

**THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: A
CASE STUDY OF ILLEGAL ZIMBABWEANS IN POLOKWANE
MUNICIPALITY IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE**

BY

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT

AT THE

TURFLOOP GRADUATE SCHOOL OF LEADERSHIP
UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO, SOUTH AFRICA

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DECLARATION

I, THANDI SUSAN NGOMANE, declare that “THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF ILLEGAL ZIMBABWEANS IN POLOKWANE MUNICIPALITY IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE”, is my original work in design and execution, and that all sources cited have been duly acknowledged.

Signature

Date

ABSTRACT

The focus of the study was on the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa and the measures taken by the South African government to deal with illegal migration. The study was qualitative in nature and concentrated on illegal Zimbabwean immigrants and government officials from the departments of Health and Social Development, Home Affairs and the South African Police Service as subjects. The area of study was Polokwane City under the Capricorn District.

According to the research findings, the majority of Zimbabwean illegal immigrants chose to migrate illegally because they do not have passports to enable them to apply for visas, those who have visas cannot afford to pay the R2000 needed for a visa and also because South African due to the porous nature of South African borders, it is easier to migrate illegally than legally. Illegal immigrants have a serious impact on housing in terms of illegal squatting and the health sector. A positive impact has also been identified through the research findings in terms of cheap labour and on the formal and informal business sectors through the purchasing of goods and commodities for use and resale back in Zimbabwe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to the following people for the contributions they have made towards the completion of the study:

God Almighty, for always being there!

I wish to convey my deepest thanks to my Supervisor Dr MP Sebola for his mentoring, absolute devotion, overwhelming professionalism, kindness and patience when it counted most. I am forever grateful.

The illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe and government officials who willingly participated in my study.

My parents, brothers, sisters and nephew for understanding my absence from family activities and for motivating me during my study.

My colleagues, Ngoetjana P, Dankuru MV, Kalla CY, Kgopa AM, Moshabi CG for motivating and supporting me during the study.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my father Mnguni Josia Ngomane, my mother Rebecca Mabjala Ngomane, my brothers Douglas and Sydney Ngomane, my sisters Amanda and Pretty Ngomane, and my nephew Leon Ledwaba.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DFA – Department of Foreign Affairs
DHA – Department of Home Affairs
FMSP – Forced Migration Studies Programme
HRW – Human Rights Watch
HSRC – Human Sciences Research Council
ISS – Institute for Security Studies
IOM – International Organisation for Migration
ILO – International Labour Office
LHR – Lawyers for Human Rights
MLAO – Musina Legal Advice Office
RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAHRC – South African Human Rights Commission
SAPS – South African Police Services
SAMP – Southern African Migration Project
SANDF – South African National Defence Force

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

International migration where people move from one country to another, has been going on in South Africa since the 1860's with the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand and diamonds in the Orange Free State. The discovery of these precious stones led to the high demand for cheap contract labour by the mining industry during the apartheid era. All the countries surrounding South Africa like Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, and Swaziland acted as reservoirs for cheap contract labour (McDonald 2000: 814). When the apartheid government ended in 1994, it was noted that there was an increase in migration into South Africa due to its social, economic and political climate (McDonald 2000: 826). The political and economic turmoil in Zimbabwe led to a high migration rate of Zimbabweans into South Africa, the majority of whom are said to be undocumented (FMSP 2007: 5, 7 – 8). Research conducted by Crush and McDonald through SAMP (2002), Solomon (2000), FMSP and MLAO (2007), IRIN (2008), Landau (2007), HRW (2006, 2007) indicate that with the high migration trends, there has been an increase in human rights violations, which if not attended to, have a potential to create strained relationships between South Africa and the international communities.

The chapter will give a short description of the statement of the problem, the aim of the study, the objectives, and an outline of the research questions that will be addressed through the study. It will define concepts that will be used through-out the study. The research design, methodology and significance of the study will be outlined.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although migration into South Africa started as early as in the 1860's, now there is the highest increase in the number of Zimbabweans into South Africa than in any period in the previous years and the majority are said to be undocumented

immigrants. The economic and political environment is said to be one of the causes of the high migration rate (HRW 2006: 4, FMSP 2007:5, 7-8). The socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa is viewed by different researchers as negative resulting in high crime rates (Solomon 2000:13) whilst others view it as positive in terms of skills development and transfer (McDonald 2000:814). The current state of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants into the country is characterised by exaggerated half-truths and silences that are said to be dangerously misleading (Vigneswaran 2007:4).

1.3. AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to explore and provide substantiated information on the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa in terms of crime, xenophobia, skills, social security, infra-structure and services.

1.4. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study are to:

- explore the causes of illegal Zimbabwean migration into South Africa;
- explore the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa in terms of crime, xenophobia, skills, social security, infra-structure and services;
- explore measures taken by the South African government to deal with the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa; and
- advance recommendations on managing the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study intends to explore the socio-economic impact of illegal migration in South Africa with specific reference to Zimbabweans. The following questions will be addressed through the study:

- What is the cause of the high influx of illegal Zimbabweans into South Africa?
- What is the socio-economic impact of illegal migration on South Africa in terms of crime, xenophobia, skills, social security, infra-structure and services.
- What measures does the South African government have in place to manage the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa?

1.6. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The following concepts will be defined in order to establish a common ground for discussion:

1.6.1 Legal immigrant refers to people in a country other than their country of origin, with official documentation (McDonald 2000: xiv).

1.6.2 Illegal immigrant refers to people in a country other than their country of origin without official documentation (McDonald 2000: xiv; Kok *et al* 2006: 52; Ranchod 2005:16; Human Rights Watch 2007:14; Danso & McDonald 2000:18).

1.6.3 Migration refers to short-term departure, involving the crossing of magisterial boundaries, for purposes of seeking an income-generating activity (McDonald 2000: 50).

Kok *et al* (2006: 135), Singh [ndp:4] and Cross *et al* (2006:104) defines migration as any movement of one month or more that involves crossing of magisterial boundary or any change from one type of settlement area to another.

1.6.4 Xenophobia refers to negative attitudes and violent actions against foreigners in South Africa (Harris: 2001; CoRMSA 2008: 25; Crush 2008:36; Harris: 2001).

1.7 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design refers to the methodologies available for researchers to study certain phenomena (De Vos *et al* 2005:268). The study will utilise a qualitative research design because it is aimed at understanding perceptions about the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa. A case study approach will also be utilized. According to De Vos *et al* (2005:272), a case study aims at the exploration or in-depth analysis of phenomena. An intrinsic case study will be most appropriate for this project as it focuses solely on gaining better understanding of the individual case, which in this study is the socio-economic impact of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa. The study is based on social sciences theory because social science theories provide an explanation, a prediction and generalisation about how the world operates (De Vos *et al* 2005:263) which in the study would be the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.8.1 STUDY AREA

The study will be conducted in South Africa's Limpopo Province, in the City of Polokwane under the Capricorn District. Limpopo shares international borders and districts with Zimbabwe's Matebeleland South and Masvingo provinces to the north and east, respectively (Wikipedia 2008:1) Limpopo has five municipal districts, namely Capricorn, Mopani, Sekhukhune, Vhembe and Waterberg. Capricorn district has five local municipalities, namely, Aganang, Blouberg, Lepelle-Nkupi, Molemole and Polokwane. Mopani district has five local municipalities, namely, Ba-Phalaborwa, Greater Giyani, Greater Letaba, Maruleng and Greater Tzaneen. Sekhukhune district has five local municipalities, namely, Fetakgomo, Elias Motswaledi, Makhuduthamaga, Marble Hall and Tubatse. Vhembe district has four local municipalities, namely, Makhado, Musina, Mutale and Thulamela. Waterberg district has six local municipalities, namely, Bela-bela, Lephalale, Modimolle, Mogalakwena, Mookgopong and Thabazimbi (Department of Local Government and Housing: 2008) The area of

the study is selected because it has many farms where unskilled immigrants are employed; it is 220 km from the Beitbridge border and is also the first main economic area after crossing the border into South Africa.

1.8.2 POPULATION

Population is defined as a total set from which the individuals or units of the study are chosen (De Vos *et al* 2005:193; Welman *et al* 2005:53). The population for the study will be individuals who are illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe and individuals from the following government departments: Department of Home Affairs (DHA), South African Police Services (SAPS) and Department of Health and Social Development. Forty-six (46) respondents will be included in the study. The sampling frame will be drawn from officials who work with immigration issues in government departments. It will not be feasible to have a sample frame for illegal Zimbabwean immigrants because of the clandestine nature of their migration and xenophobic attacks.

1.8.3 SAMPLE SELECTION METHOD AND SIZE

A sample according to De Vos *et al* (2005:194) comprises of elements of the population considered for actual inclusion in the study. Samples are drawn because researchers want to understand the population from which they are drawn and to explain facets of the population. A combination of non-probability sampling processes will be employed in the study in the form of snowball, purposive and accidental sampling. These sampling processes are chosen because they are less complicated and more economical in terms of time and expense (Welman *et al* 2005:68). Since the study will be conducted whilst the researcher is studying part time, is employed full time and has no budget to conduct the research, the following sampling processes are considered applicable for the study:

- Getting hold of illegal Zimbabweans for inclusion in the study will be difficult due to the clandestine nature of the migration, a snowball

sampling method will then be suitable. Snowball sampling involves approaching a few people from the relevant population, which in the study will be illegal Zimbabwean immigrants, who will act as informants and identify other respondents for inclusion in the study. The latter will in turn identify a further set of relevant individuals so that the sample grows in size until the desired size is met (Welman et al 2005:69).

- Accidental sampling method will also be relevant in terms of getting hold of immigrants for inclusion in the study. The method involves using any case that happens to cross the researcher's path that has the characteristics needed for the study, until the desired size is met (De Vos *et al* 2005:69).
- A purposive sampling method will be used to reach out to employees of government departments to be included in the study. A purposive sampling method refers to a sample in which the researcher deliberately obtain units of analysis in such a manner that the sample obtained may be regarded as being representative of the relevant population (De Vos *et al* 2005:69).

A sample size of forty-six (46) will be utilised for the study. Forty (40) illegal Zimbabwean immigrants and two (2) individuals per department from the Department of Home Affairs, Health and Social Development, South African Police Services, will be selected for involvement in the study. The rationale for choosing forty (40) illegal immigrants is that due to the clandestine nature of their migration, it may not be feasible to access a bigger sample.

1.8.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The following data collection methods will be utilised:

1.8.4.1 Structured interviews

Data will be collected from illegal Zimbabwean immigrants who will be the respondents in the study, through a structured interview questionnaire. This

method of data collection is characterised by having a set of predetermined questions on an interview questionnaire, in which the order of questions may be varied. Some questions may not be asked depending on the organisational context. Additional questions may be added to get more clarity and the nature of questions may be altered to suit the educational level and background of respondents (De Vos *et al* 2005: 296). The rationale for utilizing a structured interview schedule is that managers in government departments have no time to fill in questionnaires. An interview schedule will be appropriate for illegal Zimbabwean immigrants because of the clandestine nature of migration and xenophobic attacks.

1.8.4.2 Documentations

Data will be collected from reports and documents from organisations that deal with immigration issues like International Organisation for Migration, South African Human Rights Commission, Lawyers for Human Rights, Forced Migration Studies Programme, Musina Legal Advice Office, Human Sciences Research Council, Institute for Security Studies, Southern African Migration Project and Human Rights Watch, and from government documents and reports especially government departments that deal with immigration. Information about what has been researched and documented on the socio-economic impact of Zimbabwean migration in South Africa; information about measures that are taken by the South African government to manage the migration issue, especially with regard to illegal Zimbabwean immigrants will be collected from documents.

1.8.5 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

Data will be sorted, coded, organised and indexed in a manner that will make it easier for the researcher to interpret and understand. Text will be summarised by checking key themes, phrases or passages that will be used in a more detailed analysis. The process will be guided by the original aim of the study (Payne & Payne 2004: 36 - 40; Mason 1996:106 – 109).

1.8.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Whilst conducting the study, the researcher will adhere strictly to all ethical issues to inform and protect respondents in the following manner:

1.8.6.1 Voluntary participation

Respondents will not be tricked into participating involuntarily in the study but will be made aware that they are participating in a study. Consent will be sought either verbally or in writing and the purpose of the study will be explained to respondents.

1.8.6.2 Protection from harm

Precautionary measures will be taken to protect respondents from any psychological harm. Protection from harm will be ensured by asking respondents to stop the interview at any stage should they feel uncomfortable.

1.8.6.3 Privacy/confidentiality/anonymity

The right of respondents to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity will be respected. The use of respondent's names, video cameras, tape recorders, one-way mirrors and micro-phones will not be utilised in the study.

1.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will add value on the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration into South Africa in terms of skills, crime, xenophobia, social security, infrastructure and services with specific reference to the City of Polokwane in the Limpopo Province. The study will also offer guidelines for authorities in terms of rethinking strategies and policies in managing illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa. Clandestine border crossing in South Africa is said to be nothing new and most immigrants are said to be from Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Crush *et al* 2005: 13). Unless the South African government and organisations that deal with migration issues are correctly informed about the state of immigration in South Africa, proactive measures to deal with the challenge

cannot be put into place. The study will help to add to the present knowledge base in as far as illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa is concerned.

1.10 OUTLINE OF RESEARCH STUDY

The research report will be structured in the following manner:-

Chapter 1: Research Problem

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Statement of the Problem
- 1.3 Aim of the Study
- 1.4 Objectives
- 1.5 Research Questions
- 1.6 Definition of Concepts

Chapter 2: Literature review

- 2.1 Historical Overview of Migration in South Africa
- 2.2 Reasons for Migrating to South Africa
- 2.3 Impact of Migration in South Africa
- 2.4 Xenophobia

Chapter 3: Research methodology

- 3.1 Study Area
- 3.2 Population
- 3.3 Sample Selection Method and Size
- 3.4 Data Collection Methods
- 3.5 Ethical Considerations
- 3.6 Significance of the Study

Chapter 4: Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation of Findings

Chapter 5: Summary, conclusion and recommendations

1.11 CONCLUSION

Although migration into South Africa dates back to 1860 with the high recruitment of cheap labour, the demise of apartheid in 1994 led to an increase in the number of immigrants into South Africa (McDonald 2000:84; Landau 2007:63). The reasons for the migration are said to be socio-cultural, political, environmental and geographically related (Solomon 1996:3-9). The impact of migration on receiving countries is associated with fears about disease, crime and political instability (Vigneswaran 2007:10) whilst also viewed in a positive manner in that skilled migrants are said to be a major economic boon to a receiving country (Mattes *et al* 2000: 7-8). This study seeks to explore and provide substantiated information about the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa in terms of crime, xenophobia, skills, social security, infra-structure and services.

Literature review will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the historical overview of migration in South Africa, the extent of illegal migration in South Africa, reasons for migrating to South Africa and the emerging trends in illegal migration. The impact of illegal migration in South Africa, xenophobia and the measures taken by the South African government to deal with the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into the country will also be discussed.

2.2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The issue of migration is not new to South Africa; it dates back to the 1860's with the discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State and gold in the Witwatersrand. The discovery of these minerals led to the high demand and recruitment of cheap labour from countries like Malawi, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland (McDonald 2000:814, Simelane 1999:11, IOM 2005:1). With the demise of apartheid in 1994, South Africa was then entrenched as a focal point for trade and travel (Landau 2007:63). This led to a rapid increase of immigrants into South Africa (McDonald 2000 1-2). The cross-border movement from Zimbabwe to South Africa has always been male dominated with labour contracts in the mining industry. The end of apartheid and positive changes in the South African economy has led to a high migration of foreigners into the country. According to Crush et al (2005 (a):1-2) and ILO (1998:8), migration patterns have changed in the last two decades and this was informed by:

- (i) the end of apartheid and integration of South Africa within the SADC region;
- (ii) the reconnection of the region with the global economy;
- (iii) the growing rural and urban poverty and unemployment has led to the growing number of illegal cross-border flows; and
- (iv) impact of HIV/AIDS on families.

The need for contract labour in the 1990's declined but that did not result in a decrease of people coming into South Africa, instead the country has seen an increase, especially in illegal migration (ILO 1998:45).

2.3. THE EXTENT OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Illegal border crossing is not a new phenomenon. It is however noted that the volume has, however, increased in the last two decades especially since 1990 (McDonald *et al* 2000:817, Solomon 2000:1, McDonald *et al* 1998:4, Crush *et al* 2005(a):12, IOM 2005:1). The economic inequalities within the regions have led to the high increase of migration and South Africa is the destination place and also a transit route (Tsheola 2008:45-46). During the apartheid era recruiting companies were utilized to source labour from labour supplying countries and most of the migration involved illegal cross-border crossing. Hence, many families in the SADC region have inter-generational history of migration to South Africa (ILO: 1998:8-9). Illegal immigrants are divided into two, i.e. those who enter through official entry points but overstay after their visa expires, and those who do not have legal documents and do not use official exit points (Danso & McDonald 2000:18, ILO 1998:10-11, Tevera & Zinyama 2002:19, Maharaj 2004:4, Ranchod 2005:16). On the other hand Crush *et al* (2005(a):12), distinguishes between three streams of illegal immigration:

- (i) lawful entrants/unlawful stayers.
- (ii) unlawful entrants/lawful stayers and
- (iii) unlawful entrants/unlawful stayers.

An addition is made by The Report of the Secretary-General – United Nations General Assembly (2006:43) that tourists who have no permit to work, but work, those who fail to renew work permits and asylum seekers who fail to secure asylum status are regarded as illegal immigrants. The ILO (1998:15-17) mentions that visa overstayers are detected through the computerised National Movement System of the Department of Home Affairs. It records every person entering legally and their date of exit. It thus becomes easy to detect visa overstayers. In South Africa the illegal immigrant population is estimated to be

around 80 000 each year. However, there is no reliable statistics available about the number of illegal migrants in South Africa. It is said to be difficult to get the number of illegal migrants due to the clandestine nature of entry into the country. They always try to avoid being detected for fear of deportation (Maharaj 2004:3, Crush 2001:8-9, Oucho 2007:1). Statistics mentioned about the number of foreigners in the country is based on HSRC research which is said to be flawed, hence its withdrawal in 2001 (Dodson & Crush 2004:100, Crush 2001:11, Crush *et al* 2005(a):12, Danso & McDonald 2000:15-16, Crush & Williams 2005:4). Estimates about the number of illegal immigrants in the country is said to be based on the number of repatriations, the number of immigrants overstaying their tourist and study visas and information supplied by the Department of Home Affairs, South African Police and South African National Defense Force (Crush & Williams 2005:12, FMSP 2007:5, Solomon 1996:1, Solomon 2000:2; Tevera & Zinyama 2002:20).

The fact that there is no coordinated effort of collecting data in all the regions makes it difficult to collect information about illegal immigrants (ILO 1998:8). According to Solomon (1996:2) and McDonald *et al* (2000:824), estimates about the illegal foreigners in the country does not reflect individuals who have been deported several times, which according to ILO (1998:15-17) is “the revolving door” migrancy, which refers to the type of migrancy where migrants that have been deported return to South Africa to face repeated deportation. Vigneswaran (2007:4) and PHAMSA (2005:13) mention that the migration of illegal immigrants is circular and seasonal. They enter to buy goods for resale back at their country of origin or for employment in the agricultural sector.

2.4. REASONS FOR MIGRATING TO SOUTH AFRICA

The reasons for migrating to South Africa are indicated as social networks; the economic and political conditions in Zimbabwe, pull and push factors and the conditions in post-apartheid South Africa. According to Mello (2008:20),

globalisation has led to porous borders due to growth in trade, communication and technology.

2.4.1 SOCIAL NETWORKS

Kok *et al* (2006:227-234) defines migrant networks as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community of origin. They involve the flow of new migrants from their area of origin to the destination area and contrary flow of previous migrants returning home. Networks are said to have functions such as stimulating migration, facilitating migration, discouraging migration and channeling migration.

(i) Stimulating migration

The fact that one migrant seems successful when returning home stimulates the desire for non-migrants to migrate. At the end of the year or during the Christmas period, Zimbabweans cross the border with vehicles full of goods bought in South Africa, and that gives an impression that those in South Africa are successful.

(ii) Facilitating migration

Networks provide information about accommodation and job opportunities in areas of destination. Networks make it easy for poor people to migrate because they offer cash, loans, and gifts to enable migrants to pay for travelling to destination areas. Those who have been in the country before provide money to bribe officials and for agents to smuggle immigrants across borders. Social networks also provide emotional support, friendship and opportunities to help reduce the psychological impact of migration. If they are concentrated in one area, they create a cultural milieu they have at place of origin.

(iii) Discouraging migration

They disseminate information about the difficulty of getting jobs and about the extent of xenophobia in destination areas. Such information will ultimately make those who are not yet in South Africa to view it differently.

(iv) Channeling migration

They direct the flow of migration to certain destination areas, hence the fact that migrants from a particular area of origin tend to cluster in specific neighborhoods. Networks also help in channeling migrants into particular occupations or companies in the area of destination. According to McDonald *et al* (1999:13) and Solomon (1996:3), shared history, culture and kinship ties are responsible for tying people across borders. They share social identities, language and even political solidarity despite the borders. The majority of illegal immigrants have contacts in the destination area (Cross *et al* 2006:13, Harris 2001, Maharaj 2004:6, Solomon 1996:3, McDonald *et al* 2000:819, McDonald *et al* 1998:21). The above was confirmed by the study undertaken by Klopper (2006:155) on the Southern Mozambique and South African borders where social networks were seen to play a role in the migration of illegal immigrants.

2.4.2 The conditions in Zimbabwe

Illegal migration by Zimbabweans into South Africa has been on the increase since the 1980s. In the beginning illegal migrants were from western and southern districts of Zimbabwe. The areas are said to be prone to drought and severe food shortages. However recently, most migrants now come from all over Zimbabwe (Tevera & Zinyama 2002:19-20). The cost of visa or obtaining a passport is expensive and the process is said to be very long. Stringent measures to control migration have been known to lead to an increase in illegal migration. (CoRMSA 2008:66, FMSP 2007:7, 10, FMSP & MLAO 2007:5, HRW 2007:30, Lefko-Everett 2007:26-27, McDonald *et al* 1999:12, McDonald *et al* 1998:15, Ranchod 2005:10, Tsheola 2008:39-49).

In Zimbabwe, the economic conditions have deteriorated badly and the lower income group people have no way to cope with the hardship and high levels of unemployment hence their decision to migrate (Crush & Williams 2005:3-4, FMSP & MLAO 2007:1, HRW 2006:8, HRW 2007:16, ILO 1998:8, IOM 2005:2-4, Tevera and Zinyama 2002:27-29, Ranchod 2005:8).

Zimbabweans are said to be the largest group of foreigners in South Africa with 80% of deportations (FMSP 2007:7; ILO 1998:15-17). South Africa deports between 600 – 6000 Zimbabweans every week from the Lindela repatriation centre according Ranchod (2005:14). In 1994, 55 000 Zimbabweans were deported, which was indicated as the highest number of deportation at that time (Solomon 2003:97). According to CorMSA (2008:67) and Solomon (2000:8) Zimbabweans as compared to other groups of illegal foreigners are likely to have been deported previously. The highest number of Zimbabwean illegal immigrants is said to be during December holidays when they go home to visit families and when they come back (Tevera & Zinyama 2002:21). According to Ranchod (2004:9) in 1999 the South African High Commission in Harare reported that the number of illegal Zimbabweans in South Africa after the expiry of visas, was about 75 000. Zimbabwe is regarded as one of the countries with a highest supply of illegal migrants in South Africa. This is detected through the number of deportations and is also seen to be a source of documented immigrants.

Zimbabwean cross-border migration has increased although the magnitude is not clear, estimates of Zimbabweans in the country are based on speculations only. Just like other sources of illegal migration, South Africa has never had a reliable estimate of foreigners in the country. It is, however, clear that Zimbabweans are in the majority in the country. They are mainly concentrated in Limpopo province border areas such as Musina, Pointdrift, Mapungubye, Weipi, Dongola, Madimbo and Chipise (FMSP & MLAO 2007:4, CoRMSA 2008:66, McDonald *et al* 2005:814, Ranchod 2005:19).

2.4.3 PULL AND PUSH FACTORS

Globalisation has resulted in making push factors stronger and people migrate in large numbers to South Africa (Tsheola 2008:39-49). Often people move from their countries of origin to another because of disadvantages and this has been referred to as “push factors” i.e. poverty, hardship, poor living conditions, scarcity of food, fuel, high inflation, rising cost of goods and basic necessities and drought. There are advantages pulling them to the country where they want to move to, and this has been referred to as “pull factors” i.e. employment opportunities, higher wages, political stability, better social amenities, access to consumer goods and commodities and a better life than in the country of origin (Maharaj 2004:6, Lefko-Everett 2007:14-16, Crush & Williams 2005:5, ILO 1998:18, IOM 2005:1-2, Simelane 1999:3, McDonald 2000:826).

2.4.4 POST APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

As compared to other African countries post-apartheid South Africa is seen as having increased economic opportunities by both legal and illegal migrants (HRW 2006:8, Maharaj 2004:2, PHAMSA 2005:16, Solomon 2003:91, Tsheola 2008:35). Wide differences in income levels and economic conditions lead to irregular migration. People will take risks to explore economic conditions to improve their lives (Maharaj 2004:5).

According to the ILO (1998:22-23) people migrate to South Africa for the following reasons:

- The perception that South Africa’s employment rate is low which means that it is easy for migrants to get jobs;
- South Africa has varied opportunities since its GDP is ten times than that of all SADC countries combined;
- The income level in South Africa is above the US\$500 mark when compared to that of SADC countries, and that acts as an incentive;
- The South African economy is seen to have the capacity to absorb its own population and labour migrants in the region;

- South Africa's unionisation and affirmative action has had an impact on wages in general;
- Even when the labour market is saturated with unemployment, foreigners are able to get jobs because there are employers who prefer them as a source of cheap labour; and
- The high brain-drain from South Africa acts as a magnet for others to enter.

According to Solomon (1996:3-7), Kok et al (2006:27) and FMSP & MLAO (2007:7-8), the following are the causes of migration into South Africa:

- Communication and technology is said to strengthen the impulse to migrate because people have information and knowledge about whether to migrate or not.
- Zimbabwe shares borders with South Africa and thus it is easy to make a decision of whether to migrate or not.
- People migrate to areas where there are people from their place of origin. Such social networks provide food, shelter and sometimes arrange jobs for the "would be" migrants.
- Population growth, coupled with a decline in the economy, induces people to cross borders to search for a better life.
- Environmental factors like drought and famine.
- Politically induced ethnic strife, socio-economic disparities promote migration.

The South African borders are seen as "porous" and thus encourage illegal migration. Lack of staff, corruption and bribery by Department of Home Affairs officials are seen as perpetuating illegal migration into the country (HRW 2006:8, Landau 2007:66, Maharaj 2004:10, McDonald *et al* 1998:14, Kok *et al* 2006:174).

The expectations of people in the SADC regions is that South Africa has a moral obligation to help them as these countries helped establish and develop the

South African economy in the past through the by accommodating exiles (Kloppers 2006:162, Cross *et al* 2006:233; Mello 2008:21).

2.5 TRENDS IN ILLEGAL MIGRATION

The trends in migration have changed and of recent interest is the migration of women. There are also those who migrate illegally on a seasonal basis for trading purposes to sell arts and crafts in South Africa and also to buy commodities for resale back in Zimbabwe. Due to political unrest in some countries in the SADC region some have migrated to seek asylum whilst some people are trafficked into the country by human trafficking rings. For the purpose of this research, the trends in illegal migration focus on the following aspects, i.e. migration of women, informal traders, asylum seekers and human trafficking.

2.5.1 THE MIGRATION OF WOMEN

The migration of women across borders is not a new phenomenon. Most women who migrated were employed in the agricultural and domestic sectors. Much of the movement was clandestine as migration laws were strict on women and they were only allowed entry into the country as dependents. Most women who migrate are said to do so for informal trading, they enter to buy goods for resale back in their country of origin (Cross *et al* 2006:33-34, Crush & Williams 2005:14, ILO 1998:8, Kok *et al* 2006, Singh [ndp]: 226:79, McDonald *et al* 1998:13, Tevera & Zinyama 2002:39-40). Women are said to be staying for shorter periods than men (Tevera & Zinyama 2002:37). That is because due to gender inequality women have limited education and hence their confinement to unregulated sectors of the economy like informal trade, domestic work and prostitution (Roberts 2007:12-13). Another trend that has been identified in the migration of women is that due to the difficulty of migration channels they resort to illegal migration channels. Although they have higher education they are employed in low-skilled labour settings (Tevera & Zinyama 2002:31, Crush *et al* 2005 (a):14). Research on migration of women is limited and hence the need for further research and the role of legislative barriers (Crush *et al* 2005(a):35).

2.5.2 INFORMAL TRADERS

Cross-border trading fuels the mobility of both legal and illegal migration. Women are seen as more involved when it comes to informal trading than men (IOM 2005:2). Informal cross-border traders are said to be more prone to illegal entrance into South Africa in order to avoid paying taxes (PHAMSA 2005:22). The payment of custom duties has an impact on profits made by informal traders, hence their decision to migrate illegally (Roberts 2007:15). The informal sector entrepreneurs are said to be playing a very positive role in the formal and informal sectors because immigrants employ and train locals, and thus invigorate the sector. This is said to be a priority in governmental economic plans (Cross *et al* 2006:27,231, FMSP 2007:18). They are said to be contributing to the economy by paying for value added tax on the goods they purchase (IRIN 2008:1; Vigneswaran 2007:5; Peberdy & Crush 1998:2). Others feel that since illegal immigrants sell their goods cheaply, they undermine the local hawkers' ability to sell their goods and thus cause domestic instability (Simelane 1999:4, Solomon 1996:10).

2.5.3 ASYLUM SEEKERS

The fact that Zimbabweans are not given asylum or refugee status by the South African government is said to encourage illegal migration. The police and the Department of Home Affairs are said to believe that there is no war in Zimbabwe for people to be given asylum or refugee status and unsuccessful applicants for asylum and refugee status are arrested and deported. In 2005 only 114 Zimbabweans were granted refugee status amidst 16 000 pending applications (HRW 2006:8, CoRMSA 2008:66). Asylum seekers are not supposed to be regarded as illegal in the country. The reason they do not have documentation because they are fleeing from conflict in their countries of origin (Harris 2001). It is, however, noted that even people from peaceful countries such as Mozambique, Namibia and Swaziland are known to have applied for asylum status (Landau 2007:65).

2.5.4 HUMAN TRAFFICKING

The most illegal cross-border migration is caused by human trafficking and smuggling of people across borders. The porous borders, corruption of the police and Department of Home Affairs officials is said to encourage the trafficking of humans across borders. Women are said to be trafficked mainly for commercial sex work (IOM 2005:2-4, Oucho 2007:2, Cross *et al* 2006:34, Solomon 2000:7). In the absence of specific legislation there is no protection for trafficked people from being deported because they are without documentation (Crush *et al* 2005(a):26).

2.6 THE IMPACT OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Section 27 of the Constitution of South Africa guarantees basic rights to all who live in it, the right to education, and health care, housing and social welfare (CoRMSA 2008:39, Crush 2001:9;17, HRW 2006:17, Landau 2007:63-65, Millard 2006:40, SA Constitution 1996). That right extends to immigrants who have permanent residence. However, non-nationals are said to be generally excluded in South Africa. Since it is difficult for illegal immigrants to access services, they rely on church organizations and social networks for help. These organisations are not coping with the demand of illegal immigrants (Millard 2006:41-42, FMSP 2007:6).

South Africans feel that migrants have a negative impact on South African resources (Crush 2001:14, Harris: 2001). The White Paper of 1999 on International Migration suggests that immigrants have a negative impact on resources in South Africa (Harris: 2001). They are said to be having an impact on the economy, job sector, health, education, social security, housing and crime.

2.6.1 ECONOMY

South Africa is said to be stereotyped into thinking that foreigners, whether legal or illegal are a threat to the economy and security of the South Africans (Maharaj 2004:7, Tevera & Zinyama 2002:29-31). In 1994 it was estimated that illegal

immigrants cost the state 221 million rands which is one tenth of the RDP budget, and it is estimated that the figure may increase to 941 million by the end of the century (Maharaj 2004:11). Most immigrants enter to trade i.e. buy goods for resale back at their place of origin, however the benefits of the trade in terms of export earnings is unknown since there is limited research on the impact of illegal immigrants on the South African economy (Tevera & Zinyama 2002:39-40).

However, immigrants are said to be contributing to economic development of host countries according to the international studies. In South Africa, there is improvement or indirect impact on the economy especially in the informal and formal businesses such as hair salons, supermarkets, crafts, taxis and upholstery. They are said to be contributing via purchasing of goods and subsistence and other living expenses (McDonald *et al* 1999:25, Maharaj 2004:12). Studies carried out by the South African Migration Project (SAMP) indicate that immigrants in the informal sector bring new skills, capital and competitive services needed by ordinary South Africans. They thus benefit local labour markets as they create jobs (McDonald *et al* 1999:25, Danso & McDonald 2000:14, ILO 1998:19, Singh [ndp: 25]).

The supply of cheap labour by labour supplying countries such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Mozambique played an important role in the development of the mining sector and on white farms. South Africa should realise that it has always benefitted from migration in the past (ILO: 1998:8-9, 46). Sriskandarajah (2005:4) indicated that countries that have a shortage of manpower benefits from labour supply from sending countries, and in turn labour sending countries also benefit through remittances and that boost economic development in both sending and receiving countries.

The costs of deporting illegal immigrants are high and is said to be a wasting of tax payers' money. Zimbabweans, as compared to other groups of illegal

immigrants such as Nigerians, Ethiopians and Swazi nationals, are likely to have been deported previously. This is indicated as a waste of tax payer's money and the capacity of the Department of Home Affairs and the South African Police Services according to CoRMSA (2008:67) and Solomon (2000:8).

The majority of immigrants are said to have not more than three years of education and no skills, except in subsistence agriculture, hence their inability to contribute positively to the economy of South Africa (Solomon 2003:91-92, Solomon 1996:8). However, according to CoRMSA (2008:16,67) the Zimbabwean immigrants have high educational levels, and if properly managed they have a potential of having a positive impact and benefit South Africa, but instead they are hired for low wages (CoRMSA 2008:16). Other author's such as Stern & Szalontai (2006:134-135), argue that the impact of migration was thought to be positive on receiving countries as immigrants were skilled and less likely to depend on state welfare. However, Christie (1997:3) argues that the threat posed by illegal immigrants on the country's economy appears to be real. This is supported by Sebola (2008:112) who contends that the negative impact on immigrants on South African resources cannot be ignored. Illegal immigrants are said to have a negative impact on the productivity of the South African workforce through the diseases they are said to bring in the country. Those diseases include cholera, yellow fever, HIV and other subtropical diseases (Solomon 2000:14).

2.6.2 JOB SECTOR

Immigrants are seen as taking jobs away from South Africans and increase the unemployment rate in the country because they accept low wages. They are seen as depressing the remuneration of local labour (Maharaj 2004:7, Tevera & Zinyama 2002:29-31). This is because they accept wages below market wages which local people refuse to take, and this causes conflict and contributes to unemployment rates of local people (Simelane 1999:4-5, Solomon 1996:9, Harris: 2001, Solomon 2003:92, Solomon 2000:4) despite the fact that South

Africa has a high unemployment rate of 35-45% according to Danso & McDonald (2000:14). They are said to be undermining the ability of the South African labour unions to fight for better wages for the South Africans. According to Crush (2008:33), the perception that foreigners steal jobs from South Africans is not based on personal experience because 85% of respondents in a 2006 survey indicated that they have no personal experience or met anyone who lost a job to a foreigner. Organisations like the FMSP (2007:17) indicate that the perception that illegal migration impact negatively on the job sector is true because it is impossible to enforce legal labour standards due to their illegality and the fact that they avoid being identified for fear of deportation.

The ILO (1998:19) does not dispute that illegal immigrants may have an impact on South Africa's employment sector; the problem is that illegal immigration is not documented. It thus becomes difficult to determine how they contribute to South Africa's unemployment rate due to their clandestine nature. Migrants are seen as playing a role in the country's industrial development serving as a backbone of key export-oriented sectors. They are said to have been essential in the creation of wealth and industrial expansion. Migrants help in that there is low production expenditure and thus constitute a cost advantage. South Africa is said to be getting a "docile" cheap labour especially in labour intensive sectors like agriculture and mining which makeup 15% of South Africa's GDP (1994) (ILO: 1998:26-29, Kok *et al* 2006:79-80, Cross *et al* 2006:105).

It is said to be a norm for South African employers to exploit illegal immigrants, violate labour standards, give them subminimum wages, and it is a practice for farmers to report illegality of immigrants to the police in order to avoid paying them for work done (HRW 2006:32-35, Solomon 2000:7, Crush *et al* 2005(a):12). Most Zimbabwean immigrants are employed on border areas in commercial farming in parts of the Limpopo Province (Kok *et al* 2006:40, HRW 2007:25, Solomon 2003:92, HRW 2006:10). Agriculture contributes 5% of the GDP and 10% of South Africa's total export. Zimbabweans are seen as playing an

important role as South African farmers are using them to meet temporary and seasonal labour needs (HRW 2007:19-20). Information on the impact of migration on the South African market is not sufficient (ILO 1998:8). However, according to Christie (1997:18), allowing illegal immigrants to work allows them to remit money and goods to their countries and may thus prevent future migration.

2.6.3 HEALTH SECTOR

There have been few studies to investigate the relationship between migration and the spread of diseases. Since illegal immigrants enter the country illegally, there is no information about their health status. It is only when they are detained that diseases with epidemic potential like yellow fever, cholera, HIV and other subtropical diseases are identified (Maharaj 2004:12). However, Solomon (1996:8) and Solomon (2000:14) argue that immigrants do bring diseases. Since they come from “strife-ravaged areas” they are said to need more medical attention than South Africans and thus put a burden on the health system. Recipient countries are said to be at risk of being exposed to unfamiliar infectious agents (Kok *et al* 2006:121).

It is said to be normal for immigrants to engage in cross-border movement to countries that have better facilities to obtain better health care (Crush *et al* 2005(a):21-22, Kok *et al* 2006:121, McDonald *et al* 2000:822, PHAMSA 2005:31). According to Sing [ndp: 26] and FMSP (2007:17), the perception that Zimbabweans are putting a strain on the South African health sector may be true because to the collapse of the health system in Zimbabwe. The concentration of immigrants in some places has a potential to affect health service delivery.

Illegal immigrants are barred from receiving health care and harassed by officials, thus few of them use the services (Lefko-Everett 2007:53; Williams *et al* 2005:18; Landau 2007:67-68; Crush & Williams 2005:16). It has been suggested that although immigrants want access to basic services, they also want to pay for

them (Danso & McDonald 2000:15, McDonald *et al* 1999:25). The decreased access to health facilities may cause poor health for migrants (Kok *et al* 2006:123). In September 2007 the National Department of Health in South Africa passed a directive that asylum seekers and refugees, including illegal immigrants, should have access to ART at public health facilities (CoRMSA 2008:38). Illegal migrants rely on hospitals and clinics in South Africa (Kloppers 2006:162). They are seen as placing a burden on the South African health system (Maharaj 2004:7, Solomon 2000:14, Trevera & Zinyama 2002:29-31).

There is little understanding about the relationship between HIV/AIDS and migration. The outbreak of the disease was, however, associated with migrant labour systems and population mobility (Maharaj 2004:12). In terms of HIV/AIDS, the prevalence is said to be high in labour receiving countries like South Africa. It is, however, not clear whether it is brought in by immigrants hence a need for further research (Cross *et al* 2006:36). There is some empirical evidence of a link between HIV and migration (Crush *et al* 2005(a); 21-22); IOM (2005:5, PHAMSA (2005:17, 21); Roberts (2007:10-11); Singh [ndp]:32). Migrant communities are said to have a higher infection rate than the general population because they are socially, economically and politically marginalised. Mobility makes it difficult to reach people for prevention, education, condom provision or post infection treatment. Migrant women are more vulnerable to HIV infection as they may engage in transactional or survival sex or fall prey to trafficking networks (Singh [ndp]:26], Cross *et al* 2006:35). There is a need for further research on the impact of migration on services, including health services, and how available services act as pull factors for migrants (Crush *et al* 2005(a):33-34).

2.6.4 EDUCATION SECTOR

Mozambican illegal migrants are said to be using South African schools; especially illegal immigrants staying next to the borders and thus place a burden on the South African education resources (Kloppers 2006:162, Solomon

2003:94) According to CoRMSA (2008:44), due to lack of documentation about 50% of illegal immigrants' children do not attend school which means that there is relatively a few number of illegal immigrants using South African schools.

2.6.5 SOCIAL SECURITY

In a study undertaken by Kloppers (2006) on the Mozambican and South African border, Mozambican citizens were said to be collecting old age pension and other welfare grants from the South African government. They were perceived to be exerting pressure on the South African government welfare which makes it difficult for the country to achieve its socio-economic growth strategy and development targets. Kloppers (2006:155), Solomon (2000:15) and Ranchod (2005:16) also concur by indicating that illegal immigrants fraudulently claim pensions meant for South Africans. Once they enter the country they illegally obtain identity documents and use them to apply for grants and other services.

It is, however, noted by CoRMSA (2008:47) that, foreigners, whether legal or illegal have a right to access Social Relief of Distress grant for food needs. This is said to be inconsistently applied because, in other areas an identity document is requested to access the Social Relief of Distress grant whereas in other areas an identity document is not requested.

2.6.6 HOUSING SECTOR

According to Sebola (2008:107-112), the provision of housing for South Africans is one challenge that the government need to achieve, although Illegal migration is said to be having a negative impact on realizing this goal. Illegal immigrants fraudulently benefit from houses that are meant for South Africans. Most Zimbabweans are blamed for illegal squatting in the country as they come in large numbers. They are unskilled and have very low levels of education as indicated in the Masungulo Project study on Mozambican illegal immigrants which found that illegal Mozambican immigrants had no more than three years of formal education. This means that they cannot be employed in formal employment sectors but can only be employed in the informal sector, cannot

afford to pay for their own housing and also add to the poverty level of the country. Solomon (2003:94, 1996:9) and Cross *et al* (2006:106) also confirm that illegal immigration contributes to squatting especially if illegal immigrants are unemployed. They then benefit from facilities and houses meant for South Africans under the RDP at the cost of South African tax payers.

2.6.7 CRIME

Excessive immigration is said to have an impact on the increase in crime, safety and security. It is said to create a climate for survival crimes and criminal recruitment. Illegal immigration leads to an increase in antisocial behaviour and criminal activity (FMSP 2007:18, Simelane 1999:4-5, Landau 2007:72) such as drug trafficking and gun-running, and thus contributes to violent crimes in South Africa (Maharaj 2004:7, Tevera & Zinyama 2002:29-31). They are said to be contributing 14% of crimes in South Africa. This, however, depends on provinces with Gauteng being the most affected. Illegal immigrants are said to be entering the country armed since they are coming from countries which have been undergoing long periods of civil war; they are said to have skills in fighting and have the capability to can overthrow the South African government. They have the potential to impact negatively on domestic stability and foreign policy goals (Solomon 2003:92, Solomon 2000:16-17). Vigneswaran (2007:6) argues that the reason why illegal immigrants are associated with crime, terror and prostitution is because they lack residency rights and due to their illegality they engage in undetected movements. Danso & McDonald (2000:16-17) indicates that illegal foreigners are involved in crime and that since 1994 the rate of crime in South Africa had increased. Solomon (1996:8-9) indicated that the involvement of illegal immigrants in crime affect investor confidence and that lead to the utilisation of state resources that should be used for RDP and now channeled into fighting crime.

According to a study conducted by FMSP & MLAO (2007:10), illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe are projected as good mannered people who are disinclined towards criminal activity.

The South African press is blamed for exacerbating information about immigrants for being responsible for crime by racialising crime and associating it with particular groups of migrants. Migrants from European countries are seen in a better light than those from Africa. Nigerians and Moroccans are associated with drug-trafficking, Congolese with passport racketeering, Zairians with diamond smuggling, Mozambicans and Zimbabweans women with prostitution, Lesotho nationals with smuggling of gold dust and copper wire. Such articles are said to be saying nothing about Thai, Romanian and Bulgarian women also involved in prostitution (Danso & McDonald 200:16-17). According to McDonald *et al* (1999:19) and Solomon (2000:6), instead of looking at illegal immigrants as perpetrators of crime, South Africans should be aware that illegal immigrants are themselves victims of crime due to lack of protection from the police. They are regarded as “soft targets” due to their vulnerability and because they will not report cases to the police.

The present information on the impact of migration on social services and domestic employment levels is said to be scattered and inconclusive (ILO 1998:37, Danso & McDonald 2000:15). What is a contested issue is whether to deny illegal immigrants access to resources, although South Africans who were in exile during the apartheid era were given access to the very same resources (McDonald *et al* 1999:24). It is also argued that since illegal immigrants do not stay for long periods, they do not cause substantiated damage (Kloppers 2006:159). Due to the fact that the number of illegal immigrants in the country is unknown, the cost in terms of impact can't be estimated (IOM 2005:1). According to Cross *et al* (2006:8) US research confirms that the impact of illegal immigrants on host countries is not positive. It is only positive on migrants, their networks, communities and countries. The only positive impact is from highly qualified migrants.

2.7 XENOPHOBIA

South Africans are seen as generally xenophobic, with immigration policies based on control measures which are said to be “cruel and unsuccessful” (Crush 2002:139; Solomon 2000:11, Vigneswaran 2007:1-2). The influx of illegal Zimbabweans into South Africa has led to humanitarian concerns where South Africa is accused of violating human rights. According to McDonald & Jacobs (2005:13) xenophobia refers to a “deep dislike of foreigners”. It is a behavior that manifests itself in government, public and the media. According to Crush (2008:36) and Harris (2001) xenophobic prejudice is subtle, blunt and even violent. It is said to be dehumanizing and damaging. The xenophobic violence that erupted in May 2008 in the South African areas of Alexandra and Soshanguve, is an example of how violent it can get. Xenophobia is said to thrive where there is competition for scarce resources and employment (CoRMSA 2008:26-27; Maharaj 2004:7; Mello 2008:22). It is also caused by accessible stereotypes which help justify the behavior (Crush 2001:15). A 1996 HRSC survey indicated that individuals from the lower end of the spectrum were the ones who showed more xenophobic tendencies. Lack of international travel was cited as one of the reasons for xenophobic attitudes in South Africa. (Solomon 2000:4) South Africans feel that foreigners bring disease, crime and steal jobs (Crush 2008:28, McDonald *et al* 2000:813).

2.7.1 SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY OF VIOLENCE

The culture of violence in South Africa is said to be entrenched in the apartheid legacy (Harris, 2001). The televised event in 2000 of six white policemen who set dogs on three black foreigners was just another indication of how violent South Africans can be (Crush 2001:7).

2.7.2 PERCEIVED POLITICAL AND STATE INFLUENCE

South African politicians and officials are perceived to add to the negativity towards migrants (McDonald & Jacobs 2005:13). The Minister of Justice in South Africa Penuel Maduna indicated that they bring diseases and are parasites

rather than adding to the improvement of the South African economy (Maharaj 2004:7, Tevera & Zinyama 2002:29-31). The Minister of Home Affairs Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that they shouldn't be employed as they take away jobs from South Africans, drawing on the RDP and health systems. Minister Joe Modise the then Minister of Defense said they add to the crime rate in the country. Even the Minister of Housing Mthembu-Mahanyele indicated that the escalating housing shortage in the country is caused by foreigners (Maharaj 2004:9-11). According to HRW (2007:60) state officials are also said to be extorting money, killing and assaulting illegal immigrants. There are incidences mentioned where they are even pushed from moving trains on their way to repatriation centers (HRW 2007:60).

2.7.3 THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA

The end of apartheid in South Africa has seen a rise in xenophobia captured by the press, especially towards Zimbabweans and Mozambicans (Tevera & Zinyama 2002:29). The South African media is seen as playing a role in the exacerbating xenophobia (Crush 2001:16, Crush 2008:42, McDonald & Jacobs 2005:5). A large amount of South African newspaper coverage is said to be "anti-immigration and non-analytical". The press is responsible for painting the image of foreigners as "criminals", "illegals" and "job stealers". This is said to perpetuate ill-considered stereotypes of immigrants in the following manner:

- The media misrepresent cross-border migration in the negative light and it seems like they feed off each other's opinions because they report in the same way without analysing the situation.
- The negativity is towards immigrants from Africa whereas foreigners from Europe and North America are seen in a more positive light.
- Although the South African policy on migration is being changed into a positive one that embraces immigration, with policies being more liberal and have a managerial approach instead of just controlling the flow of migration, the attitudes of politicians and officials do not echo the sentiment.

- The press relies on police reports and wire services because they are free. The information is not correct and as reporters are not experts in migration issues, they just report issues as they are without investigating.
- South African press relies on sensational and reactionary issues to sell newspapers (McDonald & Jacobs 2005: 13-23, McDonald *et al* 1999:30).

The role of the press should change and focus on human rights issues and the contributions of migrants on the South African economy instead of concentrating on the negatives only (Maharaj 2004:8). The May 2008 coverage of the xenophobic violence by the press is applauded because it exposed the xenophobia and fostered informed analysis and debate, unlike previous reporting (Crush 2008:42).

The term "illegal" is said to be used to those from African countries and not those from non-African countries without proper documentation. The South African government is also said to be using it (1999 White Paper on International Migration) and thus lending it some form of legitimacy, hence the xenophobic response from the public (Danso & McDonald 2000:18, McDonald *et al* 1999:30). The lack of a clear definition of illegal migration, causes the "exaggerated" and alarmist assessment of the situation by using terms like "illegal border jumper", "floods" and "aliens" (Crush 2001:7).

2.7.4 SOUTH AFRICAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS FOREIGNERS

South Africans are said to be intolerant of foreigners and support restrictive policies (Crush & Williams 2005:16, Crush *et al* 2005(a):27, Landau 2007:63-65), unlike people from Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Mozambique who are said to be having a more relaxed attitude (McDonald & Jacobs 2005:5). From a study done by SAMP in 1998, one in every five South Africans felt that all foreigners from neighbouring countries in South Africa legally or not should be sent home. South Africans feel that the government should put more effort into policing like turning the electric fence to lethal mode (the fences were erected during the apartheid

era to deter ANC guerillas and Mozambican refugees), increasing border patrols, foreigners to carry identity documents and penalising those who employ illegal immigrants (Crush 2001:13-16). According to Crush (2008:25) a study conducted in 2006 by SAMP indicated a 72% support for electric fence. What is said to be interesting about the attitudes of South Africans is that most of them have had little or no contact with foreigners and yet they are xenophobic. The attitude is said to be passed on from secondary sources and accepted as fact (McDonald & Jacobs 2005:5, Crush 2008:31). Unskilled immigrants are more prone to be exposed to xenophobic tendencies than skilled immigrants (Millard 2006:38-39, Solomon 2000:3).

2.8 MEASURES SOUTH AFRICA HAS IN PLACE TO MANAGE ILLEGAL MIGRATION

South Africa's responses to migration are said to be "diverse, incoherent, inconsistent and essentially contradictory". The concern is more on control than the protection of migrants and management of migration. South Africa is said to be using the same methods that were used by the apartheid government which were xenophobic. The country is more interested in skilled migrants than unskilled (Christie 1997:4, FMSP 2007:4). According to Tevera & Zinyama (2002:31) the South African government has tried to put stringent measures in place to curb the inflow of foreigners especially the less educated and the less skilled by only recruiting skilled immigrants because they are said to improve the economy of the country. Immigration control regulations have been tightened by asking Zimbabweans to produce proof of confirmed and paid hotel accommodation or a letter of invitation from a business associate, friend or relative legally staying in South Africa. The letter should include the information on identity number, physical address, period of stay and proof that they will be able to sustain themselves whilst in South Africa, thus they should produce a letter from an employer indicating that they are employed in Zimbabwe and that they will return when they have finished their business in South Africa.

South Africa's measures to controlling the inflow are seen as ineffective and contribute to high levels of xenophobia and human rights abuse. It should rather take cognisance of the economic contributions made by migrants and deal with the issue in a humane manner (Maharaj 2004:2, Crush *et al* 2005(a):25). Deporting is not always a solution as it seems as merely putting a bandage on a complex issue rather than addressing the root causes (Ranchod 2005:15).

Another measure that was taken by South Africa in conjunction with SADC regions was the drafting of the Protocol of Free Movement of People in 1995. The aim of the policy was to facilitate the movement of citizens of SADC member countries. The protocol was concluded in May 1998. It had four phases, i.e.:

- (i) a visa-free entry of SADC nationals for short visits not exceeding a period of six months;
- (ii) Rights of residence extended to all SADC nationals;
- (iii) Right to work; and
- (iv) The elimination of all internal borders between SADC member states (Solomon 1997:1-5).

The Protocol was rejected by South Africa, Namibia and Botswana for the following reasons:

- It assumed that the free movement of people will result in the interdependence and integration of economies for the harmonious balanced and equitable development of the region; however that can only happen if the economies are of the same relative size. The South African Gross National Product (GNP) contributes 84% to Southern African regional GNP. The wide disparities and economic imbalances will thus impede the regional integration. For countries like South Africa, Botswana and Namibia, the free movement of people will add a burden on the socio-economic infrastructure as it will intensify the brain-drain to the core and consolidate the underdevelopment status of the region.

- Border Police, Customs and Excise officials of neighboring countries are known to be inefficient and corrupt and there is no centralised computerised data pool that would enable all member states to keep track of movements in third world country nationals.
- There is fear that the free movement of people will serve to boost the illicit activities of crime syndicates, which are estimated to be at 400.

Due to the above-mentioned problems/pitfalls in 1997 South Africa, Botswana and Namibia refused to sign the Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons. The Facilitation of Movement of Persons was then developed.

Its objectives were to:

- (i) expand bilateral agreements as a step towards multilateral regional agreement;
- (ii) co-operation in preventing illegal movement of citizens;
- (iii) co-operation in improving control over external borders of SADC community;
- (iv) promotion of common policies with regard to immigration matters where necessary and feasible, and;
- (v) facilitation of movement of citizens of member states by gradually removing obstacles which impede such movement.

The Facilitation of Movement of Persons is said to have been signed by nine states and South Africa and others are ratifying it (FMSP 2007:20-21, Oucho 2007:7-10, Millard 2006:56, Ranchod 2005:14, Cross *et al* 2006:37, Kok *et al* 2006:64-67, Solomon 1997:1-5).

2.9 CONCLUSION

The end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994 has led to a high migration by citizens from SADC countries into South Africa. Zimbabwe is seen as a source of the majority of illegal immigrants because it is also a source of legal immigrants. The impact of illegal immigrants on the resources of the country cannot be confirmed due to lack of extensive research but at the same time it cannot be ignored. The high immigration of Zimbabwean immigrants has raised

humanitarian concerns for South Africa and the recent xenophobic attacks on immigrants have exacerbated the issue.

The methodology adopted in this study is explained in chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter provides information about the research design that was utilised in the study; a detailed report of the study area and population and the sample selection method. The methods that were used to collect data and a synopsis of how the data was interpreted, analysed and presented, will be outlined.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design refers to the option available for researchers to study certain phenomena according to certain formulae suitable for a specific goal (De Vos *et al* 2005:268). The study utilised a qualitative research design because it was aimed at understanding perceptions about the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa. A case study approach was adopted. According to De Vos *et al* (2005:272) a case study aims at the exploration or in-depth analysis of specific phenomena. The intrinsic case study was seen as the most appropriate as it focused solely on gaining better understanding of the individual case which in the study was the socio-economic impact of Zimbabwean migration in South Africa. The study was also based on social sciences theory because social science theories provide an explanation, a prediction and generalisation about how the world operates (De Vos *et al* 2005:263) which in the study was the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa.

3.3 STUDY AREA

The study was conducted in South Africa's Limpopo Province, in the City of Polokwane under the Capricorn District. Limpopo shares international borders and districts with Zimbabwe's Matebeleland South and Masvingo provinces to the north and east respectively (Wikipedia (2008:1) Limpopo has five municipal districts, namely Capricorn, Mopani, Sekhukhune, Vhembe and Waterberg. Capricorn district has five local municipalities, namely, Aganang, Blouberg,

Lepelle-Nkupi, Molemole and Polokwane. Mopani district has five local municipalities, namely, Ba-Phalaborwa, Greater Giyani, Greater Letaba, Maruleng and Greater Tzaneen. Sekhukhune district has five local municipalities, namely, Fetakgomo, Elias Motswaledi, Makhuduthamaga, Marble Hall and Tubatse. Vhembe district has four local municipalities, namely, Makhado, Musina, Mutale and Thulamela. Waterberg district has six local municipalities, namely, Bela-bela, Lephalale, Modimolle, Mogalakwena, Mookgopong and Thabazimbi (Department of Local Government and Housing: 2008) The area of the study was selected because it has many farms where unskilled Zimbabwean immigrants are employed; it is 220 km from the Beitbridge border and is also the first main economic area of the Limpopo Province.

The Zimbabwean illegal immigrants are concentrated in various sections of the city of Polokwane. There are those staying in the villages nearby the city of Polokwane, and those staying on farms neighbouring the city. In this instance, the researcher targeted the specific areas within the city, where they are concentrated. Those in the city were at New Pitersburg (Disteneng), Onder, Buite, Bok and Dahl streets.

3.4 POPULATION

Population is defined as a total set from which the individuals or units of the study are chosen (De Vos *et al* 2005:193; Welman *et al* 2005:53). The targeted population for the study was illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe and individuals from the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), South African Police Services (SAPS) and the Department of Health and Social Development. Forty (40) illegal Zimbabwean immigrants were included in the study. The sampling frame was drawn from officials who work with immigration issues in government departments. Due to the clandestine nature of illegal migration, it was not feasible to draw a large number of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants.

3.5 SAMPLE SELECTION METHOD AND SIZE

A sample according to De Vos *et al* (2005:194) comprises of elements of the population considered for actual inclusion in the study. Samples are drawn because researchers want to understand the population from which they are drawn and to explain facets of the population. A combination of non-probability sampling processes were employed in the study in the form of snowball, purposive and accidental sampling. These sampling processes were chosen because they were less complicated and more economical in terms of time and expense (Welman *et al* 2005:68). The study was conducted whilst the researcher was studying part time, employed full time and had no budget to conduct the research hence the use of snowball, accidental and purposive sampling methods.

Getting hold of illegal Zimbabweans for inclusion in the study was difficult due to the clandestine nature of the migration, they indicated that it was costly for them to risk being deported because they were not sure if the researcher was a journalist under the disguise of being a researcher; a snowball sampling method was one of the most suitable methods for the study. Snowball sampling involves approaching a few people from the relevant population, who will act as informants and identify other respondents for inclusion in the study. The latter will in turn identify a further set of relevant individuals so that the sample grows in size until the desired size is met (Welman *et al* 2005:69). In the study illegal Zimbabwean immigrants acted as informants and helped in identifying other illegal immigrants who were then included in the study. That process assisted in the growth of the sample size.

An accidental sampling method was utilized to get hold of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants. A characteristic of the accidental sampling method is that it involves using any case that happens to cross the researcher's path, which has the characteristics needed for the study, until the desired size is met (De Vos *et al*

2005:69). Some illegal immigrants were met at a shop whilst buying food and asked to volunteer in the study.

A purposive sampling method was used to reach out to employees of the government departments of Health and Social Development, Home Affairs and the South African Police Service. A purposive sampling method refers to a sample in which the researcher deliberately obtain unit of analysis in such a manner that the sample obtained may be regarded as being representative of the population being studied (De Vos *et al* 2005:69).

A sample size of forty-six (46) was utilised in the study. Forty (40) illegal Zimbabwean immigrants, two (2) individuals per department from the departments of Home Affairs, Health and Social Development and the South African Police Services were included in the study. Getting hold of a bigger sample for illegal Zimbabwean immigrants was difficult because they feared being arrested and deported. They also indicated that journalists have interviewed them under the disguise of being researchers and they were afraid that the information could be circulated in Zimbabwe and put their lives and that of their family members in jeopardy. Most illegal immigrants refused to volunteer or to take part in the study for these reasons.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The following data collection methods were utilised, namely, structured interviews questionnaires and documentations.

3.6.1 STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Data was collected from illegal Zimbabwean immigrants who were respondents in the study, through a structured interview questionnaire. This method of data collection is characterised by having a set of predetermined questions on an interview questionnaire, in which the order of questions may be varied. Some questions may not be asked depending on the organisational context. Additional

questions may be added to get more clarity and the nature of questions may be altered to suit the educational level and background of the respondents (De Vos *et al* 2005: 296 -297). The rationale for utilising a structured interview questionnaire for managers in government departments was because they normally had no time to fill in questionnaires. Due to the clandestine nature of illegal migration, giving illegal Zimbabwean immigrants questionnaires wouldn't be feasible since one does not know their education level hence the utilization of a structured interview schedule.

3.6.2 DOCUMENTATIONS

Data was collected from reports and documents from organisations that deal with immigration issues like IOM, SAHRC, LHR, FMSP, IRIN, MLAO, HSRC, ISS, SAMP and HRW, and from government documents. Information about what has been researched and documented on the socio-economic impact of Zimbabwean migration in South Africa; information about measures that are taken by the South African government to manage the migration issue, especially with regard to illegal Zimbabwean immigrants was collected from documents.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

Data was sorted, coded, organised and indexed in a manner that made it easier for the researcher to interpret, analyse and present. Text was summarised by checking key themes, phrases or passages that were used in a more detailed analysis. The process was guided by the original aim of the study (Payne & Payne 2004: 36 - 40; Mason 1996:106 – 109).

3.8 CONCLUSION

The chapter presented the empirical information which justified the significance of the study, i.e., the type of study, sampling methods, data collection, analysis and interpretation of data. The study was conducted in the Capricorn District of the Limpopo Province. It targeted illegal Zimbabwean immigrants in the city of

Polokwane, within town and in the informal settlement called “Disteneng” or “New Pietersburg” which is 5km outside Polokwane on the way to Seshego.

Chapter four will focus on the research findings, analysis and interpretation. The responses from illegal Zimbabwean immigrants on their socio-economic impact in South Africa, and responses from officials from the Departments of Health and Social Development, Home Affairs and the South African Police Service will be presented, analysed and interpreted.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present the research findings, analysis and interpretations of results. The purpose of the research was to investigate the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa with specific reference to Polokwane Municipality and the measures taken by the South African government to deal with the illegal migration. The presentation of the results will follow two routes, namely those obtained from the illegal immigrants and those obtained from the government departments. Information on the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration was collected from illegal Zimbabwean immigrants and information on the measures taken by the South African government to deal with illegal migration of Zimbabweans was collected from government officials from the Departments of Health and Social Development, Home Affairs and the South African Police Service.

4.2 PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

Forty (40) structured interviews with Zimbabwean illegal immigrants and six officials per department, from Health and Social Development, Home Affairs and the South African Police Services, were conducted in Polokwane city in Limpopo Province under the Capricorn district. Data was collected from the 5th to the 7th January 2009 from illegal immigrants and on the 8th January 2009 from government officials. The structured interview questionnaire for the illegal Zimbabwean immigrants had three sections, the first section was on biographical information, section two had three questions investigating the causes of illegal migration into South Africa and section three had seven questions investigating the socio-economic impact of illegal migration in South Africa. The one to one structured interview questionnaire for the government officials had four questions which were on the measures taken by government department to manage the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa. Information collected from Zimbabwean illegal immigrants on the socio-economic impact of their migration in South Africa is presented and analysed as follows:

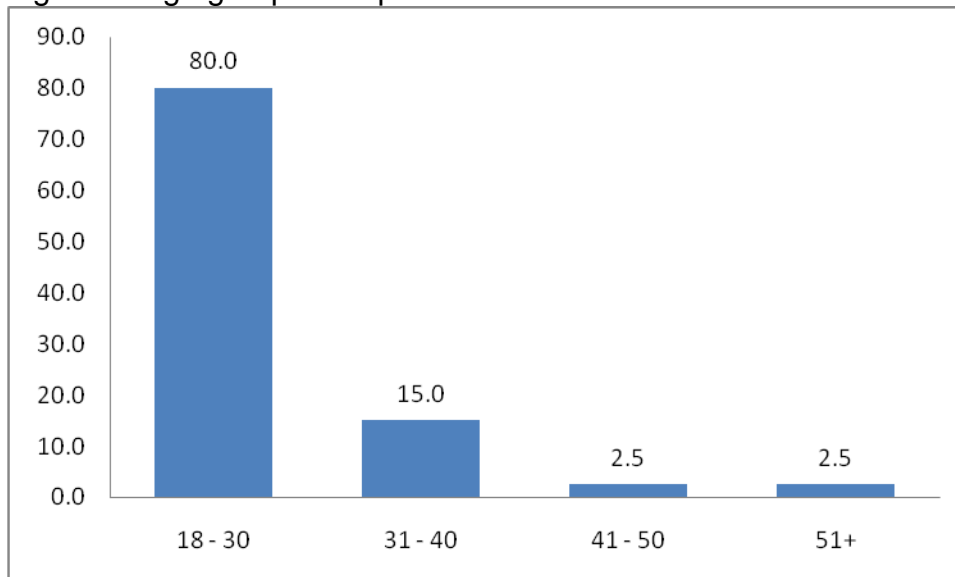
4.2.1 BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Under the biographical information the age, sex, level of education and the number of years illegal immigrants have been in South Africa is presented and analysed. The rationale for checking the age of respondents was to find out what age group is more likely to migrate illegally into South Africa. The aim of asking for the sex of immigrants was to determine whether males or females were likely to migrate illegally into the country. The reason for probing the level of education was to determine the educational level of illegal immigrants, who were in the country because, according to literature the educational level of illegal immigrants who are in the country is very low and they have no skills to contribute to the economy of South Africa (Solomon 2003:91-92). The aim of probing for the number of years in South Africa from illegal Zimbabwean immigrants was to gauge how long they were likely to stay in the country and also determine what impact they may have on the economy of South Africa.

4.2.1.1 Age

The reason for probing the age of respondents was to determine the age group of Zimbabwean immigrants likely to migrate illegally into the country.

Figure 1: Age group of respondents

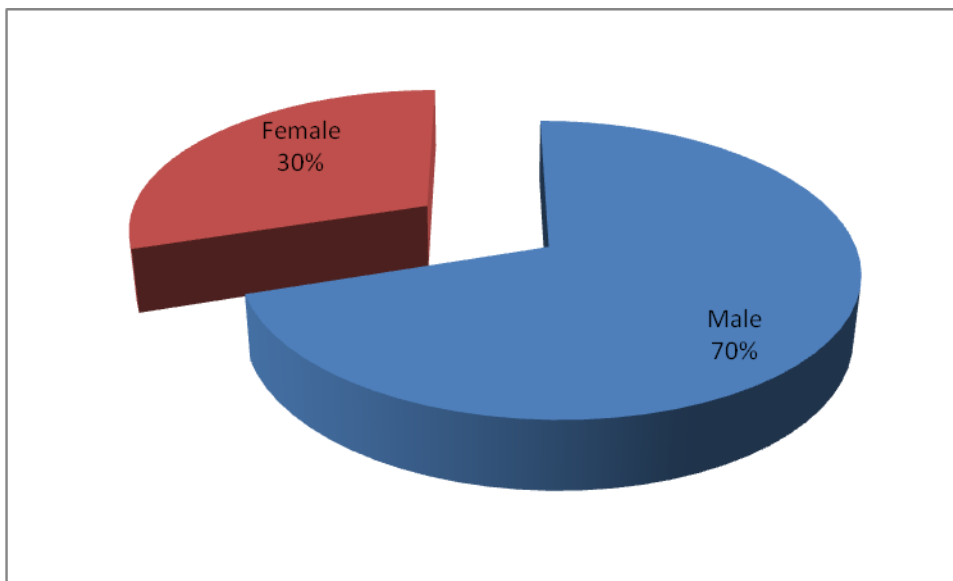


The research findings indicate that a large proportion (80%) of illegal immigrants falls between the age group 18-30 (figure 1). This depicts that an age group that is young, employable and starting families hence their decision to migrate to South Africa so that they will find jobs to support their families back in Zimbabwe. Furthermore it may imply that most of them are young and did not leave anything at home. They might not necessarily be people with responsibility at home.

4.2.1.2 Sex

The aim for probing the gender of respondents was to determine the gender of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants likely to migrate to South Africa.

Figure 2: Sex of respondents



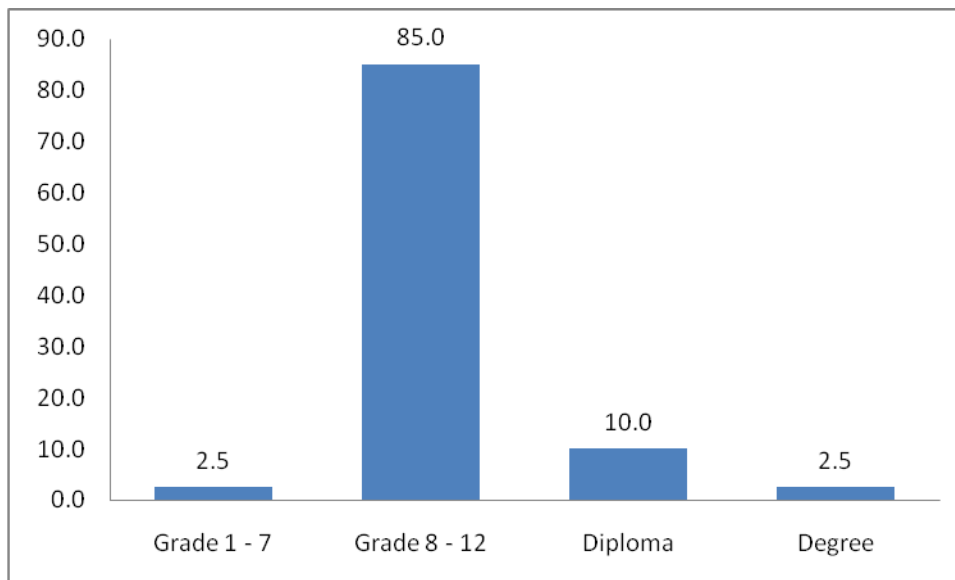
According to the research findings, males are more likely to migrate illegally than females, with males at 70% and females at 30%. The reason for the high number of male participation in the study may be due to the fact that females had closer ties and easily influenced one another against participating in the study than males. Female respondents indicated that they were afraid of putting their lives and those of their families in Zimbabwe at risk should it be known that they participated in the study. Another view from one of the male participant was

“They are in the rooms where we left them. They can’t come to the open and look for jobs like us”. Males were accessible because they could be in the open as they need jobs to support women, who should remain in the rooms.

4.2.1.3 Level of education

The reason for probing the level of education was to determine the educational level of illegal immigrants who were in the country because according to (Solomon 2003:91-92), the educational level of illegal immigrants is very low and they can’t contribute to the economy of South Africa.

Figure 3: Respondents’ level of education



The respondents were divided into four categories, those who fell between grades 1-7, 8-12, those who had diplomas and those who had degrees (figure 3). The research findings indicate that 85% of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants have educational qualifications that fall between grades 8-12. There were 2.5% of those who fell between grades 1-7, 10% of those who had diplomas and those who had degrees were 2.5% and were teachers. Those who had degrees fell within the engineering category. This was in contrast to the findings of the study by Masungulo Project on Mozambicans, which indicated that they had no more

than three years of formal education (Sebola 2008:107-112). It could still be argued that the Masungulo Project was conducted mostly on areas that were not urban. In this regard, the Polokwane Municipality, being a city, it only attracted literate illegal immigrants; hence most of them are those that can offer specialized services such as electricity, plumbing, tilling, building and upholstery. It can, therefore be concluded that those with less formal education will not go to cities, but instead to the agricultural farming sector.

4.2.1.4 Number of years in South Africa

The purpose of this variable was to probe the period of stay the respondents have in the country. This helps to probe the effectiveness of the South African government in dealing with control of immigrants' stay in the country.

Table 4.1 Respondents' number of years in South Africa

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than one year	26	65.0	65.0	65.0
	One - two years	10	25.0	25.0	90.0
	Three - four years	3	7.5	7.5	97.5
	Five + years	1	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

The findings indicate that the majority (65%) of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants were in the country for less than one year. Twenty five percent (25%) fell on those who were in the country for one to two years. Two point five percent (2.5%) is more than five (5) years. It can then be confirmed that illegal migration is economically motivated and is short term (PHAMSA 2005:18). According to the findings of the study, the majority of illegal immigrants indicated that they only came to South Africa to seek employment.

4.2.2 THE CAUSES OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION INTO SOUTH AFRICA

To determine the causes of illegal migration into South Africa, respondents were asked three questions: (i) the reason for migrating illegally to South Africa, (ii)

pressing issues that led to Zimbabweans fleeing their country to South Africa, and (iii) the role played by social networks in the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa.

4.2.2.1 The reason for migrating illegally into South Africa

Most of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants indicated that it was easier to enter the country illegally than legally hence their decision to enter illegally. They indicated that applying for a visa is said to be costing (around R2000) and a lengthy waiting period of up to three years. There was, however, no consistency in the waiting period because others said from three months whilst others said three years but, whatever the waiting period, it discouraged them from applying for visas. They said that since Zimbabwe's economy had dropped the currency used is either South African rand or the US currency which is too costly for ordinary Zimbabweans.

Some Zimbabweans indicated that they did not have passports and thus couldn't apply for visas. They cited the long waiting period and the fact that at some stage Zimbabwe stopped issuing passports due to lack of material, as a reason for getting into South Africa illegally. Some said they would not wait and starve whereas there were other means of getting into South Africa easily. One of the respondents said: *"Applying for a passport was difficult because one needed a birth certificate and for one to apply for it one needed to have a spouse present and it is difficult because most spouses are in other countries like South Africa and Botswana looking for greener pastures"*. Some respondents indicated that due to the political turmoil they had to flee from their country to seek asylum in South Africa and thus had no time to apply for visas. One respondent said *"I had a tailoring and upholstery business in Zimbabwe but then it was required that I should register my business and pay levies and I realised that if I keep my business running it would be at a loss hence my decision to migrate illegally to South Africa as the currency here is much stronger than the Zimbabwean one"*. The urge to migrate into South Africa was so strong that one respondent said

“I would rather be mauled by wild life whilst trying to cross the border to South Africa than stay in Zimbabwe and be unable to fend for my family”. From the interviews in this regard it becomes clear that, the pressing reasons are mostly economic than political.

4.2.2.2 Pressing issues that led to Zimbabweans to flee from their country to South Africa

When asked whether there were any pressing issues forcing them to flee from Zimbabwe to South Africa almost all respondents indicated that they left due to the poor economic conditions and came to South Africa to look for employment. This contradicts the study undertaken by Peberdy and Crush (1998:1) in which the majority of respondents were said to be in South Africa to pursue small businesses. In this study, the majority of immigrants came to seek employment. This is confirmed by a study carried out by McDonald et al (2000:826) in 2000, which indicated that most immigrants come into the country to look for employment. The high inflation rate makes it difficult for them to afford basic commodities, shortage of food especially mealiemeal which could only be bought in the “black market” for exorbitant price, a high rate of unemployment. Others indicated that employment was there but due to the poor currency it was like working for nothing. They indicated that the drought in Zimbabwe made it difficult for them to engage in subsistence farming.

The takeover of white-owned farms is also said to contribute to the high shortage of food because farms were left unutilised. The South African currency is seen as stronger with vast opportunities, they can thus be able to send remittances to their families in a form of basic commodities and money. As indicated earlier on in this chapter Zimbabwe is said to be using the South African and US currency exclusively, the other respondents indicated that they had to flee their country due to political persecutions with some respondents indicating that they nearly lost their lives. The fact that Zimbabwe does not offer loans to start small businesses and unlike South Africa, there were no grants

either was one of the reasons mentioned for migrating to South Africa illegally. There were some who came to South Africa for trade in crafts and also for buying commodities for resale back in Zimbabwe. In this instance, one can conclude that there are basically two pressing issues for Zimbabweans to migrate into South Africa, namely, economic and to escape political persecutions. Economic factors feature high with few indicating political persecution as a factor.

4.2.2.3 The role played by social networks in the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa

Most respondents indicated that they came to South Africa alone without knowing anyone. Some sold livestock and handcrafts and used the money to bribe officials and to pay for transport to help them migrate illegally to South Africa. To adjust and find a place to stay in South Africa on arrival, they were helped by other Zimbabweans who were already in the country and had shelter, who accommodated them for a short while until they found their own shelter.

Some were assisted by family members to migrate i.e. brothers, sisters and parents. Of those who came with the assistance of family members, i.e. brothers, sisters and parents. They were provided with food, shelter and were also assisted to get jobs. Some were loaned money for travelling and which was paid back once they obtained jobs. One respondent said *“when I saw a friend who came to South Africa working on the farm coming back home with groceries and other commodities, I was inspired to migrate illegally to South Africa so I can also look after my family”*. This statement by a respondent concurs with literature (Kok *et al* 2006:227-234) which indicates that social networks stimulate migration because when other migrants return home from South Africa, they brought goods bought in South Africa, and those who wished to migrate were then motivated to do so. Most respondents said that they already had family members who had migrated illegally in the country which made it easier for them to cross the border because they were provided with transport money, bribes to cross the border had been paid, were offered accommodation, food and some jobs were even

arranged for them. Other respondents indicated that they used to come to South Africa illegally for trading purposes and then decided to stay and look for employment.

From the responses it can be deduced that social networks played a role in the migration of Zimbabweans from their country, with family members offering transport fees, shelter, food and helping illegal immigrants in securing jobs. Some came into the country without knowing anyone but were accommodated by other Zimbabweans who were already in the country. This confirms the perceptions made by Cross *et al* (2006:13) and Maharaj (2004:6) where the majority of illegal immigrants are said to have contacts in destination areas.

4.2.3 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

To determine the socio-economic impact of illegal migration seven questions were asked and they were as follows: (i) employment details of illegal immigrants, (ii) their perception of the South African labour system, (iii) their views on the treatment they receive from their employers, (iv) their contribution to the South African economy, (v) access to health facilities, (vi) access to social welfare grants, and (vii) perceptions of the attitudes of South Africans towards them.

4.2.3.1 Employment details of illegal immigrants

In determining the socio-economic impact of illegal migration in South Africa respondents were asked whether they were employed and the kind of employment in which they were engaged.

Most male respondents were unemployed and survived by doing odd jobs like painting, gardening, building and other jobs South Africans offered them. Most women indicated that they were employed in restaurants and clothing stores, although a male Zimbabwean source said they were indeed prostitutes. There were those who were self employed and were selling crafts, doing upholstery and

had small stalls where they sold vegetables and fruits. Some did electrical work like fixing fridges and cars. They, however, have not created any jobs for South Africans as some have suggested (FMSP 2007:18; ILO 1998:19). This might be due to the clandestine nature of their migration. A few had steady jobs and were employed as domestic workers, boilermakers and builders. Most of such immigrants are involved in informal employment sectors of the country where there is likely to be a competition of work and resources with the locals.

4.2.3.2 Illegal Zimbabweans' perception of the South African labour system

In response to the question whether they thought the South African labour system was fair to illegal Zimbabweans, the majority of respondents indicated that they were not treated fairly. Out of forty (40) respondents only fifteen (15) said they were treated fairly. It seems like when they were referring to a fair treatment they related it mostly to remuneration than working conditions because those who said they were treated well indicated they were paid the following salaries:-

Domestic workers – R800 – R1200 pm, restaurant employees – R300 a week, auto electricians - R4000 pm, odd jobs R300 – R350 a week, boiler maker – R6000 pm.

The majority of those who said they were not treated fairly gave the following reasons:

- They were given hard labour which South Africans refused to do and were paid less than what a South African would be paid if he/she was doing the same job.
- They worked long hours and also weekends without remuneration for overtime worked.
- They had no choice over the way they were treated by South Africans because they were in the country illegally and felt that South Africans took advantage of that fact.

- They complained about the police who extorted money from them or threatened them with deportation if they refused to pay. Those who had asylum papers indicated that their papers were torn and then asked to pay or face deportation.
- They are treated like animals and told they bring diseases in the country.
- Although some employers are seen as good, some respondents said most South African employers are bad.
- If employed they do not have rights like South Africans and should they get injured at work they were not even given medical care.
- The South African labour system is said to be concerned more with productivity/profit at the expense of illegal immigrants.
- As the situation in Zimbabwe deteriorates, South Africans realize that illegal Zimbabweans have no choice but to put up with the abuse in order to survive.

The following were the recommendations made by respondents in order to change the South African labour system:

- Human rights must be respected and people to be should be treated with dignity and respect irrespective of whether they were in the country legally or not.
- They should be paid according to the rates applicable to South Africans.
- The South African labour system should have policies in place to protect foreigners whether they were in the country legally or not.
- The issuing of asylum papers and permits should be a form of protection from being abused by employers.
- There should be a central place where foreigners are registered and jobs should be given in accordance with their qualifications, irrespective of whether they are in the country legally or not.

- When the police are called by employers to deport illegal immigrants, they should first make sure that they are paid for the work done before deporting them.
- South Africa should understand that the situation in Zimbabwe is beyond illegal immigrants' control and thus need to be sympathetic towards them. The view is supported by Mello (2008:21) in which he indicated that South Africa should take cognisance of the contribution made by other countries with regard to its economic growth.

4.2.3.3 Views on the treatment received from employers by illegal Zimbabwean immigrants

The majority of respondents said they were treated well by their employers. It was interesting to note that almost all respondents indicated that their previous employers treated them badly. Those who indicated that they were treated badly by their employers were females. There were a few who mentioned that they were sometimes treated well. It was only one respondent who indicated that he had no idea because he had just arrived in South Africa and had not been employed to form an opinion.

4.2.3.4 The contribution of illegal Zimbabweans on the South African economy

Almost all the respondents argued that illegal Zimbabwean immigrants contributed to the South African economy. The following reasons were given:

(i) Buying Power

They said they were contributing through the buying of commodities since South Africa was one of the countries supporting the economy of Zimbabwe. Most Zimbabweans were said to be buying everything from South Africa, starting with mealie meal to other basic commodities. These goods were bought to support families in Zimbabwe and also for resale, hence the South African formal and informal business sectors were booming. They also indicated that the bribes that

the South African police extorted from them helped boost the economy of the country. Other respondents indicated that since illegal Zimbabwean immigrants did not have access to facilities like clean water and housing. They did not impact negatively on the economy of the country.

(ii) Cheap Labour

South Africa was also said to be benefiting through cheap labour as illegal Zimbabweans were paid less than South Africans, and sometimes worked for free because South Africans would call the police when they were supposed to pay them. They helped in improving productivity at a lesser cost, especially on farms during planting and harvesting as the majority of them worked there.

(iii) Skills

They said they were offering skills in engineering and construction. They also said that stadiums for 2010 and Reconstruction and Development Programme houses were built by Zimbabweans for a less cost. They do hard labour and take jobs that South Africans refuse to do.

It was only a few respondents who indicated that illegal immigrants contributed nothing to the economy of South Africa whilst some even said that most illegal Zimbabwean immigrants are engaged in survival crimes like housebreaking, which were seen as bad for the country. From the research findings it proves that illegal immigrants contributed positively to the South African economy through buying of commodities to send to Zimbabwe, cheap labour, high production especially in the farms since they were paid less than South Africans. The buying of commodities is confirmed by McDonald et al (1999:25) and Maharaj (2004:12) who indicated that immigrants who enter South Africa for trade contribute to the economy of South Africa via purchasing of goods. In terms of cheap labour according to Kok *et al* (2006:79-80), labour intensive sectors like agriculture and mining benefit through low production expenditure. South Africa seems to be spending less on production whether in the formal or

informal employment sectors because they pay illegal immigrants less than they would pay South Africans.

4.2.3.5 Access to health facilities

To establish the impact of illegal migration by Zimbabweans on the health system, the respondents were asked whether they are able to access health services. The majority of respondents indicated that they accessed health services i.e., clinics and hospitals without problems and the clinics (especially Rethabile Health Centre in Polokwane) did not ask for identity documents in order to offer them medical treatment. They, however, indicated that some nurses were xenophobic and diagnosed them with sexually transmitted infections without even running tests. Other respondents indicated that some nurses would not even touch them. They were accused by some nurses of selling medicine to other Zimbabweans or taking the medication to Zimbabwe and would thus be only offered pain killers for all their ailments. Generally, they were impressed that health services were free as compared to their country. This is in contrast to the findings of the study conducted by Danso & McDonald (2000:15) in which it was found that although immigrants expect to have access to facilities, they want to pay for them. In this study it would be impossible for illegal immigrants to afford to pay for services whilst the majority were unemployed. A few respondents said they would not go to health centres and preferred buying their medication at supermarkets or would rather go back to Zimbabwe than face arrest and deportation. They indicated that they would be arrested if they went to health centres without the proper documentation allowing them to stay in South Africa. Some respondents indicated that although they never used any health facility in South Africa, should they get sick they would use them because they heard from other illegal Zimbabwean immigrants that the services were accessible.

The majority of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants had access to health facilities in South Africa, according to the findings of the study. The most utilised health

facility is the Rethabile Health Centre in Polokwane. Even those who haven't been sick indicated that should a need arise they would use the facilities. The fact that health services were free and having an identity document was not a requirement encouraged most illegal immigrants to use the facilities even though Williams et al (2005:18) mentioned that illegal immigrants were likely to be excluded from having access to health services.

4.2.3.6 Access to social welfare grants

When asked whether they thought illegal Zimbabweans should have access to social welfare grants a few immigrants said they thought they should have access to social welfare grants and some said they shouldn't. Those who said yes indicated housing, disability grants, old age pension, child support grant and other types of grants like food parcels and loans to start small businesses. One respondent indicated that South Africa had the capacity to take care of its own people and foreigners and should thus take care of everyone living in it. One respondent indicated that illegal Zimbabweans who have been in the country for more than twenty (20) years should have access to grants.

Those who said no indicated that they had no intention of settling in South Africa and would like to go back to their country as soon as things got back to normal, and thus did not want any grants and only required jobs. They indicated that getting grants would keep them in the country and that is not what they wanted. Grants were said to be for South Africans and not for foreigners. Other respondents indicated that since they did not have South African identity documents they did not think about accessing social welfare grants. Another respondent indicated that it would be pushing boundaries for one to expect to get welfare grants whilst one was in the country illegally.

During the interviews it was apparent that most illegal immigrants had no idea of what social welfare grants were available. What they wanted was jobs, food and

money to start small businesses. According to Millard (2008:42), only immigrants who have permanent residence are entitled to social assistance in South Africa.

4.2.3.7 Perceptions on the attitudes of South Africans towards illegal Zimbabwean immigrants

Half of the respondents felt that South Africans were xenophobic, and treated illegal immigrants like animals. Illegal immigrants are accused of bringing diseases like sexually transmitted infections, cholera and increasing the crime rate (theft) and prostitution. The police have been mentioned by almost all the respondents as highly xenophobic, extorting money from them, or threatening to deport them if they refused to pay. There was only one respondent who was exposed to violence where the house she was renting was stoned just because she was a foreigner. A lot of the respondents mentioned that South Africa needs to understand that the situation in Zimbabwe was beyond their control and that during the apartheid era Zimbabweans helped South Africans who were in exile. They felt that South Africans should return the favour.

Those who said South Africans were not xenophobic indicated that they were offered shelter, food, clothes and sometimes offered jobs. The Sothos are said to be more tolerant of illegal Zimbabweans than the Vendas and Zulus who were likely to call the police on them if they were to pay them for services rendered. Only one respondent could not respond to the question because he was only in the country for a week. The Sothos are seen as more tolerant and kind because they offered them food and sometimes even clothes and shelter.

4.3 FINDINGS FROM GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Information collected from the government departments of Health and Social Development, Home Affairs and the South African Police Service on the measures taken by the government in dealing with illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa is presented in the following sections:

4.3.1 DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Information on the measures taken by the South African Government to deal with the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa was collected from the department of Health and Social development. Five questions were asked and they were: (i) on the perception of the department's officials on the way the South African Government dealt with illegal migration of Zimbabweans into the country; (ii) the measures taken by the department to deal with illegal migration of Zimbabweans; (iii) the perceived effectiveness of those measures, (iv) perceptions on the SADC protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons regarding the 90 day free visa for Zimbabweans; and (v) the impact of illegal immigrants on the resources of the country.

4.3.1.1 Perceptions on the way the South African government deals with illegal Zimbabwean migration

They indicated dissatisfaction with the way the government dealt with illegal migration of Zimbabweans, which was mainly seen as arresting and deporting illegal immigrants. Deported illegal immigrants are said to come back soon after deportation. They blamed this on corrupt government officials who received bribes from immigrants to let them back into the country. They also indicated that the lack of resources in terms of transport and immigration officers were the causes of the high influx of illegal immigrants.

4.3.1.2 Measures taken by the Department of Health and Social Development to deal with migration issues

Respondents indicated that it was the requirement for patients who wanted access to treatment in hospitals to produce identity documents. Illegal patients were reported to the Department of Home Affairs' Immigration section. The patients were given treatment and then when they were medically fit, they were handed over to immigration officials for deportation. Although this measure may be effective in controlling illegal migration, it can still be argued that it might prevent illegal immigrants from seeking medical assistance when they are sick.

4.3.1.3 The effectiveness of the measures taken by the Department of Health and Social Development

The respondents in this regard argued that their measures are not effective. They indicated that there was no system in place in the Department of Health and Social Development to determine the number of illegal immigrants treated at hospitals and clinics. There was no consistency in the asking of identity documents for access to health care, some immigrants were asked for identity documents others were not. The respondents also indicated that there were no meetings with affected departments to discuss how to deal with illegal migration. The Department of Home Affairs is regarded as the organization that should lead such a process.

4.3.1.4 Perception on the SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons regarding the 90 day free visa for Zimbabweans.

In terms of perceptions on the protocol, respondents indicated that there were envisaged benefits and problems with regard to the protocol. A gap in the protocol was identified and it was that the number of illegal immigrants already in South Africa was unknown; the protocol will only be able to monitor entry but will not deal with visa overstayers. It was indicated that, for the protocol to be effective, it should be marketed so that everyone understands it and that resources for its implementation and monitoring should be made available. On the other hand it was envisaged that the protocol may help to reduce the high illegal migration of Zimbabweans into the country since the present measures were failing and illegal migration was on the increase.

4.3.1.5 The impact of illegal migration on the resources of the country

The impact of illegal migration on the resources of the country was seen in a negative light by government officials. Illegal immigrants were seen to increase the unemployment rate because they competed for jobs with South Africans. They are also blamed for the high crime rate in the country because their undocumented state makes it difficult for the South African Police Service to

trace them. They are said to be responsible for the overcrowded infra-structure such as hospitals. They are also said to be fraudulently occupying Reconstruction and Development Programme houses meant for South Africans.

4.3.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Information on the measures taken by the South African government to deal with the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa was collected from the South African Police Service. Five questions were asked and they were; (i) on the perception of the department's officials on the way the South African Government dealt with illegal migration of Zimbabweans into the country; (ii) the measures taken by the department to deal with illegal migration of Zimbabweans; (iii) the perceived effectiveness of those measures; (iv) perceptions on the SADC protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons regarding the 90 day free visa for Zimbabweans; and (v) the impact of illegal immigrants on the resources of the country.

4.3.2.1 Perceptions on the way the South African government deals with illegal Zimbabwean migration

Illegal Zimbabwean immigrants were perceived negatively and the government was seen to be too lenient on them hence migrants returned soon after deportation. The police indicated that illegal immigrants should be handled in a tough manner i.e. fines and imprisonment to discourage them from coming back to South Africa. The respondents suggested tougher measures to discourage illegal migration. It is worthy to note that literature on human rights abuses by the South African Police Services officials in which it is indicated that it was routine for officials to abuse illegal immigrants in South Africa (HRW 2007:60-69).

4.3.2.2 Measures taken by the South African Police Service in dealing with migration issues

In response to the above question the police indicated that the only measures that were in place to deal with illegal migration were to arrest and deport illegal

immigrants. The respondents are not viewing this measure as effective in dealing with illegal migration issues. It was rather seen as a waste of tax payer's money to keep on deporting illegal immigrants who come back into the country soon after deportation.

4.3.2.3 The effectiveness of the measures taken by the South African Police Service

According to government officials, the measures taken by the South African Police Service to deal with illegal migration were seen as ineffective because illegal immigrants came back soon after deportation. One official said "*deporting illegal Zimbabweans is like trying to pour water in a tin full of holes, they are so many in the country, we are wasting our time*". This statement by the government official confirms the "revolving door migrancy" indicated by the ILO (1998:15-17).

4.3.2.4 Perception on the SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons regarding the 90 day free visa for Zimbabweans.

The police indicated that they were not in favour of the protocol because the protocol will only be able to monitor entry but will not deal with visa overstayers. According to the respondents, it was easy to monitor entry into the country but there was no system in place to make sure that those who entered the country legally leave once their visas expired. They indicated that the protocol will not be effective in controlling illegal migration.

4.3.2.5 The impact of illegal migration on the resources of the country

According to respondents, illegal Zimbabwean immigrants are seen as depleting the resources of the country, and the recent cholera pandemic in Zimbabwe was cited as an example. They are also said to be depleting the budget for prisoners in police cells because they are fed whilst awaiting deportation. Illegal immigrants are kept in police cells before deportation, and the police try and keep them there for a short period but sometimes fail because a certain number is needed before

they are deported. This then means that they have to feed them food meant for prisoners and that has an impact on the budget allocated for prisoners. They are also blamed for the increase in unemployment for South Africans because they compete for jobs with them.

4.3.3 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

Information on the measures taken by the South African Government to deal with the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa was collected from the department of Home Affairs. Five questions were asked and they were; (i) on the perception of the department's officials on the way the South African Government dealt with illegal migration of Zimbabweans into the country; (ii) the measures taken by the department to deal with illegal migration of Zimbabweans; (iii) the perceived effectiveness of those measures; (iv) perceptions on the SADC protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons regarding the 90 day free visa for Zimbabweans; and (v) the impact of illegal immigrants on the resources of the country. The respondents provided the following information:

4.3.3.1 Perceptions on the way the South African government deals with illegal Zimbabwean migration

The Department of Home Affairs officials regarded the measures as good as long as they were implemented correctly. The South African Police Service and South African National Defense Force were blamed for tarnishing the image of the Department of Home Affairs through corruption (soliciting bribes). The department relies on the police and soldiers to control illegal migration due to the lack of resources by the department.

4.3.3.2 Measures taken by the Department of Home Affairs in dealing with migration issues

The Department of Home Affairs is said to have legislation meant to deal with illegal migration like the Immigration Act, Refugees Act and Passport and Travel Document Act. It also has an inspectorate that enforces compliance with the

legislation as indicated above. It was, however, indicated by the Department of Home Affairs officials that there was no war in Zimbabwe for anyone to qualify for refugee status and those who seek asylum were given an opportunity to apply. It was also stated that employing illegal foreigners was against the law and fines were instituted, the problem was that there was no personpower to monitor the process. From the responses given by the Home Affairs respondents it seems most of the problems with regard to managing illegal migration were due to lack of personpower and resources.

4.3.3.3 The effectiveness of the measures taken by the South African Police Service

The laws on immigration were seen as effective by respondents although some problems were indicated as hampering the smooth application of the law. The lack of resources compels the Department to rely on the SANDF and SAPS to arrest and deport illegal immigrants. The borders were seen as porous due to the lack of manpower and corruption by border officials. There were also internal control weaknesses which lead to the creation of fraudulent documents.

4.3.3.4 Perception on the SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons regarding the 90 day free visa for Zimbabweans

The respondents identified the gaps in the protocol hence their agreement to a delay in its implementation. Officials were not trained to identifying fake documents and interview immigrants to find out if they are in the country legally or not. They also indicated that there was no link between port of entries and inland offices, immigration and refugees, and thus no co-ordination of services. Another concern also mentioned by officials in other departments was that the protocol will monitor entry but lack information on how to detect visa overstayers. Officials do, however, agree that if approved, the protocol may reduce illegal migration into South Africa. The country is seen to have very strict conditions for issuing visas. Most Zimbabweans have no intention of staying in the country but to find work and buy commodities for trade back in their country. The officials

indicated that it cost R50 to smuggle a person into the country hence, the choice to go through corrupt channels than the right ones by immigrants.

4.3.3.5 The impact of illegal migration on the resources of the country

The following were the responses given by officials on the negative impact of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants on the resources of the country:

- They are said to increase the crime rate.
- They are said to be bringing diseases like cholera into the country.
- Deportation is said to be costing the country a lot of money.
- They are said to be the cause of ritual murders because they are exposed to war and it is easier for them to kill.
- They cripple the economy since they get free housing, health and education at the expense of South African tax payers whilst South Africans are struggling to get access to those facilities.

The officials also stated the positive impact of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants on the resources of the country:

- South Africa gets cheap labour.
- They help in production especially on the farms.
- They are hard workers and do not beg for food but work for it, unlike South Africans who are said to be lazy and refuse to do hard labour.
- They pay for services and do not have a huge impact on resources.

4.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter an analysis of the research findings was presented. Data was collected from twenty (20) illegal Zimbabweans in town and twenty (20) from an informal settlement called “New Pietersburg” or “Disteneng” just five kilometers outside Polokwane city on the way to Seshego and from six (6) officials from government departments of Health and Social Development, Home Affairs and The South African Police Service. The aim of the chapter was to investigate the socio-economic impact that illegal Zimbabweans have in South Africa and the measures taken by the South African government to deal with illegal migration.

Chapter five will draw conclusions from the research findings together with literature review outlined in chapter two. The chapter will also make recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws conclusions based on the research findings and literature review on the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa and the measures taken by the South African government in dealing with the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa. Recommendations based on the findings and literature review will also be made.

5.2 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH

The research was meant to determine the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa and the measures taken by South Africa government to deal with the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa. The study was undertaken in the city of Polokwane under the Capricorn district. In achieving the objectives of this study, the research outlined the chapters as follows;

Chapter one: The chapter indicated the nature of the research problem, aims and objectives of the study, the research questions, definition of concepts, the significance of the study and the research design.

Chapter two: The literature review formed the theoretical framework for the research. It outlined the historical overview of migration, the causes of illegal Zimbabwean migration, the socio-economic impact of illegal migration in South Africa, xenophobia and the measures taken by South Africa to manage illegal migration. From the literature it became apparent that the economic impact of the Zimbabweans on the resources of the country cannot be scientifically confirmed. Social networks and the political and economic conditions in Zimbabwe were seen to be playing a major role in illegal migration into South Africa. The measures taken by South Africa to manage illegal migration were

regarded as a waste of tax payers money because illegal immigrants always found ways to re-enter the country illegally.

Chapter three: The chapter dealt with the research methodology, giving explicit analysis of the design used, the area under study, the population of the study, sample selection method and size, data collection methods and analysis. The study was qualitative in nature. It was conducted in South Africa's Limpopo Province in the city of Polokwane under the Capricorn district. The study targeted illegal Zimbabwean immigrants population and government departments of Health and Social Development, Home Affairs and the South African Police Service. It utilised different types of sampling methods, i.e snowball and accidental (used for illegal Zimbabwean immigrants) and purposive (for government officials). A structured interview questionnaire was used to collect data from illegal Zimbabwean immigrants and from officials from the departments. Reaching illegal immigrants was difficult due to the clandestine nature of their migration. Most of them refused to take part in the study because they feared deportation.

Chapter four: The chapter dealt with the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data. The responses gathered through the structured interview questionnaire were sorted, coded, organised and indexed, and then analysed and interpreted. The sample size was forty (40) illegal immigrants and six (6) officials per department from the departments of Health and Social Development, Home Affairs and the South African Police Services. Twelve (12) females and 28 males who were illegal immigrants took part in the study. Six officials from government departments also participated in the study. The focus was to get the perceptions on the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabweans in South Africa and establish measures taken by the South African government to manage the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa.

Chapter five: The chapter presented the conclusion drawn from the research basing it on the literature review and the findings of the study. Recommendations were also made.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations in this study are based on the findings of the study and the body of literature reviewed and presented in chapter two. The recommendations are made to the South African Government, South African Police Services and the Department of Home Affairs.

5.3.1 THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

In order to make relevant contributions in terms of recommendations to the South African government in managing illegal migration of Zimbabweans into the country, Crush et al (2005(a):5-6) mentions that it is important to understand illegal migration in the regional and historical context. Apartheid is said to have destabilised many African countries and those countries supported the liberation struggle for South Africa. The South African government is thus asked to be sympathetic to illegal immigrants from those countries that supported it.

In addressing the root cause of migration and helping in the economic development of those countries affected, South Africa will reduce population movement by those to its country (Solomon 1996:11). If the situation in Zimbabwe is not resolved, it will affect countries like Botswana, Namibia and South Africa; hence the problem should not be regarded as only a Zimbabwean one. Sriskandarajah (2005:5) and Berne (2004:10) suggest bilateral consultations between affected countries to address migration issues. FMSP (2007:9) indicates that the South African government should be prepared to accept that the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into the country might not be a temporary issue.

Deportation of Zimbabweans as a way of managing illegal migration according to literature and the findings of the study is not a solution because they return soon after deportation (FMSP 2007:10). It is seen as a waste of tax payer's money because deported illegal immigrants always find ways of coming back into the country. The deportation should be coupled with other measures to deter the illegal migration like prosecution of smuggling rings and individuals, employers of illegal immigrants, police and Home Affairs officials who extort bribes from illegal immigrants and stricter border controls.

The smuggling of illegal immigrants should be regarded as a high priority crime. This should be done through establishing migration networks and exchanging information on illegal migration to help come up with preventative measures (Berne 2004:11).

In terms of xenophobia, the government should prosecute perpetrators of xenophobic violence, past and present to discourage any further tendencies. Solutions to the Zimbabwean problem should be accepted and supported by all South Africans, hence the importance of educating the public to halt xenophobia (Crush 2008:41; FMSP & MLAO (2007:1).

From the findings of the study it is evident that illegal immigrants do contribute to the economy of South Africa through cheap labour, and that the benefit is on a larger scale on farms where they are used in agriculture. The findings also indicate that they support the formal and informal business sectors through the buying of commodities for use and resale back in Zimbabwe. Hence, it is recommended that policies for the monitoring of labour laws be implemented to protect immigrants against exploitation by employers. Giving permits to illegal immigrants who can prove that they have jobs, housing and means to support themselves is said to help reduce and manage illegal migration (The Report of the Secretary-General – United Nations General Assembly 2004:43).

5.3.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICES

The management of corruption, especially through the extortion of bribes from illegal immigrants by corrupt SAPS officials should be a priority for the department of Safety and Security. Corrupt officials should be prosecuted.

The scope of the police in terms of illegal migrations should focus only on crime and the Department of Home Affairs should handle its own matters. According to FMSP (2007:12) SAPS has a strong impact on Zimbabwean migration because the department enforces the Immigration Act on behalf of the Department of Home Affairs through arrests and deportations. SAPS is, thus, seen as one of the causes of the high rate of illegal migration because they make it easy for illegal immigrants to enter the country through police accepting bribes.

5.3.3 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

According to research findings, it is easier for immigrants to enter the country illegally than legally because of the stringent measures put to control entry into South Africa. The cost of applying of a visa is said to be R2000 plus other requirements as cited by Tevera and Zinyama (2002:31) such as proof that one would be able to sustain themselves whilst in South Africa, a letter from an employer, proof of residence whilst in South Africa, a letter from a spouse in case of married couples, whereas it costs R50 for one to enter the country illegally and one does not have to prove anything to anyone except when arrested for being in the country illegally. It thus becomes imperative for the Department of Home Affairs to relax visa requirements as a way of reducing illegal migration.

It is important that The Protocol on the Facilitation of the Free Movement of Persons should be ratified and implemented as a way of managing illegal migration. According to the findings of the study, the protocol does not show how visa overstayers are going to be detected and managed. The Department of Home Affairs indicated that it does not have resources to manage the illegal

migration of Zimbabweans into the country and has to rely on the South African Police Service to manage it.

Porous borders, lack of staff and bribery by the Department of Home Affairs officials is said to increase illegal migration into South Africa according to HRW (2006:8). It is important that a “turnaround” strategy be implemented which will include the provision of resources to manage illegal migration to South Africa. According to Berne (2004:16) border control measures should be effective, efficient, fair and transparent. They should show how corruption would be prevented. In this study, immigrants indicated that it cost a R50 bribe to enter the country illegally. This shows that there are no measures in place to deal with corruption by officials.

South African employers who employ illegal immigrants should be prosecuted. The Department should make sure that before deportation, illegal immigrants are paid their dues by employers to prevent their exploitation where immigration is called when illegal immigrants are to be paid. The findings of this study indicate that it was a tendency of employers both in formal and informal settings to report illegality of immigrants to avoid paying them. The findings are supported by Solomon (2000:7).

5.4 CONCLUSION

According to the body of literature, the migration of people from the SADC region is not a new phenomenon, it dates back to the 1860's with the recruitment of cheap contract labour for the mining sector (IOM 2005:1). When South Africa ceased from recruiting labour from SADC countries, the end of apartheid however increased the migration levels into the country (Crush *et al* 2005 (a):1-2). South Africa has a diversity of illegal immigrants i.e. those who enter legally but overstay their visas, those who enter illegally but stay legally by acquiring fraudulent documents, those who enter illegally and stay illegally, those who enter as tourists but end-up taking work in South Africa without work permits and

those who fail to secure asylum status (Solomon 1996:1; The Report of the Secretary-General 2006:43).

Social networks (Kok *et al* 2006:227-234), the stringent measures put in place by South Africa to control entry into the country through stricter visa requirements (Lefko-Everett 2007:26-27), pull and push factors (Maharaj 2004:6) and the perceived increased economic opportunities in South Africa (HRW 2006:6) has contributed to the increased migration into the country.

Immigrants migrate to South Africa for different reasons. They are noted as trading, which is mostly done by women (Cross *et al* 2006:33-34), the political situation in Zimbabwe which is said to have led to people migrating to South Africa to seek asylum (CoRMSA 2008:66). Most immigrants are said to come into the country to seek employment (PHAMSA 2005:18). Others have had no choice and have been trafficked into the country by human trafficking rings. The most vulnerable group for trafficking is said to be women (IOM 2005:2-4).

The overall picture emerging from this study is that, the majority of Zimbabweans come into South Africa illegally because they do not have passports. Those who have passports cannot afford R2000 which is a requirement for securing a visa. The South African borders are said to be porous since it costs a R50 bribe to enter the country illegally.

According to the findings of the study, only three respondents fled Zimbabwe due to political persecutions and none of them applied for asylum. This may be an indication that there is no war in Zimbabwe. According to respondents from the Home Affairs Department there is no war in Zimbabwe for any Zimbabwean to qualify for asylum status. This also disputes the statements made by CoRMSA (2008:66) that the high illegal migration into South Africa by Zimbabweans is due to them being denied asylum or refugee status. The majority of illegal immigrants are in South Africa because they are looking for jobs.

Social networks in the form of family and friends play a role in the illegal migration because they loan illegal immigrants money for travelling, paying bribes at borders, provide shelter, food, and sometimes even secure jobs for illegal immigrants. Those who did not have any contacts in South Africa had confidence that other Zimbabweans will help them with accommodation and direct them to where they will find jobs, once they arrive in the country.

The majority of illegal Zimbabwean immigrants were unemployed and were thus unable to create jobs for South Africans as suggested by literature. They do, however, contribute to the economy of South Africa through cheap labour and support the formal and informal economic sectors through the buying of commodities for resale back in Zimbabwe. Although most respondents regard the South African labour system as unfair, they indicated that they were treated humanely by South African employers.

The Department of Home Affairs officials blamed the South African Police Service for the high rate of illegal Zimbabweans in the country. This confirms the “revolving door” migrancy as indicated by ILO (1998:15-17).

Illegal Zimbabwean immigrants have no intention of applying for grants but would like to have jobs, shelter, medication and food. The majority of them have access to health facilities in South Africa.

The impact of illegal migration in South Africa is a contentious issue. Some researchers argue that illegal migration has a negative impact on the economy (Sebola 2008: 112) whilst others say the impact is positive because South Africa benefits through cheap labour in terms of low production expenditure, especially the mining and the agricultural sectors (Kok *et al* 2006:79-80). Most researchers argue that since the number of illegal immigrants in the country is unknown due to the clandestine nature of their migration, it is erroneous to assume that they

have a negative impact on the resources of the country if the impact cannot be measured (McDonald *et al* 2000:824). Literature indicates that the mechanisms in place by South Africa to control illegal migration are ineffective because it relies solely on deportation and strict visa requirements. These migration control systems are blamed for contributing to human rights abuse (Tevera & Zinyama 2002:31; Ranchod 2005:15).

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APPENDIX A: STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

1. MEASURES TAKEN BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THE ILLEGAL MIGRATION OF ZIMBABWEAN INTO SOUTH AFRICA

1.1 What is your perception of the way the South African government deals with illegal Zimbabwean migration into the country?

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1.2 Which measures are in place by your department to deal with illegal migration issues?

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1.3 How effective are the measures in place to deal with illegal immigration?

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1.4 What is your perception of the SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons which advocates a 90 day free visa for Zimbabweans?

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1.5 What impact do you think illegal immigrants have on the resources in the country?

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APPENDIX B: STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ILLEGAL ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS

1. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1.1 Age

18-30	31-40	41-50	51 +
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1.2 Sex:

M	F
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1.3 Level of education

Grade 1-7	Grade 8-12	Diploma	Degree	Degree +
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1.4 Number of years in South Africa:

Less than one year	One – two years	Three – four years	More than five years
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2. CAUSES OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION INTO SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Why did you choose to migrate illegally to South Africa?

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2.2 Are there any pressing issues forcing you to flee your country to South Africa?

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2.3 Did you come to South Africa because of knowing people who migrated to the country before, and what role did they play in your choosing to migrate illegally into the country?

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3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Are you employed in the country, and what type of employment are you engaged in?

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3.2 Do you think illegal Zimbabwean immigrants are treated fairly by the South African labour system, and what changes would you recommend, if any?

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3.3 Are you well treated by your employers?

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3.4 Are you of the opinion that the Zimbabwean illegal immigrants are contributing to the economy of South Africa?

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3.5 Are you able to access health services in the country?

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3.6 Do you think illegal Zimbabwean immigrants should access social welfare grants?

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3.7 What is your perception of the South African attitudes towards illegal Zimbabwean immigrants?

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**APPENDIX C: APPLICATION LETTER DIRECTED TO THE DEPARTMENTS
OF HOME AFFAIRS, HEALTH AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE
SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE**

Box 1147

POLOKWANE

0700

18 December 2008

The Manager
SAPS/DHA/DHSD
POLOKWANE
0700

Dear Sir/Madam

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

I hereby make a request for permission to conduct a research in your department. The research is part of the fulfillment of the requirements for a degree of Master of Development at the Turfloop School of Leadership, University of Limpopo. The topic of the research is “The socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa: A case study of Zimbabweans in Polokwane Municipality in the Limpopo Province.

The aim of the study is to explore and provide substantiated information on the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa in terms of crime, xenophobia, skills, social security, infra-structure and services.

The objectives of the study are as follows:

- To explore the causes and extent of illegal Zimbabwean migration into South Africa

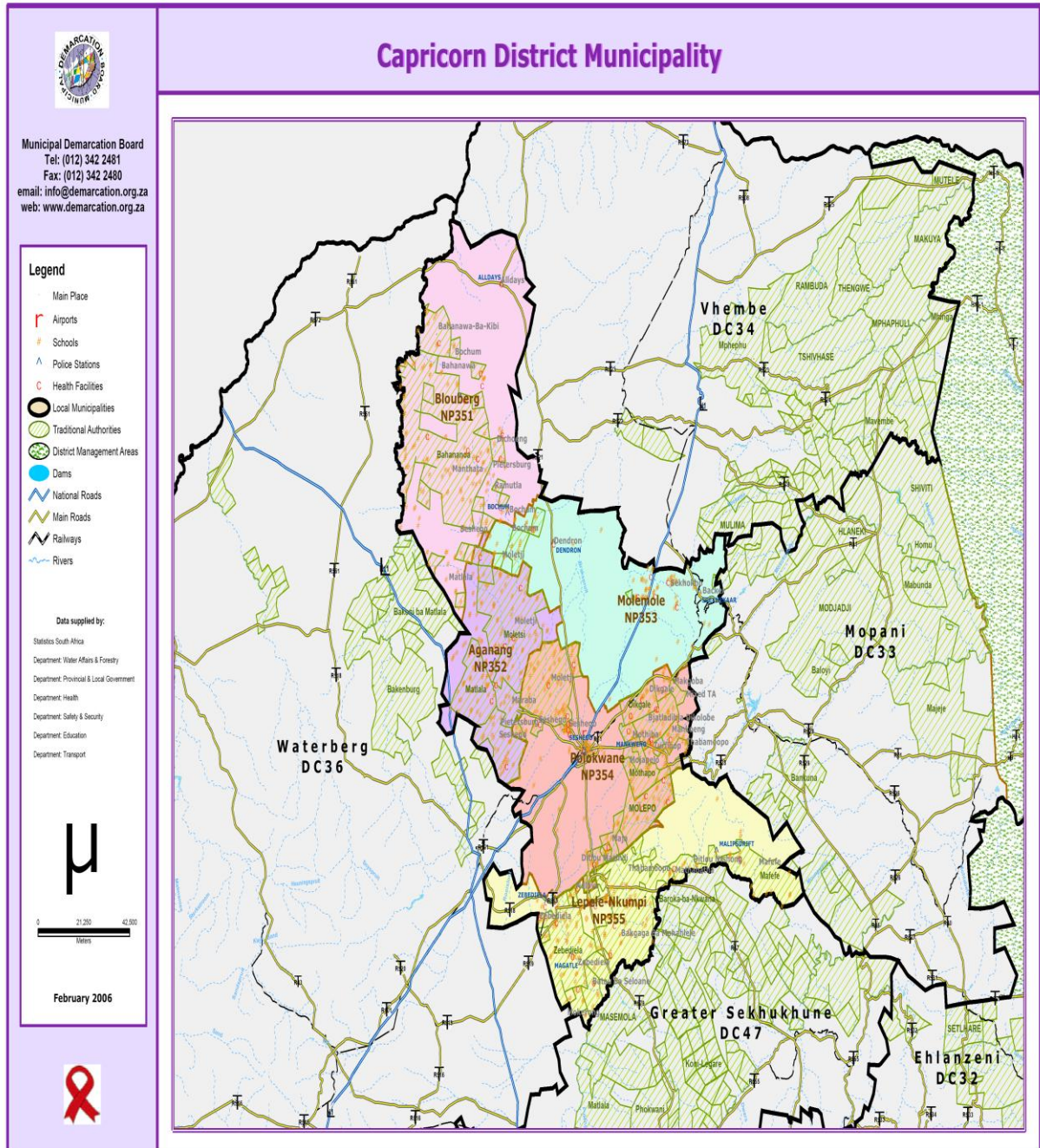
- To explore the socio-economic impact of illegal Zimbabwean migration in South Africa in terms of crime, xenophobia, skills, social security, infrastructure and services.
- To explore measures taken by the South African government to deal with the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa;
- To give recommendation on managing the illegal migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa.

The target population is forty (40) illegal Zimbabwean immigrants and two (2) officials from your department. Precautionary measures will be taken to make sure that service delivery is not negatively affected during the study.

Your co-operation will be appreciated.

Ngomane TS

APPENDIX D: CAPRICORN DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY MAP



APPENDIX E: A PHOTOGRAPH OF “DISTENENG” OR “NEW PITERSBURG” INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

