table 28: Having police friends or acquaintances and time in Botswana

		Having Police or local acquaintances					
		Yes		No		Total	
		N	%	n	%	N	%
Years working in Botswana	Less the one year	0	0	1	100	1	100
	1-3	22	55	18	45	40	100
	4-6	71	79	19	21	90	100
	7-9	15	72	5	25	20	100
	10 years and above	1	100	0	0	1	100
Total		109		43		152	

p=0.0029

There is a significant statistical relationship between period spent in Botswana and prospects of having an acquaintance of friend in the police force. 72% of those with 7 to 9 years in Botswana indicated that they had police friends or acquaintances compared to 55% of those with 1 to 3 years in Botswana. 45% of these with 1-3 years in Botswana had no police connections, while only 25% of those with 7-9 years lacked such connections. The incidence of such trends shows that there is an increase in likelihood of such relationships as the number of years in Botswana increases. This may be because senior migrants could have encountered most police officers than junior ones on the balance of probabilities. Newer migrants need more time to have such valuable acquaintances. A respondent gave the following narrative;

I have been here for a long time and I have been arrested many times, but I also know many police people because of that. Most police here do not change stations and we always get to know each other more. When they are off duty we meet and sometimes we buy each other beer at the drinking spots. Some who are more friendly also sympathize with us and give us advice in advance of police operations in our area so that we remain vigilant. They are just human being like us and they tell us that they will just be doing their duty. Some want money in return for 'favours' given like when they release a colleague. I have police friends who feel real pity for us and they help if they can and we can give them a 'thank you' when we meet.

5.4.16. People likely to assist respondents in case of illness

Table 29: People most likely to assist respondents when sick in Botswana

People likely to help	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Relatives	53	34.9	34.9
Family member	22	14.5	49.3
Friends	69	45.4	94.7
Other	8	5.3	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Migrant respondents showed that when they were sick others could come to their rescue comforting them and helping in cash and in kind. 45% claimed that friends mostly assisted them with care, food and encouraged them to have faster recovery. A female respondent, Fadzi who survives by shoplifting gave the following view aired by a considerable number of respondents:

We stay with our friends so we look after each other as true friends. When you become sick even with a minor illness the relative want you to go home because they think if you die here they will lose money ferrying when gravely ill or dead. If you call relatives to tell them you are sick, they think you are already dying, and this affects most people. They begin to gossip about 'how you got AIDS from travelling to far-away lands.' To them every illness is AIDS. Like when my aunt who used to work here in Botswana died, her friends called my uncles when she was seriously sick. I think her sickness got worse because of stress caused by too many negative comments. May be she died because of the stress they caused her. If I fall sick my people will be the last to know. Friends give you hope and do not keep on blaming you for the sickness! Women are particularly in this kind of trouble from conservative relatives who did not support the idea of their coming to Botswana in the first place.

About 35% claimed that they got most help from their relatives in Botswana and 14% claimed to get most help in this regard from family members like brothers, sisters and parents. The remaining 5% responded that they were assisted by other people such as employers. It appears from the set up that friends helped more frequently because they are

always together with the sick person and relatives are only called when the condition worsens. The proportion dependant on relatives when sick is higher than in most cases because in case of sickness it becomes an obligation for the relative since he or she is the one who ‘actually’ knows the place of residence of the sick person’s relatives. Friends are not known in the village. People in the Village still expect an individual to be responsible for his/her kinsfolk in the distant place in case he or she dies. Friends will be afraid so they contact relatives. Besides in Zimbabwean custom there is belief that a person of the same totem can commiserate with the ancestors to forgive ‘their son or daughter’ and the diseases may go away. It is unacceptable to ignore pleas of a sick relative even if you were not in a good relationship. relatives are the ultimate refuge for a sick individual, especially abroad or away from home.

5.4.17. How often migrants visited home (Zimbabwe) from Botswana

Table 30: Frequency of visits to Zimbabwe

Visits to Zimbabwe	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Once a year	92	60.5	60.5
Twice a year	45	29.6	90.1
More than twice a year	15	9.9	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

The majority of respondents indicated that they were most likely to visit Zimbabwe once a year (61%) usually around Christmas when they would have accumulated reasonable amounts of money and bought goodies for their families. They pointed out that the reason for this was that since they were undocumented they would find it hard to go and return from Zimbabwe without risking abortion of their movement through apprehension by border authorities and police. They indicated that dangers posed by the border through possible robberies, rapes and murder were enough of a deterrent. Moreover at Christmas police would not be particularly keen to arrest people actually leaving Botswana. They claimed that more frequent visits to Zimbabwe would make them lose touch with their jobs and employers especially where employment would have been hard to secure. 30% indicated that they visited Zimbabwe twice. These were married people with husbands and wives back at home, or had sick relatives. 10% indicated that they crossed into Zimbabwe more than twice a year.

These were mainly made up of migrants who came to Botswana more than 6 years ago and knew all the tricks and were fluent in Setswana language. They also claimed to know many people at the border (both border guards and informal agents who assisted in border crossing). Most undocumented migrants expressed that they went to Zimbabwe at Christmas if all went according to plan. They could not go in between because of the fear of apprehension and difficulty of returning to Botswana. One respondent Moses's views represent the general trend about single migrants and its rationale:

Since I do not have a wife I see no reason why I must risk arrest by the police trying to go to Zimbabwe. The other problem is that our employers want us daily at work and when we miss work they can replace us. There are many Zimbabweans looking for jobs here and getting another job is not easy, and worse still, building rapport and trust with a new employer is hard. I only go to Zimbabwe in the middle of the year if my father dies. Otherwise most of us go home for Christmas when we have gathered enough money and bought things we aimed to buy when we came here. Moreover when we are returning the police are not very keen compared to when you want to come into Botswana.

5.4.17.1. Significance of relationship between frequency of home visits and gender

Table 31: Relationship between gender and frequency of visits to Zimbabwe

		Frequency of visits to Zimbabwe							
		Once a year		Twice a year		More than twice year		Total	
Gender of respondent		n	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	Male	50	67	20	27	5	6	75	100
	Female	42	55	25	32	10	13	77	100
Total		92		45		15		152	

p = 0.236

No significant statistical relationship was found between gender and rate of visits back home to Zimbabwe. Both faced danger of apprehension by attempting to cross the border

explaining why the majority only travelled to Zimbabwe for Christmas. The near similarity in the case of visits above one is attributed to most males with families and women with children (both married and mostly single). It may also be related to more knowledge about intricacies of border crossing on a temporal basis. Generally home visits were once a year for both sexes for security reasons.

5.4.17.2. Marital status' relationship with frequency of visits to Zimbabwe

Table 32: Relationship between marital status and frequency of visits to Zimbabwe

		Relationship between frequency of visits and marital status							
		Once a year		Twice a year		More than once a year		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Marital status	Single	39	78	9	18	2	4	50	100
	Married	37	51	24	33	12	16	73	100
	Divorced	16	59	10	37	1	4	27	100
	Widowed	0	0	2	100	0	0	2	100
Total		92		45		15		152	

p=0.008

There is a statistically significant relationship between marital status and frequency of visits back to Zimbabwe. More married people indicated that they tended to visit Zimbabwe twice (33%) and more than twice a year (16%). The trend may be attributed to having a family back in Zimbabwe compared to those who are single. Married people need to see their spouses and children. Others can more easily manage by just communicating more frequently and sending groceries monthly for their families. Single people tended to mostly visit Zimbabwe at least once a year (78%). This reduction in visits may be because they did not have spouses or children back in Zimbabwe. About 59% of divorced respondents indicated that they visit Zimbabwe once a year and 37% indicated that they visit twice a year, while only 4% indicated visiting more than twice a year.

5.4.18. Communication frequency with relatives in home in Zimbabwe

Table 33: Frequency of communication with people in Zimbabwe

Communication with relatives in Zimbabwe	Frequency	Percentage
Monthly	28	18
Twice monthly	47	31
Three times monthly	77	51
Total	152	100

Due to the usage of the cell phone which was available to almost all respondents interviewed most migrants found it easy to communicate with people at home. To the undocumented migrants the cell phone was both a convenience gadget and a security item which every undocumented migrant had to possess at all times. 51% communicated or kept in touch with relatives in Zimbabwe more than twice a month. These were mostly married with families (wives and children). 18% indicated that they communicate once per month. Unmarried respondents pointed out that since they were not married there was no need to communicate all the time. Others said that once they called they would be bothered as people at home could find the opportunity to tell them of all their problems for them to solve or to send money for one reason or another. They felt it was better not to know about certain problems which would burden them with responsibilities or sense of guilt if they could not help. 30% of the respondents indicated that they communicated with relatives at least twice a month. Women mostly called their mothers to find out how the kids they left in their care were doing and to assure them that they still remembered them. Men had to keep in touch since they remained important as Zimbabwe is a patrilineal society where men are the ones who are seen as poised to inherit family wealth and get land allocated to them. So they had to keep showing their loyalty to the family.

5.4.18.1. Link between gender and frequency of communication with people back home

Table 34: Relationship between gender and frequency of communication with relatives in Zimbabwe

		Frequency of communication with relatives in Zimbabwe							
		Once a month		Twice a month		More than twice a month		Total	
		n	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender	Male	20	27	15	20	40	53	75	100
	Female	7	9	32	42	38	49	77	100
Total		27		47		78		152	

p=0.008

There is a statistically significant relationship between gender and the rate of communication with the homeland, with women scoring higher, communicating twice (42% compared to 20% for males). However males scored higher than female on communicating more than twice a month (53% of males compared to 49% of females) . This trend can be attributed to the fact that women left young kids with their mothers and therefore needed to maintain that bond and show that they cared for their kids, and some had to maintain contact with husbands and kids also. Though lesser, men in the same categories may have been prolific in their communication for the same reason. Some men have to keep in touch because they have pieces of land that were allocated to them to farm. They have to ensure that the area is being farmed properly and kept for them and they send inputs and money for farm labour. They have to keep in touch with relatives who protect their livestock and land at home. A single man, who is a first-born, Dylan, pointed out the reasons why a man must keep in touch with his roots:

A man without land or a home is not a man. If you forget to communicate or neglect they think you are not interested in having your own place in the village. Although my wife and two kids are there I always call to hear if all is well. Women cannot cope alone so I have to call my brothers to keep an eye and help. I also have to hear how the kids are doing at school.

5.4.19. Migrants views towards necessity of learning Setswana language

Table 35: Perception towards necessity to learn Setswana

Need to learn Setswana	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Extremely necessary	50	32.9	32.9
Necessary	38	25.0	57.9
Somewhat necessary	36	23.7	81.6
Unnecessary	13	8.6	90.1
Extremely unnecessary	15	9.9	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Most respondents to varying degree saw the necessity of learning Setswana (82%) because of their almost perennial dependence on locals for piece jobs and for instructions on how the tasks would have to be done. Some indicated that learning to speak the Setswana language had a security advantage since most law enforcement officers especially the police can easily identify and communicate with a native language speaker and understand. Others said that they can even pretend to be Batswana and avoid arrest. Locals would be prepared to help people who speak their language and even help them evade police arrest. Of the 82%, 33% thought Setswana was extremely necessary and 25% thought it was just necessary. 23.7% thought learning Setswana was somewhat necessary. Of the other respondents 19% saw learning Setswana as unnecessary and 9% thought learning Setswana was extremely unnecessary.

5.4.19.1. Relationship between gender and attitude towards learning Setswana language

Table 36: Relationship between gender and perceptions about learning Setswana

		Necessity of learning Setswana											
		Extremely necessary		Necessary		Somewhat necessary		unnecessary		Extremely unnecessary		Total	
		n	%	n	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender of respondent	Male	17	23	11	15	22	29	11	15	14	19	75	100
	Female	33	43	27	35	14	18	2	3	1	1	77	100
Total		50		38		36		13		15		152	

p = 0.000

There is a statistically significant relationship between gender and the need to learn Setswana. 43% of women compared to 23% of males felt learning Setswana was extremely necessary, while 19% of males compared to 1% of females thought learning Setswana was extremely unnecessary. Women worked in mostly domestic jobs which required constant communication with the employer and the children of that employer. The chances of getting domestic jobs were more predicated on the language factor compared to men who mainly did outdoor jobs (dominated by Chinese and Zimbabwean contractors) with little need for employer-employee interaction. Men doing a task together would rely on one of them who could speak Setswana to understand instructions from a Motswana employer. However the case would be different for a domestic employee alone at home with the offspring of the employer under her care. She would need to know the language of the employer to an extent to be able to assist the children. Those who felt learning Setswana was unnecessary, somewhat necessary or extremely unnecessary expressed that domestic employers preferred employees proficient in English to help their kids left in their care in developing language proficiency as indicated by a female respondent, Senzeni:

My friend referred me to my current employer three months ago. The employer told me that she fired the girl who worked for her before me because she was not able to speak good English and was spoiling her kid in terms of language. I was surprised, but she was satisfied with me and at her place we always talk in English. Her kid is doing well in spoken English at school and she boasts about me so much. Her friends asked if I did not have other friends who were like me who needed jobs. So far I have managed to call four ladies, two friends and two relatives who are now working for my employer's friends here. They clicked well and I feel better because my employer now trusts me as I have good and trustworthy friends.

Some males in manual and other jobs mostly communicate with employers in English, which is also second language in Batswana. In addition there are a lot of Chinese doing construction (emphasizing the need to use English) here and many Zimbabwean sub-contractors who employ most of the Zimbabwean men. Thus men can use their mother tongue in communicating with the employers. The response of most males is typified by Tich's view of the matter:

Both Botswana and Zimbabwe were British colonies, so we can easily speak to each other. Setswana is a difficult language. Why learn it when we can communicate easily in English? They like their language so much and think everyone must speak it especially when both Batswana and Zimbabweans work for the Chinese companies.

5.4.20. Respondents' frequency of arrests

Table 37: Frequency of arrests

Frequency of arrests	Frequency	Percentage
Never	16	10.5
Once	38	25.0
Twice	42	27.6
More than twice	56	36.8
Total	152	100.0

Respondents were asked how much they had been arrested as undocumented migrants. 10.5% indicated that they had never been arrested and 28% said that they had been arrested twice. 25% had been arrested at least once and 37% indicated that they had been arrested more than twice. In all 90% had faced arrest at one time or more in their migration life in Botswana. The rate of arrests is very significant and reflects Botswana's policy of no nonsense migration law enforcement.

5.4.20.1. Relationship between period in Botswana and arrest frequency

Table 38: Relationship between period in Botswana and frequency of arrests

		Frequency of arrests									
		Once		Twice		More than twice		Never		Total	
	Years	n	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Period working in Botswana	Less than a year	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	1	100
	1-3 Years	17	43	4	10	8	20	11	28	40	100
	4-6 years	20	22	28	31	37	41	5	6	90	100
	7-9 years	1	5	10	50	9	45	0	0	20	100
	10 years plus	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	1	100
Total		38		42		56		16		152	

p = 0.000

A statistically significant relationship between the period working in Botswana and rate of arrests was found. 45% of those who spent 7-9 years in Botswana got arrested more than twice and the trend goes down as years spent in Botswana progressively recede. Only 20% of those who spent 1-3 years in Botswana got arrested more than twice. This trend is shown in the migrants who were in Botswana for 4 to 6 years and above who have been arrested twice and more. This clearly indicates that presence in Botswana increases the possible rate of arrests. More people who have never been arrested are in the lower period section (1-3 years). The period spent in Botswana increased the probability of arrest due to Botswana's tough policy of 'arrest and deport'.

5.4.21. Frequency of individual respondent's deportation

Table 39: Respondents' frequency of deportation

Frequency of deportation	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Once	47	30.9	30.9
Twice	39	25.7	56.6
More than twice	19	12.5	12.5
Never	47	30.9	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

31% of the respondents reported having been deported at least once during their migration life in Botswana. 26% of the respondents indicated that they had been deported twice and 13% reported having faced deportation more than twice in their undocumented migration life in Botswana. 31% of the respondents indicated that they had never been deported in their migration life. This means that 70% undocumented respondents have been arrested at least once or more as migrants inside Botswana. The disparity between the number of arrests made and deportations shows that the police somehow release some arrested undocumented migrants.

5.4.21.1. Relationship between period in Botswana and frequency deportation

Table 40: Relationship between period in Botswana and frequency of deportation

		Frequency of deportations									
		Once		Twice		More than twice		Never		Total	
	Years	n	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Period working in Botswana	Less than a year	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	100
	1-3 Years	5	13	7	18	2	5	26	64	40	100
	4-6 years	33	37	26	29	12	13	19	21	90	100
	7-9 years	9	45	6	30	4	20	1	5	20	100
	10 years plus	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	1	100
Total		47		39		19		47		152	

p = 0.000

There is a statistically significant relationship between period spend in Botswana and frequency of deportations. As migrant period in Botswana increases the chance of having been deported at least twice increases. 20% of those who stayed in Botswana for 7-9 years have been deported more than twice and 30% twice, while 45% have been deported at least once. About 13% of those who stayed for 4-6 years have been deported more than twice. Only 5% of those who stayed in Botswana for 1-3 years have been deported more than twice. 64% of this group has never been deported compared to 5% for the 7-8 years group. This indicates that the longer a person stayed in Botswana, the more likely the probability of deportation.

5.4.22. Information on whether migrants have relatives in Botswana

Table 41: Whether respondent has Zimbabwean friend from another tribe

Having a friend from another tribe	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Yes	45	29.6	29.6
No	107	70.4	100.0
	152	100.0	

Respondents were asked whether they had friends from other tribes from Zimbabwe. There are basically two Zimbabwean tribes, the Ndebele (minority) and the Shona (majority). 70% of the respondents responded that they had no friends from the other tribe and mainly stuck to their tribal fellows. Ndebele blamed the Shona of elitist behaviour as they belonged to the ruling tribe in Zimbabwe. They viewed the Shona as evil since the tribal conflicts in Matabeleland in the 1980s in which some Ndebele people were killed by the mainly Shona armed forces for alleged insurrection. Ndebele people seem to harbour certain grudges against Shona generally. The Shona also report that Ndebele are unnecessarily paranoid and target and blame the wrong people. They see the Ndebele as arrogant, offensive and violent, especially as a crowd. Respondents who were around for long state that up to 2005 the Ndebele and Shona lived in separate adjacent neighbourhoods because of this inherent conflict. The Ndebele stayed in the White City neighbourhoods while the Shona were confined to Bontleng suburb across the road. It was dangerous to be found on the wrong side

of the neighbourhoods. A respondent who has been in Gaborone for 7 years, Bruce, gave a brief explanation of ethnic relations and their history and rationale:

It is only now that we can mix as Ndebele and Shona in the residential areas. Before 2005 we had serious problems of ethnic violence between the two tribe. Even the police knew it, but could do nothing about it. We ended up dividing the place along tribal lines, the Ndebele in White City suburb and the Shona in Bontleng suburb, both high density areas. If you got lost in the wrong neighbourhood you risked being assaulted by the other tribal group. It was vicious. It was only later around 2005 that we began to mix more freely. That was after Operation Murambatsvina showed that everyone was affected regardless of tribe by job loss which followed that bad operation. It is better now, but suspicions are still there and sometimes violence erupts and we do not share rooms or houses as tribal members.

Other examples of cases depicting this kind of conflict were revealed by two respondents one Ndebele, one Shona. A Shona lady, Milly, gave the following testimony on the state of ethnic relations:

Nobody I know likes the Ndebele. We do not get along at all! They think they are the best in everything and can fight also. They are paranoid and think we are after them. For what? What do they have that we want to take? I remember an incident when we were put in the same cell by the police. A fight broke out between some Ndebele ladies and us Shona. The reason was that a Shona lady who had sneaked in with a cell phone refused to let a Ndebele lady call someone to bail her out of the cells. One would think in trouble we must help each other. The police had to separate us. At least none of my friends has a Ndebele friend.

A Ndebele lady Thembi, also gave the following views:

With the Shona we do not belong together. The Shona are insensitive and lack consideration of others. They think they own Zimbabwe. They refuse to speak Ndebele and they expect us to speak their language. Even their leaders do not even attempt....our leaders use Shona language fluently. It's like we are begging something from these Shona. But a few are Ok and can emulate our language and culture and are open enough

5.4.23. Respondents' feelings towards assisting fellow migrants

Table 42: Feeling towards assisting fellow migrants

Attitude towards assisting fellow migrants	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Extremely unimportant	2	1.3	2.6
Neither important nor unimportant	14	9.2	11.8
Important	38	25.0	36.8
Extremely important	96	63.2	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

The respondents were asked how they felt about assisting other migrants. 88% confirmed that it was generally important to assist fellow migrants in need. Of these 63.2 felt such help was extremely important, while 25% thought it was simply important. Most gave the reason for such attitudes as having common problem at one time or another in an unpredictable situation. If others fell into misfortunes or became extremely sick you were obliged to help the 'sister' or "brother". Vongi's experience summarizes the strong need for advice and help for women where aunties who used to advise women in Zimbabwean culture are absent:

We need advice in many ways. Imagine as women we have problems. Most women are victims or can become such. They become victims of both their male employers and their fellow Zimbabwean men. In our culture aunts used to advised young women. There are no aunts here in Gaborone. Elder women have to advise younger ones. You know most Zimbabwean men have this warped view of women who migrate. They think we are immoral and headstrong. We have to defend ourselves against such views, so when you get pregnant in Botswana and the man absconds then they will say "you see this is what Botswana women do". I can give you an example of this friend of mine who was divorced and she came here. She met a Zimbabwean man who proposed her. She did not know that the man was married back in Zimbabwe. People who knew the man's marital status advised her but she was already head over heels in love and she put sticks into her ears. The result – she got pregnant. And where was 'lover boy'? He vanished into thin air and our sister was devastated. We have some colleagues who can help with abortion services in cases like that but when she came the pregnancy was too big for safe abortion. She was living with two

other kids from the other marriage, and she could not go to work when her pregnancy became heavy. She was suffering so we as sisters decided to take turns to help her when we were free, or to create free time so that she could go for piece jobs as we looked after her kids. There were 4 of us living in the same compound with her so it was simple to assist her. Later her health deteriorated due to stress and we had to call her mother from Zimbabwe who came and took her and the kids back to Zimbabwe where she died soon afterwards. It was really painful. So as women we need to advise each other and remind each other why we came here and not to trust too much!

Their reasoning was that for survival they needed one another. 9% saw it as neither important nor unimportant. Only 3% downplayed the importance of helping other migrants. These were mostly people who once trusted people and were betrayed by them in their migration life.

5.4.24. Information on whether migrant ever used a fake travel document

Table 43: Whether respondent ever used a fake travel document

Use of fake documents	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Yes	102	67.1	67.1
No	50	32.9	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Asked whether they ever used a fake document in their migration life, 67% responded in the affirmative and 33% in the negative. There were several reasons given by those who used fake documents. Firstly, they discovered from friends that the police did not really know the difference between an original Temporary Travel Document and a fake one, but immigration officials knew these differences. In addition some police officers who were after getting bribes encouraged undocumented migrants to have ‘at least something to show’ who they are to make these police officers release them without others detecting any questionable transactions. There were rules and precautions to be observed concerning obtaining and using fake travel papers. Leo’s explanation can shed light into the use of fake documents:

I learned the hard way when I was arrested and deported after my 90 days just expired. It was after I returned that I got my new 'travel document' which looks almost like the original for BWP150. I got connected through my friend. Before I agreed to be helped I pledged never to tell the police where I got it if they discovered that it was a fake. I was told rather to tell them that maybe I was cheated at the passport office in Zimbabwe. Revealing my source of fake document was dangerous because it exposed the producer who could be arrested. The main problem to us would be reprisals for revealing our source. I never heard of a Zimbabwean migrant who revealed the source of his or her fake document. All the time one has to keep a passport size photo so that friends would process for him/her if he or she was apprehended. For updating stamps and adding 'days' we pay BWP50

Another migrant, Don shows how the police seem not to worry about fakes but more about using them as an opportunity to solicit bribes;

We were confronted by a group of police officers in a passage with nowhere to run and my friends showed their fake documents. One policeman told them that their documents were fake and demanded P50 from each of my three friends. They paid and went home. I failed to produce anything. What the police officer said took me aback. He said "I know you Zimbabweans show fake papers. Where are yours, at least you must have something to show and cover you like your friends. Ask them to show you where they got theirs, Give us P50, please. Next time we meet you must have something to show who you are....get away!"

Another revealing case is given by one man, Brian;

The elders in our society say 'you cannot keep all your eggs in one basket'. We learned the hard way. I used to stay with my two brothers, a cousin and an uncle. During a surprise raid they took us all and deported us. Although our colleagues sent some cash to help us to come back from the border, we made a serious loss. We had to contribute to our uncle's tombstone and when we came back we did not even have money for food. If it was not for these people we do not know what we could have done. Only that we usually help others, that's why they also helped us. Now we try to stay apart so that the police do not arrest us all at once. If another is arrested others will make a plan to get him out.

5.4.24.1. Relationship between time in Botswana and likelihood of using a fake travel document

Table 44: Relationship between period in Botswana and likelihood of using a fake document

		Whether migrant ever use a fake document					
		Yes		No		Total	
		n	%	N	%	N	%
	Less than a year	0	0	1	100	1	100
	1-3 years	18	45	22	55	40	100
	4-6 years	65	72	25	28	90	100
	7-9 years	19	95	1	5	20	100
	10 years plus	0	0	1	100	1	1000
Total		102		50		152	

p= 0.000

There is a statistically significant relationship between period in Botswana and likelihood of having used a fake document. Migrants who stayed longer in Botswana indicated that they had used fake documents to avoid apprehension by the police. About 95% of those who stayed in Botswana for between 7 and 9 years have used a faked document compared to 72% of those with 4 to 6 years in Botswana and 45% for those with 1 to 3 years in Botswana. The use of fake document seems to be the norm among the migrants and the results show that within a year migrants would have already been introduced by friends to the fake document especially after their days on the visa expire. A lady Melody gave the following response on the use of fake travel papers:

They are everywhere. There are guys who can make papers which are almost original and most police cannot tell the difference. The good ones cost more. At first I was afraid, but after I saw my friends using the 'fake document' I also began to use it. At least you have a chance with it than without it. My colleagues told me that everyone was using it. The police are now confused as to which is the original and which is the fake, so you can get away with it. It's the same thing. If you don't have the fake you can still be arrested.....so what? The result is the same.....deportation.

5.4.25. Level of cooperation among migrants

Table 45: Ranking Cooperation among fellow migrants

Ranking cooperation	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Very high	73	48.0	48.0
High	71	46.7	94.7
Low	8	5.3	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Only 5% of the respondents were not satisfied with the level of overall cooperative behaviour of migrants generally. The rest were generally satisfied with 48% reporting very high cooperation and 47 % reporting simply high cooperation. They attributed this to the need for undocumented migrants to survive together as cooperation was a requirement as a survival strategy in a foreign land where some elements were perceived as hostile.

5.4.26. Levels of conflict resolution among migrants

Table 46: Rating conflict resolution among migrants

ting conflict resolution	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Hardly resolved	3	2.0	2.0
Sometimes resolved	61	40.1	42.1
Mostly resolved	88	57.9	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

On the level of conflict resolution 98% of respondents showed that it was present. 58% said conflicts were mostly resolved and 40.1% reported that conflicts were sometimes resolved. They attribute this high level of in-group conflict resolution to the need to solve conflicts without going to the police. There was an unwritten code that ‘nobody’ would report an internal group conflict to the police. Their reasoning was that the police was not there to protect them from the outset, so reporting to them would simply expose them to police ‘harassment’ and constant invasions. It would also confirm locals’ complaints that

undocumented migrants were ‘a nuisance’. The other reason was the damage a police report would do to group relations on which undocumented migrants depended. Most indicated that the conflicts occurred mainly because of abuse of trust, defaulting on debt payments and other misunderstandings. They indicated that there were always respected elders among them who they were supposed to listen to.

5.4.27. Where of skills utilised in Botswana were acquired

Table 47: Where skills being used in Botswana were obtained

Where skills were obtained	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
From friends back in Zimbabwe	6	3.9	3.9
From friends in Botswana	74	48.7	52.6
from relatives in Botswana	30	19.7	72.4
From relatives in Zimbabwe	16	10.5	82.9
From college	5	3.3	86.2
Other	21	13.8	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

About 68% of the respondents reported that they learned their current skills they are using to survive in Botswana and hardly used their skills acquired in Zimbabwe, with 49% having learned new skills from friends in Botswana and 20% having learned the skills from relatives inside Botswana. This trend was attributed to the fact that the requirement and skills needs of Botswana and Zimbabwe are not exactly the same and that areas in which Zimbabweans were occupied in Zimbabwe were those preferred by locals. Respondents indicated that there were ‘Zimbabwean’ jobs. They cited these as the heavy and lowly ones like construction, herding cattle, demolishing buildings, sweeping yards, laundry, cleaning of very dirty spaces and other jobs like these.

About 4% and 11% responded that they learned their current jobs from friends back in Zimbabwe and relatives back in Zimbabwe respectively. This passage of skills was attributed to proximity to significant others with certain skills which were informally passed on through practice since most did not have tertiary vocational training. Only 5% had had tertiary

vocational training formally and had previously been involved in the formal sector before permits expired

5.4.28. Whether migrants ever helped fellow migrants to come to Botswana

Table 48: Whether migrants ever assisted fellow migrants to come to Botswana

Assisting fellow migrants to come to Botswana	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Never	13	8.6	8.6
Sometimes	76	50.0	58.6
Many times	63	41.4	100.0
Total	152	100.0	

Respondents were asked whether they had ever assisted another or other undocumented migrants to cross into Botswana. Only 9% responded saying that they have never assisted any migrant to cross. 50% replied that they at some time assisted an undocumented migrant to come to Botswana by giving information about best border crossing methods, aiding them to cross, sending money for transport, guaranteeing accommodation and food and recruiting labour for local employers. 41% reported that they had done so many times during their migration time.

A female respondent, Milly gave the following narration:

I have helped many of them. I have helped 2 members of my nuclear family, my brother and my sister and seven members off my extended family. But I had a problem with two of them. They were jealous of me because they thought I was trying to be famous at home by assisting people to come to Botswana. At one time my cousin sister whom I assisted to come here tried to get me into a police trap. She had a valid travel document and I did not have papers. I escaped narrowly and immediately I had to evict her. Others left when I helped them to find jobs in a construction company where my brother was working, but the other cousin brother was so stubborn that he refused to work and wanted me to buy good food for him. I told him

to go to hell, and I send him packing. I had tried my best now I no longer help close relatives except my siblings, period.

You never know with life. Next time you need help from the person's family or from her or him. They always help you when you also fall into hard times. Like when I go back to Zimbabwe I expect some help with jobs.

This trend was attributed to the fact that many migrants' friends and relatives were having many problems due to the devastated economy of Zimbabwe and rising unemployment. Those who had not helped any migrants to come to Botswana were relatively recent migrants, implying the importance of the temporal element on such phenomena.

5.5. Chapter Summary

In this chapter data gathered in the fieldwork was presented and interpreted according to the responses obtained from the questionnaires and interviews. The presentations focused on the initial part of the journey, movement into Botswana and the ways and means used by the undocumented migrants while inside Botswana. Views of respondents were taken into account.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings shown in chapter 5 and explains the results indicated in the findings. It explains the meaning and peculiarities behind the findings and tries to clarify the reasons behind the findings. The discussion section generally puts the findings into clearer perspective so that the context within which social capital operates among Zimbabwean undocumented migrants in Botswana is fully understood. In this chapter conclusions are reached considering discussions of findings in Chapter 5. The conclusion section shall be brief and to the point indicating meaning and implications of the findings. Recommendations which follow from the findings are given to try and help and influence policy in the face of accumulated evidence in this thesis.

6.2. Discussion

6.2.1. Demographics

The respondents in this study were both female (50.7% and male (49.3%) and were from both rural and urban settings in Zimbabwe. Both have seen massive effects of bad social policy. In the rural areas the unplanned land redistribution policy led to high unemployment. In the urban areas Operation Murambatsvina (the sudden demolition of urban dwellings and businesses under aegis of slum clearance) caused hyper unemployment (Tibaijuka Report 2005) . The age range was between 18 and 50 with the majority aged between 21 and 40. These are the economically active population and it explains the reason for migrating to Botswana. In Botswana the migrants still suffer from stringent social policy in the form of Botswana's tough 'arrest and deport' immigration policy backed by formidable hegemonic and material resources.

In their occupational trajectory the majority of the respondents had better occupations such as clerical jobs and self – employment in Zimbabwe. However on moving to Botswana there was a shift towards more menial jobs such as domestic employment for women and construction work for men. This shows the segregatory nature of the Botswana labour market which has designated jobs for locals and for foreigners. The majority of the undocumented

migrants had worked in Botswana for 4 to 6 years. The majority were also married (48.3%). About 32.8% were single and 17.6% were divorced and 1.32% were widowed (mostly women). These were now bread winners who needed to take care of their families after losing their husbands. The majority were considerably well-educated with O' Level (69.74%). Around 10.53% claimed to have A' levels and 11.4% claimed to have junior secondary qualifications. The last 7.9% were holders of vocational qualifications whose permits had expired and had not been renewed and did part-time teaching for survival. The migrants had between 3 and above dependants, which may explain their reason for migrating also. The migrants claimed that their income ranged from 501 Botswana Pula (BWP) to above 2500 BWP with the majority earning above 1500 BWP per month.

6.2.2. Critical social capital dynamics among Zimbabwean migrants

The study found out that Zimbabweans came to Botswana for mainly economic reasons, leaving the Zimbabwean economy affected by hyper-inflation and massive unemployment caused by inept social policies such as unplanned compulsory farm acquisitions and Operation Murambatsvina. While the study revealed the existence of usage of kinship networks as key social capital among Zimbabwean undocumented migrants, it should be noted at this stage that the use of kinship networks was not uniform across the undocumented migrants' migration trajectory. Findings revealed more intense prevalence of kinship relations at the first stages of the migration trajectory, especially on the part of giving information to the migration prospects, financing the migration journey, assurances of accommodation, provision of food upon arrival and obtaining a travel document for initial entry into Botswana (where possible). These findings concur with studies by migration scholars such as Elrick's (2008) studies among Romanian migrants in Spain, Ojong's study of Ghanaian women hairdressers in South Africa (2006) and Machava and Polzer's (2006) study of Mozambican migrants in the Bushbuckridge area of South Africa in terms of support from earlier migrants. There is also congruence with studies of migration from Central America to the United States by Massey (2008), and Massey and Aysa (2005).

Findings showed that kinship social networks exist in that migrants initially got to know about Botswana and its prospects mostly through relatives than any other group of people. There are several reasons for this pattern. Firstly the relatives who pioneered in migration

were more visible (in terms of success), to prospective migrants and more accessible, to provide information to them. Besides, in this case aspiring migrants were able to observe the relative improvements in the lives of migrant relatives from close quarters as responses from interviewees such as Sekuru and Saddam among others show. Secondly the blood relationship among kin, while at home and the influence of certain social structures which obliged people to take care of relatives or assist them forced relatives to assist. In the complex relationships among kin in Zimbabwe a working relative is somehow obliged to 'look after' non-working relatives. In order to reduce this dependency pattern the current migrants assisted new prospects so as to reduce the concentration of dependency they shouldered. Once they assisted one person to migrate they would have added one more economically active person and de-concentrated the number of dependents they would normally be obliged to look after. This behaviour was reproduced as new migrants helped other relatives. Thirdly, altruistic relatives were also close enough to be able to notice the relative poverty of significant others and thus recommend that they try to end the poverty cycle via migration to Botswana to earn better wages. Just offering advice to a stranded relative to migrate and earn better wages abroad appeared to be a viable and simple exercise without too much obligation. The largest number of undocumented migrants chose Gaborone as a result of the presence of relatives who received them on their first trip or were taken there by relatives on the first trip before they were able to find their own accommodation. Cases of Brian, Milly, Sekuru, Thomas, Siphon, Godfrey and others confirm this assertion.

6.2.3. Shift towards networks for resource mobilization

The study shows how the critical need for resources leads to the creation of networks for resource mobilization at the destination which entails the movement from debilitating kinship based connections. The power of kinship links however remains relevant at the point of resource expenditure - at home back in Zimbabwe. In Botswana migrants move towards flexible and enabling friendship and trust based social networks. The research findings indicate that friendship and trust based social networks are the most prevalent types of social capital among the Zimbabwean undocumented migrants (becoming more robust after migration into the destination country). Evidence shows that friendship and trust based networks surpass all other types of social networks migrants use overall, although at the beginning of the cycle it is superseded by kinship or the role of relatives. At the destination

bridging social capital (friendship) phenomenally takes over from familial or kinship connections. This demonstrates the demands of practicalities of resource mobilization which need flexibility which kinship networks negate. This same pressure at the destination has the effect of pushing relatives away. Though friends played a significant part in informing colleagues about Botswana and its prospects (34.9%), this proved to be lower than relatives in this regard (52.6%). In the initial stages fewer friends helped finance journeys of colleagues. This trend could be attributed to emphasis and pressure from home to assist relatives more. The rationale could be that an individual would be affected by pressure to satisfy immediate needs of family members as an obligation traditionally bestowed on him or her. The growth of friendship based networks can be associated with freedom from home-based societal pressures and a focus on workable practical realities (new types of bonds) in the context of the migration situation. The shift of the mode of social capital was overwhelming. The critical reason why migrants could have largely abandoned kin based networks in favour of friendship networks could have been the openness of friendship networks and their capability to provide access to heterogeneous no-strings-attached resources. Granovetter's view on the strength of weak ties seems very much apparent in the destination (Botswana). Maybe this could be because it was inside Botswana where the issue of the need for more resources became more manifest. This trend also seems to indicate the breakdown of kinship and family relations because of the Zimbabwe divisive political situation and rapid social transformation of the post 1980 years. These factors which created a sense of initially healthy competition based on education were transformed into unhealthy cut throat competition among kin caused by the sudden and rapid decline of the once vibrant Zimbabwean economy. The need for survival created a situation where individualism became the order of the day along nuclear family lines, which saw the decline of the extended family.

Friendship and other non-familial networks (such as workmates and trust) become more pronounced at the destination (Botswana). The life of migrants and their social capital indicates a radical shift from dependence on close relatives to dependence on friends.

6.2.4. Rationale for shift from kin to trust based social capital

Reasons for the shift from bonding to bridging are noted from the in-depth interviews which revealed the underlying reasons for the growing unpopularity of bonding social capital. There

was unhealthy competition among kinsmen which could be extended back to the home village where kinsmen successes were subject to comparison by relatives at home. Some relatives who survived by negative and immoral means, such as prostitution or theft did not like their next of kin to know how they lived and convey the news back home. Some who did menial jobs wanted to give the impression at home that they did respectable jobs and build more social capital on that basis.

Some respondents indicated that they did not like their kin to claim some credit for helping them in life and later brag about it. There were also concerns raised by some respondents on the problem of free riding by some relatives which greatly undermined their success. In some cases some migrants complained about too much social control by older relatives. They always attempted to censure or report about their misbehaviour to elders back home. Some lived with other women or men even though they were married and wanted to escape censure from irate relatives who would also report to spouses back home. The other key problem was that relatives tended to have to feel they had rights in the resources of the migrant, something which makes him or her uncomfortable.

On the other hand friends were not stakeholders or key competitors in the migrant's life. Friendships seemed more agreeable since they were based on character and common interests. Friends were not likely to become jealous of the migrant's success or give reports back home about the lives of their friends in Botswana. Friends also provided a broad base for job seeking and provided more versatile social capital giving the migrant more chances to get jobs. Friends also did not have any legitimate grounds for free riding and handling them without any lasting negative consequences was relatively easy

6.2.5. Accommodation and social capital among migrants

The research discovered that while initially undocumented migrants sometimes stay with relatives (as shown by Tevera and Chikanda (2009), and by Crush and Williams (2001) in the literature) dependence on kin based connections rapidly declined once migrants became used to the destination country. Whilst a considerable number (36.2%) stated that they felt it was better to share accommodation with a relative (as the norm dictated) only 4.6% actually stayed with kin or family, with more choosing to stay with friends whom they knew from Zimbabwe or met in Botswana. This shows a divorce from the force of respect for relational

norms and the constraints of the reality. The reasons given for shunning relatives revolved around too much social control, too many expectations, fear of bad report to people back home and issues associated with jealousy and unhealthy kinship competition which sometimes spanned across borders. Relational social networks gave too much power to the type of network it initially created by expecting kinship members to perform certain favours for others. Paradoxically it is the same power of kin social relatedness which also leads to movement away from kin networks once inside Botswana. Evidence in the findings also points to the prevalence of free riding as a key cause of separation from relatives as in the case of Kelly and her twin sister in the findings. This view supports the study among migrants in Qwa Qwa in South Africa cited by Gelderblom (2000) and the case of San Pedro Sacatepéquez cited by Portes (1998) where a similar phenomenon was noted.

In terms of accommodation migrants mostly lived in groups based more on friendship than close kinship. Most respondents showed that they were more comfortable living among friends than relatives in Botswana. It was most evident in accommodation sharing. The rate of group sharing was quite high compared to sharing with kin or staying alone. Ability to pay and basic understanding of each other was the critical basis for grouping. Groups had rules of conduct in staying together. Tribal origin seemed to play a key segregatory role among the two tribes of Zimbabwe (Ndebele and Shona) in the area of accommodation. This was revealed by the composition of people at migrants' places of abode. There was a 'them' and 'us' attitude.

Besides tribal reasons the other reason why migrants preferred sharing accommodation was saving money by sharing the rent burden. Undocumented migrants' primary motivation to cross into Botswana was to make money to develop their living standards and those of their people in Zimbabwe not to enjoy the good life in Botswana. Migrants are quick to emphasise that living in a spacious house is an example of extravagance, especially when a migrant could be taken by police and deported any time. The undocumented migrants were very particular about saving and cutting rent obligations was the first practical area to apply this.

Another reason migrants gave for sharing accommodation is security. They feel that when they are together others can easily notice if someone was in trouble, like if someone was arrested or got sick. Rescue of one kind or another would be as good as guaranteed in case of

arrest or deportation. Friends and colleagues would be many, and all would be willing to help knowing that it might be them who may fall into police hands in the future. Friends contributed resources without overtones of obligation associated with having to assist a kinsman. The contribution was psychologically satisfying as it had an aura of free ‘altruistic’ motivation.

Another key reason why undocumented migrants, even those with relatives, lived apart was the spread of risk of apprehension. Some feared that if the police raided the house during an operation they would deport a whole household or clan in one sweep. The loss would be too much for the migrants and the livelihoods of their families.

Migrants also reported the issue of living together for security of possessions or purchase of goods. This was mostly the case when one was put in prison or deported leaving his or her goods behind to be taken care of by others. There was a clearly stipulated code of conduct. No migrant was allowed by the group to come to the shared house with police officers if apprehended away from home, in case they would arrest other undocumented migrants they would find there. In return the remaining ‘free’ migrants would have to organise funds to go to the deportee or arrange a fake travel document (each migrant had to keep a passport size photo somewhere convenient, just in case) or a bribe or fine to negotiate his or her release. The basic rules were that a deported migrant’s goods were arranged in a corner and never used by those left behind unless the deported person agrees or returns. If he fails to return and sends for the goods the leaders would have to arrange for sending them to the potential deportee. The deportee would pay cost of transportation and make sure he or she did not owe colleagues anything.

6.2.6. Information circulation about jobs and police activities

Evidence also shows preference for friends in sharing job seeking and job related information. The majority indicated that they got their jobs through their friends compared to any other relationship. Since they also lived together mostly, it seemed quite logical. Friendship networks were very potent in job seeking, particularly if their current employer needed extra hands.

Contact with relatives in Botswana in terms of alerting other kinsmen of jobs or of police raids or operations were relatively low showing that use of kinship networks is generally on the wane. The other reason why some undocumented migrants shun relatives is that they do not want relatives to know what they do for a living. On a lighter level some just cannot stomach relatives at home knowing they do menial jobs and when at home give the impression that they do 'respectable' jobs. On the more critical note some people who get their livelihoods in deviant ways shun living with relatives or helping with finding jobs because 'the jobs' they can propose (such as prostitution, shoplifting or other dishonest means of survival) are likely to expose them. An example noted in the findings is one of the several groups of female undocumented migrants whose livelihoods are based on shoplifting (called *marwanas*) among migrants. The group is flashy, arrogant and confident on the outside. Their codes of conduct are few and strict. They emphasize smartness to exorcise suspicion and they are always jovial and easy-going. They have a code of secrecy especially when a member is caught by security or police (just like the Italian mafia code, *Omerta*). In return any member who is caught is guaranteed of release as members can pay any fine or pull any strings using officers they know. Since they mostly hire some guys with cars to move about, doing shoplifting, they pool resources to pay the get-away drivers. An apprehended *marwana* must never attempt to go near the get-away car lest she exposes others. *Marwanas* never sell on credit, but for cash (to avoid conflicts with 'customers') and never make false promises. These codes and observances are vital for group survival and have evolved over time.

Information freely circulated among friends about police activities such as raids. The network had vested interests in avoiding a colleague's arrest as this could cause risks for the group. To facilitate this, an apprehended migrant had to quickly call someone before the police took him or her to a police station where it would be more difficult to get him or he released. As a result each migrant had each and every other colleague's cell phone number, just in case. This shows how technology has been harnessed to facilitate undocumented migration of Zimbabweans in Botswana. Most police prefer to be paid at the spot where they arrest someone, not at the station, so people have to quickly donate money and move to get the person out. If police refuse and insist on deporting him or her they bring food, warm clothes and money, just in case he or she is deported.

6.2.7. Home relations and social capital - bonding

The majority of the migrants think that keeping in touch with relatives and kin at home is very important. They know that they have to know problems afflicting them and assist wherever they can. After all since they do not intend to stay in Botswana for good they would need favours to settle back at home upon returning. The fact that the migrants have to come back incidentally and ultimately made homeward relations critically important to almost every migrant. The home was the key pole of expenditure where undocumented migrants were able to thicken their social bonds ultimately using their acquired resources. This constant communication is facilitated by cell phones as almost each migrant had one. Married migrants and women communicated more often. The main reason for this prolific communication was the dependants left at home. Some had school going kids and others had parents and spouses. Single women had left mothers and sisters with their children to look after them. Most felt not communicating would not be taken lightly by relatives at home and they also wanted to go back home comfortably and be welcome there. More communications by women with people at home implied that they were more involved in problem solving there since they would send more cash to assist, while men would remain almost oblivious of home problems and detached from activities there, though they also sent goods and money.

The pattern of visits also reflected the need to keep in touch with dependants and spouses as married migrants and women (where the majority are single mothers) dominate on frequency of visits. Visiting was risky, but worth taking, sometimes. The community accepts only certain levels of spouse absence and any extended absence is seen as abdication of responsibility. The risk element is revealed by the increased apprehension statistics among the groups which visited Zimbabwe more frequently.

Sending goods remains a critical means of maintaining meaningful and tangible relations with the home front. Most migrants report sending goods regularly mostly using public transport employees like bus conductors, or very close relatives and friends in fewer instances. Most had come to Botswana because of famine and hunger back in Zimbabwe and sending groceries had become the norm and priority. Mothers expected daughters who left their children to send groceries, clothes and other necessities just as spouses were expected to do the same. Sending goods had a material and symbolic element. It signified taking care of

others and that migrants still remembered their kinsmen at home and thus remained key stakeholders in the community and household at home. He or she would need their help to settle upon return. Communication cements bonds and reinforces the absent migrants' claims at home

Sending money home is a regular and very important activity among Zimbabwean migrants because most have dependants at home and have to justify their absence from home. This concurs with studies in the literature concerning Central American migrants to the USA, (Massey 1998, 2003; Massey and Aysa 2005), Ghanaian migrants in South Africa (Ojong 2006), Dominican migrants in the USA (Reynoso 2003) and Albanian migrants in Greece (Iosifidis et al 2007). The majority of undocumented migrants report having some dependants. In the case of the Zimbabwean undocumented migrants in Botswana the use of kin and relatives to send money home shows a significant decline. There was a decline in the power of the kinship networks caused by restrictive tendencies of the network on members in Botswana but the power of kinship relations in the home base remains constant. This is attributed to the fact that the home front continues to control resources the migrant may need upon returning to Zimbabwe. Thus sending money just like goods, home remains a priority as it ensures that absent migrants remain in control of their stake at home in Zimbabwe. Using kin to send money was previously a unifying aspect since it necessitated the building of trust, cementing relations and testing personalities for further constructive relationships. Most migrants stated that before the coming of Western Union they depended on relatives to send money, and going home without telling others was interpreted as avoiding responsibility for taking colleagues' remittance money to relatives and was likely to attract retaliation in kind. Besides there were problems of lack of privacy about money amounts sent via relatives and some could become jealous knowing others used to send more money. On the other hand those who sent less would have their self worth undermined. As a result Western Union took over the task of sending money home.

Trust is on the wane in the sending of money and goods. Levels of trust have fallen and also Western Union has come onto the scene with its low cost, safety and convenience for sending cash. Migrants gave accounts of conflicts that erupted after some migrants failed to take money or goods to intended recipients. Besides, the undocumented status of the migrants presents a risk in using them as conduits of remittances, *prima facie*, though other social

capital factors may neutralize that. During times of acute economic and political problems and drought this problem was rampant and destroyed many friendships and set kinsmen apart. The coming of Western Union seems to have boosted relations among friends as the tempting situation of carrying money to friends' dependants was removed.

6.2.8. Psychological support in case of illness and bereavement

Evidence indicates that sick migrants preferred care from friends if they were moderately ill than from relatives who tended to exaggerate their illnesses in order to make them go back home to avoid responsibility in case of worsening sickness. This would usually be because the relatives fear that they would be obliged by home based norms to pay for the transport of the sick or dead relative. Relatives were viewed as causes of much stress because of self-serving biases.

Evidence shows that in the absence of access to health care, in case of illness friends play a pivotal role in that they can look after their sick friend and ensure that he or she eats food and is comfortable and gets psychological support, but relatives and kin always become critically important when a migrant became seriously ill. In that case friends informed relatives either in Botswana or in Zimbabwe to come and take him or her for medical attention in Zimbabwe since access to treatment is hard to get for people without documents in Botswana. On the other hand in Zimbabwean culture they believe that there are stages in illness when relatives need to come and summon ancestral spirits. In Zimbabwean culture issues like death and sickness draw people together even if they may have their differences and the migrants exhibit this characteristic. Migrants who do not attend funerals are castigated by people back at home in Zimbabwe and friends in Botswana. Relatives 'come into the open' at funerals and take 'ownership' in that they are expected to play the major role even if they never got along with the deceased. Relatives in Botswana remain answerable to those at home for a fellow migrant's demise because they are assumed to have been working together. Thus while most migrants lean towards friends in Botswana they still have to confront issues like illness and death together with relatives to show an impression of solidarity to the home front.

Migrants who were not seriously sick did not feel comfortable letting their relatives know about their sickness. They suspected that relatives would divulge certain information to relatives at home or just gossip about the nature of the disease and as result most

Zimbabweans who become ill often inform only relatives when the situation becomes precarious. The main reason why migrants do not like to inform relatives is that they would have been avoiding them before while things were alright, and expect retaliation whereby relatives would snub them.

6.2.9. Credit saving associations – voluntary associations

Research evidence shows that migrants have mechanisms for coping with their situation of low income, social disorder and security threats. Most migrants indicated that they belonged to associations or small groups for the purpose of saving money since they have no access to banking in Botswana. This alternative gave them opportunity to boost their meagre income and get lump sums to send home to finance their projects and also buy larger items which they could not otherwise be able to buy, and justify their absence from home. This also served as a source of solidarity among migrants and also reinforced trust among them. More women tended to belong to money saving associations as there was more trust among them as they were relatively stable in terms of employment. Men were more mobile in their kinds of jobs and thus there was low trust among them compared to women. Migrants with higher incomes also tended to have more extra cash to enter money saving associations than those with low incomes who did not have excess to save via rounds. With these mechanisms the negative impact of relatively low incomes of the undocumented migrants is mitigated to enhance belonging to savings clubs.

Friendships and trust based associations, particularly very close friendship networks served as the basis for savings clubs, also known as '*marounds*' among Zimbabweans. Usually friends must have been through a lot together or should have known each other for a long time enough to build trust (either in Zimbabwe or in Botswana). Friends who know each other's places back in Zimbabwe made up most of the savings groups. Trust or trustworthiness was a basis for networks which developed money saving clubs. Kinship was not a criterion if trust was not there. Those who used savings groups were mostly women.

Rotating credit associations were prevalent among Zimbabwean undocumented migrants to save money through rotating credit associations or clubs. However the extent of these activities, do not match those among migrants from Dominican Republic in the United States (Reynoso 2003) and among Mexican migrants in the United States (Orozco and Rouse 2007)

which are more organized. Among Zimbabwean migrants, mostly women use this practice to buy big items and send lump sums back home. The practice is common among friends or very principled and trusted colleagues, and trust is the main consideration for recruitment of members. Being a close relative is not a criterion for inclusion in rounds. In fact some respondents indicate that including relatives in money clubs can be counter-productive. Firstly if a relative became dishonest the other relative would be blamed for introducing the dishonest person and be made to pay for it and suffer loss of reputation. Secondly problems like this sometimes spilled over to the home front back in Zimbabwe and go on to tarnish relations there. Thirdly recovery of debt from relatives usually proved difficult because of the home relations, which do not allow enforcing restitution by holding something from the debtor in lieu of owed money - something which would be easy with a friend or colleague. Fourthly, some relatives end up telling people at home about when the other got money on his turn and relatives would sometimes expect too much from the migrant. This again shows the powering and disempowering capacity of kin based relations which negatively affected some relations. In most instances dependency on kin networks bonding which was quite welcome before migrants left home, became a serious constraint to migrants once in Botswana.

The above point indicates that rounds or credit saving was not only a cause of tension among relatives themselves but could cause consuming hatred due to the helplessness kin experienced at failed debt recovery. Others even suggested that not sharing resources with relatives avoids the creation of potential long term conflict. Socially they relate close and can share food as relatives, but there are few strictly economic relations. Some migrants indicated that they once were members of savings clubs with some relative and these were some of the reasons they had quit. This may have been one reason why the use of kinship and family networks declined among undocumented Zimbabwean migrants.

From the research it was implied that relationships which involve economic commitments are unpopular among relatives and difficult to sustain due to intrinsic obligations for kin to look after one another and friends' expectations for a member to pay debts of a relative. Recovering debts from kin was hard, yet the primary aim to come to Botswana was to make money for the upkeep of families. In Botswana, while relatives sometimes helped with resource acquisition efforts, they remained a threat to the same resources because of explicit

legitimate claims to those resources. To successfully counter this threat of the power of kin networks that power had to be de-concentrated to open up the way to the more diverse and 'less strings attached' resources of friends and acquaintances. This concurs with views about the advantages of weak ties emphasised in the literature in studies by Granovetter (1973), Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), Nan Lin (2004) and Burt (2000). This resulted in functional flexibility in resource mobilization by members. Besides, the problems which emanated from this situation always reached home (Zimbabwe) and relatives became involved. The logic was that friendships were severable in case of default, but kinship was not easy to nullify (because of its sanguinary base) in order to recover a debt or adjust living to changing circumstances.

6.2.10. Religion as social capital among Zimbabwean undocumented migrants

Results from the research show that religion plays a part in easing the lives of the undocumented migrants in many ways. Most respondents saw the church as a refuge from bad luck such as having encounters with the police and not finding well-paying jobs. Others saw the church as a weapon against evil spirits sent by jealous relatives bent on destroying the migrants' efforts. This belief is sometimes so powerful that some migrants reported that they do not reveal to some of their relatives (who were jealous) in the village, when they are leaving for Botswana fearing evil spells which would be cast to imperil their journeys. They believe that it is mostly relatives who have something to gain by bewitching them, rather than anybody else. This strange, but true situation is also responsible for the downward trend of kin based social capital. This shows the extent of social disorganization in Zimbabwean society and the demise of the extended family as a unified institution. The issue of evil spirits is the reason why most migrants attend prophetic churches which claim to have powers to exorcise evil such as *Madzibaba* and Bethsaida apostolic churches which originate from Zimbabwe

Respondents claim that the church plays a critical role in cases of losing beloved ones. Church members can congregate to provide moral and psychological support to the bereaved. Most respondents also reported the provision of material support in cash and in kind to help in funeral proceedings and contacting relatives of deceased people at home. The role of the church in social control and morality is also highlighted by the research. Most young men and women learn to remain loyal to their spouses and can manage to avoid infidelity and also

avoid getting AIDS according to some respondents. Some respondents claimed that they were accommodated by the church when they lacked accommodation and sometimes church members provided funds to cushion members against deportation effects and fund the return journeys of deportees. In times of sickness church members also provided much needed support. This shows the power and influence of the churches to the survival of their undocumented members

6.2.11. Ethnic relations among Zimbabweans in Botswana - Bridging social capital

Evidence shows that there are uneasy relations among the major Zimbabwean tribal groupings, the Ndebele and the Shona. The majority reported having no friends across the tribal divide. The hostilities seem to emanate from political relations at home, particularly the reprisals against the Ndebele by a predominantly Shona army in the 1980s which left more than 20, 000 Ndebele dead in the Midlands and Matebeleland regions. Distrust still lingers and is evident in separate abodes of the Ndebele and Shona in Gaborone. Respondents point to the fact that the conflict, which subsided in the 2000s with the changing political landscape in Zimbabwe reached its height in the late 1990s when the Ndebele and the Shona lived in separate neighbourhoods in Gaborone. The Shona lived in the Bontleng suburb while the Ndebele stayed in White City location. No member of another tribe was allowed in the other location. Though direct violence has stopped sporadic stabbings and fights are reported and separate living spaces now exist on a house and room basis. However evidence points to bridging created by those who speak both Shona and Ndebele (especially Shona) to link the two polarised groups. These people who act as links enjoy advantages from both groups. These social entrepreneurs compare with Burt's (2000) view on structural holes which link disparate networks. What irks the Ndebele is that while most of them speak Shona while most Shona cannot speak IsiNdebele. This is interpreted as arrogance on the part of the Shona (who are viewed as the perennial ruling class in Zimbabwe). In this scenario most ethnic social capital is based on tribe (Shona versus Ndebele) and there is relatively little inter-tribal stable linkage. This compares with the distrust among Albanian migrants in Greece studied by Iosifidis et al (2007), cited in the literature, who never trusted people from the same country who were not close relations because of political reasons and suspicions of criminality. It also echoes Orozco's (2006) study of problems facing the creation of

hometown associations and social capital by migrants from post-conflict Guatemala in the United States.

6.2.12. Skills transfer and social capital

In the area of skills development bridging also tops the least, in particular, friendship and trusted colleagues. Most Zimbabweans do jobs that they never did in Zimbabwe when in Botswana. Some manual jobs such as plastering, landscaping, flooring, roofing (for men); using washing machines and domestic gadgets for women need advice and help from those who have done it before for some time. Most people get a job by being referred by friends in Botswana, revealing a channelling effect. It is logical to reflect that friends also teach them how to do these jobs. Some men are so skilled in the newly learnt jobs now that they are independent sub-contractors to some major contractors who are after cheap labour. Some young men's experiences echo this observation:

6.2.13. Existence of a social hierarchy

The study points to the existence of both horizontal and vertical relations among the undocumented migrants. A hierarchy among the migrants was for the purpose of maintaining order and creating an atmosphere for the enforcement of conformity of errant individuals and cliques. Evidence in the study identified leadership in arranging for funeral contributions and collecting condolences. There is also evidence of leaders in labour regulation where leaders with consent from the people enforced conformity to set labour fees to avoid exploitation of the group's labour by unscrupulous employers who wanted to pay less. As a result the group had muscle to charge more highly for their labour. According to the study the leaders had powers to impose sanctions on non-conformists by banishing the problem people from the job-seeking spots and search people who refused to make contributions for funerals claiming they had no money at all. All this had group support. Conflicts were also referred to leaders and no police reports were allowed to by-pass leader authority.

6.2.14. Connections between documented and undocumented migrants

The research reveals links between undocumented migrants and their documented counterparts. These may be their relatives or friends. Most documented migrants prefer to

have their undocumented relatives stay with other undocumented migrants because of fear of the hefty fines demanded for protecting an “illegal migrant.” It may also be because of inadequate accommodation and avoiding possible free riding behaviour. Regardless of the separate abodes of undocumented migrants, the undocumented migrants maintain regular contact with their documented counterparts. These contacts are mutually beneficial. The documented migrants provide some security in several ways. They mostly are the ones who provide undocumented migrants with initial accommodation and food. They can protect relatives during police raids by hiding them inside. They also use their well-developed connections to get their undocumented colleagues released from police custody. Undocumented migrants sometimes do not have enough space to store their newly acquired larger gadgets, or their places are not secure, so they sometimes send their goods to their documented relatives for safe keeping. They can give trusted relatives or friends their cash to keep for them since they do not have access to banks in Botswana.

On their part the undocumented migrants also help their documented counterparts with information about where to find cheaper items especially from shoplifters (*marwanas*) and informal cell phone sellers (*cellpreneurs*). Undocumented migrants are very good bargainers and shop around and know all the places where things are cheaper because of their low incomes and ‘all inclusive jobs’. This information comes in handy to the documented colleagues. Sometimes they find ‘jobs’ for their documented counterparts as in some cases when the documented migrant was a teacher or mechanic. In such cases the employer may need a teacher to give her daughter or son extra lessons or have his car repaired. He contacts his friend for the ‘job’ to get extra cash.

6.2.15. Linking social capital

Research findings indicated the prevalence of considerable linking social capital both in the destination country and in the country of origin. This is seen in the case of relations with law enforcement agents especially the police (in destination country) and passport office (in country of origin), as migrants try to ensure their survival. Evidence from respondents shows a great deal of connections with police officers. Relations with local police officers were made more possible by proximity and continued contact between the same officers and the people while officers are on and off duty. Social spaces like *spotos* and churches serve the

purpose of connecting migrants with the police officers. Some become friends or drinking buddies as a result of the contact. The power of the contact interfaces proves to be substantial and can be used to explain why more migrants reported arrests but fewer were deported. Officers who drink exchange phone numbers with undocumented migrants and the two groups buy beer for each other. As a result whenever there is a planned raid the police can warn their friends and the information spreads among the undocumented migrants who take appropriate measures to avoid apprehension. In the continued interaction of arresting and releasing, officers and the undocumented migrants tend to find it easier to familiarize and talk to each other. Migrants know officers who can accept bribes and some have friends who can just release someone arrested by other officers. Migrants report that this habit of Botswana police taking bribes had not been there among the police, but is increasingly becoming the norm as fines are raised and migrants try to negotiate lesser payments. Both sides gain in the transactions. Undocumented migrants get their freedom and police get their money. Botswana police have been complaining about their conditions of service, especially their salaries and motivation to get bribes from ‘faceless’ Zimbabwean ‘illegal migrants’ is a strong temptation. Besides some really get along because they are neighbours.

There is substantial evidence of linking between the migrants and staff at the registry of passports in Zimbabwe to obtain temporary travel documents to facilitate initial entry. This particularly applied to those migrants who were afraid of braving the border with its potential dangers from marauding gangs of robbers and border agents fighting to protect their trade and source of livelihoods. The migrants had either relatives or friends and relatives of friends who facilitated access to the temporary travel document wherever it became necessary. These did this mostly for a fee and took advantage of the difficulties migrants encountered in terms of access to papers at the Registrar General’s office and other stringent requirements.

6.2.16. Mechanisms to cope with security issues – arrests and deportations

Research evidence points to the prevalence of many arrests and deportations of undocumented migrants in Botswana. Evidence is also available about coping mechanisms of the migrants against arrest and deportation. The fact that there were more arrests than deportations reported among migrants indicates that the migrants somehow minimize the effects through ingenious survival interventions (only 10.5% of the migrants were never

arrested yet about 30.9% were never deported). Respondents strongly indicated that they had friends or connections with people with friends in the Botswana police who sympathised with them and warned them of any impending police activity targeting undocumented migrants. The respondents indicated that they sometimes paid police officers to avoid arrests and deportations and also used fake documents which improved each time police detected that they were fake. In some cases they learned fluent Setswana and led police officers into believing that they were Botswana citizens, or just to persuade them to leave them alone (Botswana respect and like people who make efforts to learn their language, generally and despise those who do not make such efforts). Some elaborate rules existed concerning arrests and deportations. Learning Setswana also helped in job seeking among Botswana employers though others preferred to use English as Botswana is an Anglophone country just like Zimbabwe. Members were supposed to contribute in cash and kind to assist unfortunate migrant who were arrested. Secondly if members were arrested they were not supposed to expose the group by showing the police where they stayed. In return for this loyalty others provided funds for returning them from police custody and also guaranteed the safety of the deportee's property until he or she returned. They were also never allowed to reveal the sources of fake documents as this would strike at the heart of the group's survival. The more people stayed in Botswana the greater the chances that they ever used a fake document and that they were either arrested or deported.

6.2.17. Prevalence of social capital with negative externalities

From the research it can be concluded that among the undocumented migrants there existed some social capital with negative externalities. Some undocumented resorted to 'illegal means' to achieve legitimate ends. These networks co-existed with other undocumented migrants who used 'legitimate means'. There was actually a symbiotic relationship which spanned beyond the groups themselves even to local people and the documented colleagues. There were male and female networks which specialised in various fields. Both had a high degree of organisation. Both had 'justifications' for their means of survival supported by the wider networks of undocumented migrants who purchased proceeds from the illicit activities of these deviant groups. These groups were mainly female shoplifters (also called *Marwanas*) and men who 'bought and sold' second hand cell phones (aka *cellpreneurs*). Both described their activities as their 'jobs' and saw these jobs as better than working in 'tedious and

tiresome' piece jobs. They were in their own 'class' and saw themselves as such. They were their own bosses.

The ladies who do shoplifting are always gorgeously apparelled to hide their true identity and motives, and breach shop security. They lift big and small things from shops and sell them to the undocumented migrants at very low prices (reason why they are welcome among most undocumented migrants). They need quick money and to get rid of their 'hot' booty before the police apprehend them. The shoplifters never steal from fellow migrants but from shops which they accuse of underpaying employees and therefore deserving to be punished through these acts of theft (justifications). These ladies have strict order and organization which ensures their survival. The story of Mary (not her real name) sheds light to the life of typical Zimbabwean women shoplifters in Botswana and their social capital.

The men who sell and 'repair' cell phones are also well organized. They buy cell phones from whoever is selling. Sometimes the phones would have been stolen. The culprits are mainly the local Batswana young men who need money to buy beer or dagga (marijuana). These are a nasty lot and are called *pantsulas*. They get phones by stealing them (even from their parents) and sell them at giveaway prices to the Zimbabwean *cellpreneurs* who then sell them at higher, but often reasonably low prices (compared to real market value) to Zimbabwean undocumented migrants and others local Batswana. This explains why the undocumented migrants have high cell phone ownership. They sometimes also sell cell phones to *cellpreneurs* if they are too broke and buy again from the same people. Cell phone sellers hardly do any piece jobs because their occupation pays well. They are always smartly dressed and carry an aura of 'business'. These are very visible and are never arrested and have friends in the police sometimes.

6.2.18. Prevalence of channelling

Channelling is another negative aspect of social capital that is also evident in the study as shown by cases of respondents such as Milly, Moses, Senzeni, Tich, Pako, Mary and others. Most migrants got jobs by referrals and got jobs similar to those of their friends, mostly in low paying manual areas. This leads to the creation of a low class which the local Batswana despise. There is virtually no chance for social mobility. This is exacerbated by the undocumented status of the migrants who are afraid to venture into jobs where they would be

alone without the support of colleagues. As has already been observed most men are in the construction industry where the Chinese are the major employers and women are in the domestic sector, where native mostly Batswana are the employers, followed by naturalized Indian citizens and other foreigners in better paying employment. This channelling is sometimes quite organised as jobs are jealously guarded. These are called “Zimbabwean jobs” as no Kenyans, Zambians or any other nationalities are clearly evident in these areas. This study concurs with studies by Machava and Polzer (2006) in their studies of Mozambican migrants in Bushbuckridge in South Africa and also in studies of Albanian migrants in Greece by Iosifidis et al (2007). The findings also agree with studies of Indonesian migrants in Malaysia by Hugo (2003). Channelling has resulted in undocumented migrants being discouraged by peer pressure from pursuing alternative work initiatives and they thus remain in the same jobs with narrow skills range and low wages.

6.2.19. Existence of rules and social control

A high degree of social control is exhibited by undocumented Zimbabwean migrant networks. The research shows evidence of prevalence of norms and values among the undocumented migrant social networks. There are several rules governing the settlement of disputes among the undocumented migrants. The rules include that especially the migrants are not supposed to report any cases among themselves to the police, but rather settle them internally. This kind of organisation was designed to remove police involvement so that the police would not find excuses to raid and remove the Zimbabwean undocumented migrants. The second rule was on deportation which spelt out the need to respect a deportee’s property and keep it safe until the deportee returned. There was also the informal rule of having to pay to assist at funerals and when others were sick. Although no real force was used most people feared the consequences of not paying, especially when they also fall into similar problems in the future. The networks had recognized leaders who enforced rules and norm observance especially on contribution when another was sick or had a funeral.

In some cases leaders also check to find whether some migrants are undermining the group by under-charging in providing services (as indicated in the findings, by Moses, a young male respondent), which may in turn adversely affect the whole job market of the migrants in general. This ensures the survival of the undocumented migrants. The case of strict codes of

conduct among women shoplifters is also an important example of the importance of social control in maintaining group cohesion and functionality.

6.2.20. Existence of social spaces and communication hubs

Two very important observations from this study are the existence of well-established social spaces where migrants could meet and exchange various kinds of information and also meet local Batswana friends, and the use of the cell phone as a communication and security gadget. The key social spaces, a string of traditional opaque beer brew tuck-shops called *spotos*, exist in the neighbourhoods where Zimbabweans stay. These are the key meeting places. The beer itself is shared between drinkers making it a social drink. These are the spaces of ‘recreation’ from which most transactions originate for mostly men and a small number of females. People sell their phones in these spaces after getting broke, *marwanas* sell their booty from shoplifting and those who need jobs and accommodation ask those with the information. Examples of these cases are shown by revelations from Brian and Thomas, among others. Even non-drinking men come to the *spotos* to get ‘news’ of what would be happening both in Zimbabwe and inside Botswana. In case of sickness and death of a colleague, arrest or deportation the *spoto* is the communication hub to convey the news. It is an informal ‘newsroom’. As a result of these evening gatherings resource mobilisation to resolve these problems is made simpler and cheaper for individuals. Spontaneous committees of trusted persons are set up at the *spotos* to collect money for any ‘urgent’ matter such as arrests, sickness and death. Those who were not behaving were also shamed here, mostly in jocular but direct ways. At these places most members from various groups exchange cell phone numbers. For most women and some men the church also provides important social space for job finding and friendship.

Besides *spotos*, the cell phone plays a very important role in easing social transactions. The cell phone thus, is the most important communications gadget and security tool which links people who initially met and went to dispersed locations. All migrants in the sample had cell phones. No wonder the *cellpreneurs* were relatively more stable and relatively better off. The cell phone is very important. If one lost a phone, the *cellpreneurs* had cheap second hand replacements, so there is no excuse for not having a phone. The phone provided security in that apprehended or deported members communicate with others to get rescued. Good cell

phones are also sometimes exchanged with the police for freedom in some cases. The cell phone was the major connection between the individual migrant and the people at home in Zimbabwe in most of the cases.

6.2.21. Consummatory social capital: Value introjection and bounded solidarity

There is evidence of the existence of both consummatory and instrumental social capital in this thesis.

6.2.21.1. Consumatory social capital

Consummatory social capital as value introjection is manifested in cases such as the case of Sekuru, Thomas, Pako, Themba and Thembi (cited in Chapter 5), whose relatives helped them to migrate to Botswana after they noticed the problems they were having in order to survive back in Zimbabwe. Senzeni's case is more revealing. After her husband's death she had a family to look after on her own and her uncle felt compassion for her. He got her out of the situation, paying her fare and looking after her while she sought jobs. This also relevant in the case of Godfrey whose brother-in-law and sister helped him find a job after his wife died and he had problems looking after the family alone. In this regard a clear example value introjection emphasised by Portes (1998) is witnessed.

6.2.21.2. Bounded rationality

Bounded solidarity as expounded by Portes (1998) is also in evidence among Zimbabwean migrants in Botswana in several ways. The Zimbabwean tribes prefer to live according to tribal belonging in terms of accommodation sharing. Widows also helped each other in solidarity after abuse by insensitive in-laws as in the case of Senzeni and her friend. Women also suffering from unwanted pregnancies and baby - sitting problems felt for one another and could assist fellows in trouble with abortions, and taking care of kids to let the mother go to work. Vongi, a female migrant brings out this point. In some cases relatives help relatives just because they are of the same kinship group. There are many cases of uncles, brothers, sisters, aunts and in-laws helping needy relatives. Attendance of funerals is governed by the need to by a common bond and need to address a common problem which may affect anyone. The same applied to sickness. Zimbabwean migrants show solidarity by sharing

accommodation with friends, relatives and fellow ethnics. Sharing accommodation hinges on the common need to save money to send to dependants in Zimbabwe. As an example Thomas was helped with accommodation by the men he met after he could not find his sister because he was a fellow Shona.

6.2.22. Instrumental sources of social capital: Reciprocity and enforceable trust

6.2.22.1. Reciprocity

Some element of instrumentality in the form of reciprocal exchange referred to by Portes (1998) earlier in the literature exists in the motives of people in assisting others. One is the example of Siphon whose aunt wanted to use her as a house maid while she did her shoplifting activities just because she had helped her come to Botswana. The other is about Viola whose sister wanted to use her as a baby sitter for the same reason, and Leo whose group accommodated him to reduce costs of accommodation through sharing. There are also cases such as the one of Tich who gave piece jobs to 'friends' who remembered him when they got employers with 'piece jobs'. This was a common trend among the migrants. Others like Viola borrowed money to migrate from friends, to return it later when they found jobs. Involvement in credit associations was instrumental in that a person was supposed to return exactly what he or she received. Sharing accommodation was sometimes motivated by saving which is instrumental. Help to migrants from *guma-gumas* and bus conductors was so clearly instrumental to the extent that sometimes violence was used by these people to achieve their personal ends. The motives notwithstanding, the main reason for helping was to create a supportive group at the relatively unpredictable destination to depend on in times of need. This created a collective mental disposition in which both groups and individuals could bank on each other for help in future. As some undocumented migrants needed assistance of relatives at home and persuaded them to come to Botswana only to use them for their own ends, such as to help with home chores and baby-sitting. Disagreements which normally occurred when relatives discovered the true motives of their kin later diminished the bonding between them and altered accommodation configurations in favour of staying among or with friends rather than relatives. This shows a departure from studies by van Vijk (2010) in the study of Angolan migrants to Europe and Massey (2008), Massey and Aysa's (2005) studies of migration from Mexico to the United States of America and also Iosifidis, Levrentiadou,

Petracou and Kontis's (2007) studies among Albanian migrants in Greece where migrants tended to maintain close relations with relatives at the destination country.

6.2.22.2. Enforceable trust

Instrumentality, as enforceable trust, as propounded by Portes (1998) is also manifest in several cases. There is considerable evidence of enforceable trust. Enforceable trust is also evident in the research whereby some members assisted others motivated by their desire for self respect or veneration. It is seen in the man who helped by volunteering his car at one funeral referred to by Pako, a respondent. He points out that the man is respected by others as a result of his volunteering. Church leaders and prophets also get respect when they help undocumented migrants with accommodation and rescue then by donating money in cases of deportation, and helping with funerals and sickness. They get honoured for humanitarian dispositions to stop oppression, curb vice and criminality and other social ills affecting the migrants. They do not expect pay from anyone, but respect is enough. Some documented migrants such as Grey's brother got respect through rescuing their brother's colleagues from arrest by police.

6.3. Conclusions

In this section conclusions drawn from the study are presented. The study indicates that Zimbabwean undocumented migrants used their social capital in all stages of the migration trajectory. There is evidence of the use of bonding (friendship and kin networks) and linking among the undocumented migrants from place of origin, transit and destination. Linking mainly emerges at the place of origin and at the destination. The study sheds light on the dynamics involved in the migration of undocumented Zimbabweans and how it transforms along the migratory trajectory due to contextual factors. The research discovered a very interesting pattern in the use of social capital by Zimbabwean undocumented migrants which have not been emphasized in other studies in the literature. The assumption that migrants came through certain networks and largely remain stuck and loyal to the initial networks with strong bonds was refuted by the findings. There is evidence of the use of kinship connections at the early stages of the migration process and a phenomenal movement from such networks towards friendship and trust based networks at the destination as migrants became more settled. About 88% of the migrants also report aiding one or more people to come to

Botswana also. The two stages are explained here. The thesis concludes that while Zimbabwean migrants indeed depend on all three kinds of social capital the social capital element did not remain static. The study shows that it is highly adaptive and dynamic to suit certain conditions in different stages in the migration process. Migrants depended on various kinds of social capital to succeed. They depended on kin, friends, the church, voluntary associations (money saving clubs) and on other documented migrants. The following concluding observations are worth noting;

- i) Though migrants initially depend on relatives as they became used to Botswana the undocumented migrants mostly shifted to staying with friends in groups for saving money through sharing rent and for security reasons. Movement from relatives was caused by too much social control by relatives, too many demands on the migrant and things like free riding behaviour.
- ii) Migrants came together to save money through voluntary associations (money saving clubs) which were more popular among womenfolk than men. In the absence of banking facilities this proved quite a good and creative strategy of saving money to buy large items and pay fees for children in school, build houses and fund agricultural projects.
- iii) Migrants sent remittances home and communicate with relatives there. Western Union overtook social networks such as friends and relatives in the sending of money remittance home. However friends and relatives could still be used to send goods to relatives in Zimbabwe. Communication with home was very important for the migrants. The advent of the cell phone has been harnessed to the maximum in this case.
- iv) Visits to Zimbabwe during most of the year are too risky as migrants fear apprehension, so most undocumented migrants make visits in December at the end of the year (Christmas). This is time to relax with their families.
- v) There is evidence of rules and social control for survival of the networks of undocumented migrants. They have rules for dealing with arrests and deportations geared at protecting fellow migrants from imminent arrest or deportation. There are rules about group conflict resolution which excluded reporting to the police . Arrested members were not allowed to bring their place of abode to police attention lest others were also victimised by the police. Upon sickness or death

network members contributed in cash and kind. As migrants sometimes used fake documents there were rules of non-disclosure of sources of such documents to avoid serious threats to network resources. Members were supposed to keep cell phone numbers of colleagues.

- vi) Migrants had respected leaders who controlled the behaviour of errant members and regulated labour fees. They also initiated the collection of funds in case of funerals or sickness. Leaders also had the power to force difficult members to conform to group norms and settle disputes amicably without inviting police attention
- vii) There is evidence of linking. Connections with police officers were expressed and links with people at Zimbabwe's passport registry offices for temporary travel documents were used when necessary. Sometimes police in Botswana were bribed by desperate migrants who needed to continue staying in Botswana.
- viii) The church played many critical roles in the life of the undocumented migrant. It helped spiritually and in ensuring good behaviour and crime prevention. The church helped in providing moral support in cases of illness and death. It also sometimes offered accommodation to desperate undocumented migrants. In some cases the church rescued victims of arrests and deportation
- ix) Social capital with negative externalities existed as seen in the trade in stolen cell phones and shoplifted goods. This shows how desperate people can turn to illegitimate means to survive if legitimate means are blocked, and how local people can also become enmeshed in such activities
- x) There is evidence of channelling and skills transfer among the migrants as most migrants have referred each other to similar jobs and taught them relevant skills to do the same jobs.
- xi) Though tribal relations among the Shona and Ndebele tribes of Zimbabwe were not strong some social entrepreneurs who spoke both language made some kind of understanding spanning group boundaries possible.
- xii) In the absence of real recreation, migrants used local traditional beer drinking places as social recreation spaces and communication hubs to discuss common problems, learn 'news' of what was going on, get information about problems affecting the group and generally connect with other. Members connected with

some members of the police in these spaces also. Local friends were also made in the places.

6.4. Policy recommendations

This section presents the recommendations following the findings of this study. It can be said that the Botswana migration policy makers face an unenviable task of making difficult decisions which may be hard to reconcile in the context of the characteristics of the undocumented migrant they are dealing with. The key problem is that any policy intervention, especially an enforcement one is likely to trigger a raft of unpredictable negative consequences and lax regulations may also have negative political nationalistic ramifications at home. However should Botswana choose the path of undiluted enforcement against undocumented migration they should do so with full awareness that they are dealing with a formidable and complex problem. In this case there is need to reflect deeply before adopting any migration policy. The recommendations given here are not as conclusive as one would expect, but they are designed to inform policy makers of the nature of the problems they will face in adopting certain policies. It also seems some policies cannot be undertaken by the individual countries, but by proactive holistic regional initiatives. The recommendations are based on the key findings. They are merely tentative in this difficult subject and are meant to merely guide and inform policy making. In view of the difficulty in making conclusive recommendations the following policy recommendations emanate from the study and any migration policy must take cognisance of their existence;

- a) The government of Zimbabwe should avail citizens their rights to have passports at affordable rates to prevent the prevalence of mass undocumented migration caused by lack of travel documents. They must be aware that even if they create seemingly impossible situations for potential migrants to get papers in their efforts to retain manpower this does little to deter migrants who decide to move from actually doing so if they have auspices at the destination. Zimbabwe should be aware that once it improves its economic and social conditions migrants would move back to Zimbabwe using the same networks. The consequences of lack of documentation would be a backlash from receiving countries, creating acrimonious diplomatic relations as undocumented migrants 'flood' their countries. Migrants will also end up not

respecting their government for being turned into a profiled 'special category' of migrants at the destination who rely on their own resources.

- b) Based on the evidence available on how migrants are determined to breach border controls the government of Botswana must bolster its border patrols to prevent undocumented entry by migrants. Prevention of entry is more humane than punishing undocumented migrants who have taken advantage of lax border control systems. Lax controls promote crime and human trafficking as most migrants who manage to enter Botswana can find themselves caught between human traffickers and insensitive punitive immigration laws. Undocumented migration is a result of negligent border policing, whose effect is to necessitate the creation of an exploitable class of people. Poor border policing has resulted in preventable loss of life through activities of border criminals.

- c) Considering the fact that migrants indicated that they are escaping from a dire socio-economic situation the government of Botswana must understand that as long as the Zimbabwean socio-political situation continues to deteriorate undocumented migration would be impossible to stem. Botswana needs to bolster its diplomatic efforts to mobilize regional efforts at resolving the Zimbabwean crisis and in the same vein resolve the migration problem. This solution could incorporate proposals and dialogue to match free movement of goods and capital with free movement in services in this globalizing world. Since services and people who provide them are inextricably linked this should include free movement of people.

- d) Botswana should review its harsh immigration law and hefty fines because they are counter-productive. They are counter - productive in that rising costs and numbers in deportations have raised the level of temptation for police to be exposed to bribery scandals and corrupt practices, losing their jobs and reputations in the process.

- e) The government of Botswana should promote social harmony and discourage negative treatment of undocumented migrants which indirectly creates bad ethnic relations that leads to xenophobia. Botswana must consider integration and controlled regularization. The continued existence of undocumented migrant communities seems to be a permanent future problem as long as Zimbabwe's political and economic situation remains bad. This means that the Botswana government has to deal with migrants as a problem whose existence it refuses to acknowledge yet it is a stark reality. This creates conflict between the mainstream Botswana society and the undocumented migrants who are branded as 'illegal' in the eyes of the public informed by an increasingly vitriolic media and vindictive government. This creates a dangerous interface likely to cause general xenophobia because of exclusionary policies which, though somewhat seeming to address genuine concerns have potentially unsavoury ramifications on ethnic relations.
- f) Since efforts to totally stem undocumented migration do not appear to be bearing desired fruits the government of Botswana should take advantage of certain aspects of undocumented migrants' virtues to promote proactive and realistic social policy. First they could take advantage of the organization of undocumented migrants to harness the social networks and their leaders to fight crimes by undocumented migrants and be able to account for people within Botswana borders. This seems rational because as it stands some people inside Botswana are not known to be there, making crime detection impossible or difficult. Migrant social structure can be constructively harnessed to address crime prevention and apprehension of felons among undocumented migrants. This can only be possible if the police recognize that there are 'good' and 'bad' undocumented migrants and that being undocumented does not amount to criminality *prima facie*. They must admit that most forgeries done by undocumented migrants are the result of and a reaction to relentlessly tough enforcement policy. Secondly, Botswana could consider identifying areas where skills peculiar to Zimbabweans exist and involve the migrants in those areas to address key economic initiatives such as diversification. This appears reasonable as most Zimbabweans have some qualifications and are known to be hard workers.

- g) As most criminal behaviour in evidence in this thesis appears to be the result of exploitation of undocumented migrants, it would be more realistic to humanely regulate the informal employment sector and protect exploited migrant workers who are already inside Botswana so as to curb criminal action by exploited migrants seeking revenge for maltreatment. A rights based approach focusing on protection of migrants should prove effective and improve Botswana's image as an investment and employment destination.
- h) Botswana can revise its short-term visa system which gives only 90 days in order to realistically accommodate these undocumented Zimbabwean migrants to work in certain areas and go back. Rather than embark on unpopular, loss making deportation policy the Botswana government can fundraise by fining undocumented migrants and providing longer periods for passport holders. The argument that undocumented migrants are taking jobs of locals is not realistic considering the fact that these Zimbabweans are doing jobs usually shunned by locals or which locals are not able to do. Locals can understudy the undocumented workers and acquire some skills to enter those jobs in future.
- i) Policy makers must make some reflection and conduct prior research on the likely effects of policies favouring the removal of undocumented migrants on the economic and social systems before undertaking key migration policy initiatives. First, migrants are tenants in houses owned by locals who have invested in housing for the same purpose of generating income. Most retired elderly citizens are relying on rent from these houses and total removal of undocumented migrants may create 'ghost houses' and impoverish sections of the community who rely on migrant tenants for livelihood. Although the policy is to deport, its unintended consequences are clear, which puts the policy makers in a paradoxical position.

6.5. Areas of possible future research

The thesis has unearthed some possible research areas which were not really within the scope of this thesis but nevertheless raised some interest. These can be enumerated as follows;

- a) Gendered migration of Zimbabwean women and their social capital (this is important in the view that women undocumented migrants seem to have increased tremendously in Botswana).
- b) Investigation of the extent and role played by social capital in criminal behaviour among Zimbabwean undocumented migrants. (This area is a vital policy concern to investigate criminality claims by detractors of undocumented migration and find real causes and effects of the phenomenon.)
- c) The contribution of Zimbabwean domestic (women) employees in human capital development especially in child development. This can be extended to general human capital.

6.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter provided the conclusions and recommendations of this thesis. It was concluded that social capital does play a role in the migration of Zimbabwean undocumented migrants, though socio-economic conditions in Zimbabwe triggered migration process. Migrants were found to depend on bonding social capital for their initial movement from Zimbabwe, but moved to bridging and linking when in Botswana due to the need for more enabling diverse resources in the acquisition of better resources. Migrants were found to have social spaces and technology which facilitated their communication in daily transactions, especially dealing with actual and potential arrests, deportation and issues such as finding accommodation, ensuring care for the sick, burial for the dead and assisting those in need of help. The chapter explained that migrants have norms and rules which governed every aspect of their lives and ensured their survival in Botswana and taking care of dependants in Zimbabwe.

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Appendices

Appendix A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ZIMBABWEAN UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS.

Most people have exciting stories about their migration adventures or journeys. They have many things to tell about how they managed to leave their homes (in terms of assistance) and why they chose to come to Botswana of all places. They also have stories about how they found their way around in Botswana up to now and how they managed to survive in the foreign land. Can you tell me in detail the story of your migration life? You can focus on the following areas:

- How you came to know about prospects in Botswana and what you were told about the prospects.
- What are the special reasons why you left Zimbabwe for Botswana?
- Why did you choose to come to Botswana and not South Africa, for example?
- Whether you got assistance from people back home to make possible your journey (from making the decision, getting documents, transport arrangements, taking care of what and whom you left behind, anything to help you on your journey and advance arrangements at the destination)
- At the border were you helped in any way by any person or people, who and how, for what?
- Upon reaching Botswana which town (and residential area) did you go to and why?
- Have you always stayed at the first place you arrived at when you first came to Botswana and why (if you did and why not if you did not)?
- With whom do you stay and what are the special reasons you stay with these people?
- What are you doing for a living at the moment?
- Tell me how you are related to the person (s) who introduced you to the way of living (above) and why?
- How does information about jobs circulate? Explain.
- Explain if you learned any skills to survive on Botswana (why and how?).

- Do you have any hope to change to another job? Why or why not?
- Do you remember any special people who have helped you in any way (s) in your Botswana adventure from home up to now (how and, in your opinion why they did assist)?
- Which people do you consider your relatives and do relatives assist each other always?
- Can you give reasons you think people assist each other (motivation)?
- When you help people what do you expect from them most of the time (s)?
- Have you ever helped any person (s) in Botswana? If so how?
- Why do you help these particular people?
- In your opinion do people from different clans or tribes assist each other and what are the circumstances (if they do)? Have you ever been assisted by any person from another tribe. (How When and why?)
- Do you ever get any help from people who are not your close friends? If yes what kind of assistance do they give you?
- Have you ever assisted people to come to Botswana? If the answer is 'yes', what was your motive?
- Do people always expect something back if assisted? If so what do they expect?
- Do you send money home? To whom and why?
- Banks are not accessible to you, how do you and your colleagues manage to save money to send money home successfully?
- Explain to me what happens if a group member refuses to assist another? Do you have any examples?
- Do you keep contact with people at home? If so how, how often and why is it vital for you?).
- Explain how you cope with threats of arrest (considering your status)?
- Explain if you or your friends were once arrested, how you felt and the solutions that you found.
- Are there any special codes of communication for security against police invasions (raids)
- If you or your colleague does a job for a local person and is not paid, how do you resolve issues?
- How do you solve conflicts among the group members? Is it fair? Why/why not?

- Do you or some of you have police friends and why?
- How many are your close friends? Why?
- Explain how you met your circle of friends and how you maintain contact. (how often and where?)
- Whom do you consider to be your relatives in Botswana and in Zimbabwe?
- Explain how you and your colleagues manage to stay in Botswana without documentation?
- State if you have any local Batswana friends and why?
- Do you think learning the local language is critical and indispensable to you and your colleagues? Why/why not?
- How do you cope with companionship and integration to the local situation?
- Do you belong to a club or society? If yes, which one and why?
- Can you explain whether and how the following institutions benefit you and/or your colleagues:
 - ✓ Nuclear family
 - ✓ Extended family
 - ✓ Community members from back home
 - ✓ Friends
 - ✓ Friends of friends
 - ✓ Ethnic (tribe members)
 - ✓ Non-ethnic group members
 - ✓ Religious groups (organizations)
 - ✓ Neighbours at home
 - ✓ Clubs and societies
 - ✓ Language

Do you want to migrate again? If so what are your plans and why?

Appendix B

Questionnaire for undocumented zimbabwean migrants

Instructions

The questionnaire contains possible facts and opinions you may have about migration and social capital

Read each question carefully and Please tick or circle the most suitable answer to the best of your understanding..

1. How did you come to know about Botswana?

- A. Through a friend
- B. Through a relative
- C. Through the media
- D. Through community member(s)
- E. Other (specify).....

2. How was your journey to Botswana financed?

- A. By myself
- B. By a relative
- C. By a friend
- D. Borrowing from community members
- E. Other (specify).....

3. How did you cross the border?

- A. With papers

- B. Without papers on my own.
- C. Without papers using an agent

4. Why did you choose Gaborone?

- A. More job opportunities
- B. I have relatives in Gaborone
- C. I have friends in Gaborone
- D. There are members of my ethnic group in Gaborone
- E. Other (specify).....

5. State the kind of accommodation you have?

- A. Stay alone
- B. Share with a friend
- C. Share with some others
- D. Stay with relative(s)
- E. Stay with employer
- F. Other (specify)

6. Do you feel it is more comfortable to live with close relative or friends?

- A. A. Friends B. Relatives C. Alone

7. From the following categories which people are most likely to help with job related information ?

- A. Friends B. Relatives C. Strangers D. Any other Undocumented immigrant

8. From the following categories which people are most likely to help with job related information?

- A. Friends B. Relatives C. Strangers D. Any other migrant

9. How did you get your current job?

- A. Through my good education
B. Through friends
C. Through relative (S)
D. Other (specify)

10. How do you send money to relatives in Zimbabwe?

- A. Through Western Union B. Through the bus C. Through relatives

11. How do you send goods to relatives in Zimbabwe?

- A. Through friends B. Through the bus C. through relatives

12. Do you have friends or relatives who are legal migrants?

- A. None B. A few C. many

13. Do you think it is important to save money through "rounds" or rotating credit associations?

Extremely unimportant	Unimportant	Neither important nor unimportant	Important	Extremely important
1	2	3	4	5

14. Do you see burial societies as important to you in Botswana?

Extremely unimportant	Unimportant	Neither important nor unimportant	Important	Extremely important
1	2	3	4	5

15. Do you belong to a money saving club?

A. Yes B. No

16. Do you feel attending church is important while in Botswana?

Extremely unimportant	Unimportant	Neither important nor unimportant	Important	Extremely important
1	2	3	4	5

17. What makes you succeed in Botswana as a migrant?

A. Friends B. Relatives C. Family members D. Other (specify)

S

18. Do you have any police acquaintances or friends in Botswana?

A. Yes B. No

19. Who is most likely to assist when you are sick in Botswana?

A. Relatives B. Family members C. Friends D. Other (specify)

20. How often do you visit Zimbabwe during the year?

A. Once B. Twice C. More than twice D. Never

21. How often do you communicate with people in Zimbabwe per month?

A. Once B. Twice C. More than twice D. Never

22. Do you think learning Setswana is important?

Extremely unimportant	Unimportant	Neither important nor unimportant	Important	Extremely important
1	2	3	4	5

23. How often have you been arrested?

A. Once B. Twice C. More than twice D. Never

24. Do you think local people are helpful to undocumented migrants?

A. Yes B. No

25. Do you have Zimbabwean friends from a different tribe?

A. Yes B. No

26. Do you feel assisting other migrants is important?

Extremely unimportant	Unimportant	Neither important nor unimportant	Important	Extremely important
1	2	3	4	5

27. How many times have you been deported?

A. Once B. Twice C. More than twice D. Never

28. Have you ever used a fake document?

A. Yes B. No

29. How do you rank cooperation among fellow migrants

A. Very High B. High C. Low D. Very low

30. Rate conflict resolution among migrants?

- A. Hardly resolved B. Sometimes resolved C. Mostly resolved

31. Where did you learn the skill you are currently practicing in Botswana?

- A. From friends back in Zimbabwe
- B. From friends in Botswana
- C. From relatives in Zimbabwe
- D. From relatives in Botswana
- E. Other (specify).....

32. How did you find your current accommodation?

- A. Through relative(s)
- B. Through my family members
- C. On my own
- D. Other (specify

33. Have you ever assisted fellow illegal immigrants?

- A. Never B. Sometimes C. Most times

PERSONAL INFORMATION: Let's know a bit about you

Date of Birth..... Place of birth.....Gender.....

Occupation in Zimbabwe.....

Occupation in Botswana.....

Period working in Botswana Years/months (delete the inapplicable)

Marital status Single Married Divorced Widowed

Level of education.....

Number of dependants

Estimated monthly income:

A. Less than P500

B. 501 – 1000

C. 1001 – 1500

D. 1501 – 2000

E. 2001 – 2500

F. 2500 and above

Appendix C:

UNISA Clearance Certificate



Department of Sociology
College of Human Sciences
02 August 2011

Proposed title: The role of social capital in undocumented migration: the case of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in Botswana

Principal investigator: Canisio Mutsindikwa (Student number 3317-693-0)

Reviewed and processed as: Class approval (see paragraph 10.7 of the UNISA Guidelines for Ethics Review)

Approval status recommended by reviewers: Approved

The Higher Degrees Committee of the Department of Sociology in the College of Human Sciences at the University of South Africa has reviewed the proposal and considers the methodological, technical and ethical aspects of the proposal to be appropriate to the tasks proposed. Approval is hereby granted for the candidate to proceed with the study in strict accordance with the approved proposal and the ethics policy of the University of South Africa. In addition, the candidate should heed the following guidelines:

- To only start this research study after obtaining informed consent
- To carry out the research according to good research practice and in an ethical manner
- To maintain the confidentiality of all data collected from or about research participants, and maintain security procedures for the protection of privacy
- To work in close collaboration with his supervisor and to record the way in which the ethical guidelines as suggested in his proposal has been implemented in his research
- To notify the committee in writing immediately if any change to the study is proposed and await approval before proceeding with the proposed change
- To notify the committee in writing immediately if any adverse event occurs.

Kind regards



Dr Chris Thomas
Chair: Department of Sociology
Tel + 27 12 429 6301

University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 429 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za