

**Perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng on ‘returning home’ and
‘rebuilding the country’.**

by

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Declaration of Authenticity

I Tendai Patience Motsi declare that this dissertation is my original work. All secondary material (either from a printed source or from the internet), has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria.

Signature.....

Date.....

Abstract

Research on Zimbabwean migrants has shown that there is an increasing propensity to relocate to more affluent parts of the world for study and work purposes. This study is based on the perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng on 'returning home' and 'rebuilding'. The migrants represent different ethnic, racial and socio-economic backgrounds. The study endeavours to understand, analyse and discuss Zimbabwean migration taking into consideration the Zimbabwean context and how it may or may not influence the decision making process.

The study focuses first, on the initial factors that entice Zimbabweans to migrate. Second, the 'motivating factors' if any for returning home to work and rebuild the country is considered. The findings of this small scale explorative study reveal that Zimbabwean migrants are reluctant to return home and rebuild the country before economic and political stability is restored in Zimbabwe; some ambivalence is evident.

The migrants in this study had migrated to South Africa for a number of reasons; economic factors were however, the major motive. They have been exposed to both negative and positive experiences in South Africa. The prospect of employment and goal attainment are the major pull factor for migration to South Africa. The nostalgic feelings the migrants have towards Zimbabwe are characteristic of a diaspora. They have 'dreams' of returning home and rebuilding the country when the economic and political climate is conducive to do so. The study contributes to the growing body of literature on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa.

Opsomming

Navorsing oor Zimbabwiese migrante dui aan dat daar 'n toenemende neiging is om te verhuis na meer welgestelde dele van die wêreld vir werk en studie doeleindes. Hierdie studie is gebaseer op Zimbabwiese migrante in Gauteng se persepsies oor 'terugkeer' na en 'heropbou' van hul land. Die migrante verteenwoordig verskillende etniese-, ras- en sosio-ekonomiese agtergronde. Die studie strewende om Zimbabwiese migrasie te verstaan, analiseer en bespreek, deur, in ag te neem hoe die konteks in Zimbabwe die besluitnemingsproses kan beïnvloed, of nie.

Die studie fokus eerstens op interne faktore wat Zimbabwiërs aanmoedig om te migreer. Tweedens word motiverings-faktore om terug te keer vir werk en die heropbou van die land, indien enige, oorweeg. Die bevindinge van hierdie klein-skaal verkennende studie toon aan dat die Zimbabwiese migrante onwillig is om terug te keer en die land te heropbou, voor ekonomiese en politieke stabiliteit in Zimbabwe herstel is; hul ambivalensie is duidelik.

Die migrante in die studie het na Suid-Afrika, vir 'n reeks redes migreer, met ekonomiese faktore die vernaamste motief. Hulle is blootgestel aan beide positiewe en negatiewe ervarings in Suid-Afrika. Die vooruitsig vir werk en doeltreffendheid is die vernaamste trekfaktor vir migrasie na Suid-Afrika. Die nostalgiese gevoelens wat migrante jeens Zimbabwe huldig is kenmerkend van 'n diaspora (verstoeëing). Hulle 'droom' van terugkeer na en heropbou van die land wanneer die ekonomiese en politieke klimaat bevorderlik daarvoor is. Die studie dra by tot literatuur oor Zimbabwiese migrante in Suid-Afrika.

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List of acronyms

Centre of Southern African Studies	CSA
Economic Structural Adjustment Program	ESAP
Famine Early Warning System	FEWS
Gross Domestic Product	GDP
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	ICCPR
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	ICESCR
International Organisation for Migration	IOM
International Monetary Fund	IMF
Movement for Democratic Change	MDC
Native Recruit Corporation	NRC
No Independence Before Majority African Rule	NIBMAR
Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe	RBZ
Reconstruction and Development Programme	RDP
United Nations High Commission for Refugees	UNHCR
Universal Declaration of Human Rights	UDHR
Unilateral Declaration of Independence	UDI
Witwatersrand Native Labour Association	WNLA
Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)	ZANU (PF)
Zimbabwe African Patriotic Union	ZAPU
Zimbabwe Program for Economic and Social Transformation	ZIMPREST

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

The social, political and economic implosion in Zimbabwe at the end of twentieth century has led to the migration of large numbers of Zimbabweans. It is estimated that between three and four million of the reported total population of seventeen million Zimbabweans have left the country between 1998 and 2008. This implies that about one quarter of the Zimbabwean population has migrated (Crush, 2000; Meredith, 2005; Sisulu, Moyo & Tshuma, 2007; Curnow, 2008; Pasura, 2008; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008).

There is no consensus among scholars as to when the current Zimbabwean crisis began. Dates range from the year 1998 to 2000. During this crisis in Zimbabwe steep declines occurred in agricultural and industrial output. By 2008 agricultural productivity had shrunk by 50 percent. In the context of hyperinflation a critical erosion of livelihoods occurred as drought together with the controversial land redistribution programme resulted in food shortages and the increase in prices of basic commodities. The Zimbabwean economy shrunk by a third and labour was in-formalised. By 2005, only 10 percent of the population was formally employed. In 2008 the UN classified Zimbabwe as the fastest shrinking economy in the world. It was ranked 90th out of 94 on the world's poorest countries list in 2008. In response to hyperinflation economic transactions were (US) dollarized (IMF, 2000; Sisulu et al., 2007; Games, 2005; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008; New Agriculturalist, 2008)

The impact of the economic crisis briefly described above, together with the political context, had severe social consequences within the society. In order to survive, households increasingly had to rely on migrancy, resulting in internal and international displacements.

1.2 Rationale

Castles and Miller (2003) argue that the social, political and economic situation in Zimbabwe is one of immense public interest and has received global scholarly attention. A number of studies indicate that a large number of Zimbabweans living in the diaspora express a desire to return to Zimbabwe. However, when they intend to return is not indicated (Mc Donald, Mashike & Golden, 2000; Chetsanga, 2002; Sisulu et al., 2007; Bloch, 2008).

The mass exodus from Zimbabwe severely undermines its skills basis. Zimbabwe's recovery process can be influenced by homecoming of migrants scattered all over the diaspora. Zimbabwean migrants in the diaspora have certain work related skills that can be transferred to others and/or used in different sectors of the Zimbabwean economy and therefore contribute to the process of rebuilding. This makes their perceptions on returning home and rebuilding the country noteworthy.

1.3 Objectives of the study

This study explores the perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants about returning home and rebuilding the country. The notion of returning home and rebuilding the country in this study implies that the individual Zimbabwean citizen has made a conscious decision to permanently return to Zimbabwe and will engage in some sort of

socio-economic reconstructive and developmental activity other than contributing to the Zimbabwean economy by sending remittances.

The primary question that will be addressed is:

- Do Zimbabwean migrants intend to return home and rebuild the country?

To address this question, this study attempts to examine the following related questions:

- Why have Zimbabweans migrated to South Africa?
- Do Zimbabwean migrants have a nostalgic feeling toward their home country?
- Do Zimbabweans want to contribute to the process of rebuilding their country?
- What do Zimbabwean migrants think they can contribute toward the process of rebuilding Zimbabwe?

1.4 Outline of chapters

Chapter 2: Defining and theorising migration

This chapter defines migration and gives a theoretical overview of it. Theories are conceptual tools. They assist in providing possible reasons for Zimbabwean migration and its implications.

Chapter 3: Zimbabwean migration: a socio-historical contextualisation

The chapter provides context for the study by primarily focusing on the five overlapping phases of Zimbabwean migration that began in the 1960s until the present in a historical overview of these processes. This is followed by a brief discussion on where Zimbabweans have migrated to in recent times, as well as their

experiences as migrants. The chapter concludes by reflecting on what has been written on their views about returning home and rebuilding the country.

Chapter 4: *Methodology*

The study is based on a small scale, descriptive, qualitative methodology. The chapter examines the research design, sampling method, the interview process, data analysis, ethical implications of the study. It also looks at issues of reflexivity and how they have affected the research.

Chapter 5: *Perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng on 'returning home' and 'rebuilding the country'*

This chapter is an account of the perceptions of a sample of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng on 'returning home' and 'rebuilding the country.' Emerging themes are described and analysed and discussed.

Chapter 6: *Summary and conclusion*

This chapter summarises the study and discusses avenues for further research.

Chapter 2

Defining and theorising migration

2. Introduction

Migration involves some sort of change of residence and entails the crossing of the boundary of a migration-defining area (Boyle, Halfacree, & Robinson, 1998; Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & Van Zyl 2006; Mafukidze, 2006)

Contemporary international migration streams are usually from developing countries to more developed countries. The current debates on migration to a large extent tend to focus on international migration (Skeldon, 2008).

2.1 Types of international migration

Four broad types of international migration are prevalent within the literature, namely, permanent migration; labour migration; migration by refugee and asylum seekers and undocumented migration (Zinyama, 2000; Kok et al., 2006).

2.1.1 Permanent migration

Permanent migration entails migrants seeking permanent residence status in a country other than their own (Bell & Ward, 2000; Oucho, 2006).

2.1.2 Labour migration

Labour migration entails migrants seeking employment in a country other than their own. The intention of labour migrants is not to relocate on a permanent basis. It is rather to accumulate income to

take back to their home country (Wilson, 1972; Johnstone, 1976; Lacey, 1981; Allen, 1992; Crush, Jeeves & Yuldelman, 1992; James, 1992; Crush, 2000).

2.1.3 Migration by refugee and asylum seekers

Refugees and asylum seekers are persons or categories of persons who have been forced by circumstances to leave the territory of the state of which they are nationals and are residing outside their country origin. This is due to fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. Refugees are a significant component of migration in Africa (www.chr.up.ac.za; Zlotnik, 2003).

2.1.4 Undocumented migration

Undocumented migration occurs when individuals stay in the receiving country without the required official documentation. Some of these migrants overstay their authorised duration whilst others jump the border and avoid all contact with law enforcement (www.chr.up.ac.za).

2.2 Migration perspectives

Social scientists have developed a number of perspectives on the causes and consequences of migration. Their work reveals a complex dynamic underlying the process of migration. These perspectives shed some light on why Zimbabweans are migrating and what could motivate them to return home and rebuild the country. No single coherent theory of migration that has been widely accepted (Massey, Arango, Kouaoci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993;

Arango, 2000; Massey, Arango, Kouaoci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 2005; Mafukidze, 2006; Cronje & Savia, 2011).

2.2.1 Conceptualising migration as a push and pull process

Undesirable conditions in the area/region of origin make remaining at the current place of residence unattractive. In contrast, desirable conditions in an area/region of destination make migration more attractive. The conditions that discourage or prompt migration constitute push and pull factors (Gelderblom, 2006; Stern & Szalontai, 2006; Gubert & Norman, 2008; Cronje & Savia, 2011).

2.2.1.1 Ravenstein's Laws

Ravenstein (1889) provides a conceptualization of migration as a push-pull process, proposing that there are five laws of migration. These initial ideas on migration have been updated subsequently (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; Weinstein, 2001; Massey et al., 2005; Cronje & Savia, 2011).

The first law identifies economic conditions as a primary driver of migration. Migrants migrate to more affluent localities in search for better jobs and financial opportunities.

The second law suggests an inverse relationship between the volume of migration and distance. That is, the number of persons migrating decreases as distance increases. Ravenstein furthermore predicted that the distance over which people migrate and the volume of migration increases with improvements in transportation technology (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; Weinstein, 2001; Cronje & Savia, 2011).

The third law argues migration from the area origin to destination is rarely accomplished in one move. Rather, it typically occurs in several steps. This step-wise process is more apparent in internal migration where individuals for example move from a rural area to a small town; followed by their migration from a small town to a larger town and eventually to the city (Weinstein, 2001).

The fourth law describes migration as a selective process. The incidence of migration varies according to demographic and social characteristics such as age, sex and skills. It may be more difficult for unskilled migrants to obtain employment and to earn a living wage than for semi-skilled and skilled migrants depending on the labour market conditions of the receiving country (Mc Donald, Mashike & Golden, 2000; Weinstein, 2001; Cronje & Savia, 2011).

The fifth law contends that the population movements are not unilateral. For every major stream of migration there is a minor counter stream in the opposite direction. Thus, large scale movements are bilateral or multilateral (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; Weinstein, 2001).

2.2.1.2 Lee's theory of push and pull factors

In refining Ravenstein's laws of migration Lee (1966) focuses on conditions that influence migration at the area of origin as well as the destination. He contends that intervening constraints and barriers that restrict the migration process should be considered (Weinstein, 2001; Gelderblom, 2006).

Every area of residence can be seen to have both desirable and undesirable features that bear on the decision to remain or migrate. If

the undesirable conditions outweigh the desirable, people are pushed to migrate. Lee suggests that the volume of migration from an area of origin to a destination is influenced by a set of intervening constraints such as personal, societal, political and geographic circumstances. Taking these intervening constraints into consideration Lee's theory is linked to the neo-classical micro-theory which views the decision to migrate as an outcome of an assessment of cost and benefits (Massey et al., 1993; Gelderblom, 2006).

According to Lee it is impossible to specify all the benefits and costs associated with migration. The decision to migrate may be irrational as it is usually based on incomplete and incorrect information (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; Massey et al., 1993; Massey et al., 2005).

2.2.2 Conceptualising migration in terms of economic factors

Ravenstein's (1889) first law contends that economic factors influence migration patterns. The neo-classical economic theories, the new economic of migration theory and aligned approaches illustrate that seeking economic mobility and better employment opportunities is one of the major motives for migration.

2.2.2.1 The neo-classical macro-economic theory

According to Massey et al. (2005) the neo-classical macro-economic theory argues that the movement of individuals between countries is based on economic maximization. The international flows of workers are influenced primarily by labour market mechanisms such as the interaction between labour supply, demand and wages.

The neo-classical macro-economic theory argues that the potential migrant will select the locality at which “the real value of the expected net benefit from migration is greatest” (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981:35). This is also described as “place utility” –migrants search for places with higher potential than their current locality for the purposes of improving welfare (Skeldon, 1990, Chiswick, 2000; Gelderblom, 2006).

The neo-classical macro-economic theory contends that an area’s labour force activity is a strong predictor variable for migration. In brief, the economic and social differentials between areas are a direct response to “real wage differences; the volume of migration increases as the wage differentials increase” (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981:38; Shaw, 1995; Chiswick, 2000).

International and internal migration is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour. The theory states that individuals from countries with high unemployment rates or an excess in the supply of labour are more likely to migrate to countries where employment opportunities are available. In brief, individuals from “labour-abundant” countries relocate to “labour-scarce” countries (Massey et al., 2005: 433).

The theory suggests that international migration is a result of wage differentials across countries. If these wage differentials were eradicated, migration would become less prevalent.

Migration becomes a personal investment that is justified by the possible returns of the act. The current and future monetary and non-monetary costs and benefits are weighed by the individual before the decision to migrate is taken. Examples of the positive benefits of

migration may be higher wages, better economic climate and wellbeing.

The negative costs may be leaving one's family and friends, transportation costs or the risk of unemployment (De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; Somermeyer, 1971; Sjaastad, 1962; Massey et al., 2005).

2.2.2.2 The neo-classical micro-economic theory

The neo-classical micro-economic theory examines another dimension of migration implying that international migration is a form of investment in human capital. That is, the benefits of migration may accrue over a period of time, rendering migration an investment, because this investment is in the human being, it is an investment in human capital.

Although migration is seen primarily in economic terms social, cultural and psychological factors are also taken into consideration (Gelderblom, 2006). Massey et al. (2005:45) contends:

“People choose to move to where they can be most productive, given their skills; but before they can capture the higher wages associated with greater labour productivity they must undertake certain investments, which include the material cost of travelling, the cost of maintenance while moving and looking for work, the effort involved in learning a new language and culture, the difficulty experienced in adapting to a new labour market, and the psychological costs of cutting old ties and forging new ones.”

Potential migrants are motivated to migrate to regions where the expected net returns are the highest. The theory further stipulates that in addition to the wage differentials, the incentives to migrate include the belief that the individuals' human capital attributes such as education, experience and training will generate a higher income in the receiving country. If the conditions in the receiving country are more attractive, individuals are more likely to migrate.

2.2.2.3 The new economics of migration theory

The new economics of migration theory not only focuses on the economic factors but also on the operations and impact of other markets besides the labour market.

This theory focuses on the household (or family) rather than the individual as the relevant decision making unit. Migration is a survival strategy undertaken by the household to minimize its risks. A household may have strong incentives such as to increase its assets, to purchase goods, to improve income in absolute terms and also to diversify or accumulate capital (Massey et al., 1993; Massey et al., 2005; Gelderblom, 2006).

Crush (2001) emphasises the broader context of migration in particular the social relations. The theory states that the household is the link between the individual and larger society. It socialises the individual members instilling values and norms, emphasising the rights and obligations of kinship. By specifying appropriate economic roles for the family members, decisions around migration can be shared. Since the household functions as a unit of subsistence, livelihoods are closely linked to the household. It is through this

collectivity, depending on the family type – nuclear, extended, or another form, where members gain access to resources and claim their share (Harbison, 1981; Freeman, 2006)

The link between the individual, the household and the environment influence the decision to migrate. Emotional ties that keep households together shape individuals' decisions to migrate by ensuring that household links are retained. In addition, social networks reduce the cost and risk of migration by providing information and helping the potential migrant in the relocation process. This also ensures the individuals' continued link with the household (De Jong and Gardener, 1981; Massey et al., 2005).

The increase in migration has led to the increase in the remittances being sent home. According to the World Bank (2008), remittances to developing countries in 1970 amounted to less than \$2 billion and were estimated to reach \$283 billion in 2008. In essence, remittances have become the largest source of external financing for many poor countries (Ratha, Mohapatra, Vijayalakshmi, Zhimei Xu, 2007).

2.2.3 Conceptualising migration around social factors

Most perspectives on migration emphasise the economic causes for migration, treating social and cultural factors as peripheral. Variances in migration that are inexplicable in economic terms tend to be grouped together under the social and cultural causes for migration (Pryor, 1981; Hugo, 1981; Freeman, 2006; Gelderblom, 2006).

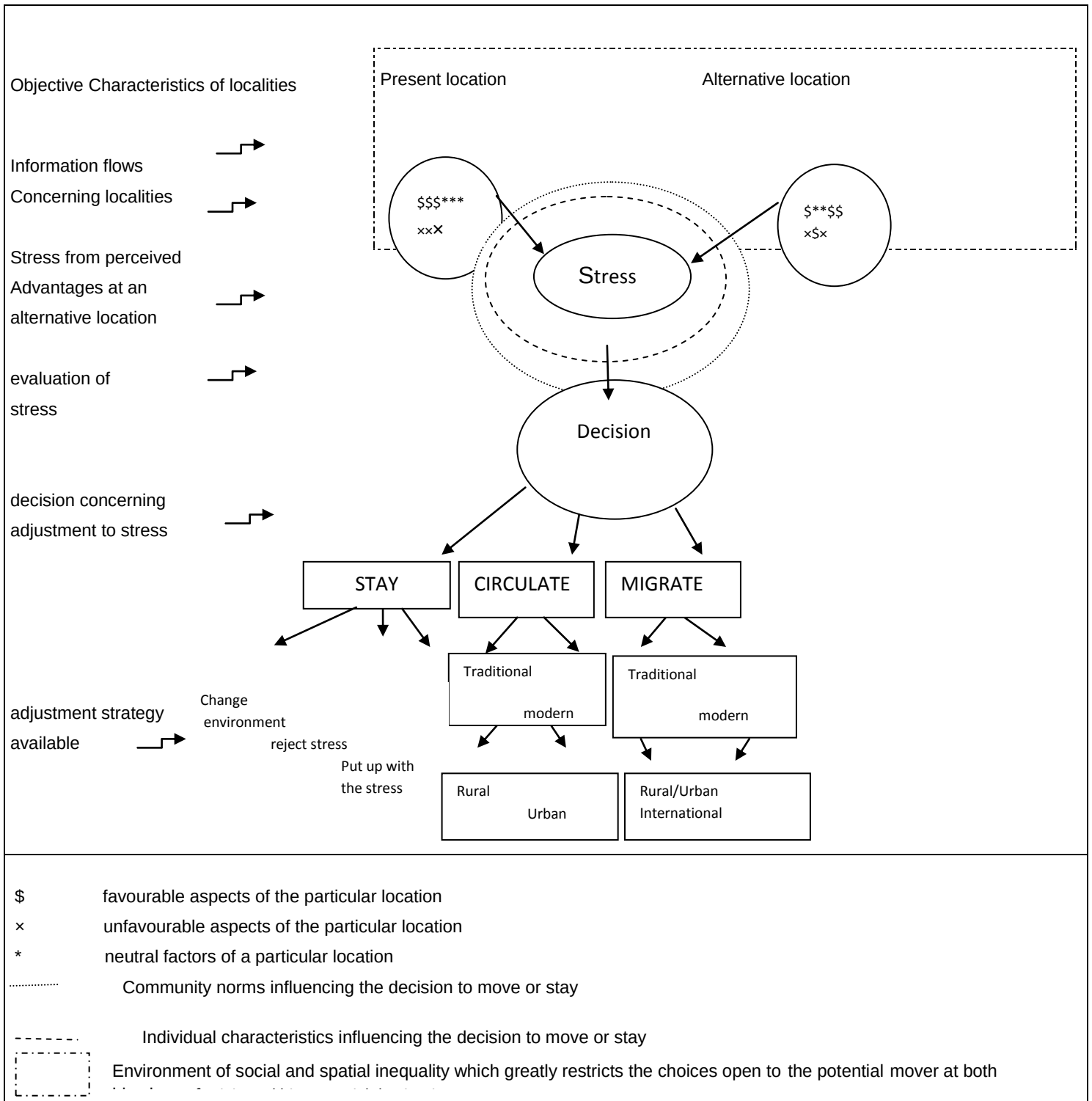
Hugo (1981) found that attempts to predict mobility or the lack of it using economic factors alone was unsatisfactory. According to him the social and cultural context shapes the decision to migrate as well as its form (permanent, circular, or other) the direction and experience of the process. Reasons why social and cultural factors are neglected in explaining migration is attributed to the difficulty of quantifying the variables (Hugo, 1981; Massey et al., 2005).

2.2.3.1 The decision making process

Departing from the expectancy-value model as updated in social psychologist Icek Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour (1988), De Jong's model emphasises the potential migrant's evaluation of the probability of better income, comfort and social conditions in the receiving country as the major motive for migration. Social occurrence such as: poverty and diversification of coping strategies; health and disease; crime, prostitution and issues of social morality; social cohesion and fragmentation; entrepreneurship; xenophobia and identity are important motives for migration. Migrants evaluation of these occurrences/conditions in either the "sending" or "receiving" country influence their decision to migrate or to return to their country of origin (Jackson, 1969; De Jong and Fawcett, 1981; Massey et al., 2005; Gelderblom, 2006; Mafukidze, 2006).

Migration is viewed as a reaction to pressure/stress exerted by the potential migrant's unique physical, economic, social and cultural environment. Diagram 1 (see next page) draws attention to three interrelated sets of intervening variables that influence migration – the migrants perception of opportunities elsewhere; his/her evaluation of those opportunities; and the response to the evaluation.

Diagram 1: The decision making process



Adapted from (Hugo, 1981: 192)

As the diagram suggests, migrants decide to migrate when the perceived total benefits outweigh the anticipated costs. The potential destination is seen to have attractive, unattractive and neutral factors.

The nature, amount and source of information on the present location and the alternative location coupled with the potential migrant's demographic, educational, socio-economic characteristics and the social structure of the migrant's community of origin, affect the migrant's evaluation of the information presented and ultimately influence the decision to migrate.

When the potential migrant receives information about an alternative location which may render him/her better off in some respects the migrant is likely to migrate to this destination (Hugo, 1981; Massey et al., 2005).

2.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, no single theory or perspective fully explains contemporary patterns of migration. Push and pull, economic and social structural factors all contribute towards an understanding of migration. The following chapter provides a socio-historical context of Zimbabwean migration. Such a contextualisation provides a backdrop for better understanding how economic and social factors shaped current streams of migration as well as the likelihood of returning and rebuilding.

Chapter 3

Zimbabwean Migration: a social historical contextualisation

3. Introduction

A brief historical overview of Zimbabwean migration, the recent economic crisis and the *kukiya-kiya* economy with survival strategies that emerged provide a context against which current migrant streams can be understood. The economic hardship within Zimbabwe was further exacerbated by the repressive political assaults reflected by operations such as *Murambatsvina* and *Garikayi*. South African migration policies have had an impact on Zimbabwean migration. Documented experiences of migrants attest to this impact. Notions of identity and belonging furthermore shape the process. This chapter concludes by discussing the Zimbabwean diaspora and migrants' views on returning home and rebuilding Zimbabwe.

3.1 Historical overview of Migration

The people of present day Zimbabwe have experienced “in” and “out” migration since pre-colonial times. The pre-colonial movement of Africans as explorers and labourers were unregulated. Entire villages, tribes and clans are known to have migrated to escape the destruction of internecine warfare, or to avoid unfavourable agricultural and climatic conditions. An example of pre-colonial “in” migration to present day Zimbabwe is the fleeing of large numbers of people from the *mfecane/ difaqane* in the South African interior. Pre-colonial “out” migration of the Zimbabwean Shona's – chiefly from the Great Zimbabwe lineage – to an area north of the Zoutpansberg

in north-eastern South Africa – occurred as early as 1450. The territory now constituting Zimbabwe was primarily a “receiver” rather than a “sender” of migrants from the pre-colonial era until 1990 (Adepoju, 2006; Mazarire, 2010; Mlambo, 2010).

Migration of whites to present day Zimbabwe also pre-dated colonization with missionaries, adventurers, hunters and explorers arriving in the territory before British colonization in 1890. Early transnational migration in Africa occurred between the years of European expansionism and the end of colonisation and apartheid in Africa.

Although migration occurred within the pre-colonial era, flows of migration have been fundamentally shaped by the colonial project. Migration streams within the colonial era can be arrayed chronologically starting with trade, slavery, the migration of Europeans to Africa, the shipment of indentured labour from India and other parts of Asia, as well as from central and southern Africa, to South Africa.

Adepoju (2006) argues that the colonial rule brought about relative peace and stability especially in west, east and southern Africa as it prevented internecine warfare from occurring. He further states that migration streams associated with internecine warfare ceased to occur or were reduced. Thereafter, most of the population movements, such as labour migration, were linked to the economic strategies of the colonial governments and the discovery of minerals in particular.

Labour migration has been a recurring phenomenon in African history since the 1840s. The migrant labour system was shaped by South African authorities and Capital who preferred cheap, temporary migrant labour to permanent labour. The phenomenon intensified with the discovery of diamonds in the Northern Cape in 1866. This discovery together with gold subsequently, ultimately transformed South Africa from a predominately agricultural economy to a modern capitalist economy. The discovery of minerals drew prospectors to South Africa and led to extensive exploration. In 1870 over 14 000 black workers were employed in the mines and by the turn of the century there were 100 000 black workers (Whiteside, 1998; Mafukidze, 2006)

Labour was needed not only in the mines but also in the farms and factories. They required migrant labourers to leave their families at home, work for a year as stipulated by the employment contract and return to their families once the contract period had lapsed. An average mineworker could make a number of trips to the mines during his working life (Crush, 2000).

The mine labour recruitment process was largely handled by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique and the Native Recruit Corporation (NRC) in Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho (Mlambo, 2010).

It became apparent to the colonial administration and capital that black labour was not easily attracted to the new mines and industries of Southern Africa. According to Whiteside (1998) a common fallacy is that the first migrants were attracted solely by the benefits of

‘western civilisation’ and its consumer goods and came gladly to the mines. It is generally agreed that the black population was rather reluctant to seek employment in the new industries and mines. To overcome this problem, pressure was put on the black population to sell their labour. This pressure came in two forms: first, by forcing the black population to earn money and second, by depriving them of their land. The underlying rationale was that the black population would flock to the mines and industries in their thousands in search of employment (Whiteside, 1998).

The colonial administration imposed a series of economic measures to obtain the required amount of black labour needed to work in agriculture, mining and railroad construction. Initial forced migration through labour, taxes and share cropping later became institutionalised into regular migration in various African countries. The strategy of dispossessing Africans of their land in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa created the strongest push for labour migration (Hinderink & Tempelman, 1978; Thahane, 1991). According to Mlambo (2010: 69) over time labour migration became positively entrenched in parts of Zimbabwe especially in the Matebele and eastern region.

“It became almost a rite of passage for young men to go *kuWenela* (with WNLA to the South African mines) to raise cash to meet colonial tax requirements at home and to earn money for *lobola* (bridewealth) to enable them to settle down and start their own families.”

The *wenela* experience became of great importance; countless young men would risk their lives walking for many weeks in lion-

infested territories to work in the mines (Wilson, 1972; Johnstone, 1976; Lacey, 1981; Worger, 1987; Allen, 1992; Crush et al., 1992; James, 1992; Harries, 1994).

With regards to more recent trends on migration, Pasura (2008) identifies five overlapping phases of out-migration from Zimbabwe, beginning in 1960.

Labour migration to South Africa continued to occur between 1960 and 1979 during the first phase of migration (UNDP, 2010).

The unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain by the white Rhodesian minority government in 1965 and the conflict it generated led to uncertainty about the area's political future. This insecurity resulted in the "out" migration of 27 percent of the white population and "in" migration to Zimbabwe dropped by 47 percent (Zinyama, 1990).

Migration in the sub-continent was fuelled by the liberation struggles that occurred between 1960 and 1994. The second Chimurenga (1966-1980) took place between the white minority on the one hand, and ZANU and ZAPU forces on the other hand. This war was also known as the Rhodesian Bush war and was a struggle for liberation against the white minority rule. Zimbabwean political refugees and exiles migrated to neighbouring countries and abroad. According to Makanya (1994) the exodus of Zimbabwean political refugees and exiles during the liberation struggle reached its peak between 1977 and 1978. The United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR) estimated that by 1979 there were over 210 000 Zimbabwean political exiles scattered in Southern Africa (UNDP, 2008).

The second phase of migration (1972-1989) involves the flight of whites to destinations such as South Africa, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand (UNDP, 2008). Some white Zimbabweans fled military call-up occasioned by the war of liberation and others fled because of the fear of retribution on attainment of independence. According to Pasura (2008) the flight of whites commenced when the war of liberation in Zimbabwe escalated in 1972. It is estimated that about 50 000 to 60 000 whites left Zimbabwe between 1980 and 1984. The number of white migrants continued to increase after the ruling party – ZANU (PF)’s victory in 1980. It is estimated that 62 percent of the total white population of the territory had migrated by 1989 (Sisulu et al., 2007).

The third phase of migration (1982-1987) occurred when over 5 000 Ndebele refugees fled to South Africa, Botswana and Britain after the post-independence conflict in the Matabeleland and Midlands region between the government and “dissidents”. This conflict led to the military operation known as *Gukurahundi* (Plough and reconstruct) which was led by the North Korean trained 5th brigade (Jackson, 1994; Sisulu et al., 2007; Pasura, 2008).

The fourth phase of migration occurred during 1990-1998. Economic hardship caused by the negative effects of the IMF/World Bank Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (discussed in section 3.2) introduced in 1990 led to the massive “brain drain” of many professionals such as teachers, nurses and doctors.

A “brain drain” takes away the educated elite and has a negative effect on the migrants’ country of origin. Chikanda (2006) contends that Africa had an annual loss of 23,000 professionals in the mid

1990s. In response, the African continent has been spending nearly 35 percent of its total Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) to replace the lost professionals with expatriates from the West. A brain drain negatively impacts the quality of education, healthcare, productivity and efficiency in both the private and the public sector (World Bank, 1995; Chetsanga, 2002; Crush, 2001; Chikanda, 2005).

The fifth and current phase of migration began in 1999 and is ongoing. The brain drain has escalated since 1999. Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled Zimbabwean workers are migrating to more affluent parts of the world such as the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Australia, South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and Lesotho. Crush (2001) argues that the “out” migration was a predictable consequence of Zimbabwe’s collapse. A report written by the ECA/IDRC/IOM in 2000 illustrates that the African continent is losing its best intellectuals and professionals to the first world. Recent estimates illustrate that over 200 000 skilled Zimbabweans migrated to countries such as South Africa, Botswana, the United Kingdom and the United States of America in search of better economic conditions in this period. These skilled individuals have the potential to contribute to the economy immensely. Efforts are now under way to bring back professionals and educated migrants so that they can invest and rebuild their communities and home countries (Crush, 2001; Mafukidze, 2006).

Although a large number of Zimbabweans have migrated, many remain. It is argued that those who have migrated do not intend to relocate on a permanent basis but rather intend to attain a better

standard of living abroad (Crush, 2000; Sisulu et al., 2007; Munangagwa, 2009).

Globalisation and innovations in transport and communication have made it easier for migration to occur. New global job opportunities in many sectors have contributed to the outflow of migrants. The Zimbabwe government's political actions and the country's decline have resulted in economic depression and destitution. This has ultimately forced some Zimbabweans to leave the country in a bid to survive the political and economic crisis (Crush, 2001).

The unity/coalition government in Zimbabwe has had an impact on the migration flows. The unity/coalition government is the result of the implementation of the power-sharing model as a means of conflict resolution post 2008 Presidential elections. According to Cheeseman and Tendi (2010) a power-sharing model has been employed in the following African countries with some degree of success: Angola, Comoros Islands, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Liberia, Mali, Senegal, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan and Kenya (Crush, 2001).

In the case of Zimbabwe, the process of power-sharing involved the construction of a relatively inclusive government that allowed for the views of both the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU (PF)) and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) political parties to be heard.

Has power-sharing in Zimbabwe worked? In March 2011, Morgan Tsvangirai admitted that the unity government in Zimbabwe was not working, referring to it as a “marriage that has reached irreconcilable

differences”. Tsvangirai added that there was a total violation of the Global Political agreement, incessant violence, arrests and intimidation being orchestrated by ZANU (PF). He advocated for the parties in the unity government to adhere to the roadmap set out by the regional facilitator- President Jacob Zuma and conduct elections. According to one of Zimbabwe’s political analysts, Clifford Mashiri (Bell, 2011) the collapse of the unity government in Zimbabwe would lead to anarchy and chaos. Such a scenario will potentially have a negative effect on the perceptions of migrants on returning home and rebuilding as most migrants have stated that political instability would deter them from returning to Zimbabwe (Cheeseman & Tendi, 2010).

3.2 The political and economic history of Zimbabwe

Before Zimbabwe’s independence in 1980 most of the country’s wealth was in the hands of the white minority in the British colony formerly known as Rhodesia. The colonial period was characterised by the following occurrences:

- “1. The occupation of land owned by local inhabitants and the relocation of the black people to outlying communal lands (land was taken from black people without compensation and given to white veterans, many of who were retired World War I soldiers. Blacks were forbidden to own land in these fertile areas).
2. Blacks were excluded from the political process.
3. Black Zimbabweans were forbidden from the best schools and residential areas in Rhodesia”
(Munangagwa, 2009: 111)

Historically, Africans had resisted European rule in Zimbabwe. The resistance to white rule resulted in the *First Chimurenga* (1896-1897). This conflict led to the substantial blood-shed amongst Africans due to their inferior weapons to their European counterparts.

The British government adopted a policy of “No Independence Before Majority African Rule” (NIBMAR) for its colonies in 1965. Ian Smith leader of the Rhodesian Front opposed this policy. He wanted to maintain white governance over Rhodesia. He issued the “Unilateral Declaration of Independence” (UDI) in 1965. The British government, Commonwealth and the United Nations declared this action illegal and imposed economic sanctions on Rhodesia. On the macro-economic level the sanctions did encourage internal production in Rhodesia and brought about self-sustenance as many countries refused to trade with it. At the time South Africa and Portugal were the only two states that supported and recognised Rhodesia’s independence (Jenkins & Knight, 2002; Muzulu, 2006; Munangagwa, 2009).

UDI sparked the *Second Chimurenga* (1966-1980), a war for liberation, which culminated to the Independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. Robert Mugabe became the Prime minister and subsequently President of Zimbabwe (Jenkins & Knight, 2002; Munangagwa, 2009).

During the first decade after independence government policies focused on improving the education and health sectors. The economy was stable and continued to run as it did during the pre-independence period as a command economy (Munangagwa, 2009).

Zimbabwe's growth rate during the 1980s was higher than the total aggregate of sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP, 2008). However, the 1981-82 world economic recession and droughts had a negative impact on the growth levels in 1982-83 and in 1987. The recession caused an external debt balloon from USD 140 billion when the crisis emerged to over USD 270 billion in 1990. The recession coupled with the droughts resulted in the export prices of commodities to decrease. Zimbabwe went from being prized borrowers to un-creditworthy supplicants (Mistry, 1992; Easterly, 2001).

In 1990 the Zimbabwean government began to work towards liberalising its economic policies through the "Economic Structural Adjustment Program" (ESAP). ESAP brought about the opening of markets driven by a strong export base. The main goals of this program were to achieve Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth by 5 percent between 1991 and 1995; to raise savings to 25 percent of GDP; to reduce budget deficit from over 10 percent of GDP to 5 percent; and to reduce inflation from 17.7 percent to 10 percent by the end of the period (Kanyenze, 2004; Munangagwa, 2009).

Growth in the 1990s under the new macro-economic policies was a failure. Indicators reveal that whereas the economy grew by a respectable average of 4.3 percent per annum in the 1980s it only managed a measly 0.8 percent annual growth rate in the 1990s under ESAP. Although liberalisation was supported by most economists and was generally viewed as positive it had a negative effect on the new Zimbabwean economy which was ill-equipped to handle foreign competition. The government soon realised that the economy was declining and the general public was not satisfied with

the outcome of ESAP. Following advice of the IMF and World Bank, it decided to focus on fiscal discipline (Muzulu, 2006; Munangagwa, 2009).

The government moved onto the next phase and began following a set of policies called the “Zimbabwe Program for Economic and Social Transformation” (ZIMPREST) from 1996-2000. ZIMPREST aimed at improving on ESAP policies. However, the budget deficit continued to grow, foreign currency levels remained low and the economy continued to decline (Jenkins & Knight, 2002; Munangagwa, 2009).

The economic decline became visible in 1997 with a recorded two hundred and thirty-two strikes, the largest number since independence. War veterans organised themselves and demonstrated incessantly until the Zimbabwean government decided to compensate them with a once-off gratuity of ZWD \$50 000 by the 31st of December and a monthly pension of ZWD \$2 000 beginning in January 1998. In an attempt to raise funds for this unbudgeted expense the government introduced a “war veterans’ levy” but it was opposed by labour organizations and the government ultimately had to borrow money to meet these obligations. The situation was exacerbated by the collapse of the Zimbabwean stock market in November 1997 (Jenkins & Knight, 2002; Kanyenze, 2004; Munangagwa, 2009).

The above-mentioned crisis had a negative impact on Zimbabwean consumers. An adverse relationship between real inflation and income became evident. The reported macroeconomic indicators in the table below illustrate the economic decline of Zimbabwe.

According to Munangagwa (2009) the figures appear to be inconsistent partly because of the numerous currency conversions that took place since the year 2005. The Reserve Bank removed zeros from the currency several times in a bid to manage escalating inflation.

Table 1: Zimbabwe's economic decline

THE BEGINNING OF THE ECONOMIC DECLINE

Table 1: Selected Macroeconomic Indicators

Indicator	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
GDP(current US\$ million)	8,135.8	12,882.6	17,875.6	7,913.1	4,712.1	3,372.5	7,033.7
GNP	7,150.0	12,800.0	30,800.0	7,850.0	4,640.0	3,180.0	n.a.
Population	12,595.0	12,698.0	12,786.0	12,863.0	12,936.0	13,010.0	13,085.0
Current account balance(as % of GDP)	-0.4	-1.0	-2.6	-4.6	-5.6	-7.5	-4.0
Fiscal deficit, including grants (% of GDP)	-18.6	-7.0	-2.7	-0.2	-7.6	-6.1	-3.1
GNS per GDP (%)	11.1	7.0	4.9	-1.4	-3.2	-6.7	4.0
Gross official reserves (months of imports)	1.5	0.6	0.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
GDP growth rates	-7.3	-2.7	-4.4	-10.4	-3.8	-6.5	-5.1
CPI inflation	55.6	73.4	133.2	365.0	350.0	237.8	1,216.0

Sources: African Development Bank database; IMF (for balance-of-payments current account balance) – pg 12

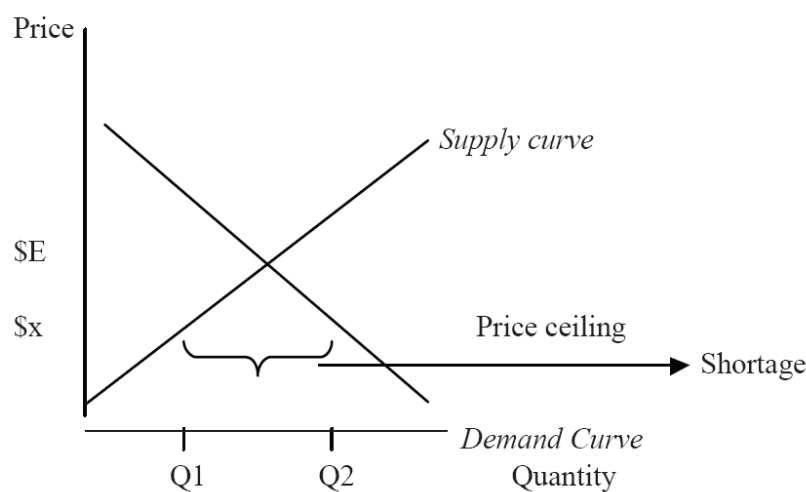
1

The massive economic depreciation of the Zimbabwean dollar led to

¹ Source: Munangagwa, C. 2009. "The economic decline of Zimbabwe". *The Gettysburg economic review* 3, p.113. The increase of GDP and GNP between 2000 – 2002 does appear to be implausible

the cost of agricultural inputs increasing. It undermined the viability of producers who increased their prices. This in turn resulted in government enforcing price controls/ pricing ceilings on all basic commodities consumers hoarding cheap goods that were now affordable. Producers incurred significant losses selling goods below cost (see graph 1) (Kanyenze, 2004; Munangagwa, 2009).

Graph 1: The effects of Price fixing/ Price ceilings



(Extracted from Munangagwa, C. 2009. “The economic decline of Zimbabwe”. *The Gettysburg Economic review* 2009(3):120.)

3.2.1 The *kukiya-kiya* economy of Zimbabwe

According to Jones (2010) the *kukiya-kiya* economy in Zimbabwe emerged in 2000. It refers to the multiple ways of “making do” with what one has. The vernacular Shona dictionary defines *kukiya-kiya* as resorting to strenuous or difficult activity with an eye to fulfilling

if the same currency was used for these computations throughout. It is furthermore not clear whether the table refers to real or nominal amounts. .

needs (Chimhundu, 2001). It is an activity of last resort and reflects an informalisation of the economy. It is something one does to get by. The *kukiya-kiya* industry makes it possible for the average Zimbabwean to survive and make-do with the resources available to them. The economic practices of *kukiya-kiya* range from “vegetable vending, to illegal foreign currency trading” and other forms of informal labour (Jones, 2010: 285). Jones explains the Shona word *kukiya-kiya* by illustrating how it suggests cleverness, dodging, and the exploitation of available resources to generate some sort of livelihood. *Kukiya-kiya* is a survival strategy used by a number of Zimbabweans struggling to make ends meet. *Kukiya-kiya* appears to be an instinctive response to the circumstance. Jones (2010:290) states that people *kiya-kiya* in order to survive the economic hardship in Zimbabwe:

“The verb ending the definition of *kukiya-kiya* is *kuraramisa*, literally means ‘make live’ and is often translated as ‘survival’. ‘*Kiya*’ itself is taken directly from the English word ‘key’, and the unduplicated verb form, *kukiya*, refers to locking something, like a door. It is also used metaphorically, though, to convey the acts of imbibing (particularly alcohol), striking someone or something, or holding something in a tight grip. *Kukiya-kiya* seems to start with these metaphorical usages, adding a suggestion of intensification: striking hard or repeatedly, cleverly locking out.”

The idea is that one ‘secures’ a living in a battle with circumstance, and that survival is a matter of persistence and outright force. The truth, however, is that Zimbabweans give contradictory explanations of *kukiya-kiya*, and often disagree as to how other social phenomena are related to it. *Kukiya-kiya* can mean the buying and selling of goods whether legally or illegally. Jones (2010) states that it can also mean to defraud or refuse to give back what is owed or doing ‘deals’, particularly illegal or fraudulent deals. *Kukiya-kiya* can also be used to refer to mining or panning for gold and, more recently, diamonds.

As a Zimbabwean I have witnessed and have had personal experiences in *kukiya-kiya*. During my last visit to Zimbabwe I witnessed family and friends engaging in the *kukiya-kiya* economy. Some sell produce such as tomatoes and indigenous leafy vegetables—*rape* and *tsunga*. Others sell items of clothing such as lingerie and dresses to their neighbours and work colleagues. Family members in Zimbabwe had suggested that I purchase goods in bulk from South Africa to sell in Zimbabwe during my holiday as a means of earning extra money to survive because of the economic hardship. This novel form of economic activity has enabled a number of Zimbabweans to survive during the current crisis and it is a noteworthy aspect in the economic history of Zimbabwe.

3.2.2 Operations Murambatsvina and Garikayi in Zimbabwe

The erosion of human rights in Zimbabwe since 2000 has resulted in immense numbers of asylum seekers in the UK and South Africa (Bloch, 2008). The infamous *Operation Murambatsvina/Restore Order* in 2005 resulted in the internal displacement of a large number of Zimbabweans. A UN special envoy estimated that 700 000 people

in the cities and across the country lost their homes and sources of income as a result of,

“...the crack-down on flea markets, tuck shops, craft markets, vending stalls and urban agriculture. This operation can be said to have added to the push factors that were already forcing people to migrate” (Mukwedeya, 2009:28).

In total, approximately 2.4 million people were affected to some degree by the government's efforts to eradicate the urban informal sector, ostensibly under the pretence of restoring law and order. The UN Special Envoy on Human Settlement Issues, Anna Tibaijuka, issued a report stating that the government had created an immense humanitarian crisis. Many of those who experience forced removal faced some form of organized violence or torture at the hands of security forces and were in need of psycho-social and medical assistance. This may be seen as a push factor with regards to migration in order to survive (United Nations, 2005; Zimbabwe Torture Victims Project, 2005).

Tibaijuka called on the government to build adequate housing for the displaced. Little has been done, however, to house the thousands of displaced in Harare and other major cities across the country. In response to international criticism, the government launched *Operation Garikayi/Live well/prosperously* to provide housing to the internally displaced. Most of the houses that were built were allocated to ZANU (PF) supporters. The few that were actually built for the victims of the government's forced removal program were of poor quality and perceived to be so dangerous to live in that

recipients refused to move into them (Besada & Moyo, 2008; United Nations, 2005; Zimbabwe Torture Victims Project, 2005).

In a bid to understand Zimbabwean migration to South Africa, its policies on migration are discussed in the following section.

3.3 South African policy and its impact on migration

Zlotnik (2003) states that South Africa's migration policies are the most well known in Africa. In the past foreign workers were recruited under agreements between the employing organization and the governments of the supplying countries. Contracts for migrant workers were for a limited period and upon completion of the contract migrant workers were transported back to their countries of origin as a group. Foreign workers were not allowed to bring in their families and while in South Africa their movement outside the area of employment was prohibited and no change of employers was possible. Most of the countries neighbouring South Africa were suppliers of migrant workers in the 1960s (Russell, Stanton, Jacobsen and Stanley, 1990; UNHCR, 1993; Zlotnik, 2003).

In 1973 Malawi discontinued labour migration to South Africa and Mozambique did the same in 1975. As a response to these unilateral restrictive moves by suppliers, the government of South Africa began to take steps to reduce the dependence of the gold and coal industries on foreign labour. By the 1990s, although foreign workers were still being hired on a temporary basis, the Chamber of Mines reported their numbers had been reduced significantly both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the workforce engaged in the mines (Russell et al., 1990; UNHCR, 1993; Zlotnik, 2003).

In a bid to eliminate severe regulations and restrictions the post apartheid government of South Africa adopted amendments to the 1991 Aliens Control Act in 1995 and subsequently in 1998. The Act was one of the final pieces of legislation passed by the apartheid regime. It was a consolidation of five different laws governing and controlling the movement of migrants.

South Africa allows the admission of permanent immigrants and skilled temporary migrants on a selective basis. In addition, farmers and the mining industry still have the prerogative of recruiting foreign labour under the terms of bilateral agreements with countries of origin although they must secure work permits for the foreign migrants recruited. The economic prosperity of South Africa continues to attract undocumented migrants, who mostly lack legal protection. If caught, expulsion is immediate. However, in 1996 South Africa conducted an amnesty program that granted residence to 124,000 nationals of other Southern African states (Russell et al., 1990; UNHCR, 1993; Zlotnik, 2003).

In 2009 Zimbabwe and South Africa signed a four-year agreement to promote safe labour migration between the two countries as a means to eradicate exploitation of Zimbabwean farm workers. The agreement started by protecting the Zimbabwean farm workers in the Limpopo Province and has since spread across South Africa. Undocumented migrants are often exploited. Their lack of proper documentation makes laying a complaint to officials impossible. The agreement required South African farmers with Zimbabwean workers to submit their workers documents to labour centre where permits were provided and databases of migrant workers were created (www.allafrica.com; www.bulawayo24.com; www.ngopulse.org).

In 2010 the South African and Zimbabwean governments agreed upon a special dispensation and moratorium on deportations. Undocumented Zimbabweans were given the opportunity to apply for work, business and study permits. This process was intended to regularize qualifying Zimbabwean nationals with permits in terms of the Immigration Act, 2002 (Act 13 of 2002).

The Zimbabwean Embassy in Pretoria and its Consulate in Johannesburg assisted Zimbabwean nationals with the issuance of valid machine readable travel documents in order to enable the Department of Home Affairs to issue such qualifying nationals with valid study, business or work permits. According to the SABC 270 000 applications were received and 130 000 were processed and finalised by September 2011 (<http://www.sabc.co.za/news/>; <http://www.dha.gov.za/>).

The South African government also extended an amnesty to all Zimbabweans who are in possession of fraudulent South African documents. It undertook not to prosecute such nationals provided all illegal documents were returned to the Department of Home Affairs designated offices around the country. This was to be done by the 30th of December 2010 (<http://www.sabc.co.za/news/>; <http://www.dha.gov.za/>).

The South African government has made great strides to allow illegal Zimbabwean migrants to legalise their status and to therefore be able to live a better life without fear of deportation.

3.4 Experiences of migrants

Studies by Morris (1997), Harris (2002), and Mafukidze (2006) have described the experiences of Zimbabwean migrants. This provides some indication of migrants' integration in South Africa and whether they consider returning to Zimbabwe.

South Africa has always been one of the preferred destinations for African migrants, it became even more so after the collapse of the apartheid regime.

The positive experiences migrants have had in South Africa range from economic prosperity and educational attainment to the increase of well being, happiness and peace. The negative experiences migrants have faced range from xenophobia, stereotyping, marginalisation and ostracism, to the difficulty in acquiring employment, destitution, homelessness and hunger.

On the negative side, upon their arrival to South Africa some African migrants have encountered high levels of xenophobia, racism and harassment by the state (Morris, 1997; Mafukidze, 2006). In October 1998, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) released a formal statement on xenophobia, the Braamfontein statement. It defined the phenomenon as "the deep dislike of non-nationals by the nationals of a recipient state" (Morris, 1997: 45). More commonly, the term is used to denote a 'dislike of foreigners'. In this understanding, xenophobia is characterised by a negative attitude towards foreigners, a dislike, a fear, or hatred (South African Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English, 1994). Harris (2002) argues that this definition is rather misleading as xenophobia in

South Africa is not restricted to a fear or dislike of foreigners. Rather, it results in intense tension, harassment and violence by South Africans towards immigrants. Harris (2002:2) uses extracts from interviews cited below to substantiate this view by illustrating the harassment that migrants have experienced:

“A man from the Congo was attacked and he cried but no-one helped him. And after the thief had gone, the people on the sides said that ‘because you are crying in English, we didn’t help you. If you are crying in Zulu, we will help you’. Then he went to the police and was told that ‘you are not our brother, we can’t help you’ (Focus Group with foreign students, 25/10/1999).”

“Four guys put a gun to my head and told me to get in the car. They told me that *makwerekwere* have got bucks and that I must give them money. They took my three hundred rand and those shoes I bought. And then they were beating me. And one stabbed me here [points to scar on left side of the abdomen]. Then they told me that they would let me live on one condition: ‘each and every month we gonna come and fetch three hundred rand ...’ I went to the police but they didn’t even ask me questions. They just took my refugee papers and tore them up. Then they arrested me, saying that I’m illegal in the country, that I don’t have a paper. They put me in jail for the weekend. They told my friends to bring money so that I can be freed

And those men came every month for the money. They threatened me that they would kill me and I did it for three years (interview with Rwandan refugee, 30/11/1999).”

On September the 4th 1998, three foreign migrants died when a crowd of South African commuters forced them off the train while it was travelling at high speed near Pretoria. The attack came at the end of a day of protests by the South Africans against the presence of migrants in South Africa. There is on local level a strong belief that migrants pose a threat to the employment opportunities available for South African citizens (Morris, 1997; Cohen, 1997; Sinclair, 1999).

The Centre of Southern African studies (CSA) found that part of the problem lies in the pervasive use of misplaced assumptions about migrants’ activities and intentions.

The Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of Witwatersrand conducted oral history interviews on the xenophobia violence that occurred in South Africa in 2008. The interviews were conducted by students in the Forced Migration studies Programme with foreign nationals in the Gauteng area. The following quotations represent the voices of Zimbabwean migrants and their individual experiences of xenophobia in Gauteng.

Hlatswayo Ndebele a Zimbabwean 58 year old migrant describes his experience of the xenophobic attacks and violence:

“We heard from TV and radio that they were chasing away foreigners in Alex. So, we became worried. Later we heard (from South Africans living in Kanana Park) that there were also going to chase us away from

Kanana. So, we started devising plans. We asked some of our neighbours (South Africans) to keep some of our valuable things like the fridge and some stock from the tuck shop. Then in the early [morning] hours of May 17, but I'm not sure of the date, I heard people singing. When I went out to check, I saw a group of people singing and attacking shacks. My neighbours warned me to immediately run away because they were going to kill me. Then I ran to catch a taxi to my brothers in Randburg. When the attackers came to my shack, my wife told them I was no longer staying with her. She told them she had chased me away. That's how she survived. They know that she is a South African, and my children speak Zulu. They don't know any Zimbabwean language; they were all born in South Africa. I became scared that my family would be attacked when I was in Randburg, especially after seeing on TV that they were burning our shacks in Kanana. I then went back to my shack to see if they [my wife and kids] were not attacked. Fortunately, I found them alive, the plan had worked. But my wife advised me to stay away, fearing for my safety. So I went to join those other foreigners at Rabie Ridge Police Station" (Moving Voices, www.migration.org.za)

Gift Maramba, a Zimbabwean male describes his fears of living with South Africans post-xenophobic attacks:

“I just want a better life you know. I would like to stay here. It would help if they can give me an Identity document or asylum seeker permit so that I could find a job and my wife and child would come and live here. I don’t want to go back to Alexandra. If I can go to another township, a place where no one knows me so they can’t say, “That the guy is back again.” Better go back to Zimbabwe than Alex, life is tough here and if I can’t find a job I would rather go back to Zimbabwe. I believe that I can live safely in South Africa. Like I said just need to go to a new place where no one knows me. I don’t really have more to say. I just want a job because if I can’t work, I must go back to Zimbabwe. What is the point of staying here if don’t get money. I decided to come in South Africa because money was not enough in Zimbabwe. I was a soldier and I just ran away. Now if I go back and they find me I will be charged” (Moving Voices, www.migration.org.za).

The migrants in the CSA’s study were critical of South African’s stereotypes that further marginalise and ostracise them (Sinclair, 1999). Zuberi and Sibanda (2004) reported that South Africans perceive migrants as taking jobs that could be allocated to them. However, Marcos (2010) argues that specific sectors of labour market need to be analysed to present a more holistic view. Skilled foreigners are filling the gaps from skill shortages in sectors such as

information technology, teaching and engineering. Nevertheless, it is often extremely difficult for skilled, semi-skilled and professional migrants to acquire permanent employment in South Africa. There are a number of barriers to entry that often leave migrants marginalised (Zuberi & Sibanda, 2004; Marcos, 2010).

The Centre of Southern African studies (CSA) reported that migrants have responded to the hostility with anger and indignation as the anti-apartheid struggle in the past was supported often materially by the countries that these migrants came from. A number of migrants complained that both black and white South Africans were exploiting them financially. The CSA found that the issue of police brutality and corruption was another area of migrant frustration. A Human Rights Watch report in 1998 documented cases of the abuse of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa, these sentiments are also supported by Harris (2002). In spite of all the publicity little has been done to diffuse the tension between locals and migrants (Sinclair, 1999; Harris, 2002).

Elsewhere, Zimbabwean migrants are also vulnerable and face precarious conditions. Boyle (2009) found in her research of Zimbabwean migrants that many of the migrants in the UK struggled to find employment and had experienced destitution, homelessness and hunger and did not receive any help from the British government. They relied heavily on family, friends, community ties, charities and churches.

To conclude, the examples indicate that South Africa whilst providing the prospect of employment, has been a hostile and unwelcoming destination for migrants. It is the difficult circumstances in Zimbabwe that make migration to South Africa an attractive option.

3.5 Identity and belonging and its impact on migration

The term identity is neither transparent nor is it an accomplished fact. According to Hall (1993:67) Identity should be seen as a,

“....production, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside representation.”

There are at least two different ways of looking at identity. Identity can be defined in one way as a shared culture, ‘oneness’ or ‘one true self’. Identity usually involves some sort of common history, experience and cultural code. Identity plays an important role in social cohesion especially among marginalised people such as migrants. The second way of looking at identity is by recognising the differences between people in addition to embracing the similarities. Identity is a matter of “becoming as well as of being” (Hall, 1993:67); it belongs to the past as much as it does the future. Hall (1993) reiterates that identity is not something that already exists. It is socially constructed and therefore a product of the historical context.

In 1996 in light of the growing concerns about the possibility of hostility towards migrants, the CSA embarked on a project to document the life histories of migrants in Gauteng in the hope of understanding their human experiences. The CSA found that migrants are responding to the widespread hostility in two ways: by

constructing migrant identities based on their common experiences and by forming migrant community ties (Morris, 1997; Sinclair, 1999).

Sinclair (1999) moves away from the traditional sense of a nationalistic view of identity and looks at migrant identity in South Africa as being created. He argues that migrant identity is constructed as a survival mechanism in a new society. The existence of a migrant community plays an important role in the establishment of this new identity.

Migrant identity, as all types of identity formation in South Africa, cannot be understood without a brief discussion on the apartheid regime and its role in identity construction. The identities of all persons within South Africa were explicitly shaped by the apartheid regime which functioned through the classification and forced separation of groups of people. Foreign workers were also classified under apartheid and their movements, associations and social engagements were rigidly controlled. With the end of apartheid discrimination and difference were no longer admissible (Cohen, 1997; Sinclair, 1999). However, migrants remain marginalised and discriminated against in a number of communities.

The escalation of unemployment and disillusionment about the effectiveness of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) economic strategies to deliver employment opportunities, houses and services unfortunately turned the public's attention to the increasing number of foreigners within poor communities. Since the early 1990s South Africa cross-border migration from countries to the

north had escalated. Foreigners were increasingly identified as rivals in the battle of attaining employment and accessing services. This is one of the reasons why migrants have constructed their own identity as a survival mechanism against hostility (Young, 1996; Sinclair, 1999).

Although Zimbabwean migrants may have a shared identity they also have individual narrative that will provide a wealth of knowledge about their views on returning home and rebuilding the country. In most cases migrants decide to return to their countries when the situation there improves. They are disinclined to permanently settle in South Africa (Morris, 1997; Sinclair, 1999).

Community ties are organised around the need for solidarity in the face of hostility, sharing of resources and contacts, informal self-help activities, regional origin and ethnicity rather than the traditional social structures such as family, religion, and social networks. These collectivities are created as a means of social insurance rather than for assimilation. However, even when assimilation is the assumed or de facto goal of migration, community ties makes the migration decision making process easier. Sinclair (1999) notes that while this process is important and effective as a support base for ethnic groups and contributes to international networking by disseminating information about the social back-ups to potential migrants in the home countries, it remains powerless to actually fight the real problems that migrants face on a daily basis.

3.6 The diaspora and returning home

The Zimbabwean diaspora is the three to four million Zimbabwean citizens that are scattered all around the world. These individuals have relocated to more affluent parts of the world in a bid to escape the crisis in Zimbabwe and to attain better living conditions.

The term diaspora is defined as “the dispersion of people from their homeland” (Soanes, 2007:60). According to Safran (1991: 83):

“Members of a diaspora retained a collective memory of ‘their original homeland’; they idealized their ‘ancestral home’ were committed to the restoration of ‘the original homeland’ and continued in various ways ‘to relate to that homeland’”

Key questions in this regard are: Do Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng have a nostalgic feeling toward their home? Do they idealize their life in Zimbabwe and most importantly are they committed to the idea of returning home and re-building Zimbabwe?

Cohen (2008) identifies ‘nine common characteristics’ of a diaspora. He calls these characteristics ‘common’ as he acknowledges that they are not universal and/or present in all diasporas.

According to Cohen (2008:17) there must be some sort of dispersion of people from their country of origin to two or more foreign regions. This dispersion can occur because individuals are searching for work, pursuing a trade or to “further colonial ambition”. Another common characteristic is the presence of a “collective memory and myth”, including the location, history, suffering and achievements of

the country of origin. A diaspora has an idealization of the real or imagined and ancestral home and has a “collective commitment to the maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation”.

He states that individuals that are in the diaspora should have some thoughts on returning to their country of origin. A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common culture and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate should be present. The diaspora can also be characterised by a troubled relationship with the host society, which might suggest a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another misfortune might occur. There should be a sense of “empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members” in other countries of settlement (Cohen, 2008: 17).

3.7 Views on returning home and rebuilding

Previous studies such as the one conducted by Chetsanga (2002) have asked Zimbabweans in the diaspora about their views on returning home. About 62.5 percent of the respondents in Chetsanga’s study affirmed that they intended to return to Zimbabwe in the near future, the majority within five years. Almost 25 percent were indifferent and 12.5 percent of Zimbabweans in the sample did not want to return home. Almost two thirds of Zimbabwean migrants sampled indicated that they would return home in the future. However, three quarters of those declared the economic and political circumstances in Zimbabwe needed to change first. This is an important point to note. There is great emphasis being placed on

Zimbabwe being ‘safe’ as a prerequisite for return. The volatile social, economic and political context in Zimbabwe makes migrants reluctant to return. They fear that their job prospects in Zimbabwe would be bleak and would therefore put them in a vulnerable financial position (Mc Donald, Mashike & Golden, 2000; Bloch, 2008, Doyle, 2009).

The literature largely neglects to ask crucial questions such as whether the migrants want to contribute to rebuilding Zimbabwe and how they might contribute. Raftopoulos (2007) briefly touches on the issue of rebuilding Zimbabwe. He argues that the way forward for Zimbabwe lies in the ability of the opposition party to re-organise itself and mobilize its people to bring about change. Bracking and Sachikonye (2010:41) state that any recovery strategy in Zimbabwe should be “home-grown rather than donor-led”. The Zimbabwean diaspora should be drawn upon to play an active role in the recovery and rebuilding process. He argues further that:

“The existing networks of professionals across the world and in Zimbabwe should be supported to design sectoral frameworks for recovery and action” (Bracking & Sachikonye, 2010: 41).

Sine Qua Non, the Zimbabwe UCT Law Alumni society is one example of an association that is making great strides towards promoting young Zimbabwean graduates to return home and rebuild by providing them with adequate information and support on possible employment opportunities in the Zimbabwean legal industry. These include employment opportunities in law firms, the Attorney General’s Office, parastatals, NGOs, financial institutions and

companies. Their newsletter is available electronically and also advises Zimbabwean law graduates on the required process for the conversion of foreign qualifications in order to be able to practise in Zimbabwe.

Sine Qua Non (2011) argues that the advantage of being employed in your home country is that you do not face challenges of a personal nature, such as securing employment that is commensurate with your qualifications, applying for a work permit, and having fears of being unable to register as a Legal Practitioner if you are not a South African citizen or a permanent resident. They affirm that graduates will face other challenges but these will be of a professional nature such as excelling in research skills, being eloquent both verbally and in your drafting, gaining experience in all areas of legal practise, representing clients objectively and ethically, and running a successful practise.

Civil society is making strides in their encouragement of Zimbabweans to return home. There are a number of websites, databases and organisations that are dedicated towards encouraging Zimbabwean migrants to return home and rebuild. *Come home to Zimbabwe*; *Change Zimbabwe*, *Kubatana*, *free Zimbabwe* and *working for Zimbabwe* to mention a few.

Come home to Zimbabwe has created a database of Zimbabweans in the diaspora, who intend to return one day, and who wish to be contacted and/or consulted when the rebuilding process of the economy and the country is in motion. *Change Zimbabwe* is news and commentary which “aims to promote peaceful change in Zimbabwe and to facilitate commerce both at individual and company

levels and at local and international levels” (www.comehometozim.com).

Kubatana is a non-governmental organization and the Network Alliance Project is an online community for Zimbabwean NGOs and activists. *Free Zimbabwe* provides news and information including how to help the democratic effort in Zimbabwe. Lastly *working for Zimbabwe* is a recruitment consultancy that assists Zimbabweans with job placements in South Africa with the aim of repatriating their skills to Zimbabwe once conditions are conducive for return (www.comehometozim.com; www.workingforzimbabwe.com; www.kubatana.net).

3.8 Conclusion

The themes discussed in this chapter provide the social historical context of Zimbabwean migration. This is done in a bid to understand Zimbabwean migrants’ views on returning home and rebuilding the country. The following chapter discusses the methodology that was employed in conducting the explorative study.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to understand the perceptions of a sample of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng on returning home and rebuilding the country. A qualitative research methodology is appropriate for the topic at hand, as the main objective is to understand the participants' point of view and experiences. Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted from a sample of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng, South Africa. These participants had different ethnic, racial and socio-economic backgrounds ensuring a wide range of perspectives were covered.

4.1 The Interpretive research paradigm and qualitative research

The interpretive paradigm is closely related to qualitative research methodology. Interpretivism states that reality does not lie outside the individual, but that each person is subjectively involved in his or her experiences of that reality (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight 2001)

Interpretivism was appropriate for this study as it highlights the importance of understanding individuals' views, perceptions and interpretations of social reality. It emphasises human experiences rather than quantification (Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Holloway, 1997).

Qualitative research gives rise to information that is more nuanced and textured and is created through the collection of primary data in a verbal format. The qualitative research approach asserts that the social environment is shaped by individuals' interpretations of it. This approach allows social scientist to investigate situations where little is

known about what is going on (Gall, Borg, & Gall, cited in Winegardener, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Gillman, 2000).

Maxwell (1998:75) argues that qualitative research is useful because of the following four reasons:

Qualitative research allows the participants to explain physical events or phenomena (such as the crisis in Zimbabwe) and also to express their personal feelings about the phenomena. It gives the participants the opportunity to interpret the phenomenon and determine how their understanding of the phenomena influences their own personal behaviour – such as to migrate or return home for instance.

Qualitative research is useful because it makes it possible for researchers to understand the particular context that influences the participants to act and react in certain ways. It is useful because it enables researchers to understand the process by which certain events take place.

Interpretivism is interested in synthesising diverging understandings that are discovered through the process of combining different perspectives on an issue. It enables the researcher to describe and interpret social reality from various concepts derived during the interview process. This allows the researcher to select relevant aspects of what is being observed in order to answer the questions under investigation (Blaikie, 2007).

Based on the above discussion, a qualitative research methodology was the appropriate method of inquiry for this study as it is exploratory and descriptive in nature and focuses on the perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants on returning home and rebuilding the country.

4.2 Research design

A small scale study strategy is the most practical option when conducting explorative research (Blaxter et al., 2001). The study was conducted in Johannesburg and Pretoria, two metropolitan areas in the Gauteng province for the following reasons: Migrants are more likely to seek employment in Gauteng as it is the economic hub of South Africa and the number of migrants residing in Gauteng has increased substantially since 1994 (Crush, 2001).

4.2.1 Sampling

In selecting the participants, the following age range was considered: 21 to 65. A matrix of characteristics was used in the selection of participants for the sample. The participants were selected according to a matrix taking eight categories into consideration: age, gender, race, marital status, occupation, mother tongue, level of skill, and employment status.

Twenty-one is the lower end of the age range for the following reasons: twenty-one is legally the age where a minor enters adulthood in South Africa (www.lawinfo.org). Twenty-one is generally regarded as the age when young adults in industrialised countries have obtained the level of education and training that will provide the foundation for their income and occupational achievements for the remainder of their adult and work lives (Chisholm & Hurrelmann, 1995; Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1968; Rindfuss, 1991). A 21 year old is likely engaged in economic activity or preparing to be soon and therefore may have something to contribute towards the process of rebuilding in Zimbabwe.

Sixty- five years of age is the upper end of the age range of the participants in the study for the following reasons: it falls within the age range where people retire in South Africa (www.capegateway.gov.za). At the age of 65 one has acquired and mastered some sort of skill that he/she can pass onto the next generation through mentoring. Individuals between the ages of 55 and 65 approaching retirement are likely to consider returning home when they retire. Given their experience, they may be invaluable in the process of rebuilding the country.

First, the participants were selected from three broad age categories: young adults between 21-34; adults 35-54 in established careers; and those entering the last phase of their careers 55-65. Second, according to gender: male or female; third by race: African, white, coloured or Asian. Fourth, the participants were categorised by marital status, fifth, by their highest level of education. Sixth by their self-assessed level of skill: unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled and highly skilled and lastly by employment status.

It should be emphasised that selecting participants with the matrix in mind ensured that the sample was diverse with regards to the background and characteristics of the participants (see Appendix 8.1). This ensured that a range of perceptions on the topic could be covered. The selection is not a claim for representativity in a statistically determined sense.

A snowball sampling method was used in this research. I approached both male and female Zimbabweans that I was acquainted with in person and asked them whether they would be willing to participate in the research and whether they could

recommend other Zimbabweans in Gauteng that would be interested in participating in my research keeping the matrix and selection for diversity in mind. A limitation of snowball sampling is that as a non-probability sample it is not possible to calculate the risk of sampling error. Care was therefore taken not to generalise in a statistical sense from the data gathered in this way (Brewer & Hunter, 2006). My aim was to adequately cover various responses from the Zimbabweans interviewed in this study by giving them a voice to share their experiences.

For practical and pragmatic reasons such as time constraints the primary data collection method was semi-structured interviews and secondary data was collected from a bio-demographical questionnaire (see Appendix 8.2) and through observation.

4.2.2 Primary data collection method: semi-structured interviews

The interview process today is regarded as an essential source for obtaining knowledge in the social world (Kvale, 1996)

Semi-structured interviews were used in this study as they not only allowed the researcher to ask specific questions related to the research topic but also gave the participants the freedom to formulate spontaneous responses to the subject matter. Semi-structured interviews are more open and flexible than questionnaires and they make it possible for nonverbal behaviour to be observed (Kvale, 1996).

The interview process involved the researcher asking participants a combination of pre-determined and open-ended questions. The interview began with several biographical questions

(see Appendix 8.3) to locate the interviewees within a particular context. The open-ended questions allowed participants to formulate their own responses. The interview process was conversational in style. This conversational style was adapted to incorporate spontaneous responses and to allow participants to discuss issues that were pertinent to them. The choice of language depended on the participant's preference either English or Shona, as I am fluent in both these languages. English is the medium of education in Zimbabwe and all the participants had some schooling and were therefore able to communicate in English.

Hence, besides enabling the researcher to ask specific questions related to the topic, flexibility and open-endedness were kept in mind while conducting these interviews (Bailey, 1978; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Kvale, 1996).

In conclusion, the following themes were introduced and were largely influenced by the literature study on Zimbabwean migration and provided a framework for the interview schedule. The themes were: 1. Reasons for migrating; 2. Experiences in South Africa; 3. Views on returning home; 4. Views on rebuilding Zimbabwe; and 5. Possible contributions towards the process of rebuilding (see Appendix 8.3).

As a researcher it was important for me to ensure that I created an environment that made the respondents feel at ease and therefore allowed them to select a comfortable meeting place to conduct the interview. I ensured that there was equity and mutual respect from the beginning. If the participant does not feel comfortable around the

researcher the quality of the research will be affected as the participant may not delve deeply into certain issues.

Sixteen participants gave permission to tape record the interviews. An advantage of tape recording is that the researcher can concentrate on the topic and the dynamics of the interview. The words of the participant were recorded and could be returned to at any time.

Four of the interviews were unrecorded. This was done to respect the wishes of participants who were willing to be interviewed but reluctant to take part in tape recorded interviews. These migrants seemed to fear political victimization as a result of their participation in the study.

A disadvantage of unrecorded interviews is that information shared may be lost due to incomplete note taking and selective memory on the side of the researcher (Kvale, 1996).

4.2.3 Secondary data collection methods: bio-demographical questionnaire and observation

A self administered bio-demographical questionnaire was completed by the participants. This was done in a bid to elicit personal information in an unassuming manner. It furthermore enabled me to link the characteristics to more open-ended responses (see Appendix 8.2).

Observation involves recording observable phenomena, events or behaviour in a natural setting. Neuman (2000: 407) suggests being intrigued by the details involved in observation may reveal that the core of social life is communicated through the “mundane, trivial,

everyday minutia”. Such details are often overlooked by researchers and diminish from the research findings (Junker, 1960; Denzin, 1989; Baker, 2006).

As an insider, I have in everyday settings and in my interaction with fellow Zimbabweans in preparation for the research observed and been attentive to – in an unobtrusive way how they engage with and discuss issues surrounding the country. I have drawn on these experiences during interviewing as well as reflected on it in my interpretation of the bio-demographical questionnaire and the interview data.

4.3 The Research process

One interview was conducted in Shona according to the preference of the participant. The rest of the interviews were conducted in English. Sixteen of the twenty semi-structured interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim, pauses and hesitations were not recorded. I transcribed each interview within a week of recording it. Four of the interviews were unrecorded according to the preferences of the participants. Notes were taken during the interview and typed up immediately after their conclusion.

4.4 Data analysis

The exercise of transcribing and re-listening to the interviews was valuable as it allowed me to gain familiarity with the data and to identify recurring themes. Both the recorded and unrecorded interviews were subjected to a systematic process of analysis. Significant themes were identified through the grouping of patterns of

participants' experiences together. The responses of the participants were then categorised according to these themes.

Direct quotes from transcripts or paraphrased common ideas were used to illustrate the participants' perceptions. The ability to perceive a theme is fundamental to the thematic analysis. This process of classifying patterns is frequently referred to as coding. The following themes were introduced: 1. Reasons for migrating; 2. Experiences in South Africa; 3. Views on returning home; 4. Views on rebuilding Zimbabwe; and 5. Possible contributions towards the process of rebuilding (see Appendix 8.3).

In addition to this, the following themes emerged: 1. Life in Zimbabwe, as well as sub-themes with regards to their experiences in South Africa: 1. Their expectations vs. opportunities in the employment sector; 2. Racism; 3. Xenophobia; 4. Language barriers; and 5. Police harassment.

4.5 Ethical considerations

With regards to ethical issues, I ensured that the participants knew the purpose of the research. According to Kvale (1996) an interview inquiry is a moral enterprise. The personal interaction in the interview affects the interviewee and the knowledge produced by the interview affects our understanding of social life.

One could argue that being ethical is synonymous with being a good researcher. The institutional ethical requirements of the University of Pretoria were strictly followed. The research proposal for this study was approved by the Research Proposal and Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pretoria before the

commencement of the research. Over and above the University ethical requirements I took into consideration three broad areas of ethical concern in research: first, the ethics of data collection and analysis; second, the ethics of responsibility to society and last, the ethics of treatment of participants (Singleton, Straits & Straits, 1993). Adequate explanation and information concerning all elements of the study was given to the participants. They agreed to take part in the research by completing a consent form (see Appendices 8.4 and 8.5).

First, concerning the ethics of data collection and analysis, I ensured that the process of data collection and analysis was rigorous and followed the correct methods and procedures. This was achieved by keeping detailed and accurate records of their research I ensured that I could be accountable for the research by keeping proper documentation of all aspects of the research (Shamoo & Annau, 1987; Shamoo & Resnik, 2009).

Second, regarding the ethics of responsibility to society, I ensured that the research process was conducted in such a way that it would not be harmful to the society. The research maintained the dignity and welfare of the participants and society by presenting accurate findings and complying with the law and professional standards governing the conduct of research (www.apa.org).

Last, concerning the ethics of treatment of participants, I ensured that they could not potentially be harmed by the research. Informed consent was applied and the participants were not coerced to participate in any way (see Appendices 8.4 and 8.5). Informed consent entails informing the research participants about the overall

purpose of the investigation and the main features of the design, as well as of any possible risk and benefits from participating in the study. Informed consent further involves informing the participants that their participation in the study is voluntary.

Confidentiality and privacy were respected. Confidentiality in research was maintained by using pseudonyms and changing any identifying features and by not reporting private data that could be used to identify the participants. They were therefore protected from potentially being politically persecuted as a result of their participation in this research. This was a major area of concern for a number of participants (Singleton et al., 1993; Struwig & Stead, 2001).

4.6 Reflexivity

According to Langhout (2006) we all have different interpretations of the world because of our position, our race, socio-economic class, gender, age, education and position of 'power' to mention a few. These factors influence and affect the people we are studying and the outcome of our research. As the researcher, I asked myself- to what extent my own presence and preconceived ideas affect or influence the research?

One of my aspirations as a researcher is to be reflexive. Nightingale & Cromby, (1999:228) suggest:

“This requires an awareness of the researcher’s contribution to the construction of meaning throughout the research process, and an acknowledgement of the impossibility of remaining ‘outside of’ one’s subject matter while conducting research.”

‘Personal reflexivity’ involves reflecting upon the ways in which personal values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, wider aims in life and social identities shape the research (Nightingale & Cromby, 1999). It also involves thinking about how the research may affect and possibly change us, as people and as researchers.

‘Epistemological reflexivity’ requires engaging with questions such as: How does the research question define and limit what can be ‘found?’ How does the design of the study and the methods of analysis ‘construct’ the data findings? How can the research questions be explored differently? Thus epistemological reflexivity encourages researchers to reflect upon their assumptions about the world, and about the knowledge that has been made in the course of the research. It helps researchers to think about the implications such assumptions hold for the research and its findings.

As a young Zimbabwean in Pretoria, my position as a researcher in this study was rather advantageous as the participants are all Zimbabwean and they were able to speak openly about their views. However, whilst issues of socio-economic class and education potentially did have a negative impact on the research in some cases and in others it proved to be advantageous. I found that it was difficult for unskilled and semi-skilled interviewees to speak openly to me at first. With time they began to see me as one of them. My education proved to be advantageous while interviewing the skilled and highly-skilled who seemed to respond positively to the study and saw the value of undertaking such a research endeavour. It is important to note that this may have been a result of their attempt to

give “correct” responses or to fulfil what they believed were the researcher objectives.

My position as a fellow Zimbabwean living in Gauteng facilitated the research process, most participants felt at ease discussing pertinent issues as they perceived me as one of them. However, being young was somewhat of a hindrance to the study as it was difficult for older participants to open up and give detailed expositions of their life experiences and their plans for the future as they saw me as their child. This was even more so where the older interviewee was male. Being female, interviewing males was less of an issue amongst the younger cohorts.

As a researcher it is paramount to be reflexive during the research process. I looked at how my own social, political, economic and religious values and my personal experiences as a Zimbabwean living in Gauteng affected the research. I was conscious not to influence the research in any way by allowing my personal biases and view to manipulate the perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng. In addition, I took into consideration issues concerning epistemological reflexivity.

As a researcher I attempted to broaden the scope of the research by including a number of themes and topics, I also allowed the participants to construct their own themes by speaking openly about issues that they found relevant to the topic.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the methodological matters of my research. I have outlined my research design and reasons for using the qualitative research approach and interpretivism as underpinning the

epistemological and ontological frame of reference of the study. I have also discussed the sampling technique as well as data analysis and reflexivity in research and how I addressed ethical issues. The following chapter presents the perceptions of a sample of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng on returning home and rebuilding the country.

Chapter 5

Perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants

5. Introduction

This chapter discusses the perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng on returning home and rebuilding the country. It begins with a description of participants and their lives in Zimbabwe. This is done in a bid to locate their responses within their contexts.

The research findings have been separated into five themes according to the pertinent issues that arose during the research endeavour namely: 1. Reasons for migrating; 2. Experiences in South Africa; 3. Views on returning home; 4. Views on rebuilding Zimbabwe; and 5. Possible contributions towards rebuilding.

5.1 Description of participants

The biographical and demographic questionnaire (see Appendix 8.2) included questions about their citizenship, race, mother tongue, age, gender, marital status, occupation and skills level. A summary of the participants' demographic profiles is provided in Appendix 8.1.

All the participants were Zimbabwean citizens. However, three were in the process of acquiring South African citizenship. Two were contemplating applying for South African citizenship. They believed that this would increase their access to employment opportunities.

Seventeen of the twenty participants were African – fifteen were Shona speaking, two were Ndebele speaking. Two were white and one was coloured (see Appendix 8.1). According to official statistics 98% of the Zimbabwean population is African

(82% Shona, 16% Ndebele); 1% is mixed raced/coloured and Asian and the remaining 1% is white (www.indexmundi.com/Zimbabwe; www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Zimbabwe).

With regards to age category, participants have been divided into three cohorts – 21-34 (early-career), 35-54 (mid-career) and 55-65 (late-career). Fifteen were between the ages of 21-34 (early-career). Three were between the ages of 35-54 (mid-career) and the remaining two were between the ages of 55-65 (late-career) (see Appendix 8.1). Age has been regarded as one of the most important factors in migration. There is a greater propensity for young adults to migrate.

Eleven participants were female and nine were male (see Appendix 8.1). According to past studies males are more migratory than females. However contemporary studies show that sex differentials at all ages is relatively smaller since the integration of women into the labour force. The number of female migrants in Southern Africa has steadily increased from 30 percent in 1960 to 42 percent in 2000 and probably higher since then (Thomas, 1938; Jackson, 1969; Kim, 1979; Massey, et al., 1993; Zlotnik, 2003; Mafukidze, 2006).

Twelve participants in this study were single and between the ages of 21-34. They had never been married (see Appendix 8.1). Two unmarried participants were cohabitating and were between the ages 21-34. They did not have any children. Seven of the single participants had migrated with their families and had extended family members in Zimbabwe. This may influence their own decisions to return home as their immediate family members live in South Africa. The remaining five single participants migrated on their own for study

purposes. Both of the cohabiting participants had migrated on their own, one for study purposes and the other for work purposes. However, they had family and friendship networks that facilitated the migration process. Four of the participants were divorced. One was between the ages of 21-34; three were between the ages of 35-54. They had migrated to South Africa on their own and they had dependents in Zimbabwe. Their views on returning home were influenced by their feeling of responsibility towards their dependents. The remaining two participants were married and were between the ages of 55-65, they had both migrated with their families. It was evident that some discussions had occurred with their spouses about returning home.

Past research has found that that the marital status of an individual can influence the decision to migrate or return home as they take into consideration the opinion of their partner. Being in a relationship adds a new element to the cost and benefits of migration and alternately affects the decision to return home or to remain in South Africa. According to Kim (1979) the larger the number of dependents one has, the more ties, and the less likely he/she will migrate or return home.

Participants were asked to rate their skill level (see Appendix 8.1). The rationale behind this exercise was to determine their perception about their skill level (Noon & Blyton, 2007). Their own perceptions of this may possibly influence their view on their ability to contribute towards the rebuilding of Zimbabwe.

One female participant, with a Masters degree, was currently working in her field of study. She considered herself to be highly skilled. Six

female participants considered themselves to be skilled (see Appendix 8.1). Five of these six based their assessment of their skill level on their educational qualifications. They were all university Honours graduates respectively, in the fields of tourism, political science, social work, internal auditing and consumer science. These individuals were employed in their respective fields of study. The sixth considered herself to be skilled as she was currently running her own clothing flea-market stall in Pretoria central.

The remaining three female participants stated they were semi-skilled. One was currently self-employed. She had a food stall in Johannesburg where she sold “*magwinya/fat cakes*” on a daily basis. Another was currently in the process of completing her university studies and employed part-time. The third one considered herself semi-skilled as she had an incomplete diploma in education and had worked for a year as a temporary teacher at a primary school in Masvingo. She then fell pregnant and was unable to continue her studies. She decided to migrate to South Africa hoping that her daughter’s father who was working in Johannesburg would assist her in raising their child. Unfortunately he refused to take any responsibility for the child. Her daughter required a full-time caregiver. Since she could not afford to employ one she decided to fulfil this role. As a result she was unemployed and relied on grants and well-wishers to aid her in raising a disabled child.

Only, one female participant considered herself unskilled. She was self employed and relied on what she called piece jobs. Her temporary/day jobs ranged from cleaning to washing clothes and cooking. She was proficient in the tasks that she undertook on a daily

basis although she was not formally trained and did not have any qualifications.

Five of the nine males considered themselves highly skilled (see Appendix 8.1). They based their assessment of their skill level on their post-graduate educational qualifications ranging from engineering, actuarial sciences, accounting, econometrics and financial management. One had extensive experience in electrical engineering and trained new recruits. Four males stated that they were skilled. They were academically trained and were working in environments where they could use their skills.

In summary, eleven participants were female and nine were male. Fourteen of the twenty participants in this study were unmarried; two of these fourteen were cohabitating. Four of the participants were divorced and two were married. Fifteen of the participants were between the ages of 21 and 34 (early-career), three were between 35 and 54 (mid-career), and the remaining two were between 55 and 65 (late-career). In the self-assessment, of skill level six participants rated themselves as highly skilled; ten as skilled; three as semi-skilled and one as unskilled.

5.2 Life in Zimbabwe

As an ice-breaker, participants were invited to talk about themselves and their past. The participants were asked to describe their lives in Zimbabwe prior to their migration to South Africa. This was done in a bid to understand the conditions they faced before migrating to South Africa. One of the objectives of the study was to understand why

migration occurs and what influences the decision making process which led to the migration.

Understanding the motives for and context of migration provide an indication of the likelihood for participants to return home. Three distinct periods of migration from Zimbabwe are identified: the early stage of the crisis (1998-2002); the mid-stage of the crisis (2003-2006); and the late stage of the crisis/current situation in Zimbabwe (2007-2011). The current situation in Zimbabwe is described as it provides the context for their decision to return home or to remain in South Africa.

5.2.1. Migration during the early stage of the crisis (1998-2002)

A total of seven participants in this study migrated in this period. A distinction emerged between those who had migrated as youth or young adults and those who were older. Angela, Ruva and TJ (early-career) had migrated to South Africa as adolescents with their families. They were relatively young at this stage and had been sheltered by their parents/benefactors from experiencing the hardship.

Jane (early-career) had migrated to South Africa in her early twenties with some of her high school friends. She wanted to gain life experience by working and living in a foreign country. Jane's life in Zimbabwe was comfortable. She was young when she left Zimbabwe and similar to the other early career participants her interpretations of life in Zimbabwe is one of a young adult who had been sheltered from the economic hardship that was emerging at the time. Furthermore, having migrated in this period, she had not directly

experienced the hardships that emerged as the crisis escalated subsequently.

Shelia was the only mid-career participant who had migrated during the early stages of the crisis. Life in Zimbabwe had been difficult for her because she was a single parent and struggled financially. The lack of adequate facilities and schools in Zimbabwe to cater for disabled children were major push factors for migration.

Sheila: Many places here in South Africa even the buildings they are catering for the disabled but in Zimbabwe it is not yet being done. If only they could cater for the disabled. (In Zimbabwe) I wasn't able to get a day care centre with enough facilities for her.

John and Chido (late-career) stated that living conditions in Zimbabwe before the early stages of the crisis were comfortable. After Independence in 1980, Zimbabwe had a stable economy and was considered to be the breadbasket of Africa. As time progressed the economy began to deteriorate. The crisis made it difficult to maintain the lifestyle that they were accustomed to. John could no longer financially provide for his elderly parents during the crisis. Chido began to notice changes in the economic situation and she decided to migrate to South Africa.

John: Yes, it was brilliant! It was beautiful.....things started getting a bit difficult even for an executive employee like myself. I could not afford with my salary to live the life that I had been accustomed to, to take my kids for picnics and lunch over the weekends, visit

my folks, assist with my old parents, you know, I couldn't afford it anymore. It was just too expensive for me to stay.

Chido: We had a good life, it was okay but umm, after independence it was okay, we had all the...everything that we needed. Then things started deteriorating slowly slowly and then everything just got worse.

In summary, the early-career participants who migrated during the early stage of the crisis described their living conditions in Zimbabwe before migrating as pleasant. They were under the care of their parents and lived sheltered lives. They were not fully exposed to the economic hardship. The mid-career participant experienced life difficult before and during the crisis given her personal situation and needs. The two late-career participants acknowledged that living conditions in Zimbabwe were comfortable before the crisis but that it progressively deteriorated causing economic hardship and this possibly impacted on their decision to migrate.

5.2.2. Migration during the mid-stage of the crisis (2003-2006)

A total of seven participants migrated during the mid-stage of the crisis. Gerald, Tinevimbo, Dale, VP, Aaron and Chipso (early-career) had migrated to South Africa for study purposes during the mid-stage of the crisis. Viv (early-career) had initially come to South Africa on a temporary basis, and then he eventually migrated seeking employment to earn income.

In brief, there were no differences in perceptions among these early career participants' regardless of their race, gender and skill level

who migrated in the mid-stage of the crisis. Their experiences seemed similar to those early-career participants that had migrated during the early stage of the crisis. These participants were dependants of their parents/benefactors and experienced sheltered lives.

Tinevimbo's response in discussing her life prior to migrating to South Africa in 2005 reflects the sentiments of early-career participants:

Tinevimbo: my life in Zim was pretty comfortable...we went to good schools, and everything was available! My parents could afford to take care of their kids and everything we wanted we had, food on our table...uhmm, holiday trips, everything. It was a fun life in Zim!

Their decisions to migrate were probably influenced by their parents/benefactors perceptions of the crisis in Zimbabwe and the possibility of a better life in South Africa. In the sample of this study there were no participants in the mid and late-career age range who had migrated in this period. Such participants experience like the mid and late-career migrants in the previous period would probably have reflected on the deteriorating economic experiences.

5.2.3 Migration during the late stage of the crisis/current situation in Zimbabwe (2007-2011)

A total of six participants had migrated to South Africa during this last period. All these participants migrated before changes were introduced in 2009 which characterises the current situation in

Zimbabwe. Richard, Natalie, Sam and Rutendo (early-career), Martia and Irene (mid-career) were living in Zimbabwe during the late stage of the crisis in Zimbabwe. They expressed some of the difficulties they had experienced. There were no differences in perceptions with regard to their age, gender, skill level, and marital status amongst these participants. However, Rutendo stated that living conditions in Zimbabwe for her were comfortable before she migrated with her family to South Africa. She acknowledged that as she was young at the time and was not openly exposed to the economic hardship.

Rutendo: Uhmm, I'd say my life in Zim was good! It's what I've always known, for me it was good, I can't say I had a bad life. I think it was a good life. Going to school, I had a nice family; I'd say it was okay. Obviously things did start to get hard towards the time I was leaving, I think.... But obviously as a child you don't actually see that things are getting difficult...But you can see that it's now difficult to pay the fees, it's now getting a bit straining, people can't wait. There was now a dilemma when it was time for me to go to university because there actually wasn't the money to do that...and then you actually realise that oh okay, things are tough.

Richard, Natalie and Martia discussed the lack of basic goods and services and dwindling employment opportunities.

Richard: Things were bad in Zim, the economy was bad, there was no food, no water, and no electricity. Umm, it was just getting really primitive, it was just difficult. I stayed in (Harare) town; the electricity wasn't much of a problem. But everything else...water would go. So people just concentrated on having food in the house and you know the basic needs all you think about it trying to get bread. It was a very brutish existence.

Natalie: Around 2007, 2008, that's when inflation was at its worst. The living standards, the education, all of it, it just wasn't where I wanted to be at the time.

Martia: I came to South Africa in 2008, because eish, when I was in Zimbabwe life was tough...there was no job, there were no jobs, also me I was not working at that time then life was difficult then. Then I thought if I just sit what about my children their future? So I just decide to come here, so that I can work and I can get something to do then.

The six participants who had migrated during the late stage of the crisis in Zimbabwe revealed that they experienced economic difficulties in Zimbabwe. The economic crisis resulted in a lack of basic goods and services and diminishing employment opportunities. Their existence in families/households centred around survival and ensuring access to basic goods.

The participants' reflection on life in Zimbabwe provides some indication of the economic collapse and the motives for migration. In summary, in the sample for this study, seven participants migrated during the early stage of the crisis, seven during the mid-stage and six during the late stage of the crisis in Zimbabwe. Whereas the early-career participants experienced sheltered (middle class) lives in the first two periods and were less aware of economic hardships, these circumstances increasingly intruded into the living conditions of the early-career participants during the late stage of the crisis.

5.3 Why are Zimbabweans migrating?

Understanding the participants reasons for migrating sheds some light on what could possibly motivate them to return home and to rebuild the country. A combination of factors has influenced the participants' decision to migrate. Migration is a push and pull process as described by Ravenstein (1889). In accordance to Ravenstein's first law the participants in this study highlighted economic and political conditions in Zimbabwe as the driving force that impacted on their decision to migrate. The effects of the economic and political situation have had a negative impact on the general well-being of the people of Zimbabwe. This section highlights the key issues that were discussed by the participants.

5.3.1. Economic factors

The economic situation in Zimbabwe was identified as a major motive for migration by the participants regardless their age, gender, skill level, marital status, race and period of migration. Their responses confirm that the Zimbabwean citizens migrated to more

affluent and stable localities in search of better economic conditions.

TJ (early-career) and John (late-career) respectively stated that:

TJ: First of all, the (2011) salaries that people are being paid there (Zimbabwe) you can hardly live off them. CEOs of companies in Zim are being paid 3, 4 thousand US dollars, you know. So from where I would enter in an organisation which is probably right at the bottom, I would probably be getting 500 (US) dollars which I can't really do much with, you know, food rent, umm and just general living expenses.

As a university graduate, TJ expected to earn more in South Africa than what he believed people were earning in Zimbabwe. This influenced his decision to remain and seek employment in South Africa. He had migrated with his parents during the early stage of the crisis. TJ believed that the salaries offered in Zimbabwe would not allow him to maintain the comfortable living condition that he had grown accustomed to in South Africa.

John had experienced economic hardship in Zimbabwe during the early stage of the crisis before he had migrated to South Africa. He was unable to make ends meet. This experience influenced his decision to migrate. He describes the impact of inflation:

John: (during the crisis in 2000) I couldn't just afford it anymore, to stay and work and send my kids to school was impossible. I had to downgrade either the school, or I had to find extra income, and you know it was

changing every term. Over a period of 3 or 4 terms the school fees almost doubled.

Viv (early-career) had migrated during the mid-stage of the crisis because of the economic situation in Zimbabwe was rapidly deteriorating. He initially came to purchase goods for his family. This was a survival strategy. His brother had migrated to South Africa to seek employment. They were able to help their family survive in Zimbabwe by sending remittances. Viv currently works in Pretoria.

Viv: Initially I came here for a shopping spree... my mom just asked me “can you not go down and do some shopping and all that”. So initially that’s how I came through to South Africa. So I had to come and do some shopping because basically in Zimbabwe we didn’t have even clothes or food – sugar mealie meal or anything so I had to come in and buy all the basic foodstuff so I can take them home and my brother was already here, so I had a place to stay and all that and he would give me money to send home.

Viv eventually decided to migrate to South Africa permanently as the situation in Zimbabwe was not improving. He had to consider his aspirations for the future and he opted to seek employment in South Africa.

Economic factors played a pivotal role in the migration of Zimbabweans. The participants in this study to varying degrees stated that they would be motivated to return to Zimbabwe if the economic situation was stable and opportunities were available to them. They had migrated out of a combination of necessity and

aspiration. The economic crisis made it difficult to live in Zimbabwe. At the same time, the life they had aspired for was not attainable in Zimbabwe.

5.3.2 Political factors

Chido (late-career) had migrated during the early stage of the crisis and Dale and VP (both early-career) who had migrated during the mid-stage of the crisis highlighted the impact of political factors on their decision to migrate.

Dale and VP, white males who had migrated to South Africa to study, spoke of their friends whose farms had been occupied by war veterans. They did not have any first hand experiences of political persecution and violence. So to a lesser extent the political situation and the negative experiences of other whites who had lost all their property played a role in their decision to migrate to South Africa and possibly on whether to return to Zimbabwe.

Chido had first hand experience of the political unrest in Zimbabwe. She mentioned that some members of her family who had opposed ZANU-PF were targeted (Chido did not disclose all the details of the experience in the interview as she feared the possible political repercussions). She stated that the loss of some members of her family became a push factor for her to migrate. Chido wanted safety and security. She wanted to live in peace.

Chido: because of the political unrest.... some of our family members were killed during the (political) unrest...and there were threats all the time from the ruling party so that's why most of our family members

are abroad. It was very difficult for us to be in Zimbabwe at that time...because of the opposition....so we had to relocate...

The rest of the participants across the age ranges, race, skill level, gender, marital status and period of migration stated that although they had not personally experienced any political persecution they knew of friends and family members who had been affected by it.

Chido, Dale and VP stated that they would be motivated to return home if Zimbabwe's political situation became more stable and when economic opportunities were available. The uncertainty surrounding the 2012 elections and the drafting of the new Constitution in Zimbabwe did not instil confidence in migrants. They were weary of returning home before these proceedings occurred.

5.3.3 Other factors

Besides economic and political factors other factors played a role in the participants' decision and ability to migrate.

Chipo discussed how her extended family members influenced her decision to migrate to South Africa. Her aunts living abroad were willing to sponsor her studies in South Africa. This support made it easier for her to migrate to study in South Africa.

Chipo: for me it was mostly that my aunts and my mom because my aunts are in the UK, are the ones who decide that you know what if you can't get what you want in Zimbabwe and things are tough there then try South Africa and then we can fund you if you want to go to South Africa.

Ruva's family had migrated with her to South Africa ten years ago. As she was a child she was not involved in the migration decision making process, her education and well-being was however considered by the family as she would need to acclimatise to the new environment.

Ruva: I came to South Africa in 2001 when I was 10 years old after my Dad got a job here, and then he decided that I must come and stay with him since I am the youngest in my family.

All the participants stated that to some extent South Africa proximity to Zimbabwe influenced their decision to migrate to it. Its propinquity enabled them to visit family and friends in Zimbabwe at will. Chido (late-career) stated that:

Chido: for us (her family) we decided to come to South Africa because it was a bit closer to home. We wanted to monitor the situation back home... we wanted like to be in touch with our people and like in case of emergency if we wanted to like go back home we could. Like for funerals and big family events...

The economic crisis had a negative impact on the education system in Zimbabwe and resulted in the inability of students to receive satisfactory education and to sufficiently focus on their studies in Zimbabwe.

Sheila (mid-career) had migrated during the early stage of the crisis. She stated that in addition to economic factors her decision to migrate was influenced by a concern about the deteriorating education system in Zimbabwe as a result of the economic crisis and

how it would affect her child. Sheila hoped that migrating to South Africa would be the better option for her disabled daughter. She wanted the child's father to assist her financially and to find better educational facilities in South Africa. Her daughter was fortunate enough to receive funding from donors and is currently attending a school for children with special needs in Pretoria.

Sheila: I came here because of my daughter. I came here in the sense that maybe he (her father working in RSA) might help me because my child has never been to school (in Zimbabwe), she is now 15 years old and she has never been to school (in Zimbabwe). So when I came here, I thought maybe he would understand and accept his daughter and help me to find a school for her.

Irene migrated during the late stage of the crisis in Zimbabwe. Her parents who were her support system had passed away in Zimbabwe. She was divorced and was not in contact with her son's father. Her decision to migrate was influenced by what she thought would be best for herself and her son. She stated that the school system in Zimbabwe had become so erratic that sometimes children were not being taught by their teachers who were constantly striking for better wages.

Ten of the fifteen early-career participants had migrated for study purposes during the mid and late stages of the crisis. This is in accordance to the neo-classical micro-economic theory which sees international migration as a form of investment in human capital (Massey et al. 2005). The lack of basic services and goods as a

result of the economic crisis had influenced their lives in Zimbabwe. Not only did students worry about their studies but also about acquiring food to sustain them and educational material needed to complete their studies. This made it difficult to study in Zimbabwe and ultimately led to their migration to South Africa. It is important to note that only affluent families (or those with families in the diaspora willing to sponsor them) could afford to send their children to study in South Africa. Jane (early-career) who had migrated during the early stage of the crisis could not afford to further her studies and decided to migrate to South Africa for work purposes.

Sam and Richard (early-career) had migrated during the late stage of the crisis in Zimbabwe. They were fortunate enough to be able afford to continue their studies in South Africa.

Sam: It was nice during the 1st year of study, we used to get grants from the university, and it was like pocket money it was nice. The experiences of being in University were nice. But my last year in 2007, it was not a good year it was now evident that things were no longer good in Zimbabwe, we were no longer getting grants and we skipped breakfast many times—I was staying in residence. But anyway besides economic hardships everything was fine.

Richard: The universities were not opened for months...the lecturers would be striking, if they are not striking the students would be striking. So basically we didn't have lectures. Accessing the internet was hard; the library would have limited copies of the same book.

Even for students, money to photocopy and stuff. It was very hard at that time, it was very expensive. So I suppose it was very difficult.

There was a growing concern amongst Zimbabwean migrants about their future. They believed that they would be unable to reach their full potential while living in Zimbabwe. Gerald and Chipso (early-career participants who migrated during the mid-stage of the crisis) and Rutendo (early-career participant who migrated during the late stage of the crisis in Zimbabwe) believed that coming to South Africa was an investment (as described by the neo-classical micro-economic theory) which would provide better education, income, comfort and living conditions.

Gerald: Uhmm, well, basically, for what I wanted to do...No tertiary institution in Zim that I knew of could offer me what I needed to do, I wouldn't have been able to study what I wanted to study in Zim, at least not to the quality (of education) that I was seeking.

Chipso: I actually wanted to study in Zimbabwe but it seemed like South Africa had better options.

Rutendo: I moved to South Africa in 2007 to study. Aaah, I sat down with myself, and asked "what do I want? Do I want to get an average job? An average salary? And just be an average person? Hit 30, I haven't moved anywhere with my career and hopefully get married. Or do I want to take what I've studied and be the best that I can be. Excel in my career, have the

career that I want to be and to reach the peak of what I can be if I had a career and learn everything that I could. And maybe even study a bit more. I feel like those opportunities are only available in South Africa at this point.

Gerald, Rutendo and Chipso (early-career) argued that South Africa had better opportunities than Zimbabwe because of the economic situation in Zimbabwe. They believed that a number of graduates in Zimbabwe were unable to secure employment and in cases where they were employed they were earning low wages. They expected to reach their full potential and pursue their goals in South Africa. Their views can be understood in terms of the neo-classical macro and micro-economic theories which discuss migration as a form of personal investment (Somers, 1967; De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; Massey et al., 2005).

To conclude, the perception of the availability of opportunities in South Africa was pull factors for migration and in most cases the process of migration was facilitated by family support.

The participants revealed that they had migrated because of economic, political and other factors that were often linked to economic factors such as family dynamics, proximity, education and goal fulfilment opportunities. A lack of basic commodities and political instability were catalysts for migration. Economic hardship was the major push factors for migration for the participant in this study.

Understanding the participants' reasons for migrating shed some light on what could possibly motivate them to return home and to rebuild the country. Economic hardship impacted on the quality of

education, facilities and the availability of basic commodities in Zimbabwe.

A number of the early-career participants had migrated for study purposes, they highlighted that they were unable to focus on their studies in Zimbabwe as the economic hardship led to educators amongst others striking for better wages. The students bore the brunt as they were unable to attend classes. In addition, the unavailability of basic commodities meant that they had to queue for long hours for food or go without. It is important to note that the participants who had migrated for study purposes were from affluent families who were able to afford to study in South Africa or had sponsors. This opportunity was not available to most of the youth in Zimbabwe.

Education in Zimbabwe is still in a state of crisis. The ministry of Education, Sports and Culture has been forced to suspend some of its programmes due to funding constraints. Eighty-nine percent of the ministry's funds allocated through the Zimbabwean treasury in the 2012 National budget were earmarked to cover salaries. Hence limited funding is available for crucial departments such as the Zimbabwean Schools Examination Council and the National library and documentation centre (The Financial Gazette, January 6-11 2012). This may continue to affect migration streams to South Africa for study purposes.

5. 4 Experiences in South Africa

In a bid to understand the possible reasons that migrants may or may not have for returning home and rebuilding Zimbabwe, their experiences in South Africa will be discussed in this section. South

Africa has become a preferred destination for African migrants, even more so after the political transition in 1994.

5.4.1 Positive experiences in South Africa

When the participants in this study were asked about their experiences in South Africa they revealed that they had both positive and negative experiences. All participants stated that they were overwhelmed by South Africa's beauty and wealth. There were no differences in this regard between age, gender, race, marital status and skill level. The experiences of VP, Sheila and Richard are illustrative of the participants' positive experiences:

VP: I've traveled the country in its entirety, I've socialized with the diverse cultures and I've made this country my home. I have only had positive experiences and am extremely grateful for the opportunities this country has offered me and the platform from which it has allowed me to grow and mature as a human being.

Sheila: You can't say it has been 100 percent perfect but I wouldn't say my experiences in South Africa are bad. If I say that my experiences in South Africa are bad, I would be lying. Maybe my own personal problems are bad (laugh).

Richard: The food! For real! Bread is available everywhere, even at gas stations! You know fast food is not expensive; I was amazed at how far R100 can go. Yeah, just the quality of life basically, the roads themselves are just excellent, the facilities, anything.

When I came here I realised that if you earn a decent salary here you can live like you are in a first world country. It was a complete change; it was a very welcoming experience.

VP had been able to travel around South Africa and experience the diversity the country has to offer. More importantly – he regarded it as ‘home’. Sheila admitted that her experiences in South Africa had been both negative and positive. She was a semi-skilled migrant with a disabled child she could not work on a full-time basis. Her personal experiences and struggles to make ends meet made her overall experience in South Africa difficult but less so than in Zimbabwe. Richard underlined the economic differences between South Africa and Zimbabwe. His positive experiences in South Africa were amplified by the availability of basic commodities such as bread that was not available to him in Zimbabwe. He also highlighted the differences with regards to facilities, earning potential and the general standard of living between South Africa and Zimbabwe.

White, coloured and Ndebele speaking Zimbabweans did not have as many negative personal experiences in South Africa as the Shona speaking Zimbabweans. It was easier for them to “pass” as South Africans and therefore avoid conflict with the local population. For the Ndebele speaking Zimbabwean – language facilitated communication with the African locals. The coloured and white Zimbabweans were assumed to be South African. They were not regarded as threats to accessing resources, employment and government grants.

Although some skilled, semi-skilled and highly skilled participants had initially faced difficulty accessing employment, life became easier as soon as they were able to secure employment. It was also possible for migrants who were self employed or in the informal sector to generate greater monetary returns than in Zimbabwe.

Positive experiences in South Africa ranged from access to better opportunities for education, employment, to access to better facilities and quality of life. It was a place where they could improve their economic and social situation.

5.4.2 Negative experiences in South Africa

The participants in this study divulged that although there were many positive experiences in South Africa there were also a number of negative experiences which had tainted their experiences such as the actual opportunities available in the employment sector, racism, xenophobia, language barriers, lack of safety and security and harassment by the police. To an extent many migrant's expectations had not been fully met.

5.4.2.1 Expectations vs. opportunities in the employment sector

According to Ravenstein's fourth law of the push and pull process of migration, the risk of migration is not the same for all individuals. It varies by demographic and social characteristics such as age, sex and literacy.

Foreigners have been increasingly identified by South Africans of all races as rivals in the struggle to attain employment and access services. The narratives suggest that although the risk of migration is greater for unskilled migrants; semi-skilled, skilled and highly skilled

Zimbabwean migrants also face difficulties in obtaining the required documentation that enables them to work.

John (late-career) who rates himself as highly skilled as well as Tinevimbo and Rutendo—skilled participants, spoke about their experiences in the employment sector in South Africa.

John: (initially) they offered me a position (in 2000)... I had to compete for it, but I couldn't get a work permit.

(As a result) I stayed for 3 months, 100 days looking for a job, I applied for more than 150 positions. I was invited to less than 5 interviews. It was okay, but the moment I said that I was from Zimbabwe, they wanted a permit. So it was a very difficult 3 months in Johannesburg....

(Subsequently) Using (immigration officers)/agents and other people I ended up getting a permit which I have renewed twice.

Tinevimbo: when I was applying for jobs, you would find most of the other companies that I was applying to; they would tell me that because I am not South African, I would not get an opportunity. I suppose it's because of the new rules that they have put in place...the BEE, South Africans come first- black female, white, other races and then only the foreigners will come into play. And I felt that that was a bit unfair because in all the other countries, everybody has equal opportunities.

In terms of settling down and looking for a job, it was very hard. Sitting at home, knowing you have the qualification. That you have what it takes to fill the position and seeing that the position is vacant and you not being picked just because you are not South African!

And coming here and experiencing that and being told that no, because you are not one of us, you will not be first in line even if you meet the requirements. That was very sad for me.

Rutendo: So you have to apply for everything! Everything has to be in order! And you can't just live like a normal person like you do in Zimbabwe where you don't have to have any papers, or anything. It's just different.

John and Tinevimbo, in spite of their respective skills revealed that their expectations were dashed when they applied for jobs. The stringent labour laws in South Africa that privilege South African nationals over foreigner labour regardless their skill level create barriers of entry into the employment sector. As foreigners they could not benefit from and Affirmative Action programmes or the Employment Equity legislation.

Rutendo believed that securing employment in Zimbabwe would be easier if employment opportunities were available as the burden of documents would be eliminated. She would not need a work permit and other documentation required for foreigners to work in South Africa.

The experiences of the participants differed according to skill level. Highly skilled, skilled and semi-skilled participants had difficulties accessing permanent employment in South Africa. However, once they had secured employment their skill level ensured comfortable living conditions.

Martia, an unskilled participant, also stated that life in South Africa was difficult. She stated that in order to survive she had to work seven days a week. She believed that skilled and highly skilled migrants were able to earn higher salaries and maintain a better standard of living and therefore suffered less.

Martia: Life here in South Africa its fine when you are working or doing something because you know like rent here in Pretoria expensive. So it's fine but you have to do something. There is no one who can pay rent for you and other thing....or money there is no one who can give you money to send home so you have to work. And here I have learnt that there is no rest! You have to work, every time yeah, you have to do something.

(Sigh) it is difficult, I don't know, maybe I don't know those who have some skills or some courses maybe it's easier. But for me, you know, sometimes you just go about knocking on doors... "Do you want someone to do your washing?" you see, you just go about asking so...sometimes you don't get it sometimes they say come. And you know to do a job for one day; sometimes they give you a lot of work! Cleaning,

washing, at the same time. A job of three days you can do it in one day.

According to Mc Donald et al. (2000) and Weinstein (2001) it is riskier for unskilled migrants to migrate as it may be difficult to obtain employment and to earn enough income to reproduce or sustain themselves (Mc Donald et al., 2000; Weinstein, 2001). However, their skilled and highly-skilled counterparts stated that they also experienced difficulties in securing employment in South Africa.

All except one of the participants were working (see 5.1 Description of participants). Sheila assessed herself as semi-skilled although she has a diploma in education was a primary school teacher in Zimbabwe. She was unable to work in South Africa as she did not have anyone to take care of her disabled child. She was currently and indefinitely unemployed and relied on grants and charity for survival.

Irene and Sheila were the only two participants whose skill level and current employment were mismatched. Irene was semi-skilled. She had taken a few classes at a culinary school sponsored by her first employer in South Africa. Irene had resigned from the position as a maid as she wanted to venture into cross-border trading as she thought this would be more profitable. However, things did not go as planned and she was selling “*magwinga/fat cakes*” in Johannesburg.

5.4.2.2. Racism

Racism is a form of prejudice against or towards other races based on the belief of racial superiority. Two participants shared their experiences of racism:

Aaron: Having played professional rugby, I was immediately exposed to the Afrikaans culture, I experienced much racism. I was also very surprised at how quick people find reason to differentiate themselves (according to race)

Ruva: It started off very difficult; when I came here I experienced racism, subtle racism. It was something I wasn't used to coming from Zim. I went to a school (private school), that had a lot of Afrikaans people umm, I didn't understand. I was bullied. The bullying wasn't normal bullying, it wasn't until some of my friends said I must look into it. Some of my friends and family members realised that it wasn't normal bullying, I was victimised; I was excluded because I was the only black person in that school for three years. It was a change, and they weren't used to me being the way I was, because in Zim the English is very good. I came here at (age) 10 my English was very good. They thought I was a snob, because I was a black girl that could speak English very well, better than a lot of them. So it was a bit of a shock to see people bullying me because I was black.

So it was a bit of a difficult move, I didn't know people, I was out of my comfort zone, but I learnt how to deal with the change and my parents helped me.

Aaron (Shona) and Ruva (Ndebele) contend that they experienced racism from white Afrikaans speaking South Africans. This occurred

in environments where very few African/ black people were present – professional rugby and private school. These environments are still largely the preserve of whites. When probed, both participants chose not to disclose additional information on their experiences of racism as they did not feel comfortable relaying the details and context of the racism.

Aaron and Ruva's perceptions of racism are influenced by their feeling of being foreigners/ outsiders. This feeling of being an outsider was experienced by all but one participant in varying degrees. The Shona speaking Zimbabweans stated that they were outsiders because they could not speak any local languages. Although the Ndebele speaking participants were able to "pass" as South Africans they felt as outsiders when they could not understand other official South African languages. Most local Africans speak more than one local language.

Distinguishing between insider and outsider increasingly has become difficult. The white and coloured participants felt as outsiders when they were unable to understand the basics of Afrikaans and/or communicate in the language. While Jane stated that her ability to understand and speak several local languages made her feel like an insider.

5.4.2.3. Xenophobia

Xenophobia is a deep dislike of foreigners (Morris, 1997; Cohen, 1997; Sinclair, 1999; Harris, 2002). The white and coloured participants stated that they were horrified by the occurrence of xenophobic attacks. However, they were not directly affected by them. The African participants' – especially the Shona speaking

participants had a greater fear of it. This was largely due to the fact that they were easily identifiable as foreigners by the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks who are principally black South Africans.

John is the only participant whose family had experienced xenophobia first hand:

John: Some have been very negative, Xenophobia, a very negative experience, I mean my nephew was shot and killed in a train just because he was speaking English, not Zulu or Xhosa. People have died you know, and there is no protection really from the authorities...you see the criminals...they never stay in prison really, they are released on bail, or they serve 2, 3 years and then they are out again for really serious crimes.

He feared violence and crime, feeling that foreigners were not adequately protected from it by South African authorities. The rest of the participants stated that they had not had any personal experiences of xenophobia. However, they still feared crime and xenophobia attacks. The feeling of lack of protection resulted in the avoidance of situations which could potentially endanger them.

Martia contended that xenophobia is more evident in the townships. As a trader working in Pretoria CBD she had never openly experienced xenophobia:

Martia: Eer, xenophobia, last time when they did that I was staying here in town (Pretoria Central). Yeah, and we just hear that in the locations and other places like

Cape Town. I don't know maybe in locations (townships) that's where people say that sometimes that South Africans harass them. But here I have never see such a thing. Because you just stay nicely, eerr, taking to each other, visiting each other but most of the time you will be busy that's why. You will be from work, you come home, you cook, you rest, you sleep, morning you are thinking of doing something...so there is no time to have conflict.

Participants understood xenophobia to be a consequence of false assumptions about migrants' activities and intentions in South Africa. Chido felt foreigners were stereotyped as being snobbish and as rivals for basic commodities, 'girlfriends', employment and government housing.

Chido: Here it was very difficult at first because the South Africans they look at us as people who have just come to take their jobs and people who are here just to make their lives difficult and especially if you don't speak the languages here its very difficult, if you can't converse in Sotho or Zulu or whichever of the 11 languages. It's very difficult for you to communicate with people and they look at you like you are too educated... because wherever you go, if you are not like part of them, they think you are there to pull them down and to take their jobs or to take their whatever.

It's all because the South Africans feel like we Zimbabweans, we are here to take their jobs and some of them say our Zimbabwean men are here to take their women. I think they have to be educated about it, that we are here to also to uplift them and also to help them in the development of their country, we are not here to take their jobs. There is lots of jobs and the South Africans are not educated enough, so it's more like they are jealous of us. They feel we are too educated and we are here to just destroy them. Which is not right, they need to be educated, because there is no country that doesn't have foreigners, most foreigners go to other countries to boost the other countries economy and also to help out with the building of that country.

Elias and Scotson's (1994) study of insiders and outsiders emphasises how established locals use negative stereotypes to blunt the threat posed by migrants to their position. These destructive stereotypes often lead to xenophobic feelings towards migrants.

Resentment fuels xenophobic feelings. Turner (1982) states that people stereotype others by focusing only on a few of their alleged characteristics and ignoring their variations and diversity.

In Chido's opinion South Africans were resentful towards foreigners as they are able to secure employment. It is clear that she is aware of being different from South Africans. She acknowledged as being seen to be more learned as she speaks English fluently. She regards South Africans assumptions of foreigners false. Through this she

reveals something about her sense of self versus the other. In contesting the stereotypes of foreigners – to an extent Chido is stereotyping South Africans – who should be ‘educated’ that the foreigners ‘uplift’ them and contribute to the economy.

5.4.2.4 Language barriers

All twenty participants believed that language barriers were a major cause of conflict between foreigners and South Africans. The seventeen African migrants believed that they carry the burden of having to demonstrate proficiency in a local African language in the hopes of “fitting in” or “passing” as South Africans. They argued that the best survival strategies to counter these negative experiences were learning South African languages, assimilating, adhering to their way of life or isolating themselves.

The two white participants and one coloured participant stated that their experience in South Africa had initially been difficult as people assumed they could speak Afrikaans. When they were unable to converse in Afrikaans they felt rather isolated, however with time they managed to gain acceptance from South Africans. In comparison to African/ black migrants’, whites were considered to come from affluent backgrounds and were therefore not perceived as threats in the struggle for basic resources and government grants. The coloured participant stated that she felt undetectable and her nationality was rarely questioned.

The Ndebele speaking, white and coloured Zimbabweans in this study found it is easier to assimilate to a large degree in the South African population. White Zimbabweans stated that white South Africans were more sympathetic towards them given the

controversial land reforms that ultimately led to their recent migration to South Africa. Ruva and Richard were Ndebele speaking. Their language is similar to isiZulu and South African isiNdebele. This meant that there were fewer issues surrounding communication as they could understand and converse with South Africans, making their relations with them easier. Interestingly, none of them had considered changing their citizenship; they felt comfortable enough in South Africa not to do so.

Jane (Shona speaking) was able to learn a few South African languages and she also believes that this is one of the reasons why she has never had any difficulties with locals. She is an example of “passing” as South African. She stated that South Africans were distrustful of foreigners especially when they could not effectively converse in a common language.

Janeⁱ: the people that actually help me here are South Africans. I haven’t had a single problem with South Africans because I speak South African languages fluently. I speak very well, because I have found people who are willing to teach me, if I were to start speaking Sotho right now you would never know that I am from Zimbabwe. Even when the police try to ask me for ID I just respond in Sotho or Tswana and they’ll never know that I am a foreigner...I have never had a bad experience with South Africans.

Let me give you an example. Let’s say you are sitting in a train with a South African. You are conversing nicely

and then all of a sudden you have a misunderstanding but you cannot communicate what the problem is in each others languages. Then you decide to express yourself in Shona, this makes the South Africans very angry because they think you are saying something bad to them. These misunderstandings fuel xenophobia.

If only we would take the time to learn the languages here, I think we would live very nicely with South Africans. I have found that it is better to learn from them because they do not understand it when we speak to them in English.

Chipo believed that the best way to survive in South Africa was to “fit in” in order to “pass” as South Africans. They believed that as foreigners it is better to learn as much as possible about South African culture and their way of life if you want to avoid negative experiences with the local community.

Chipo: So, you have to like blend in really quick! Like coz you see in a taxi (minibus) you can’t tell a person umm, in English that you are dropping off somewhere. They prefer it if you say it in Sotho...you know, little things like that. They actually get angry with you! Like why aren’t you speaking my language...? Yeah, so now it’s more of you know.

Most Shona speaking Zimbabweans found it difficult to assimilate/pass as South Africans as it was evident that they were foreigners and could not speak any of the local African languages.

They believed that they were regarded as being threats to accessing scarce resources such as employment opportunities and housing. They therefore received very little assistance from African/black South Africans. John (late-career) and Chipso (early-career) stated that:

John: The only South Africans that helped me were white. White South Africans here helped me but not black South Africans. Well, they probably thought that because I couldn't speak their language I was being pompous when I was asking them for help when I couldn't even ask them in their own language.

For African migrants being able to speak an indigenous African language enabled them to better blend in and decrease the risk of being targeted as a foreigner.

5.4.2.5 Issues of safety and security

The issue of safety or lack of it was one that emerged within the research. All of the black participants revealed that being a Zimbabwean migrant in South Africa is precarious. Some believed that instead of trying to assimilate it was better to isolate themselves from South Africans by living in the CBD or in middle-class suburban areas as opposed to the townships. Viv (early-career), Irene (mid-career) and John (late-career) affirm this contending:

Viv: Umm, it's also like you never really feel secure, there is this thing, (in Zimbabwe) you feel like you belong somewhere because everyone is so welcoming. But here (in South Africa), umm, sometimes you don't

have that... if you are in a new environment you don't really feel secure.

Like I can give an example, I am a middle earning person, I could be staying in a (high density area) or something but I choose to stay here – (Suburbs) where it is quiet and more secure, because I don't feel secure to stay in (a high density area) which might be what I want. I (feel as though) I (do not) belong to these kind of society (community) because people still read you like you are not from here. You are Zimbabwean and all that, so you want an environment where you can just feel like you don't have a threat which is also like even if you are walking in town and all that you don't even feel more secure because anything can happen.

Viv (early-career) was currently living in a security complex in a middle class suburban area in Pretoria East. He was able to afford to live there as he was a skilled university graduate working in his field of study.

Irene (mid-career and skilled) stated that safety and security was a major concern for her while living in South Africa. She was living in a block of flats in Pretoria central. Although she had migrated to South Africa during the late stage of the crisis in Zimbabwe where violent attacks of Zimbabweans by their government had been reported; she still believed that it was safer to live in Zimbabwe than in South Africa. Had it not been for the harsh economic conditions she would not have migrated. The inadequate police protection of migrants was another issue of concern. She stated that the modus vivendi for

migrants should be isolating themselves from South Africans and avoiding potentially dangerous situations.

Irene: Here. If you like...what can I say? We are not free. Something like that and you know like. It's not like at home.... here you can be robbed anywhere. You see the way I'm holding my phone? It's not safe because even...here a tsotsi (thief) can come and rob you while the police are watching, you cannot do anything...security here in South Africa it's not like home, you know at home its very rare to that someone has been killed there...We don't know, we don't have anything like that but here in South Africa, ahoowa, it's a daily issue. Someone is killed here, someone is robbed here, the police are watching, they don't do anything.

So when you are here, the only thing you have to do when you are a foreigner here, you must just mind your own business, just go and do your business. Don't do this jika jika! (play play). You will die aah, here you die my friend! I don't want to lie, so that has been the experience I am feeling.

John (late-career and highly-skilled) was of the same opinion as Irene. However, he was currently living in a middle class suburban area in Johannesburg. He stated that living in a security estate made him feel safer than staying anywhere else. The fear of potential victimization as a result of xenophobia and the lack of official

protection leads to the avoidance of living near the perceived potential perpetrators of violent behaviour. Studies have revealed that these perpetrators of xenophobic attacks are largely underprivileged Africans.

John: I feel like I need to be staying somewhere in a security zone, at home at work, when I travel I have to be extra vigilant, when I travel at night I have to be extra extra vigilant.

In the hopes of ensuring safety and security migrants have formed strong community ties with their countrymen organised around the necessity of camaraderie in the face of potential hostility. The participants in this study epitomise a diaspora in the sense that they seek the company of other Zimbabweans and provide support for each other around their commonality. These attitudes were reiterated by the Zimbabwean migrants in this study. The quotes below from John and Chido (late-career, highly skilled and skilled) illustrate the participants views:

John: I have to be with some Zimbabweans to have fun. Zimbabweans are so out of necessity I suppose but they have got their own... they bury their own, they welcome their own, they welcome newborn children, they welcome strangers that have come in also trying to seek relief. They take total strangers just because they are Zimbabwean into their own homes, share the food, and share the clothes.

Chido: You can only socialise when you go to church which is like once a week every Sunday for a few hours

that the only time you can socialise with other people (Zimbabweans). And also we sometimes go for gatherings, for parties with our fellow Zimbabweans... if there are graduation parties for our children like birthday parties. It's not as social as the normal way in which we should socialise... It's difficult.

However, the narratives of Martia (mid-career) and TJ (early-career) illustrate that community ties are not always created consciously. Such ties occur spontaneously as a result of the environment in which these migrants find themselves. Martia (semi-skilled) was living in an area that was largely populated by migrants. This area was densely populated and the living conditions were poor. TJ (skilled) stated that he found it easier to socialise with other Zimbabweans at his University as he felt more comfortable around Zimbabweans.

Martia: Where I was staying it was like a double storey building with other rooms at the back. And it was not like... it was not a nice place, because it was like a, the rent was cheap. South Africans they don't like that. They don't like it. Even where I stay now, it's a house where there are only Zimbabweans, there is no electricity... There is no water now, they didn't pay. So we use candles and the water is... the tap is leaking, so we just put the bucket.

You know South Africans they don't like these cheap places which are not...because, I was not staying in a

flat, I don't choose to stay in flats because it is expensive.

TJ: I haven't integrated into the South African system and culture at all... Yeah, I just used to play with Zimbabweans and that was it. Well, it wasn't a conscious choice...umm, I think it just happened naturally; it was always nice to hear somebody talking Shona from home you know... Like I mean, I don't think gravitating towards Zimbabweans was a conscious choice but I think a few of the times when I did try to mix and mingle with South Africans black, white, whatever. You know I did feel a little bit of resistance and you know I think there was just a silent undertone of discrimination, like you know...

TJ stated that although the discrimination he had faced played a part in his reasons for isolation, the opportunity to speak Shona and reminisce about home with fellow Zimbabweans also influenced his seclusion from South Africans. The participants seemed to justify their preference of isolating themselves from South Africans by focusing on the ease at which people gravitate towards others that are similar to them.

5.4.2.6 Police harassment

The issue of police brutality and corruption was another area of migrant frustration. Irene (mid-career) reflected on the issue of police inaction. She stated that the police did not adequately protect migrants and this led to her concern for her safety and security.

A number of incidents have been publicised on police corruption in South Africa. Viv, a Shona speaking male (early-career) was the only participant who had personal experience with police harassment:

Viv: I had met a couple of very corrupt guys who were always like asking for passports and all that... err, searching everywhere and at the end of the day you always give them a bit of something (a bribe) which I think as a normal resident citizen you are not supposed to be exposed to that, Yeah, I have never met thugs, but I have met better thugs (because they took money from him) who are the police.

They would stop you and street search you as if you are coming from a bank robbery or something, like literally going through your whole body and everything. Guns pointed at you, you feel so much intimidated because you don't even understand where it's coming from... like can someone pull a gun on me? Just to stop me or something like that. So you don't understand it like where is it coming from, then you have to pay something and they just disappear...

All the black participants regardless their race, age, gender, marital status and skill level stated that they feared police harassment as they had heard of other migrants who had suffered their brutality. The white and coloured participants were less fearful.

5.4.2.7 Concluding remarks

The experiences of participants in this study were discussed in order to ascertain the beneficial and detrimental aspects of migrating to South Africa. This was done to understand how these experiences could possibly influence their acumen to return home and rebuild. In accordance with Lee (1966) the participants' experiences in South Africa reveal that there are both positive and negative circumstances that influenced their decision to migrate. The decision to migrate is the outcome of the assessment of cost and benefits as postulated by the neo-classical micro-economic theory (Weinstein, 2001; Gelderblom, 2006). The major motive for migration was adverse economic conditions in Zimbabwe with better opportunities in South Africa. The benefits of working and earning wages in South Africa outweighed the potential risks associated with migration.

Most of the participants stated that they had not personally experienced racism, xenophobia, discrimination and police harassment. They had only heard of other migrants who had personal experiences with these issues and therefore did their best to avoid situations where they could potentially be exposed to these negative incidents. Their awareness of such negative experiences, however, reminded them that they were immigrants and not fully integrated into the South African society.

5.5 Views on 'returning home' and 'rebuilding'

The participants were subsequently asked about their plans for the future. Would they return to work and rebuild Zimbabwe? Was permanent relocation to South Africa an option? These are some of the questions this research endeavour was seeking to answer.

Tinevimbo and VP (early career) were the only two participants who revealed that they would relocate permanently to South Africa if the opportunity to do so availed itself. They both had family in South Africa. Tinevimbo's siblings were living and working in Gauteng and one of VP's siblings was studying in Pretoria and his parents lived in Johannesburg. This influenced their consideration of relocating permanently.

Tinevimbo was undecided about returning to Zimbabwe one day. However, she was willing to do whatever was best for her career advancement in South Africa. VP saw South Africa as a place where he could find better employment opportunities and also as a stepping stone to go abroad if he could not settle down in South Africa. He did not see his future in Zimbabwe and was therefore reluctant to return to rebuild the country. When asked whether they would relocate permanently to South Africa their responses were as follows:

VP: Yes, probably, possibly, because I do think that there are opportunities here that I could get myself into and then even get myself a stepping stone to the bigger wider world.

Tinevimbo: Uhhh, yes, it's an option for me. I am considering the option. If I do want to climb the ladder, be a partner at any auditing firm I'm hearing that I'm supposed to be a South African citizen...or at least get permanent residence here and have South African documents to be considered. So if I do want to achieve that then I guess we have to get that.

When asked about returning home to Zimbabwe it became apparent that the participants' responses reflected an internal conflict between doing what they believed was morally expected of them as responsible Zimbabwean citizens – to return home and rebuild the country and doing what was best for themselves. The migrants in this study exhibited the traits of a diaspora and a migrant community. Being this as it may, their community ties, attachment to Zimbabwe and self-identification as Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa have led to these feeling of being morally expected to contribute towards the rebuilding of Zimbabwe.

According the Hegelian philosophy, morality is directly linked to the moral values, duties and social practices in existing communities. For Hegel, Rousseau and Herder, ethical life can only be sustained through involvement with “culture, values and practices of an existing community” (West, 1996:36). Morally they believed that they should go back and rebuild but the migrants were of the opinion that this decision would be at the expense of their personal betterment given the current economic and political situation. Richard (early-career) and John (late-career) best personify this internal conflict. Richard had been living in South Africa for 3 years and John for 11 years.

Richard: So now it is very hard to expect an individual to say “let me give away the comfort that I am trying to attain from education and working hard and then go back there and slave”. It is very hard. Look, if there was a whole united front, maybe we would be able to make a difference. But if I decide that okay let me go home and try and do something in Zim there are so many things working against me (the economy, lack of basic

services and stable environment). I can try and make a difference in Zim by restructuring the economy, the financial structure but we have redundant policies in place that do not allow you to bring about that change. So there are so many barriers.

John: I have property in Zimbabwe and also I am the eldest in my family, now I know and I will always have be thinking about going back, I can't now start living here as a South African and go back to Zimbabwe 10, 15 years later.

I would like to go back to visit but not stay, because what worries me now my kids are grown up now, they cannot now go back to Zim and find a job there and start a life, its not like it was for us in 1979, 1980, 1981. The Zimbabwe of 2011, 2012 sees an employment rate of 20% or less. It doesn't benefit anymore to be a university graduate in Zimbabwe because you end up as a peasant.

The discourse further highlighted that some of the participants' views differed depending on their age and the number of years that they had spent in South Africa. Natalie, Dale and Ruva had interesting responses when asked when they would return home. Natalie and Ruva, both female students between the ages of 21-34, are at opposite sides of the pole. Natalie had been in South Africa for a year and a half and Ruva for 10 years. Dale, a 23 year old male, had been living in South Africa for 5 years. He was non-committal; he is a free spirit with regards to his future employment and is willing to go

wherever opportunities take him. When asked about when they would return home their responses were as follows:

Natalie: I think when I finish (my studies). I have one more year here in South Africa.

Ruva: No. I don't, I feel like South Africa is my home now; I have lived here for the majority, almost the majority of my life. I have got more memories in South Africa, more friends in South Africa. My immediate family has become my main family now, I don't think about my extended family as much as I used to, I feel like I understand the South African culture more than I understand my own culture. It's becoming home, it is home, and I understand it better so it is my home now more than Zimbabwe is.

If I return to Zimbabwe it's just to visit family members, I don't have any intention of working there.

Dale: I will go wherever that path will lead me...but it's probably not going to lead me home, because my parents insisted that I do not return home unless I can actually afford to buy a house and look after myself. I'm not settled on a particular country. Wherever the path takes me, that's where I'll go.

Natalie had studied and lived in America for two years prior to migrating to South Africa. She transferred her studies to South Africa as she wanted to be close to home. Her family still lives and works

in Zimbabwe and as a result she truly wanted to return home once she had completed her studies to join them.

Although Ruva felt as though South Africa was her home she was adamant that she would never change her Zimbabwean citizenship. The nuances behind that statement reveal that although she felt at home in South Africa she felt some attachment towards Zimbabwe. She affirmed that she would return to Zimbabwe to visit her family and that she would take her children to Zimbabwe one day introducing them to their ancestry.

Dale – white male (early-career) was prepared to migrate to any location that would offer him more opportunities. The current situation in Zimbabwe was not one in which he felt that he would be able to attain his career goals as an aspiring chartered accountant. He goes on to say that under his parents advice he would only return when he could buy a house in Zimbabwe. This encouragement to work hard and accumulate income after completing tertiary education was a means to ensure that their son's future would be economically secure.

Martia, a 36 year old Shona female, had been living in South Africa for 3 years. Martia is a divorced single mother who has dependents in Zimbabwe. She was hoping to return to Zimbabwe permanently as soon as she raised enough capital to sustain herself and to be able to open up a market stall in Zimbabwe.

Martia: Me, I am just thinking this year, if I can get the money, end of December or January; it will be busy, because many people will be going home. So I prefer January or February – buses will be cheap. So I am

just thinking if I cannot go December, maybe January or February because the money I am targeting.

Natalie (early-career) and Martia (mid-career) were the only two participants who envisage their immediate future in Zimbabwe. Natalie stated that she would return to Zimbabwe as soon as she had completed her studies in South Africa. She had family in Zimbabwe and visited them regularly. Martia revealed that she was saving up money so she could return home permanently.

The remaining eighteen participants had similar responses to the participants in Chetsanga's (2002) study. They stated that the reasons for not wanting to return to Zimbabwe in the immediate future ranged from economic to social and political reasons. In most cases migrants have decided to return to Zimbabwe when the situation improves, they are disinclined to permanently settle in South Africa.

Gerald: I would like to go back, not in the immediate future though...because obviously, I feel things aren't where they are supposed to be. The situation back there is not conducive for me to, you know, reach my potential at least so far as my work goes, you know... So not immediately but eventually, I would love to go. I see myself going back.

Rutendo: When I came I wanted to stay for 7 Years in South Africa, maybe when I'm 30 I would want to move to Zimbabwe. Probably because I think I would have achieved everything I wanted to career wise and I'm

thinking I'd want to settle down...I did a BCom, I'm in the business industry, I'd like to start my own company. But obviously it's very difficult in South Africa so...I would to stay here 7 Years and achieve what I can achieve career wise, then maybe settle down in Zimbabwe. Obviously that may change so I don't know.

TJ: I think the first thing on the agenda is definitely to work on my career umm, definitely to work on my career...Still studying further and I want to gain experience in the corporate world. I hope that materialises but definitely in the future I want to move back to Zim.

Richard: No I don't see myself in Zimbabwe permanently, because as much as things are getting better there, the (direction) at which my life is going umm, I don't know maybe when I am very old I guess. For the things that I want to do, I won't be able to do them there.

Dale (early-career) best reflects the sentiments of most of the participants on returning home. He stated that it would have been ideal to work in Zimbabwe after he had completed his studies if the environment was stable and conducive for work and family life. The economic, social and political instability hindered their return to Zimbabwe. Like Richard, he was worried that he would be unable to earn a living wage in Zimbabwe. However, he does see himself in Zimbabwe in the next ten to fifteen years when the economy is

stable. Nevertheless, the idea of rebuilding the country in the near future was not in his plans.

The current situation in Zimbabwe suggests that economic and political stability will not be achieved in the immediate future and will therefore hamper the return of migrants; and ultimately their participation in a rebuilding process.

In November 2011, Zimbabwean finance minister Tendai Biti estimated that the country's economy would expand to 9.4 percent in 2012. Analysts have however stated that this will be difficult to accomplish because of political uncertainty caused specifically by the indigenisation law which threatened businesses. The timing of the elections with potential conflict as well as the global economic downturn were also factors that had an impact.

The indigenisation and economic empowerment law's main objective is to achieve 51 percent indigenous black Zimbabwean shareholding in existing businesses with the owners given a five-year period to comply. Indigenisation is negatively impacting on investor confidence given the lack of consensus on how it should be implemented as well as which companies are going to be affected. The current perception amongst Zimbabweans of economic growth is the result of the increased productivity of major companies such as Delta Corporation, Econet Wireless Zimbabwe, and Imnscor Africa. The demand growth for their products suggests that consumer spending is growing driven by formal and informal market activity. However, constraints to wider economic growth in agricultural output, foreign investment, utilities and so forth remain in place (The Financial Gazette, January 6-11 2012).

Land invasions are prevalent in Zimbabwe and have a negative impact on agricultural production as the economy in general. One of Zimbabwe's leading timber companies – Border Timbers has recently been forced to close after villagers settled themselves in the company's timber plantation. The company's vast plantations have been turned into small pockets of maize fields. The estate manager who was unnamed for fear of victimisation was quoted to have said that

“...about 2 500 hectares of our estate has been illegally taken over by villagers who have parcelled themselves pieces of land. Our hands are tied because the invasions are being coordinated by politicians” (The Financial Gazette, January 6-11 2012:11).

The occurrences of land invasion and the fear of victimisation in 2012 prove that the situation in Zimbabwe is unstable. A leading Zimbabwean newspaper *The Financial Gazette* recently reported that the occurrence of the 2012 elections is doubtful. SADC, the MDC and the elected facilitator in the Zimbabwean crisis – South African President Jacob Zuma have insisted that any talks of Presidential and parliamentary elections at this stage is counter-productive. In order to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe enabling mechanisms and the right political climate need to be in place. Reforms such as the drafting of a new constitution; appointing a new board for the Zimbabwean Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) – in a bid to reconstitute media trust and come up with new non-interventionist media laws; the completion and drafting of a new voters roll; legislative reform and so forth need to be completed. Civil society has added that the minimum electoral conditions must be met before

staging fresh polls, among them the deploying of local and foreign observers six months before the elections (The Financial Gazette, January 6-11 2012).

Conversely, ZANU-PF has said that elections will be held in 2012 with or without the new constitution to terminate the coalition government. The party's push for elections is premised in what it has called irreconcilable differences between itself and MDC (The Financial Gazette, January 6-11 2012).

According to the 2008 voters roll, the bulk of Zimbabwe's registered voters reside in the countryside or rural areas, mostly former strongholds of ZANU-PF. Rural Zimbabwean women have recently expressed their fears of a repeat of the horrors of sexual violence against them reminiscent of the 2008 elections and are weary of the looming elections (The Financial Gazette, January 6-11 2012). The fear of violence and lack of economic and political stability will have a negative effect on the return of migrants to Zimbabwe.

The participants were asked about what would motivate them to return home and rebuild the country. This was done in a bid to understand the changes they would like to see in Zimbabwe and the policies that need to be implemented to encourage Zimbabwean migrants' to return home. Their views ranged from the need for economic and financial development to political and social respect and the improvement of facilities in Zimbabwe.

VP – white male and Ruva – Ndebele female both in the early career phase affirmed that they would be motivated to return to Zimbabwe if there was a well developed economy and opportunities for them to put their skills to the best use.

Political and social respect for one another and a harmonious lifestyle environment was another important motivating factor. Earlier VP had stated that he would consider permanent relocation to South Africa. He was reluctant to return home in the current economic climate, however he affirmed that if opportunities became available he would be motivated to return home.

Ruva: A drastic change in the economic situation first of all. I feel like it's not developed at all. It is not developed enough for me, so if there was some sort of development from the country. I don't know. I feel like it behind. The country is extremely behind now especially for what I want to do, its not gonna assist me in anyway. So yes, there was more security in Zimbabwe, economically, financially and things like that. If there was more security I would leave (South Africa) if there was more development then I would leave to go and stay back there.

Ruva's statement reveals some ambivalence. Although she felt at home in South Africa she would be motivated to return to Zimbabwe when the situation improves.

Chido, a Shona female (late-career), stated that she would be motivated to return to Zimbabwe if the political situation changed.

Chido: As soon as there s a regime change we can go back anytime. Because like now everything is so much ZANU-PF and ZANU-PF if you are a member of the (unnamed) opposition there is really nothing much you

can do, and when they know that you are a member of the opposition then you go back home they are always watching you and watching your moves and how you conduct your business.

Some of the participants stated that a lack of adequate facilities deterred them from returning home. Sheila – a Shona female (mid-career), felt that her disabled child was better off living and attending school in South Africa where the facilities were of high-quality. Similarly, John was concerned about retiring in Zimbabwe where satisfactory health care and well being could not be guaranteed.

Sheila: Yeah, I do, I do go back to Zimbabwe for visiting but I wish my country would go back to normal again, that is my biggest wish. I have got family back home. For me, coming here was not by choice it was because of my personal issue. I love Zimbabwe so much...even if I go back to Zimbabwe, what about my daughter, I think about her. I won't be able to get a day care centre with enough facilities for her (in Zimbabwe).

John: Because you know at this age, stage in my life, I need to be assured that if I need medication I get proper medication, medical assistance that is value for money that is also a degree of quality that is something you can recommend to foreign visitors.

I feel that maybe whether I am in Pretoria or Harare at some stage I will need to be retiring and not going to work, but I find that you know, I've got at this stage better chances you know of living a descent life now in

South Africa than I would in Harare mostly because of lack of facilities.

Most of the participants wanted to make a difference by rebuilding and bringing about change in Zimbabwe. Their ambitions for bringing about change are discussed below. As a fellow Zimbabwean I found this encouraging. It gave me hope for a better future to come. However they seemed reluctant to return immediately. It became evident that their contribution to rebuilding would come at a later stage once the economic, political and social climate was conducive for their return. In essence it appeared as though they were waiting for the society to be rebuilt by the government before they returned home. Their perceptions were based on their evaluation of their individual calculations of the opportunities that would be available for them in Zimbabwe to make a difference.

Chido: Ideally it would be to go back to Zim, we really want to go back home and to start rebuilding our country but at the moment it's not conducive, it's not permissive, I cannot say it's the right moment to go back. The only thing we can do now is to support family back home, to send money and just to give them our support but otherwise if only the government would change its (economic, political and social) policies then it will be better for us to go back...it is my home, it is our home and we really want to rebuild our country and to make it a better place for everyone.

Chido was contemplating retiring. She hoped to start an NGO or a small business/ farming project where she would be able to play a

part in rebuilding Zimbabwe by creating employment opportunities and therefore be in a position to help her family and those in need. Angela believed that all Zimbabweans regardless their age, gender, sex or race have skills that they can use to contribute towards rebuilding the country. Her passion is gender activism and she wants to use this passion, skills and experience in this field as a means of helping women in Zimbabwe.

Sam wanted to contribute towards rebuilding Zimbabwe in the education sector. He aspired to lecture at the University of Zimbabwe where he had studied.

Sam: I would like to go and teach in Zimbabwe one way or the other. I would like to go and sit in my favourite professors' office and teach from there. That is one of my ambitions (laugh). Umm, but it is an ambition.

Sam also believed that he could contribute towards rebuilding Zimbabwe now by sending remittances and by contributing to the body of knowledge on Zimbabwe by conducting research in his home town.

Rutendo, Tinevimbo (Shona females, early-career) and John (late-career) hoped to contribute towards the Zimbabwean economy. If she returned, Rutendo wanted to start a business in the entertainment industry that would target community development and would have a positive impact on young children. Tinevimbo also hoped to contribute economically by starting an internal auditing firm in Zimbabwe that would give her fellow Zimbabweans who have an interest in this career an opportunity to work and grow in it. Her

contribution would include advising companies in Zimbabwe on how to have good corporate governance status. She aspired to be a role model for young women in Zimbabwe by encouraging them to have goals and to enter the field of business. John was interested in starting a tourism company that would showcase Zimbabwe's beauty. Tourism would bring foreign currency and in turn foreign investment. However issues of adequate services, health care and availability of commodities made him hesitant to return and rebuild Zimbabwe.

Their responses revealed some idealism and romanticism and also appeared to be socially acceptable responses. The participants seemed to want to portray themselves in a positive light to the researcher by giving 'correct' answers; this made their responses somewhat idealistic.

Different positions arose on who should return and rebuild Zimbabwe. John (late-career) poses an important challenge to the younger generation to return home and begin the rebuilding process. He is of the opinion that the older generation had their turn in liberating the country from colonization and that it now was the youth who should rise to the occasion. He also urged Aid agencies and NGO to remain enthusiastic in their endeavour to help the people of Zimbabwe.

John: I believe I'm too old for that (rebuilding Zimbabwe). I've done my part you know as a youngster we fought for...against racism, apartheid, political freedom, voting. You know it was a think that we were always prepared to die for and a lot of us died, I mean

umm, my generation, in that quest. So in 1979, 1980, independence in Zimbabwe came, it was for me like, it was the last...may we have peace in our time for the rest of our lives now. I mean at this stage it is something that we must pass the baton onto, to our kids now.

I must tell you that my youngest is 21 and my eldest is 28 so... I think I would just rather watch my kids and my grand kids grow up. Because that's what I fought for! Now they must carry the fight forward if they believe, you know there is something worth fighting for.

I would like to say you know, until or unless you see a sense of patriotism among our children, my children, the patriotism that says no no, I belong to this place, I am going to go back to my people like we had in the 60s and 70s you know where a lot of young people left the country, only as a temporary measure and they left so that they could go and garner resources, equip themselves so that they could come back and fight another day.

I think the way forward is first of all – international communities should remain engaged, they should not have donor or support fatigue that we have seen among most international institutions, which after a while you know...this thing has not changed. It is not going to change easily because you know, the same

people have entrenched themselves for 30 years and they are only beginning to see a part of it.

When the participants in their early careers between the ages of 21-34 were asked whether there is anything that they think they could do now to improve the situation and rebuild Zimbabwe their responses were as follows:

TJ: Err, its not that that is what I want to do its just that I feel like right now I can't make a big difference because I don't have the capacity to! You know, I don't have the capacity to... I don't have the knowledge, I don't have the experience, I don't have the capital, I don't have the connections, I don't have the networks. So, Yeah, my effect would be very limited.

Chipo: Honestly speaking, No. I don't know how I can help. (pause) you get to a point of helplessness, of not knowing what exactly can you say? And what exactly can you do? And what's right and what's wrong. You could be doing something thinking you are helping your country and then when it comes out you are actually going against your country...it's like you know what, let the politics just solve themselves and it's done.

And then if I go back to Zim, I am really not prepared like what I said, it's like we are stuck I am really not prepared. I don't want to be stuck like in a circle of where do I get US dollars... where do I do this... what's happening? And whatever.

Janeⁱⁱ: I don't want to lie to you, I don't think there is anything I can do to help or to rebuild Zimbabwe. What can I do to help? For the country to be better? Where do I fit in? All I can do is try to help my family. I will only go back when things are better. The way the country is governed need to be changed. I do vote but it doesn't make a difference. Even if you ask me to sing the ZANU-PF slogan or the MDC slogan today, I do not know it and I do not care. There is nothing I can do to change anything as an individual.

The participants in their early careers seemed to focus on the obstacles rather than the opportunities available in Zimbabwe. The challenge put forward by John that the youth should spearhead the revival and rebuilding process seemed to fall on deaf ears. It seemed that most of the participants between the ages of 21 and 34 believed that there was not much that they could do at the moment to improve the situation back home.

Why do the Zimbabwean youth in Gauteng feel so powerless? What can be done to empower and mobilize these young adults? Richard and Ruva attempted to shed some light on the matter and responded to the challenge put forth by John.

Richard: Umm, I think he is very justified in saying that, but at the same time there are some people who are in a position to help and then there are some people who need to look out for themselves. Basically the levels of suffering that I have seen people going through in Zimbabwe are such that it is a bit much to

expect someone to just go through it and try to you know be strong.

It is a very difficult life and everybody is trying to get their lives on track, so as much as people would want to help, most people are first trying to get their lives on track. Most of the people who already want to go back and help have their lives on track, they have investments, they have assets they have a cushion on which they can fall on if things don't work out. So it's not as if the youth have let Zimbabwe go, most of the people are I know are very proud to be from Zimbabwe. So it's just a difficult life. For the guys who are older, I understand that they fought the Chimurenga and so forth, the time when they were living in Zimbabwe things were much better.

Ruva response to the challenge put forth by John was as follows:

Ruva: I think to change a country you need to understand everything it has gone through, we as the youth in Zimbabwe who are overseas can't go back and try to change things that we don't understand. A lot of us weren't there when all these things happened, so we can't change things that we don't know. We don't know what happened.

I feel like if the youth is changing anything it has to be the youth that stayed in Zimbabwe their entire lives, people who have seen the transition, who have seen

the changes, we can't come to Zimbabwe now and try and fix things when I don't know basic history, basic language things as much as the people who have been there.

I think Zimbabwe should have incentives for the youth to return, at the moment I don't feel like there is a reason for me to go home. I feel like there is too much politics going on, I feel like too many people have got opinions about everything. If I were to return what can I do to change it? The country has already made up its mind about different issues.

The people who actually fight for the right things are assassinated and killed and tortured. I don't feel like I will make a difference if I go back.

I feel like the country is extremely stubborn under stubborn leadership. There is nothing that I can do right now, I feel like the people, the older people who are 35 and up, our uncles and Aunts, the people who were there through the good and the bad, the currency change and everything, they are the ones that must lead the country now and bring it back to what it used to be.

Ruva and Richard's responses to John's challenge to the youth to return home reiterated the views of all the young participants in study who believed that they were incapable of bringing about change in Zimbabwe in the near future. Ruva argues that the youth currently living in Zimbabwe aided by the middle aged and older generation

must spearhead the rebuilding process. The youth in the diaspora cannot bring about change in Zimbabwe at the moment as they are not in tune with what is happening on the ground in Zimbabwe. Richard believed that although the political climate was oppressive during colonialism the economic conditions were more favourable than they were in contemporary Zimbabwe; making the decision to return and rebuild the country more challenging.

The discourse highlights a lack of ownership in the rebuilding process. The early-career, mid-career and late career participants in this study were waiting for someone else, a “messiah” to champion the rebuilding process in Zimbabwe. They were reluctant to return home and rebuild in the current context.

It is also evident that the participants believe that the Zimbabwean government needs to have policies and incentives in place to motivate migrants’ to return home. The political situation in Zimbabwe needs to be stabilised. Political stability will be a catalyst for economic recovery and reconstruction. Migrants’ fear of political persecution and violence are hindering their return.

The last chapter provides a summary of the research findings, the limitation of the study and areas of possible further studies.

Chapter 6

Summary of findings and conclusion

6. Introduction

Past research has revealed that Zimbabweans are migrating to more affluent parts of the world for work purposes. The study gives a description and exposition of the perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants or 'returning home' and 'rebuilding the country' taking into consideration the Zimbabwean context and how it may or may not influence the migrants' decision-making process. To understand the context, the research focused on the initial factors that entice Zimbabweans to migrate to Gauteng and the 'motivating factors', if any, for returning home to work and rebuild the country.

6.1 Summary of findings

The participants gave expositions of their lives prior to migrating to South Africa. Three periods of migration were identified. Namely: during the early stage of the crisis (1998-2002); during the mid-stage of the crisis (2003-2006) and during the late stage of the crisis in Zimbabwe merging with the current condition in Zimbabwe (2007-2011).

Seven participants had migrated during the early-stage of the crisis. Four were in their early-career. Three early-career participants (Angela, Ruva and TJ) had migrated as adolescents with their parents; one early-career participant (Jane) had migrated with her friends in her early twenties. Angela, Ruva, TJ and Jane were young when they had migrated and perceived living conditions in Zimbabwe as being comfortable before they had migrated. Their perceptions

were influenced by their youthful dispositions and the sheltering they had been given by their parents and benefactors. One can assume that the adolescences were not involved in the decision making on migration to South Africa.

One mid-career participant (Sheila) had migrated during the early stage of the crisis. She stated that living conditions in Zimbabwe had always been difficult for her as a single parent without support and that her daughter was disabled and did not receive adequate care and facilities in Zimbabwe.

Two late-career participants (John and Chido) migrated during the early stage of the crisis. They stated that living conditions in Zimbabwe prior to their migration was comfortable. However, as the economic crisis worsened they decided to migrate in the hopes of being able to better provide and support their families. Chido added that her family members had been persecuted because of political differences. This had a major impact on her decision to migrate.

Seven participants migrated during the mid-stage of the crisis. They were all in the early-career phase. Six had migrated for study purposes and one had initially migrated on a temporary basis and subsequently migrated to earn income. The participants stated that they (as children) had comfortable lives in Zimbabwe. Similar to the early-career participants who had migrated during the early stage of the crisis their views were also based on the childhood sheltering they had experienced as children.

Six participants migrated during the late stage of the crisis. Four participants were in their early-career phase and two in their mid-career phase. Their perceptions on life in Zimbabwe before

migration were similar. They stated that they had faced economic hardship. Rutendo stated that life for her as a child was comfortable in Zimbabwe. She acknowledged that she had not been fully exposed to the hardship as a child.

Three participants Dale, VP (early-career) and Chido (late-career) stated that political unrest influenced their decision to migrate. Chido had first hand experience of political violence. A member of her family was brutally attacked because of his political affiliation.

Dale and VP did not have personal experiences of political unrest. However, they stated that some of their friends' farms had been occupied by war veterans or people claiming that they were war veterans. This in turn made them insecure about their position in the country and ultimately played a role in their decision to migrate. The general trend was that migrants would be motivated to return home if Zimbabwe's political situation became more stable.

Zimbabwean migrants were concerned about their future. They believed that they would be unable to reach their full potential while living in Zimbabwe. Gerald, Chipso and Rutendo had hoped that migrating to South Africa would provide better education, income, comfort and living conditions. They believed that South Africa had better opportunities and that they could reach their full potential and pursue their goals.

Family structure also affected decisions to migrate. Nine of the participants had migrated with their families. Chipso discusses how her extended family members influenced her decision to migrate to South Africa. Her aunts who were living abroad were willing to

sponsor her studies in South Africa. This made it easier for her to migrate to South Africa. Ruva had migrated with her family ten years ago and is currently studying in Pretoria.

The participants were asked about their experiences in South Africa. They stated that they had both positive and negative experiences in South Africa. The positive experiences revolved around accessing better educational and employment opportunities as well as better facilities and quality of life.

Their negative experiences were related to their dashed expectations in the employment sector, racism, xenophobia, languages barriers, police harassment and a lack of safety and security. As identified by Sinclair (1999), the participants in this study devised a number of coping strategies such as forming community ties with fellow Zimbabweans, assimilating, or isolating themselves as a means of protection from the abovementioned negative experiences. White, coloured and Ndebele speaking Zimbabweans stated that they found it easier to assimilate/pass as South Africans.

The two white Zimbabweans believed that it was because they were considered to be affluent by South Africans and did not pose a threat of competing for resources, employment and government grants. The white, coloured and Ndebele speaking Zimbabweans had fewer negative experiences in South Africa as they were able to “pass” as South Africans and therefore avoided conflict with the local population.

All of the participants believed that language barriers cause of conflict between foreigners and South Africans. The seventeen African migrants believed that they carry the burden of having to

demonstrate proficiency in a local African language in the hopes of “fitting in” or “passing” as South Africans. They argued that the best survival strategies to counter these negative experiences were learning South African languages, assimilating, isolating themselves and adhering to their way of life.

Of the twenty participants, only two – Martia and Natalie affirmed that they would be returning home in the immediate future. The other participants that they would consider returning to Zimbabwe when the situation improves, they are disinclined to permanently settle in South Africa. Economic and political instability was an area of concern.

John challenged the Zimbabwean youth staying in the diaspora to return home and begin the rebuilding process. He also hoped that Aid agencies and NGO working in Zimbabwe would remain enthusiastic in their endeavour to help the people of Zimbabwe.

The participants between the ages of 21 and 34 perceived themselves as being incapable of substantially improving the situation in Zimbabwe. They seemed to focus on the potential challenges they believed they would encounter in Zimbabwe rather than the opportunities that would be available. Richard and Ruva were the most vocal on the matter. Ruva argues that only the middle aged and older generation could bring about change in Zimbabwe at the moment as they had already established their careers. Richards stated that these age groups were better equipped to provide the expertise and guidance needed to rebuild the country. The youth needed to develop themselves and then return to Zimbabwe and used the skills they had acquired when the situation has stabilised.

The participants had nostalgic feelings towards Zimbabwe and being Zimbabwean, they exhibited traits of a diaspora. They all wanted to make a difference in Zimbabwe but only at a later stage when the economic, political and social climate was conducive for returning. Their perceptions were based on their evaluation of their individual calculations of the opportunities that would be available for them in Zimbabwe to make a difference.

Angela believed that all Zimbabweans have skills that they can use to contribute towards rebuilding the country. Chido wanted to contribute by creating employment opportunities in Zimbabwe for fellow Zimbabweans and by helping her family and those in need. Sam wanted to lecture at the University of Zimbabwe and conduct research. He also believed that sending remittances was another way in which migrants could help rebuild Zimbabwe. Rutendo, Tinevimbo and John wanted to start businesses that would boost the economy bringing in foreign currency and investment.

6.2 Why is the study significant?

The study is significant as a number of debates have been sparked by issues relating to the migration of foreign nationals into South Africa. Non-South Africans are increasingly visible in the streets. Some locals are beginning to feel overwhelmed by their large numbers.

Scholarly studies have been previously conducted indicated that a large number of Zimbabweans living in the diaspora intended to return to Zimbabwe in the future (Mc Donald et al., 2000; Chetsanga, 2002; Sisulu et al., 2007; Bloch, 2008). However, these studies did not explore the ideas surrounding the notion of rebuilding Zimbabwe and the possible contributions individuals in the diaspora can make

towards this process. This study focuses on the matter; however, given the current situation in Zimbabwe the findings reveal that most migrants in this study are not ready to return home and rebuild the country.

Migrants appeared to give socially acceptable responses which demonstrated their enthusiasm toward rebuilding the country. While revealing their hesitation to return to Zimbabwe before the economic and political situation stabilises and opportunities for better living and working conditions avail themselves.

Migration does not occur in a vacuum. When people migrate they have an effect on the receiving and the sending country. Some debates about the substantial costs and benefits of migration have also arisen. It is argued that there is a close correlation between migration to South Africa and the trade and investment benefits accruing to the country. Increased migration to South Africa appears to have coincided with a widening trade imbalance in favour of South Africa. A number of observers have pointed out that South Africa has benefited disproportionately from regional trade and foreign direct investment. But at the same time it is recognised that the country has also been the source of substantial direct and indirect capital investment into the SADC region.

In general population movements are seen as having a beneficial effect on the receiving country and a negative effect on the sending country. The departure of migrants reduces a country's ability to produce and hence reduces income in that country. Zimbabwe's recovery process will largely be influenced by homecoming or lack thereof by migrants scattered all over the diaspora. Zimbabwean migrants in the diaspora have certain work related skills that can be

transferred to others and/or used in different sectors of the Zimbabwean economy and therefore contribute to the process of rebuilding. This makes their perceptions on returning home and rebuilding the country noteworthy.

6.3 Limitations of the study

It is a small scale study, twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted. Therefore the study represents the views of a small sample of Zimbabwean migrants. In spite of selecting for diversity by keeping a matrix in mind, the participants in this study are largely from middle class families.

Socio-economic class and education to a greater extent may have negatively impacted on the research in some cases and in others it proved to be advantageous. I found that it was difficult for unskilled and semi-skilled interviewees to speak openly to me at first; however, with time they began to see me as one of them. My education seemed to be advantageous while interviewing the skilled and highly-skilled who appeared to respond positively to the study and saw the value of undertaking such a research endeavour. This possibly could have been their way of providing socially acceptable responses to generate 'good' research or to please the researcher.

My position as a fellow Zimbabwean living in Gauteng seemed to facilitate the research process as they perceived me as one of them. The most important limitation of interviews is that the presence of the researcher can affect the research itself (Langhout, 2006). My race, ethnicity, sex, social status, age, clothing and grooming may have subtly impacted my interaction with interviewees regardless of the measure taken to curtail these limitations. A large number of studies

have shown that these differences can have an effect on the quality of the data received.

While conducting the research, I was faced with a number of obstacles; one being the inability and difficulty to adequately locate and interview willing participants of all races. Another obstacle that I was faced with was the reluctance of participants who fall within the upper age ranges to participate in the study.

As a young woman, I felt that my position may have been somewhat of a hindrance to the study as it was difficult for older participants to open up and discuss personal aspects of their life experiences and plans for the future; as they perceived me as a child.

6.4 Revisiting the research questions

The primary question addressed in this study was whether Zimbabwean migrants in the sample intended on returning home and rebuilding the country. The responses of the participants in this study revealed an internal conflict between doing what was morally expected of them – returning home and rebuilding the country and fulfilling their personal goals and actualising their dream of a better life into reality.

The secondary questions that were examined looked at migrants' reasons for migrating to South Africa; whether they have nostalgic feelings toward their home country; if they want to contribute to the process of rebuilding Zimbabwe; and what they think they can contribute toward the process of rebuilding.

Their reasons for migrating to South Africa were largely related to economic factors; however political instability also had an impact.

These reasons were also a factor in impeding their return to Zimbabwe. Feelings of nostalgia were evident in most migrants; the participants in the study had elaborate dreams of returning home in the future. It is the nostalgia that contributed to the ‘moral’ pressure to commit to returning some time in the future and to indicate that they would contribute to rebuilding the country. These dreams revolved around the issue of how they could contribute. They exemplified a diaspora as defined by Soanes (2007). Some of the migrants provided socially acceptable answers that were non-committal especially with regard to specifying when they would return home and rebuild. They seemed to focus on the obstacles rather than the opportunities available in Zimbabwe.

The youth felt that they were incapable of making a difference as they were still in the early stages of their careers. The middle aged participants were indifferent, the late-career participants were “passing the baton” to their younger counterparts to rebuild the country. The responses of migrants in this study revealed that they wanted to contribute towards the process of rebuilding Zimbabwe but only when the economic and political environment was conducive to do so. It was evident that the participants felt that there were unable to contribute towards rebuilding Zimbabwe at this stage.

6.5 Avenues for further research

Avenues other than remittances that migrants’ can use to contribute towards rebuilding Zimbabwe need further exploration. There are several organizations and institutions discussed in this study that are encouraging and assisting Zimbabweans in the diaspora to return home and rebuild the country. These forums need to be exposed and

publicised in a medium that is more accessible to all migrants in the diaspora.

Issues surrounding the “passing of the baton” to the youth to return home and rebuild is another area where further research can be conducted. The challenge posed by a late-career participant to the Zimbabwean youth to spearhead the rebuilding process by utilising the skills they have accumulated in the diaspora needs to be researched at greater length. This would aid in understanding the mindset of Zimbabwean migrants in the study who seemed to have a lack of ownership towards the process of rebuilding. They believed that the responsibility to rebuild should be shifted elsewhere as they did not have the capacity to facilitate and/or actively participate in the rebuilding process in the near future.

Conditions needed to facilitate/motivate Zimbabweans in the diaspora to return home and rebuild the country need to be clearly identified in order for successful implementation to occur. Why do Zimbabweans need to be motivated to return to their country? These conditions can only be identified by conducting further research.

Where does this leave Zimbabwe? It would be interesting to find out if all migrants in the diaspora face the dilemma of feeling morally obligated to return home and rebuild or if they are focusing on their individual futures and are taking advantage of all the opportunities available outside of Zimbabwe. Most importantly, who will step forward and rebuild Zimbabwe to create a brighter better future.

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8. Appendix

8.1 Demographic profile of participants

8.2 Bio-demographic questionnaire

8.3 Interview schedule

8.4 Information letter

8.5 Formal acknowledgment of consent

8.6 Excerpt from Shona transcript

Appendix 8.1 Demographic profile of participants

Pseudonym	Age cohort	Gender	Race	Marital status	Skill level
1. Rutendo	21-34	Female	African	Single	Skilled
2. TJ	21-34	Male	African	Single	Highly skilled
3. Gerald	21-34	Male	African	Single	Highly skilled
4. Tinevimbo	21-34	Female	African	Single	Skilled
5. Jane	21-34	Female	African	Divorced	Semi-skilled
6. Irene	35-54	Female	African	Divorced	Skilled
7. Sheila	35-54	Female	African	Divorced	Unskilled
8. Viv	21-34	Male	African	Cohabiting	Skilled
9. Chipso	21-34	Female	African	Cohabiting	Skilled
10. John	55-65	Male	African	Married	Highly skilled
11. Chido	55-65	Female	African	Married	Skilled
12. Dale	21-34	Male	White	Single	Highly skilled
13. Aaron	21-34	Male	African	Single	Skilled
14. VP	21-34	Male	White	Single	Highly skilled
15. Martia	35-54	Female	African	Divorced	Semi-skilled
16. Sam	21-34	Male	African	Single	Skilled
17. Ruva	21-34	Female	African	Single	Skilled
18. Richard	21-34	Male	African	Single	Skilled
19. Angela	21-34	Female	African	Single	Highly skilled
20. Natalie	21-34	Female	Coloured	Single	Skilled

Appendix 8.2 Bio-demographic questionnaire



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Bio-demographic questionnaire

Name

.....

Age ☐ 21-34 ☐ 35-54 ☐ 55-65.

Gender ☐ Male ☐ Female

Race ☐ African ☐ White ☐ Coloured ☐ Asian

Occupation

.....

Marital status

.....

Citizenship

.....

Employment status

.....

Skills level ☐ unskilled ☐ semi-skilled ☐ skilled ☐ highly skilled

Mother tongue

.....

Appendix 8.3 Interview schedule



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Interview schedule

Section I. Life in Zimbabwe

- Tell me about yourself

Explain in detail what qualifications you have

What kind of work did you do in Zimbabwe?

What was your work situation before you left Zimbabwe? Were you employed?

Would it be easy for you to find a job if and when you return to Zimbabwe?

What was the last country you lived in before you came to South Africa?

Describe your life in Zimbabwe before you came to South Africa

Describe the area you lived in Zimbabwe

Tell me about the situation in Zimbabwe today

Section II: Experiences in South Africa

- Tell me about coming to South Africa

When did you arrive in South Africa?

What made you decide to come to South Africa? Discuss in detail

How did you decide to come to South Africa?

Did the situation in Zimbabwe affect your decision to come to South Africa?

What was your family's reaction to your decision to come to South Africa?

- Tell me about your experiences in South Africa

Would you say you had a favorable impression of South Africa before you migrated? probe

Discuss in detail the positive and negative aspects of your experience

Section III: Sense of being Zimbabwean

- Do you consider yourself to be a migrant?
How do you feel about being a Zimbabwean citizen?
Do you consider Zimbabwe your home?
Do you have a strong attachment to Zimbabwe?
Do you still have any family in Zimbabwe?

Section IV: Views on returning home rebuilding Zimbabwe

- Tell me about your plans for the future
How long do you want to stay in South Africa?
Do you want to become a permanent South African citizen?
Will you return to Zimbabwe one day?
What would motivate you to return to Zimbabwe?
How does your experience in South Africa affect your decision to return to Zimbabwe?
Do you think you could have a good life in Zimbabwe?
Do you think you have anything to contribute towards the process of rebuilding Zimbabwe?
What skills have you obtained in South Africa?
Would you like to use to use these skills to contribute to the process of rebuilding Zimbabwe?
How would you contribute towards the process of rebuilding Zimbabwe?

Appendix 8.4 Information letter



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Information letter

My name is Tendai P. Motsi. I am conducting research towards the fulfilment of my Masters degree at the University of Pretoria in the Department of Sociology. The title of my dissertation is ***Perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants in Gauteng on 'returning home' and 'rebuilding the country'***. I would like to ask your formal permission to take part in an interview to be held at an agreed time and place about your perceptions on 'returning home' to Zimbabwe and 'rebuilding'. The research seeks to examine Zimbabwean migrants' views on issues relating to returning to and rebuilding Zimbabwe.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You can choose not to be involved. If you do agree to participate in the interview, you may choose to end the interview at any time. When you do not feel like commenting on a question, you may decline as well. The interview will take about an hour. With your permission I would like to tape record the interview. The information that you contribute in the interview will be integrated with the comments of others and analysed to offer general understandings of the perceptions of Zimbabwean migrants on returning home and rebuilding. The reason for the tape recording is to ensure accurate reporting of the perceptions aired by participants in the study. The tape recordings will be transcribed and these transcriptions form the basis of the study.

Transcribed interviews will be stored for up to 15 years after the completion of the study at the Department of Sociology, University of Pretoria in a secure place (locked away). In the course of the study, your consent form will be kept separately from your transcribed answers. This follows the regulations set out by the Research Proposal and Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria which approved this study.

Anonymity is assured. This means that your real name and identity will not be revealed. Pseudonyms will be used when reporting on the interview.

At the end of the study there will be no way of identifying *who* said *what*. If you agree to participate in this study I would request that you please sign the consent form indicating that you are a willing participant in this study. If you have any questions about any aspect of this research (now, in the course of the study or even later please do not hesitate to contact me on the following number: 083 765 8234 and/or my supervisor – Dr. Charles Puttergill on 012 420 2715).

Thank you

Tendai P. Motsi

Appendix 8.5 Formal acknowledgement of consent



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Formal acknowledgement of consent

I, ...on
this day of 2011, agree to be interviewed for the Masters
research study conducted by Tendai Motsi. The purpose and
procedure of the study have been explained to me. I understand that
the participation is voluntary and that if I do agree to participate in the
interview, I may choose to leave the interview at any time or not to
give my comments when I do not feel like commenting.

Name of participants:

Signature:

Date:

Appendix 8.6 Excerpt from Shona transcript

ⁱ **Jane:** Inini handidikukunyeperi, shamwari dzangu dzinotondibatsira ndedzekunoku. Handimborina wandakasangananaye akandipa problem. Pamwe kuti inini handitaure hameno. Handinawo wandakamboita problem naye. Kana chirudzi chemunomu ndinonyatsogona through kudzidziswa nevacho vemunomu.

Aah ndinototaura zvekuti, kana ndikataura munomu munotondishaya kuti ndivo vandanga ndichitaura navo here ava? Tswana ndiyo yandinogona kunyatsotaura, ndichitotaura nevanhu muroad. ndikatomuudza kuti ini ndinobva kuZimbabwe haatombozviziva.

Kanamapurisa ndaka sangana navo vanongoti ivovanoda ID tikangotaudzana vanongoti aah hameno uyu ndewemunomu. Saka ndizvozinongoita kutitisanetsane navo hameno pamwe ilucky navo handizivewo zvangu. Sort of kuti makambo kwira rain maZimbabweans ndivo vanhu vanemusikanzwa.

Vanhu vekuZimbabwe vane musikanzwa, unowona kuti dzimwe nguva vanhu tinobhowana...munhu wekuSouth Africa akuku bhohwa kasi hamuchakwanisa kutaurirana nechirudzi chake kana nechirungu kuti umuudze kuti wandibhowa wobvavataura nechishona saka iye haacha kunzwa kuti wamubhowa, kuti urikuda kuzama kutikudii?

Saka ndizvo zvinoita kutidzimwe nguva maSouth Africans atadze kutaurirana nevamwe zvakanaka. Havazozviva! Ini ndanga ndichitaura newe zvakanaka tichinyatso taura nyaya zvakanakanaka

Wondi bhowa ndava kuchinja ndave kutaura newe nechishona. Haazonzwise kuti urikundituka here? Kana kuti? Handiti munoona? Dai zvaiita kuti isusu maZimbabwean taikwanisa kudzidzira chirudzi chavo. Tomirika mawoko kudzidza chirudzichavo kuti hakusi kunyika kwedu handifuge kuti taiimboita problem navo ba.

ⁱⁱ **Jane:** Umm, handidikunyepa handitomborina kana pandingati ndingabatsire. Kasikubatsira kumhuri yedu. Zvi zvandingaite kutindibatsire? Kuti nyika chaiyo chaiyo ive nani aah...handina nzira dzacho dzekubatsira.

Handitokwanisi. Kana kutoti inini ndinopinda papi. Sechido, hapanamunhu asina chido asi kuti matangiro acho nezvawanga uchiwana zvacho ndizvo zvinoita kuti u.. Aaah, inini kumba kana zvinhu zvisina kunyatsoita zvakanaka zvandinoda ndinongo ramba ndirimuno ndichingoenda...ndichidzoka..

Nekuti inini zvematongerwo enyika...nyika inongoda kugadziriswa nezvematongerwo ayo. Kuvhota ndinovhota ndinoziva yandinoda kuvhotera. Iye zvino wakanditi ndiite slogan yeZANU-PF inini handzive,

kana yeMDC inini handizvizive. Kana ndikaona
pavakawungana handinei nazvo, izvozvi handina basa
nazvo. Kugadzirisa zvinhu zvikango naka
tinongodzokera kumusha.