

**MIGRATING TO SOUTH AFRICA: EXPERIENCES OF ‘SKILLED’
AND ‘UNSKILLED’ LESOTHO WORKERS**

BY

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ABSTRACT

Over the past decades, Lesotho has been a source of, primarily, unskilled migrant labour entering South Africa, with Basotho men working on the South African mines and Basotho women restricted to domestic work. This dissertation examines the experiences of both ‘skilled’ and ‘unskilled’ Lesotho migrants currently living in South Africa. The study aims to establish those factors that are influential in prompting Lesotho citizens to leave Lesotho for South Africa. Moreover, it probes differences and similarities with regard to the work patterns encountered by skilled and unskilled workers as well as establishes the impact which migration has had on the lives of migrants. The literature tends to suggest that skilled workers face fewer restrictions and receive better treatment from management and colleagues in companies, while unskilled workers, on the other hand, may be exposed to considerable harassment, exploitation and poor treatment. This study concurs with the evidence in the literature in finding that unskilled workers are at a greater disadvantage when entering the South African labour market as compared to skilled workers. Moreover, it would appear that skilled workers are benefiting more in terms of their jobs, and in having their expectations met than unskilled workers.

For the research participants in this study, xenophobia did not appear to be a serious factor, despite the fact that much public attention has been focused on the situation of foreign workers in South Africa. However, these workers from Lesotho highlighted racism as more of an obstacle than xenophobia. In addition, the study reiterates the popular findings that it is better job opportunities that remain the main motivation behind both skilled and unskilled workers migrating to South Africa with development, growth, training opportunities, mentoring, and interaction with more experienced colleagues also emerging as motivating factors.

The discourse of the research participants also revealed social networks to be influential in the acquiring and maintaining of jobs. The study illustrates the relevance of ‘dependency’ theory for building understanding of the reasons why ‘skilled’ and ‘unskilled’ workers persist in migrating to South Africa. Finally, migration remains the ‘coming of age’ for Lesotho migrants, impacting positively on both their lives as well as the lives of their families.

OPSOMMING

Lesotho was tydens die afgelope paar dekades 'n bron van ongeskoolde arbeid vir Suid-Afrika, waar manlike trekarbeiders gewoonlik in die mynwese werk en die vroulike trekarbeiders beperk is om betaalde huishoudsters te word. Hierdie dissertasie bestudeer die ervarings van 'geskoolde' en 'ongeskoolde' Lesotho trekarbeiders wat in Suid-Afrika woon. Die studie stel die faktore vas wat besluite rondom trekarbeid beïnvloed, veral dié wat die inwoners van Lesotho motiveer om hul land te verlaat om in Suid-Afrika te gaan werk. Die studie ondersoek boonop die verskille en ooreenkomste ten opsigte van werkspatrone wat geskoolde en ongeskoolde werkers teëkom. Dit stel ook vas wat die impak van trekarbeid op hierdie mense se lewens het. Die literatuur is geneig om voor te stel dat geskoolde arbeiders minder beperkinge ondervind en binne maatskappye beter behandel word deur bestuur en kollegas, terwyl ongeskoolde arbeiders aansienlike teistering en uitbuiting ervaar gepaard met swak behandeling. My studie stem ooreen met die literatuur – ek het gevind dat ongeskoolde arbeiders meer benadeel word as geskoolde arbeiders wat na Suid-Afrika migreer. Geskoolde arbeiders ervaar ook meer voordele ten opsigte van werk en hulle verwagtinge word verwesenlik. Deelnemers van hierdie navorsingsprojek het aangedui dat xenofobie nie 'n ernstige faktor was nie, al was daar baie publieke aandag gevestig op buitelandse arbeiders in Suid-Afrika. Vir die Lesotho arbeiders was rasisme 'n groter struikelblok as xenofobie. Hierdie studie herhaal populêre bevindings dat daar beter werksmoontlikhede in Suid-Afrika is as in Lesotho, en dít is steeds die hoof motivering waarom geskoolde en ongeskoolde arbeiders daarheen migreer. Verdere motiverende redes was geïdentifiseer, naamlik: ontwikkeling, groei, opleidingsmoontlikhede, mentors, en interaksie met meer ervare kollegas. Die Lesotho arbeiders se besprekings het dit duidelik gemaak dat sosiale netwerke 'n groot rol het in verband met werkwerwing en behouding daarvan. Hierdie studie illustreer die toepaslikheid van 'afhanklikheidsteorie' wat bydrae tot die begrip waarom geskoolde en ongeskoolde arbeiders na Suid-Afrika migreer. Laastens is migrasie steeds 'n soort mylpaal vir Lesotho trekarbeiders en dit het 'n positiewe impak op hul, en hul families se lewens.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1.1 Definition of migration

Migration refers to the movement of people from one place to another, either within the same country or region, or across the border to another country. According to the International Organization for Migration (2009), in 2009, there were approximately 192 million people living outside of their country of birth, with that number representing about 3 percent of the world's population. This means that one out of every thirty-five persons in the world is an immigrant, signifying high levels of mobility and flux within the contemporary global context. Accordingly, the movement of people from one country to another is a continuous process as another study conducted by the International Labour Office in 2010 shows. The study estimates that international migrants make up a total of about 214 million people – still a mere 3 percent of the global population. In addition, this report states that 105 million of these migrant workers have migrated for reasons of employment, as migration for employment accounts for about 90 percent of the total number of international migrants. The study also states that women currently make up almost 50 percent of the total of international migrants (International Labour Office, 2010).

There are two types of migration, namely, free and unfree migration. Free migration refers to people moving of their own free will, either in search of better job opportunities or as a result of other free choices or decisions. This type of migration is also referred to as voluntary migration. On the other hand, unfree migration, also known as involuntary migration, occurs when people are forced to move from their country of birth because of issues such as slave trading and human trafficking. Lucassen and Lucassen (1997) state that most historians exclude unfree or involuntary migrations from their definitions, while those who do include these processes sometimes adopt such an intense focus that they tend to overlook free or voluntary migration. In this regard, Nkau (2003) and Eklund (2000) state that it is not easy to make a distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration because, in some cases, rural-urban migration may seem like a free choice but, upon careful scrutiny, it may become clear that the migrant may have had little other choice but to leave the rural area in which he/she was living for an urban area. In other words, in this case, the migrant was forced to

leave a particular place and go elsewhere in order to survive, even though the migrant was not forced to leave in a literal sense.

Collinson and Adazu (2006) explain that, in developing countries, the linkages between rural and urban migration are often temporary with this type of migration being known as ‘oscillating’ or ‘circular’ migration. This type of migration is characterised by the regular movement of individual household members (arguably, more often men) to a major urban centre in order either to work or to look for work. However, although these migrant workers may work in urban areas, they still continue to maintain their links with their families in the rural areas. Most people who migrate usually do so because they are in search of jobs although there may also be other reasons for this temporary migration, including agricultural and secondary and tertiary education. However, in past decades, as the world economy entered into recessionary and economically degenerative conditions, the main reason for the migration was to seek employment opportunities.

This research focuses on the voluntary migration of those workers who may be termed either ‘skilled’ or ‘unskilled’. In his research, Vertovec (2002) describes a ‘skilled migrant’ as a migrant either in possession of a tertiary degree or else with extensive, specialised work experiences. A ‘skilled worker’, in the context of this research, refers to someone with formal educational qualifications and who is probably working in the formal sector, while an ‘unskilled worker’ does not possess any formal qualifications and is usually working in the informal sector. Wocke and Klein (2002) maintain that it would appear that there is a higher tendency on the part of skilled workers to migrate than unskilled workers, and that migrants are usually more educated than the rest of the population in their country of origin. On the other hand, Cross, Seger, Wentzel, Mafukidze, Hoosen and Van Zyl (2009) observed that there is a perception worldwide that economic migrants who leave their country of birth and cross borders in search of work all possess certain characteristics, including being highly motivated, enthusiastic and committed, as well as being better educated compared to the locally born workers in their host countries. They indicated that this phenomenon is most prevalent in the United States of America. Moreover, there is often a popular misconception that migrants take up the jobs of the locals and depress wage levels. However, this viewpoint is based on the incorrect assumption that the number of jobs in any country is fixed and that the influx of more workers will, therefore, diminish the number of jobs available. Wocke and Klein (2002) further suggest that the World Bank has noted a trend that unskilled workers

are, increasingly, migrating in order to take up the unskilled manual jobs that local workers wish to avoid. This type of migration accounts for almost 70 percent of labour flows, although much of it is both illegal and unregulated. However, Pearson and Morrell (2002:7) write that:

The global mobility of skilled workers has increased in recent years due to the expansion of the knowledge economy, the progressive globalisation of markets and companies, the growing demand for scarce skills, and wider political and economic issues. As many Western countries encourage inward migration as a means of easing domestic skill constraints, there has been a growing debate about the motivations and consequences of such migration.

Economic differentials constitute one of the driving forces behind international, cross-border migration, as migrants move from areas where there are fewer employment opportunities to developed countries with huge labour markets that are able to absorb more employees, and where there is access to both jobs and business opportunities. Despite the fact that most migrants move in the hope of economic development, there are, nevertheless, other large, involuntary population movements as a result of such occurrences as political instability and widespread conflict (IOM as cited in Cross et al., 2009). Although small numbers of migrants moved in the past in order to pursue educational opportunities, this number has risen significantly during more recent years (Cross et al., 2009).

However, as regards economic migration, the main push factors are the difference in wage levels and job opportunities in the home country as compared to those in the destination country. In view of the fact that, as a country, South Africa is characterised by a shortage of vital skills, this has acted as a catalyst for migration into the country. This, in turn, has resulted in highly skilled migrants from different parts of Africa deciding to move to and to settle in South Africa in search of better job opportunities and, thus, a better life.

However, migration is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. Maharaj (2004) explains that the migration of workers from other parts of Africa to South Africa has a long history. For example, when gold was first discovered in the 19th century, the resultant mining industry attracted thousands of migrant workers from all over Southern Africa, especially from Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe. However, there were also some migrants

from as far away as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Nigeria and Kenya (Trimikliniotis, Gordan & Zondo, 2008; McDonald, 2000). South Africa's mining and agricultural sectors have long been dependent on migrant labour from other countries in Southern Africa and, in fact, migrant mine workers have been responsible for producing the highest amounts of South Africa's minerals and natural wealth.

Nevertheless, there is a clear gender imbalance in the African immigrant system to South Africa as it was only men working on the mines and, thus, for the most part, significantly more men than women migrated to South Africa. The most likely reasons for this gender imbalance may be gender inequalities, the lack of more opportunities for women in key industries (such as mining), the dangers involved in travel, the cost, as well as the fact that there were a number of obstacles to overcome during the long journey. In addition, the uncertainty surrounding both the future and place of relocation also played a role. Dominant gendered norms also suggest that it is men, rather than women, who must assume formal work roles as breadwinners. Although South Africa has attracted skilled workers, the greatest number of immigrants from other African countries have been unskilled workers in mining, domestic work and other informal sectors (Sibanda, 2008). Accordingly, the literature suggests that Lesotho migrants, as well as other African migrants, have found themselves dependent on South Africa because of the trends characterising past decades, in terms of which people moved to South Africa in order to work on the mines, farms, become domestic workers, or become involved in any other informal work in order to survive .

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There has been an increase in the number of prospective workers moving from Lesotho to South Africa in search of better job opportunities (International Labour Office, 2004; Rogerson, 1999). Unlike in the past when it was mainly unskilled workers who were leaving to pursue work on the mines, it is now people from all spheres of work who are moving to South Africa from Lesotho. The reasons for their leaving Lesotho vary, with some being economic, while others are either social or political. This research study set out to explore the lives, work and interpersonal experiences of Lesotho workers in South Africa. Previous research indicates that the more developed countries often enforce restrictions on migration when the migrants are unskilled workers, although these countries tend to welcome highly skilled workers who bring knowledge and expertise to their countries. However, this trend results in the draining of skill in the home countries of the migrants. The migrants who find

themselves being harassed by government officials (e.g. the police) are often those who are largely unskilled and who are usually searching for work in the informal sector. It is often assumed that ‘scientific people’ are welcomed in the developed countries because of the shortage of scientists, especially in medicine, engineering, and related areas. In order to try to curb the number of illegal workers entering the developed countries, the governments of these countries often impose numerous restrictions on immigration (Alarcon, 2000; International Labour Office, 2004).

In short, despite the fact that there has been considerable research conducted into the issue of migration, the bulk of this research has tended to focus on unskilled workers with virtually no substantive research being carried out into the issue of the migration of both skilled and unskilled workers from the countries in Southern African. Accordingly, this research study sought to probe the differences that may exist between skilled and unskilled Lesotho migrants in terms of both their decision making and their experiences at work and within South African society at large. I was curious about their reasons for leaving their birth country, and also their reasons for relocating to South Africa. My study, thus, investigated the experiences of migrant workers from Lesotho in South Africa, their struggles and the benefits they derive in their new places of residence. In addition, I deemed it necessary to look into whether Lesotho migrant workers plan to relocate permanently to South Africa, or whether they wished, eventually, to return to Lesotho.

It is hoped that the findings of this research will assist policy-makers in understanding why people migrate and also their circumstances in their new places of abode. In terms of the Lesotho government, maybe this study will provide inputs into ways of providing jobs for the unskilled so that the desire of these workers to provide for their families may be met; in other words, that these inputs will inhibit the ‘forced’ migration that happens mainly for the purposes of survival. Similarly, skilled workers who wish to remain in Lesotho may also be offered better fulfilling employment opportunities. Moreover, it would be useful to make South African citizens aware of the struggles that migrants face, particularly as regards the reasons why these migrants leave their countries as well as the difficulties they face in South Africa. Accordingly, this project locates itself in the field of Industrial Sociology and Labour Studies, although it also integrates relevant concerns about both politics and citizenship.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

As already stated, the broad objective of this study is to analyse the decision-making process and the experiences of both skilled and unskilled Lesotho migrant workers in South Africa. The following three specific objectives and five research questions may be formulated.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

- To establish the factors that are currently influencing people to migrate from Lesotho to South Africa. This will entail explaining both the way in which migration decisions are made and those factors that motivate an individual either to migrate or not.
- To compare the experiences of skilled and unskilled workers, that is, to observe whether there are different patterns as regards their daily work experiences and to assess their interactions with the local citizens.
- To find out the impact that migration has had on the lives of Lesotho migrants and whether there have been any specific and substantive changes in their lives after migrating.

1.3.2 Research questions

- What motivates people from Lesotho to migrate to South Africa?
- What are the similar/different experiences that skilled and unskilled workers face on a daily basis?
- Are the expectations of the migrant workers met in their new places of residence?
- What roles do social networks play in migration decisions and in the lives of the migrants?
- Do the Lesotho migrant workers intend to stay in South Africa and do they anticipate making this country their permanent home?

1.4 LESOTHO MIGRANTS

Lesotho is a small, mountainous, landlocked country located in southern Africa. It gained its independence from the British on 4 October 1966 and is considered to be a democratic state. Lesotho has experienced several problems, including political conflict, although it is slowly trying to gain its place in Africa. There are high unemployment rates in the country and these have led to widespread poverty. Petrozziello (2010) maintains that Lesotho has a high domestic unemployment rate, declining agricultural production, a falling life expectancy and

rising child mortality, while half of the population live below the poverty line. In the 2007–2008 United Nations (UN) Human Development Index, Lesotho was ranked 138th in the world. Hassan (2002: 9) writes that:

Inefficient government bureaucracy and limited absorptive capacity for external assistance impede Lesotho's efforts to sustain broad-based growth and reduce poverty. Inadequate administrative and institutional capacity in many ministries and central government agencies appears to have seriously impeded policy formulation, coordination, and implementation for long-term development.

However, according to both the World Bank (2008) and the Trade Promotion Unit (2000), the majority of the labour force in Lesotho is highly educated and English speaking and, hence, these people are motivated to aim for higher productivity and to compete for higher wages. One of the major problems currently affecting Lesotho is HIV/AIDS with this epidemic having claimed many Basotho lives and left many children orphaned. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that Lesotho has a particularly weak public health infrastructure as a result of rural isolation. In addition, there is lack of skilled health workers in the country, although this may be because most educated Basotho citizens move to other countries in order to earn more money (Bodibe, 2006; Community Agency for Social Enquiry, 2003).

Petrozziello (2010) explains that the economy of Lesotho is based mostly on subsistence farming and animal husbandry, and that most people in the rural parts of Lesotho rely on agriculture in order to make a living. However, there are also small-scale industries, including clothing, footwear, food processing and construction. The Trade Promotion Unit (2000), Coppock, Forte, Ncube, Ooka, Richards and Vyas (2010) indicate that, in Lesotho, most manufacturing bases rely on farm products to support other industries such as milling, canning, leather and jute. In addition, most of the households in Lesotho rely on subsistence farming and migrant labour as a source of income. It is for this reason that the men often go in search for work in the South African mines, while the women stay at home to care for the families and to work in the agricultural sector. However, there has been a decline in the number of men working in the South African mines because of the major retrenchment of miners that took place in the 1980s and 1990s. In recent years, the economy of Lesotho has slowed down as a result of political conflicts that have erupted, thus causing temporary disruptions in business activities. Unemployment is one of the major problems facing

Lesotho and this, in turn has led to high rates of poverty and a concomitant increase in other problems which are linked to poverty (Trade Promotion Unit, 2000; Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), 2008).

Chaka (2000), Rees, Murray, Nelson and Sonnenberg (2009) and Kanyenze (2004) all write that most Lesotho workers engage in the ‘the oscillatory type’ of migration, with those people who are engaging in this type of migration working mainly in the mines in South Africa. However, this oscillatory type of migration also includes most of those people who are working as domestic servants or in other forms of short-term work, either in South Africa or in other neighbouring countries.

It is not easy to calculate the exact number of such migrants because most of them often do not have proper documents. However, in recent times, another group of migrants – the highly skilled category – has been migrating either to neighbouring countries or abroad in search of better employment opportunities, thus giving rise to Lesotho’s ‘brain drain’. In addition, there is also a high rate of rural–urban migration in Lesotho as a result of various factors including social, economic and other push factors, and this, in turn, leads to a high urban growth rate (Sembajwe & Makatsjane as cited in Akrofi, 2006). In the research titled “Population growth and Labour Market Growth in Lesotho”, Chaka (2000) observes that most of the Lesotho migrants in the 1980s and 1990s were men between the ages of 20 and 54 years. In addition, ninety-seven percent of these migrants had moved to South Africa and a few to Swaziland.

In view of the fact that, on the whole, mining activities require basic physical and mental capabilities only and no high qualifications, the majority of the men involved in mining activities were those without higher education. In addition, since employment is the main motivation behind Lesotho citizens wishing to migrate to South Africa, it is clearly evident that South Africa has been receiving the bulk of Lesotho migrants as wages in South Africa are higher than those in Lesotho. McDonald (2000) maintains that, for at least three generations, Basotho people have been migrating to South Africa in search of better job opportunities, and South Africa has always (according to Basotho residents) offered a warm welcome. In other words, from a historical perspective, a large majority of the Basotho have either parents or grandparents who, at some point in their lives, worked in South Africa. In addition, Bhorat, Meyer and Mlantsheni (2002) suggest that Lesotho has become one of the countries that has lost the most workers to South Africa over an extended period, dating back to the ‘mining era’. However, whilst most of these workers have been unskilled, it is now the

skilled workers from Lesotho who are seeking work in South Africa as there are several job opportunities available to them in South Africa, particularly in those sectors in terms of which an insufficient number of black candidates have been trained to fill all the available positions. This situation has even led to skilled Basotho workers leaving skilled jobs unfilled in their home country and this, in turn, has progressively aggravated the brain drain from Lesotho to South Africa.

Lesotho's migrating labour force seeks work in South Africa to enable these migrating workers to send money back to their families in Lesotho. Such remittances have a major impact on the domestic economies of traditional migrant-sending countries in the Southern African region. According to a case study conducted by Cross et al. (2009:39), in Lesotho:

In the 1980s, remittances from Basotho labours working in South Africa accounted for about half of Lesotho's Gross National Product (GNP). In 1994 about 40 percent of the Basotho male labour force was employed in South Africa, and their remittances accounted for a third of the Lesotho GNP. Although there has been a lot of retrenchment for miners and this resulted in reduced remittances, the World Bank estimated that, in 2004, remittances accounted for 26 percent of Lesotho's gross domestic product (GDP).

Accordingly, it becomes clear that migration has been beneficial to Lesotho, not merely on an individual basis, but also as a way in which to increase both the country's GDP and the livelihood of its citizens in general.



Figure 1.1: Map of South Africa and Lesotho

Karoo biking tours. 2011. A map of the Around Lesotho. www.karoo-biking.de/en/tours/lesotho.

The map above shows that Lesotho is landlocked within South Africa. In addition, the map also shows the distance between Lesotho and Johannesburg.

1.5 HISTORY OF MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

While many of South Africa's skilled workers have migrated to affluent European countries, so has South Africa been a migrant-receiving-country for decades. The majority of migrants to South Africa have been from its neighbouring countries in the Southern African region. However, although it may seem that migration to South Africa comprises mainly black people moving to the country from other African countries, in the 1940s, South Africa was also an important destination for white immigrants from Europe. During this time, the defining characteristic of regional labour migration to South Africa, both before and during the apartheid era, was sectoral bias, gender differentiation, irregularity, exploitation or racist immigration selection (Maya & Nakanyane, 2007; Mlambo, 1998).

However, while the European migrants were living fairly affluent lives in South Africa, the labour migrants from other Southern African countries, such as Mozambique, Lesotho and Malawi, were concentrated in the menial jobs in the South African mining industry. A single industry financed monopoly known as the Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA), that operated an extensive network of recruiting offices in supplier states, functioned as the main recruiting agency. A major distinctive industry feature was the fact that the mine migrant system was highly gendered, as women were not allowed to participate in any mining activities, while the men who had been recruited were also prohibited from bringing either their spouses or other dependents with them into South Africa. It may be assumed that this was the case in order to ensure that all black foreign migrant workers would return to their home countries as, if they had been allowed to bring their families, it may have been easier for them to settle permanently in South Africa – a situation to which that the conservative ideology of the apartheid state at the time was averse. In view of the fact that this form of migration to the mines started during the apartheid era, migrant workers from other African countries were, arguably, even more vulnerable and subjected to more vicious forms of abuse and exploitation in the work sector than their black, South African counterparts with their 'irregular status' contributing to their insecurity and vulnerability (Maya & Nakanyane, 2007; International Organization for Migration, 2010; Adelzadeh, Alvillar and Mather, 1998).

Previous studies have reported that the number of people involved in the African migration process had increased by eighty percent of the earlier level from 1990 to 2000, and that this process now involves mostly skilled workers. However, this documented migration is often accompanied by an undocumented number of poor, unskilled workers, while the balance

between skilled and unskilled migrants is unknown in specific cases. Cross et al. (2009:3) report that “South Africa has about 400 000 citizens in the OECD countries who have entered legally, representing a national diaspora that implies significant brain drain”. A study by McDonald, cited in Campbell (2002), adds that thirty-three percent of the migrant labour workers from other African countries employed in South Africa are unskilled. This study further states that approximately eleven percent of all Lesotho and Mozambique residents intend to migrate to South Africa, with 23 percent of Zimbabweans who have at least finished high school voicing the same intent. Campbell (2002) goes on to say that, for both skilled and unskilled migrants, the main motivator for migration is income related.

However, the brain drain is one of the major negative factors characterising migration. Despite the fact that the brain drain from other neighbouring African countries to South Africa may have started long before the demise of statutory apartheid, it increased significantly after the 1994 political changes in South Africa. However, in most cases, the attitude of the South African authorities, such as the police and law enforcement agencies, towards the unskilled migrants is extremely exploitive and restrictive to a point where xenophobia may be detected. Nevertheless, what is often peculiar is the fact that the same authorities treat skilled workers in a very different manner and, in fact, appear to welcome this category of migrants gladly. Matlosa (2006:13) states that “[t]he 1996 Presidential Commission on labour market policy recommended that the South African government should make greater effort to attract skilled labour from some of the larger developing countries”. The LDC Report Highlights (2007) adds that the push from the country of origin and the pull of the destination country is often the main contributing factor to the increase in the migration of skilled workers from the less developed countries (LDCs) to the more developed countries. In addition, The LDC Report highlights (2007) mentions that there is evidence that suggests that skilled out-migration from the developing countries increased significantly in the 1990s. This trend of migration may be attributed to factors such as the higher levels of education of some of the inhabitants of the less developed countries.

Accordingly, the fundamental questions surrounding the issue of migration research involve the reason behind people’s decision to migrate – what are the push and the pull factors, the nature of the crossing, which includes the policies of the two governments involved in the migration process, the expectations of the migrants and what they aim to attain afterwards and, lastly, the experiences faced by the migrants in their new environment, both socially, at

work, and as regards the society in general. This information is crucial as a person's understanding of a country is shaped by his/her experiences in that particular country.

1.6 A NOTE ON WOMEN MIGRANTS

Chammartin (2008:3) writes that “[w]orldwide a smaller proportion of women migrate into highly skilled sectors than men. One of the main reasons is that women’s education tends to be concentrated in the humanities and social disciplines that qualify them for professions such as teaching, health and social work”. However, as a result of the sheer desperation of migrants to find employment in South Africa, most migrant workers, especially women, sacrifice themselves and their qualifications by occupying occupations for which they are overqualified. This is, thus, a clear indication that they are desperate for work because they are willing to take any form of work, irrespective of whether it is in their qualification range. In addition, they are also willing to start from the bottom of the hierarchy level in the hope of moving up the socioeconomic ladder. Naidoo, Matsie and Ochse (2011) show that, whilst the number of Lesotho women migrants has increased, these women continue to face numerous social and cultural impediments that inhibit their willingness to move.

1.7 CONCLUSION

Migration has been happening for decades, with migrant workers from the neighbouring countries of South Africa playing a significant role in the development of the mining and agricultural sectors in South Africa. Lesotho has been one of the main countries which has contributed to the increase in the number of migrant workers in South Africa. For decades, Lesotho men have left their families in order to pursue a better life and more job opportunities in South Africa, as well as try to earn a living in order to send remittances back home to their families in Lesotho. However, over time, large numbers of Lesotho migrants working in the mines have been retrenched, although this has not stopped the inflow of Lesotho workers into the South African labour market. As migrant workers were being retrenched, large numbers of skilled and unskilled workers have moved to South Africa for various reasons. Cross et al. (2009) suggest that, although South Africa is faced with the dilemma of intra-African, cross-border migration, it is, nevertheless, evident that, if South Africa did not allow foreign workers to fill the skilled jobs that its own citizens are not able to fill as a result of a lack of qualifications and the necessary skills, this would probably cripple the expanding national economy. This would, in turn, exacerbate the situation in terms of

which the growth of the country would not be sufficient to provide employment for the less skilled and under-qualified South Africans who are struggling to find employment, and whose legally preferred employment status tends to prevent unblocking the economy through better access to skills. In conclusion, it may be said that, as much as the migrant workers might take up positions in the labour market, they do, often, also contribute to the development of their host countries (Akrofi, 2006). In other words, whether they are skilled or unskilled, they contribute to the growth of the economy of the country they are working and residing, and their rights should be respected.

The aim of this chapter was to introduce the topic of migration by explaining all the important terms which will be used in this dissertation. The chapter also aimed to track the history of migration from Lesotho to South Africa. From the literature, it is clear that migration to South Africa has been taking place for generations, and that Lesotho citizens have been part of the massive force of people who have been moving to South Africa. In the past, the main reason that Lesotho citizens migrated to South Africa was to work on the mines. However, despite the fact that these mine workers are now being retrenched, Lesotho citizens are still migrating to South Africa in search of work. Nevertheless, the patterns are now changing, with the migrant workers now including both skilled and unskilled workers. In addition, they now do a variety of jobs, ranging from the professional to the informal. This chapter also stated the research problem as well as the objectives and specifications of the research study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on central issues which emerge from the literature on migration. As such, the chapter starts by discussing social networks, the way in which they connect people from the same background, and also how they evolve and reshape themselves in the countries of destination of migrant workers. This discussion also considers the benefits these migrant networks offer the migrants, as well as the differences in the work experiences of skilled and unskilled migrant workers. In addition, the chapter delves into the issue of citizenship, and raises questions about the future intentions of migrants – whether to return to their home countries or to settle permanently in South Africa. The literature also addresses factors leading to migration and the likely beneficiaries of migration. Finally, the different theories that are relevant and useful as regards this study are discussed.

2.2 SOCIAL NETWORKS IN MIGRATION

It would appear that both the presence and social impact of social networks play a role in triggering the decision to migrate, with social networks providing the links between those people who have migrated before and those who were left behind. Before individuals decide to move they usually talk to others who have migrated in order to help them make decisions on where to migrate, and how to get there. Cross et al. (2009:34) maintain that “[m]igrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origins”. In other words, social networks encompass social relationships that connect people in terms of multiple sites as they try to keep the migrants involved in the life of their former birth countries and the home villages that they are leaving, and also help to ease the adaptation to their new places of residence and environments as well as inspiring them to make the move.

A migrant network starts to emerge when the first migrant from a community of origin leaves home and establishes him or herself in a particular destination area. Successful migrants feel obliged to help their family members back home to migrate in their turn because they depended on these family members when they made their first move. Migrant

networks influence the migration process, by facilitating and channelling migration (Cross et al., 2009:34–35).

Boyd further describes the dynamics of social networks in migration by stating:

Networks connect migrants across time and space. Once begun, migration flows often become self-sustaining, reflecting the establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations which develop between migrants in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area. These networks link populations in origin and receiving countries and ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time, unidirectional or permanent (1989:641).

McDonald (2000) explains that the migrants in his study mentioned that elaborate word-of-mouth information always assisted other migrants in terms of where to look for work and what or who to avoid. In addition, he noticed that migrants from Lesotho often settled in places where there were many Sesotho or Setswana speaking locals – in the Free State and in Johannesburg. Nkau (2003) mentions that social networks are important for a number of reasons, including the following:

- To inform the individual about the possibility of migrating to an alternative destination. This contact with former migrants helps individuals to realise that they may be better off in a certain place other than in their current residence.
- Reducing transport and travelling costs by sharing information on routes and the safest and cheapest roads. Also reduction of possibilities for deportation by sharing information on the safest times at which to cross the border.
- Reducing the opportunity costs of moving and increasing the long-term benefits. In addition, the social networks may help migrants to save money by enabling the sharing of living expenses and by helping financially upon arrival at the place of destination.

Pearson and Morrell (2002), Nzinga (2006) and Gutiérrez (2009) add that social networks are crucial because migrants may be able to provide other people who are intending to migrate with advice on important issues. These authors point out that the migrated participants in their study, which they conducted in the United Kingdom, indicated that they would definitely encourage other people from their birth countries to take advantage of the

opportunities available and, thus, follow them and migrate to the United Kingdom. The research participants also emphasised that they would advise potential migrants to carry out research about the country to which they wished to migrate prior to making any decisions, as well as to try to find a job before making the decision to migrate, as this would make it easier than simply moving to a foreign country without any prospects. The participants recommended the above as they themselves had, to a large extent, relied both on previous visits to the countries to which they had eventually migrated and on what their friends and families had told them about these countries. In fact, few had conducted any research about the country to which they had migrated, except on the internet before they had decided to move. They also advised those deciding to migrate to be prepared for a high cost of living, especially as regards housing costs, and also to anticipate a different culture and climate.

Documented research maintains that social networks play a vital role in the migration process as these networks inform prospective migrants of vacant positions and of the best places to search for work. Furthermore, social networks are an effective source of information sharing in terms of which people who have already migrated are able to share their experiences and give advice to those contemplating migrating in the future, as well as connecting people and maintaining links between people who have migrated. Cross et al. (2009) maintain that Zimbabwean migrants perceived social networks as playing an extremely important role in assisting them to settle in South Africa and to find work there. However, social networks may also discourage migration if negative information about the possible destination is communicated to prospective migrants by those migrants already working away from home. Research conducted indicates that the different occupational classes tend to use different types of network with, for example, high occupational groups relying more on colleagues and organisations, while unskilled workers rely more on kin-based networks (Cross et al., 2009; Vertovec, 2002).

The two transnational networks theories, namely, the cumulative causation and migrant network theories, shed light on the role of social ties in migration. Collinson and Adazu (2006) explain that the starting point of both these theories is a bonded social unit, such as a household. This bonded social unit is characterised by common mutual relationships and these relationships are reciprocal for everyone in the unit. This involves situations in terms of which migrants are offered support in their migrating in search of better job opportunities. In return for this support the migrants send remittances back to their families in their home

communities as a way of showing appreciation. Family ties, thus, come to play a major role in facilitating temporary migrations between rural and urban households with the migration process as a group effort that, seemingly, benefits everyone.

In explaining the role of social networks, the new ‘economic of labour migration’ approach emphasises that the decision to migrate is not made by the individual migrant only, but by the larger family or community. According to Mafukidze (2006), “[m]igration is not necessarily informed by the need to maximise expected income, but also by needs to minimise risks and to loosen constraints threatening individuals, families and communities”. Migration in any form, thus, comprises a household strategy and, as such, is not just the decision of the isolated individual but, rather, a collective decision. Even in situations in which migration is based primarily on economic factors, the decision to migrate still becomes a decision of the collective, in this case, either the family or the community, while issues such as gender relations often influence migration behaviour. Accordingly, both the migrant and the nuclear or extended family, and, in some cases the community, share the burden of the costs but also reap the benefits (Jones, 2009).

Therefore, the new economics of labour migration approach explains that migration is an alternative chosen by members of a household, entailing the temporary migration of some household members who, in turn, retains both a rural and an urban place of residence. The primary aims of this temporary migration include maximising expected income, minimising economic risks and increasing exposure to social resources such as education and health services. There are benefits to both rural and urban places of residence and people have, thus, built up lifestyles that span both, aiming to maximise the best utility from each (Collinson & Adazu, 2006). Accordingly, “this theory argues that there are global economic imbalances that enable people to make rational choices in order to maximize their socioeconomic potential” (Jones, 2009:8).

Statistics may also be used to elaborate on the way in which social networks assist in the choice and location of migration, as well as the ongoing life after migration. Shah (2000:59) writes that:

A survey of 800 South Asian males employed in skilled or unskilled jobs in Kuwait showed the channel of migration to be a highly significant factor of migrant success. About 34% moved through friends/relatives and 50%

through recruitment agents. Multivariate analyses indicate that those who came through friends or relatives earned a higher salary, found the job to fit their expectation, and were happier than those who came through agents, but more of the former came on an Azad visa which may be illegal. Personal networks are likely to encourage additional future migration and are very difficult to regulate through government initiatives.

2.3 EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANTS

Migrants tend to experience life in the host country in various and complex ways with skilled migrant workers often having totally different experiences to unskilled migrant workers, both in the workplace and in the community, at large. According to McLaughlan (2005), it must be emphasised from the outset that the problems and challenges faced by migrant workers are not uniform across all sectors and grades of occupation and unskilled and semi-skilled migrant workers and their families are the most vulnerable to both exploitation and retrenchment. Although migrant workers may face many problems in engaging with local residents, they have been known to make a significant contribution to a country's economy because they often perform jobs that the local labour force is either not willing to do, or else does not have either the skills or qualifications to do so. Accordingly, this migrant labour force is important because it plays a role in keeping most businesses alive and operating at full capacity and, thus, these businesses are not forced to succumb to the pressure of relocating overseas in order to remain competitive. Unfortunately, most of these workers face exploitation and are discriminated against by their employers, property owners and the wider community (Human Rights Watch, 2007).

The developed countries are taking steps in order to make it easier for skilled migrants to enter their countries because they need these migrant workers to provide the skills that are in short supply in their countries. According to McLaughlan and Salt (2002), most countries have tried to make it easier for professionals, especially highly skilled migrants, to obtain work permits and they have made provision for these workers' permits to be processed quickly because of pressure from employers. Furthermore, governments are also making provision for the spouses of these workers to gain access to the labour market, unlike in the past, when this was often an extremely lengthy, tedious process. Alarcon (2000) adds that, in the United States, skilled migrants are less restricted than unskilled migrants in participating in the labour market and in gaining work permits. In addition, immigration policies and

corporate power always work in favour of the skilled migrants, who find it easier to cross borders than the unskilled migrants. However, the World Bank has indicated that, if emigration of lowly skilled workers were to increase, this would significantly reduce the poverty in the developing countries. The migration of highly skilled workers may also greatly benefit the migrants and their families and help relieve the labour market pressure (Cross et al., 2009; Marchetta, 2009; Dacuycuy, 2009).

In its research into *Discrimination at work in the Middle East and North Africa*, the International Labour Office (2004) observed that there are many ways in which migrant workers are restricted in the labour market. They mention that, in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and Syria, the governments have the authority both to limit and to provide work permits to foreigners seeking certain categories of jobs only. Furthermore, foreign workers also face problems as regards limited rights and access to family reunification and health insurance schemes. The International Labour Office (2004) further states that countries such as Saudi Arabia have implemented measures involving taxation on the recruitment of foreigners, as well taxation on foreigners, in order to finance training programmes for the local citizens. There are also taxes on the health and surgery fees provided to foreigners in both Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.

High expectations are an integral part of migration and, when people migrate, they often have certain expectations about the places to which they are migrating. However, when arriving at their destination, they sometimes find that their expectations are not met. As regards South Africa, most immigrants have come to the country in order to escape the poverty and destitution in their own countries of origin – with unemployment being the most serious problem – as well as civil wars and political instability (Maharaj, 2004). In the research conducted by Pearson and Morrell (2002), which focused on skilled workers in the United Kingdom, the results showed that the majority of migrants had found that their expectations had been met. This may have been because some of the participants had had previous experiences with their host country, so that they already had prior knowledge about what to expect. There were also those participants who indicated that their experiences had more than exceeded their expectations, although this was probably as a result of the quality of the jobs they had found and the entire working experience. Some participants had been surprised by the challenges offered by their jobs, and the style of working. However, one of the major problems that they had experienced in their place of destination was the high living costs,

including housing costs, setting up bank accounts and obtaining credit cards, especially as they had not had any United Kingdom (UK) credentials. One may assume that the high expectations of the unskilled workers may be shattered because the informal sector is usually unrestricted and, thus, these people may be exploited. However, in their study of migration experiences to Ireland, Conroy and Brennan (2002) found that both skilled and unskilled workers were satisfied with their work situations.

Computer professionals considered themselves treated equally to others at work. At the lower end of the hierarchy, the study found rural agricultural workers, located in isolated areas in single nationality teams. Their pay was below minimum standards of pay, their English poor to non-existent and their working day very long. They did not complain (Conroy & Brennan 2002: 8).

There has been much research conducted into the experiences of migrants in foreign countries. Marvakis, Parsanoglou and Psaroudakis (2004) conducted a survey to examine the experiences of foreign migrants in Greece, with the study focusing on labourers who could be classified as unskilled workers. The study showed that these migrants had usually experienced discrimination in their host country. They had been discriminated against in different situations, including at work and in public, in ways that included being refused a job, being either assaulted or harassed at work, and being passed over for promotion. Furthermore, the respondents indicated that, when applying for credit, they had been refused. In addition, they had experienced discrimination from public agencies and institutions, such as the immigration services, and employment and insurance agencies. It was also interesting that forty-three percent of the respondents who had encountered the police mentioned receiving bad treatment. Further discrimination often came from their neighbours, people in the streets or when using public transport. The study compared these experiences across a spectrum of gender and age, and also locations where the migrants lived. The results indicated that women were harassed more than men in the streets; as were older people.

As migrants move to their host countries and occupy jobs they often find themselves viewed as cheap labour by their employers, especially the unskilled workers. In South Africa these migrants are also often accused of stealing potential jobs from South African citizens, especially in view of the high unemployment rate in the country. Furthermore, exploitation of migrant workers is also quite common in South Africa and they often receive lower wages

and are deprived of benefits such as pension and medical aid. In addition, in view of the fact that they are not South African citizens, they usually do not belong to trade unions and, thus, they do not receive any form of protection from exploitation and may be summarily dismissed. Accusations that foreigners are taking over jobs may lead to xenophobia – xenophobia tends to thrive when there is competition for employment and social problems are escalating (Maharaj, 2004). Adepoju (2006) mentions that migrants, otherwise perceived as aliens, often become the scapegoat for all the problems that may arise during transitions periods, for example, during a period of economic recession. This, in turn, often exacerbates the problem and increases the social distance between migrants and local populations with the migrants being stigmatised as criminals and accused of being the carriers of diseases such as HIV/AIDS – as is the case in Botswana and South Africa. Adepoju (2006) adds that, in recent years, South Africa has become highly xenophobic, to the point where locals accuse foreigners from other African countries of being both a threat to their economic futures as well as being responsible for the increase in violent crime in the country. Such accusations have even led to incidents such as attacks on hawkers, burning the homes of migrants, and inhumane treatment by the police. Adepoju (2006) further believes that the media plays a pivotal role in this kind of treatment as the media often portrays immigrants as the culprits when it comes to crime, drug abuse and labour exploitation. Accordingly, both the media and politicians may contribute to public discontent among locals, thus fostering xenophobic tendencies.

Marvakis et al. (2004) examined whether the location of migrants has an impact on their different experiences. The results of the study indicated that people living in areas that are predominantly migrant neighbourhoods experience more discrimination than those living in non-migrant or mixed neighbourhoods. In addition, Marvakis et al. (2004) and Kaya (2007) mention that it would appear that language skills influence the discrimination experienced by migrants, particularly at work with this discrimination often taking the form of insults and harassment. It is also interesting to note that the findings that the majority of these migrant victims had not taken any action against the discrimination and harassment that they had experienced both in public and at work.

Conroy and Brennan (2002) conducted research into the experiences of migrants in Ireland and found that most of these migrants were lonely because they missed their families and they wanted their families to join them. These migrants were recruited into different

employment sectors and included both skilled and unskilled workers. They came from countries including the Philippines, Russia, India, Ukraine, Czech Republic, Poland and Lithuania. The respondents in this study indicated that they preferred to obtain assistance from their diplomatic missions rather than opt for the public services in Ireland because as foreigners, they lacked a strong support infrastructure. None of the migrants had received any information or knowledge regarding their rights as members of the workforce in Ireland. Furthermore, most of these migrants had been recruited outside Ireland because it would have been difficult for them to enter the country without either a visa or work permit. The problems that these migrant workers faced in the workplace ranged from breaches of employment legislation, including either the non-payment or delayed payment of wages, excessive working hours, especially for unskilled workers, pay below the minimum wage and experiencing resentment from other colleagues in the workplace. Skilled workers usually address their problems by presenting their difficulties to either a trade union or employer, while unskilled workers rely on recruitment agencies, employers, friends and support outside of the workplace.

In a study conducted in 12 European Union countries on the experiences of migrants as regards racism and xenophobia Winkler (2006) found that the participants, who were mostly unskilled, indicated that they had been discriminated against in the sphere of employment, and in the context of commercial transactions. She identified different situations in terms of which migrants face discrimination. These situations include the workplace (employment), shops and restaurants, commercial transactions, institutions, private life or public arenas and, lastly, in the educational sphere and from the police. In terms of employment, some of the participants mentioned discrimination on the grounds of their foreign backgrounds when searching for employment, or being promoted. Some of them had also faced harassment on the streets and when using public transport. They also experienced harassment from neighbours. Most of the participants mentioned that, at some point, they had been denied access to either a restaurant or a shop while some of them had been treated badly in shops as a result of their being foreign. Furthermore, they mentioned being refused permission either to buy a house or to rent an apartment and in obtaining a loan from a bank. Moreover, they had experienced bad treatment when dealing with institutions such as employment agencies, social insurance offices and healthcare institutions. Lastly, they had also experienced poor treatment at the hands of the police with the result that they tended not to report any offences committed against them in their daily lives.

As regards the views and experiences of migrants in South Africa, Trimikliniotis et al. (2008:1330–1331) write that;

Two of the most economically successful SADC countries, South Africa and Botswana, both of which colluded to kill off the Free Movement Protocol in SADC, exhibit serious xenophobic attitudes at a popular level. Yet popular xenophobia must not divert attention from the fundamental point of the global issue where the tendency is for migrants, skilled and unskilled to be exploited.

This viewpoint is explained in greater depth by the Human Rights Watch (2007), which highlighted the situation of foreigners from Mozambique and Zimbabwe in South Africa, especially farm workers in Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces. These findings suggest that the employment rights and right to protection of these migrant workers may have been violated by their employers through wage exploitation, uncompensated workplace injury, bad housing conditions, workplace violence and human rights abuses. It is possible that these violations may be as a result of inadequate legal protection, illegal actions on the part of employers and state officials, and the state failing to enforce the legal protection of foreigners and bring employers and officials to task. In terms of addressing problems, Human Rights Watch (2007:7) states that:

The South African government should ensure that state officials abide by the procedures for arrest, detention, and deportation in its immigration law. The government should also create a system that permits migrants to report abuses of their human rights; require labor inspectors to produce public reports documenting the number of inspections they conduct, complaints they investigate, and compliance orders they issue to employers for violations of employment law; and investigate and punish state officials and employers who violate the law. The government should remove obstacles to enable migrant workers to access the workers' compensation to which they are legally entitled.

Another research initiative studying migrants moving from Johannesburg to live in Cape Town delved into the choice of location and the views of these migrants. This research study found that African migrants first choose to settle in South Africa because of the tightening of

immigration laws in Europe. Moreover, the study found that migrants often choose a city that is well known – in South Africa, this would be Johannesburg, also known as the ‘City of Gold’. There were also incidences where the interviewees mentioned that they had come to Johannesburg because of the social networks they had already had with people living and working there. The aim of the research was to find out why some people preferred to move elsewhere for employment opportunities, namely, Cape Town. It emerged that it was mainly the unexpected realities of living in Johannesburg, including unemployment and accommodations problems that had persuaded migrants to move to Cape Town. It was interesting to notice that these foreigners had based their decision to move to Cape Town on social networks established in Johannesburg, as well as on networks established in their home countries. The reasons for moving often included a lack of success in Johannesburg and also because Cape Town is considered to be safer than the ‘City of Gold’. In addition, the interviewees indicated that xenophobia was rife in South Africa, and that this had been the major challenge they had encountered. They attributed this problem of xenophobia to the ignorance of those South Africans who are not well educated (Lekogo, 2006).

North African and Middle Eastern countries have made some progress towards reducing discrimination in the workplace. In addition, they have loosened the constraints on migrant workers and free trade agreements. However, there are still shortfalls in terms of the treatment of both women and foreigners. As regards women migrants, they are found mostly in areas of unskilled work, for example, domestic labour, and this, in turn, results in exploitation, discrimination, unfair treatment, harassment, forced labour, low wages, and many other forms of abuses. Furthermore, some migrants also face religious discrimination where a state religion often excludes other religions. The International Labour Office (ILO) (2004) provides examples of countries, such as Saudi Arabia, in which other religions are shunned. This means that migrants who are not Muslim are prohibited from publicly displaying their religious symbols such as crosses or Hindu tilaka. Other forms of discrimination include job advertisements that exclude applicants from other minority religions, thus preventing people from practising their faith or religion openly. The ILO further points at the situation of the Baha’i in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the discrimination against Copts in Egypt, with these groups being denied equal access to education and opportunities in recruitment and promotion. Muslims in these countries also face harassment and offensive comments regarding their religious beliefs and practices, as

well as the refusal of employers to accommodate the religious needs and requirements of individuals.

Furthermore, another issue concerning migrants is whether, when they reach their destination, they remain in contact with the family members left behind. A study conducted by Pearson and Morrell (2002) found that most of their participants, who were skilled workers, had retained strong ties with their home countries and with their families at home. However, they point out that this may have been as a result of the fact that the participants had been in the destination country for a short time only. They also found that the links with the home country were mostly through business and property investments and that almost a third of the participants had jobs to which they could return if they went home. However, it was significant that half of the participants mentioned sending money home to their family members, thus proving that they had not suddenly forgotten their responsibilities once they had relocated to a different country.

Marvakis et al. (2004) addressed the issue of social interaction. They indicated that it had emerged from the study they had conducted in Greece that the majority of their participants, who were concentrated in jobs such as construction, domestic work and industry, had pointed out that they had found it easy to interact with the Greek citizens while some had even made friends easily. However, the participants stated that they preferred to socialise with people of the same ethnic background as themselves. Similarly, in Conroy and Brennan's (2002) study, it was reported that it would appear that most foreigners did not socialise with the local community with those interviewed mentioning that they preferred socialising with peoples from their own cultures. There is also some evidence to this effect in South Africa.

In an interesting and revealing study about migrant children, entitled "Young AIDS migrants in Southern Africa", Ansell and Young (2002) observed the experiences of orphans who had had to leave their homes to stay with their relatives. The research study focused on Lesotho and Malawi and discerned this form of AIDS related migration of young people as a result of the loss of their parents. The study established that these orphans usually found ways of coping with migration, but that they often experienced other problems. The study mentioned that some children often adopted harmful forms of behaviour such as smoking or drinking in order to fit in with their new environment. These are concerns that adult migrants might also consider when bringing children with them to a new place.

2.4 FACTORS LEADING TO MIGRATION

Peixoto (2002), as well as the International Organization for Migration (2010), explain that the factors leading to labour migration are often based on economic, social and political issues. Within the economic domain, it is believed that migration occurs whenever there is an imbalance of income and employment. In other words, this means that countries with low incomes and high unemployment face outflows to those countries with high incomes and low unemployment.

Nkau (2003) conducted research on “Cross-border migration to South Africa in the 1990s” and found that the Zimbabwean women she interviewed had been driven to migrate because of sociopolitical and economic constraints which prevented them from being able to sustain their families. According to Wets (2007), for documented or undocumented, skilled or unskilled migrants, a principal motivation for migration has always been to increase their income for family purposes. Murray (1981) delved into the migrant labour of the Basotho population and the factors leading to their migration to South Africa. He cites employment as the major reason for moving to South Africa, although some people do migrate for educational reasons. He also conducted research on Lesotho households and found that most of the men in the rural areas had gone to the South African mines in search of employment. This was the only means of survival at that time, while the women would be left to tend to the agriculture. Furthermore, another reason for going was to make money to enable them to come back home with enough money to marry and make a living for themselves.

Roux (2002) mentions that according to Ravenstein’s laws of migration, a push-pull process governs migration. In other words, unfavourable conditions in one place, such as oppressive laws, and heavy taxation etc, push people out, while favourable conditions in an outside location pull them in. These laws state that the primary reason for migration is better external, economic opportunities while the volume of migration decreases as distance increases. Furthermore, migration occurs in stages instead of one long move, population movements are bilateral and migration differentials, for example, gender, social class, age, influence an individual’s mobility. Roux (2002) states that Lee’s Push-Pull Theory of Migration adds that the decision to migrate is governed by four sets of factors associated with the area of origin, area of destination, intervening obstacles as well as personal factors. Each area of both origin and destination encompasses positive, negative and neutral effects that would push people either to relocate or to stay in their original countries. The intervening obstacles refer to those

factors that may make it difficult for people to migrate, such as the distance and the cost of relocation (Roux, 2002). Although Ravenstein's theory has been used to explain migration, Castles and Miller (1993) offer the criticism that, in this Age of Migration the theory is too individualistic and ahistorical and that it seemed to ignore the government restrictions that prohibit people from migrating.

Rozite (2009) mentions that Piore's Segmented Labour-Market theory looks at migration from the position of unskilled workers and argues that First World economies are structured in such a way that, ultimately, they require a certain level of immigration. Accordingly, this approach to migration is based on the assumption that there are jobs that, over time, have been labelled as migrant jobs.

This theory suggests that developed economies are dualistic: they have a primary market of secure, well-remunerated work and a secondary market of low-wage work. In addition, immigrants are recruited to fill those jobs that are necessary for the overall economy to function but are avoided by the native-born population because of the poor working conditions associated with the secondary labour market (Rozite citing Theories of Migration, 2009:10).

According to the Human Capital approach, "[t]he migrant invests in the cost of migrating in the hope of receiving a stream of benefits over his lifetime that provides a positive return to the costs" (Myburgh, 2002:9). The costs refer both to the actual monetary costs that are needed in order to move and the psychological costs that will need to be endured, including leaving both family and familiar surrounding (Myburgh, 2002). The benefits that migrants reap refer primarily to the increase in their earnings. Migrants move if the potential returns surpass the costs, choosing the destination where they will maximise their returns. However, this theory has been criticised since there is empirical evidence that proves that migrants do not consciously carry out cost and benefit calculations (Roux, 2002).

Bhorat et al. (2002) conducted a study titled "Skilled Labour Migration from Developing Countries: Study of South and Southern Africa" which focused on the motivation behind skilled workers' migrating to developed countries other than their own, the study found that the main reason behind skilled workers wishing to leave their countries was a declining quality of life. In South Africa there was dissatisfaction with the cost of living, the level of

taxation, safety and security, and the standard of public and commercial services. Pearson and Morrell (2002) suggest that many skilled workers migrate because of their career ambitions, for example, career advancement and working within global centres of excellence, and also for personal development and the experience of another culture. On the other hand, it is improved earnings and economic advancement that are perceived as the most important by migrants from developing countries with most of them wanting experience to take it back to their home countries. These migrants are, thus, referred to as ‘knowledge migrants’ rather than economic migrants. In other words, those migrants wanting to return to their countries were hoping that this would lead to brain circulation rather than just a brain drain, and that meant their education, knowledge and experience would aid in advancing their own home countries.

Despite the fact that people migrate for all kinds of reasons, the most common drive is the quest for better employment opportunities. The 2010 study conducted by the International Labour Office concludes that the majority of people migrate in search of decent work and, thus, there should be greater legal opportunities available for labour mobility, while policies should be based on recognising the mutual benefits of labour migration for both the original country and the country of destination. Moreover, if the development benefits for both the country of origin and destination are to be realised it is important that the rights of the migrant be protected. This study conducted by the International Labour Office places emphasis on multilateral cooperation between all the stakeholders involved in labour migration. In addition, it calls for government, social partners and other stakeholders to work towards improving legislation on the migration process, and to ensure that migrant workers are protected in their new environments. This would, in turn, lead to development benefits for everyone concerned, and also for the countries involved (International Labour Office, 2010).

2.5 BENEFICIARIES OF MIGRATION

Wets (2007) maintains that both the country of destination and the country of origin benefit from the process of migration. He is of the belief that the country of origin benefits because, when people leave their country, they usually leave to find a job elsewhere and this enables them to send money home to their families. In other words, the country of origin benefits from migration through the remittances with these remittances becoming essential in poor communities that lack basic services as they pay for better services in respect of housing, education and health care, which would, otherwise, be the responsibility of the government.

The picture becomes clearer when studying some countries that rely heavily on migrant remittances. Wets (2007) uses the example of Morocco where it is estimated that more than one million people do not live below the absolute poverty line as a result of migrant remittances. Although there is some research that shows that these remittances are usually used for household use or consumption rather than for the substantive benefits of the origin country, the immigrants may sometimes provide an answer to shortages on the labour market.

Remittances constitute a significant source of cash in some countries of origin and are a source of debt reduction, support to families and even of entrepreneurial actions in the context of community solidarity. This solidarity links the migrants in Ireland to their community back home. Some migrants have organised informal savings/remittances groups. Some migrants paid a great deal of money in the recruitment process. It was reported that some migrants left debts in their country. Some migrants send money home, either to support their spouse and children or to clear debts that have occurred (Conroy & Brennan, 2002:38).

Furthermore, on an individual level, the new migrants are able to improve their own economic situations and to build up their careers in personally satisfying ways.

2.6 MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP

When dealing with the migration of workers, both skilled and unskilled, it is not possible to avoid delving into the political issues of citizenship. Bosniak (2006) maintains that the notion of citizenship is commonly seen as a state of democratic belonging or inclusion, although this inclusion is usually premised on the conception of a community that is bounded and exclusive. Moreover, citizenship is also seen as a commitment against the subordinate although it may also represent an axis of subordination itself. Accordingly, citizenship plays a vital role in the process of migration as being granted citizenship in the host country may, essentially, be beneficial in gaining access to certain rights that the locals enjoy, and it may open more doors, both financially and socially, for the immigrants. Cesarani and Fulbrook (1996) point out that the rise in racism and xenophobia since the 1990s has focused the attention of the public in Europe on the situation of asylum seekers and economic migrants moving around European countries. Extrapolating to the South African context, it is important to note whether Southern African migrant workers aim to return to their home

countries or whether they would rather settle in South Africa permanently. The latter would clearly involve applying for residential permits and citizenship. In October 1995, the South African government implemented, the “miners’ amnesty” in terms of which long-term miners who had been working on the mines since before 1986 were permitted to settle permanently in South Africa. The “SADC amnesty” was introduced later in June 1996. This amnesty was not restricted to miners only, but applied to all people throughout the region and also did not focus on one specific economic sector. In terms of the amnesty an individual was required to have resided in South Africa for a period of at least five years, and have a job in either the informal or formal sector, or have a South African spouse, and have no criminal offence record (Crush & Williams, 1999). These amnesties, thus, made it possible for migrants from Lesotho to apply for citizenship and permanent residence in South Africa.

When people migrate, some of them do so in the hope of going to find a better life and providing for their families. However, when they reach their destination and experience life in this new country, they are then faced with the issue of whether to go back home or to stay in their host countries. Adepoju (2006) explains that “migration in Sub-Saharan Africa is a linked chain or an emigration–diaspora–return continuum”. In other words, migrants often retain their ties with their families back home, and regard their new destination homes as temporary. In addition, they always plan to return home eventually when it is time for them to retire. However, Maharaj (2004) stated that he found that the majority of immigrants in his study were not enthusiastic about returning to their original home countries and, if faced with the possibility of relocating permanently, they would choose to remain in South Africa.

In the study conducted by Pearson and Morrell (2002) it was found that a high percentage of the skilled migrant workers intended to stay in their host countries. They planned to do this by either applying for an extension of their work permits or by applying for permanent residence with some even planning to apply for British citizenship. Pearson and Morrell (2002) observed that those who were in favour of staying worked in the health sector and most of them were South Africans. Only a few of the participants in this study were willing to go back to their original countries. Those who wanted to leave were usually feeling homesick while some planned to leave after their permits had expired either to go to another country or back to their original countries. However, a survey conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) offers a contrasting view as this survey showed that immigrants

preferred to stay in their host countries with the majority of migrants having no intention of settling permanently in South Africa (Maharaj, 2004).

Green and Gay (1999) addressed the issue of Lesotho workers applying for South African citizenship. They examined the results of a survey conducted on Basotho miners and their wives in 1996 by Sechaba Consultants for the SAMP. The aim of this research study was to ascertain the number of miners and their families who were willing to accept the offer to apply for permanent residence in South Africa. In addition, the study aimed to look into the way in which this move would affect Lesotho in general. The survey comprised 493 miners and 127 of their wives. The results showed that a few Basotho miners and their wives only intended to take up the offer of becoming permanent residents in South Africa. Their reasons included the fact that they did not want to lose the ties they had with their families and extended families at home and, in addition, some of them also owned farms and livestock in Lesotho (Crush & Williams, 1999; McDonald, 2000). Furthermore, even the minority who were considering taking up South African citizenship expressed a desire to retain contact with their mother country and, if possible, obtain dual Lesotho and South African citizenship. They preferred this option of dual citizenship because both South Africa and Lesotho were perceived as experiencing ongoing problems and this would give them the choice of working and living in the less destructive country among the two. South Africa was experiencing political tensions and violence at the time, while Lesotho was struggling with state incompetence and corruption. However, there were still those migrants who were unsure of what to do because they had not been adequately informed the eligibility issues regarding permanent residence in South Africa (Green & Gay, 1999). The skilled workers were, arguably, keener to live in South Africa than the unskilled workers who had retained closer ties with their kin at home.

Accordingly, it is of interest that the few who were considering applying for permanent residence in South Africa were more educated, earned more money, and were able to afford to send more remittances home while those choosing to return to Lesotho had more livestock. The benefits of living in South Africa constituted the main reason for moving and accepting South African citizenship. When asked how this move would affect the country of Lesotho, the Former Minister of Employment and Labour at the time, Mr Notsi Molapo argued that:

Permanent residence to migrant workers will not affect Lesotho's economy, because the majority of Basotho mineworkers (who constitute the largest

number of immigrants) will not take the benefit. They have settled families, relatives, fields to grow crops, and domestic animals in Lesotho, all of which will make it difficult for them to leave and go to South Africa (Green & Gay, 1999:76).

Mr Molapo is clearly of the view that there would be minor economic setbacks for Basotho citizens, such as loss of income and skills, and these emanate from retired and retrenched mineworkers.

However, another research initiative comparing the residents of Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe contradicts the findings cited above as this research initiative showed that Basotho people were both more willing and more likely to acquire both permanent residence as well as South African citizenship than the Mozambicans and Zimbabweans (McDonald (2000). Furthermore, these Basotho's often wished to retire and be buried in South Africa, especially as the location of Lesotho, its access to South Africa and its border control all allow miners to move in and out of the country easily as a result of the short distances they are required to travel, as well as the benefits attributed to being a South African citizen. In other words, the residents of Lesotho were free to choose whether they wanted either to reside or not to reside permanently in South Africa as, unlike other immigrants, they are not forced to leave the country. However, McDonald's (2000) findings pointed to the fact that most Lesotho migrants did not intend to settle in South Africa permanently because they preferred their home country as they felt that Lesotho offered them freedom, peace and security, even though South Africa offered them better jobs and social services. Nevertheless, there had been a general view that migrants had wanted to become permanent residents in South Africa and, hence, the reason for introducing the amnesties for those people who had worked in South Africa for more than ten years. However, only fifty percent of the people eligible for citizenship had applied for it. As noted, "Few want to stay permanently in South Africa and almost none wish to become South African citizens" (Crush & Williams, 1999:16).

As already mentioned, most Lesotho citizens working in South Africa preferred the opening up of the border which enabled them to freely travel in both directions, thus allowing these Lesotho residents to work and to own land in South Africa without losing their Lesotho citizenship. Accordingly, it was expected that the Lesotho government would continue with its duty of providing social services within its own territory, but that it would allow its citizens to improve their material circumstances in South Africa. This, in turn, would allow

for closer cooperation between South Africa and Lesotho, and it would allow the Basotho people to improve their livelihoods without being pressured into giving up their Lesotho citizenship in exchange for South African citizenship. In such cases, dual citizenship would be more applicable to and accepted by the Lesotho citizens.

2.7 THEORISING MIGRATION, WORK AND CITIZENSHIP

There are a number of theories that explain migration and the decision to migrate, of which a few have already been mentioned and explained above. Therefore, theories such as the Transnational Migration Theory, Marxist Theory, Dependency Theory and New International Division of Labour Theory that outline a variety of reasons for the migration from underdeveloped countries to developed countries will be discussed in detail below.

2.7.1 Transnational migration theory

The Transnational Migration Theory represents a continuation of the social networks theory. It looks at the tendency of migrants to migrate to areas which offer access to more favourable social conditions, as well as enabling the maintenance of previous social networks. These may be places where past migrants from the same communities are located. This is perceived as beneficial as these networks assist in linking future migrants with earning opportunities. The theory of transnational networks suggests that, before a person is able to leave his/her community in search of employment in another area or another country, it is essential that there be a bonded social unit where the prospective migrant is located – either a household or community where encompasses mutual relationships and respect. There will be various issues discussed before an individual embarks on the long journey in search of employment with the dispatch of remittances to the family back at home being considered as part of the deal. These remittances are perceived as an appreciative gesture on the part of the individual migrant towards the family and community that supported him while he/she was searching for a job and which supported him/her in his/her move to either the urban areas or the host country. Accordingly, family networks play an essential role in facilitating the temporary migration both from rural to urban areas and from developing countries to developed countries (Collinson & Adazu, 2006). This theory is closely linked to the social network process, with the decision to migrate being made by the whole family and not just an individual. Accordingly, in this case, the ties to the family are highly entrenched in the future migrant.

2.7.2 Marxist theory

Marxist theory may be applied to explain the issue of migration in that it links labour migration to capitalism. Marxist theory maintains that society is divided into two basic classes, namely, the wealthy capitalist, also known as bourgeoisie, and the poor working class, also referred to as proletariats. Elwell (2003) maintains that the irony in the division of class is the fact that one is born to a specific set of parents determines the way in which one is born into a certain class. As human beings, we are not able either to determine or to change who our parents are, nor are we able to change the social class in which we are born. Unfortunately, some people are born into the poor working class and will forever be workers, while others are born into the capitalist class and, thus, will forever belong to the wealthy class that possesses and controls property, power and the means of production. Castells (1975:34, in Meyers, 2000:1248) explains that “[a]n individual’s class position is determined by his relationship to the means of productions. Immigration is the result of the ‘submission of the worker to the organisation of the means of production dictated by capital’, and of the ‘uneven development between sectors and regions and between countries’”. Marxist theory suggests that labour migration is part of capitalism in that it actually benefits the capitalist ruling class rather than the working class. In addition, according to this approach, the capitalist, also known as the upper class, encourages labour migration between different countries with uneven development because the capitalist class benefit and this, in turn, results in increased labour migration (Meyers, 2000).

Karl Marx was the theorist behind both Marxist theory, and the division of the classes. He defined class as a social relationship rather than a position or rank in the society, in terms of which the classes are structured by both the relations involving work and labour, the ownership of the means of production, and the possession of property. Marx argued that the different classes existed and that each class needed the other class in order to function. In other words, the capitalist bourgeoisie class was not able to exist without the proletariat, nor the proletariat without the bourgeoisie. He went on to show that earlier societies had differed from the present societies in the sense that, although the earlier societies may also have manifested various groupings, that may have been regarded as class structures, these groupings may have been strata or elites that were not based on economic factors only, for example these strata may have comprised knights, and military elites etc. However, unlike in earlier societies in the capitalist state, the social relationships are governed exclusively by economic factors and, thus, the relationship between the classes is characterised by struggles, conflicts, contradictions and antagonism. Accordingly, an analysis of the class divisions and

class struggles is important mainly in terms of fostering an understanding of the nature of capitalism. In addition, Marxism maintains that, in time, capitalism breeds a class-consciousness which, in turn, leads to an acknowledgement of the exploitative nature of the prevailing structures. In this case, the flaws which Marx found in capitalism resulted in his believing that communism would be a better system than Marxism in that would lead to an improvement in political, economic and social situation of all citizens in the various societies (LT, 2006).

According to LT (2006), Marxism argues that “capitalism would result in class conflict and oppression, but the theory is criticized for it is, indeed, a capitalist system that allows people the opportunity to rise above a lowly birth status and reap the benefits that society has to offer”. Hallas (2002) suggests, however, that Marxism is actually about highlighting the struggle for freedom, and the way in which people are able to change their circumstances and their lives and also the way in which they may acquire property, business, and resources. However, these desires engender agency and resistance on the part of skilled artisans although they do, enjoy greater success with the exploited, unskilled labourers.

2.7.3 Dependency theory

This theory may be perceived as sharing similarities with the Marxist theory because it argues that individuals migrate from underdeveloped countries to better developed countries. Mafukidze (2006) explains that, according to the dependency theory, people migrate as a result of the economic forces prevailing in a western dominated world system that is characterised by both inequalities and the underdevelopment of their areas. In addition, this theory suggests that underdeveloped countries or rural areas are dependent on the developed countries and urban areas. Despite the fact that the dependency approach accepts that individual migrants do benefit from the migration process, it suggests that migration must be viewed and understood in terms of both the way in which it affects people, and also the social costs incurred by the communities of origin.

The dependency theory further argues that the main beneficiaries of migration are the host country and selected individual migrants and their families, whereas the sending country loses part of its labour force. Accordingly, the destination countries develop further. However, the neo-classical theory disagrees with this approach as, according to the neo-classical theory, both the sending and the receiving countries benefit from migration. The reasons suggested to explain this theory include (i) that migration benefits both the sending

and receiving countries because the expectations of the migrants are met as they move to another area in search of better opportunities pastures and (ii) there is reduced chance of conflict in the sending region (Mafukidze, 2006). The benefits for the sending country are both evident and well documented.

However, as regards the receiving country, Crush and Dodson (2010) explain that the receiving country benefits both from the expertise of highly skilled migrant workers, as well as from those unskilled workers who are willing to take any form of job that the local citizens are not willing to take. In addition, the receiving country also benefits from a skilled labour force and this, in turn, leads to greater economic growth. Crush and Ramachandran (2009) add that immigration is beneficial to the receiving country because immigrants may often assist in creating jobs in the host country, thus boosting the local economies. The host countries also sometimes even benefit from the irregular migration of unskilled workers, as it is often these people who may be relied upon to provide extra labour when the need arises.

The majority of the dependency theorists, such as Andre Gunder Frank, who was one of the most notable developers of the dependency theory, regarded international capitalism as the driving force behind dependency. Frank adapted the dependency theory to Marxist theory. These two theories differed from each other in that, where Marxist theory explained the reasons why dominant states expanded and imperialism occurred; the dependency theory explained the consequences of imperialism in the form of underdevelopment. Ferraro (1996) writes that:

This theory challenged the assumption that decolonization had truly liberated the newly independent nations in the Third World. They argued that, in fact, exploitation had intensified, both between nations and within Third World countries, and concluded that Third World elites and their Western capitalist allies could bring nothing but underdevelopment and despair to the periphery. Dependency theory states that the poverty of the countries in the periphery is not because they are not integrated into the world system, or not 'fully' integrated as is often argued by right wing development economics, but because of how they are integrated into the system. These poor nations provide natural resources, cheap labour, a destination for obsolete technology, and markets to the wealthy nations, without which they could not have the standard of living they enjoy.

According to this view, the capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labor which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world. These functions orient the economies of the dependent states toward the outside: money, goods, and services do flow into dependent states, but the allocations of these resources are determined by the economic interests of the dominant states and not by the economic interests of the dependent state.

As in the case of classical Marxist accounts, dependency theory argues that economic and political power is concentrated in the hands of the wealthier industrialised countries. This theory may also be applied to South Africa. South Africa is a megapower in Southern Africa with considerable services and opportunities, unlike its neighbouring countries. Furthermore, its economy is bigger (or core), thus attracting people from other developing countries to migrate to South Africa. The dependency theorists are against internationalisation and free market economies because it is in both these areas that the dominant states have control of the dependent countries and are able dictate how the dependent countries should function.

The neo-classical economics approach is similar to the dependency theory in that it argues that individuals will continue to migrate as long as migration offers them an opportunity to improve their living standards. Jones (2009: 7) maintains that:

This approach recognises the imbalance between the supply and demand for labor and capital such that there is an abundance of labour in developing or migrant sending countries. According to this theory, migration will continue as long as this imbalance exists.

However, this theory assumes that migrants are rational individuals who make migration decisions based on the propensity for upward socioeconomic mobility and, hence, the theory is often criticised for being simplistic.

2.7.4 New international division of labour theory

This theory may be linked to the Segmented Labour Market theory because of the similarities between the two. The new international division of labour approach argues that access to employment is not based on the skills and education that individuals possess only, but that certain jobs are meant for certain members and groups of the population. Accordingly, certain

jobs are reserved for the educated and the rich while low paying jobs are reserved for people with the fewest skills and a lower level of education. Jones (2009) points out that, in most of the developed countries of Western Europe, the United States of America, Canada and Australia, these low paying, low skilled jobs are filled by immigrants and, especially, by those who have recently migrated to these countries. This theory is similar to the labour market theory in that it suggests that migrants are allowed to move to these countries in order to fill the low skilled and low paying jobs. In addition, Jones (2009) points out that, as regards the Brazilian sugar producing area of the central southern states, the labour demand is filled by migrants as this type of work does not require formal education and is considered as unskilled. Although in most cases foreigners who are involved in this kind of work, in Brazil the people doing this type of work are Brazilians from the lower rung of the socioeconomic ladder. Furthermore, he maintains that these workers face similar challenges to those faced by migrant workers in other countries, including discrimination, meagre wages and inhumane working conditions.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter focuses on the relevant literature that deals with the experiences of skilled and unskilled workers in foreign countries. The chapter highlighted the differences between the situations of skilled and unskilled workers and pointed out that, in some countries, the problems of harassment and discrimination faced by unskilled workers are far more severe than those faced by skilled workers. Within the Southern African context, unskilled workers often encounter considerable restrictions in trying to cross the border to South Africa, and also in obtaining permission to work in South Africa, while the situation is easier for skilled workers to the extent that they are usually helped speedily. In addition, both skilled and unskilled workers face different situations in terms of the labour force and in society at large. However, the chapter also offered evidence that skilled workers do face certain problems, including problems as regards fitting in, finding accommodation, high living costs and loneliness. There are also differences between skilled and unskilled workers with regard to the desire for citizenship and ties with the home country. The theories mentioned also contribute to building an understanding of the reasons why people choose to migrate and the way in which this migration process may be analysed. The theories also delved into how the migration discourse is perceived by both the migrants and the local communities.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the way in which the research was conducted, including the construction of the questions, the methods of data collection and the finalisation of the results. It was important to establish how the sample was to be selected, namely, the characteristics that would be taken into consideration. Secondly, the methodology and sampling method were discussed as they are both essential in guiding the researcher in terms of deciding how the data will be collected and, lastly, how it will be analysed. Reflexivity, which refers to the way in which the participants perceive the researcher – whether he/she is perceived as either an outsider or an insider – was also taken into consideration.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design used to collect the data in this study was qualitative research. This specific research design was chosen as it allows for an in-depth description and understanding of the actions and behaviour of the participants as it attempts to study human actions from the perspective of the participants themselves. In addition, it involves a small number of cases to be studied. Qualitative methodology is regarded as flexible because it allows the researcher to modify his/her research plan at any time to suit the object of study, while it also allows for both greater spontaneity and the adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the participants in the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

In addition, the data collected through a qualitative approach is descriptive while the interview occurs in a natural setting. One of the most important features of qualitative research is that its procedures are extremely particular, hence avoiding the issue of replication. Qualitative research focuses on interactive processes and events, thus allowing the researcher to be involved and to provide the authentic information that is always essential. Furthermore, qualitative research allows the construction of social realities and cultural meanings, while it is possible to analyse the data which has been collected using fewer figures (Neuman, 1997).

However, there are several other reasons why qualitative research may be deemed as the best choice in conducting research. According to Maykut and Morehouse (1994), qualitative

research enables an exploration of people's words, actions and behaviour in order to narrate and describe these words, actions and behaviours in ways that will both represent and make it possible to understand different situations as they are understood and experienced by the participants. In addition, qualitative research aims at taking into account matters of context in a sensitive way in order to understand the essence of a situation or phenomenon in its own environment. Accordingly, the objective of qualitative research is to understand a situation by observing people's reactions, words and actions in order to understand the way in which they view both the world in which they live and those around them. In qualitative research, the relationship between the researcher and the participants is relaxed and informal and the participants are, thus, more at ease while they have the opportunity to respond more elaborately and in greater detail as compared to quantitative research. Moreover, the researcher is able to follow up immediately on any issues that he/she feels need greater clarification.

Qualitative research is used most often in obtaining cultural information on issues such as values, behaviours and, sometimes, the social contexts of certain communities. An advantage of the qualitative method is the fact that its explorative nature allows for open ended and semi-structured questions, while the probing gives participants the opportunity to respond in their own words without being coerced by a particular set of questions, as often happens in quantitative research.

In short, qualitative research is used in order to gain insights into the attitudes, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture or lifestyles of different groups of people (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Accordingly, one of the benefits of this type of research is that it may be used to inform state and business decisions, policy formation, communication and research in a qualitative way. Researchers may decide to use the following types of qualitative research in order to collect their data; namely, focus groups, in-depth interviews, content analysis, ethnography, evaluation, and the analysis of any unstructured material such as reports or media clips.

3.3 SAMPLING METHOD

In selecting the sample for this research study, the researcher used a non-probability sampling method together with the snowball sampling technique. The researcher used her own existing social networks as a starting point in order to locate the participants. The fact that I am from

Lesotho, I have connections there and I am part of the social networks of people from Lesotho but now working in South Africa, enabled me to collect data using snowball sampling. Moreover, my situation provided me with an insider perspective in that I understand the situation regarding job opportunities in Lesotho, as well as why certain people feel compelled to move to South Africa. The snowball sampling technique is often considered as a form of accidental sampling because there is a chain referral system in terms of which the researcher interviews a few participants and these participants, in turn, refer the researcher to other people belonging to the same sample population who fit the study requirements. The researcher then follows up and interviews these new people until he/she reaches a saturation point as regards sample size. Babbie and Mouton (2001) explain that this form of sampling is used when it is difficult to locate the intended sampling population, and/or the population may include groups of homeless individuals and migrant workers. In this study, this method of chain referral was extremely important as I used my own social network as a starting point, and these participants referred me to other participants. The advantages of snowball sampling is its chain referral system in terms of which the researcher is able to gain access to other populations that would have been both difficult to locate and difficult to sample if other sampling methods had been used.

In addition, the process of snowballing is simple and cost-efficient and, lastly, it requires a smaller workforce as compared to many other of the sampling techniques. However, like any other, this technique does have disadvantages that may affect the results of the research. The main disadvantage of this technique is the fact that the researcher has limited control over the sample subjects because the participants have been referred to him/her by his/her previous participants. Indeed, in conducting this research, I did experience the fact that my social networks chain did limit me to more skilled participants as this was the network with which I was more familiar and, thus, it was the network to which I was able to gain access relatively easily. Accordingly, I experienced problems in getting hold of totally unskilled migrants with no education and no good prospects. Castillo (2009) maintains that one has to work consistently if one is to develop the list of participants with the desired characteristics. In this study, although I had initially sought a balance between skilled and unskilled workers, in the end it proved that I had found more skilled than unskilled workers.

The data was collected using individual interviews during which the participants were provided with semi-structured interview questions to which to respond. Ackroyd, cited in

May (1993:91), describes interviews as “encounters between a researcher and a respondent in which the latter is asked a series of questions relevant to the subject of the research. The respondents’ answers constitute the raw data analysed at a later point in time by the researcher”. This form of events often constitutes an open interview which allows the object of the study to speak for him/her rather than respond mechanically to a battery of fixed, predetermined, hypothesis-based questions.

Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden (2000) maintain that the benefits of qualitative interviews may be seen in terms of catharsis, self acknowledgement, sense of purpose, self-awareness, empowerment, healing, and providing a voice for the disenfranchised. In addition, in qualitative research, interview schedules are more important than questionnaires because interview schedules provide more in depth data on the experiences, values, opinions, feelings and aspirations of the participants. In this study, the interview questions were semi-structured and they allowed for the probing of more information, where necessary. Accordingly, the participants were able to answer more freely on their own terms than would have been the case had the standardised interview method been used (May, 1993). Each interview session was tape - recorded and transcribed and then translated into English afterwards, where necessary. The questions posed during the interviews were open and precise enough to allow for the respondents to speak and to develop their own ideas.

The attitude of the interviewer in collecting data is extremely important as he/she is the facilitator of the conversation and, thus, he/she encourages the participants to speak neutrally without inducing responses or attitudes. Moreover, the body language of the researcher is also very important as it is vital that the respondents do not perceive any signs of either judgemental attitude or behaviour, as this would make it difficult for them to speak freely and clearly. In this study the interviewer was empathetic and supportive in an effort to ensure that the participants were comfortable and relaxed and, thus, able to answer the questions to the best of their knowledge and experiences without fear of either discrimination or prejudice.

3.4 SAMPLE

The study was conducted in Johannesburg with the participants’ ages ranging between 21 and 36 years. The researcher’s reason for choosing Johannesburg as the research site are best explained by Lekogo (2006), who discusses the reasons why migrants chose to migrate to Johannesburg, of all places in South Africa. He found that migrants tended to choose

Johannesburg because, from a foreigner's perspective, it is the best known city in South Africa. In this study, the selection of the participants was also based on how long the person has been working in South Africa, preferably for a period of three to five years. Eleven participants were, ultimately, chosen and included both men and women. However, I did not deliberately seek an equal distribution of men and women as this distribution depended on the Lesotho migrants whom I came across and who were referred to me by the chain referral system and identified as prospective interviewees.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

In order to ensure that the data analysis proceeded smoothly, I deemed it essential, after each interview, that I compile a summary of the results of the interview, including describing the participant in detail, and noting other practical details pertaining to the interview, including time, place, duration of the interview, the participant's behaviour and mannerisms, as well as any themes that emerged from the interview. I also tried to transcribe every interview as soon as possible after the conclusion of the interview as this was easier while the information was still new and fresh. Literature points out that these field notes are extremely important and that they should be attached to the interview observations in order to remind the researcher, at a later stage, about the mood and atmosphere that had prevailed during the interview. Moreover, these field notes are important because the participants' answers may be affected by trivialities as well as the atmosphere on the day of the interview – both essential in the data analysis. If data is to be analysed, the data needs first to be translated into a format that is easy to analyse. This involves transcribing both the interview and the relevant field notes by hand. The field notes are then analysed together with the transcripts in order to formulate similar themes and, thus, to derive results from these themes so as to reach certain findings.

Qualitative data analysis was used in order to draw conclusions and assess the results from the research study. Qualitative data analysis was chosen as this type of data analysis makes it possible to establish emerging patterns and relationships in an earlier stage in the research which, in turn, means that it is not necessary to wait until all the data has been collected before it may be analysed. This was deemed essential in this research study as it enabled me to look at developing patterns as emerging themes as I continued with the data collection process rather than waiting for the entire study to be completed. Neuman (1997) maintains that qualitative data analysis is important in that it allows for the formulation of new concepts and theory by bringing together empirical evidence. The data in this sample was analysed

through a process of coding in terms of which certain themes and phrases were established and which assisted me in interpreting the individual responses. Coding data refers to reducing large amounts of raw data into manageable sizes that may be analysed. In this study, the data passed through three kinds of qualitative data coding; namely, open coding, axial coding and, lastly, selective coding. The first level of coding, also known as open coding, involves identifying different themes and meanings from the data as expressed by the participants.

The Kiplin method points out that the main advantage of open coding is its potential, namely, a mental openness that allows one to discover new, unexpected phenomena, as well as a curiosity that does not allow for final closure even after the data has been through coding, recoding, and the identification of themes and categories. Accordingly, during the open coding, as the first step in the data analysis, I focused on labelling and categorising the data into multiple themes. The second type of data analysis is referred to as axial coding. In terms of this type of coding data are developed and reformulated in more theoretical words by establishing relationships among the categories and sub-categories which have been identified. In this research study, the axial coding involved going through the multiple themes which had been established from the open coding and then going through them again in order to break it down more into similar categories and more firm and precise themes. The difference between open coding and axial coding is, therefore, the fact that open coding involves identifying and naming categories, while axial coding is about linking the data and the relationships which have been formed from the data. Moreover, it is possible to conduct axial coding at any point in time. The final phase in the data analysis involves selective coding. This type of coding is a more focused form of coding as it focuses on a particular core category, and the data is analysed by constructing a model of understanding based on looking for coherences, differences and hierarchical structures. In other words, it is during this final stage that the researcher integrates the different categories (Foss & Waters, 2003). I was able, in this last stage, to establish the core themes for the analysis and interpretation of the data from the study.

Neuman (1997) explains that open coding usually involves forming themes from the data received and assigning code labels, whereupon the researcher then focuses more on the codes and may even include more categories. Finally, after the researcher has identified the major themes, he/she will be in a position to interpret the results of the research both empirically and theoretically. In other words, in this research study, the data analysis process started with

my going through all the data collected in order to examine the information and meanings so as to answer the research questions that had been formulated at the beginning of the research process. I then sorted the data into different categories, with each category having a phrase, heading or label that described the findings of the data in that particular category. In order to develop the different themes from the data collected, I sorted the coded data as well as the chunks of data either with similar labels or with labels closely linked and assigned the sorted data to piles according to topics and with headings in order to understand the subcategories that had been established. Each pile of data was assigned a label, either a word or phrase that captured the meaning of what that particular pile was about. The following was taken into account – whether the data in each pile related to the label assigned to that pile and whether it would be possible to combine some piles or else delete some because they were irrelevant to the objective of the study (Foss & Waters, 2003).

Usually, after the data has been assigned to these different piles, it is incumbent on the researcher to develop a conceptual schema from the data which has been categorised. This conceptual schema is the most important aspect of the data analysis because it is used to tie the data together so as to enable the data to answer the research questions and to address any other matters that need to be addressed, including the linking of the data to the literature review. In other words, developing a conceptual schema is an important part of the research because it is at this point that the researcher needs to be able to narrate the results emerging from both the data and the themes which have been established. Foss and Waters (2003) explain that it is essential that the researcher be able to organise the themes in a way that offers useful information and meaningful interpretations. In addition, it is important that the researcher not make the mistake of concluding the process of coding with simply identifying and making a list of the themes, as it is vital that these themes be organised and translated in a way that they explain or support a theory.

During the data analysis, it is important that the researcher keep going back to the empirical data and the text at every step. Moreover, it is necessary that the researcher be aware that the more data one has, the more effort and time will be needed to analyse it. However, more data leads to more substantive categories, subcategories, themes and, lastly, clearer conclusions. However, it is no easy task to determine what constitutes sufficient data, as this may be constrained by the time and resources at the researcher's disposal. Nevertheless, the researcher should not hesitate to code, recode and reread the data, if necessary and the

researcher should rather allow meanings to emerge, instead of pushing and forcing the results to fit a particular theoretical perspective. It is also crucial that the researcher avoid coding according to what he/she wants to find, but rather that the researcher code according to what the data provides as he/she will have to explain the claims and conclusions emerging from the data. The ultimate aim of interpreting data is to come up with findings and to draw conclusions based on substantial evidence which has emerged from the data collected. Accordingly, all conclusions must be based on verifiable qualitative data even if they are not going to be generalised to a broader audience.

Lastly, it is essential that the researcher take into account the issue of reflexivity. In this study the participants and I were all from Lesotho, of Lesotho citizenship and with common values, and we were now living in South Africa. I was able to use this common background to my advantage as it enabled me to communicate more easily with the participants, and it also meant that I had an insider perspective as I was aware of many of the situations concerning Lesotho to which they referred. This was beneficial in that the participants felt more able to open up to me and they were willing to provide me with more information because of our common background. I made the decision to inform the participants about our similar backgrounds in the hope that this would help them to feel more at ease and more comfortable to talk to me honestly without worrying about whether they were being judged. However, despite declaring our connection to the research subjects, I must also state that I made every effort not to influence them or to lead their comments.

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This section focuses on the ethics to which I adhered while conducting this research. Flew, cited in May (1993:41), explains that “the word ‘ethics’ often suggests a set of standards by which a particular group or community decides to regulate its behaviour to distinguish what is legitimate or acceptable in pursuit of their aims from what is not”. It is important that, while conducting their research and collecting data through interviewing participants, researchers do not do this at the expense of their participants’ right to privacy. Accordingly, I adhered to certain rules while conducting this study.

3.6.1 Informed consent

If a researcher is to gather information from participants, it is essential that the interviewees’ consent, in writing, to participate in the study and that they also agree as to the way in which

the information they provide will be used. Most importantly, the interviewees also need to know and to be aware of what the researcher is asking them to take part in so that they are able to make informed decisions based on the correct information (Neuman, 1997). Informed consent may also be explained as a mechanism which is used to ensure that participants know and understand what their acceptance to participate in a particular research study means, in order for them to make a conscious, deliberate decision as to whether they are willing to participate. The issue of informed consent is an important tool in conducting interviews because it ensures that persons involved in the research are treated with respect. Accordingly, in conducting this study, I commenced by informing the participants about the topic of the research study and giving them a brief overview of what the study entailed, why they had been chosen for the research and how they were going to contribute to the research. This, in turn, enabled them to understand what the research was about. Moreover, it made it possible for them to participate of their own free will, and without coercion. After the participants' acceptance to participate, and showing that they understood the nature of both the research and their participation, they were handed consent forms to sign. It is important to note that the decision either to sign or not sign the forms was entirely theirs.

When interviewing the participants, I tried to make sure that I did not place any of them in situations that may be stressful, embarrassing, unpleasant or anxiety-provoking. This meant that I tried to provide a comfortable environment in which they felt free to talk to me as this would help me to gain a deeper understanding of their views and experiences. Furthermore, I tried to make sure that no physical or legal harm befell the participants as a result of the research. Accordingly, I tried to anticipate any risks as well as attempting to find solutions before beginning the research and, thus, I ascertained that no physical or legal harm would result from my conducting this study. In view of the fact that the location of the interview is deemed important, I conducted the interviews in places where the participants felt comfortable and where there were minimal disruptions during the course of the interview.

3.6.2 Anonymity and confidentiality

One of the most important issues in conducting research is that the participants not be exposed to any unwarranted harm or publicity. Accordingly, in this research study, I endeavoured to protect the participants in the following ways. Firstly, I omitted the names of the participants from the study and, instead, I used pseudonyms. The use of pseudonyms is important in terms of keeping the identities of the participants private as research may

sometimes reveal personal information that the participants have not disclosed to anyone, and do not want to be made public. Accordingly, it was my responsibility to protect their identities by using pseudonyms. In addition, certain categories of sensitive information that may require anonymity often include details of illegal conduct, information that may damage the financial standing, reputation and employability of a participant, medical records, psychological behaviour and any mental health problems. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:522), “[s]ocial research should never injure the people being studied, regardless of whether they volunteer for the study or not”. In other words, the participants’ lives should never be exposed to any possible harm and, in fact, the benefits from the research should outweigh the risks of any possible harm. However, there were no risks envisaged in this study.

3.6.3 Compensation and acknowledgements

The participants in this study were not compensated financially or in any other way for their participation in the research. However, I intend to show my appreciation for their participation by acknowledging them in any published version of this dissertation, although their real names will not be included. In addition, in collecting the data, it is crucial that I do not make any promises, either material or otherwise, to the participants as I would not be able to fulfil such promises.

3.6.4 Analysis and reporting

As a researcher, I have an obligation to my colleagues in the scientific community both to report accurate information as well as to highlight any limitations and shortcomings pertaining to my research study. I will also clearly reference all the works of other researchers upon which I have drawn and I will give them credit for this work.

3.6.5 The role of the local research ethics committees

Before a researcher may embark on a research project, the project must be submitted to the ethics committee in that particular field. Ramcharan (2001) maintains that the objective of these committees is to maintain ethical standards and practices of research in order to protect the participants in the research study. These committees have codes of conduct and it is incumbent on all researchers to abide by these codes in order to prevent any harm befalling the participants and also to protect the rights of the participants. In addition, the public must be made aware that such rights are being protected. “Ethics committees seek to identify from

amongst competing claims of researcher, research subjects and the public, balance of ethical risks against the potential benefits, what is also referred to as justice” (Ramcharan, 2001:360). In other words, it is the responsibility of research ethics committees to reflect on the interest of the various stakeholders in a research study. In this regard both my proposal and ethics declaration were examined and passed by the proposal and ethics committees of the University of Pretoria.

3.6.6 Power relations

In qualitative research, the focus of the researcher is on exploring, examining and describing the subjects of his/her study in their natural environments. Accordingly, the power relations between the researcher and the participants in the data collection process represent one of the concepts that must be addressed in the research. Orb et al. (2000) maintain that the decision to participate in a research study depends solely on the participants’ willingness to share their experiences with the researcher.

3.6.7 Problems encountered

In conducting interviews and during the study in general, the researcher will always encounter problems. One of the problems I encountered was the fact that the participants would sometimes change the time of the interviews and, thus, I had to be prepared to schedule and reschedule appointments. Another major problem that I encountered was finding available and acceptable participants for the study, especially as regards the unskilled workers. The main source of this latter problem is the fact that my social network tended to revolve more around skilled rather than unskilled workers and, thus, I identified more with the skilled workers, we had a common background and it was relatively easy for me to identify such participants. Accordingly, because of the difficulty in selecting suitable participants, I eventually had fewer participants than I had originally anticipated. However, these problems did not compromise the overall objectives of the study as the research focused more on indepth understanding and quality rather than on quantity. Nevertheless, fewer participants (a total of 11) than originally envisaged were interviewed at length about their migration experiences, attitudes and viewpoints.

CHAPTER 4

REFLECTING ON THE STUDY'S FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Global studies on the men and women involved in labour migration show an increase in the work seeking efforts of both skilled and unskilled workers. In addition, these studies also show that, in the main, labour migrants prefer to migrate to big cities where there is a better likelihood of finding jobs. Since the mining era, it has been an historical reality that people from Lesotho migrate on a regular basis to South Africa. Crush and Dodson (2010) mention that, in the late 1970s, almost fifty percent of households in Lesotho had at least one household member working on the South African mines. At this stage, most of the migrants were young, single men who were in South Africa in order to accumulate sufficient resources and savings to enable them to return to Lesotho and marry and settle down with the hope that their sons, when older, would take over their role in the mines.

However, since the 1990s, there has been a shifting trend in the nature of the migration from Lesotho to South Africa. Whilst there has been steady cross-border migration from Lesotho to South Africa there has, nevertheless, been a decline in the employment opportunities for Basotho men on the South African mines. This has coincided with an increase in the migration of females from Lesotho, as well as an increase in the number of skilled migrants from Lesotho. The reasons for their migration vary from economic, social, personal and, sometimes, even educational purposes. It is estimated that the number of people crossing the border legally through the official border posts between Lesotho and South Africa increased dramatically after the 1990s, rising from 240,000 in 1991 to over two million in 2007 (Crush & Dodson, 2010).

In other words, migration from Lesotho to South Africa is a growing trend with poverty continuing to be the driving force behind internal and cross-border migration from Lesotho. Lesotho is completely landlocked by South Africa and, hence, South Africa is the primary destination for the Basotho people. Accordingly, the development of both South Africa and Lesotho are inextricably linked and the co-development of these two countries, although highly unequal, represents a long standing reality. It is evident that the South African economy has benefitted from Lesotho's migrant labour, while the Lesotho economy has become highly dependent on the remittances of its migrant workers in South Africa with

Lesotho citizens becoming dependent on South Africa for employment opportunities (Petrozziello, 2010).

This chapter on data analysis presents the research findings from the field study. The results will involve reflecting on the stories elicited in the course of the field study with the results being compared to the literature review wherever possible. In order to analyse the findings from the research, this chapter will construct the various themes that emerged during the data gathering process. These themes are essential in that they highlight similarities and differences in the participants' responses and may also be linked to previous studies conducted in this field.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

The personal details of the labour migrants from Lesotho, now working and residing in South Africa, and who were interviewed for the purposes of this study are detailed below. For the purpose of this research, a 'skilled migrant' is defined as a migrant in possession of a tertiary degree, or one with extensive specialised work experience in a certain field. On the other hand, an 'unskilled migrant' is a migrant with no formal educational qualifications, and who is working in the informal sector. The sample consisted of eleven participants who had been selected via a non probability sample using the snowball sampling technique. I had approached people whom I knew, who would then refer me to someone else within their wider social networks. The fact that I am considered an insider in this case, because I am also from Lesotho, was vital in assisting me in contacting the initial participants, who then helped me to find more participants. A semi-structured interview schedule was the method used to collect the data. This method also allowed for the probing of further information, where necessary. As stated above, the participants were categorised according to their level of education and vocation with those with tertiary education and specialised work being categorised as 'skilled migrant workers', while those working in the informal sector and with no tertiary qualifications were regarded as 'unskilled migrant workers'. It is my understanding from the sentiments which they expressed that they also categorised themselves in terms of these definitions.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of the participants

Age	Gender	Marital status, children	Educational level	Occupation	Skill category
26	Male	Unmarried, no children	Undergraduate degree	Electromechanical engineer	Skilled
27	Female	Unmarried, no children	Undergraduate degree	Accountant	Skilled
35	Male	Unmarried, no children	Master's degree	Economic researcher	Skilled
36	Male	Married, two children	Undergraduate degree	Computer scientist	Skilled
27	Male	Unmarried, no children	Undergraduate degree	Banker	Skilled
29	Male	Unmarried, no children	Honours degree	Accountant	Skilled
27	Female	Unmarried, one child	College certificate	Waitress	Unskilled
28	Female	Unmarried, one child	Matriculation	Waitress	Unskilled
30	Female	Married, two children	None	Domestic worker	Unskilled
27	Female	Unmarried, no children	Matriculation	Shop assistant	Unskilled
32	Female	Unmarried, two children	Matriculation	Assistant at a real estate firm	Unskilled

4.3 GENERAL THEMES

4.3.1 Migration as a “compulsory” experience of youth

Studies show that migration tends to occur more frequently at a certain period in people lives, and that labour migration is more common amongst the younger generation. Particularly during the mining era, it was mainly young people who moved from Lesotho to work on the South African mines (Murray, 1981). Young people are generally more likely to work hard as they are still young and they have more energy. In addition, it may be assumed that younger people migrate more often as a result of the fact that they are less tied down by family responsibilities than older people. This trend has continued even to present times with young people still being the ones who are more prone to go to South Africa in search of work. My research participants also suggested that they had been driven to leave Lesotho because it had seemed an appropriate time in their lives to migrate.

4.3.2 Limited influence of social background on skill category

One other factor emerging from the research was the issue of social class and whether social class is a determinant as regards the path one's life will follow. As Elwell (2003), in talking about Marxist theory, explains: Social class plays a pivotal role in migration as the class into which one is born usually determines the social class to which one will belong and continue to belong. He suggests further that, as social beings, we are not able to change the social class into which we are born and that class position is reproduced under the harsh conditions of capitalist accumulation.

As mentioned above, the social background of the participants was a factor that was taken into account in conducting this research study. I was of the belief that social background may play a crucial role in influencing the path that each participant had taken. In addition, there is a general belief that an individual's past does influence the individual in the long term. Studies have also shown that social status and, to a great extent, class position persists from generation to generation with a person's social background influencing their access either to education or to particular education levels hence, also impacting on their prospects for future careers (Elwell, 2003). It was observed during the data gathering process that all of the participants came from relatively similar backgrounds. In other words, both the skilled and unskilled workers came from middle to working classes. This is a significant observation and merits further investigation in future studies. However, whether from a middle class or a working class background, all the participants had had to take the initiative to ensure that they made progress in their jobs. In addition, their original class positions had not determined whether they fell into the 'skilled' or 'unskilled' category.

Social networks had played an important role in the selection of both the skilled and unskilled participants. It was of significance in the study to establish whether these two groups of people had belonged to different social networks or whether they had belonged to networks of people with the same kind of skills in common. The study observed that the participants had belonged to different social networks as they had been at different stages in their lives and in their careers and their education levels were different. It emerged that they also preferred to socialise in this 'separate' way.

4.3.3 Predominantly higher levels of education define migration

Education is an extremely important aspect of everyone's lives and it has become a priority for every country to ensure that its citizens all receive basic education. Lesotho is amongst those countries that provide free primary education to its students as it believes that this will help them in the future. Moreover, Lesotho also provides sponsorships for those advancing to tertiary levels of education, although the requirements for being awarded this scholarship have changed drastically in recent years. Prior studies have indicated that there is a strong correlation between level of education and success and, the more highly educated the individual, the better his/her life will be (Bhorat et al., 2002). This phenomenon may also be observed in the context of the migration processes as it is easier for an educated or otherwise skilled person to find a job rather than it is for an unskilled person. In addition, education opens doors and may also play a central role in the way in which people are treated, both in the workplace and in society. Most of the participants in this study were in possession of an educational qualification above that of matriculation or, as it is known in Lesotho, Form E. There was one participant only who did not have Form E while one of the unskilled participants had a college certificate from one of those unknown colleges. All the skilled participants had degrees, ranging from undergraduate degrees to post graduate degrees. The participants all indicated that they regarded their educational qualifications as, potentially, offering them the opportunity to "outcompete" migrants from other countries.

4.3.4 Links to families, but desire for permanence

According to Awad (2009), there are many ways of categorising migrant workers based on their motivations, skills, age, occupation or distance from original homes. The most popular category is based on anticipated duration of stay, thus reflecting the fact that control over length of stay is a core aspect of national sovereignty. Most migrant workers enter countries through one of three channels:

- Permanent migration – primarily for highly skilled migrants, family unification and refugees.
- Temporary migration – for all types of employment
- Temporary migration – for time-bound employment

As regards the participants in this study, it emerged that their objective in migrating to South Africa was that of permanent migration as they hoped to settle permanently in South Africa

because the country offered better prospects than Lesotho in terms of job opportunities, mentorship, growth opportunities and lifestyle. Nevertheless, they indicated that they would continue to visit their home country as they still had ties with their immediate and extended families.

4.4 THE PROCESS OF MIGRATION

The method of analysing the data collected involved sifting through the transcripts to highlight specific themes as regards migration that had emerged and then to examine these themes in terms of the findings from the literature review. The themes that emerged are discussed below as is the contribution of the participants as well as some quotes from their stories in their own words. The themes will also be supported by findings from previously published literature.

4.4.1 The key factors shaping the migration decision

Maharaj (2004) maintains that the majority of immigrants moving to South Africa do so in the hope of escaping the poverty and destitution in their own countries although, in the certain war torn countries, this decision to migrate could be motivated by civil wars and political instability. One of the goals of conducting this research study was to ascertain what factors influence people from Lesotho to migrate to South Africa, and also how they actually make the decision to migrate. There are several studies which point to economic factors as the most influential reasons for migration. Cross et al. (2009) mention that one of the driving forces behind cross border migration is the economic differentiation between the less developed countries and the more developed countries. In other words, the developed countries possess more resources than the less developed countries and are able to absorb a greater labour force, thus providing more jobs and business opportunities.

Cross et al. (2009) go on to say, that in the past, a small number of people only had migrated because of educational factors, but this situation has changed dramatically. These finding are similar to my observation in this study as most of the participants in this study had indicated that the main reason that they had migrated had been to further their educations with some of the skilled and unskilled workers mentioning that their decision to migrate to South Africa had been for tertiary education, and not to find a job immediately after arriving. However, most of the participants had used their acquiring an education in South Africa as a way in which to remain in the country and work here. Moreover, this implied an easier transition

from school to work, as they were already familiar with both the place and the atmosphere because they had studied in South Africa. One female respondent, aged 27 years, who now works as a waitress explained:

“I moved from Lesotho to South Africa in 2003 after writing my Form 5 (equivalent to South Africa’s Standard 10), in order to further my studies. I went to a technical college with the hope of getting my BTech, but I got pregnant and dropped out.”

The participants all indicated that it was easier to find a job if already in South Africa, rather than if still at home in Lesotho. In addition, they indicated that another important main reason for migrating to South Africa was to find a job. Besides the education route, one respondent mentioned that she had first moved to South Africa to visit her relatives and that, while here, she had started looking for any sort of work she could find. Another woman, a domestic worker, responded:

“I got a job through people who were already working as domestic workers in South Africa. They told me of a woman who was searching for a domestic worker and I went to work for her.”

Another participant, a 29 year old man, stated:

“I came to South Africa a while ago to study. I did my matric studies here, and then did my undergraduate degree. I started working immediately after I finished my studies.”

One of the important issues addressed in this research was to find out the reasons why the participants had chosen to move to South Africa and, in the case of those who had studied in South Africa, why they had decided to stay in the country rather than going back to work in Lesotho. A number of reasons were put forward, including:

- To find a job.
- The prospects of earning a better salary compared to what they would earn if they went back to work in Lesotho.
- To work in an industry that is bigger, and with a greater economic sector than Lesotho.
- To work with experienced people who could act as role models and mentors.

- Working in South Africa provided more growth and training opportunities.

When asked about the reasons for and benefits of working in South Africa, one respondent, a 26-year-old single man, explained:

“Well, South Africa has more options in that working in Lesotho, as I studied electrical engineering; I can only work for a few companies like Brewery, Letseng, LHDA. Growthwise you don’t really grow because in Lesotho there is no space to grow as the people occupying top positions are there until they go on pension. In Lesotho there are a few opportunities, but here there are more options in choosing to work for a certain company.”

4.4.2 Sources of employment

Studies have shown that education plays a significant role in shaping opportunities in life. One of the aims of this study was to find out whether both skilled and unskilled workers had similar chances in terms of finding employment in South Africa. Bhorat et al. (2002) point out that, in recent years, the international migration of skilled persons has become increasingly important as a result of the impact of globalisation, the revived growth of the world economy, and the explosive boom in information and communication technology. In fact, a number of developed countries have liberalised their policies as regards the admission of highly skilled professionals so as to make it easier for them to work and reside in these countries. However, this is not usually the case with unskilled workers with no, or limited, academic qualifications. It was evident from the responses of the participants that it is much easier to find a job when the individual is well qualified and, in some cases, such an individual does not struggle at all. However, the situation is not the same for unskilled workers with these workers struggling to find employment and often being forced to change jobs repeatedly. As a 27 year old single mother of one said:

“I was a sales lady for a year working at a clothing shop, and from then I became a receptionist at the development company from January 2006 for a year and 6 months. From there I did a call centre course for 4 months and then I got a job as a waitress and I am still working as a waitress.”

However, another female respondent who had studied at a technical college and obtained her degree had experienced very few problems in acquiring work. Another respondent, a 35 year old man, stated:

“It was relatively easier for me to get a job after completing my studies as I already had my Masters degree when I started applying for a job in South Africa. And I got my first job immediately after completing that degree.”

However, for most unskilled workers, the prospect of finding a job in South Africa was extremely daunting, especially as they did not have the necessary qualifications to find any form of skilled work. Some of them had even depended on social networks to help them find work in South Africa. One female respondent (aged 30), who was working as a domestic worker, mentioned that she found her job through networks with other people who had worked in South Africa before. As indicated by some of the participants, it is apparently very common for word of mouth and social networks to assist migrants in finding domestic work or any other form of unskilled work as this form of work does not require any formal qualifications and credentials. However, although the social networks may assist unskilled workers in finding jobs, this is not the case with skilled workers who possess certain qualifications with skilled work focusing on certain factors, including formal qualifications, work experience and specific credentials.

4.4.3 Migration expectations

When migrating from their home country to another country migrants often have considerable expectations. These expectations are sometimes met although the migrant workers may find that their expectations are shattered during the migration process. It emerged that the unskilled workers did not feel that their expectations had been met with some feeling they had to work long hours without their incomes reflecting this fact. Some had started off believing that it would be easy to find a job but they had found that this was, in fact, not the case. Others had felt that South Africa was the land of opportunities, but they had found that there were also a number of restrictions involved in finding a job and working in the country. One woman, a waitress, stated:

“I came to South Africa because I thought life would be better as I was struggling to find a job in Lesotho. And, yes, I have a job as a waitress right now, but, as a waitress, one does not get paid, but relies on tips. Well, some

restaurants are different, but the one I work at, I do not get paid. But sometimes the tips are good, especially over the weekends. Also it's bad because management treats other people differently and they are given better tables and special preference."

It appeared that skilled workers, by contrast, found that their expectations had been more readily met and they had managed to acquire more skills in the fields they had chosen. In addition, the participants indicated that the salaries they received in South Africa were also much better than the salaries which their counterparts received in Lesotho. They also worked in organisations which provided growth opportunities and where there were prospects for occupational mobility.

Martell maintains that a common perception of migrants is as follows:

An immigrant argument is that migrants take the jobs of domestic workers. However, migrant workers tend to go where there are vacancies rather than competition for jobs, In receiving countries they are often focused at the higher and lower end of the skills hierarchy, where it is either difficult to recruit skilled workers, or they are willing to accept low paid, low status work with poor conditions in, for instance, food services, health, or care for the elderly. Often it is difficult to find local workers to do these jobs (Martell, 2010: 5).

The work experiences of the skilled and unskilled Lesotho workers differed significantly with the skilled workers finding fulfilling jobs, being offered opportunities and having their expectations, to a large extent, being met. On the other hand, the unskilled workers faced numerous problems with their managers or bosses. They described poor treatment in the workplaces and daily job insecurity as a result of a constant threat of dismissal and retrenchment.

Another significant issue to emerge was that of job security. It is extremely important for any person working to feel secure in his/her job without the fear of facing unemployment at any time. However, several of the unskilled workers were exposed to such situations as it was always possible that they could be fired for no apparent reason as there was often no signed contract in place. In addition, it is always difficult to stand up for oneself in situations that may be discriminatory. However, as regards the skilled workers, there is usually some form

of job security as there are often signed contracts in place as well as avenues to follow for addressing any disputes that may arise.

4.4.4 Effects of social networks

Social networks may be regarded as ties between the new migrants and those migrants who are already in the destination country. These ties may be either through kinship, friendship or acquaintances. Previous studies have proved that social networks are important for migrants living in countries away from home, as they help in providing general information and, sometimes, financial support which may facilitate the move, as well as helping to maintain long distance ties with the original community and country. Social ties may also provide emotional support to the members of the social network. In addition, social networks may facilitate integration into the new community after a migrant has relocated as they provide the newcomers with information about accommodation, jobs and the procedures involved in accessing certain services as well as in obtaining the necessary papers (Akuei, cited by Batanda, 2007). According to one of the participants:

“I first came to South Africa to visit a cousin who lived and worked in South Africa. While here I decided to start applying for some jobs and that is how I started working as a waitress and later moved on to get other jobs through the networks I had.”

Moreover, social networks may also be beneficial as former migrants sometimes find it easier to find jobs for new migrants in the companies in which they are employed as they are usually the first to know about job opportunities. However, this usually applies in low paying employment, also known as unskilled work, for example, waitressing, and domestic work, and so on. This also emerged from two of the participants in this research study who were working as waitresses. One of the waitresses had been working in a particular restaurant for a few years and she had, in turn, helped the other participant to get a waitressing job at the same restaurant as she knew the managers and had recommended the other woman.

However, Batanda (2007) maintains that social networks may also cause problems for migrants as they may shield migrants from exposure to other social environments as they experience only what their networks allow them to experience. Moreover, social networks may also inhibit migrants from taking advantage of certain employment opportunities and, in so doing, generate a relatively homogenous class of migrants. In support of this finding, one

of the participants in this study indicated that she did not regard social networks as necessary as she, personally, prefers to blend more with South Africans rather than spend time and keep in touch with people from Lesotho. She gave the following reasons for this viewpoint;

“I personally do not like socialising with people from Lesotho as I feel they hold me back in some way. They are not motivated enough and are not go-getters like most South Africans I know. They like doing things a certain way and are not hard workers.”

However, this was not the case for most of the participants as they all viewed social networks as important, not so much in helping find a job or obtain financial support, but mostly as a way in which to socialise. Most of the participants mentioned that they enjoyed having regular contact with people from the same background and country as theirs, and that they wanted to maintain those bonds as they spoke the same language and sometimes knew the same people. Others also indicated that they felt more comfortable spending time with people from Lesotho rather than socialising with people originally from South Africa. Thus, most of the participants perceived social networks as beneficial in terms of facilitating their integration into the local communities.

It was of interest to this research study to find out whether the participants socialised ‘out of their social circle’. In other words, did skilled and unskilled migrants socialise with each other and, thus, out of their ‘class categories’. However, it emerged that the unskilled migrants socialised largely with other unskilled migrants and, thus, there did not appear to be much socialising amongst the different groups. This finding is, nevertheless, not unexpected as people are normally more comfortable socialising with other people at the same level and, thus, the issue of social networks from the home country should be seen in terms of differentiated groupings – separate, supportive ties for both skilled and unskilled workers. Accordingly, as mentioned above in the Marxist theory, it would seem that social networks are categorised according to social class and, if this is the norm, it might also explain the way in which social class tends to be a determinant in terms of people’s life opportunities, although there are the exceptional cases of people who do not conform to these norms.

4.4.5 Xenophobia and the social environment

Xenophobia may be described as the dislike or fear of foreigners. Different writers have explained xenophobia in a number of ways. Crush and Ramachandran (2009:5), citing

Berezin, 2006, Nyamnjoh, 2006, Stolcke, 1999 and the ILO, IOM and OHCHR (2001) state that:

Berezin defines xenophobia as the fear of difference embodied in persons or groups. For Nyamnjoh, xenophobia is the intense dislike, hatred or fear of Others. It has been characterised as an attitudinal orientation of hostility against non-natives in a given population. And, it has been seen as hostility towards strangers and all that is foreign. Another definition views xenophobia as attitudes, prejudices, and behaviour that reject, exclude, and often vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity.

However, in some countries, including South Africa, xenophobia is not restricted to the dislike or fear of foreigners only, and it results in hostilities and violence on the part of South Africans against non-citizens. However, xenophobia is not a South African problem only – it is widespread and manifests as a deep-rooted and complex problem. Harris (2002) explains the reaction of xenophobia by means of the following three hypotheses, namely, the scapegoating, the isolation and the bio-cultural hypotheses. The scapegoating hypothesis explains hostility towards foreigners as a reaction to a country's limited resources, such as housing, education, health care and employment, and, in the South African context, the high expectations of the local citizenry after South Africa's transition from apartheid. Accordingly, because of the lack of these resources, the foreigner is used as someone to blame for all the social problems and as an object on which to vent one's personal frustrations. The isolation hypothesis also points back to the apartheid state and explains that xenophobia is a consequence of this apartheid state. South Africa was isolated because of apartheid and the country is finding it difficult to assimilate and accept other people. During this research study, most of the participants referred to xenophobia as it is explained in terms of the scapegoat hypothesis. For example, the participants stated:

“In my opinion, the reason for the xenophobic attack was that South Africans blamed foreigners for taking their jobs and stealing their women.”

“South Africans attacked the Zimbabweans because they say they are taking over their jobs, they are causing crimes, and they are selling drugs.”

“The xenophobic attacks were because the Zimbabweans entered South Africa unlawfully and South Africans blamed them for taking their jobs.”

In a study conducted by the Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF), it was discovered that local South Africans attributed the xenophobic attacks to a language barrier, which makes it easy to distinguish the differences between Zimbabweans and Nigerians as opposed to South Africans. Other reasons put forward included the foreigners’ lack of proper documentation, the poor communication and selfishness of the foreigners, the lack of trust of foreigners, hence, causing barriers to the accessing of resources and, most importantly, the lack of participation by migrants and migrant organisations in community initiatives (Diaho, 2010).

However, the major problem causing these xenophobic attacks was the fact that people were struggling to access the scarce resources and they were not happy with the fact that they had to share these scarce resources with the migrants. However, it is possible to dispute the issue of foreigners taking over jobs from South Africans as it may be argued that the unskilled immigrants accept those jobs that the South African residents are not prepared to take while, in the case of skilled workers, it may be that they are more qualified than the local people (Diaho, 2010; Wocke & Klein, 2002; Cross et al., 2009).

The third hypothesis – the bio-cultural hypothesis of xenophobia – also offers an explanation for the asymmetrical targeting of African foreigners by South Africans. The bio-cultural hypothesis explains xenophobic attacks on foreigners as a by-product of the visible differences between the migrant workers and South Africans and maintains that physical appearance, cultural differences, accents, clothing style and an inability to speak one of the indigenous languages play a major role in the classification of an individual as a foreigner, and in the xenophobic reaction (Harris, 2002). For instance, one finds that it is Nigerians and Zimbabweans who are the most frequent targets of attacks or who are ousted as foreigners because of their physical features, dress, style and accents.

Crush and Ramachandran (2009) point out that the ongoing intolerance and xenophobia present clear challenges to and has repercussions for policy makers and countries, as xenophobia leads to instability, and undermines the expected beneficial relationship between the international migration and human development of countries. They see xenophobia as a major problem to realising the economic and social benefits of international migration, as xenophobia affects migrants and refugees to a point where they are vulnerable and exploited

by certain groups of local residents. Accordingly, xenophobia leads to inequality between the migrants and the host residents. In short, “xenophobia undermines principles of human equality, social justice, and social cohesion” (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009:3).

There have been countless efforts to curb the surge of xenophobia, and a number of countries have tried to come together to find ways of stopping xenophobia. One such effort was the High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, held at the UN General Assembly on the 14 to 15 September 2006. The aim of this initiative was to urge receiving countries to protect migrants and refugees against discrimination, racism and xenophobia by introducing effective measures to counter migrant abuse.

In conducting this research it was important to find out whether the participants from Lesotho had ever experienced any form of xenophobic attack. One respondent stated:

“I have never faced any xenophobic attack. I believe the reason is because people from Lesotho are not considered as foreigners as Lesotho is a country inside South Africa. Also, we share a common language and similar culture to South Africans, especially the Sotho in South Africa.”

This view was expressed by all the participants, both skilled and unskilled, with all of them stating that they had never experienced any form of xenophobic attack and that, during the xenophobic attacks in 2008, they had not heard of any cases where people from Lesotho had been attacked. However, their connectedness to black South Africans meant that they spoke about perceived racism in the same way as the locals. Nevertheless, they did suggest there was wariness implicit in being non-citizens which kept them on their guard. In addition, as black people, they had experienced racism and discrimination. It is a known fact that South Africa was an extremely racist state for a long time and, even though it is now a democratic state, it is still in a transition phase, and there are often still a few traces of racism lingering in the environment. Some of the participants mentioned that they had experienced racism from white people in public places and at work. According to one of the waitresses:

“At work, there is a bit of racism as often you find that the white manager will give the white waitresses a good section.”

However, one of the skilled participants stated that:

“I think there is still a lot of racism in the workplace but, because of my position, I wouldn’t say I am feeling the racism. The fact that I did come to my workplace with already higher position has worked to my advantage. But I have seen a lot of my subordinates experiencing it.”

This, thus, leads to the conclusion that, whether or not one experiences discrimination in the workplace may be shaped by the kind of work that one does, and the position that one holds. However, as regards society as a whole, it would appear that racism affects both skilled and unskilled workers in the same way. As one migrant worker said:

“Sometimes when you are out in the evenings with a group of friends, these white boys might insult you or say some insulting vulgar words.”

Accordingly, the issue of racism seemed to affect both skilled and unskilled workers, not, however, because they came from Lesotho, but rather because they are black. Therefore, in this regard, they were facing the same problems that black South Africans still find themselves facing.

4.4.6 Perceptions of the impact of migration on Lesotho

Migration is perceived as both beneficial and problematic for the recipient country and the donor country. However, the implications of migration are varied. As regards the role played by Lesotho in the migration process, it would appear that Lesotho is benefiting from the remittances sent home by the migrant workers, but it is also losing its skilled labour. During the interviews, it was crucial to find out the views of the participants on whether Lesotho is benefiting from the migration process or whether it is being prejudiced by the process. One of the major issues pointed out by most of the participants, both skilled and unskilled, was that Lesotho is not able to afford to provide jobs for all its residents and, consequently, they are driven to move to South Africa in search of job opportunities. Accordingly, most of the participants believe that the migration process is beneficial to Lesotho in the sense that South Africa is consuming most of the labour force of Lesotho, and the Basotho people are benefiting from this. Moreover, the remittances sent from people working in South Africa to their families in Lesotho also help the economy of the country. One respondent mentioned:

“Lesotho is also benefiting from migration as the tax from Lesotho citizens working in South Africa is paid back to Lesotho. Therefore, it is beneficial

to the country for its citizens to be working in South Africa. Moreover, it's also a relief of the burden as Lesotho itself as a country could not afford to provide jobs for most of its work force."

This is a common perception that Lesotho is not able to afford to provide jobs for its citizens. In fact, in the Budget Speech to Parliament for the 2011/2012 Fiscal Year, the Lesotho Minister of Finance and Development Planning, the Honourable Timothy T. Thahane wrote:

Considering the difficult budgetary environment for this year, the government has decided to make a start this year of keeping the growth of public service at zero by freezing all new positions. The funds so saved will then be used to increase the salaries of the few who remain and who will be expected to do more (Thahane: 2011/2012 Budget Speech).

It would, thus, seem that the point raised by the majority of the participants that they had decided to leave Lesotho for South Africa in search of better job opportunities is justified in the Minister's speech. However, one wonders what all the graduates from the National University of Lesotho are expected to do with the government not creating new positions in the coming year. Accordingly, 'compulsory migration' appears to be the norm and the accepted way in which to earn money and support one's families.

When examining the benefits of migration for the sending country in greater depth, it becomes clear that one of the benefits is the fact that the migrant workers gain access to better equipment and expertise and, hence, they gain more skills and have access to more contacts, capital and markets that are bound to benefit their home country if they ever return to that country. Indeed, one of the skilled participants mentioned this as a reason for deciding to work in South Africa. He stated:

"The benefits of working in South Africa are countless. First, it's the better income and the experience and contacts one makes here. Also the equipment I get to come into contact with. Lesotho is not as advanced as South Africa is on such things, so here I gain more experiences and more skills, which is very important for me."

Despite the fact that most of the advantages of migration are economically based, in some cases they may also be beneficial in a political 'sense'. Martell (2010) argues that migration

may sometimes have positive effects politically for the sending states as the migration of people who are escaping dictatorship and authoritarianism may lead such a country to a democratic system. In such cases, migration may pressurise a dictatorship regime to change its ways and regain the loyalty of its citizens. However, not one of the participants in this study had been forced to leave their country because of political reasons and, as they were not considered as refugees, they did not have much to contribute on this subject.

The majority of the skilled participants believe that Lesotho is benefiting from the migration process. Interestingly, this was a controversial subject for the unskilled workers as they focused mostly on their own advantages and did not address the issue of the country as a whole. The skilled workers emphasised issues such as remittances and tax issues while the unskilled stressed that they were benefiting from their migration, as were their families. However, they paid no attention to the technical aspect of revenues and taxes. Nevertheless, it is not possible to blame them for this as they often avoid the paying of taxes.

Some of the participants mentioned the topic of 'brain drain'. According to Shah (2000), the brain drain – the loss of skilled workers – is a serious problem for source countries as increasing numbers of qualified practitioners continue to leave their home countries in search of better opportunities. However, in the case of Lesotho, this argument may be refuted because there are not enough jobs for all the qualified citizens of Lesotho. However, the issue of the brain drain is a common concern for all countries to which skilled labour is choosing to move away from, and relocate to another country. Crush and Dodson (2010) maintain that the South African 2002 Immigration Act has led to a significant increase in the number of skilled Basotho workers in South Africa as the Act has made it easier for skilled migrants to work in South Africa. They go on to say that this brain drain is likely to increase in the future. The problem is that skilled people are deciding to leave their countries in search of better job opportunities and experiences and better environments and this, in turn, has a negative effect on the country they leave, as the fact that the skilled labour force is leaving implies that the country will not be able to reconstruct an alternative development path easily.

Moreover, Lesotho, as a country, is affected adversely by the migration of its skilled workers as most of these skilled workers have often received their educations as a result of government sponsorships and they then leave the country without having given anything back. In addition, in most cases, they do not even pay back their student grants which, in turn, results in an even greater loss for the country. In other words, it would appear that Lesotho is

educating people who are not contributing anything to the country, but are rather choosing to move to South Africa and making a substantial contribution to that country's economic development as the country to be an attractive destination for many of Lesotho's homebred experts (*Lesotho Times Newspaper*, 2011). In response to this statement, one respondent stated:

“It is a struggle to find work in Lesotho. That is why I prefer to work in South Africa, also in Lesotho you find these old people who have been there forever and are not willing to change how things are done.”

4.4.6.1 Remittances to Lesotho

Labour migration is considered as one of the most important sources of income for Lesotho as a result of the remittances sent back by the migrant workers. Moreover, these remittances are perceived as a mechanism for reducing poverty as they alter the income distribution, although the extent and direction of this alteration depends on those who receive the remittances. According to Papademetriou and Martin (1991) and Crush and Dodson (2010), the remittances received by the original country are evidently extremely substantial as, in most cases, they make a larger contribution to the economies of sending countries than does overseas aid. Suresh (2008) maintains that south–south remittances are considered as economically important, as was proved in a study conducted by the World Bank in 2008 proved that these south–south remittances amount to almost 20 percent of all inward remittances to developing countries. As regards Lesotho, the study showed that Lesotho received annual remittances that amounted to almost 25 percent of its total GDP. In addition, 84 percent of the inward remittances to Lesotho are from South Africa. South Africa has become an outward remittance country for most of the surrounding African countries, and of these remittances, a fraction of its 70 percent outward remittances is to Lesotho.

According to Crush and Dodson (2010: 40):

Remittance flows to Lesotho can be classified according to whether they are: (a) compulsory or voluntary; (b) formal or informal (in terms of channels used); and (c) cash or in-kind. Remittances in cash and kind are the main source of income for the vast majority of migrant-sending households in Lesotho. MARS showed that 95% receive regular cash remittances and 20% receive remittances-in-kind. Only 9% of the

households receive income from regular wage work and 6% from casual work in Lesotho. Additionally, only 9% receive income from a formal or informal business and just 3% from the sale of farm products.

The remittances sent to Lesotho are beneficial to the country for a number of reasons. Papademetriou and Martin (1991) maintain that remittances contribute significantly to increasing the income of the home country, as this money assists the migrant's family to meet their basic needs. One of the participants stated:

“I do send money home to my family. This is important as my parents are not working and so this helps them to buy food.”

Moreover, remittances may also assist to boost the economy of the biological country as a result of the economic productivity of the migrants as well as public services gaining momentum from the additional taxable income. Gupta, Pattilloan and Wagh (2007) explain that remittances are also beneficial to country of origin as, in most countries; they constitute a source of foreign exchange. He cites the example of countries such as Lesotho and Uganda in which, since 2000, remittances have amounted, on average, to more than 25 percent of their export earnings. He goes on to say that the reason why remittances have received such attention is the fact that they are conceived as more stable than other foreign currency flows to developing countries. In addition, “[r]emittances to sub-Saharan Africa are not just consistently less volatile than official aid, they are also less volatile than FDI, which is usually seen as the most stable private flow” (Gupta et al., 2007:7).

Most of the participants in this study, both skilled and unskilled, were sending money home, especially those who had children at home. When asked what the remittances were used for, they responded:

“I sent money home so that my family can buy groceries and money for school fees, clothing and other things that might come up.”

“I don't really send money home as my parents are still working, but once in a while I can send them some money.”

“My son is staying with my mom in Lesotho, so every month I send money to her for her to buy food, clothes for him and pay his school fees.”

4.4.7 Perceptions of the impact of migration on South Africa

When investigating migration, it is often difficult to find any advantages which migration holds for the recipient country, as there is a tendency to concentrate on the negative aspects only. However, as indicated below, there is documented literature which explains that migration is also beneficial to the receiving country as it contributes to higher wages in the country. These higher wages are brought about as a result of the increased labour which enables certain sections of the economy, for example, the construction industry, and others, to expand and this, in the long term, leads to economic growth.

Moreover, Martell (2010:129) maintains that:

The wages of migrant workers are spent on goods and services, boosting other industries' fortunes, and providing tax revenue for services such as health and pensions. A government report in 2007 suggested that immigration boosted growth in the UK by up to £6 billion a year (Home Office, 2007 TUC 2007). This has a positive effect on employment, wages and tax revenue.

In this vein, South Africa benefits from migrant workers, especially skilled workers, as they earn income which is often taxed, with this tax revenue being used to implement certain public services for the local residents. In addition, the migrant workers spend their incomes in South Africa and this, in turn, increases consumer demand and boosts the country's economy, resulting in benefits for the country as a whole as there is increased job creation, and more taxable income. Skilled migration may also benefit the economy of the host country as these skilled migrants increase the available talent pool. As regards unskilled migrant workers, they are often prepared to take jobs that people in the host country choose not to do, or are not able to do. They are also willing to work longer hours for lower salaries and, although this may be seen as exploitative, it does benefit the host country (Shah, 2000).

In a political sense, migration may assist the recipient country to act as a mediator when people migrate as a result of fear and/or to escape a dictatorship state. "Open migration can also encourage receiving countries who perceive immigration to be a problem to help rectify drastic imbalances of power and wealth between them and sending societies, these being a major factor behind migration from poor to rich countries" (Martell, 2010:132).

However, despite the fact that there are advantages for the migrant workers in the receiving country, migration may also cause problems for the local citizens and for the country as a whole. Globalisation has made it possible for people to move cross country, and this may sometimes have serious repercussions. The problems faced include population increase, the competition for limited resources as well as the implementation and enforcing of certain restrictions regarding entry into the country. The political consequences of migration often involve defining the issue of citizenship in the receiving societies, as well as promoting, restricting and determining the shape of immigration and the relationship between the public services and migration.

In conclusion, Martell (2010:132) sums up as follows:

Stories about immigration tell that it takes workers' jobs, brings wages down, is a drain on public services and a source of crime and conflict. But, as we have seen evidence on the impact of migration on host societies contradicts the public myths that the media and politicians set out. The evidence is available so it can only be assumed that politicians and the media choose not to look for it or to disregard it because it goes against their motives.

4.4.8 Permanent residence and citizenship

The issue of citizenship and permanent residence in South Africa elicited a mixed reaction from the participants in this study. It may be assumed that, for people who perceive of South Africa as offering significant job opportunities, becoming a South African citizen would be a priority and something on which they would constantly reflect. However, some of the respondents indicated that they preferred to retain their Lesotho citizenship as this is important to them although most of the respondents felt they would be comfortable with dual citizenship as this would enable them to benefit from their South African citizenship, but also retain their heritage and a part of themselves. Even the unskilled participants felt South African citizenship would help them find better jobs. One respondent stated:

“Yes. I think it is an advantage to have dual citizenship for Lesotho and South Africa, or even any other country. There is an advantage of being a citizen of different countries.”

However, the participants did not want to renounce their Lesotho citizenship for a number of reasons. These included the fact that they had family at home in Lesotho and they planned to stay in touch with these families, others felt they wanted to maintain their heritage while some even hoped that, one day they would return to Lesotho to settle there and retire. Thus, moving to South Africa was an economically based decision as they hoped that migrating to South Africa would offer them better job opportunities as well as increased expertise and experience that they would miss if they stayed in Lesotho. In other words, their decision to live and work in South Africa was based more on economic factors and was not for political reasons.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The decision to migrate is influenced by several factors, including economic, political, environmental, cultural and social reasons. The aim of this chapter was to discuss the participants' responses to the questions posed, to examine their reactions to and their experiences of being immigrants and to find out how they had adapted to and blended into a foreign country. In addition, the chapter aimed to address the research questions specified in Chapter 1, and to ascertain how this study relates to existing literature.

The main focus of this research study was to find out whether skilled and unskilled migrant workers experience the same situations and responses as regards the South African public. In addition, the study aimed either to confirm or to dispute the theory that skilled workers receive preferential treatment in both society and the workplace as compared to unskilled workers. The research also aimed to ascertain the role that social networks play in terms of both skilled and unskilled migrants, and whether these groups ever interacted. In other words, it was important to discover whether the two groups lived essentially different lives and whether their lifestyles were concomitant with their different class positions.

In the first instance, it was important to address any factors that may have had a bearing on the participants' response. These factors included the age of the participants, their education levels and their social backgrounds as these are all likely to influence the way in which a person develops and what a person becomes. It was on the basis of this information that certain themes were formulated. These themes were, in turn, linked to the participant's responses and to the findings of the literature review. Different themes emerged and additional data was used to expand on these themes.

To sum up, the research found that people from Lesotho migrate to South Africa for a variety of reasons, but mainly, and predictably, for better job opportunities. However, as regards the skilled migrant worker, there were other important issues including acquiring more skills, getting more experience, working with more qualified individuals who would be able to act as role models and to work in an environment in which there is no shortage of resources and which offers an opportunity for improvement. The issue of expectations being met also appeared to be more relevant to the skilled migrant than to the unskilled migrant while the fact of their expectations being met meant that the skilled workers were considerably better off than the unskilled workers. The skilled workers' jobs seemed to be more fulfilling than those of the unskilled workers and they did not appear to have to face some of the worries that the unskilled workers experienced. For example, the skilled workers did not live with the constant fear of losing their jobs at any moment, and their working environments tended to be positive and pleasant places in which to work. In other words, the expectations of the skilled workers were often met. By contrast, the unskilled workers were often not really satisfied with their jobs and working atmospheres. It would appear that they tended to remain in their work situations, however unfavourable they were, because they did not have anything else to which to go and they did not have any qualifications. This, in turn, meant that, if they ever left their jobs, they would struggle to find another one.

The unskilled workers used social networks as a way in which to find jobs, while the skilled workers used the social networks more as a way of socialising with people from the same background as them than of finding work. However, both the skilled and unskilled workers often felt more comfortable spending time and socialising with people from Lesotho. This, however, does not imply that they experienced problems socialising with South African residents – they merely preferred to spend time with other Lesotho people. Neither the skilled nor the unskilled workers felt that their lives had ever been at a risk from xenophobic attacks. They indicated that this was because Lesotho and South Africa are considered to be similar countries culturally while even some of the languages are extremely alike. Accordingly, they had never experienced any form of xenophobic attacks, although occasional racism in the social environment had affected them.

A number of reasons were offered regarding the way in which Lesotho benefits from the migration process, as well as some of the disadvantages for Lesotho. It was also pointed out that South Africa benefits from the migration process as a result of the influx of skilled

people from Lesotho moving to South Africa as vacant positions in South Africa are filled by these qualified people. Also, in the case of unskilled workers, these unskilled labourers fill the positions that the locals do not want to fill.

The research also addressed the issues of permanent residence and citizenship. I was curious about whether Lesotho migrant workers would be willing to renounce their Lesotho citizenship for a South African identity document (ID). However, it emerged that both the skilled and unskilled workers wanted to obtain South African citizenship as they felt it would open up doors for them and, especially, for the unskilled workers. In other words, they felt that it may be easier to find a job with a South Africa ID. The skilled workers also felt that dual citizenship would entitle them to certain services which South Africa provides to its residents while some indicated that the fact that South Africa is a land of opportunities meant that citizenship would make it easier to access such opportunities. However, the participants also still preferred to retain contact with their home country and, hence, they would choose dual citizenship as Lesotho is their home. In addition, they felt comfortable with the Lesotho culture as well as having family and relatives in Lesotho. They wanted to be able to visit as often as possible – as they were already doing.

The findings from the study are important to note as they explain the reasons why people leave their countries and migrate to other countries. In addition, the study addressed the differences and similarities in the daily experiences of skilled and unskilled workers in their work and in society at large. The study also dealt with the issue of citizenship which may have political implications if more Lesotho people continue to move to South Africa in search of better job opportunities.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUDING DISCUSSIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a growing recognition by the international community that migration is both an essential and an inevitable component of the economic and social life of every state, and that orderly and properly managed migration may be beneficial for both individuals and for societies at large (Awumbila & Manuh, 2011). For decades, migration from African countries, including countries such as Lesotho, has comprised mainly unskilled workers seeking work in the mines, on farms and in the domestic sector. However, this situation is now changing with an increasing number of skilled workers also flocking from Lesotho to South Africa. There are several reasons for this changing trend, some of which reasons are discussed in this dissertation.

This research project offers a study on migration, while focusing mainly on the migration of people from Lesotho to South Africa. This chapter, in particular, aims at discussing the outcome of the study, concentrating, in particular, on linking the results of the study to previous research, knowledge and theories developed by other writers. The chapter also examines both the results and the way in which the issues raised in the study may be modified in future research. In other words, the chapter will contain recommendations for future research in the area of migration. Lastly, a major point of interest in the entire study was the role of “dependency” in the migration process, with the study aiming to determine whether the migrant or the host country may be deemed the “most dependent”.

5.2 ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The decision to migrate from one’s birth country to another country is based on a number of factors. The results from this study correspond with what most researchers have identified as the push and pull factors with the search for better employment opportunities often being the main motivation behind migration decisions. However, there are also other pressing reasons that are both socially and politically based. In this study, this reasons included education and in the case of skilled workers, acquiring more skills and facing more challenges. The results from this study correspond with Ravenstein’s law, which states that the primary cause for migration is based on better external economic opportunities with the volume of migration decreasing as distance increases. According to this law, migration occurs in stages instead of

in one, long move with the migration differentials, including age, influencing a person's mobility. The findings from this research explain that certain unfavourable factors and conditions in one place will often push people to move away from that country, while favourable conditions in another place will often cause people to migrate to that country (Peixoto, 2002; International Organization for Migration, 2010; Murray, 1981). A study conducted by Murray (1981), which focused on unskilled Lesotho workers on the South African mines, revealed that the main motivation for migration was employment opportunities. The findings from this study corroborate the findings of previous research exploring the motivational factors behind the migration of workers from Lesotho to South Africa. Employment opportunities, education and skills advancement were all found to be key motivators.

The findings from this study are also in accordance with the dependency theory which states that individual migrants move from underdeveloped or less developed countries (LDCs) to more developed countries as a result of economic forces, which are dominated by a western world system that dictates what is good and what is bad. This theory suggests that LDCs and rural areas are highly dependent on their more developed and urbanised counterparts. In addition, the dependency theory acknowledges that individual migrants benefit from the migration process (Mafukidze, 2006).

The findings of this study corroborate the dependency theory as the participants had all been eager to move to South Africa in search of work as they felt this was the only way in which they would be able to attain certain things that they wanted in life. In other words, the participants articulated a personal dependency on South Africa. In this case, Lesotho, as a less developed country, becomes dependent on South Africa to provide jobs for some of its labour force, and also expects to benefit from the remittances sent from South Africa.

The dependency theory also highlights the exploitative relations benefiting core countries, although I would argue, however, that mutual dependencies exist. Despite the fact that they may not appear as dependent as the migrants from the LDCs, the host countries need these migrants to fill certain jobs that are not filled by the locals, as well as benefiting from the taxes paid by the migrant labour force, as well as the money spent by the migrants in South Africa. In addition, the receiving countries benefit from this irregular migration as the migrant labour force constitutes a flexible workforce – they are there when needed and provide extra labour which may easily be discarded during lean periods. Although it is

evident that both the migrants and the LDCs are more dependent than the host countries, the economies of these countries are, nevertheless, entwined and it would appear that they are reliant on each other in some way or another.

In addition to the factors leading to migration, the issue of social networks is also important as social networks form part of the push and pull factor with which migrants are confronted. Social networks are, in fact, a critical factor in influencing people to move from their birth country to another in search of either job opportunities or education. As Vertovec (2002) explains, studies conducted over the past decades used the social network perspective to analyse international migration as it is believed that these networks often provide channels for the migration process. In this research study, the participants indicated that social networks had been important in assisting them to find jobs and accommodation, circulate goods and services, as well as providing social and economic support. For example, the social networks were helpful in assisting migrant workers to send packages, (either in the form of money or goods) home as, if one member of the social network was going home, the others were able to give this person their packages so as to avoid constant, unnecessary visits home.

These findings are in agreement with previous research which discovered that social networks are crucial as they often guide migrants into and through specific places and occupations, as well as society at large. Accordingly, as Boyd (1989) explains, social networks connect migrants across time and space by linking populations in the original and the receiving countries, and ensuring that migration does not result in the breakage of the links between families.

Vertovec (2002) points out that migration networks that are based on personal ties may sometimes lead migrants into a limiting, ethnic occupation or domain, as well as a downward occupation trajectory as, through a specific network, the migrant finds a post migration job relevant to his level of training. However, networks that are based on organisational ties fare better at matching skill levels and jobs. It was established by Vertovec (2002) that schools and universities are usually the most important source of skilled migrant workers. “Many studies show that the experience of being a foreign student significantly increases the likelihood of being a skilled migrant at a later stage. The networks that foreign students develop may also serve subsequently to provide opportunities for colleagues and friends from the home country as well” (Vertovec, 2002:6). This research study also found that most migrants maintain contact with people in their new place as well as with those left behind.

This finding links to the literature as previous research has shown that migrants retain contact with family members back home by sending remittances and also by visiting regularly, as both migrants, either skilled or unskilled, do still have families back home (Pearson and Morrell, 2002; Collinson & Adazu, 2006).

In conducting this study, it became evident that the role of social networks varies according to different class levels. The unskilled workers used social networks as a survival strategy with the networks playing a critical role in assisting them to find jobs, even before they had arrived in South Africa. In addition, the social networks assisted people in identifying what kind of work is available, how to get to South Africa as the destination place, and how to manage in a new environment. It would appear that the unskilled migrants already established in the host country were very helpful in assisting others to relocate and find work in South Africa, usually in the unskilled sector, including waitressing, domestic work and shop assistants. However, this was not the case for skilled workers as the skilled workers tended to use the social networks as a socialisation mechanism. In other words, they did not rely on their networks for employment opportunities; but, rather, they used them as a way in which to socialise with other skilled migrant workers in the destination country. This difference in the way in which skilled and unskilled workers used the social networks was based on the fact that the skilled workers had different qualifications and different field specialisations and, thus, different career paths as compared to the unskilled workers.

On the other hand, the unskilled workers were willing to take on any job, they had not specialised in certain employment fields nor did they have specific tertiary qualifications which might have led them to certain employment sectors. As mentioned by Petrozziello (2010), poverty is still the major reason behind internal and international migration, especially as regards the LDCs such as Lesotho. To sum up, for the majority of unskilled households, migration is perceived as a survival strategy rather than as a strategy for creating wealth and economic development, as is often the case with skilled migrants.

The main objective of this research study was to find out about the experiences of both the skilled and unskilled workers and to compare these experiences. In other words, were the expectations of the migrants met? As regards this question the findings from this study were extremely varied. Most migrants consider South Africa to be alive with possibility and, thus, they come to South Africa in the hope of finding something that they would not be able to achieve in their home countries. However, it is often the case that unskilled workers face

more restrictions than skilled workers in terms of finding work in the destination country as they do not have the type of resources and skills that are in high demand. Thus, the receiving countries often prefer to acquire highly skilled workers rather than unskilled workers as skilled workers bring more development to the country. This was also the case in this study which found that the unskilled workers had come to South Africa in the hope of acquiring certain things. However, although they may have found work, the situations they faced in their jobs and the difficulties they had experienced in finding these jobs had not been what they had expected when moving to South Africa. Accordingly, they had found that their expectations had not been fully entirely met. On the other hand, the skilled workers expressed more positive feelings about being in South Africa.

In explaining the discourse on migration, it would appear that the trends of the past still continue. This is evident in the fact that unskilled workers continue to migrate to South Africa, and that it is still the younger generation who are more driven to migrating. However, the patterns have also changed in recent times, with the migration of skilled workers suggesting that new possibilities have emerged for them in post apartheid South Africa, thus making migration virtually 'compulsory'. Moreover, women are also engaging in the migration process, while before they had had to remain at home to care for their families.

When addressing the main objective of this research study, which was to compare the experiences of skilled and unskilled migrant workers, it became evident that their experiences differ quite considerably. However, this was to be expected as these two groups fall into different categories of the economic sector and often people who are highly skilled are treated better than the unskilled workers, whether they are foreigners or not. Countries tend to encourage highly skilled workers to migrate to their countries, but impose numerous restrictions in order to inhibit the movement of unskilled workers. The reason for this difference in treatment may also be attributed to the different locations in which such migrants find themselves. According to McLaughlan (2005), Human Rights Watch (2007) and Alarcon (2000), migrants from different sectors and grades of occupation face different types of problems and challenges. It often happens that the unskilled and semi skilled migrant workers are worse off than the skilled workers as they are more vulnerable to abuse, and they face more restrictions in acquiring work permits and finding permanent or long term jobs in the host country. Accordingly, in the coming years, we may expect class differentiated

migration streams as a result of the unequal treatment meted out to skilled and unskilled migrant workers.

The other issue under investigation in this study was to ascertain whether the migrants from Lesotho had been exposed to any xenophobic violence as there have been severe xenophobic attacks on foreigners in the past few years in Johannesburg, South Africa. The reason for these xenophobic attacks is explained by Crush and Ramachandran (2009) who believe that South Africans reacted in the way they did because they felt that their country was being flooded by millions of foreigners who were seeking their jobs. Moreover, they believed that the inflow of foreigners would lead to a decline in the number of jobs available and, hence, the locals would be at a disadvantage as there would be a surplus pool of labour, resulting in reduced wages for them. However, it was evident from the study that the migrant workers from Lesotho, both skilled and unskilled, had not faced any violent xenophobic attacks on the part of South African citizens. This is mainly because people from Lesotho and the other countries surrounding South Africa, such as Botswana and Swaziland, are not actually perceived as foreigners in the way as people from countries such as Nigeria and Zimbabwe. The reason for this is because the people from Lesotho and the countries surrounding South Africa share common values, languages and mannerisms with South Africans. However, despite the fact that xenophobic violence was not a factor for these migrant workers, other shades of antforeigner tendencies and segregation, such as racism, were mentioned by them. Both skilled and unskilled workers mentioned the scourge of racism and, although some did not feel that they had experienced it to any degree at work, they felt it was, nevertheless, evident in South African society. Accordingly, it emerged from this study that both groups of participants had, in some way, experienced racism, although at different levels.

In terms of the last objective; namely, to find out what impact migration has had on the lives of Lesotho migrants, and whether there have been any substantive changes in their lives, the results of the study show that migration has, in fact, impacted positively on the lives of the people involved. For example, they have gained opportunities to earn incomes and to improve the quality of their lives. This, in turn, has also benefitted their families back in Lesotho as they have been able to send remittances to their families to help with their survival. Accordingly, it would appear that migration has played a significant role in advancing the lives of the people involved, as well as the lives of their families. In addition,

in view of the fact that migration was conceptualised as “compulsory” by all the respondents it was referred to as the “coming of age” for Lesotho citizens who wanted to live better lives.

5.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The issue of migration is universal in nature, while migration from Lesotho to South Africa has been an ongoing process for several decades. It is, thus, important to discuss issues as regards policies between the two countries and, perhaps, align these policies to the social mobility of the citizens involved. Petrozziello (2010) and Crush and Dodson (2010) have explained on more than one occasion that, if migration is to be accepted and not lead to tension, it is essential that it be reconceptualised in public policy discourse. However, in so doing, it is important to explain migration in such a way that it does not appear as a threat to the interests of South Africans but rather as a concept that may be mutually beneficial to both the receiving and the sending countries.

In his research study on “Migration, remittances and gender-responsive local development: The case of Lesotho”, Petrozziello (2010) indicates that the opening up of the border, the granting of legal residence and labour documentation of Lesotho citizens in South Africa would not, necessarily, encourage the permanent relocation of Lesotho residents to South Africa but would, in fact, lead to reduction in the length of time that people from Lesotho would have to spend working in South Africa before being able to return home to Lesotho. In this context, the realistic way for this to occur would be to open up the border and allow free movement in both directions, as well as allow residents from both countries both to own land and to seek jobs in either Lesotho or South Africa, without renouncing their citizenship. This free movement would not affect each country’s management of its services as the Lesotho government would continue to manage the social services within its borders, as would the South African government. However, Lesotho citizens would be granted the opportunity to improve their material conditions in South Africa, as well as to send more remittances to their dependents in Lesotho (Crush & Dodson, 2010).

In 2001, the Departments of Home Affairs in both South Africa and Lesotho requested SAMP to conduct a research study on cross-border movement between the two countries, and to make recommendations on ways in which to facilitate such movements between the two countries. The research report, which was titled the “Border within: The future of the Lesotho–South African international boundary”, resulted in an in-depth report that questioned

whether the considerable resources needed to manage the border operations were being sufficiently utilised. In addition, the report recommended the downgrading of the current border regime (Sechaba Consultant, 2002). In that same year, a Joint Bilateral Commission for Cooperation (JBCC) was signed between South Africa and Lesotho with the aim of using it as a medium to promote areas of cooperation between the two countries. This, in turn, opened the way for a bilateral Agreement on the Facilitation of Cross Border Movement of Citizens between South Africa and Lesotho, which was drafted in 2002. This Agreement was independently approved by the Cabinets of both countries in 2005 – 2006 and finally agreed upon in June 2007. The agreement called for the easing of the border controls between Lesotho and South Africa. These agreements later led to the signing of 20 subsidiary cooperation agreements by mid 2007. However, although this represents a move in the right direction, it does not go far enough as it has yet to be implemented. What is required at present is for both states to formulate a broader agreement which will be consistent with the SADC Protocol and which will include not only entry but also residence and establishment (Crush & Dodson, 2010).

In conclusion, research into critical issues is often conducted in the hope of influencing policies. Previous research has elaborated on the way in which migration may be formulated in order to influence policies for the sake of both migrants and local residents by easing the negativity and hostility towards foreigners. The hope for a better understanding and communication would be in the opening up of the border and allowing for freer movement between the two countries, especially as Lesotho is landlocked by South Africa. In addition, understanding the reasons for migration and putting in place measures that may alleviate the brain drain experienced by Lesotho by its people moving to South Africa. Accordingly, it is essential for the governments of both countries to formulate policies that would facilitate better working conditions, as well as promoting better ways of working together that would be beneficial to everyone concerned.

5.4 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, although I attempted to address the research objective and to arrive at conclusions, I did, as mentioned in the section on the research methodology, encounter certain limitations during the course of this study. These limitations were as a result of specific circumstances, including the reliance on a snowball sampling method which restricted the scope of the study as I was able to find my participants through referrals only.

Accordingly, it is not possible to generalise the findings from this study to the broader community.

In addition, it is not possible to generalise the findings from this study to the migration of all Basotho people as the study was conducted in one location, rather in than different provinces, which may have led to different results. Other limitations included the lack of access to unskilled migrant workers as compared to access to skilled workers. As mentioned above, this resulted from the issue of the social networks with which I am familiar. Also, another limitation stemmed from the fact that the job criteria were not very varied as regards the unskilled workers with this also being linked to the issue of social networks and to relying on a snowball sampling technique.

5.5 FUTURE RESEARCH

There is an urgent need for further research into the factors underlying current trends in the migration process of both skilled and unskilled workers, and in ascertaining their living situations in their new environments. It is, thus, in conclusion that I recommend that further research on a wider scale on this topic be undertaken and that this research should include a broader category of participants with for varied employment tasks and locations. In addition, I would advise that further research take into account the sampling method used in conducting this research as the utilisation of the snowball sampling methodology implies that one tends to rely on existing participants who may be biased in pointing out other possible participants to the researcher. Moreover, I recommend that broader scale, empirical, statistical studies of *skilled* workers from Lesotho be conducted as previous research has focused mainly on *unskilled* workers. Such studies could incorporate different hierarchical classes, as well as varied locations of settlements for both skilled and unskilled migrant workers.

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ANNEXURES

Interview guide

TOPIC

Migrating to South Africa: Experiences of ‘skilled’ and ‘unskilled’ Lesotho workers.

INTRODUCTION

My name is Maleepile Moseki and I am a Masters student conducting a research study on the experiences of skilled and unskilled Lesotho workers who have migrated to South Africa. This research is a part fulfilment of requirements for my attainment of a Master’s degree at the University of Pretoria. I intend to find out the experiences of skilled and unskilled Lesotho citizens who work and reside in South Africa. You have been selected to participate because I believe that you have valuable information and insight that can be of assistance in this research. I therefore request that you assist me by participating in this research.

The interview will last between thirty minutes to one hour. All the information you provide will be treated confidentially and your name will remain anonymous, as pseudonyms will be used. It is important to note that your participation in this study is voluntary and you are requested to sign the consent form provided.

Respondent’s personal background

1. What is your name?
2. In what year were you born?
3. What is your current marital status?
4. Do you have any children? If yes, how many?
5. Where is your original home?
6. While you were growing up, what socio economic class were your parents? (Middle class, working class etc)
7. What is your religious denomination?
8. What is the highest level of education you have attained?
9. Where did you do your schooling?

Issues towards migration to South Africa

10. Can you tell me why you decided to work in South Africa?

11. What was the pushing force behind your relocation and working in South Africa?
12. How did you get work in South Africa?
13. When did you start working and residing in South Africa?
14. Did you experience any restriction in finding work in South Africa? (Give reasons for each answer)
15. For how long have you been working and residing in South Africa?
16. Where did you settle in South Africa, and why that particular area?
17. What kind of job are you involved in?
18. What jobs have you done in South Africa since you arrived?
19. How does it comply with your educational background or achievements?
20. What are your feelings regarding the work you do?
21. Are you looking for something different soon?

Experiences at work and in the community

22. How has been your experience moving from Lesotho to South Africa?
23. Has your life changed, and how?
24. What have you gained from working in South Africa?
25. Indicate any pleasant experiences you have encountered in your work
26. What types of problems have you encountered in your work and daily life as a foreigner? (Elaborate with examples).
27. What kind of behaviour do you portray in situations when you have problems?
28. How do you deal with the problems you encounter?
29. What were your expectations when moving to work in South Africa?
30. Have your expectations met in working in South Africa, and how were they met?
31. Do you have any social networks with people from Lesotho?
32. What role do social networks play in deciding to migrate and the migrants' lives?
33. In your opinion, what is your relationship like with the people in your workplace?
34. In your opinion, what is your relationship like with the people in the community you live in?
35. What feelings do you have about the people living in the same community as you?
36. Xenophobia is a huge issue facing foreigners in South Africa, what is your opinion on it?

Migrants and their families and Citizenships

37. In your opinion, what impact has your migration had on your home country?
38. How has your relocation affected your immediate or extended family in Lesotho?
39. Looking at your work and life situation in South Africa, do you plan to go back to Lesotho? (Give reasons for each decision)
40. What are your feelings regarding migrant workers who apply for permanent residence in South Africa rather than going back to Lesotho?
41. What are your plans for the future?
42. Do you want to be a South African citizen? Will that help your job opportunities?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND PARTICIPATION

Consent form



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Faculty of Humanities
Department of Sociology

30 October 2009

Consent form for research on Migrating to South Africa: Experiences of 'skilled' and 'unskilled' Lesotho workers.

Dear Participant,

My name is Maleepile Moseki. I am a Masters student at the University of Pretoria and I am conducting research on the experiences of skilled and unskilled Lesotho migrant workers in South Africa. I would like to ask for your formal consent to participate in the study.

It is crucial to note that your participation is voluntary and you can choose not to take part in the study. If you agree to take part in the study, you can withdraw at any time. All comments will be treated as confidential, and your name and identity will not be revealed. Pseudonyms will be used during the interview and in the research report. Your comments and answers to questions will be noted down and will form part of the study. If during the interview there are questions that you may feel uncomfortable answering you do not have to. All the interviews will be audio- taped, transcribed and translated into English should the need arise. The research will be analysed and converted into a report which will be submitted to the Department of Sociology for grading.

If you agree to participate in the study, please sign in the space allocated below. If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to contact me on: 0721449210. I will be glad to answer any questions that you may have regarding the study.

Thank You

Maleepile Moseki

Signed.....Date.....

Formal acknowledgement of consent

I.....on this day of2010, agree to be interviewed for the Masters research paper titled "Migrating to South Africa: Experiences of 'skilled' and 'unskilled' Lesotho workers". I understand that the interviews will be audio- taped, transcribed and translated into English.

Signed.....Date.....